Joint Communiqué
Of the People's Republic of China and the Democratic People's Republic of Korea

A Great Victory of World Significance
— Warmly congratulating the south Vietnamese armed forces and people on liberation of Saigon

Statement of the Government of the People's Republic of China
April 29, 1975
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THE WEEK

Message of Warm Congratulations
On Liberation of Saigon

His Excellency Nguyen Huu Tho,
President of the Presidium of the Central Committee of the South Viet Nam National Front for Liberation.

His Excellency Huynh Tan Phat,
President of the Provisional Revolutionary Government of the Republic of South Viet Nam,

Saigon

Comrade Ton Duc Thang,
President of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam,

Comrade Le Duan,
First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Viet Nam Workers' Party.

Comrade Truong Chinh,
Chairman of the Standing Committee of the National Assembly of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam,

Comrade Pham Van Dong,
Premier of the Government of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam,

Hanoi

The south Vietnamese army and civilians, after fighting long and valiantly, have thoroughly crushed the puppet regime in south Viet Nam and finally liberated Saigon. This is a great victory for the people of Viet Nam and all Indochina who have persisted in a protracted revolutionary armed struggle. The Chinese people are greatly overjoyed and inspired by these glad tidings. On behalf of the Communist Party of China, the Chinese Government and the Chinese people, we extend our warmest congratulations and highest salute to you, to the South Viet Nam National Front for Liberation and the Provisional Revolutionary Government of the Republic of South Viet Nam, to the Viet Nam Workers' Party and the Government of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam and to the entire Vietnamese people in the north and the south.

For the sake of the independence of their fatherland and the liberation of their nation, the heroic Vietnamese people, holding high the brilliant banner of 'firm resolve to fight and to win' of President Ho Chi Minh and advancing wave upon wave, waged a tenacious and extremely arduous struggle for decades, successively defeated the 'special warfare,' the 'local war' and the 'Vietnamized' war unleashed by U.S. imperialism and its lackeys and won great victories one after another. In the new situation after the signing of the Paris agreement, the Vietnamese people resolutely fought back in self-defence against the crimes of violating the Paris agreement, refusing to realize national concord and rationally massacring the people, which were committed by the Saigon puppet clique with the backing of the U.S. Government, and now finally have defeated the counter-revolutionary war with revolutionary war and won the splendid victory of the complete liberation of south Viet Nam. Your victory ushers in a new era, the era of the liberation of Viet Nam, and has a great historical importance and international significance. Your victory greatly inspires all the oppressed nations and peoples engaged in struggle and sets a brilliant example in the anti-imperialist revolutionary cause of the people of the whole world. The victory of the Vietnamese people is another eloquent proof that any people, even the people of a small country, can surely defeat any outwardly strong enemy and win final victory for their just cause of defending their country's independence and freedom and winning national liberation so long as they dare to rise in struggle and take up arms in a just war to oppose an unjust war and fight persistently, fearing no difficulties, sacrifices or setbacks.

China and Viet Nam are closely-related neighbours like the lips and the teeth, and our two peoples are comrades-in-arms and brothers sharing hardships and difficulties. We Chinese people have always regarded the Vietnamese people's struggle as our own struggle and their victory as our own victory. In the protracted revolutionary struggle of the past, our two peoples have supported and encouraged each other. In the days to come, the Chinese people will continue unwaveringly to unite and fight together with the Vietnamese people. We sincerely wish that the south Vietnamese people will ceaselessly win new and greater victories in their continued struggle to carry through their national and democratic revolution. A new Viet Nam that is independent, free, unified and prosperous will certainly come into being.

Mao Tsetung
Chairman of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China

Chu Teh
Chairman of the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress of the People's Republic of China

Chou En-lai
Premier of the State Council of the People's Republic of China

Peking, April 30, 1975

May 2, 1975
President Kim Il Sung Leaves China

The Korean Party and Government Delegation led by Comrade Kim Il Sung, General Secretary of the Central Committee of the Workers' Party of Korea and President of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, left China on April 26, bringing with it the fraternal sentiments of the Chinese people for the Korean people.

As President Kim Il Sung and the delegation left Peking, Chinese Party and state leaders Teng Hsiao-ping, Yao Wen-yuan, Chen Hsi-lien, Chi Teng-kuei, Wu Teh, Yu Chiu-li, Li Su-wen and others as well as more than 5,000 people in the capital were at the Peking Railway Station to see off the Korean comrades-in-arms. Also at the station to see off the distinguished Korean guests were Samdech Sihanouk, Head of State of Cambodia, and Samdech Pennouth.

Overhead coloured banners were strung across the main streets of the city proper while huge streamers trailed from tall buildings along the boulevards. There was a grand send-off ceremony at the railway station which flew the national flags of China and Korea. Accompanied by Chinese leaders, President Kim Il Sung reviewed a guard of honour made up of men of the ground, naval and air forces of the Chinese People's Liberation Army and the capital's militia. The well-wishers enthusiastically waved bouquets and ribbons and repeatedly shouted slogans to bid farewell to the distinguished Korean guests. They hailed the complete success of President Kim Il Sung's visit to China and expressed sincere congratulations on the new developments in the great friendship and militant unity of the two Parties, countries and peoples of China and Korea.

President Kim Il Sung gave a grand farewell banquet the day before the delegation left Peking.

Comrades Wang Hung-wen, Ye Chien-ying, Teng Hsiao-ping, Yao Wen-yuan, Chen Hsi-lien, Chi Teng-kuei, Hua Kuo-feng, Wang Tung-

Chinese Party and state leaders and more than 5,000 people in the capital at Peking Railway Station give President Kim Il Sung and the delegation he leads a grand and warm send-off.
hsing, Wu Teh, Chen Yung-kuei, Wu Kuei-hsien, Su Chen-hua, Ni Chih-fu, Huu Hsia-sheng, Nieh Jung-chin, Li Su-wen, Wang Chen, Yu Chiu-li, Ku Mu and Sun Chien as well as representatives of combat heroes of the Chinese People's Volunteers and family members of C.P.V. men or martyrs attended the banquet. Samdech Sihanouk and Madame Sihanouk, Samdech Penn Nouth and Madame Penn Nouth also attended. Comrade Kim Il Sung and Comrade Teng Hsiao-ping spoke at the banquet. (For their speeches see pp. 11 and 12.)

Condolences on Death of Queen Kossamak

Chairman of the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress Chu Teh and Premier of the State Council Chou En-lai sent a message on April 28 to Samdech Norodom Sihanouk expressing deep condolences on the death of Queen Sisowath Kossamak.

The message read: “Shocked to learn the news of the death of Queen Sisowath Kossamak through illness, we, on behalf of Chairman Mao Tsetung, the Chinese Government and the Chinese people, express to you, Samdech, our deep condolences and sincere sympathy.

“Queen Sisowath Kossamak was an outstanding patriot. After the reactionary coup d'état by the traitorous Lon Nol clique, the Queen feared no brute force, adopted a dignified and just stand and showed herself firm in her belief, which is worthy of admiration and respect.

“We hope you, Samdech, will turn grief into strength and, together with the Cambodian people, contribute to the building of an independent, sovereign, peaceful, neutral, non-aligned, democratic and prosperous Cambodia.”

May 2, 1975

Comrade Kim Il Sung's Message of Gratitude

COMRADE Kim Il Sung on April 27 sent a message of gratitude to Comrade Mao Tsetung, Comrade Chu Teh, Comrade Chou En-lai and Comrade Teng Hsiao-ping.

The message read:

“As we pass the border of the People's Republic of China, we express once again our heartfelt gratitude to you, and to the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China, the Government of the People's Republic of China and the Chinese people, for your very sincere and cordial reception to our delegation during its visit to China, and for enabling us to achieve complete success in our visit. We deem the visit of the Party and Government Delegation of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea to China an epochal turning point which has demonstrated the unbreakable friendship and unity of the two Parties. Governments and peoples of Korea and China established on the basis of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism and strengthened and developed this friendship and unity to a new and higher stage. We are very satisfied with the results of the visit. The friendship and unity of the peoples of Korea and China are helpful to the strengthening of the unity of the revolutionary people of Asia and the world. We treasure the outstanding results achieved during our visit to China and will make every effort to further strengthen and develop the traditional friendship and unity of our two peoples. Finally, I warmly wish the fraternal Chinese people new and still greater successes as they rally still more closely round the Communist Party of China headed by their great leader Comrade Mao Tsetung in the struggle to build China into a powerful modern socialist country.

“The militant friendship and unity of the Korean and Chinese peoples will last for ever!”

[Image: Accompanied by Comrade Teng Hsiao-ping, President Kim Il Sung and the delegation he leads visit the Nanking Yangtze River Bridge.]
45th Anniversary of Founding of Communist Party of Malaya Greeted

The Central Committee of the Communist Party of Malaya:

On the occasion of the 45th anniversary of the founding of the Communist Party of Malaya, the Communist Party of China and the Chinese people extend warm fraternal congratulations to the Communist Party of Malaya and the Malayan people.

In the past 45 years, the Communist Party of Malaya traversed an arduous and glorious road of struggle. During the reactionary rule of British colonialism and Japanese imperialism, the Communist Party of Malaya led the Malayan people in taking up arms and waging a protracted and dauntless fight, winning brilliant successes and thus making tremendous contributions to the cause of national independence and liberation of Malaya. Now the Communist Party of Malaya is pushing the liberation struggle of the Malayan people constantly forward by holding aloft the revolutionary banner of opposing imperialism, feudalism and bureaucratic-capitalism and adhering to the road of armed struggle.

At present, the international situation is characterized by great disorder under heaven. The two crisis-gripped superpowers—the United States and the Soviet Union—are stepping up their contention for world hegemony. The tossing tide of revolution of the world people is vigorously pounding at the old world. Such an excellent situation is in favour of the Malayan people’s revolutionary struggle.

We are convinced that the Communist Party of Malaya will enhance unity on the basis of Marxist-Leninist principles, fully mobilize the masses of the people of all nationalities and from various walks of life, unite all forces that can be united to wage a common struggle against the enemy, and strive for new and still greater victories by overcoming all kinds of difficulties.

The two Parties and the two peoples of China and Malaya, always supporting and encouraging each other, have cemented a profound and revolutionary friendship. We are happy to see the incessant successes and progress of the Communist Party of Malaya and the Malayan people. We firmly believe that the revolutionary armed struggle of the Malayan people will certainly triumph.

Long live Marxism-Leninism!

The Central Committee of the Communist Party of China

April 29, 1975

Vice-Premiers Teng Hsiao-ping and Chen Hsi-lien, Vice-Chairman Li Su-wen and Comrade Teng Ying-chao called at the Mansion of the Cambodian Head of State and paid their last respects to the remains of Queen Sisowath Kossamak the same day.

A wreath presented by Chairman Mao Tsetung was placed in the hall.

Others who presented wreaths included Chairman Chu Teh, Premier Chou En-lai, Vice-Premier Teng Hsiao-ping, Comrades Chiang Ching and Teng Ying-chao. Wreaths also were presented by the Chinese Foreign Ministry, the Peking Municipal Revolutionary Committee and the China-Cambodia Friendship Association.

Flags were flown at half-mast in mourning at Tien An Men Square, Hainhuamen and the Chinese Foreign Ministry that day.

Comrade Teng Ying-chao had called on Queen Sisowath Kossamak at the Mansion of the Head of State to enquire after her health when the Queen was critically ill.

Vice-Premier Li Hsien-nien Visits Pakistan

Vice-Premier Li Hsien-nien paid an official visit to Pakistan from April 20 to 23 at the invitation of Prime Minister Zulfikar Ali Bhutto.

The Vice-Premier and the Prime Minister had talks on the international situation, further strengthening the friendly relations and cooperation between the two countries and other problems of common concern. The Vice-Premier visited Isalmabad, Rawalpindi, Lahore and Karachi where he received a warm welcome and hospitality from the local officials and people.

At the welcoming banquet given by Prime Minister Bhutto in honour of Vice-Premier Li, both host and guest spoke.

Prime Minister Bhutto said that Pakistan has found China to be a reliable friend and the friendship between Pakistan and China is based on principles.

"The people of Pakistan cherish goodwill and support of the Chinese people who have stood by them at all times of difficulty and need. The relations between the People’s Republic of China and Pakistan have endured the test of time and I am confident that our friendship will
grow in strength in future as well," he said.

"The world," the Prime Minister said, "is passing through a period of sharpening contradictions. The old forces of imperialism, exploitation and racism are still working but the determined struggle of the people everywhere against these evils is achieving victories day after day. The peoples of the third world are making valiant efforts to safeguard their national independence and territorial integrity and bending their energies towards the establishment of an equitable international economic order. Pakistan fully supports these struggles and is indeed a participant in them."

Referring to the situation in South Asia, Prime Minister Bhutto hoped that it will be possible to make further progress in the normalization of relations with Bangladesh and India. However, he said, this normalization has to be based on sovereign equality of states.

The Prime Minister said: "We have no doubt that the firm stand taken by China on the basis of principles will continue to serve the cause of peace and stability in this area. It is in this context that we are determined to continue to consolidate the existing co-operation between our two countries in various spheres and to expand it further. We believe that our two countries have a common stake in the upholding of just causes and that our relationship is not only in the interest of our peoples but also serves the cause of peace in Asia and the world."

Vice-Premier Li said: Pakistan is a great country and her people have a glorious tradition of combating imperialism and colonialism. In recent years, under the leadership of Prime Minister Bhutto, the Government and people of Pakistan have persistently safeguarded state sovereignty and national independence against foreign interference, sabotage and subversion and dealt heavy blows to the scheming activities of certain insidious people.

He said: "How gloeful the superpower and the expansionists were just three years ago when they thought that after being dismembered by them Pakistan would knuckle under to the threat of force and never recuperate. But facts in the past three years and more have proved that they made a gross miscalculation. Today, under the leadership of Prime Minister Bhutto, the Pakistanis people are more determined than ever to fight against hegemonism and expansionism in defence of their national independence and state sovereignty, and they have built their country much better by working hard for her prosperity."

Vice-Premier Li said: "Though the superpowers now are ensnared in inextricable political and economic crises, neither of them has given up its wild ambition of seeking world hegemony. They are engaged in intense rivalry in Europe, the Middle East, the Indian Ocean, the Persian Gulf, South Asia and other parts of the world."

"Superpower contention," he pointed out, "has also led to turmoil and unrest in South Asia. The Chinese Government and people have always cherished friendship for the people of all countries in South Asia. We hope that South Asian countries can settle the issues between them through peaceful negotiations free from foreign interference and on the basis of equality, mutual respect for sovereignty and territorial integrity and non-interference in each other's internal affairs, and that they will live in amity and not be taken in by the superpowers. The Chinese Government is ready to develop good-neighbourly relations with all South Asian countries on the basis of the Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence. We will continue to render resolute support to the people of the South Asian countries in their just struggle against hegemonism and expansionism, to the proposal of the Pakistan Government for a nuclear-free-zone in South Asia, to the struggle of the people of Kashmir for self-determination, to the resistance of the people of Sikkim against the naked annexation by the Indian expansionists, to the just stand of His Majesty the King of Nepal in declaring Nepal a zone of peace and to the positive proposal of the Sri Lanka Government to make the Indian Ocean a zone of peace."

**Belgian Prime Minister Concludes China Visit**

Leo Tindemans, Prime Minister of the Kingdom of Belgium, and Madame Tindemans wowed up their China visit on April 27.

Speaking at his farewell banquet in Peking, Prime Minister Tindemans said that the exchanges of views he and his party had with Chairman Mao Tsetung, Chairman Chu Teh, Premier Chou En-lai and Vice-Premier Chi Teng-kuei have "entirely justified our anticipation."

He said: "We know that peace cannot be assured without active solidarity with our neighbours and our friends. If one is not on guard, the absence of combats can hide covered conquests and unacceptable subordinations."

Prime Minister Tindemans said: "Our primary concern in this regard is to establish the union of European peoples within this generation. The task is certainly long and difficult, because the question is to conciliate the diversities resulting from a long history and to build our union by free consent. The growing perception everywhere in Europe of the deep-rooted logic of our history and the necessities resulting from new circumstances in which we are placed, gives me the conviction that this task can be satisfactorily accomplished."

The Prime Minister said: Our effort, apart from that already given to the indispensable European union, is devoted from now on to the setting up of a new type of relations between our country and those on other continents.

The Belgian Prime Minister said: "Our talks give me the feeling that our approach to European and world problems is well understood by the Government of the People's Republic of China; and here I find a great source of encouragement and satisfaction. As regards our bilateral relations, there open to us very encouraging perspectives for the further (Continued on p. 14.)
Joint Communique of the People's Republic of China
And the Democratic People's Republic of Korea

At the invitation of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China and the Government of the People's Republic of China, the Party and Government Delegation of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea led by Comrade Kim Il Sung, General Secretary of the Central Committee of the Workers' Party of Korea and President of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, paid an official visit to the People's Republic of China from April 18 to 26, 1975. This visit is a major event of historic significance in the relations between the Chinese and Korean Parties and the two countries.

During the visit, President Kim Il Sung and the Party and Government Delegation of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea toured Peking and Nanking where they visited factories, people's communes, scenic spots and historical monuments and were given a grand and warm welcome and a most cordial and friendly reception by the Communist Party of China, the Government of the People's Republic of China and the Chinese people. In all the places they visited, they had pleasant meetings with former commanders and fighters of the Chinese People's Volunteers who had gone through thick and thin and shared hardships and difficulties together with the Korean people during the Fatherland Liberation War of Korea. The warm welcome and reception the Chinese people accorded to the Party and Government Delegation of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea is a manifestation of the Chinese people's high respect for and trust in Comrade Kim Il Sung, the Korean people's respected and beloved leader, and a clear demonstration of the indestructible militant friendship and unity of the Chinese and Korean peoples marching forward shoulder to shoulder in their common cause.

During the visit, Comrade Mao Zedong and Comrade Kim Il Sung had a most significant meeting and a very cordial and friendly conversation.

Comrade Kim Il Sung and Comrade Chou En-lai also had a conversation in an atmosphere of cordiality and friendship.

During the visit, the Party and Government Delegation of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea led by Comrade Kim Il Sung, General Secretary of the Central Committee of the Workers' Party of Korea and President of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, held talks with the Party and Government Delegation of the People's Republic of China.

Taking part in the talks on the Chinese side were: Comrade Teng Hsiao-ping, Vice-Chairman of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China and Vice-Premier of the State Council; Comrade Yao Wen-yuan, Member of the Political Bureau of the C.P.C. Central Committee; Comrade Chen Hsi-lien, Member of the Political Bureau of the C.P.C. Central Committee and Vice-Premier of the State Council; Comrade Chi Teng-ku, Member of the Political Bureau of the C.P.C. Central Committee and Vice-Premier of the State Council; Comrade Keng Fiao, Member of the C.P.C. Central Committee and Head of its International Liaison Department; Comrade Chiao Kuan-hua, Member of the C.P.C. Central Committee and Minister of Foreign Affairs; Comrade Li Chiang, Member of the C.P.C. Central Committee and Minister of Foreign Trade; Comrade Fang Yi, Member of the C.P.C. Central Committee and Minister of Economic Relations With Foreign Countries; Comrade Yang Cheng-wu, Deputy Chief of General Staff of the Chinese People's Liberation Army; and Comrade Li Yun-chuan, Chinese Ambassador to the Democratic People's Republic of Korea.

Comrade Kim Il Sung, General Secretary of the Central Committee of the Workers' Party of Korea and President of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, took part in the talks. Also taking part in the talks on the Korean side were: Comrade Kim Dong-Gyu, Member of the Political Committee of the W.P.K. Central Committee, Secretary of the Central Committee and Vice-President of the D.P.R.K.; Comrade O Jin-U, Member of the Political Committee of the W.P.K. Central Committee, Secretary of the Central Committee and Chief of the General Staff of the Korean People's Army; Comrade Pak Sung Chul, Member of the Political Committee of the W.P.K. Central Committee and Vice-Premier of the Administration Council of the D.P.R.K.; Comrade Chong Mun-Sop, Alternate Member of the Political Committee of the W.P.K. Central Committee and Colonel General of the Korean People's Army; Comrade Ho Dam, Member of the W.P.K. Central Committee, Vice-Premier of the Administration Council and Minister of Foreign Affairs of the D.P.R.K.; Comrade Kye Ung-Tae, Member of the W.P.K. Central Committee and Minister of Trade of the D.P.R.K.; Comrade Chong Song Nam, Member of the W.P.K. Central Committee and Minister of External Economic Affairs of the D.P.R.K.; Comrade O Guk Ryol, Member of the W.P.K. Central Committee and Commander of the Air Force of the Korean People's Army; and Comrade Ilyon Jun Guk, Alternate Member of the W.P.K. Central Committee and Ambassador of the D.P.R.K. to China.

During the talks, the two sides discussed the further strengthening and development of the militant friendship and revolutionary unity of the two Parties.
and the two countries and peoples, as well as the current international situation and questions of common concern. The talks proceeded throughout in a warm atmosphere of revolutionary friendship, and completely identical views were reached on all the questions discussed. Both sides expressed great satisfaction at the results of the talks.

During the talks, the two sides noted with great satisfaction that the militant friendship and revolutionary unity of the Chinese and Korean Parties and the two countries and peoples have grown stronger and developed daily. This friendship and unity is based on Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism. It has been forged and fostered personally by the Chinese people's great leader Chairman Mao Tse-tung and the Korean people's great leader President Kim Il Sung. It has been cemented with blood in the protracted struggle against common enemies. It is indestructible. This friendship and unity fully accords with the fundamental interests of the Chinese and Korean peoples. Both sides are resolved, as always, to unite still more closely and fight together in the common struggle against imperialism and in the cause of socialist revolution and socialist construction and make their contribution to the revolutionary cause of the people of the world.

The Chinese side pays high tribute to the Workers' Party of Korea headed by Comrade Kim Il Sung, which has applied the universal truth of Marxism-Leninism to the concrete practice of the Korean revolution, adhered to the Marxist-Leninist line and led the Korean people in waging protracted and unyielding revolutionary struggles and winning great victories. The Workers' Party of Korea, the Government of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea and the Korean people, following the teachings of their great leader Comrade Kim Il Sung, have persisted in the dictatorship of the proletariat, adhered to the socialist road, implemented the revolutionary line of independence, self-reliance and self-defence, unfolded the Chollima Movement and achieved great successes in socialist revolution and socialist construction, thus building the Democratic People's Republic of Korea into a socialist country with a solid and self-reliant national economy. At present, the Korean people, under the leadership of the Workers' Party of Korea and in enthusiastic response to the call of the Tenth Plenary Session of its Fifth Central Committee, are vigorously carrying forward the three great revolutionary movements—ideological, technical and cultural—and are striving, with high political zeal and boundless revolutionary drive, to fulfill ahead of schedule the magnificent targets set in the Six-Year National Economic Plan and attain the new, long-term goals in economic construction.

The Korean people adhere to proletarian internationalism, firmly oppose imperialism, actively support the revolutionary struggles of the oppressed nations and oppressed peoples and continuously strengthen ties of friendship and unity with the people of all countries, particularly the third world countries. More and more countries in the world have established diplomatic relations with the Democratic People's Republic of Korea. As the sole legal sovereign state of the Korean nation, the Democratic People's Republic of Korea is enjoying an ever higher international prestige and playing an ever greater role in international affairs.

The Chinese side rejoices over the splendid successes achieved by the fraternal Korean people under the leadership of President Kim Il Sung as the Chinese people's own successes, extends warmest congratulations to them and sincerely wishes them new and still greater victories in the days to come.

The Chinese side reaffirms its resolute support to the Korean people in their just struggle for the independent and peaceful reunification of their fatherland. To reunify their fatherland is the Korean people's noble national aspiration. The Government of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea has repeatedly put forward correct propositions and reasonable proposals for the reunification of the fatherland. In particular, the three principles for the independent and peaceful reunification of the fatherland and the five-point proposition for preventing national division and reunifying the fatherland, put forward by President Kim Il Sung, have charted the correct way for settling the question of the reunification of Korea, and they enjoy the resolute backing of the entire Korean people and extensive international support. The Chinese side holds that the reunification of Korea should be realized on the basis of the principles and proposition put forward by President Kim Il Sung. It condemns the Pak Jung Hi clique which, supported and instigated by U.S. imperialism, has obdurately pursued a policy of national division, trampled on the Joint Statement of North and South Korea, tried to sabotage the North-South talks, intensified its fascist suppression of the south Korean people and continuously aggravated the tension on the Korean Peninsula. The Chinese side firmly supports the south Korean people of all strata in their just struggle for the democratization of society and the independent and peaceful reunification of the fatherland. It condemns U.S. imperialism for pursuing a policy of "two Koreas" in a vain attempt to fix and perpetuate the division of Korea. It firmly maintains that the Korean question should be resolved by the Korean people themselves free from any foreign interference, that the so-called United Nations Command must be dissolved and that all the armed forces of the United States must be withdrawn from south Korea.

The Korean side pays high tribute to the Communist Party of China headed by Comrade Mao Tse-tung, which has applied the universal truth of Marxism-Leninism to the concrete practice of the Chinese revolution and led the Chinese people in winning great victories in their protracted struggles against domestic and foreign enemies. Following the Party's basic line for the entire historical stage of socialism formulated by their great leader Chairman Mao Tse-tung and persisting in the continued revolution under the dictatorship.
of the proletariat; the Chinese people have successfully carried out the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, destroyed the two counter-revolutionary bourgeois headquarters of Liu Shao-chi and of Lin Piao, and broadened, deepened and persevered in the movement to criticize Lin Piao and Confucius. At present, a mass movement for studying the theory of the dictatorship of the proletariat is in full swing throughout China. Under the leadership of the Communist Party of China, the Chinese people, displaying the revolutionary spirit of independence, initiative and self-reliance, have won great successes in building socialism by going all out, aiming high and achieving greater, faster, better and more economical results, and they are working hard to build China into a powerful modern socialist country before the end of the century. The Korean people rejoice over the important successes won by the fraternal Chinese people under the leadership of Chairman Mao Tsetung as their own, extend warmest congratulations to them and sincerely wish them new and still greater successes in the days to come.

The Korean side reiterates that the Korean people will, as always, firmly support the Chinese people in their just struggle for the liberation of Taiwan Province, their sacred territory, and are confident that this struggle will be crowned with victory.

Both sides are of the view that the current international situation is developing in a direction more favourable to the revolutionary people of the whole world and unfavourable to imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism. More and more, the old economic order based on colonialism and imperialism is being undermined and shaken to its foundations. World capitalism is in the grip of a worsening economic crisis. The contradictions between imperialisms are sharpening. So long as imperialism exists in the world, this social system engenders war. Imperialism is further stepping up its activities of aggression and war under the signboard of "peace." The danger of a new world war is increasing. People of all countries must heighten their vigilance and get prepared. If imperialism dares to unleash a new war, that will certainly hasten its own doom and lead to new victories for the world revolution. Both sides believe that whether war gives rise to revolution or revolution prevents war, in either case the future of the world will be bright.

Both sides emphatically point out that a salient feature of the excellent international situation of today is the awakening and the growing strength of the numerous third world countries. In their struggle to win or safeguard national independence, defend state sovereignty, develop the national economy and protect their national resources, the third world countries, who have long been oppressed and exploited by colonialism and imperialism, have increasingly strengthened their unity and become a vigorous fighting force playing an ever greater role in international affairs. The people of the numerous third world countries have become a mighty motive force propelling the advance of human history and a great revolutionary force against imperialism. Both sides declare that they will unswervingly stand together with the third world countries and firmly support their just struggle. They support the correct stand taken by third world countries at the United Nations General Assembly's Special Session on the problems of raw materials and development, the United Nations Conference on the Law of the Sea, the Conference of the Developing Countries on Raw Materials, the Summit Conference of the Member States of the Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries and other international conferences.

The two sides are glad to note that important changes that are most inspiring have taken place recently in the situation in Indochina. The heroic Cambodian people, rallying around the National United Front of Cambodia with Sombath Norodom Sihanouk as its Chairman and persevering in a people's revolutionary war, have finally liberated Phnom Penh and won the decisive victory of their war of national liberation after fighting courageously for five years. Both sides extend their warmest congratulations to the heroic Cambodian people. Under the leadership of the Provisional Revolutionary Government of the Republic of South Viet Nam, the patriotic army men and civilians in south Viet Nam are severely punishing the puppet clique in Saigon for its crimes of violating the Paris agreement, opposing the realization of national concord, continuously grabbing land from the liberated areas and suppressing and massacring people in south Viet Nam. They have won tremendous victories and dealt crushing blows at the puppet clique in Saigon. The new victories the Indochinese peoples have won in their liberation struggles greatly inspire the people of all countries and will have a far-reaching influence on the development of the world situation as a whole. Both sides demand that the United States immediately stop its aggression and interference in Indochina so that the Indochinese peoples may solve their own problems. They pledge their firm support for the just struggle of the Vietnamese, Cambodian and Lao peoples until complete victory is won.

Both sides consider that the Middle East question has long remained unsettled because of Israel's obstinate persistence in expansion and aggression and because of imperialist aggression and interference. Both sides firmly support the Arab people in their just struggle against imperialism and Israeli Zionism and for the recovery of the occupied territories and the restoration of the Palestinian people's national rights.

Both sides are glad to note that the situation in Africa is excellent, and that the African people are winning one victory after another in their united struggle against imperialism and colonialism. They warmly hail the great victories won by the people of Guinea-Bissau, Mozambique and Angola in their struggle for national liberation. They firmly support the people of Zimbabwe, Namibia and Azania in their just struggle against colonial rule and white racism. They are convinced that imperialism and colonialism
cannot save themselves from defeat no matter how they may change their tactics. The African countries which have a glorious tradition of combating imperialism and the increasingly awakening African people will surely strengthen their unity, persevere in struggle, particularly armed struggle, frustrate all enemy schemes and win independence and liberation for all countries in Africa.

Both sides firmly support the people of Latin American countries in their just struggle to oppose imperialist interference, safeguard state sovereignty and independence, defend national economic rights and interests and win 200-nautical-mile sea rights.

The two sides point out with great satisfaction that this visit of President Kim Il Sung at the head of the Korean Party and Government Delegation to the People's Republic of China has been crowned with complete success and has made an important contribution to the further strengthening of the militant friendship and great unity of the Chinese and Korean Parties and the two countries and peoples as well as to the furtherance of the united anti-imperialist revolutionary cause of the people of the world.

The Chinese side considers the visit to China by President Kim Il Sung at the head of the Party and Government Delegation of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea to be a tremendous encouragement to the Chinese people and expresses sincere thanks to Comrade Kim Il Sung, the great leader of the Korean people and close friend of the Chinese people, and to the Workers' Party of Korea, the Government of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea and the Korean people.

The Korean side expresses deep thanks to Comrade Mao Tse-tung, the great leader of the Chinese people and close friend of the Korean people, and to the Communist Party of China, the Government of the People's Republic of China and the Chinese people for the warm and sincere welcome and reception accorded by the Chinese side during its visit in China.

Peking, April 26, 1975

At Banquet Given by President Kim Il Sung

President Kim II Sung's Speech

DURING our visit to the People's Republic of China, a country of our comrades-in-arms, we have spent very pleasant and meaningful days amidst the particular attention and hospitality of the Communist Party and the Government of China and the fraternal Chinese people.

We were accorded grand and warm welcome overflowing with revolutionary enthusiasm by the Chinese people everywhere we went during our visit, and happily met with the former officers and men of the Chinese People's Volunteers who had fought together, sharing life and death, sweets and bitters, during the past Fatherland Liberation War against the U.S. Imperialist aggressors.

We saw and learnt many things during our current visit to China and were really touched by the sincere hospitality and warm militant friendship of the Chinese comrades.

Your warm welcome and hospitality for us once again glaringly showed how much the Chinese people value their militant friendship and unity with the Korean people and what a solid foundation Korea-China friendship is based on.

I extend my deep thanks to Comrade Chairman Mao Tse-tung, the great leader of the Chinese people and intimate friend of our people, to the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China, the Government of the People's Republic of China and the Chinese people for having accorded us so sincere, wholehearted welcome and hospitality.

I also take this opportunity to offer my heartfelt gratitude to Samdech Norodom Sihanouk, Samdech Penn Nouth and other Cambodian friends for your cordial welcome.

During the course of our current visit to China we have personally seen with deep impressions the brilliant successes achieved by the Chinese people in the socialist revolution and socialist construction under the leadership of Comrade Chairman Mao Tse-tung and the Communist Party of China.

The People's Republic of China has made a leaping progress in all the political, economic, scientific and cultural, and military spheres, and its look has radically changed.

The present changes taking place in China give a great encouragement to the world's revolutionary peoples who are fighting for national liberation and socialism.

Our delegation rejoices over this as our own successes and warmly congratulates you and the entire Chinese people for this.

During those days we had a significant meeting with Comrade Chairman Mao Tse-tung, and also met

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with Comrade Premier Chou En-lai; we held sincere and friendly talks with the leading comrades of the Chinese Party and Government on several occasions.

During our talks we expressed our unanimous determination to strengthen and develop the relations of friendship and cooperation between our two Parties, two countries and two peoples on to a higher plane in conformity with the development of the present situation in the struggle against imperialism and for the victory of the cause of socialism and we reached a complete agreement of views on all matters discussed.

The current visit of our delegation to China has born wonderful fruits, and this fully demonstrated to the whole world the invincible might of the great friendship sealed in blood between the two peoples of Korea and China.

The strengthening of friendship and unity between the peoples of our two countries based on Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism constitutes a great contribution to speeding up the socialist construction in the two countries, strengthening the unity of the world progressive peoples and bringing earlier the victory of the anti-imperialist revolutionary cause.

Having seen the militant friendship and unity between our two countries strengthening and developing further, the imperialists and their stooges now fail to conceal unrest and fear.

The results of the current visit of our delegation to China will display a great vitality in the future common struggle of the two peoples.

The present developments in Asia more vividly prove that the victory of the liberation struggle of the peoples and the downfall of the imperialists and their lackeys are a trend of our times, which no force can check.

In the future, too, the Korean people will fight on for ever firmly hand in hand with the fraternal Chinese people for the victory of the cause of peace and democracy, national independence and socialism; and will fight in unity with all the anti-imperialist revolutionary forces in the world.

We feel very much satisfied that the visit of our delegation to the People’s Republic of China has produced good fruits in all spheres. We are leaving your country with unforgettable deep impressions.

Upon our return home, we shall convey the warm sentiments of militant friendship from the fraternal Chinese people to the Korean people.

In conclusion, I warmly wish the Chinese people greater successes in their struggle to strengthen the proletarian dictatorship, completely uproot the capitalist elements and turn their country into a powerful modern socialist state under the leadership of Comrade Chairman Mao Tsetung and the Communist Party of China.

Comrade Teng Hsiao-ping’s Speech

President Kim II Sung, the Korean people’s respected and beloved leader, and the Korean Party and Government Delegation led by him will soon conclude with complete success their friendship visit in China. This visit of President Kim II Sung and the Korean Party and Government Delegation is a tremendous inspiration to the Chinese people as well as an important contribution to further enhancing the militant friendship and great unity of the Chinese and Korean Parties and our two countries and peoples. Please allow me, on behalf of the Chinese people’s great leader Chairman Mao Tsetung, the Chinese Communist Party and the Chinese Government and people, to express our sincere thanks to President Kim II Sung, the Korean Workers’ Party and the Korean Government and people.

During the visit of the Korean Party and Government Delegation in China, Chairman Mao Tsetung and President Kim II Sung had a very cordial and friendly conversation. Our two sides had a thorough exchange of views and reached complete identity on further strengthening the militant friendship and great unity of our two Parties, countries and peoples, on the current international situation, including the situation on the Korean Peninsula, and on major international issues. This not only accords with the common desire of the Chinese and Korean peoples but will have an important influence on the future development of the international situation.

President Kim II Sung and the other Korean comrades-in-arms visited places of interest in Peking and Nanking and had cordial meetings with Chinese people of all strata, to whom they conveyed the fraternal Korean people’s profound friendship for the Chinese people. President Kim II Sung and the other comrades on the Korean Party and Government Delegation will leave us and return home tomorrow. We request Comrade President Kim II Sung to convey to the Korean Workers’ Party, the Government of the Democratic People’s Republic of Korea and the fraternal Korean people, the best wishes and the most cordial greetings of the Chinese Communist Party and the Chinese Government and people and assure them that the Chinese people will, as always, unswervingly stand by the heroic Korean people in their cause of socialist revolution and socialist construction and their struggle against imperialist aggression and interference and for the independent and peaceful reunification of their fatherland. No matter what storms may arise in the world, the Chinese and Korean peoples will for ever unite closely, fight shoulder to shoulder and advance together.
A Great Victory of World Significance

—Warmly congratulating the south Vietnamese armed forces and people on liberation of Saigon

“Renmin Ribao” editorial

STRIKING with the momentum of an avalanche and the force of a thunderbolt on April 30, 1975, the heroic South Viet Nam Liberation Armed Forces liberated Saigon at one stroke in their victorious advance to punish the south Viet Nam puppet clique severely for violating the Paris agreement. Collapsing instantly, the Saigon puppet regime is finished. The people greet liberation with hilarious joy. The liberation of Saigon signifies the great historic victory won by the Vietnamese people in their struggle for liberation and opens a new epoch in this struggle. This is a great event of world significance in the 1970s. With boundless joy, the Chinese people extend their warmest congratulations and loftiest respects to the fraternal Vietnamese people.

The Vietnamese people are a heroic people, the Vietnamese nation is a great nation. To achieve independence and liberation, they carried on a protracted and indomitable struggle against imperialism for the last dozens of years. For more than the last 10 years in particular, the south Vietnamese people, holding aloft President Ho Chi Minh’s glorious banner of “firm resolve to fight and to win” and under the leadership of the South Viet Nam National Front for Liberation and the Provisional Revolutionary Government of the Republic of South Viet Nam, waged a heroic and tenacious struggle against U.S. imperialism and its lackeys and finally won a great victory in the war against U.S. aggression and for national salvation by bringing into full play dauntless heroism and unswerving revolutionary spirit, persisting in independence, sovereignty and self-reliance, and persevering in protracted people’s war. The Vietnamese people’s victory is an impressive song of victory of people’s war and a glorious example of the people of a small country resisting and defeating the aggression of a big imperialist power in the period after World War II. It has not only made a great contribution to the cause of solidarity against imperialism by the people of the third world and in the whole world, but also vigorously inspired and promoted the revolutionary struggle of all oppressed nations and oppressed peoples throughout the world. Its illustrious merits will be recorded in the glorious history of the world’s national-liberation struggle. The new and rich experience of struggle it provides has great historical and international significance.

The south Vietnamese people’s victory is a great victory for perseverance in protracted armed struggle. At different times, U.S. imperialism launched the most brutal “special warfare” and “local war” in south Viet Nam and carried out so-called “Vietnamization of the war,” etc., in an attempt to force the south Vietnamese people to submit. In the face of the ferocious enemy, President Ho Chi Minh, the great leader of the Vietnamese people, called on the armed forces and people of Viet Nam to “fight perseveringly, harder and without let-up,” and “so long as there remains a single aggressor on our land, we still must fight on to sweep him away.” With the powerful backing of their compatriots in the north, the south Vietnamese people who were mobilized on the most extensive scale threw themselves into the just war against U.S. aggression and for national salvation, fighting shoulder to shoulder and united as one. No matter how frantic the enemy and no matter how hard the circumstances, the south Vietnamese people were always full of confidence in victory. Advancing indomitably wave upon wave, they fought persistently for more than ten years on end. This is rare in the history of the world’s national-liberation movement. Through perseverance in protracted people’s war and gradual accumulation of strength in this way, the south Vietnamese people grew from small to big, from weak to strong, and won complete victory.

The great victory of the Vietnamese people has proved once again that what is decisive for victory or defeat in war is the people and their feelings, and not sophisticated weapons. No up-to-date weapons can save imperialism and the reactionaries. In its war of aggression in Viet Nam, U.S. imperialism spent hundreds of billions of dollars and used all kinds of sophisticated arms except nuclear arms, including
laser-guided bombs, toxic chemicals and depression bombs. Defying difficulty and sacrifice, the Vietnamese people fighting for justice brought into full play the spirit of lofty revolutionary heroism and fired bullets of hatred from every corner of south Viet Nam, with every person becoming a fighter swearing to wipe out the enemy. The graveyard of the U.S. aggressors and their lackeys was everywhere whether in hilly areas, forests or plains, enemy-controlled cities or remote villages. The U.S. aggressors and their stooges were swamped in the vast ocean of people's war and suffered complete defeat.

The south Vietnamese people not only dare to struggle, they are also good at waging struggles. They have persistently used revolutionary dual tactics against counter-revolutionary dual tactics and thus remained invincible. Basing themselves on armed struggle, they struck hard at the enemy on the battlefield and carried out a principled struggle at the negotiation table. The Paris agreement signed in 1973 is an important victory for the Vietnamese people. But they know that the nature of imperialism and reactionaries will never change and that they will not lay down their butcher's knives and immediately become Buddhas even if there is an agreement. Therefore, holding fast to their arms and maintaining high vigilance, the Vietnamese people launched resolute and powerful counter-attacks against the enemy's crimes of violating the Paris agreement, refusing national concord and wildly massacring the people, and guided the struggle through to victory in line with its course of development.

The south Vietnamese people's victory is another proof that a just cause is invincible because it enjoys abundant support while an unjust cause has little support. The Vietnamese people's struggle won the sympathy and support of all justice-upholding countries in the world, and enjoyed the solidarity and assistance of the people throughout the world, including the American people. The people of the world rejoice at every victory won by the Vietnamese people, but show strong indignation and condemnation at every stop the United States took for aggression in Viet Nam. The victory of the Vietnamese people is a common victory for the Indochinese peoples in their united struggle and a common victory for the people of the third world and the whole world as well.

At present, the world is undergoing a profound and sharp change. The historical trend in which countries want independence, nations want liberation, and the people want revolution, is surging forward vigorously. The people of the world are awakening and growing in strength in the upheaval. The two superpowers are running into snags everywhere in the world in the pursuit of their policies of aggression and expansion. Bent with difficulties at home and abroad and besieged ring upon ring by the world's people, they are declining steadily. One superpower is trying desperately to secure its position. The other superpower, which carries the signboard of "socialism," is also in an awkward predicament, but is burning with ambition and engaging in frantic expansion, fully revealing its ugly features of social-imperialism. The situation is becoming more and more favourable to the people of the world and unfavourable to the superpowers. The great victories of the Indochinese peoples have brought about a new situation. Indochina belongs to the Indochinese peoples and not to the reactionaries, still less to the imperialists. Nobody and no force can stop the victorious advance of the Vietnamese people and the other peoples of Indochina.

China and Viet Nam are neighbours as closely related as the lips and the teeth. The Chinese and Vietnamese peoples are brothers sharing weal and woe. In the protracted revolutionary struggles, the people of our two countries have always sympathized with, supported and encouraged each other and have forged a profound militant friendship. Our two peoples are "of the same family" and "both comrades and brothers." The struggle and victory of the Vietnamese people are powerful support and tremendous encouragement to the Chinese people. The friendship between us is long tested and unbreakable. In the future, we will, as always, firmly support the just struggle of the Vietnamese people. We profoundly believe that an independent, free, united and prosperous new Viet Nam will certainly come into being.

(May 1)
Statement of the Government of the People’s Republic of China

April 29, 1975

RECENTLY the Indian Government, in disregard of the strong opposition of the people and Chogyal of Sikkim, brazenly sent its troops to forcibly disband the palace guards of the Chogyal of Sikkim and directed the Sikkimese traitors it long nurtured to come forward and stage at the point of Indian bayonets a farce of so-called “referendum” requesting the deposition of the Chogyal and turning of Sikkim into a state of India. Now, the Indian parliament has passed a resolution “legalizing” the annexation of Sikkim. It is indeed presumptuous to the extreme for the Indian Government to swallow up a neighbouring country in so flagrant a fashion today, in the 70s of the 20th century. The Chinese Government and people express their utmost indignation and strong condemnation against this expansionist action on the part of the Indian Government.

The Indian Government long harboured an ambition to annex Sikkim. It brutally trampled on Sikkim’s sovereignty all along. It used force to impose on the Sikkimese people the status of a “protectorate.” Taking one step further, it used its puppets to forge “popular will” and turned Sikkim into a so-called “associate state” of India. Now, it has resorted outright to complete annexation. It has outdone old-line colonialism in arrogance and in the viliness of tactics. This has fully exposed the ugly features of Indian expansionism which attempts to play the supreme lord in South Asia. The Chinese Government solemnly states once again that it absolutely does not recognize India’s illegal annexation of Sikkim and firmly supports the people of Sikkim in their just struggle for national independence and in defence of state sovereignty against Indian expansionism.

Inheriting the mantle of colonialism, Indian expansionism has, over the past 20 and more years, indulged in the fond dream of a Great Indian Empire and been subjecting neighbouring countries to its control, interference, subversion and bullying. In recent years, in particular, the Indian Government has further swelled its expansionist ambitions. Flaunting the banner of “supporting national liberation,” it brazenly dismembered Pakistan. It arbitrarily described the Kashmir dispute as its “domestic problem” and wilfully deprived the Kashmir people of their right to self-determination. Now, on the pretext of instituting “democracy,” it has carried out undisguised annexation of Sikkim. It must be pointed out that it is owing to the instigation and vigorous support of Soviet revisionist social-imperialism that Indian expansionism has dared to act so wantonly and truculently in defiance of universal condemnation. Throughout the process of the Indian Government’s annexation of Sikkim, Soviet revisionist social-imperialism has set its propaganda machine in motion to give constant cheers. This is ample proof that Soviet revisionist social-imperialism is the behind-the-scenes boss of Indian expansionism and that it is the main threat to the independence and sovereignty of the South Asian countries and the most dangerous enemy of the people in South Asia.

The fact that India has annexed Sikkim so hastily with Soviet support sounds an alarm for India’s other neighbouring countries. Sikkim today, whose turn tomorrow? Therefore, it is necessary to severely condemn the despicable and shameless acts committed in collusion by Indian expansionism and Soviet revisionist hegemonism. We believe that the people of the South Asian countries will certainly heighten their vigilance, strengthen their unity and persevere in struggle in defence of their independence and sovereignty.

The Sikkimese people ardently love independence. They have never stopped their resistance and struggle against Indian expansionism. In recent years, they have continued to persist in courageous struggle against the Indian threat of force. The Chogyal of Sikkim has repeatedly stated that he does not recognize India’s illegal action of annexing Sikkim and firmly upholds Sikkim’s “identity and international status.” The Sikkimese people are a great people with backbone. Their struggle is a just one which has won the profound sympathy and resolute support of the people of numerous third world countries, the Indian people included. The Chinese Government and people will, as always, firmly stand on the side of the Sikkimese people, and we are convinced that victory will surely belong to the Sikkimese people no matter how many hardships and setbacks they may have to encounter. In the end, Indian expansionism and its backer will be severely punished by history.

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Statement of Chinese Ministry of Foreign Affairs
April 29, 1975

THE Provisional Revolutionary Government of the Republic of South Viet Nam and the Government of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam, in their respective statements of April 26 and 27, 1975 on the present situation in south Viet Nam, reiterated that the U.S. Government must strictly implement the Paris agreement, completely cease all its military involvement and all its intervention in south Viet Nam and respect the Vietnamese people's basic national rights and the south Vietnamese people's right to self-determination and pointed out that the Saigon administration and all its machinery for waging war and repressing the people must be abolished. This gives full expression to the iron will and common desire of the entire Vietnamese people. The Chinese Government and people express firm support for this.

Abetted and backed by the United States, the Saigon administration grossly violated the Agreement on Ending the War and Restoring Peace in Viet Nam from the day it was signed. It never ceased making military attacks on the liberated areas, obstinately opposing the realization of national concord and frantically repressing and massacring the south Vietnamese people. Driven beyond the limits of forbearance, the patriotic armymen and civilians in south Viet Nam rose up to strongly rebuff and severely punish the Saigon administration for its above-mentioned crimes and won brilliant victories. The Chinese Government and people firmly support the south Vietnamese people's just struggle and warmly congratulate them on their great victories.

Under the heavy blows of the south Vietnamese people, the Saigon administration is now tightly besieged and on the verge of complete collapse. Not resigned to defeat, the United States and its lackeys, while putting up a desperate struggle militarily, are rigging up a Nguyen Van Thieu administration without Thieu in an attempt to play for time and deceive public opinion at home and abroad. However, the present situation in south Viet Nam clearly shows that any and all scheming tricks of U.S. imperialism and its lackeys will be futile and can never succeed.

The south Vietnamese people's struggle to defend their basic national rights and realize their right to self-determination is an entirely just struggle, which enjoys extensive sympathy and support among all peoples of the world. Now, the patriotic armymen and civilians of south Viet Nam are marching forward in their valiant struggle for the total overthrow of the reactionary Saigon regime and the complete liberation of south Viet Nam. We are firmly convinced that the Vietnamese people's just struggle to win peace, independence, democracy and national concord and then advance to the peaceful reunification of their motherland will be crowned with complete victory.

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Greetings to the 5th Anniversary of Summit Conference
Of Indochinese Peoples

Indochina Belongs to the Indochinese Peoples

THE glorious 5th anniversary of the Summit Conference of the Indochinese Peoples has come at a time when the situation is excellent in the three Indochinese countries where the peoples are fighting in unity and advancing in triumph, when the Cambodian people have liberated Phnom Penh and are celebrating the great victory amidst a song of triumph, and when news of victory keeps spreading from south Viet Nam and the puppet Saigon regime is crumbling. The Chinese people, with the profound feeling of comrades-in-arms and brothers, extend their high respects and warm congratulations to the heroic peoples of the three Indochinese countries.

A meeting of unity, militancy and victory, the Summit Conference of the Indochinese Peoples of five years
Chinese Leaders’ Message of Greetings

CHU Teh, Chairman of the Standing Committee of the National People’s Congress of the People’s Republic of China, and Chou En-lai, Premier of the State Council, on April 24 sent a message of greetings to the leaders of the four parties of the three countries—Cambodia, Laos and Viet Nam—Samdech Norodom Sihanouk, Samdech Pennouth, Mr. Khieu Samphan, Prince Souphanouvong, President Nguyen Huu Tho, President Huynh Tan Phat, President Ton Duc Thang and Premier Pham Van Dong. The message reads:

“On the occasion of the 5th anniversary of the Summit Conference of the Indochinese Peoples, we would like to extend, on behalf of Chairman Mao Ts’ueh, the Government of the People’s Republic of China and the Chinese people, our warm congratulations and high salute to you and, through you, to the heroic peoples of Cambodia, Laos and Viet Nam.

“Inspired by the spirit of the Joint Statement of the historic Summit Conference of the Indochinese Peoples, the heroic Cambodian, Lao and Vietnamese peoples, uniting closely, supporting one another, working in co-ordination and fighting in concert, have over the past five years won brilliant victories in their just struggle against U.S. aggression and for national salvation, thus making valuable contributions to the anti-imperialist cause of the oppressed nations and peoples in Asia and the whole world and setting brilliant examples of united struggle against imperialism.

“At present, inspiring changes are taking place in the situation in Indochina. The Cambodian people, after five years of courageous fighting, have thoroughly defeated the traitorous Lon Nol clique, won the great victory of their just war of national salvation and advanced their national-liberation struggle to a new historical stage. The patriotic armymen and civilians in south Viet Nam have mounted a valiant counter-attack against Nguyen Van Thieu clique’s criminal acts of violating the Paris agreement and perversely continuing the war and won very great victories. The people in north Viet Nam have continuously achieved outstanding successes in rehabilitating and developing the economy and building socialism. The Lao people have waged an unrelenting struggle for the thorough implementation of the Vientiane agreement and its protocol, the realization of the 18-point political programme and the consolidation and building up of the liberated areas and won new successes. The development of the situation in Indochina is a vivid proof that countries want independence, nations want liberation, and the people want revolution—this historical tide is surging ahead irresistibly. Imperialism and its lackeys cannot check the triumphant advance of the people’s revolutionary cause, no matter how they may carry out sabotage and make trouble. Indochina belongs to the three Indochinese peoples. The just cause of the Indochinese peoples will certainly be victorious.

“China and the three Indochinese countries are linked by mountains and rivers and closely related like the lips to the teeth. The Chinese people and the three Indochinese peoples are brothers and comrades-in-arms sharing weal and woe. We have always considered it our bounden internationalist duty to support and aid the Indochinese peoples in their revolutionary struggle. Your great victories are a source of tremendous encouragement to the Chinese people’s revolutionary cause. Following Chairman Mao’s teachings, the Chinese people will, as always, firmly support the just struggle of the three Indochinese peoples until complete and thorough victory is won.”

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have won a brilliant victory pronouncing the complete bankruptcy of the U.S. imperialist policy of aggression in Indochina, greatly heightened the morale of the revolutionary people and deflated the arrogance of imperialism. The victory has set a shining example for the struggle of the world’s peoples against foreign aggression and in defence of national independence and made a great contribution to the revolutionary cause of the oppressed nations and oppressed peoples.

Indochina has now entered a new historical period. The development and growth of the national liberation forces are faster than expected, as are the defeat and collapse of imperialism and its lackeys. The Cambodian people have won a nationwide victory today in their just struggle for national salvation. Similarly, the south Vietnamese people have won tremendous victories in their heroic counter-attack against the Nguyen Van Thieu clique’s criminal acts of violating the Paris agreement and perversely continuing the war. The Lao people are successfully defending the fruits of national independence and national concord. In dire confusion, the U.S. aggressors are moaning helplessly. Some U.S. lackeys, fleeing helter-skelter, have become the garbage of history; panic-stricken, some have ended up in a tight spot. No matter what last-ditch struggles will be put up by imperialism and its lackeys, they cannot escape the fate of complete defeat.

The reason for the rapid development of the situation in Indochina is that the Indochinese peoples have cast away blind faith in imperialism and dared to wage a tit-for-tat struggle against it. Years ago, the arrogant and truculent U.S. aggressors spent large amounts of U.S. dollars to arm over one million puppet troops, resorted to all kinds of sophisticated weapons except nuclear ones, and went so far as to send hundreds of thousands of U.S. troops to invade Indochina. But confronted with the struggle of the Indochinese peoples who have a staunch revolutionary spirit and dauntless heroism, the colossus of U.S. imperialism can do nothing. In extremely difficult conditions, the Indochinese peoples have neither been cowed by the enemy’s threat of force, nor duped by his political deceptions. With great determination, they have marched firmly towards their sacred goal of driving out the aggressors and overthrowing the traitors, thus, tipping the scales greatly in favour of the Indochinese peoples. The Indochinese peoples’ practice in struggle has proved that it is not the peoples of Viet Nam, Cambodia and Laos who are afraid of imperialism, but vice versa.

The solid unity of the Indochinese peoples is a vital factor in defeating their common enemy, U.S. imperialism and its lackeys. Sharing the same fate and facing the common enemy, they have a very firm basis to unite as one against the enemy. In their just struggle against U.S. aggression and for national salvation in the last five years, they have fought shoulder to shoulder and supported one another in close co-ordination, forming a powerful force which struck terror into the hearts of the imperialists. The strength of unity of more than 50 million Indochinese peoples is both invincible and un conquerable. Facts once again have eloquently proved that so long as the oppressed nations and oppressed peoples unite and fight shoulder to shoulder, they are bound to win great victories in their struggle against imperialism, colonialism and hegemonism.

At present, the international situation is excellent and the basic contradictions in the world are intensifying. The people of all countries are advancing victoriously in their struggles. The tidal wave of the third world’s struggle against imperialism, colonialism and hegemonism is rising continuously. The two superpowers, which have committed all sorts of evil and foul deeds in the world, are faced with a more difficult situation and find themselves in an increasingly dire predicament. More and more people have seen through the shameful features of that superpower which, under the signboard of “socialism,” betrays the cause of revolutionary struggle of the peoples and pursues the imperialist policy of expansion. Its clumsy performance in regard to the question of Cambodia is a stark self-exposure. Current developments are very favourable to the Indochinese peoples. No force can stop the victorious advance of the long-tested and united Indochinese peoples though they still face arduous fighting tasks. The lofty aims set by the Summit Conference of the Indochinese Peoples must be and will be attained.

China and the three Indochinese countries are close neighbours linked by mountains and rivers. The Chinese and the Indochinese peoples are dear comrades-in-arms and brothers. We have forged a profound militant friendship in the protracted revolutionary struggle against imperialism throughout which we have always sympathized with, supported and encouraged each other. The Chinese people heartily rejoice in the victories of the peoples of the three Indochinese countries as in their own. The struggle and victory of the Indochinese peoples are a powerful support and tremendous encouragement to the Chinese people in their socialist revolution and socialist construction. Following the consistent teachings of Chairman Mao Tsetung, the Chinese people will, as in the past, always stand by the fraternal peoples of the three Indochinese countries and resolutely support their just struggle until complete victory.

("Renmin Ribao" editorial, April 25)
Press Communiqué of Cambodian Special National Congress

AFTER the Cambodian people had achieved the great victory in their nationwide liberation a Special National Congress of Cambodia was held between April 25 and 27 under the chairmanship of Khieu Samphan, Deputy Prime Minister and Minister of National Defence of the Royal Government of National Union of Cambodia, and Commander-in-Chief of the People's Armed Forces of National Liberation of Cambodia. The Special National Congress of Cambodia was attended by the representatives of Cambodian mass organizations, the three categories of the People's Armed Forces of National Liberation of Cambodia, Buddhists, the National United Front of Cambodia and the Royal Government of National Union of Cambodia.

Signed by Deputy Prime Minister Khieu Samphan, the press communiqué published on April 28 announced the following decisions made by the congress:

1. The Special National Congress holds that this great historic victory is due to the great solidarity of the whole nation under the banner of the great unity of the National United Front of Cambodia. Concerning this great unity, the congress was unanimous as to the important role of the people, especially the broad masses of workers, poor peasants, lower-middle peasants, as well as other labourers of various strata in the countryside and cities, who account for over 95 per cent of the population of the nation of Cambodia and who shouldered the heaviest burdens in the war for national and popular liberation, made the greatest sacrifices in life, property and sentiments, always serving the front without respite, and sending without hesitation their husbands, sons and grandsons to the frontlines in the hundreds of thousands. Together with the great sacrifices by the masses of the poor people, great sacrifices were made by the three categories of the People's Armed Forces of National Liberation of Cambodia which fought valiantly day and night, in all seasons, dry or rainy, enduring all kinds of hardships and sufferings, lacking food, medicine, clothing, munitions and other necessities in the struggle against U.S. imperialism — the biggest, most ferocious and most barbarous imperialism in the world. Therefore, this great historic victory is due to the great solidarity of the whole nation. But the Special National Congress particularly stressed the important role of the masses of the poor people and their sons and daughters — the People's Armed Forces of National Liberation of Cambodia.

2. The Special National Congress genuinely represents the will and interests of the whole nation and people. In accordance with the opinion of all the participants at the congress, and taking into consideration the extremely heavy and incomparable tasks confronting the Cambodian people and the People's Armed Forces of National Liberation of Cambodia in the struggle for national and popular liberation, the Special National Congress declares solemnly that it recognizes and respects the demands of all the Cambodian people and the P.A.F.N.L.C. for an independent, peaceful, neutral, sovereign, non-aligned Cambodia with territorial integrity, that lives in a national community where real happiness, equality, justice and democracy reign, where the poor and the rich, the exploiting and the exploited strata no longer exist, a society where all the people live in peace and harmony and in the great unity of the nation, where all the inhabitants work, engage in production, build and defend the motherland.

3. In regard to Samdech Norodom Sihanouk, Head of State of Cambodia and Chairman of the National United Front of Cambodia, the Special National Congress unanimously considers him as an eminent patriotic personage who has made active contributions to the national struggle of Cambodia. Therefore, the Special National Congress confirms that Samdech Norodom Sihanouk will remain Head of State and Chairman of the National United Front of Cambodia in the new historic stage and in the new society of Cambodia.

In regard to Samdech Penn Nouth, the Special National Congress also unanimously holds that he is an eminent patriotic personage who has made active contributions to the national struggle of Cambodia. That is why the Special National Congress is also unanimous in confirming that he retains the posts of the Prime Minister of the Royal Government of National Union of Cambodia and Chairman of the Central Committee (Political Bureau) of the National United Front of Cambodia in the new historic stage and in the new society of Cambodia.

As for other patriotic personages who have made contributions to the struggle for national liberation, the Special National Congress has decided that they will be rewarded in conformity with their concrete contributions and their qualifications.

4. Concerning foreign policy, the Special National Congress reiterates that Cambodia will firmly adhere to a policy of independence, peace, neutrality and non-alignment, absolutely not permitting any foreign country to install military bases in Cambodia, resolutely opposing all foreign intervention in the internal affairs

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of Cambodia, and vigorously opposing all foreign subversion and aggression against Cambodia, no matter whether the subversion and aggression are military, political, economic, cultural, social, diplomatic or in the form of so-called “humanitarianism.” Cambodia will not interfere in the internal affairs of other countries in any way, and will not engage in aggression and subversion against other countries. She will fully respect the principle according to which each nation enjoys complete sovereignty and the right to decide by itself its domestic affairs. Meanwhile, Cambodia will make every effort to strengthen solidarity with people in Asia, Africa, Latin America, the people all over the world as well as with the American people who cherish peace and justice so as to support each other in the struggle against imperialism, old and new colonialism and for genuine national independence, peace, democracy, justice and progress in the world.

Visit to the Phnom Penh Front

by Chinese Journalists Delegation

A Chinese Journalists Delegation visited the liberated areas in Cambodia for two weeks on the eve of the liberation of Phnom Penh. Headed by Hsieh Wen-ching, leading member of the International News Department of Hsinhua, the delegation interviewed commanders and fighters on the Phnom Penh and Mekong fronts and other battlefields and heroic army units which had repeatedly performed meritorious deeds in the liberation war. The delegation also went to old revolutionary base areas which have a glorious tradition in the struggle.

Below is the first article written by the delegation. — “P.R.” Ed.

W

E visited the Phnom Penh front on the eve of its liberation. We saw the spectacular scenes of the Cambodian people on the verge of a great victory which has since become the focus of world attention. We witnessed the birth of a people's new Cambodia amid the flames of war.

Booming guns greeted our arrival on the outskirts of Phnom Penh after we had driven past isolated enemy strongholds in the dusk and crossed the enemy defence line shattered by the People's Armed Forces of National Liberation of Cambodia. Like comrades-in-arms after a long separation, we were received by the commanders of the people's armed forces with extraordinary warmth.

At Just the Right Moment

We were immediately impressed by a sense of certainty in the victory of the war as soon as we arrived at the command post. In a happy mood, Commander of the front Son Sen told us: “Comrades. You came at just the right moment. Phnom Penh will be taken soon. You will be the first foreign delegation and also the last ever to come to the Phnom Penh front, for before long we shall be receiving foreign friends in the city of Phnom Penh.” Pointing to the Cambodian comrades present and several cottages nearby, he continued: “You are welcome! Here is our entire command post!”

A brief but cordial introduction by the commander gave us a deep sense of admiration for our warmhearted hosts and this simple command post near Phnom Penh. With the liberation of Phnom Penh in sight, we were overjoyed and honoured to be able to meet the men commanding the greatest decisive battle in the history of the Cambodian people's struggle, to witness the Cambodian people and their armed forces valiantly fighting for the capture of Phnom Penh, and to share the joy of the great victory of the Cambodian people. Commander Son Sen's talk on the battle of Phnom Penh, the red tacks on the map showing the people's armed forces closing in on Phnom Penh, and the panic shouts of enemy troops over walkie-talkies left us in no doubt that victory was swiftly dawning on the whole of Cambodia.

Everything around us radiated victory. The day following our arrival at the front, Commander Son Sen and Deputy Commander Thoueck and other leaders accompanied us on a tour of the battlefield. They also went with us to visit some heroic units which had distinguished themselves in the battle around Phnom Penh and to see some field hospitals. In broad daylight we drove freely less than 20 kilometres from Phnom Penh, literally under the nose of the enemy. This showed that the enemy was completely paralysed by the powerful offensives of the people's armed forces.

Tour of the Battlefield

The vehicles we rode in were American jeeps painted with the figure “7.” They had been captured when the puppet 7th division was wiped out in Basset during the new year offensive by the people's armed forces.
On the trip, Deputy Commander Touch took out a map printed in the United States and gave us an account of the military situation on the Phnom Penh front, while drawing arrows pointing to Phnom Penh with a red pencil. "After the puppet 7th division and seven reinforcement brigades were wiped out," he said, "we cut the enemy defence line from Basset to Prek Phnom and destroyed 97 per cent of the enemy strongholds on the line. We thus broke open the gate to Phnom Penh and thrust into the heart of the enemy's positions, separating and encircling his small strongholds. Now we're shelling Pochentong Airport, the only passegeway to Phnom Penh, from five directions and the next step is to attack the city itself."

Pointing to the map, he said with a broad smile: "Before, we had to bring many big maps with us. They were very inconvenient. But now, this small topographical map of Phnom Penh and its surrounding areas is enough, because we are fighting in such a small area."

After a pause, he went on: "The enemy in Phnom Penh is running out of ammunition and food. But they are trying to drag on to the rainy season and to surreptitiously bring in something through the Mekong River. They are simply daydreaming! The only way out for them now is to surrender."

Powerful Offensives

The enemy in Phnom Penh met their doom on April 17 when the people's armed forces overwhelmed them and liberated the city at one stroke. The remaining enemy troops surrendered in compliance with the order of the command of the people's armed forces.

At the Phnom Penh front, we met many of the architects of the victory. It is our strong feeling that the Cambodian people's victory is no accident. It is a victory for people's war, a victory for the correct military line and correct strategy and tactics, and a victory for the revolutionary heroism of the commanders and fighters.

Since New Year's Day, the patriotic Cambodian armed forces and people, on the basis of victories already won, launched powerful and concerted offensives on three battlefronts — the lower reaches of the Mekong River, the areas around Phnom Penh and a number of provincial capitals temporarily controlled by the enemy. The Mekong front choked off Phnom Penh's links with Saigon. On the provincial capital front, the enemy was tied down, dispersed and besieged. These two battlefronts provided powerful co-ordination for operations on the Phnom Penh front.

The people's armed forces that had planned to attack and capture in a month's time two enemy strategic strongholds south of Neak Luong, from which the Mekong could be easily blocked, achieved their objective in only four days. Meanwhile, the heroic commanders and fighters of the people's armed forces wiped out all enemy troops on the lower reaches of the Mekong and took control of over 70 kilometres of the river. This was followed by a fierce attack resulting in the liberation of the militarily important towns of Neak Luong and Ba Nam on April 1. The 100-kilometre waterway on the Mekong's lower reaches was thus completely controlled. The cutting of the Mekong left thetraitorous Phnom Penh clique entirely dependent on U.S. "emergency" airlifts and airdrops which could hardly meet the army's grain, ammunition and fuel needs. Furthermore, Pochentong Airport had been within artillery range of the people's armed forces for a long time. By the time we reached the Phnom Penh front, the U.S. airlift through Pochentong Airport had been halted seven times.

Since the new year offensives began, the enemy had hastily massed forces on the Phnom Penh front in an attempt to hold its lair. But at this point the people's armed forces, to the surprise of the enemy, made a powerful attack on the Mekong front and won splendid victories. While the enemy turned attention to the Mekong front, the people's armed forces mounted a strong attack on the Phnom Penh front. Launching simultaneous and closely co-ordinated attacks on three fronts while directing their main thrust against important sectors, the people's armed forces sent the enemy reeling in a double squeeze.

The people's armed forces made their heaviest ever shelling on Pochentong Airport on the day of our arrival at the Phnom Penh front. Cutting communication lines.
HISTORIC VICTORY OF

All of Cambodia was liberated on April 19. This great victory was won by the heroic Cambodian people and their armed forces through five full years of national-liberation war by rallying around the National United Front of Cambodia with Samdech Norodom Sihanouk as Chairman.
THE CAMBODIAN PEOPLE

Enemy oil tanker on the Mekong River near Neak Lueng bursting into flames.

Armoured cars pressing on towards Phnom Penh.

Women fighters.

Liberated area peasants transplanting rice sprouts.

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and blocking food and ammunition supplies sealed the enemy's doom.

Makers of the Victory

Commanders and fighters displayed a high sense of discipline and the revolutionary spirit of sacrifice in the new year general offensives. On the Phnom Penh front, when the fighters of a special force which had fired the first shot in the offensives attacked two enemy strategic strongholds near Besat Mountain on the night of January 1, their presence was detected in the moonlight. Enemy aircraft, guns, and tanks immediately peppered them with explosive and incendiary bombs. Defying all hardship and danger, the liberation fighters continued to advance heroically, breaking through four mine areas and two rows of barbed-wire entanglements and finally occupying the enemy position in the appointed time. They held their position despite frenzied enemy counter-attacks. The liberation forces suffered some casualties. Political Commissar Pat and Battalion Commander Chhon were seriously wounded. A company commander led the liberation fighters in continuing the heroic fight and overrunning the second enemy stronghold.

Following this, a third stronghold was taken after dawn. Their bravery contributed to the victory on the entire front. When we visited Political Commissar Pat, he told us about this operation with pride. "With revolutionary spirit, fighting determination and a discipline based on political consciousness, we can overcome the biggest difficulty and accomplish the most arduous task," he said.

A women's detachment, founded October 8, 1972, was active on the Phnom Penh front. Ever since, this red detachment of women did a good job in the war—attacking enemy convoys, storming enemy strongholds, defending their positions, protecting communication lines, transporting food and ammunition, and helping with air defence. We heard many commanding officers praise the heroic deeds of this unit. But the political commissar of the detachment told us modestly: "We have done nothing outstanding. Our heroic deeds belong to the collective and our victory is the result of collective heroism."

We also visited the first armoured unit of the people's armed forces. It had been formed by using arms and tanks captured from the enemy, two of its tanks being captured in a battle near Kompong Luong last year.

The first attack by the unit on the enemy on February 16 resulted in victory. After storming an enemy post and wiping out part of the troops there, it headed for a second. As it neared the post, enemy soldiers were yelling: "What kind of noise is this? Doesn't it sound like the rumbling of tanks?" A snarling puppet troop commander answered them: "No, they're not tanks, but camouflaged ox-carts. Take a look. The ox-carts are covered with tarpaulin. How can they have any tanks?"

The enemy could never believe that the people's armed forces already had their own tank unit. So when the tanks were storming the enemy position, a group of applauding puppet troops came out to welcome them. The fighters of the people's tank unit ordered the puppet troops to put up their hands, and this was taken by them as a joke by their own tank drivers and replied to with the password "No. 93." At the moment when the enemy soldiers noisily came round to see what was happening, the fighters of the people's armed forces threw hand-grenades from a tank and killed seven or eight puppet troops, and then with gunfire mowed down many others when they were fleeing in panic.

This armoured unit won another battle on March 15. In an interview with the commander of the unit who directed the battle from the first tank and the driver of the second, we were told that neither had ever seen a tank before, let alone using one in battle. Twenty-year-old Pat Rang is from a family of poor peasants and did not even know how to ride a bicycle. When he was assigned the task of driving a tank on February 9, he spent two hours learning driving from a truck driver. Then he practised by himself for six days before he took part in the February 16 operation. He told us: "At the beginning, I could hardly control the tank. It just staggered along. But when I thought that I was carrying out a glorious task assigned by the leadership, I gathered the courage and was firmly determined to carry it out well."

This shows the people's armed forces are steeled and grow up in the flames of war. Thanks to the armed forces which fight in the interests of the people and enjoy their support, the great victory of the liberation of Phnom Penh and of the whole of Cambodia has been won.

A New Page

This great historic victory has been won by the heroic Cambodian people after five years of strenuous fighting. The Cambodian people have been mobilized under the slogan "Everything for the front, and everything for victory." We witnessed on the Phnom Penh front many moving scenes of the people's war—youngsters standing guard, gun in hand, young women peasants carrying wounded soldiers on stretchers, a noted Cambodian surgeon operating on a wounded fighter in a field hospital, transport teams bringing military supplies to the front and mutual-aid teams in the countryside busy building water conservancy networks for producing more grain to support the front. A commander of the people's armed forces told us: The peasants are digging irrigation canals in the wake of our advancing troops. Dams are being built just over 10 kilometres from Phnom Penh.

The people are the true bastion of iron, the source of victory and the motive force in the making of history. With their successes in battle, the heroic Cambodian people are adding a new chapter to the history of their country.

Peking Review, No. 18
European Press Marks Anti-Fascist War Victory

Albania. In an April 6 article on the 38th anniversary of Italian fascist aggression against Albania, the paper Zeri i Popullit refuted the Soviet revisionist distortion of history in belittling the Albanian people's liberation struggle.

It said: "Today Soviet revisionist politicians, militarymen and historians are shamelessly trying to distort the historical truth by presenting the Albanian people's anti-fascist national liberation war as a partisans' war, claiming that the struggle of the Soviet Union was the sole decisive factor in Albania's liberation. Without the Albanian people's anti-fascist national liberation war led by the Communist Party of Albania, Albania's future as a completely independent and sovereign country and the triumph of people's revolution would have been impossible. The whole world knows the Albanian people's anti-fascist national liberation war assumed the character of a general armed uprising in the heat of which the National Liberation Army emerged and was organized as a regular revolutionary people's army able to liberate the country without the need of direct aid by the entry of the armies of the Soviet Union and other countries into Albania itself."

The article pointed out that Albania did not deny nor underestimate outside factors, the role and important significance of the struggle of other anti-fascist people, first of all that of the Soviet people and the Red Army led by Stalin. But, the article said, "the Albanian people have the lawful right to speak proudly about their great and heroic struggle and their great contribution as an active participant in the struggle of other anti-fascist peoples in the triumph over Nazi-fascism."

The article said in conclusion: At present the U.S. imperialists and the Soviet social-imperialists every day are concocting plans and plotting a new war against the freedom and independence of the peoples. They are propelling the world towards new bloodshed. It is therefore necessary to smash the sinister plans and plots of the two superpowers which are directed against the peoples. The Albanian people have heightened their revolutionary vigilance more than ever before.

Scintela's March 28 editorial stressed the Romanian people's contributions to the victory of the anti-fascist war and pointed out: "In the 1977 war, the Romanian people won the independence of their motherland not through any diplomatic bestowal but martyrdom on the battlefield."

In its March 30 editorial, Scintela said: "The motherland's freedom and independence were won by the Romanian people themselves. This vividly testifies to the role of the Romanian people in conscientiously shaping their fate and their ability to determine the course of history. The independence of the Romanian nation is not a gift from abroad, nor is it due to the generosity of anybody, nor the result of diplomats' talks. It results from the people's own struggle."

In its April 8 editorial, the paper said that the Romanian Communist Party has stressed that it is wrong to oppose, in one form or another, internationalism against the efforts to defend national interests.

Yugoslavia. In a commentary on March 27, the Yugoslav news agency Tanjug refuted allegations made by Soviet brasshat Ivan Yakubovsky, Supreme Commander of the Unified Armed Forces of the Warsaw Treaty States, to belittle the Yugoslav people's role in the anti-fascist liberation struggle.

The commentary said that Yakubovsky recently contributed a lengthy article to a Czechoslovak paper on the occasion of the 50th anniversary of the victory over fascism, in which he wrote: "Only when the Red Army entered the occupied countries did the liberation movements led by the Communist and Workers' Parties there make progress."

It pointed out that Yakubovsky's "summing-up" of the anti-fascist war would "lead uninformed readers to the wrong conclusion that the above-mentioned assessment was applicable to all the liberation movements in Europe, that they all came into being and were strengthened only when the Soviet army mounted its irresistible offensive against the Nazi Wehrmacht and under direct Soviet influence."

Yakubovsky, the commentary said, avoided mentioning the people's liberation forces which were already directing the armed struggle in the summer of 1941, as was the case with Yugoslavia and certain other countries.

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This was not the best way to generalize from different circumstances, the commentary continued. Generalization would blot out the distinct features of every liberation movement and create erroneous impressions as to its emergence, development and growth in strength. Consequently, it could not show who influenced the "nature and scope of each liberation movement."

Refuting the allegation that the Yugoslav people's army was formed in the Soviet Union, the commentary said: It should be pointed out that only one brigade was formed on Soviet territory. At the time when that unit was formed, there were almost half a million combatants under arms already in Yugoslavia and the revolutionary people's liberation power had been set up on three-fourths of its territory.

The paper Politika on April 6 stressed: "Our country is not prepared to give up the honour of liberating ourselves to others." "Such a compromise will possibly mean providing others with the right to dictate our present and future."

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**Report From Budapest**

**Liberation Day in Hungary**

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April 4 marked the 30th anniversary of the Hungarian people's victory in the anti-fascist struggle and the liberation of their motherland. The advent of this glorious festival saw the Hungarian people organizing various activities to review their course of fighting for national independence and liberation and to cherish the memory of the many martyrs who heroically gave their lives in the struggle against foreign aggression.

In 1944 when Hitler Germany invaded and occupied Hungary, large numbers of Hungarian patriots were imprisoned or murdered. In those harsh times, Hungarian workers and peasants organized themselves and rose in resistance against the fascist aggressors.

"I volunteer to join the ranks of Hungary's freedom fighters and will devote all my strength to the complete liberation of the Hungarian people." This was the solemn vow sworn by the country's first group of guerrillas.

The flames of the struggle against the aggressors spread all over the country. Battles raged in central Hungary, Budapest and its outskirts, the Borsod industrial district and the Pecs, Salgotarjan and Tatabanya coal basins where fascist troops were entrenched. In a mountainous area in the north, a contingent of 163 guerrillas, with the close co-ordination of the masses, frustrated encirclement by over 2,500 enemy troops. In the two months or so from August to October 1944, these guerrillas blew up seven enemy military trains and later wiped out more than 1,000 enemy troops, which greatly encouraged the Hungarian people's will to fight the aggressors. In the Salgotarjan coal basin, a guerrilla contingent with miners, metallurgical workers and peasants as the main body waged a life-and-death battle against the Hitler hordes. They blew up railway lines, cut the communication lines connecting Budapest and Vienna, and attacked enemy strongholds from time to time, constantly keeping the occupation troops on the run.

The Hungarian people's heroic resistance movement dealt heavy blows to the fascist aggressors and contributed to the cause of liberating the motherland. Some people today try to present Hungary's liberation as something bestowed from outside and deliberately little or even write off the Hungarian people's struggle. This is a distortion of history.

The Hungarian people have a glorious history of struggle. They waged a 150-year battle against the Ottoman Empire's colonial domination and struggled against Austria's colonial rule in 1848. Led by Kossuth Lajos and other national heroes and supported by international revolutionary forces, the Hungarian people routed the main force of the Austrian troops after more than a year's heroic struggle. Hungary was officially proclaimed independent on April 14, 1849.

But the road in the struggle was tortuous. The Hungarian war for independence threw international reaction into a great panic. Known as the "world gendarme" and "the bastion of all European reactionary forces," tsarist Russia invaded Hungary with 140,000 troops, subjecting the revolution there to frontal and rear attacks. The independence war failed tragically because of the wide disparity with the enemy in the balance of force.

Playing the tsar's reactionary policy, Lenin pointed out: "The tsarist government not only keeps our people in slavery but sends them to pacify other peoples who rebel against their slavery (as was the case in 1849 when Russian troops suppressed the revolution in Hungary)."

The war for independence wrote splendid pages in the 1848 revolution in Europe and in Hungary's history,
although it was strangled by tsarist Russia's armed intervention. Engels pointed out that the Hungarian people were the last nation to take up arms to defend the 1848 revolution.

In sending troops to meddle in the Hungarian revolution, tsar Nicholas I concocted a "theory" of aggression, saying that "if there were no vital interests concerned" and if "the Hungarian ruffians" were not "the enemy of world order and tranquillity," "I would not engage in interference." What a "theory of vital interests!" This tone now sounds quite familiar! Didn't the tsar's successors send troops, planes and tanks in large numbers to occupy their "fraternal" ally Czechoslovakia overnight under the cloak of "defending the security of the community" and its "interests"? Wasn't it under the same pretext that they have massed troops in a number of countries, encroached on their sovereignty and tried to hang on there indefinitely?

History has proved that the Hungarian people have a glorious tradition of resisting foreign aggression, defying brute force and tyranny and refusing to be slaves. The Hungarian people have written an epic recording their militant exploits in the struggle for national independence and the liberation of their motherland. There were many heroic and moving deeds and some painful historical lessons. In the protracted course of fighting, many patriots laid down their lives under the enemy's butcher knives. The dauntless spirit of the martyrs to national independence and the liberation of their motherland will always remain in the hearts of the Hungarian people.

(Hsinhua Correspondent)

Victory Belongs to Zimbabwean People

— Celebrating 9th anniversary of Zimbabwean "National Liberation War Day"

THE ninth anniversary of "National Liberation War Day" of the Zimbabwean people has arrived amid an excellent international situation and when the world's people are celebrating the great victory of the Cambodian people in their persistent armed struggle. The Chinese people extend warm congratulations to the Zimbabwean people on this glorious occasion.

On April 28, 1966, the heroic Zimbabwean people, striving for independence and liberation, determinedly took up arms and fired in Sinoia the first shot of an armed struggle. This marked the beginning of a new stage of historic significance for the cause of national liberation in Zimbabwe.

Frightened to death and mortally hating the revolutionary armed struggle, the Rhodesian white racist regime, with the support of imperialism and the South African white racist regime, has never ceased suppressing and mass murdering the Zimbabwean people in the last nine years. But they have never given in. Holding fast to their arms and fearing no sacrifice, they have fought heroically and persisted in their struggle. Their armed forces have grown steadily in fighting and the flames of their armed struggle have raged with increasing intensity.

The development of the Zimbabwean people's armed struggle and the incessant victories of the people's struggle in southern Africa greatly worry the South African Vorster and Rhodesian Smith. To save themselves from doom, these two reactionary chieftains recently have stepped up collaboration and colluded in conspiracy; they have tried their utmost to use counter-revolutionary dual tactics with the backing and abetment of imperialism and the superpowers. While raising a hue and cry about "detente" and "reconciliation," they have been brutally suppressing the Zimbabwean people, murdering and persecuting leaders of the Zimbabwean national-liberation movements. The despicable acts of Vorster and Smith fully prove that their "reconciliation" is a vicious scheme to split the national-liberation movements in Africa, jeopardize the militant unity of African countries, eliminate the armed forces of the Zimbabwean people and stamp out the flames of revolution in southern Africa.

All the evil-doing by the Vorster and Smith racists serves in a negative way to teach the people that the nature of reactionaries will never change and the enemy will not quit the stage of history of its own accord. If you don't hit it, it won't fall. The practice of struggle has proved time and again that armed struggle is the basic way for the oppressed nations and peoples to win independence, liberation and the victory of revolution. Though the revolutionary people do not reject negotiation in principle, they should never harbour any unrealistic illusions about the reactionaries. It is necessary for them to carry out a tit-for-tat struggle and base

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themselves on readiness to fight and oppose the counter-revolutionary dual tactics with revolutionary dual tactics. From their own experience, the Zimbabwean people have come to understand this truth. Just as the Zimbabwe Review pointed out in a recent article, the "negotiation" and "reconciliation" advertised by Vorster and Smith are a scheme and the Zimbabwean people "have no recourse but to continue the armed revolutionary struggle" till victory is achieved.

Today, the African national-liberation movements are deepening and the third world's struggle against imperialism, colonialism and hegemonism is continuing to surge forward. Countries want independence, nations want liberation and the people want revolution—this is an irresistible historical trend. The victorious advance of the Zimbabwean people cannot be stopped. The Chinese people will, as always, firmly support the just struggle of the Zimbabwean people. We are convinced that the heroic Zimbabwean people will frustrate all enemy schemes so long as they close their ranks, heighten vigilance and persist in struggle, particularly in armed struggle. Final victory certainly belongs to the Zimbabwean people.

("Renmin Ribao" Commentator, April 28)

Criticism of Selected Passages From 
"Analects"—A Confucian "Classic"

by the workers' theoretical study group of the No. 2 workshop of the Shanghai No. 5 Steel Plant

The first part of this article appeared in issue No. 16. Following is the second part.— Ed.

IX

Original text. Confucius said: "The common people should be directed to do things but not made to comprehend them."

Criticism. Confucius set forth this obscurationist policy so as to deceive and fool the slaves in every way and not let them know the truth about the oppression and exploitation they suffered at the hands of the slave-owners. His aim was to put the slaves permanently in enslavement so as to protect the "paradise" of the slave-owners.

All reactionary rulers in the past carried out a similar policy to dupe the people. This was because truth was not in their hands, and they could not even go on for a single day without deception. Lin Piao and his gang loudly trumpeted the reactionary Confucian fallacy that "the common people should be directed to do things but not made to comprehend them." They slandered the working people as "foolish men and women" and "muddle-headed creatures," and did everything to sabotage the study of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought by the masses. They tried to fool the masses so that they could put "everything at the command and disposal" of Lin Piao and his son.

"Without a revolutionary theory there can be no revolutionary movement." (Lenin: What Is to Be Done?) By criticizing the obscurationist policy advocated by Lin Piao and Confucius, we understand more clearly the importance of working people mastering revolutionary theory and enhancing their ability to distinguish between genuine and false Marxism. Some workers have put it well: "In making steel we cannot distinguish between steel and slag without hand shields; in making revolution we cannot distinguish between the true and the false without studying theory." Since the Second Plenary Session of the Ninth Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party in August 1970, we have been, more consciously than ever, studying works by Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin and by Chairman Mao and studying the Party's basic line for the whole historical period of socialism, and we have deepened our criticism of the bourgeoisie and revisionism. This has been a powerful force in promoting the development of revolution and production. In the movement to criticize Lin Piao and Confucius, we members of the working class will train and bring up our own theoretical contingents, occupy with Marxism the entire superstructure, including philosophy, history, education, literature, art and law, and carry the socialist revolution through to the end.

X

Original text. Confucius said: "The superior man thinks in terms of righteousness, the inferior man thinks in terms of gain."

Criticism. Chairman Mao has said: "There is no 'ism' in the world that transcends utilitarian considera-
tions; in class society there can be only the utilitarianism of this or that class.” (Talks at the Yenan Forum on Literature and Art.) “Gain” has a clear class nature. Confucius was a watch-dog of the declining slave-owning class. His “righteousness” actually was the “gain” of the slave-owning class, that is, to restore the slave system and all the political and economic privileges of the slave-owning aristocrats. He babbled that “the superior man thinks in terms of righteousness,” yet he led a luxurious and decadent life like any slave-owning aristocrat. On the other hand, the broad masses of slaves and labouring people suffered seriously from oppression and exploitation by the slave-owners and lived in dire poverty. Yet Confucius slandered them as only thinking in terms of gain. Historical facts have proved that he himself was a greedy hypocrite who thought of nothing but gain.

Confucius’ vilification that “the inferior man thinks in terms of gain” also was an attack on the Legalists.

The Legalists prior to the Chin Dynasty had exposed the hypocrisy of the Confucians’ “benevolence and righteousness,” openly propagated the utilitarianism of the rising landlord class and carried out the policy of encouraging “farming and military affairs,” thereby promoting the growth of the feudal economy. The polemics between “righteousness” and “gain” were an important part of the two-line struggle between the Confucian and Legalist schools.

Lin Piao was a Confucius-type hypocrite. He styled himself as someone thinking in terms of “communism” and slandered the working masses as people thinking only of “how to make money” and “how to get rice.” In reality, he was bourgeois through and through, ideologically, politically and in his daily life. He was a degenerate pure and simple! He said that his thinking was as different from the workers and peasants as heaven from earth. He was right on that score.

He called himself a man who thought in terms of “communism,” but actually what he thought and practised was revisionism, capitalism and national betrayal. What we members of the working class think and do is Marxism, socialism, patriotism and internationalism, grasping revolution and promoting production and how to make greater contributions to the Chinese and world revolution. The thinking of the workers and that of Lin Piao are two diametrically opposed world outlooks.

XI

Original text. Confucius said: “Only women and inferior men are difficult to keep.”

Criticism. Taking the stand of the slave-owning class, Confucius maligned the labouring people, looked down upon women with insolence and advocated that man was superior and woman inferior. This shows that Confucius also was a sworn enemy of women.

Inheriting Confucius’ legacy, reactionary rulers in the past chained women with the “three cardinal guides and five constant virtues” and “three obediences and four virtues” bound them with four thick ropes — ropes of political, clan, religious and the masculine authorities — and ranked them the lowest in society. The sayings that “a married wife is like a horse bought, the husband can ride it or beat it at will” and “a woman should not cross any threshold, but should stay at home to cook and weave” are expressions of this reactionary ideology. For more than the last 2,000 years, working women have firmly resisted and struggled against the feudal ethical code, scathingly criticizing the Confucian thinking that man is superior to woman. The fallacies that “the husband’s fate determines the wife’s” and “women are no use” advocated by Lin Piao and his gang aimed at nothing but putting the shackles of the feudal ethical code again around the necks of the working women of New China. This was sheer day-dreaming.

Chairman Mao has taught us: “Times have changed, and today men and women are equal. Whatever men comrades can accomplish, women comrades can too.” China’s working people now have become the masters of the country and women make up half the work force in socialist revolution and socialist construction. They proudly say: “We don’t believe in the ‘three cardinal guides and the five constant virtues,’ but are interested in battling the elements.” One example is our steel-making workshop where more than 100 women workers are working with valour at the fiery furnaces, just like the men. Not a few of them have joined the Communist Party and the Communist

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* The “three cardinal guides” and the “five constant virtues” were formulated by Tung Chung-shu (c. 179-104 B.C.). The “three cardinal guides” mean that the sovereign guides the ministers, the father guides the sons and the husband guides the wife. That is to say, the sovereign, father and husband have the absolute power to rule, while the ministers, sons and wife should obey absolutely. The “five constant virtues” refer to the so-called five unchangeable principles, namely, benevolence, righteousness, propriety, wisdom and sincerity — the reactionary moral principles which the Confucians used to maintain and adjust the relations between the “three cardinal guides.”

** The “three obediences” required that a woman must obey the father when young, obey the husband when married, and obey sons when widowed. The “four virtues” were: A woman should possess the feudal moral ethics; her speech should conform to the feudal ethical code; her clothing should suit feudal customs; and she should be able to do household chores and wait on parents-in-law, husband and sons.
ON THE HOME FRONT

Books by Workers, Peasants and Soldiers

Many books by workers, peasants and soldiers have been published throughout the country since the start of the movement to criticize Lin Piao and Confucius more than a year ago.

Jointly written by four workers in the Peking Motor Vehicle Plant, a million and a half copies of Notes on "On Ducal States" have been sold. The book annotates and gives a Marxist evaluation of the essay On Ducal States by Liu Tsang-yuan (743-819), a well-known man of letters in the Tang Dynasty. The essay praised Chin Shih Huang who unified China for the first time 2,000 years ago, and the progressive significance of his setting up centralized power.

Seven young Shanghai workers collaborated to write A History of Peasant Revolution in China after extensive study of material on several hundred peasant uprisings. Applying the scientific method of historical materialism, it analyzes and comments on 93 large-scale peasant uprisings.

Among last year's dozen theoretical works by workers at the TAIHE Red Flag Shipyard are A History of Chinese Philosophy, A Concise History of European Philosophy, Class Content of the Struggle Between the Legalist School and the Confucian School in the Latter Period of China's Feudal Society and Manifestations and Characteristics of the Present Economic Crisis in Capitalist Countries. In the current movement to criticize Lin Piao and Confucius, over 600 theoretical study groups have been formed among the shipyard's 10,000 workers. They systematically studied Marxist classics related to the subjects they had chosen and, on this basis, made speeches and wrote articles and books.

Greeting the Morning Sun is a collection of 28 short stories by Peking workers depicting the heroic images of workers who exposed the revisionist line and firmly defended Chairman Mao's revolutionary line, enthusiastically praising the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution.

Battle Songs of the Taishan Oilfield is a collection of poems by oilfield workers. Poems from Hsiang-hsiang contains 106 works by peasants living on Tientsin's outskirts.

Parallel Threads of Steel is a collection of poems by P.L.A. commanders and fighters describing the building of the Chengtu-Kunming Railway which cuts through high mountains and across deep valleys and rivers in the southwest. The language of these poems is vivid, their political content clear-cut, and their tough, fighting spirit is unmistakable throughout the poems.

Other works reflecting the authors' own working lives are a collection of reportage They Are Most Militant written by coal miners and We Are Yenanese, a collection of poems by educated young people from Peking and other places about their pride and pleasure in living, working and tempering themselves in Yenan, the sacred place of the Chinese revolution.

Over half of the 175 books of fiction, poetry, prose, plays, film scripts and songs and dances issued by the Shanghai People's Publishing House over the last two years were created by amateur worker-peasant-soldier writers. Each printing of the collection of fiction had 100,000 to 300,000 copies.

As part of the move to occupy the spheres in the superstructure, workers, peasants and soldiers wrote books in the early period after the liberation and in the revolutionary mass movement of the big leap forward year of 1958. But interference and sabotage by the revisionist line smothered this socialist new-born thing. Since the beginning of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution and the movement to criticize Lin Piao and Confucius, a growing number of books by worker-peasant-soldier amateur writers have come out, exerting a healthy and invigorating effect on hundreds of millions.

Tibet: Rural Postal Service

POSTAL service in the Tibet Autonomous Region has been rapidly expanding following the wide establishment of people's communes across the vast rural and pastoral areas. By the end of last year, 98 per cent of the districts and some 94 per cent of the people's communes had been served by a postal network which had over 90,000 kilometres of mail-routes and 1,300-odd postmen working on it.

This has made an enormous increase possible in the distribution of newspapers and magazines to villagers and herdsmen. By the end of 1974, the circulation of Renmin Ribao (People's Daily) and the Tibetan language edition of Xinhua Ribao (Tibetan Daily) were 2.7 and 4 times bigger respectively than the 1965 figures. The 1974 January-October
period saw a 30 per cent increase in the distribution of the Tibetan language edition of Hongqi (Red Flag) as compared with the same 1973 period.

Extremely backward politically, economically and culturally, pre-liberation Tibet under the rule of the feudal serf system had poor transport and communications. Post offices existed only in those cities such as Lhasa and Shigatse, while there were no postal facilities at all in the rest of Tibet. Only since liberation when transport and communications expanded has Tibet rapidly developed its postal service. In the Great Cultural Revolution, the region mounted a big drive for the socialist transformation of agriculture and animal husbandry and people's communes were set up throughout the region. This brought about favourable conditions for further development of the region's postal service.

**Factory-Run Colleges**

OVER 930 worker-college students have graduated in the last few years from factory-run colleges in Shenyang, a heavy industry city in northeast China.

Though the graduates had had a primary and junior middle school education, all did factory work for more than ten years before college. Having completed two- or three-year college courses, they are now in various departments of industry. Independently or in co-operation with other workers and technicians last year, they were involved in over 500 technical innovations, including 98 major ones, solving many problems which had been considered difficult.

Coming from among the workers, they have returned to the workshops and continued to act as ordinary workers after finishing their college studies. They maintain close ties with the rank-and-file and are warmly welcomed by the workers.

Early in the Cultural Revolution, the Shanghai Machine Tools Plant was the first to set up a workers' college and train technicians from the workers' ranks. In 1968, Chairman Mao affirmed this experience and called on the whole country to "take the road of the Shanghai Machine Tools Plant in training technicians from among the workers."

Since then, 20 factory-run colleges have been set up in Shenyang to train experienced workers who have a high political consciousness.

With 22 years of work experience and as one of the first group of graduates from the college run by the Shenyang Heavy Machinery Plant, veteran worker Kao Yun-chin is now in charge of technical work in the section connected with steel rolling under the factory's designers' office. Inspecting a steel works in 1973, he felt uneasy about the inefficient procedure of manually stamping on red hot blooms under high temperatures.

After returning to his own plant, with support from the plant leadership, Kao Yun-chin and several of his fellow workers organized a group to make a prototype automatic stamper. From designing, processing of the machine parts to installation, it was completed in three months. In the year since graduating, he has designed and trial-produced several kinds of equipment. One, a hot shearing machine designed by him, is 50 per cent more efficient than the old one.

The Shenyang Transformer Factory is one of China's biggest transformer factories. Rapid production development in the plant had affected production because of the unstable voltage in the power network. Hsu Kuo-hsing, an electric worker in the factory, entered the factory-run college determined to solve this key problem. After graduation, he carried out more than 100 investigations and studies with another veteran worker, a fellow graduate. Using a good deal of first-hand data on voltage fluctuations they had collected, they applied the transformer technique theories they had learnt at college and proposed making an automatic voltage regulation transformer. Getting close co-operation from the workers, they completed the designing, production and installation in three months and solved this knotty problem. Hsu Kuo-hsing said: "We have been able to put our ideas into effect because we’ve used what we learnt in college to sum up the workers’ experience, analyse things from a theoretical angle and apply it to practice again."

Factory-run college graduates bring to the ranks of technical personnel their advanced ideas as members of the working class who are not divorced from productive labour and do not seek fame or gain, thereby promoting the revolutionization of the technical personnel's ideology.

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Youth League, some having been appointed to leading posts. All this has shattered Confucius' and Lin Piao's shameless slanders about working women. Lenin taught us: "There can be no socialist revolution unless very many working women take a big part in it."

*(Speech at the First All-Russia Congress of Working Women.)* In the movement to criticize Lin Piao and Confucius we must make greater efforts to wipe out the influence of the reactionary thinking that "man is superior and woman is inferior" and give fuller play to women's revolutionary role in winning new victories in revolution and production.

*(To be continued.)*

May 2, 1975
MARX, ENGELS AND LENIN

On

The Dictatorship of The Proletariat

48 pages  13 × 18.5 cm.  paperback

Published by FOREIGN LANGUAGES PRESS, Peking, China
Distributed by GUOZI SHUDIAN (China Publications Centre), Peking, China

Order from your local dealer or write direct to

MAIL ORDER DEPT., GUOZI SHUDIAN, P.O. Box 399, Peking, China