Deepen the Criticism of Teng Hsiao-ping in Anti-Quake And Relief Work

— "Renmin Ribao" editorial

Inner-Party Struggle and Party Development

The Munich Approach Leads to a Blind Alley
CONTENTS

THE WEEK

Greeting Conference of Heads of State and Government of Non-Aligned Countries
Foreign Leaders Send Messages of Solicitude Re Earthquake in China
Messages of Solicitude from Marxist-Leninist Parties and Organizations
Delegation of the Communist League Marxists-Leninists of Denmark Visits China

ARTICLES AND DOCUMENTS

Deepen the Criticism of Teng Hsiao-ping in Anti-Quake and Relief Work — Renmin Ribao editorial
Report from Earthquake-Stricken Area: A Heroic People, a Heroic Army
A Miracle — Renmin Ribao commentary
Inner-Party Struggle and Party Development — Chih Heng
One and a Half Million Barefoot Doctors in China
Resolute Support for Korean People's Just Stand — Renmin Ribao Commentator
The Munich Approach Leads to a Blind Alley — A commentary by Hsinhua Correspondent
Latin America: U.S.S.R. and U.S.A; Arraigned in the Same Dock

FRIENDSHIP NOTES

ROUND THE WORLD

Azania: Indomitable People
West Africa: Developing Agriculture and Animal Husbandry Despite Drought
"Voice of the People of Thailand": People's Armed Forces Score Victories
Capitalist Countries: Women's Unemployment Serious
U.S.-Soviet "Detente": Half Public Relations, Half Wishful Thinking
Greeting Conference of Heads of State
And Government of Non-Aligned
Countries

Hua Kuo-feng, Premier of the
State Council of the People's Repub­
ic of China, on August 15 sent a
message of congratulations to the 5th
Conference of the Heads of State and
Government of Non-Aligned
Countries. The message says:

"Since their fourth summit con­
ference, the ranks of non-aligned
countries have steadily expanded
and played an important role in in­
ternational affairs.

"Like the numerous non-aligned
countries, China belongs to the third
world. The Chinese Government and
people firmly support the non-
aligned countries in pursuing a policy
of independence, peace and neu­
trality and in combating imperialism,
colonialism, neo-colonialism, racism,
Zionism and big-power hegemonism.

"We believe that the people of all
third world countries, relying on
their own efforts, strengthening their
unity and persevering in struggle,
will certainly advance without cease
along the road of safeguarding na­
tional independence, defending state
sovereignty and developing the na­
tional economy and culture.

"We sincerely hope that through
the joint efforts of the numerous
non-aligned countries, this conferen­
cre will continue to advance on the basis
of the fourth summit conference and
make new contributions to further
strengthening the unity and co­
operation of the non-aligned coun­
tries and promoting the third world's
cause of unity against imperialism,
colonialism and hegemonism.

"I wish the conference success."

Foreign Leaders Send Messages
Of Solicitude re
Earthquake in China

Leaders of many foreign countries
have sent messages to Chairman Mao
Tsetung, Premier Hua Kuo-feng and
other Chinese Party and state lead­
ers, expressing deep solici­
tude in con­
nection with the strong earthquake in
the Tangshan-Fengnan area of Hopei
Province.

These messages are: the message
addressed by Kim Il Sung, General
Secretary of the Central Committee
of the Workers' Party of Korea and
President of the State of the Demo­
ocratic People's Republic of Korea,
and Pak Sung Chul, Premier of the
Administration Council of the Demo­
cratic People's Republic of Korea,
to Chairman Mao Tsetung and Pre­
mer Hua Kuo-feng; the message
addressed by Nicolae Ceausescu,
General Secretary of the Romanian
Communist Party and President of
the Socialist Republic of Romania,
and Manea Manescu, Prime Minister
of the Government of the Socialist
Republic of Romania, to Chairman
Mao Tsetung and Premier Hua Kuo­
feng; the message addressed by
Kaysone Phomvihane, General Sec­
retary of the Central Committee of
the Lao People's Revolutionary Party
and Premier of the Government of
the People's Democratic Republic
of Laos, and Souphanouvong, President
of the People's Democratic Republic
of Laos and President of the Su­
preme People's Council of the Peo­
l's Democratic Republic of Laos, to
Chairman Mao Tsetung, Vice-Chair­
man of the Standing Committee of
the National People's Congress Wu
Teh and Premier Hua Kuo-feng; the
message addressed by Mehemet She­
hu, Chairman of the Council of Min­
isters of the People's Republic of
Albania, to Premier Hua Kuo-feng;
the message addressed by Polpot;
Prime Minister of the Government
of Democratic Kampuchea, to Pre­
mier Hua Kuo-feng; and the message
addressed by Pham Van Dong, Pre­
mier of the Government of the So­
ocialist Republic of Viet Nam, to Pre­
mier Hua Kuo-feng.

There are also messages from:
President of Pakistan Fazal Elahi
Chaudhry, Pakistan Prime Minis­
ter Zulfikar Ali Bhutto, King of
Nepal Birendra Bir Bikram Shah
Dev, Nepalese Prime Minister Tul­
si Giri, the Shahanshah of Iran
Mohammad Reza Pahlavi, Iranian
Prime Minister Amir Abbas Ho­
eyvda, President of Burma U Ne
Win, Burmese Prime Minister U Sein
Win, President of Yugoslavia Josip
Broz Tito, President of the Yugoslav
Federal Executive Council Dzemal
Bijedic, President of Zaire Mobutu
Sese Seko, President of Tanzania
Julius K. Nyerere, President of
Mexico Lic. Luis Echeverria, Presi­
dent of Mauritania Moktar Ould
Daddah, Chairman of the Presiden­
tial Council of the People's Demo­
cratic Republic of Yemen Salem Robuya
Ali, Chairman of the Provisional
Military Administrative Council of
Ethiopia Tefert Bante, President of
the Council of Revolution and Prime
Minister of the Government of Al­
ergia Houari Boumediene, Egyptian
President Anwar Sadat and Egyptian
Vice-President Hosny Moubarek,
President of Sierra Leone Siaka Ste­
vens, President of Benin Mathieu
Kerekou, President of Cameroon El
Hadj Ahmadou Ahdijo, President of
Uganda Idi Amin, President of Mad­
agascar Didier Ratsiraka, Head of
State of Mali Moussa Traore, Presi­
dent of Guinea Sekou Toure, Presi­
dent of Gabon Omar Bongo, Presi­
dent of Senegal Leopold Sedar Seng­
hor, President of Togo Gnassingbe
Eyadema, Head of the Federal Mili­
tary, Government of Nigeria Oluse­
gun Obasanjo, President of Tunisia
Habib Bouguiba, Tunisian Prime
Minister Hedi Nouira, President of
Upper Volta Sangoule Lamizana,
President of Equatorial Guinea Masie
N'gouema, Chairman of the Supreme
Military Council of Ghana J.K.

August 20, 1976
Acheampong, President of Ghana; Valery Giscard d’Estaing, French Prime Minister; Jacques Chirac, President of France; Robert Mugabe, President of Zimbabwe; Kamal Chang檐, Prime Minister of Iraq; Anwar as Sadat, President of Egypt; Nur Muhammad Taraki, Prime Minister of Afghanistan; Leonard B. Roy, Head of State of the Comoros; Abu Faiz Ahmad, President of Mauritius; Abdool Razack Mohamed, President of Cyprus; Makarios, President of Lebanon; Suleiman Franjieh, Prime Minister of Lebanon; Nur Mohammad Siddiqui, Prime Minister of Pakistan; Anaisit Mauambetou, Prime Minister of Senegal; Seretse Khama, President of Botswana; John Garraway, Secretary of the Commonwealth; Juan Carlos, King of Spain; Margaret Thatcher, Prime Minister of the United Kingdom; Reza Pahlavi, Crown Prince of Iran; Graham Douglas, Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs; Richard von Weizsacker, President of the Federal Republic of Germany; Margaretha de Vries, Governor of the State of the Netherlands; F.H.P. Trip, Acting Prime Minister of the Netherlands; Ruud Lubbers, Prime Minister of the Netherlands; Yabu Chou-yao, President of the People’s Republic of China; Chou En-lai, former Premier of the People’s Republic of China; Ho Chi Minh, President of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam; and the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China, Comrade Mao Tse-tung, and Comrade Hua Kuofeng.

The messages are from the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China, the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Poland; Christian Seelmers, Karl Heinz Hutter, Jurgen Bremermann and Werner Heuler, Members of the Standing Committee of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Germany; the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Portugal; the Central Committee of the Communist Party of France; Fernand Lebeufre, First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Belgium; Eduind Villalain, General Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Spain; the Central Committee of the Democratic Republic of Korea; the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Italy, Adriano Sofri, Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Italy; and Benito Scocozza, Chairman of the Communist League Marxists-Leninists of Denmark.

Delegation of the Communist League Marxists-Leninists of Denmark Visits China

Kang Piao, Member of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China and Head of the International Liaison Department of the C.P.C. Central Committee, met and had a cordial and friendly conversation on August 9 with the Delegation of the Communist League Marxists-Leninists of Denmark led by Benito Scocozza, Chairman of the League.

Before leaving the Chinese capital for home the delegation, which arrived in China on July 22, toured Peking, Taihli, Yenan, Shanghai and Soochow, visiting factories, rural people’s communes and schools.
Deepen the Criticism of Teng Hsiao-ping
In Anti-Quake and Relief Work

In class society, man’s struggle against nature is closely connected with class struggle. The history since liberation has shown that the struggle between the two classes, the two roads and the two lines becomes acute every time a serious natural calamity occurs. Chieftains of the opportunist lines in the Party always try to take advantage of the temporary difficulties brought on by natural calamities to divert the revolution from its course and restore capitalism. To take class struggle as the key link and keep to the socialist road or to liquidate this key link and allow capitalism to spread unchecked, to put proletarian politics in command and have faith in the masses and rely on them or to ignore the human factor and pay no heed to the wisdom and strength of the masses, to believe firmly that man will conquer nature and carry forward the spirit of self-reliance or to succumb to difficulties, remain passive and pessimistic and sit with folded arms — these are questions of principle on which Chairman Mao’s proletarian revolutionary line is diametrically opposed to the revisionist line. During the three years (1959-61 — tr.) when our national economy met with temporary difficulties, Teng Hsiao-ping, the arch unrepentant capitalist-roader in the Party, was scared by the difficulties like Liu Shao-chi, and preached that “whether it is a white cat or a black one, it is a good cat as long as it catches mice.” He energetically stirred up a sinister wind for going it alone and reversing past correct verdicts in an attempt to turn back the wheel of history. Chairman Mao sharply criticized the revisionist line of Liu Shao-chi, Teng Hsiao-ping and company, and issued the great call: “Never forget class struggle.” It is precisely under the guidance of Chairman Mao’s revolutionary line that the Chinese people beat back the onslaught mounted by the bourgeoisie both inside and outside the Party, overcame the effects of the severe natural disasters and kept to the socialist orientation.

In the current anti-quake fight and relief work, we should bear in mind this historical experience, persevere in taking class struggle as the key link and deepen the criticism of Teng Hsiao-ping’s counter-revolutionary revisionist line. We should use the heroic deeds of the masses of people and cadres in the anti-quake and relief work to criticize his “taking the three directives as the key link” and his other revisionist absurdities. Didn’t Teng Hsiao-ping say that only “material incentives” could bring into play the revolutionary enthusiasm of the masses of the people, and that a “material base,”

August 20, 1976
A Heroic People, a Heroic Army

Heart-stirring news has kept flashing in from the earthquake-stricken Tangshan-Fengnan area. Under the loving care of Chairman Mao and the Party Central Committee and with assistance from the people of the whole country, the heroic Tangshan people and the People's Liberation Army units rushing to the rescue have overcome numerous difficulties and hardships and worked miracles.

10,000 Miners in the Pits Back Safe and Sound

On the very day when the strong earthquake occurred in the Tangshan-Fengnan area in the small hours of July 28, the Party Central Committee and the State Council ordered rescue teams from 14 mining bureaux in northeast, north and east China to be airlifted to Tangshan to take part in rescue and relief work.

The quake caused damages to the big Kailan Coal Mine located in the Tangshan Prefecture. Water in the pits rose rapidly, seriously threatening the lives of some 10,000 miners on the night shift. At this critical moment, Party members, cadres and workers there remained calm and fearless, and lost no time in carrying out rescue work.

Hsu Chia-hsin, first secretary of the Tangshan city Party committee, was trapped in his crumpled house. The moment he was rescued, he thought first of the safety of the city's million inhabitants. Rushing to the downtown district, he set to work and, in only a few minutes after the principal shock, set up a command post on a street to direct the anti-quake and relief work. The first decision made by the command post was to notify all the coal mines in Kailan to open immediately the reserve air vents leading from the pits to the ground as emergency exits in order to rescue the trapped miners.

As soon as they were out of danger, Chao Cheng-pin and Lu Yun-fa, deputy secretaries of the Party committee of the Kailan Coal Mine, were also concerned about the 10,000-odd miners down in the pits. They immediately organized rescue teams to open all the reserve air vents.

Keng Fu-an, deputy director of the political section of the Tangshan colliery under the Kailan Coal Mine, was on duty in his office when the quake hit. The moment he was brought to safety, he immediately took the same emergency measures to evacuate more than 1,500 miners underground.

At the Fankechuang mine, a group of shaft-sinking workers were stranded underground because power supply was cut off and the operation of the lifts was obstructed. In total disregard of strong aftershocks and
INSPIRING reports have kept pouring in from the Tangshan Prefecture: More than 10,000 miners of the Kailan Coal Mine working in the pits were out of danger and successfully returned to the ground; the No. 3 pit of the Machiakou mine has resumed production and begun producing coal; the Peking-Shanhaikuan Railway damaged by the earthquake has been repaired quickly and reopened to traffic triumphantly; and the Tangshan Labour Daily has resumed publication. All this constitutes a major victory in the anti-quake struggle. It is a tremendous encouragement and a powerful impetus to the people in the afflicted area as well as to the people in other parts of China whose hearts beat as one with those of their class brothers in the afflicted area.

It is a miracle. After the strong earthquake hit the Tangshan-Fengnan area, some foreigners alleged that Kailan was finished, the miners in the pits were finished and no coal could be produced. The heroic Kailan coal miners, railway workers and staff and commanders and fighters of the People's Liberation Army have proved with living facts that such allegations are entirely groundless. After so strong an earthquake, the overwhelming majority of the miners working underground were out of danger and safe and sound, and within the short space of ten days coal was extracted again and the railway reopened to traffic quickly. This is something inconceivable in old China or under the capitalist system, and is rarely seen in the history of man's struggle against earthquake.

Our great leader Chairman Mao has pointed out: "Of all things in the world, people are the most precious. Under the leadership of the Communist Party, as long as there are people, every kind of miracle can be performed." (The Bankruptcy of the Idealist Conception of History.) The earthquake can crumple houses, damage equipment or rip rails, but it can never shake the revolutionary spirit and indomitable morale of the working class. Led by Chairman Mao and the Party Central Committee and guided by Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line, our working class, our people and our People's Liberation Army are able to bring their tremendous enthusiasm for socialism into play, overcome any difficulties and dangers and perform one miracle after another. They are worthy to be called a heroic working class, a heroic people and a heroic People's Liberation Army.

The Kailan coal miners and the railway workers, like other industrial workers, belong to the industrial army of particularly good fighters praised by Chairman Mao. Led by the Party, they are today making outstanding contributions by taking class struggle as the key link, deepening the criticism of Teng Hsiao-ping, displaying the spirit of self-reliance, grasping revolution and promoting production. By their heroic exploits, they have set a brilliant example in fighting the earthquake and carrying out relief work. Comrades on all fronts in the country should learn from this spirit and carry it forward; they should aid their class brothers in the earthquake-stricken area and do a good job of socialist revolution and construction by winning still more splendid successes in grasping revolution and promoting production. Tempered in the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution and the movement to criticize Lin Piao and Confucius and advancing victoriously in the struggle to criticize Teng Hsiao-ping and repulse the Right deviationist attempt at reversing correct verdicts, the Chinese people have the high aspirations, the confidence and the ability to triumph over the aftereffects of the earthquake and paint a new and more beautiful picture with their own hands.

("Renmin Ribao" commentary, August 9)

at the risk of their own lives, 29-year-old Kuo Cheng-hsing, a model worker and head of the group, and a shift leader descended by a rope ladder and organized the safe evacuation of all the miners to the surface.

The sudden strong quake did not cow the heroic Kailan miners. Organized by the Tangshan city Party committee and the Kailan Coal Mine Party committee as well as the leading cadres of the various collieries on duty, the surface workers immediately swung into action to rescue their class brothers underground.

Meanwhile, leading cadres who were working alongside the miners at the work faces promptly got the workers organized to overcome difficulties and evacuate. Chia Pang-yu, vice-chairman of the revolutionary committee of the Luchiato mine, displayed great calmness in face of the strong quake. He set up a temporary Party branch and a rescue command in the pit. While carrying out rescue work, he encouraged the miners with these words: "At this critical juncture, we Communist Party members and cadres should place the interests of the Party and people above everything else,

August 20, 1976
Workers and cadres of the Machiakou mine rejoice at turning out their first load of coal after restoring production.

Machiakou Mine Partially Resumes Production

On August 2, the Kailan Coal Mine Party committee called an enlarged committee meeting to further mobilize all the cadres and miners. Rehabilitation command posts made up of workers, cadres and technicians have been set up at various levels throughout the mining area to make all-round investigations and mobilize the masses to make suggestions, and to discuss and work out plans for repairing equipment and restoring production. Many cadres went down the pits to repair installations together with the miners despite the threat of aftershocks. Working round the clock, the Machiakou miners have quickly restored lighting on the ground, water supply, the operation of lifts and drainage facilities, and resumed coal extraction.

After several days of hard work, power supply has been restored in all the eight mines in Kailan and three of them have begun draining water. Production has been partially resumed in the Machiakou mine, with the first post-quake load of coal lifted out of a pit at 18:55 hours on August 7, ten days after the occurrence of the earthquake. This is yet another miracle.

The Kailan Coal Mine has a history of about a hundred years. Through the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, it has become a bright red banner in the movement to learn from Taching in industry, having achieved outstanding successes in this respect. The severe test of earthquake this time will surely add to the splendour of this red banner.

Peking-Shanhaikuan Railway Quickly Repaired

The quake-damaged Peking-Shanhaikuan Railway was reopened to traffic at 19:40 hours on August 7, thanks to the rush repair work.
On the afternoon that day, the newly repaired Tangshan Railway Station was a scene of jubilation. When trains from Peking and Shenyang fully loaded with goods and materials pulled into the station, the platform was astir with people beating gongs and drums and setting off firecrackers. Over 2,000 people waved bouquets and cheered again and again: "Long live the victory of Chairman Mao's revolutionary line!" and "Long live Chairman Mao! A long, long life to Chairman Mao!" Seeing that the railway was reopened to traffic, the people in the stricken area were moved to tears. They said with deep feeling: "Nothing on earth is better than socialism. Great as heaven and earth are, greater still is the kindness of the Party! Deep are the rivers and seas, but deeper still is the love shown by class brothers!"

The Peking-Shanhaikuan Railway, which runs through Tangshan city, is an important trunk line linking north and northeast China. The strong earthquake caused serious damages to it. Along the 230-kilometre section in the vicinity of Tangshan, the bed sank or cracked at some places and the rails were dislocated, twisted or torn up, while dozens of bridges suffered damages of varying degrees.

Dauntless before the serious natural disaster, the heroic railway workers declared: "The earthquake can never bend the indomitable fighting will of the working class!" In a few days, they straightened or replaced all the damaged rails, reinforced the collapsed or cracked beds, and repaired the damaged bridges. Apart from reopening the single-track railway traffic, they have restored the double tracks in most sections.

After the quake struck, the Chingchow Railway Bureau in northeast China organized in one and a half hours a shock repair team of more than 300 workers who rushed to the damaged sections the same morning. Joining in the repair work were also workers from railway bureaux of many other places. Commanders and fighters of the P.L.A. railway corps also rushed to the afflicted area regardless of the threat of flood and aftershocks. Forgetting their own injuries and leaving their families behind, many railway workers in the stricken area immediately flung themselves into the battle. Two days after the quake, a gigantic contingent of repair workers was seen working on the Peking-Shanhaikuan line.

Displaying dauntless revolutionary heroism, those doing rush repairs kept at it day and night, rain or shine. Since there was no electric light, they used hurricane lamps, flashlights and torches instead. To make up for shortage of machinery on hand, they improvised equipment to meet the needs or used sheer muscles. They said: "The earlier the railway reopens to traffic, the earlier the loving concern of Chairman Mao and the Party Central Committee will reach the hearts of the afflicted people."

Coming as they were from various parts of the country, the repair workers were closely bound together by the common goal of restoring the line. They all made it a point to tackle the difficult tasks themselves and leave easier ones to others. Whenever any difficulty arose, assistance was available from all quarters.

**Fine Fighters Educated by Chairman Mao**

Immediately after the earthquake, commanders and fighters of the Chinese People's Liberation Army made forced marches to the afflicted area from all directions on orders from Chairman Mao and the Party Central Committee. They have made tremendous contributions to the anti-quake and relief work. With tears the people in the stricken area warmly praised them, saying: "All these fine fighters educated by Chairman Mao are living Lei Fens!" (Lei Feng was a nationally famous P.L.A. fighter and hero who died while on duty in 1962.)

Shortly after the strong earthquake, convoys of army trucks loaded with materials moved in an endless stream along the highway leading to Tangshan. Holding high their bright red ensigns, a number of heroic companies that had performed meritorious services in the years of revolutionary wars sped to the scene along muddy roads. Members of a company, which had been commended by the Military Commission Under the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party for its heroic deeds in carrying out rescue work in the earth-
quake-stricken Haicheng area in southern Liaoning Province last year, arrived at the affected area after 24 hours' forced march in a heavy downpour. Commanders and fighters of the eighth company under the Peking Units of the P.L.A., an advanced unit in criticizing Lin Piao and Confucius which has always stood in the van of the struggle against the revisionist line, were again in the forefront to combat the effects of the quake. They said: "We are the people's own troops. The people's difficulty is our difficulty." All the commanders and fighters who had rushed to the stricken area did their best to rescue their class brothers. Pao Jui-wang, a Communist Party member and a squad leader, always took the lead in going to places where the conditions are most hazardous to rescue the masses. Ignoring his own safety, he often worked in the debris, digging out injured people one by one from under cement slabs. Over-exhaustion from continuous rescue work made him pass out. When other comrades carried him out of the debris and advised him to take a rest, he said: "I am a Communist Party member, I must fight in the most dangerous place." With these words, he went back to the ruins again and succeeded in rescuing a veteran worker and her daughter. Some commanders and fighters did not sleep a wink for 85 hours on end, but they never complained of hardship and fatigue even though their hands were blistered and their shoulders bruised. Pilots of an air force unit flew missions day and night to ensure the transportation of relief materials and the injured. Those working on dispatch and navigation towers had little rest for days on end; their voices became hoarse and their eyes bloodshot. But they kept at their posts. Chiang Chun-yu, a field hospital nurse in charge of surgical instruments and apparatuses for three operating tables, worked for two days and three nights without any rest.

While doing emergency rescue work, commanders and fighters persisted in taking class struggle as the key link, put proletarian politics in command and made big efforts to arm the masses with Marxism-Leninism—Mao Tsetung Thought. Upon their arrival at the quake-stricken area, they put up posters inscribed with slogans along the streets or on tents. Propaganda vans and teams were sent to the streets and lanes to take part in rescue work and at the same time propagate Chairman Mao's revolutionary line and the message of sympathy from the Party Central Committee. In this way, they transmitted in good time the solicitude of Chairman Mao and the Party Central Committee to the masses.

The strong earthquake caused serious damages to Tangshan, but with their concrete actions the people there have proclaimed to the world that they have the aspirations, the confidence and the ability to speedily restore production, do their work well and build a socialist new Tangshan with their own hands. Inspiring news has continued to pour in. The Tangshan Power Plant has begun supplying electricity; smoke has begun belching from the chimneys of some factories and mines; the bus lines, banks and some shops are back to normal; "anti-quake" schools have opened and their first lesson was: "Man will conquer nature." Trucks carrying people beating drums and gongs moved in an endless stream through downtown Tangshan to the city Party committee and revolutionary committee, reporting the good news that production has been restored. Twenty-one factories and mines had wholly or partially resumed production by August 13.
FILLED with proletarian revolutionary pride, we have greeted the 55th anniversary of the founding of the Chinese Communist Party in the excellent situation in which the struggle to criticize Teng Hsiao-ping and repulse the Right deviationist wind to reverse correct verdicts has won great victories. The series of important instructions issued by Chairman Mao in the struggle to criticize Teng Hsiao-ping and repulse the Right deviationist attempt is an important development of the Marxist-Leninist theories on class struggle and the dictatorship of the proletariat and on the Party. By deepening the study of Chairman Mao’s important instructions, conscientiously summing up the experience of the two-line struggle within the Party and persistently struggling against the bourgeoisie in the Party, we are bound to greatly strengthen Party building ideologically and organizationally and further promote the Party-led great cause of continuing the revolutionary development of the Party.

Inner-Party Struggle Is the Universal Law Governing Growth of a Proletarian Political Party

Engels said: “The development of the proletariat proceeds everywhere amidst internal struggles.” (Engels to A. Bebel.) Chairman Mao has said: “If there were no contradictions in the Party and no ideological struggles to resolve them, the Party’s life would come to an end.” (On Contradiction.) “Without struggle, there is no progress.” These teachings of the proletarian revolutionary teachers have profoundly summarized the historical experience of the international communist movement and of our Party and set forth in a deep-going way the universal law governing the progress and development of the proletariat and its political party. It is essential to know and grasp this law and deepen the criticism of Teng Hsiao-ping’s revisionist line in order to strengthen Party building and promote the development of the Party.

A proletarian political party is the product of the class struggle waged by the proletariat against the bourgeoisie and a tool in the proletariat’s hands for waging this struggle. A party emerges in the wake of class struggle, and as long as the party exists there is inner-party struggle which reflects class struggle. The Chinese Communist Party is the vanguard of the Chinese proletariat. During the period of democratic revolution to overthrow the reactionary rule of imperialism, feudalism and bureaucrat-capitalism, our Party led the people of the whole country in waging protracted revolutionary struggles and revolutionary wars. In the course of that revolution, inner-Party two-line struggle took place on several occasions in connection with the issues of the united front and armed struggle. Since we entered the period of socialist revolution, the contradiction between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie has become the principal contradiction in society, and the two-line struggle in the Party centering round the question of taking the socialist road or the capitalist road has never ceased. This struggle will continue throughout the historical period of socialism. Only by using the viewpoint of class struggle to observe inner-Party life can we really understand the inevitability of inner-Party struggle, be ideologically prepared for protracted struggles inside the Party and be ready to build and expand the Party in the course of struggle.

Under the conditions of socialism, inner-Party struggle is mainly the struggle between the Marxists in the Party and the capitalist-roaders, the bourgeoisie in the Party. It is a struggle between the two major antagonistic classes—the proletariat and the bourgeoisie. A characteristic of the capitalist-roaders is to use the power in their hands to push the revisionist line, so inner-Party class struggle finds concentrated expression in the struggle between the Marxist line and the revisionist line. In 1964, Chairman Mao pointed out in a directive concerning the socialist education movement: “The bureaucrat class on the one hand and the working class together with the poor and lower-middle peasants on the other are two classes sharply antagonistic to each other.” Chairman Mao also stated in this directive: “Those leading cadres who are taking the capitalist road have turned, or are turning, into bourgeois elements sucking the blood of the workers; how can they possibly realize fully the imperative need for socialist revolution? These people are the target of the struggle, the target of the revolution, and we must never rely on them in the socialist education movement. We can rely only on those cadres who are not hostile to the workers and are imbued with revolutionary spirit.” In studying this important directive,
we come to a deeper understanding of the brilliant thesis that the bourgeoisie exists "right in the Communist Party." The concepts "the-bureaucrat class" and "those leading cadres who are taking the capitalist road" introduced by Chairman Mao have a clear-cut class content; they refer to the capitalist-roaders, to the bourgeoisie which exists in the Party during the period of socialism. Liu Shao-chi, Lin Piao and Teng Hsiao-ping, all members of the bourgeoisie in the Party, oppressed and exploited the workers and poor and lower-middle peasants politically and economically, and were in a state of sharp class struggle with the workers and poor and lower-middle peasants. They were the main targets of the socialist revolution. They held in their hands a considerable portion of Party and state power, and they formulated and pushed the revisionist line from above and engaged in extensive activities to restore capitalism in the superstructure as well as in the economic base; their vain attempt was to turn the dictatorship of the proletariat into the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie. They are much more ruthless and dangerous than the bourgeoisie outside the Party. Therefore, we must see through the reactionary bourgeois nature of the capitalist-roaders, understand that inner-Party struggle is serious class struggle, and be resolute in using Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line to defeat the revisionist line which represents the bourgeoisie.

Use Materialist Dialectics to Guide Inner-Party Life

Some people consider that since the Communist Party is the vanguard of the proletariat, there should be no contradictions and struggle within the Party and that the Party should be absolutely pure. This is a naive concept which runs counter to materialist dialectics. "The law of contradiction in things, that is, the law of the unity of opposites, is the basic law of materialist dialectics." (Mao Tsetung: On Contradiction.) Everything in the world divides into two. Purity is relative and impurity is absolute. The two aspects of a contradiction are united and at the same time struggle against each other, and it is this which propels the movement and change of things. This is the fundamental law of the development of all things, and is also the fundamental law of the development of the Party. Our Party does not live in a vacuum, but exists in an environment of complex class struggle. During the period of democratic revolution, especially when the revolution was in a high tide, it was inevitable that there was an admixture of the genuine and the false and that a few secret agents, renegades, alien class elements and other undesirable elements wormed their way into the Party. It was not strange for some people who only accepted the Party's minimum programme to vary in degree and who were imbued with ideas of bourgeois democratic revolution to have joined the Party. After liberation, with the gradual deepening of the socialist revolution, division among the Party ranks constantly took place. Part of the Party members, who clung to the bourgeois stand, refused to remould their ideology and, not willing to go forward, opposed the socialist revolution and became capitalist-roaders. The existence of classes and class struggle, the existence of bourgeois right and the influence of the international bourgeoisie and revisionism engender new bourgeois elements within the Party. The contradiction between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie within the Party will inevitably find expression in inner-Party class struggle and two-line struggle. It is only through this struggle that the Party can develop and advance.

It is Chairman Mao's consistent thinking that in Party building it is necessary to use materialist dialectics to guide inner-Party activities and to achieve progress and development through struggle. Speaking of Party consolidation during the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, Chairman Mao pointed out: "A human being has arteries and veins through which the heart makes the blood circulate, and he breathes with his lungs, exhaling carbon dioxide and inhaling fresh oxygen, that is, getting rid of the stale and taking in the fresh. A proletarian party must also get rid of the stale and take in the fresh, for only thus can it be full of vitality. Without eliminating waste matter and absorbing fresh blood the Party has no vigour." Here Chairman Mao used a simple and vivid simile to profoundly expound the dialectics of inner-Party contradictions and the objective law that only through persistent inner-Party struggle can the Party maintain its vitality. Historically speaking, the slave-owning class, the feudal landlord class and the bourgeoisie were once vigorous, revolutionary and progressive and were real tigers before they won state power and for a period afterwards. But with the lapse of time, they changed step by step into the reverse, into reactionaries, backward people, paper tigers and obstacles impeding social development and the progress of history. The proletariat is the "most far-sighted, most selfless and most thoroughly revolutionary" class. (Mao Tsetung: On the People's Democratic Dictatorship.) It is a vigorous, advanced class which fights for the realization of communism. The seizure of political power is only the beginning of a long march of the proletarian revolution. The historical mission of the proletariat is to carry the socialist revolution through to the end and abolish classes. A political party of the proletariat must reflect in a concentrated way these class characteristics of the proletariat and educate the proletariat and the masses to know their own historical mission and fight persistently for its realization. But the proletarian nature and thoroughgoing revolutionary spirit of the Party can only be maintained and developed in the course of struggle. If inner-Party struggle were not upheld, if Chairman Mao's revolutionary line were not used to defeat the revisionist line of the capitalist-roaders, then the Party would change its nature once the revisionist line dominates the Party. The Soviet Communist Party founded and led by Lenin had once been vigorous, but later when its leadership was usurped by the Soviet revisionist renegade clique, it turned into a revisionist party, a bourgeois party, a fascist party and an
extremely reactionary and decadent political force. Judging from the historical experience, both at home and abroad, and both positive and negative, isn’t it quite clear that persistence in inner-Party struggle is of tremendous significance to combating and preventing revisionism and to strengthening Party building?

**Difference in Principle Between Two Lines In Party Building**

Whether to persist in inner-Party struggle or not is a principled difference between Chairman Mao’s line and the revisionist line in Party building. Out of their counter-revolutionary political needs, chieftains of the revisionist line Liu Shao-ch’i, Lin Piao and Teng Hsiao-ping did their utmost to propagate the theory of the dying out of class struggle in Party building. They either negated the class content of inner-Party struggle by distorting it into a struggle between individuals, or attacked inner-Party struggle as “creating contradictions,” denying the objective reality that struggle exists within the Party. These fallacies fundamentally betrayed the Marxist-Leninist theory of the dictatorship of the proletariat and the theory of Party building. It was a hypocritical double-dealing tactic of chieftains of the revisionist line to preach the theory of the dying out of class struggle in Party building, a tactic designed to cover up their own frenzied attacks on the Party and the proletariat. While talking loudly about “making accommodations for the sake of overall interest,” Liu Shao-ch’i did his utmost to protect his bunch of renegades and sworn followers and rigged up his bourgeois headquarters. As for Lin Piao, while he babbled that “when two sides live in harmony, they become friends,” he plotted a counter-revolutionary armed coup, aiming at overthrowing the proletariat. Teng Hsiao-ping on the one hand denied the existence of inner-Party two-line struggle, but on the other he put forward the revisionist programme of “taking the three directives as the key link,” stepped up the organization of “restorationist legions,” and was impatient to reverse the correct appraisal of the Great Cultural Revolution and settle accounts with it. Thus it can be seen that in negating and distorting inner-Party struggle, chieftains of the revisionist line in the Party tried to disarm Party members ideologically in the face of serious class struggle and two-line struggle so that they could wantonly engage in activities to restore capitalism and change the proletarian nature of the Party and state. This tells us from the negative side that we must deepen the criticism of Teng Hsiao-ping’s revisionist line and further eliminate the pernicious influence of the theory of the dying out of class struggle.

“To lead the revolution to victory, a political party must depend on the correctness of its own political line and the solidity of its own organization.” (Mao Tsetung: *On Contradiction.*) We must, in the course of struggle to uphold Chairman Mao’s correct line and criticize the revisionist line, continuously consolidate and develop the unity of the whole Party and strive for greater victories in the revolutionary cause. To oppose Chairman Mao’s revolutionary line, chieftains of the revisionist line Liu Shao-ch’i, Lin Piao and Teng Hsiao-ping invariably engaged in counter-revolutionary activities to undermine Party unity organizationally and split the Party Central Committee headed by Chairman Mao. To maintain Party unity, we must fight resolutely against the splitist activities of these chieftains of the revisionist line in the Party. At present, we must deepen the criticism of Teng Hsiao-ping, eliminate his pernicious influence and achieve further successes in the struggle to beat back the Right deviationist wind so as to strengthen the unity of the whole Party on the basis of Chairman Mao’s revolutionary line. In the struggle, we must implement Chairman Mao’s consistent policy, pay attention to distinguishing the two types of contradictions which are different in nature and adopt correct methods. Teng Hsiao-ping’s revisionist line must be severely criticized and the policy of “learning from past mistakes to avoid future ones” and “curing the sickness to save the patient” must be taken towards those cadres who have committed mistakes. The struggle to criticize Teng Hsiao-ping and beat back the Right deviationist wind must be carried out under the unified leadership of Party committees at various levels, and no fighting groups should be formed. Party organizations must stick to the principle of grasping revolution, promoting production and other work and preparedness against war, warmly support socialist new things, guard against trouble-making and sabotage by the class enemies and see to it that work in every field continues to advance along Chairman Mao’s revolutionary line.

**This Party of Ours Has a Bright Future**

During his inspection tour in August and September 1971, Chairman Mao said: “We have been singing *The Internationale* for fifty years, yet on ten occasions certain people inside our Party tried to split it. As I see it, this may happen another ten, twenty or thirty times. You don’t believe it? You may not believe it. Anyhow I do. Will there be no more struggle when we get to Communism? I just don’t believe it. There will be struggles even then, but only between the new and the old, between what is correct and what is incorrect. Tens of thousands of years from now, what is wrong still won’t get by, it won’t stand up.” During the struggle to beat back the Right deviationist wind to reverse correct verdicts, Chairman Mao again pointed out: “Will there be need for revolution a hundred years from now? Will there still be need for revolution a thousand years from now? There is always need for revolution.” These brilliant theses of Chairman Mao’s, which brim with the revolutionary optimism characteristic of the proletariat, elucidate the protracted nature of class struggle and the two-line struggle in the Party. Historically, there was invariably a long and repeated trial of strength before a revolutionary class defeated a counter-revolutionary class. It is inconceivable that, without encountering many heart-stirring fierce strug-
gles and without going through an arduous and tortuous fighting course, the proletariat can thoroughly overthrow the bourgeoisie and all other exploiting classes, replace the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie with the dictatorship of the proletariat and capitalism with socialism and finally realize communism. All genuine Marxists are always full of confidence and plunge into the fiery revolutionary struggles to create a bright future through fighting. Evading contradictions and wearying of struggle are not part of the mental outlook of Marxists.

Chairman Mao has pointed out: "This Party of ours has a bright future." In the last half century and more, our Party has undergone major two-line struggles on many occasions, and a batch of chieftains of opportunist lines have made their appearance. However, none of them could block the swift advance of the proletarian revolutionary cause. As a result of the triumph of Chairman Mao's correct line over the opportunist lines, our Party has led the people of the entire country in achieving great victories in the new-democratic revolution and in the socialist revolution. Our Party has become purer and stronger and has further developed since the Great Cultural Revolution began. It is the proletariat and the masses of the people who want to continue the revolution, and not any social group and social forces, including the bourgeoisie inside the Party, which aim at restoration and regression, that determine the orientation of history. Since Chairman Mao's revolutionary line conforms to the objective law of historical development and represents the fundamental interests of the proletariat and the masses, it is invincible. On the contrary, chieftains of the revisionist line in the Party represent the bourgeoisie, they go against the trend of history and truth is not on their side, and they go against the will of the people and are extremely isolated, so they are bound to fail. So long as we adhere to Chairman Mao's revolutionary line, uphold the philosophy of struggle and rally closely round the Party Central Committee headed by Chairman Mao, the schemes of the bourgeoisie for restoration will meet with ignominious defeat and the revolutionary cause of the proletariat will win complete victory no matter how many more struggles there will be and no matter what changes may take place in the form of struggle.

(Translation of an article in "Hongqi," No. 7, 1976. Subheads are ours.)

One and a Half Million Barefoot Doctors in China

A PROFOUND revolution in medical and health work is in full swing in China's countryside. The main force in this revolution is the 1.5 million barefoot doctors who have come forward and become mature in the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution.

With the support of Chairman Mao and in conjunction with the poor and lower-middle peasants, they have struggled against the bourgeoisie in the Party, against class enemies in society, against the revisionist line in medical and health work and against old traditional ideas. As a result, they have shattered the monopoly of medical and health work by the bourgeoisie and firmly kept power over this work in their hands on behalf of the poor and lower-middle peasants. The co-operative medical service, based on the collective strength and with barefoot doctors as its mainstay, has been rapidly consolidated and developed, and rural medical and health work has taken on an entirely new look today.

The emergence of barefoot doctors is a socialist new thing. Since mankind entered class society, there has been a division between mental and manual labour. The exploiting classes have all along monopolized power over medical and health work, regarding the practice of medicine as a "noble" profession and doctors as intellectual aristocrats high above the labouring people. It is the barefoot doctors who have done away with the exploiting classes' age-old monopoly. Serving as doctors who treat and help prevent diseases, they remain ordinary commune members who are not divorced from collective farm work and share in the collective distribution. They are a contingent of new-type medical personnel who are concurrently peasants and doctors doing both mental and manual work.

Barefoot doctors are promoters in restricting bourgeois right and narrowing the differences between town and country, between worker and peasant and between mental and manual labour. Many of them have been selected and promoted to be members-of leading bodies at various levels or recommended for study at medical colleges. Although their status has changed, they retain the fine qualities of the working people. Wang Kuei-chun, who was among the first group of barefoot doctors in the country from the Chiangchen People's Commune on the outskirts of Shanghai, is now a leading cadre in the Ministry of Public Health. No matter how busy she is, she always takes time out to participate in collective productive labour and, like an ordinary peasant,
shares in the collective distribution of the commune where she works.

Last September, when the Right deviationist wind to reverse correct verdicts was at its height in the educational circles, Li Su-chen, a barefoot doctor of the Luchiayu People's Commune in Tsunhua County in north China's Hopei Province, graduated from a medical college in the province. The college authorities planned to assign her to work at the college, but she volunteered to go back to her village to be a barefoot doctor doing manual labour alongside the masses, living by sharing in the collective distribution.

It has been the custom since ancient times for the sick to go to the doctors for treatment. Who has ever heard of doctors offering their services of their own accord to the patients? But that is precisely what the barefoot doctors are doing. Breaking with the traditional way of doing things, they bring medicine to the patients and treat them at their homes.

Padma Tsering, a barefoot doctor on the northern part of the Tibetan Plateau, has toured the vast pastur- elands for nine years with a medical kit. There was a herdman whose limbs had become stiff for many years due to arthritis. Undaunted by the long distance that had to be covered, Padma Tsering visited him regularly and gave him more than 50 treatments in four months, which finally enabled the patient to stand up.

Fu Ya-tung, a 50-year-old barefoot doctor of Li nationality in Paisha County of Kwangtung Province, not only brings medicine to the patients but has set up a few beds in his own house so that the patients can stay there for treatment.

To study the properties of herbal medicines and the effect of needling on some acupuncture points, many barefoot doctors have experimented on themselves at the risk of their own lives. Some even make a cut in the leg or arm to cause infection or inflammation in order to test the efficacy of some herbal medicines in stopping bleeding and inflammation. This is in sharp contrast to the practice of some bourgeois "specialists" and "authorities" who feel no qualms about experimenting on the working people in order to obtain data for their papers.

Influenced by the revisionist line in medical and health work before the Great Cultural Revolution, the hospitals followed an overly elaborate division of labour and had a complex set of rigid regulations and restrictions. As a result, those who studied medicine understood little about pharmacology, surgeons knew little about internal medicine and doctors of Western medicine were ignorant of traditional Chinese medicine, while those giving medical treatment did nothing about the prevention of diseases. But barefoot doctors, who live among the poor and lower-middle peasants and become one with them, try hard to learn to cure and prevent common or recurrent diseases in the rural areas.
areas; they are good at both Chinese and Western medicine, are capable of giving medical treatment, preparing herbal medicines and doing prevention work. They show the greatest concern for their patients and constantly do their best to perfect their medical skill.

Chang Li-fang, a barefoot doctor on the outskirts of Shanghai, pays attention to summing up her experience gained in practice. She has succeeded in resuscitating five children and an old man who were nearly drowned. She was invited to give a talk about her experience at the Shanghai branch of the Chinese Medical Society.

The revolution in rural medical and health work, with the barefoot doctors as its backbone force, has mobilized hundreds of millions of people to participate in disease prevention and curative work, thereby bringing about a radical change in rural areas where medicine and doctors used to be short. In this way, they have taken their own destiny into their own hands. This is a great pioneering undertaking in the history of mankind.

In old China ruled by imperialists, feudal landlords and bureaucrat-capitalists, poverty and disease were like twin devils plaguing the working people. After liberation the labouring people became masters of the country under the leadership of Chairman Mao and the Chinese Communist Party. Medical and health work in the rural areas has begun to improve and some diseases that used to seriously menace the health of the peasants have been gradually brought under control.

But before the start of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution in 1966, due to the sabotage and interference by Liu Shao-chi's revisionist line, the stress of medical and health work was laid on the cities at the expense of the countryside and on curative work to the neglect of disease prevention. The rural areas remained short of medicine and doctors as compared with the cities. During the Cultural Revolution, Liu Shao-chi's revisionist line has been criticized and barefoot doctors have grown up fast. To date, 85 per cent of the production brigades in China's countryside have set up co-operative medical services. Thus medical and health work in the rural areas has undergone a fundamental change. A general investigation of some endemic and parasitic diseases endangering the lives of the people has been carried out mainly by the barefoot doctors through the co-operative medical service and the patients have been given proper treatment.

In the hilly Lunghua County of Hopei Province, 17 per cent of the population used to suffer from goitre, by and large a legacy of the old society. General check-ups and treatment have been carried out by barefoot doctors with the aid of professionals since 1974 under the leadership of the county Party committee, and some 20,000 patients have regained their health as a result. The county's barefoot doctors have so far successfully performed 662 of the 1,100 thyroidectomies.

Schistosomiasis was once widespread in Kunshan County, Kiangsu Province. Repeated treatment was given to those suffering from the disease in the last six years, and the work was mainly done by the barefoot doctors. The result was the number of patients was reduced to 10 per cent of the original total. Host snails have been eliminated in an area 11 times as large as the total area for the 17 years before the Cultural Revolution.

On the eve of the 11th anniversary of the issuance of Chairman Mao's directive on June 26, 1965 that "in medical and health work, put the stress on the rural areas," a meeting on the work of barefoot doctors was held in the place where they originated — the Chiang-chen People's Commune in Chuansha County in Shanghai. The participants — representatives of barefoot doctors of various nationalities from all over the country — conscientiously studied Chairman Mao's important instructions, reviewed the excellent situation in the revolution in medical and health work in the countryside, criticized Teng Hsiao-ping's counter-revolutionary revisionist line in a deep-going way and repulsed the Right deviationist attempt to reverse correct verdicts. They expressed the determination to take class struggle as the key link, forge ahead along Chairman Mao's revolutionary line in medical and health work and win still greater victories in the revolution in medical and health work.
The Munich Approach Leads to A Blind Alley

Last year's Helsinki conference on European security is a trap set by the Soviet Union and a product of the Munich trend that is very much in evidence in the United States and Europe. Events in the subsequent 12 months, while exploding Moscow's "detente" myth, have made it abundantly clear that the Munich approach will lead to nowhere.

A year ago, Brezhnev toasted the Final Act of the Helsinki conference as a remarkable achievement and seized the occasion to chant praises of "detente." But even then, many in Western Europe already began comparing the Helsinki powwow to the Munich conference of 1938. And the view has since been accepted by more and more people.

The Munich trend in the 1970s is not accidental. Soviet social-imperialism has "embarked" on a frenzied arms drive for war and, with its swollen military buildup, has been carrying out penetration and expansion everywhere. Its ambition is to redraw the map of the world to its advantage. In the case of U.S. imperialism, it finds itself on the defensive in the scramble for hegemony with the Soviet Union because several wars of aggression after World War II have markedly sapped its strength. In the circumstances, certain office holders have become obsessed with illusions that Soviet "restraint" can be obtained by appeasement and that their vested interest can best be preserved at the expense of others.
But this is only wishful thinking. The Munich approach has brought Europe no security but endless worries. Public opinion in the West has drawn the conclusion that the policy of appeasement has never succeeded in the past.

**Illusions Dashed**

Some people fondly believe that Soviet assurances for a secure and stable Western Europe can be gained by recognizing Soviet hegemony in Eastern Europe. This has proved to be illusive. Before the ink dried on the Helsinki document, the Soviet Union began to reach out its talons to Portugal, to the "soft underbelly" in Southern Europe, and to Angola, which lies near a strategic passage and an oil route vital to Western Europe.

In the past year, the Moscow bigwigs also have tried to make use of the revisionist parties of Western Europe for their own benefits. Brezhnev has already let it be known that it must be an "illusion" to think that for the sake of "detente" the Soviet Union would reorientate itself in the way of interpreting and solving questions along its own lines.

When the Helsinki document was signed, some people consoled themselves with the thought that a document is better than none and that it could restrain the Soviet Union from committing aggression. Indeed, Moscow has called the ten principles listed in the document governing international relations as the "Ten Commandments." But facts have shown that no such articles as "non-intervention in internal affairs" and "refraining from the use of force or the threat of force" have ever had any binding force on the Soviet Union in its expansionist activities. After the Helsinki conference, the Soviet Union increased, and not decreased, its intrusions into the airspace and territorial waters of the European countries, increased, and not decreased, its military exercises and those of the Warsaw Pact armed forces in and around continental Europe, increased, and not decreased, its military buildup in Europe. Two months after the conference, it went back on its word and concluded a new treaty with the German Democratic Republic, stressing the "inviolability of the frontiers" between the two Germany. In Moscow's eyes, the provisions of the document hold good only when they serve Soviet aims, but must be scrapped when they do not. This is how all aggressors and expansionists operate.

Another pipe dream of the followers of appeasement is to "tightly bind the Soviet Union in a network of economic, technical and cultural links" through "co-operation" in these fields and thus to soften it into a "moderate" country. However, the fact is, as pointed out by some West Europeans, "economic co-operation" presents an opportunity to the Soviet Union. Politically the slogan makes it possible for the Kremlin to huff and split the Western countries while economically acquiring tens of millions of tons of imported grain and tens of billions of dollars of low-interest loans as well as technology and equipment for several hundred projects. It is a bonanza for coping with the economic difficulties at home and speeding up its arms expansion and war preparations.

M. Woerner, defence spokesman of the West German opposition, pointed out that it is simply a suicidal act for the West to render technological and financial help to the Soviet Union and the Warsaw Pact so that they can step up their arms buildup.

"It is not worthwhile to fight a total war for Europe," argue some "new isolationists." By a similar argument that Britain should not risk war with Hitler over Sudetenland, Chamberlain connived at Hitler's invasion of Czechoslovakia. But in pursuing such a self-seeking Munich policy, he lifted a rock only to drop it on his own toes. Connivance only whets the appetite of the aggressor and hastens the outbreak of war.

**Voice Against Appeasement**

Over the past year since the European security conference, the vicious nature of social-imperialism has been completely exposed and the danger of the policy of appeasement has been more clearly recognized by many. The voice against connivance and appeasement is growing stronger. British Conservative M.P. Sir Frederic Bennett pointed out recently at the Western European Union Assembly: "The detente, as it is carried out now in the West, seems to have, in many respects, the same consequences as appeasement in the era of the Munich agreements." He stressed that the West should not be "unmindful of the disastrous effects of misreading the Hitlerite reality in the 30s." British Admiral Peter Hill-Norton said: "Experiences in history themselves prove that it is impossible to avoid an aggression by appeasement, by evasion, or by the acceptance of the validity of declarations with good intention which have a face value only." Many U.S. personages also pointed out repeatedly the danger of appeasement towards Soviet expansion. Some West Europeans said that at present the Soviet Union looks powerful, but in fact it is not a colossus. Western Europe can grasp its own destiny by casting away illusions and strengthening its defense and unity.

Historical lessons, the very real danger and the deeds of the new tsars all show that the Munich approach can only lead to a blind alley.

(A commentary by Hsinhua Correspondent)
Latin American countries and their people are pushing their struggle ahead against imperialism and hegemonism as the contention between the two superpowers grows fiercer in that part of the world. While keeping up their opposition to the hegemonic policy of the superpower north of the Rio Grande, an increasing number of countries are taking stricter precautions to guard against the Soviet social-imperialists who are bent on military expansion and political and economic infiltration.

In the first part of June, Santiago, the venue of the 6th General Assembly of the Organization of American States (O.A.S.), witnessed something which had never happened before in the history of this inter-American system. The rulers in the Kremlin were taken to task by a number of Latin American countries. They were denounced, vigorously and in no uncertain terms, for masterminding the armed invasion of Angola by mercenaries. Representatives to the meeting were on record that they opposed Soviet interference in the internal affairs of Latin American countries and called for strengthening Latin American defense against Soviet military expansion.

For years the O.A.S. had been a tool with which the United States gained control over Latin America. But as the 60s drew to a close, the Latin American countries, victims of oppression and enslavement, began to take a common stand against U.S. power politics in this inter-American organization.

An Emerging Situation: "Guarding Against The Tiger While Repelling the Wolf"

Today Soviet social-imperialism finds itself arraigned in the same dock with the United States. For Latin America too, a new situation is shaping up in which the Latin American people are "guarding against the tiger while repelling the wolf." This is an important indication that in the context of the new world situation the anti-imperialist, anti-hegemonic struggle of Latin American countries and their people has developed in depth.

Latin American countries have come to realize the expansionist and aggressive nature of Soviet social-imperialism through their own experience, though in a gradual way.

Self-Revelation in Angola

The Soviet armed intervention in Angola by mercenaries has awakened Latin American countries to the menace of social-imperialism to their rights and interests and security. The soldiers of fortune the Soviet Union pitched into the war it let loose in Africa were recruited in Latin America, an act of aggression which put the Latin American countries on the South Atlantic seaboard in immediate danger of Soviet military expansion. Therefore, the Angolan incident has served to expose the essence of social-imperialism before the Latin American countries and in particular to increase their anxiety. Denunciations of social-imperialism were heard even before the meeting in the Chilean capital. Some South American countries have held consultations on the questions of strengthening their joint defense against the Soviet Union.

The Soviet resort to force in Angola is a new and big self-revelation. In recent years, while locked in a fierce scramble with the United States in Western Europe, the Middle East and other parts of the world, the Soviet Union has tried every tactic to gain a foothold in the U.S. "backyard." Economic and military "aid" or trade was used as blandishment. K.G.B. agents were planted in mass organizations and even in the armed forces to carry out subversive activities. What is particularly cunning in Soviet expansion in Latin America is its disguise as "supporter of the national-liberation movement." But developments in...
Friendship Notes

A Visit to Mexico and Venezuela

During the Chinese gymnastic team's visit to Mexico, the gymnasts of China and Mexico gave 11 performances in a number of cities and exchanged experiences. This has helped enhance mutual understanding between the two countries.

The team arrived one evening in Tampico city along the Mexico Gulf after eight and a half hours' travel by bus. The original schedule allowed them to stay there for only one night. The city's gymnasium built to seat 1,500 people was already packed and couldn't accommodate all the hospitable Tampico people who wanted to see their Chinese friends from Peking perform. So some makeshift was done and the gymnasts of the two countries started setting up what gymnastic apparatuses they had to present their programme. As soon as the performance was over, the audience congratulated them, saying: "Your exquisite technique leaves us with an unforgettable impression." "Seeing you is like seeing your great China."

In Venezuela, when a farewell performance in Maracay city's gymnasium was about to begin, suddenly tropical thunders and lightning cut off the electricity. Dim lighting coming from a flashlight was sent onto the stage, and the Chinese and Venezuelans coaches gesticulated to each other and to the gymnasts to go on with their show. Soon the lights were on again. Warm applause broke out when the first number actually began.

A bus was dashing along a highway on the Andes Mt. Oscar, who drove the bus for the Chinese gymnasts, told them that it had been used by the delegation of a superpower which plundered his country's rich oil resources. The Venezuelan people had hated the superpower, he said, that stones had been thrown at the bus, breaking the glass. Pointing to the marks and scars left on the glass, he said: "When I looked at the bus I used to get an idea of not wanting to drive for foreigners. But it's different this time. You are our real friends. You Chinese people treat drivers as your friends."

A month-long friendship visit to Mexico and Venezuela was over. The expressions of deep friendship demonstrated by the people of Mexico and Venezuela have given the Chinese gymnasts memorable impressions.

Friendship Canal

Parwan, named after a province in Afghanistan, is a water conservancy project built by the joint efforts of Afghan and Chinese workers and technicians. Construction began with diverting the water of the Panjsher River. The project includes a 24-kilometre trunk canal and three auxiliary canals extending for a total length of 62 kilometres. Besides there are a small hydropower station and a pumping station. Through this canal system, the water of the Panjsher River irrigates 25,000 hectares of land on the Parwan plains.

Parwan Province suffers from a scarcity of water. There is plenty of snow in winter but drought is a common occurrence in summer and autumn. During the summer and autumn seasons when snow on the high mountains on both banks of the Panjsher River melts, the water comes rushing down into the river to flood the mountainous areas in northeast Parwan Province. The river water cannot reach the plains in the southeastern parts of the province because the mountains and valleys stand in the way. In dry seasons, the people have great difficulties in getting water for daily use.

Thanks to several years of hard work by the Afghan and Chinese workers and technicians, Parwan plains, once lying waste because of droughts, are now crisscrossed by gurgling canals. Green wheat fields and thriving vineyards are a particular attraction. The inhabitants in the capital of Parwan Province who have long worried about their drinking water now have clean water, thanks to the Friendship Canal, as the Parwan canal is called by the local people.

Mohammad Gul, the Governor of Parwan Province, said with deep emotion: "When people drink the water of the Panjsher River, they naturally think that the friendship between the two peoples of Afghanistan and China should flow for ever like the Panjsher River."

Doing Medical Work in Madagascar

It is a year since the first group of a Chinese medical team arrived in Madagascar. Close ties of co-operation have since been established between the medical workers of China and Madagascar, as a result of the concern, support and trust of the Malagasy Government and people.

Language barrier was the first difficulty to be overcome by the Chinese medics when work started. Malagasy medical workers thought out many ways to help their Chinese friends learn the rudiments of the country's language. They collected equivalents in French and Malagasy to teach them words for local common diseases and patients' ordinary vocabulary. Apart from that, they joined their friends in treating patients and making the rounds of wards. The Chinese medical workers not only got over their language difficulties, but also greatly benefited from the experience of their Malagasy colleagues in diagnosing and curing common diseases in the country.

Together, the medical workers of the two countries performed a complicated operation on a peasant who had been seriously wounded in a car collision. They took turns in watching over the patient round the clock for 43 days until the peasant completely recovered and was discharged from the hospital. Ectopic pregnancy was diagnosed for a peasant in another case. They performed a Caesarean operation on her to allow the fetus to breathe and then remove the placenta from the abdominal cavity. The difficult operation saved both mother and baby who left the
Chinese doctors applied acupuncture to cure many diseases in Madagascar. This device based on traditional Chinese medicine was welcomed especially when the efficacy of using acupuncture instead of anesthetics in surgery and shifting the cataract with a needle-like spatula out of the field of vision became evident. The successful treatment aroused interest among the Malagasy medical workers. They gradually mastered this technique after careful observation and hard study. Last April, Surgeon Justin and Chief Nurse Roger used acupuncture anesthesia for the first time to successfully remove thyroid tumors from two patients.

**Warmhearted Friends in New Zealand**

China put on an art and craft exhibition for two weeks in Christchurch, a cultural city in New Zealand's South Island. The exhibition hall, inside and outside, exuded profound friendship between the two peoples of China and New Zealand.

Visitors came from all parts of the country. Among them was a Mrs. Jackson, who saw the exhibition five times, sometimes with her husband, and sometimes with friends and neighbors. On exhibit were articles of ivory and jade carving, embroidery, tapestry, pottery and porcelain, plaiting, lacquer ware, and cloisonne. All attracted the viewers who praised the exhibition as an instance of "weeding through the old to bring forth the new." One artist said to his Chinese friends: "Although there is no chance for me to visit your country, this exhibition makes it possible for me to see the Chinese people's spirit of hard work for the prosperity of the country."

Friends in New Zealand gave the exhibition much help, from arranging the exhibits to organizing the opening. During the time when the Chinese personnel were busy putting up the exhibits, a grey-headed man carded several times to help. His offer was accepted, and the old man took great care to dust the exhibits. It became known during a chat that he was Pip Alley, the younger brother of Rewi Alley, an old friend of the Chinese people. Every day, there were visitors who volunteered to be guides for the exhibition. They, too, wore the oblong badge for staff personnel. One of them was the over 60-year-old MacArthur, Vice-Chairman of the New Zealand-China Association for Friendship. Rain or shine, he worked assiduously explaining the exhibits to visitors. In the evenings, he wrote commentaries on China's art and craft.

**French Chamber Music**

Recently, the Toulouse National Chamber Orchestra made a week tour of Kwangchow and Peking.

Twelve artists made up the ensemble, the oldest was an accomplished musician over 70 and the youngest only 19.

They presented a programme of works by French and other European composers of the 18th century, such as *Apotrope de Lully* by F. Couperin, *Eine kleine Nachtmusik* by W. A. Mozart and *Four Seasons* by A. Vivaldi. They also played the popular Chinese melody *Song of Liberation*.

During their stay in Peking, they visited the Central Philharmonic Society of China and exchanged experiences with Chinese musicians.

**Chinese Films Abroad**

- Since the beginning of this year, Vientiane has been showing Chinese films distributed by the Lao Government. They include feature films *The Guerrillas Sweep the Plains* and *Reconnaissance Across the Yangtze* and documentaries *Red Flag Canal*, *People of Huishan County Are Fine* and *Chengtu-Kunming Railway*. The Lao audience praised the spirit of hard struggle and self-reliance of the Chinese people and the rapid progress made by the Chinese film industry.

These films were also shown in Savannakhet, Pakse, Luang Prabang and elsewhere. Lao mobile projection teams brought Chinese scientific and educational films *Bamboo and Raising Ducks* to the mountain villages in Sam Neua Province.

- The First Teheran International Women's Film Festival was held in Iran from May 6 to 14.

Iran and China were among the ten-odd countries which had sent films to the festival. The Chinese colour film *The Red Detachment of Women* was shown twice and warmly welcomed by the cinemagoers.

- Chinese colour films *Bright Red Star*, *The Guerrillas Sweep the Plains*, *Ode to the Yimeng Mountains* and *Sons and Daughters of the Grassland* were recently on show in Conakry, capital of Guinea, and other Guinean cities. The audience said Chinese films were rich in content and of educational significance.

- The Chinese colour film *Breaking With Old Ideas* was shown at a soirée in Paris sponsored by the France-China Friendship Society.

Over 4,000 Parisians, including workers, students and women, saw the film which deals with the struggle between the two lines on China's educational front. They gave the film repeated applause.

A discussion, presided over by Madame Marchinio, Secretary-General of the society, was held after the show. Some friendly personages who had been to China gave an account of what they knew about China: the achievements of the revolution in education they had seen for themselves and the struggle now being victoriously waged by the Chinese people to repulse the Right deviationist attempt to reverse correct verdicts and to criticize Teng Hsiao-ping's revisionist line.

- *Breaking With Old Ideas* was given two runs at the 26th West Berlin International Film Festival. Most of the spectators were young students. Another Chinese film *Kwamtyung Sports Blossom* was also shown at the festival.

- The Chinese film *From Victory to Victory* was on show at four cinemas in Athens in May. A ceremony attended by more than 1,000 people was held on May 17 in the Greek capital to mark its premiere.
AZANIA

Indomitable People

Defying the reactionary authorities' repression and persecution, the black people, including students in the Soweto Township of Johannesburg, have since August 4 and 5 continued their struggles against the racist regime.

The demonstrators at a rally strongly demanded the release of the black people and students unwarrantedly arrested by the reactionary Vorster authorities during mass demonstrations in mid-June. The student demonstrators shouted the slogan "Free the detainees!" and sang freedom songs.

The black demonstrators, having broken through police cordons, marched on to Johannesburg. Panic-stricken, the South African authorities sent out a police force which attacked with tear-gas and opened fire on the unarmed demonstrators, killing three of them, wounding 18 others and putting many black students under arrest.

Similar demonstrations were also held in other parts of Johannesburg.

In mid-June, several thousand black students were cruelly suppressed in their large-scale demonstrations against the racist regime. More than 170 people were killed, over 1,000 wounded and many innocent people arrested. This bloody massacre was strongly condemned by the people of Africa and the world over.

The latest demonstration in early August testifies to the fact that the black masses' just cause is indestructible.

The atrocities of the Vorster racists, however, are not sign of strength but a further exposure of their ferocity and weakness. This is a lesson to the people by negative example: the racists' reactionary nature of hostility towards the Azanian people and the African people will never change. Only through armed struggle will the Azanian people overthrow the reactionary South African rule and win independence and liberation. The resolution on southern Africa adopted at the recent Conference of Heads of State and Government of the Organization of African Unity has solemnly declared: "The only effective guarantee for the African people of South Africa against the repetition of the massacres is the launching of the armed struggle for the seizure of power by the people." This clearly shows that the awakened people of Azania, southern Africa and the whole continent are determined to end the reactionary racist rule in Africa and win the complete liberation of the continent. They will not cease fighting until their goal is achieved.

WEST AFRICA

Developing Agriculture and Animal Husbandry Despite Drought

Relying on their own strength and taking various positive measures to fight natural disasters, a number of drought-afflicted countries in West Africa have over the last few years made good achievements in restoring and developing agriculture and livestock breeding. This demonstrates the tremendous strength of the countries and peoples in developing their national economies once they are free from colonial rule.

In the last few years, West Africa was hit by the worst drought in more than 60 years. Among the most seriously affected were Niger, Mali, Upper Volta, Mauritania and Senegal where drought lasted for six to nine years. Many rivers and wells dried up, and there was a drastic drop in the lake water level, causing great damage to agricultural production and livestock breeding.

The governments and people of these countries, however, have taken positive measures to overcome the difficulties caused by natural calamities. A national relief commission set up in Mali provided the afflicted areas with food grains, seeds and water pumps. In 1973 and 1974, Mauritania issued 180,000 tons of relief grain and sent mobile medical teams to the afflicted areas to check the spread of diseases. People in drought-stricken areas were mobilized to grow vegetables as a measure to counter the food shortage.

Besides rushing means of livelihood to the afflicted areas, the Upper Volta Government worked out an intermediate development plan under which funds were allocated for setting up seed storages and peasants were provided with good strains of seeds and loans. The use of chemical fertilizer and ploughing by ox were popularized while the prices for oxen and farm tools were reduced.

In Chad, the government which launched a campaign for agricultural production called on the people to rebuild the country. It set up an anti-drought commission and made decisions on restoring livestock breeding.

In adopting its three-year development programme for 1978-80, Niger stressed first of all the need to rehabilitate the national economy through self-reliance. Under the programme, 33.6 per cent of the funds allocated for the public sector will be spent on agricultural production.

Drought in all these years has enabled the governments and peoples of these countries to see more clearly the importance of the construction of water conservancy projects in farming and animal husbandry. The Senegalese Government has set up a general bureau for irrigation and agricultural installations under the Ministry of Rural Development and Hydraulics which is entrusted with the job of implementing the government's water conservancy policies and working on irrigation projects like the sinking of wells. Since 1973, investments in irrigation projects have totalled 7,000 million GFA.
The Malian people opened up large tracts of land on the banks of the tributaries of the Niger River and turned them into irrigated crop-land. Mauritanian farmers from the regions of Fael, Gorgom, and other areas have used these watered areas to expand their paddy fields, creating an irrigation network. In Upper Volta, 900 wells were sunk by the end of 1975, one-third of them by indigenous methods. In addition, 30 dams were repaired to conserve water against drought.

The Senegal government has completed the Fael Project, a 35-kilometre-long canal has been built in the region of Faelve with a capacity of irrigating 7,500 hectares of sugar-cane fields. Several ring-shape dykes, pumping stations and canals have been built, forming an irrigation network in this region.

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"Are the United States and its allies in peril?" This was the question raised by the author in his article. His own answer was in the affirmative. "Yes, the United States and its allies are in danger, and the danger is increasing with every passing day. The growing imbalance of military forces is one stark measure of the danger," he added.

Referring to the "strategic, postures in Europe and the Middle East, there are-yearning in the country for a return to the 19th century policies of isolation." "This yearning is of course illusion," he said. The world "must be described today not as a 'postwar' world but as a 'pseudowar' world: a world in which the threats to our vital interests are often oblique and well disguised — outflanking movements rather than open invasions; proxy wars..."

In his view, if the United States loses on the Middle East front, it would lose not merely a battle but the war itself. "For what is at stake in the Middle East is... the independence of Europe, and therefore the world balance of power. If we are driven from Europe and the Mediterranean, we should be alone in an ominous world, as Britain was after the fall of France in 1940."

However, he continued, there would be a great difference between the U.S. situation in such an event and that of Britain in 1940. In 1940, it was always reasonable for Britain to expect that some day the Soviet Union and the United States would be drawn into the war, and that Hitler would be overthrown. If the United States fails promptly to restore its position in Europe and the Middle East, there would be no potential allies to join it in the struggle, and it would be truly alone in a hostile world.

"Under those circumstances, would we arm to the teeth, to prepare for the worst, or would we accept the role which is the essence of the Soviet concept of detente — that we and Western Europe should faithfully supply the Soviet Union with food, consumer goods, and high technology on favourable credit terms, and leave the serious business of world politics to her?"

"The claim that detente with the Soviet Union has been achieved is an absurdity from start to finish, half public relations and half wishful thinking. It goes far beyond the permissible limits of political puffing."

"There has been no improvement in our relations with the Soviet Union. Soviet policy is exactly what it has always been, except that its pressures are greater and more diverse than ever, more sophisticated in style, and more difficult to deal with.

'Negotiation' has not replaced 'confrontation' in the policies of the Soviet Union. The Soviet Union continues to pursue programmes of expansion backed by modern sea power and airlift capability, and by military budgets which in scale and rate of growth have no parallel in modern history."

In Rostow's opinion, some U.S. leaders' comment on "detente" is "an anthology of error."

Latin America subsequent to the Angolan incident make clear that it is more and more difficult for the Soviet Union to bluff and deceive in Latin America by using this fake signboard.

In the past year or two, especially after the Angolan incident, the United States has noticeably intensified its activities in Latin America. In the short space of four months this year, Secretary of State Kissinger went twice to Latin America, visiting ten countries in all. Washington continues to push a stick-and-carrot policy towards the Latin American countries. The aim remains to be to contain the Latin American national and democratic movements and at the same time prevent infiltration by the Soviet Union.

Irreconcilable Contradictions With The Two Superpowers

In their struggles against the two superpowers, the Latin American countries are clearly aware of their irreconcilable contradictions with them. To deal with hegemony, it is imperative for the Latin American countries to strengthen solidarity among themselves and with other countries of the third world. At the time of the 6th General Assembly of the O.A.S., two events took place in Latin America which showed the growing tendency in Latin American countries towards supporting each other and co-operating in unity. One was a resolution adopted at the second ministerial meeting of the Latin American Council of the Latin American Economic System (SELA) to denounce the new U.S. Trade Act and a decision taken on the establishment of several action committees to co-ordinate the economic development of its member countries; the other occurred in the Caribbean region where the two superpowers are locked in a wild scramble — the action by Prime Ministers of Trinidad and Tobago, Guyana and Barbados to provide Jamaica with a loan of 87 million U.S. dollars in an effort to help it tide over difficulties caused by the drastic drop in foreign exchange reserves. The co-operation and mutual support among the Latin American countries will contribute not only to the economic development of each country, but will also help them to shake off dependence on the superpowers. This definitely will be conducive to the further development of the common anti-imperialist, anti-hegemonic struggle of the Latin American countries.