

PEKING REVIEW

48

November 29, 1968

Report to the Second Plenary Session of The Seventh Central Committee of The Communist Party of China

北

京

周

報

MAO TSE-TUNG

March 5, 1949

Chairman Mao, Vice-Chairman Lin and Premier Chou Warmly Greet 24th Anniversary of Liberation of Albania

*Conscientiously Study the History of the
Struggle Between the Two Lines*

Editorial of Renmin Ribao, Hongqi and Jiefangjun Bao

CHAIRMAN MAO TSE-TUNG'S

LATEST DIRECTIVE

Historical experience merits attention. Line and viewpoint must be talked over constantly and repeatedly. It won't do to talk them over with only a few people; they must be made known to all the revolutionary masses.

REPORT TO THE SECOND PLENARY SESSION OF THE SEVENTH CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF CHINA*

MAO TSE-TUNG

March 5, 1949

I

With the conclusion of the Liaohsi-Shenyang, Huai-Hai and Peiping-Tientsin campaigns, the main force of the Kuomintang army has been destroyed. Only a million odd of its combat troops are left, dispersed over vast areas from Sinkiang to Taiwan and over extremely long fronts. From now on there can be only three patterns for disposing of these Kuomintang troops — the Tientsin pattern, the Peiping pattern or the Suiyuan pattern. To dispose of the enemy forces by fighting, as we did in Tientsin, must still be the primary object of our attention and preparations. The commanders and fighters of the entire Chinese People's Liberation Army absolutely must not relax in the least their will to fight; any thinking that relaxes the will to fight and belittles the enemy is wrong. The possibility has increased for solutions on the Peiping pattern, that is, to compel enemy troops to reorganize peacefully, quickly and thoroughly into the People's Liberation Army in conformity with the latter's system. For the purpose of rapidly eliminating the vestiges of counter-revolution and liquidating its political influence, this solution is not quite as effective as the solution by fight-

ing. However, it is bound to occur and is unavoidable after the main force of the enemy has been destroyed; furthermore, it is advantageous to our army and the people because casualties and destruction can be avoided. Therefore, the leading comrades of the various field armies should all pay attention to this form of struggle and learn how to use it. This is one form of struggle, a form of struggle without bloodshed; it does not mean that problems can be solved without struggle. The Suiyuan pattern is deliberately to keep part of the Kuomintang troops wholly or nearly intact, that is, to make temporary concessions to these troops in order to help win them over to our side or neutralize them politically. Thereby, we can concentrate our forces to finish off the main part of the remnant Kuomintang forces first and then, after a certain period (say, a few months, half a year or a year later), proceed to reorganize these troops into the People's Liberation Army in conformity with its system. That is another form of struggle. It will preserve more of the vestiges and political influence of counter-revolution than the Peiping form and for a longer period. But there is not the slightest doubt that they will eventually be eliminated. It must never be assumed that, once they yield to us, the counter-revolutionaries turn into revolutionaries,

that their counter-revolutionary ideas and designs cease to exist. Definitely not. Many of the counter-revolutionaries will be remoulded, some will be sifted out, and certain die-hard counter-revolutionaries will be suppressed.

II

The People's Liberation Army is always a fighting force. Even after country-wide victory, our army will remain a fighting force during the historical period in which classes have not been abolished in our country and the imperialist system still exists in the world. On this point there should be no misunderstanding or wavering. The People's Liberation Army is also a working force; this will be the case especially when the Peiping or the Suiyuan pattern of solution is used in the south. With the gradual decrease in hostilities, its function as a working force will increase. There is a possibility that before very long the entire People's Liberation Army will be turned into a working force, and we must take this possibility into account. The 53,000 cadres now ready to leave with the army for the south are very inadequate for the vast new areas we shall soon hold, and we must prepare to turn all the field armies, 2,100,000 strong, into a working force. In that event, there will be enough cadres and the work can develop over large areas. We must look upon the field armies

* The Seventh Central Committee of the Communist Party of China held its Second Plenary Session in Hsipaipo Village, Pingshan County, Hopei Province, from March 5 to 13, 1949. Thirty-four members and nineteen alternate members of the Central Committee were present. This session, which was convened on the eve of the country-wide victory of the Chinese people's revolution, was extremely important. In his report at the session, Comrade Mao Tse-tung set forth policies to promote the speedy achievement of the country-wide victory of the revolution and to organize this victory. He explained that with this victory the centre of gravity of the Party's work should be shifted from the village to the city, defined the basic political, economic and foreign policies the Party should adopt after victory and set the general tasks and main course for transforming China from an agricultural into an industrial country, from a new-democratic into a socialist society. In particular, he analysed the current conditions in the different sectors of China's economy and the correct policies the Party had to adopt, pointed out the necessary ways to realize

with their 2,100,000 men as a gigantic school for cadres.

III

From 1927 to the present the centre of gravity of our work has been in the villages — gathering strength in the villages, using the villages in order to surround the cities and then taking the cities. The period for this method of work has now ended. The period of "from the city to the village" and of the city leading the village has now begun. The centre of gravity of the Party's work has shifted from the village to the city. In the south the People's Liberation Army will occupy first the cities and then the villages. Attention must be given to both city and village and it is necessary to link closely urban and rural work, workers and peasants, industry and agriculture. Under no circumstances should the village be ignored and only the city given attention; such thinking is entirely wrong. Nevertheless, the centre of gravity of the work of the Party and the army must be in the cities; we must do our utmost to learn how to administer and build the cities. In the cities we must learn how to wage political, economic and cultural struggles against the imperialists, the Kuomintang and the bourgeoisie and also how to wage diplomatic struggles against the imperialists. We must learn how to carry on overt struggles against them, we must also learn how to carry on covert struggles

the socialist transformation in China, criticized various "Left" and Right deviations on this question and expressed the firm conviction that China's economy would develop at a comparatively high speed. Comrade Mao Tse-tung appraised the new situation in the class struggle both at home and abroad following the victory of the Chinese people's democratic revolution and gave timely warning that the "sugar-coated bullets" of the bourgeoisie would become the main danger to the proletariat. All this gives the document great significance for a long historical period. This report and his article *On the People's Democratic Dictatorship*, written in June of the same year, formed the basis for the policies embodied in the Common Programme adopted by the First Plenary Session of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference, which served as a provisional constitution after the founding of New China. The Second Plenary Session of the Seventh Central Committee of the Party adopted a resolution based on Comrade Mao Tse-tung's report. After the session, the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China moved from Hsipaipo, Pingshan County, Hopei Province to Peiping.

against them. If we do not pay attention to these problems, if we do not learn how to wage these struggles against them and win victory in the struggles, we shall be unable to maintain our political power, we shall be unable to stand on our feet, we shall fail. After the enemies with guns have been wiped out, there will still be enemies without guns; they are bound to struggle desperately against us, and we must never regard these enemies lightly. If we do not now raise and understand the problem in this way, we shall commit the gravest mistakes.

IV

On whom shall we rely in our struggles in the cities? Some muddle-headed comrades think we should rely not on the working class but on the masses of the poor. Some comrades who are even more muddle-headed think we should rely on the bourgeoisie. As for the direction of industrial development, some muddle-headed comrades maintain that we should chiefly help the development of private enterprise and not state enterprise, whereas others hold the opposite view that it suffices to pay attention to state enterprise and that private enterprise is of little importance. We must criticize these muddled views. We must whole-heartedly rely on the working class, unite with the rest of the labouring masses, win over the intellectuals and win over to our side as many as possible of the national bourgeois elements and their representatives who can co-operate with us — or neutralize them — so that we can wage a determined struggle against the imperialists, the Kuomintang and the bureaucrat-capitalist class and defeat these enemies step by step. Meanwhile we shall set about our task of construction and learn, step by step, how to administer cities and restore and develop their production. Regarding the problem of restoring and developing production we must be clear about the following: first comes the production of state industry, second the production of private industry and third handicraft production. From the very first day we take over a city, we should direct our attention to restoring and developing its production. We must not go about our work blindly and haphazardly and forget our central task, lest several months after taking over a city its production and construction should still not be on the right track and many industries should be at a standstill, with the result that the workers are unemployed, their livelihood deteriorates and they become dissatisfied with the Communist Party. Such a state of affairs is en-

tirely impermissible. Therefore, our comrades must do their utmost to learn the techniques of production and the methods of managing production as well as other closely related work such as commerce and banking. Only when production in the cities is restored and developed, when consumer-cities are transformed into producer-cities, can the people's political power be consolidated. Other work in the cities, for example, in Party organization, in organs of political power, in trade unions and other people's organizations, in culture and education, in the suppression of counter-revolutionaries, in news agencies, newspapers and broadcasting stations — all this work revolves around and serves the central task, production and construction. If we know nothing about production and do not master it quickly, if we cannot restore and develop production as speedily as possible and achieve solid successes so that the livelihood of the workers, first of all, and that of the people in general is improved, we shall be unable to maintain our political power, we shall be unable to stand on our feet, we shall fail.

V

Conditions in the south are different from those in the north, and the Party's tasks must also be different. The south is still under Kuomintang rule. There, the tasks of the Party and the People's Liberation Army are to wipe out the Kuomintang's reactionary armed forces in city and countryside, set up Party organizations, set up organs of political power, arouse the masses, establish trade unions, peasant associations and other people's organizations, build the people's armed forces, mop up the remnant Kuomintang forces and restore and develop production. In the countryside, our first tasks are to wage struggles step by step, to clean out the bandits and to oppose the local tyrants (the section of the landlord class in power) in order to complete preparations for the reduction of rent and interest; this reduction can then be accomplished within a year or two after the arrival of the People's Liberation Army, and the precondition for the distribution of land will thus be created. At the same time care must be taken to maintain the present level of agricultural production as far as possible and to prevent it from declining. In the north, except for the few new Liberated Areas, conditions are completely different. Here the Kuomintang rule has been overthrown, the people's rule has been established and the land problem has been fundamentally solved. Here the central task of the

Party is to mobilize all forces to restore and develop production; this should be the centre of gravity in all work. It is also necessary to restore and develop cultural and educational work, wipe out the remnants of the reactionary forces, consolidate the entire north and support the People's Liberation Army.

VI

We have already carried out extensive economic construction, and the Party's economic policy has been implemented in practice and has achieved marked success. However, there are still many muddled views within the Party on the question of why we should adopt this kind of economic policy and not another, *i.e.*, on a question of theory and principle. How should this question be answered? In our opinion, the answer should be as follows. Before the War of Resistance Against Japan, the proportions of industry and agriculture in the entire national economy of China were, modern industry about 10 per cent, and agriculture and handicrafts about 90 per cent. This was the result of imperialist and feudal oppression; this was the economic expression of the semi-colonial and semi-feudal character of the society of old China; and this is our basic point of departure for all questions during the period of the Chinese revolution and for a fairly long period after victory. This gives rise to a series of problems regarding our Party's strategy, tactics and policy. An important task for our Party at present is to reach a clearer understanding of these problems and their solution. That is to say:

1. China already has a modern industry constituting about 10 per cent of her economy; this is progressive, this is different from ancient times. As a result, China has new classes and new political parties — the proletariat and the bourgeoisie, proletarian and bourgeois parties. The proletariat and its party, because they have been oppressed by manifold enemies, have become steeled and are qualified to lead the Chinese people's revolution. Whoever overlooks or belittles this point will commit Right opportunist mistakes.

2. China still has scattered and individual agriculture and handicrafts, constituting about 90 per cent of her entire economy; this is backward, this is not very different from ancient times — about 90 per cent of our economic life remains the same as in ancient times. We have abolished, or will soon abolish, the age-old feudal ownership of land. In this respect, we have become, or will soon become, different from what we were in ancient times, and have or will soon have the possibility of modernizing our

agriculture and handicrafts step by step. In their basic form, however, our agriculture and handicrafts today are still scattered and individual, somewhat as they were in ancient times, and they will remain so for a fairly long time to come. Whoever overlooks or belittles this point will commit "Left" opportunist mistakes.

3. China's modern industry, though the value of its output amounts to only about 10 per cent of the total value of output of the national economy, is extremely concentrated; the largest and most important part of the capital is concentrated in the hands of the imperialists and their lackeys, the Chinese bureaucrat-capitalists. The confiscation of this capital and its transfer to the people's republic led by the proletariat will enable the people's republic to control the economic life-lines of the country and will enable the state-owned economy to become the leading sector of the entire national economy. This sector of the economy is socialist, not capitalist, in character. Whoever overlooks or belittles this point will commit Right opportunist mistakes.

4. China's private capitalist industry, which occupies second place in her modern industry, is a force which must not be ignored. Because they have been oppressed or hemmed in by imperialism, feudalism and bureaucrat-capitalism, the national bourgeoisie of China and its representatives have often taken part in the people's democratic revolutionary struggles or maintained a neutral stand. For this reason and because China's economy is still backward, there will be need, for a fairly long period after the victory of the revolution, to make use of the positive qualities of urban and rural private capitalism as far as possible, in the interest of developing the national economy. In this period, all capitalist elements in the cities and countryside which are not harmful but beneficial to the national economy should be allowed to exist and expand. This is not only unavoidable but also economically necessary. But the existence and expansion of capitalism in China will not be unrestricted and uncurbed as in the capitalist countries. It will be restricted from several directions — in the scope of its operation and by tax policy, market prices and labour conditions. We shall adopt well-measured and flexible policies for restricting capitalism from several directions according to the specific conditions in each place, each industry and each period. It is necessary and useful for us to apply Sun Yat-sen's slogan of "regulation of capital". However, in the interest of the whole national economy and in the present and future interest of the working class and all the labouring people, we must not restrict the private capitalist economy too much or too rigidly, but must leave room for it to

exist and develop within the framework of the economic policy and planning of the people's republic. The policy of restricting private capitalism is bound to meet with resistance in varying degrees and forms from the bourgeoisie, especially from the big owners of private enterprises, that is, from the big capitalists. Restriction versus opposition to restriction will be the main form of class struggle in the new-democratic state. It is entirely wrong to think that at present we need not restrict capitalism and can discard the slogan of "regulation of capital"; that is a Right opportunist view. But the opposite view, which advocates too much or too rigid restriction of private capital or holds that we can simply eliminate private capital very quickly, is also entirely wrong; this is a "Left" opportunist or adventurist view.

5. Scattered, individual agriculture and handicrafts, which make up 90 per cent of the total value of output of the national economy, can and must be led prudently, step by step and yet actively to develop towards modernization and collectivization; the view that they may be left to take their own course is wrong. It is necessary to organize producers', consumers' and credit co-operatives and leading organs of the co-operatives at national, provincial, municipal, county and district levels. Such co-operatives are collective economic organizations of the labouring masses, based on private ownership and under the direction of the state power led by the proletariat. The fact that the Chinese people are culturally backward and have no tradition of organizing co-operatives may confront us with difficulties, but co-operatives can and must be organized and must be promoted and developed. If there were only a state-owned economy and no co-operative economy, it would be impossible for us to lead the individual economy of the labouring people step by step towards collectivization, impossible to develop from the new-democratic society to the future socialist society and impossible to consolidate the leadership of the proletariat in the state power. Whoever overlooks or belittles this point will also commit extremely serious mistakes. The state-owned economy is socialist in character and the co-operative economy is semi-socialist; these plus private capitalism, plus the individual economy, plus the state-capitalist economy in which the state and private capitalists work jointly, will be the chief sectors of the economy of the people's republic and will constitute the new-democratic economic structure.

6. The restoration and development of the national economy of the people's republic would be impossible without a policy of controlling foreign trade. When imperialism, feudalism, bureaucrat-

capitalism and the concentrated expression of all three, the Kuomintang regime, have been eliminated in China, the problem of establishing an independent and integrated industrial system will remain unsolved and it will be finally solved only when our country has greatly developed economically and changed from a backward agricultural into an advanced industrial country. It will be impossible to achieve this aim without controlling foreign trade. After the country-wide victory of the Chinese revolution and the solution of the land problem, two basic contradictions will still exist in China. The first is internal, that is, the contradiction between the working class and the bourgeoisie. The second is external, that is, the contradiction between China and the imperialist countries. Consequently, after the victory of the people's democratic revolution, the state power of the people's republic under the leadership of the working class must not be weakened but must be strengthened. The two basic policies of the state in the economic struggle will be regulation of capital at home and control of foreign trade. Whoever overlooks or belittles this point will commit extremely serious mistakes.

7. China has inherited a backward economy. But the Chinese people are brave and industrious. With the victory of the Chinese people's revolution and the founding of the people's republic, and with the leadership of the Communist Party of China, plus the support of the working class of the countries of the world and chiefly the support of the Soviet Union, the speed of China's economic construction will not be very slow, but may be fairly fast. The day is not far off when China will attain prosperity. There is absolutely no ground for pessimism about China's economic resurgence.

VII

Old China was a semi-colonial country under imperialist domination. Thoroughly anti-imperialist in character, the Chinese people's democratic revolution has incurred the bitter hatred of the imperialists who have done their utmost to help the Kuomintang. This has aroused the Chinese people to even deeper indignation against the imperialists and deprived them of their last shred of prestige among the Chinese people. At the same time the whole imperialist system is very much weakened after World War II, while the strength of the world anti-imperialist front headed by the Soviet Union is greater than ever before. In these circumstances, we can and should adopt a policy of systematically and completely destroying imperialist domination in China.

This imperialist domination manifests itself in the political, economic and cultural fields. In each city or place where the Kuomintang troops are wiped out and the Kuomintang government is overthrown, imperialist political domination is overthrown with it, and so is imperialist economic and cultural domination. But the economic and cultural establishments run directly by the imperialists are still there, and so are the diplomatic personnel and the journalists recognized by the Kuomintang. We must deal with all these properly in their order of urgency. Refuse to recognize the legal status of any foreign diplomatic establishments and personnel of the Kuomintang period, refuse to recognize all the treasonable treaties of the Kuomintang period, abolish all imperialist propaganda agencies in China, take immediate control of foreign trade and reform the customs system — these are the first steps we must take upon entering the big cities. When they have acted thus, the Chinese people will have stood up in the face of imperialism. As for the remaining imperialist economic and cultural establishments, they can be allowed to exist for the time being, subject to our supervision and control, to be dealt with by us after country-wide victory. As for ordinary foreign nationals, their legitimate interests will be protected and not encroached upon. As for the question of the recognition of our country by the imperialist countries, we should not be in a hurry to solve it now and need not be in a hurry to solve it even for a fairly long period after country-wide victory. We are willing to establish diplomatic relations with all countries on the principle of equality, but the imperialists, who have always been hostile to the Chinese people, will definitely not be in a hurry to treat us as equals. As long as the imperialist countries do not change their hostile attitude, we shall not grant them legal status in China. As for doing business with foreigners, there is no question; wherever there is business to do, we shall do it and we have already started; the businessmen of several capitalist countries are competing for such business. So far as possible, we must first of all trade with the socialist and people's democratic countries; at the same time we will also trade with capitalist countries.

VIII

All the conditions are ripe for convening the Political Consultative Conference and forming a democratic coalition government. All the democratic parties, people's organizations and democrats without party affiliation are on our side. The bourgeoisie in Shanghai and in the Yangtse valley are trying to establish contacts with us. Navigation and postal

communications between north and south have been resumed. The disintegrating Kuomintang has alienated itself from all the masses. We are preparing to have negotiations with the reactionary Nanking government. Its moving forces for negotiating with us are the warlords of the Kwangsi clique, those factions of the Kuomintang favouring peace and the Shanghai bourgeoisie. Their aims are to obtain a share in the coalition government, retain as many troops as possible, preserve the interests of the bourgeoisie in Shanghai and the south and do their best to moderate the revolution. These groups recognize our eight terms as the basis for negotiations, but they want to bargain so that their losses will not be too great. Those trying to wreck the negotiations are Chiang Kai-shek and his sworn followers. Chiang Kai-shek still has sixty divisions south of the Yangtse and they are preparing to fight. Our policy is not to refuse negotiations, but to demand that the other side accept the eight terms in their entirety and to allow no bargaining. In return, we would refrain from fighting the Kwangsi clique and the other Kuomintang factions which favour peace, postpone the reorganization of their troops for about a year, allow some individuals in the Nanking government to take part in the Political Consultative Conference and the coalition government and agree to protect certain interests of the bourgeoisie in Shanghai and in the south. The negotiations are to be on an over-all basis and, if successful, they will reduce many obstacles to our advance into the south and to the take-over of the big cities there, which will have great advantages. If they are not successful, then separate negotiations on a local basis will be held after our army advances. The negotiations on an over-all basis are tentatively fixed for late March. We hope to occupy Nanking by April or May, then convene the Political Consultative Conference in Peiping, form a coalition government and make Peiping the capital. Since we have agreed to hold negotiations, we should be prepared for the many troubles which will arise after the success of the negotiations, and we should be ready with clear heads to deal with the tactics the other side will adopt, the tactics of the Monkey who gets into the stomach of the Princess of the Iron Fan to play the devil. As long as we are fully prepared mentally, we can beat any devilish Monkey. Whether the peace negotiations are over-all or local, we should be prepared for such an eventuality. We should not refuse to enter into negotiations because we are afraid of trouble and want to avoid complications, nor should we enter into negotiations with our minds in a haze. We should be firm in principle; we should also have all the flexibility permissible and necessary for carrying out our principles.

IX

The people's democratic dictatorship, led by the proletariat and based on the worker-peasant alliance, requires that our Party conscientiously unite the entire working class, the entire peasantry and the broad masses of revolutionary intellectuals; these are the leading and basic forces of the dictatorship. Without this unity, the dictatorship cannot be consolidated. It is also required that our Party unite with as many as possible of the representatives of the urban petty bourgeoisie and national bourgeoisie who can co-operate with us and with their intellectuals and political groups, so that, during the revolutionary period, we can isolate the counter-revolutionary forces and completely overthrow both the counter-revolutionary and imperialist forces in China and so that, after the victory of the revolution, we can speedily restore and develop production, cope with foreign imperialism, steadily transform China from an agricultural into an industrial country and build China into a great socialist state. Therefore, our Party's policy of long-term co-operation with non-Party democrats should be clearly established in the thinking and work of the whole Party. We must regard the majority of non-Party democrats as we do our own cadres, consult with them sincerely and frankly to solve those problems that call for consultation and solution, give them work, entrust them with the responsibility and authority that should go with their posts and help them do their work well. Proceeding from the desire to unite with them, we should carry out serious and appropriate criticism or struggle against their errors and shortcomings in order to attain the objective of unity. It would be wrong to adopt an accommodating attitude towards their errors or shortcomings. It would also be wrong to adopt a closed-door or perfunctory attitude towards them. In each big or medium city, each strategic region and each province, we should develop a group of non-Party democrats who have prestige and can co-operate with us. The incorrect attitude towards non-Party democrats, fostered by the closed-door style in our Party during the War of Agrarian Revolution, was not entirely overcome during the War of Resistance Against Japan, and it reappeared in 1947 during the high tide of the land reform in the base areas. This attitude would serve only to isolate our Party, prevent the consolidation of the people's democratic dictatorship and enable the enemy to obtain allies. Now that China's first Political Consultative Conference under the leadership of our Party will soon be convened, that a democratic coalition government will soon be formed and that the revolution will soon be victorious throughout the country, the whole Party must make a

November 29, 1968

serious and self-critical examination of this problem and understand it correctly; it must oppose the two deviations, the Right deviation of accommodation and the closed-door and perfunctory "Left" deviation, and adopt an entirely correct attitude.

X

Very soon we shall be victorious throughout the country. This victory will breach the eastern front of imperialism and will have great international significance. To win this victory will not require much more time and effort, but to consolidate it will. The bourgeoisie doubts our ability to construct. The imperialists reckon that eventually we will beg alms from them in order to live. With victory, certain moods may grow within the Party — arrogance, the airs of a self-styled hero, inertia and unwillingness to make progress, love of pleasure and distaste for continued hard living. With victory, the people will be grateful to us and the bourgeoisie will come forward to flatter us. It has been proved that the enemy cannot conquer us by force of arms. However, the flattery of the bourgeoisie may conquer the weak-willed in our ranks. There may be some Communists, who were not conquered by enemies with guns and were worthy of the name of heroes for standing up to these enemies, but who cannot withstand sugar-coated bullets; they will be defeated by sugar-coated bullets. We must guard against such a situation. To win country-wide victory is only the first step in a long march of ten thousand *li*. Even if this step is worthy of pride, it is comparatively tiny; what will be more worthy of pride is yet to come. After several decades, the victory of the Chinese people's democratic revolution, viewed in retrospect, will seem like only a brief prologue to a long drama. A drama begins with a prologue, but the prologue is not the climax. The Chinese revolution is great, but the road after the revolution will be longer, the work greater and more arduous. This must be made clear now in the Party. The comrades must be helped to remain modest, prudent and free from arrogance and rashness in their style of work. The comrades must be helped to preserve the style of plain living and hard struggle. We have the Marxist-Leninist weapon of criticism and self-criticism. We can get rid of a bad style and keep the good. We can learn what we did not know. We are not only good at destroying the old world, we are also good at building the new. Not only can the Chinese people live without begging alms from the imperialists, they will live a better life than that in the imperialist countries.

Conscientiously Study the History of the Struggle Between the Two Lines

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

THE "Report to the Second Plenary Session of the Seventh Central Committee of the Communist Party of China" made by Chairman Mao on March 5, 1949, and republished today is a Marxist-Leninist document of epoch-making significance. It summed up profoundly the struggle between the two lines in the Party during the period of the democratic revolution, analysed the new situation as regards class struggle following the basic victory of the democratic revolution, and put forward a great programme for advancing from the new-democratic revolution to the socialist revolution, for establishing and consolidating the dictatorship of the proletariat and building socialism. It is a sharp ideological weapon for opposing revisionism and opposing "Left" and Right opportunist lines throughout the period of transition. This great revolutionary programme has lighted the way for the whole historical process of the socialist revolution and socialist construction in the past 19 years. The study of this report is of great significance for carrying out the tasks set by the Enlarged 12th Plenary Session of the Party's Eighth Central Committee, for deeply understanding the history of the struggle between the two lines within the Party and Chairman Mao's theory on continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat, for thoroughly criticizing and repudiating Liu Shao-chi's counter-revolutionary revisionist ideas and settling all accounts with the renegade, traitor and scab Liu Shao-chi for his towering crimes in betraying the Party and the country, and for carrying the great proletarian cultural revolution through to the end.

Chairman Mao recently pointed out: **Historical experience merits attention. Line and viewpoint must be talked over constantly and repeatedly. It won't do to talk them over with only a few people; they must be made known to all the revolutionary masses.** This most important instruction of Chairman Mao's points out that we must repeatedly and in a deep-going way educate the masses on the struggle between the two lines so that the revolutionary masses can firmly grasp Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line and consciously criticize and repudiate Liu Shao-chi's

counter-revolutionary revisionist line and every erroneous trend.

Inner-Party struggle between the two lines is a reflection of the class struggle in society. The history of our Party is one of struggle between the two lines. The correct proletarian revolutionary line represented by Chairman Mao has developed in the course of the struggle against erroneous bourgeois reactionary lines of all descriptions. Our Party has waged struggles against the erroneous Right or "Left" lines of Chen Tu-hsiu, Chu Chiu-pai, Li Li-san and Wang Ming; particularly, it has waged repeated, prolonged struggles against the bourgeois reactionary line represented by Liu Shao-chi. It can be said that a sharp struggle has been waged between the proletarian revolutionary line represented by Chairman Mao and the bourgeois reactionary line represented by Liu Shao-chi at every crucial moment and on every important question throughout the course of the Chinese revolution.

When the War of Resistance Against Japan started, Liu Shao-chi together with Wang Ming opposed the principle of independence and initiative within the Anti-Japanese National United Front put forward by Chairman Mao, and opposed leadership by the proletariat. Liu Shao-chi resorted to counter-revolutionary double-dealing tactics in a futile effort to help the Chiang Kai-shek reactionaries wipe out the Communist Party and the Liberated Areas. The correct line represented by Chairman Mao smashed the Right opportunist line of Wang Ming and Liu Shao-chi, thus carrying the War of Resistance Against Japan to victory. After Japanese imperialism was defeated in its war of aggression and announced its surrender, Liu Shao-chi immediately came out in opposition to the line of **boldly mobilizing the masses and expanding the people's forces so that, under the leadership of our Party, they will defeat the aggressors and build a new China,** which was proposed by Chairman Mao and adopted at the Seventh National Congress of the Party. Liu Shao-chi babbled about the so-called "new stage of peace and democracy," in a vain attempt to demoralize and disintegrate the People's Liberation Army so as

to turn China over to U.S. imperialism, and in a futile effort to preserve the rule of the Chiang Kai-shek bandit gang so as to transform China into a colony of U.S. imperialism. Chairman Mao opposed this line of Liu Shao-chi's, a line of national subjugation. He called on the people of the whole country to smash the Kuomintang reactionaries' offensive, carry out a new great people's revolution and wage a great people's war of liberation in a resolute struggle to overthrow completely the reactionary rule of U.S. imperialism and Chiang Kai-shek. The brilliant victory of Chairman Mao's line led to the birth of the great People's Republic of China.

The Second Plenary Session of the Party's Seventh Central Committee, convened on the eve of country-wide victory in the great revolution of the Chinese people, marked the beginning of a new stage of the struggle between the two lines.

After the Chinese people led by the Communist Party of China overthrew the reactionary rule of the Kuomintang, what was the principal internal contradiction? What kind of state should we build? And what road should we take? An extremely acute struggle has been waged around these questions between the proletarian revolutionary line represented by Chairman Mao and the bourgeois reactionary line represented by Liu Shao-chi.

In his report to the Second Plenary Session of the Party's Seventh Central Committee, Chairman Mao, applying the Marxist-Leninist method of class analysis, scientifically and penetratingly analysed the classes, class contradictions and class struggle after the countrywide victory, and on all questions pointed out the fundamental difference between the correct line and the erroneous line. He pointed out that the basic internal contradiction would be the contradiction between the working class and the bourgeoisie, and emphasized that we must wholeheartedly rely on the working class, and that after the victory of the people's democratic revolution, the state power of the people's republic under the leadership of the working class must not be weakened but must be strengthened. He emphasized that the People's Liberation Army is always a fighting force, and at the same time the People's Liberation Army is also a working force and should always maintain close ties with the masses. The report pointed out the necessity of taking the socialist road under the leadership of the proletariat. It specifically pointed out the road China must inevitably take to bring about socialist transformation, and laid down the extremely clear-cut line, principles and policies for the gradual realization of China's socialist industrialization and socialist transformation of agriculture,

handicrafts and capitalist industry and commerce by the state.

It is at turning points in the revolution that it is easiest to detect the real features of the revisionists. Soon after the Second Plenary Session of the Party's Seventh Central Committee, Liu Shao-chi went to Tientsin and fraternized with the bourgeoisie. He clamoured wildly that there were "too few" capitalists in China and that the working class was "unreliable." He advocated depending on the bourgeoisie, developing capitalism and taking the capitalist road. Liu Shao-chi frenziedly opposed Chairman Mao's report to the Second Plenary Session of the Party's Seventh Central Committee in a vain attempt to deny that after the stage of the democratic revolution was in the main completed, the basic internal contradiction was that between the working class and the bourgeoisie. He asserted that for the capitalists "to exploit is to perform a service"; he wildly opposed agricultural co-operation, and desperately opposed advancing from the democratic revolution to the socialist revolution. This precisely proved him to be a faithful vassal of imperialism and its lackeys.

Chairman Mao points out: "In the cities we must learn how to wage political, economic and cultural struggles against the imperialists, the Kuomintang and the bourgeoisie and also how to wage diplomatic struggles against the imperialists. We must learn how to carry on overt struggles against them, we must also learn how to carry on covert struggles against them. If we do not pay attention to these problems, if we do not learn how to wage these struggles against them and win victory in the struggles, we shall be unable to maintain our political power, we shall be unable to stand on our feet, we shall fail. After the enemies with guns have been wiped out, there will still be enemies without guns; they are bound to struggle desperately against us, and we must never regard these enemies lightly. If we do not now raise and understand the problem in this way, we shall commit the gravest mistakes."

This extremely important thesis of Chairman Mao's anticipated with Marxist-Leninist foresight the entire course of the socialist revolution over the past 19 years, and it can be regarded as the general programme for all our work. When we re-read this directive of Chairman Mao's after 19 years of practice, we feel it immensely close to us, as close as if it had been said for our current struggle. The history of these 19 years since the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat has been one in which the working class and the revolutionary masses have continued to carry out political, economic and cultural struggles against the imperialists, the Kuomintang and the bourgeoisie. As Chairman Mao has pointed out,

the struggle centres on the question of political power; and closely related to this is the question of the attitude taken towards the masses, the question of whether to recognize or negate the extremely great enthusiasm for socialism latent in the masses, and the question of whether to support or suppress the proletariat, the poor and lower-middle peasants and revolutionary intellectuals in carrying out the socialist revolution against the bourgeoisie. In the political, economic and cultural spheres, the counter-revolutionary Liu Shao-chi and his accomplices rabidly opposed the dictatorship of the proletariat and tried to suppress the socialist revolution. They are agents of the imperialists, the Kuomintang and the bourgeoisie within the Party.

During the past decade and more, Liu Shao-chi and his gang of capitalist roaders in the Party, representing the interests of the bourgeoisie and the landlords, rich peasants, counter-revolutionaries, bad elements and Rightists, "struggled desperately" against Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line from the Right, or from the "Left" in form but Right in essence, on the question of the principal internal contradiction, on the question of taking the socialist road or the capitalist road and on the question of fighting against imperialism, revisionism and reaction, and during all the major historical periods: in the socialist transformation movements after we entered the cities in 1949; when the socialist transformation of agriculture, handicrafts and capitalist industry and commerce was completed in the main in 1956; when the Rightists launched frenzied attacks in 1957; at the Lushan Meeting in 1959; when our national economy encountered temporary difficulties from 1960 to 1962; in the socialist education movement in 1964 and in the great proletarian cultural revolution movement which started in 1966. Liu Shao-chi and his gang of capitalist roaders in the Party spread a great amount of counter-revolutionary revisionist rubbish in a vain attempt to obstruct the progress of the socialist revolution in our country and to make our country take a big step backwards from the socialist road on to the capitalist road. In the cities, they opposed Chairman Mao's line of relying on the working class and carrying out the socialist transformation of capitalist industry and commerce, and advocated the revisionist theory of class collaboration. They made use of the superiority the bourgeoisie had in the cultural departments and pulled together a collection of renegades and enemy agents to impose a frenzied counter-revolutionary dictatorship on the proletariat in the field of culture so as to prepare public opinion for the restoration of capitalism. Following the failure of their opposition to Chairman Mao's line on socialist co-operation in the countryside, they schemed to "slash

back the co-operatives." After this plot was smashed by Chairman Mao's line, they waited for an opportunity and created pretexts to destroy the fruits of socialism, disintegrate the collective economy, and take a big step backwards to "the fixing of output quotas based on the household" and "the allocation of land to the household." This big retrogression that they tried to bring about could lead only to the totally dark semi-colonial and semi-feudal road of old China.

It is obvious that Liu Shao-chi and his gang denied class contradictions and class struggle during the period of transition precisely because they wanted to establish a counter-revolutionary theoretical basis for the support of the landlords, the bourgeoisie and all reactionaries in their ruthless suppression of the working class, the peasantry and the revolutionary intellectuals.

At every turning point in class struggle, Chairman Mao's report to the Second Plenary Session of the Party's Seventh Central Committee, like a monster-detector, exposed the counter-revolutionary features of these ghosts and monsters and enabled us to see things more clearly. We must seriously re-study the history of these struggles, repudiate and discredit Liu Shao-chi and his counter-revolutionary revisionist line still more thoroughly and eliminate its poison; at the same time, we must draw lessons from the history of the struggle between the two lines so as to enhance our consciousness in carrying out Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line.

The great proletarian cultural revolution which Chairman Mao personally initiated and is leading and in which hundreds of millions of people are taking part, is the great decisive battle in the prolonged struggle between the proletarian revolutionary line represented by Chairman Mao and the counter-revolutionary revisionist line represented by Liu Shao-chi. At the 11th Plenary Session of the Party's Eighth Central Committee, Chairman Mao made public his great historic big-character poster "**Bombard the Headquarters**" which took the lid off the struggle that had been going on for a long time in the Party between the two lines and the two headquarters, stripped away Liu Shao-chi's disguise as a revolutionary and proclaimed the bankruptcy of his counter-revolutionary revisionist line. Following the revolutionary course charted by Chairman Mao in his big-character poster "**Bombard the Headquarters**," the armymen and civilians throughout the country, after repeated trials of class strength, eventually ferreted out Liu Shao-chi, that most insidious and vicious counter-revolutionary chieftain, along with the handful of his counter-revolutionary accomplices, and smashed his bourgeois headquarters.

The class struggle advances in waves and the agents of the bourgeoisie invariably mount the political stage and dish up their reactionary line. It is impossible to prevent them from making a show of themselves. Liu Shao-chi is no exception. Although Chairman Mao warned him time and again, and his schemes were defeated over and over again by Chairman Mao's revolutionary line, he still would not give up; he invariably wanted to oppose the line Chairman Mao laid down in the report to the Second Plenary Session of the Party's Seventh Central Committee; he would never go against the logic of **make trouble, fail, make trouble again, fail again . . . till their doom.** Like all other reactionaries, Liu Shao-chi always overestimated his strength and underestimated the strength of the masses. But Mao Tse-tung's thought is all-conquering; people armed with Mao Tse-tung's thought are invincible; finally, the renegade Liu Shao-chi could not avoid his complete downfall.

Chairman Mao recently taught us: **"The current great proletarian cultural revolution is absolutely necessary and most timely for consolidating the dictatorship of the proletariat, preventing capitalist restoration and building socialism."**

From Chairman Mao's report to the Second Plenary Session of the Party's Seventh Central Committee in 1949 to his **"Bombard the Headquarters"** in 1966, through the period of socialist revolution right up to the beginning of the great proletarian cultural revolution there runs a red line.

As we review the soul-stirring struggles waged by the Party and the revolutionary masses against Liu Shao-chi's counter-revolutionary revisionist line over the past decades and especially since the founding of the People's Republic of China, we see more clearly the great historic significance of the great proletarian cultural revolution initiated and led personally by Chairman Mao, and gain a deeper understanding of the incomparable correctness of the theory, line, principles and policies for continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat for which Chairman Mao laid the foundation in his report to the Second Plenary Session of the Party's Seventh Central Committee and which have been constantly enriched and developed in the ensuing years.

Chairman Mao pointed out to the masses of revolutionary cadres at that time: **"With victory, the people will be grateful to us and the bourgeoisie will come forward to flatter us. It has been proved that the enemy cannot conquer us by force of arms. However, the**

flattery of the bourgeoisie may conquer the weak-willed in our ranks." How brilliant and correct is this instruction of Chairman Mao's and how much solicitude he shows for the revolutionary cadres! Chairman Mao stressed the need of "guarding against" attacks with sugar-coated bullets by the bourgeoisie and this has been fully confirmed by the subsequent history of the class struggle and the struggle between the two lines. At the present time, when the great proletarian cultural revolution has won great and decisive victory, we must all study again this instruction of Chairman Mao's so as to gain great enlightenment and sharply raise our revolutionary vigilance. **"The comrades must be helped to remain modest, prudent and free from arrogance and rashness in their style of work. The comrades must be helped to preserve the style of plain living and hard struggle."** Revolutionary comrades must never forget this teaching of Chairman Mao's.

We must unite closely around the proletarian headquarters with Chairman Mao as its leader and Vice-Chairman Lin as its deputy leader, and continue to carry out revolutionary mass criticism and repudiation in a more deep-going way by using to the full China's Khrushchov, Liu Shao-chi, that teacher by negative example; in the course of this we should earnestly study the historical experience of the struggle between the two lines in the Party and study well the whole series of Chairman Mao's latest instructions, so as to arm ourselves further with Chairman Mao's theory on continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat and heighten our awareness of class struggle and the struggle between the two lines. We must soberly recognize that the struggle between the two classes, the two roads and the two lines will continue for a long time. The struggle-criticism-transformation that is now going on, the transformation of all parts of the superstructure that do not conform with the socialist economic base, is a continuation of the struggle between the two lines. We must see this from the high level of consolidating the dictatorship of the proletariat and preventing the restoration of capitalism, and we must ensure that it is carried out thoroughly and well. In the course of study, struggle, criticism and transformation, the report made by Chairman Mao at the Second Plenary Session of the Party's Seventh Central Committee and his many other important works are our best study material, our best guide and our best weapon.

Let us deepen the nationwide movement to study the history of the struggle between the two lines!

Long live the victory of Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line!

(November 25, 1968)

Chairman Mao, Vice-Chairman Lin and Premier Chou Warmly Greet the 24th Anniversary of the Liberation of Albania

Comrade Mao Tse-tung, the great leader of the Chinese people and Chairman of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China, his close comrade-in-arms Comrade Lin Piao, Vice-Chairman of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China, and Comrade Chou En-lai, Premier of the State Council of the People's Republic of China, sent a message on November 28 to Comrade Enver Hoxha, the great leader of the Albanian people and First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Albanian Party of Labour, Comrade Haxhi Lleshi, President of the Presidium of the People's Assembly of the People's Republic of Albania, and Comrade Mehmet Shehu, Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the People's Republic of Albania, expressing the warmest greetings on the 24th anniversary of the liberation of Albania. The message reads in full as follows:

Tirana

Comrade Enver Hoxha, First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Albanian Party of Labour,

Comrade Haxhi Lleshi, President of the Presidium of the People's Assembly of the People's Republic of Albania, and

Comrade Mehmet Shehu, Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the People's Republic of Albania:

On the occasion of the brilliant festival — the 24th anniversary of the liberation of your heroic country — we, on behalf of the Communist Party of China, the Government of the People's Republic of China and the Chinese people, extend the warmest greetings to you and to the great Albanian Party of Labour, the Government of the People's Republic of Albania and the fraternal Albanian people.

For the past 24 years, the heroic Albanian people, under the wise leadership of the Albanian Party of Labour headed by Comrade Enver Hoxha, the great Marxist-Leninist, have brought into full play the thoroughgoing revolutionary spirit of the proletariat and the glorious tradition of arduous struggle, frustrated all the intrigues of the domestic and

foreign class enemies, and won one great victory after another in the cause of socialist revolution and socialist construction.

In recent years, the Albanian Party of Labour has launched a sustained mass movement of revolutionization and pushed the socialist revolution forward to a deeper and more extensive stage of development. This movement has greatly promoted the people's ideological revolutionization and the revolution in the fields of culture, education, science and technology, accelerated the development of production, strengthened national defence and further consolidated the dictatorship of the proletariat. You have made outstanding contributions to the enrichment and development of Marxism-Leninism.

Socialist Albania has consistently upheld the great banner of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism, firmly supported the world revolution, persistently waged a tit-for-tat struggle against imperialism headed by the United States, modern revisionism with Soviet revisionism as its centre and the reactionaries of all countries, setting a brilliant example for the revolutionary people all over the world.

At the time when the Soviet revisionist renegade clique sent troops to occupy Czechoslovakia, you relentlessly exposed the aggressive features of the Soviet revisionists and the criminal scheme of U.S.-Soviet collusion and resolutely declared Albania's withdrawal from the Warsaw Treaty which is controlled by Soviet revisionism and has become aggressive and anti-socialist. This revolutionary action has tremendously inspired the people of the Soviet Union and the East European countries in their revolutionary struggle and dealt a heavy blow to the Soviet revisionist renegade clique.

Heroic Albania, the great beacon of socialism in Europe shining with increasing brightness, has become a strong bulwark against imperialism and modern revisionism. The Chinese people infinitely admire the revolutionary heroism of the Albanian people and warmly congratulate you on your tremendous achievements in all fields.

Dear comrades-in-arms! The world revolution has entered a great new era. The revolutionary movements of the people of the world are surging forward vigorously, launching a fierce offensive against U.S. imperialism and Soviet revisionism. The U.S. imperialists and the Soviet revisionists are beset with internal and external difficulties and riddled with crises. We are firmly convinced that with the peoples of China and Albania uniting together, and with all the people who are oppressed by U.S. imperialism, Soviet revisionism and their lackeys uniting together and forming a broad united front, they will surely smash the schemes of U.S. imperialism and Soviet revisionism who are vainly attempting to dominate the world, and will surely overthrow the reactionary rule of U.S. imperialism, Soviet revisionism and their lackeys. Victory definitely belongs to us and to the revolutionary people throughout the world.

The great militant friendship between the two Parties, two peoples, two Governments and two armies of China and Albania has been consolidated and developed in the great storms of international class struggle and in the struggle against imperialism, revisionism and the reactionaries of all countries. It can stand any rigorous test. We once again assure you that the 700 million Chinese people who have

experienced the great proletarian cultural revolution are determined to give a powerful backing to the Albanian people, and will firmly and unwaveringly support your struggle against imperialism and revisionism at all times and under all circumstances. Let our two Parties, two peoples, two Governments and two armies encourage, support and learn from each other and advance hand in hand in our common struggle against U.S. imperialism, Soviet revisionism and their lackeys!

Long live the heroic Albanian people!

Long live the eternal and unbreakable great friendship between the Chinese and Albanian peoples!

Mao Tse-tung, Chairman of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China,

Lin Piao, Vice-Chairman of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China,

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

November 28, 1968

Chairman Mao's Fighters Love the People Most

OUR most respected and beloved great leader Chairman Mao and his close comrade-in-arms Vice-Chairman Lin Piao recently personally approved the order issued by the Military Commission of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party conferring the title of honour of "Model Company in Cherishing the People" on the 4th company of a P.L.A. unit under the Kwangchow Command. This is a heroic collective which is boundlessly loyal to Chairman Mao and cherishes the deepest love for the people.

In the great struggle to win all-round victory in the great proletarian cultural revolution, the commanders and fighters of this P.L.A. company have written a great paean with their heroic exploit.

Early this year, they waged a bitter fight against a mountain conflagration and ensured the safety of the people's lives and property at the cost of their blood and lives. They have thus defended Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line. In this battle, the company deputy political instructor and three fighters gloriously laid down their lives.

This act of heroism by the 4th company is a great victory for the invincible thought of Mao Tse-tung and a great victory for Chairman Mao's proletarian line in army-building. It is the fruit of implementing Vice-Chairman Lin Piao's policy and principles for building up the army politically.

"State Property Must Not Be Damaged!"

On the afternoon of January 15, commanders and fighters of the 4th company, stationed in a mountain village in the northern part of Kwangtung Province, were holding a meeting to exchange experiences in the creative study and application of Mao Tse-tung's thought. Suddenly, they heard cries from a distance: "Fire! Fire on the mountain! Come quickly!" Looking in the direction of the calls, they saw huge flames rising from the northern mountain. A strong north wind blew clouds of smoke and ashes upwards until they darkened the sky. Nearby villages and large tracts of state-owned pine forests were seriously threatened.

Outstanding Examples of Revolutionized P.L.A. Companies

Our great leader Chairman Mao and his close comrade-in-arms Vice-Chairman Lin Piao recently personally approved the orders issued by the Military Commission of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party conferring titles of honour on three model units of the Chinese People's Liberation Army. The title "Model Company in Cherishing the People" was conferred on the 4th company of a unit under the Kwangchow Command; the title "Advanced Health Section Serving the People Wholeheartedly" on the health section of a unit under the Peking Command; and the title "10th Company of the Engineering Corps on Snow-Bound Highlands Which Is Infinitely Loyal to Chairman Mao" on the 10th company of a unit of the engineering corps. The orders also called on all P.L.A. commanders and fighters to learn from these three units.

The Chinese People's Liberation Army is a revolutionary people's army built in accordance with Mao Tse-tung's thought. It regards political work as its soul and life-blood, and in political education, uses Mao Tse-tung's thought to train its commanders and fighters into revolutionary fighters with a high level of proletarian consciousness and courageous spirit.

On New Year's Day, 1961, the Military Commission of the Party Central Committee and Comrade Lin Piao called for the unfolding of the "four-good" company movement which is an

important aspect of the P.L.A.'s political work. "Four-good" companies are companies which are good in political and ideological work, in the "three-eight" working style,* in military training and in arranging their everyday life. This movement has now become a regular and central task in army building.

The 4th company of a unit under the Kwangchow Command, which received the title of honour of "Model Company in Cherishing the People," has been cited as a "four-good" company for five successive years. In a battle to put out a mountain fire, its commanders and fighters defended state property and the safety of the people at the cost of their blood and lives. Their heroic exploit fully proves that as long as our P.L.A. companies conscientiously implement Chairman Mao's proletarian line in army building, put proletarian politics to the fore, and, first and foremost, build the army politically according to the "four-good" criteria, they will have the greatest fighting strength and pass any rigorous test.

** The "three-eight" working style: The Chinese People's Liberation Army, under the leadership of the Communist Party and Chairman Mao, has fostered a fine tradition. This fine tradition is summed up by Chairman Mao in three phrases and eight additional characters, meaning firm, correct political orientation; a plain, hard-working style; flexibility in strategy and tactics; and unity, alertness, earnestness and liveliness.*

The sight of the flames sent the whole 4th company into action. They read aloud Chairman Mao's teaching: "The sole purpose of this army is to serve them [the Chinese people] wholeheartedly." They pledged, "As long as we're here, state property must not be damaged!" They immediately set out for the scene of the fire.

The wind on the northern mountain whipped the flames up higher and higher. These commanders and fighters, who had thoroughly refuted in the great cultural revolution the "philosophy of survival" advanced by the renegade, traitor and scab Liu Shao-chi, fearlessly plunged into the most dangerous places — the heart of the fire and smoke — beating out the fire with branches they had picked up. Clothing and hair on fire, faces blistered and skin burnt off their hands, they refused to retreat an inch. Their blood reddened the boughs with which they were hitting at the fire, and shreds of their skin and flesh stuck to them. Some of the fighters said proudly: "The fire may reduce trees and stones to ashes, but it doesn't scare heroic fighters armed with

Mao Tse-tung's thought who serve the people wholeheartedly!"

Young fighter Ning Fu-lien displayed an indomitable revolutionary will. He used to say: "To make revolution you mustn't be afraid of death; if you're afraid of death, don't make revolution!" Whatever he did he was always in the van, and the comrades had nicknamed him "the small cannon." When the fire broke out he had been suffering from a bad cold for three days. Forgetting his illness, he immediately headed for the fire. When the company commander tried to stop him, he said: "The most important thing now is to save the people's property. I'll get there even if I have to crawl on my knees!"

At the site of the fire, he grabbed a tree branch with both hands and threw himself into the flames. After all the leaves on the bough in his hand had been burnt off, he hit out at the fire with the bare branch. When that broke, he used his feet to stamp out the fire. Suddenly a gust of strong wind fanned up the flames and he was surrounded by them. "Only heroes

can quell tigers and leopards and wild bears never daunt the brave." Undaunted, Ning Fu-lien threw himself on the ground and rolled over the fire, stubbornly attempting to put it out with his body! At this critical moment of life and death, his comrades saw him standing up in the flames. With a great cry of "Long live Chairman Mao!" he threw himself down and rolled over the fire again, until he finally gave his life.

Scorched and choking, deputy political instructor Wang Yu-kang and a dozen fighters fought the fire where it raged on with the greatest fury. Raising his voice above the roar, Wang Yu-kang encouraged the comrades with Chairman Mao's teaching: "Give full play to our style of fighting — courage in battle, no fear of sacrifice, no fear of fatigue, and continuous fighting (that is, fighting successive battles in a short time without rest)." Directed by Mao Tse-tung's thought, they fought the flames tenaciously.

Suddenly, a strong wind rose and they found themselves fenced in by the fire. Obeying Wang Yu-kang's instructions, everyone broke out of the ring of fire except Wang Huan-chin. This was the fighter who had pledged many times to "live and die for the revolution." He was left alone inside the wall of fire, fighting it in a deep ravine.

Wang Yu-kang, a good cadre of Chairman Mao, immediately thought of his teaching: "Our cadres must show concern for every soldier." Once more he raced through the circle of fire, to where Wang Huan-chin was. Through the solid wall of fire and dense smoke, the other fighters saw the glorious image of Wang Yu-kang as he heroically laid down his life for the people. Holding aloft the red book of *Quotations From Chairman Mao Tse-tung*, he uttered again and again the earth-shaking cries: "Long live Chairman Mao!" "A long, long life to Chairman Mao!" When the other comrades following him reached the spot, he had already stopped breathing. His left hand tightly gripped the precious revolutionary book, and the whistle he used to direct the battle was in his right.

At the same time as the deputy political instructor was going to Wang Huan-chin, Hsu Tung-yao, a Communist Party member and a "five-good" fighter, also discovered his comrade's plight. He unhesitatingly rushed through the fire to go to the latter's rescue. He, too, gave his life, and his body was found standing upright against the side of the ravine, one hand holding on to the root of a charred tree, the other supporting Wang Huan-chin. Even in death, he showed the matchless heroism of a people's fighter and his great love for a proletarian brother.

"Bitter sacrifice strengthens bold resolve which dares to make sun and moon shine in new skies." The boundless loyalty to Chairman Mao and to the people shown by these four martyrs spurred their comrades. Many in the 4th company suffered serious burns, but this only made them carry on more determinedly. Their perseverance inspired thousands of people who had now arrived to help put out the fire. After six hours of joint

efforts, the armymen and civilians finally extinguished this mountain conflagration which had already spread more than five kilometres. They have protected the surrounding villages and forests. A fierce fight to safeguard the interests of the people and defend the great proletarian cultural revolution was won.

Putting the People's Interests in First Place

The 4th company is a heroic unit born in the War of Resistance Against Japan. Its commanders and fighters have always kept in mind Chairman Mao's teaching: "They have come together and they fight not for the private interests of a few individuals or a narrow clique, but for the interests of the broad masses and of the whole nation."

In the years of war, this company fought in countless battles over the length and breadth of the country to liberate the people. In the days and nights of the famous Liaohsi-Shenyang and Peiping-Tientsin campaigns, and in the thousand-li pursuit of the enemy to liberate Kwangsi, its comrades braved untold dangers and distinguished themselves in action. Their contributions to the people can never be erased.

In the great struggle to defend the socialist revolution and socialist construction, the 4th company carried on the glorious tradition of the People's Liberation Army of simultaneously being a fighting force and a working force, as well as a production force. Wherever they go, they integrate closely with the local people. In the busy spring ploughing season, they help the poor and lower-middle peasants plant rice-seedlings. At harvest time, they help them bring in the rice. They help the masses to resist drought. They consider the masses'



Commanders and fighters of the "Model Company in Cherishing the People" helping poor and lower-middle peasants near where they are stationed to run a Mao Tse-tung's thought study class. Here they are studying Chairman Mao's latest instructions together.

difficulties their own. When the poor and lower-middle peasants lack manpower, they pitch in, and when the former are short of tools or manure, they help them out.

The masses praise this company as a "model in cherishing the people" and an "army of the people," and present it with countless crimson banners. Whenever it leaves a place, the poor and lower-middle peasants who are sorry to see it go send it on its way for many kilometres.

The tempestuous great proletarian cultural revolution has raised the 4th company's activities to cherish the people to a new level. Commanders and fighters have gone all out to propagate Chairman Mao's latest instructions and courageously defend Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line. Wherever they go, they spread Mao Tse-tung's thought. In the past two years, although they were not officially given the tasks of helping the Left, helping industry and agriculture, exercising military control or giving military and political training, they nevertheless shouldered these tasks.

Once, someone in a people's commune production team near where the 4th company was stationed planned to withhold a quantity of vegetables grown collectively which should have been sold to the state. When the members of the 4th company heard of this, they immediately felt it was no small matter but a reflection of the struggle between the two classes, the two roads and two lines in the countryside. They decided to help the poor and lower-middle peasants carry out revolutionary mass criticism and repudiation, so that Chairman Mao's revolutionary line should take root among the commune members.

They went to the production team and, with the peasants, dug up wild vegetables to eat so as to remind themselves of the bitter past, and also held meetings to recall past bitterness and think of present happiness. This class education quickly took effect. Unanimously, the poor and lower-middle peasants asked that meetings be held to settle accounts with the renegade, traitor and scab Liu Shao-chi for his heinous crimes of attempting to restore capitalism in the countryside. The revolutionary mass criticism and repudiation went on for two whole days. The commune members' level of consciousness in class struggle and the struggle between the two lines was greatly raised, and they gladly sold their best vegetables to the state.

Helped by the fighters, the poor and lower-middle peasants in the team diligently studied the "three constantly read articles," fought self and repudiated revisionism with Mao Tse-tung's thought as the weapon and further promoted the revolutionization of their thinking. Twice in the last six months, this production team was cited as an advanced unit in the brigade in the study of Chairman Mao's works.

At the critical point of the fierce struggle between the two classes and two roads in a nearby factory, the class enemies tried to sabotage the great cultural revolution by hoodwinking some of the masses and attacking

the proletarian revolutionaries. When the 4th company heard of this, it hurried to the factory the same night to propagate Mao Tse-tung's thought vigorously and give its support to the masses of the Left to wage a tit-for-tat struggle against the class enemies. The latter were finally completely defeated by the fighters and revolutionary masses armed with Mao Tse-tung's thought. The revolutionary great alliance and revolutionary three-in-one combination were quickly brought about in the factory and it won many victories in its great proletarian cultural revolution.

This was how the 4th company firmly stood on the side of Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line in the storm of class struggle. Its members said: Arming the revolutionary masses with Mao Tse-tung's thought and helping them to resolutely carry out Chairman Mao's revolutionary line means cherishing the deepest love for the people.

People's Army Armed With Mao Tse-tung's Thought

That the 4th company became a fighting collective boundlessly loyal to Chairman Mao and to the people is the result of its being nurtured by Mao Tse-tung's thought. It is a fine fruit of the movement to build up "four-good" companies.

Vice-Chairman Lin points out: "The Chinese People's Liberation Army is an army armed with Mao Tse-tung's thought, it is an army which serves the people wholeheartedly, therefore it is an invincible army."

The 4th company has been successively cited as a "four-good" company for the past five years. In the movement to build up "four-good" companies, it arms its commanders and fighters with the invincible thought of Mao Tse-tung and vigorously promotes the revolutionization of their thinking. The company has trained such revolutionary fighters as Wang Yu-kang, Hsu Tung-yao, Ning Fu-lien and Wang Huan-chin. It asks of its fighters: "Apply whatever you learn of Chairman Mao's teachings. Go into action with an indomitable spirit as soon as you hear Chairman Mao's battle call."

Deputy political instructor Wang Yu-kang once wrote in his diary: "To apply Chairman Mao's works or not when one studies them means the difference between a revolutionary and a non-revolutionary. The difference between only applying them orally and really putting them into action is the difference between a real revolutionary and a sham one. Applying them thoroughly or not doing so is the difference between being pure in one's loyalty to Chairman Mao or not."

Wang Yu-kang is a typical representative of the cadres who have matured in the movement to build up "four-good" companies. Following Vice-Chairman Lin's instructions in the last few years, he always diligently and creatively studied and applied Chairman Mao's works, and made serving the people wholeheartedly his basic criterion in remoulding his world outlook.

Last year, class struggle was sharp in the locality where the 4th company was stationed. The unit took

(Continued on p. 28.)

Chairman Mao's Works Welcomed Abroad

THE Press Commission of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Bolivia, through the "Liberacion" Publishing Agency, recently published the Spanish edition of *Chairman Mao Tse-tung On People's War*. The edition contains a picture of our great leader Chairman Mao.

In a note "To the Reader," the publisher writes:

"The thought of Comrade Mao Tse-tung, Marxism-Leninism of our era, constitutes a powerful revolutionary weapon in the hands of the peoples who are struggling for national liberation against U.S. imperialism.

"Our Party has been justly pointing out that in its historical mission of liberating the Bolivian people, one of the most important tasks is to promote the study of the works of Comrade Mao Tse-tung among the membership and the leadership of the Party and among the masses."

The note says that in order to firmly support this decision of the Party, the Press Commission of the Central Committee of the Bolivian Communist Party has published *Chairman Mao Tse-tung On People's War*.

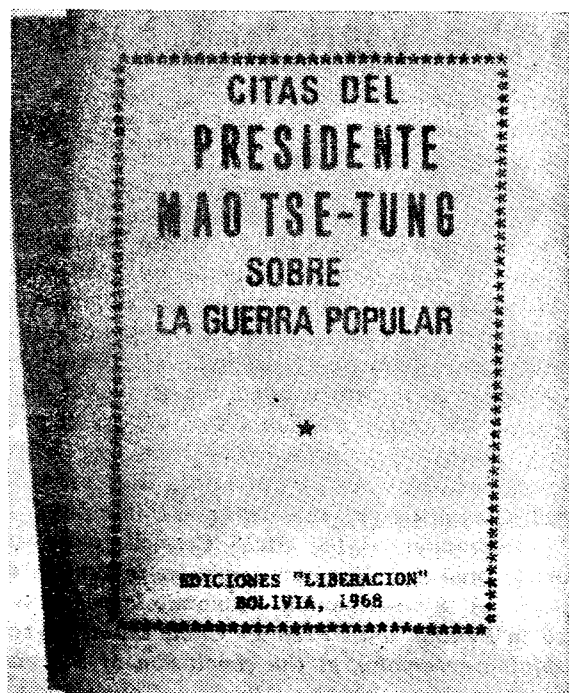
The Marxist-Leninist Movement of Mexico recently published a selection of more than 30 quotations from Chairman Mao on the youth movement.

A picture of Chairman Mao, the great leader of the Chinese people, is on the cover of the booklet. In the introduction, the publisher calls on the Mexican youth to creatively study and apply the thought of Mao Tse-tung and follow the road of integrating themselves with the masses of workers and peasants.

The introduction says that Mao Tse-tung's thought is Marxism-Leninism in our time, the most advanced theory of the contemporary world revolution. It points out that the youth movement will develop more deeply if the revolutionary youth integrate with the masses of the workers and peasants and other working people, study and apply Chairman Mao's mass line in a creative way, and establish the world outlook of the proletariat to serve the people sincerely, wholeheartedly and selflessly.

The brilliant works *On Practice* and *Combat Liberalism* by our great leader Chairman Mao have recently been translated into the Basque language and published in the Basque region in West Europe. These works have been warmly welcomed by the broad masses there.

One Basque friend said with delight: "The publication of the works of Chairman Mao in Basque is a great event in our history. It is the first time that his works have appeared in our language. They also are the first Marxist-Leninist documents translated into Basque. Previously, one could only find Marxist-Leninist works here in Spanish or French. We rejoice at the publication



Spanish edition of *Chairman Mao Tse-tung On People's War* recently published by the Communist Party of Bolivia

of Chairman Mao's works in our own language, which will thus be more accessible to our people. Today Chairman Mao's works are of particular importance for us in leading our cause of liberation to success."

A Basque worker stressed that for the Basque people Chairman Mao's works constitute a motive force in their anti-imperialist and anti-fascist struggles.

Basque is an Atlantic coastal region located in the western part of the Pyrenees between Spain and France. Inhabited by the Basques, it is divided into two parts, Spanish and French.

An Italian edition of *Selected Readings From the Works of Mao Tse-tung* was published in Italy recently. The book was translated and published by the Eastern Publishing House in Milan. Earlier, the same publishing house published the second Italian edition of *Mao Tse-tung On Literature and Art*.

Chairman Mao's brilliant work *Reform Our Study* has been published in Nepalese in booklet form in Bhatgaon City, near Kathmandu. Chairman Mao's brilliant works *Current Problems of Tactics in the Anti-Japanese United Front*, *How to Differentiate the Classes in the Rural Areas* and *The Struggle in the Chingkang Mountains* have been translated into the Sinhalese language. The first two works were published by the Worker's Publisher in Colombo, capital of Ceylon, and the third by the Praja (People's) Publisher there. These works have been warmly welcomed by the Nepalese and Ceylonese peoples.

On the Visit to China by the Albanian Government Economic Delegation

The Albanian Government Economic Delegation, led by Comrade Adil Carcani, Member of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Albanian Party of Labour and Vice-Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the People's Republic of Albania, left Peking by air on November 20 to return home via Shanghai after an eight-week friendship visit to China. More than 2,000 of the capital's revolutionary people and Comrade Li Hsien-nien, Member of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party and Vice-Premier of the State Council, were at the airport to give the Albanian comrades-in-arms a warm send-off. A Sino-Albanian economic agreement was signed in Peking, with Premier Chou En-lai present at the signing ceremony, at the conclusion of the visit. A press communique on the Albanian Government Economic Delegation's visit to China was also released. The full text reads as follows:

At the invitation of the Government of the People's Republic of China, the Albanian Government Economic Delegation led by Comrade Adil Carcani, Member of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Albanian Party of Labour and Vice-Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the People's Republic of Albania, paid a friendly visit to China between September 29 and November 20, 1968. The delegation joined the Chinese people and their great leader Chairman Mao Tse-tung and Vice-Chairman Lin Piao in celebrating the 19th anniversary of the founding of the People's Republic of China.

The Chinese people's great leader Chairman Mao Tse-tung and his close comrade-in-arms Vice-Chairman Lin Piao received Comrade Adil Carcani, leader of the Albanian Government Economic Delegation, Comrade Koco Theodhosi, Alternate Member of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Albanian Party of Labour and Minister of Industry and Mining, and other members of the Albanian Government Economic Delegation.

During their visit, Comrade Chou En-lai, Member of the Standing Committee of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party and Premier of the State Council, and Comrade Li Hsien-nien, Member of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party and Vice-Premier of the State Council, held talks with the Albanian Government Economic Delegation led by Comrade Adil Carcani. The talks proceeded in a very cordial and friendly atmosphere.

Taking part in the talks on the Chinese side were: Lin Hai-yun, Acting Minister of Foreign Trade; Li Chiang, Vice-Minister of Foreign Trade; Lo Kuei-po and Chiao Kuan-hua, Vice-Ministers of Foreign Affairs; Chung Yu-yi and Hsieh Huai-teh, leading members of the Commission for Economic Relations with Foreign Countries; and leading members of the industrial departments concerned.

Participating in the talks on the Albanian side were: Koco Theodhosi, Minister of Industry and Mining; Pupo Shyti, Vice-Chairman of the State Planning Commission; Rahman Hanku, Vice-Minister of Construction; Vasil Kati, Vice-Minister of Commerce; Sali Kubati, Vice-Minister of Agriculture; Vasil Nathanaili, Albanian Ambassador to China; and Gogo Kozma, Commercial Counsellor of the Albanian Embassy in China.

The Albanian Government Economic Delegation highly evaluates the great proletarian cultural revolution personally initiated and led by the Chinese people's great leader Chairman Mao. It warmly praises the great achievements by the revolutionary Chinese worker and peasant masses in grasping revolution and promoting production by implementing Chairman Mao's entire series of latest instructions. It heartily hails the brilliant victories won in China's great proletarian cultural revolution.

The Albanian Party of Labour and the Albanian people firmly support the historic resolution of the Enlarged 12th Plenary Session of the Eighth Central Committee of the Communist Party of China and hail the 12th Plenary Session's expulsion of the renegade, traitor and scab Liu Shao-chi from the Party once and for all and the dismissal of Liu Shao-chi from all posts both inside and outside the Party. The Albanian Party of Labour and the Albanian people consider this a great event of world significance.

The Chinese people highly evaluate and admire the revolutionization movement, which is of profound significance in socialist revolution, being carried out by the Albanian people in all fields under the brilliant leadership of the Albanian Party of Labour headed by Comrade Enver Hoxha, a great Marxist-Leninist. This movement is making Albania, this socialist beacon in Europe, shine still more brightly than ever.

The Chinese Government and people firmly support the revolutionary action taken by the Albanian Government and people in withdrawing from the Warsaw Treaty. This revolutionary action fully reflects the

heroism of the Albanian people in their fight against imperialism headed by the United States, modern revisionism with the Soviet revisionist renegade clique as its centre, and all reaction. It shows their high principledness of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism.

In the spirit of profound proletarian internationalism, China and Albania held economic talks which resulted in the two sides signing "The Agreement on China Providing a Loan to Albania," "The Protocol on the Supply of Technical Aid and Complete Sets of Equipment by China to Albania," "The Protocol on the Supply of Machines, Equipment, Materials and Ships by China to Albania," etc. In accordance with the signed agreement and protocols, a number of important projects and new industrial departments will be built in Albania.

In the talks, both sides expressed complete satisfaction with the results of the all-round economic co-operation between the two countries. Both sides held that these relations of friendship, mutual aid and co-operation based on the principles of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism have vigorously promoted socialist construction in China and Albania.

During its stay in China, the Albanian Government Economic Delegation visited Peking, Tientsin, Changsha, Kwangchow, Hangchow, Shanghai, Nanking and other places. It went to Shaoshan, the home village of Chair-

man Mao, the great leader of the Chinese people, the Changsha No. 1 Teachers School where Chairman Mao carried out revolutionary activities in his early years, the Museum of the National Institute of the Peasants' Movement in Kwangchow, the site of the First National Congress of the Chinese Communist Party, as well as factories, schools, army units, rural people's communes, the 1968 Autumn Chinese Export Commodities Fair in Kwangchow, and the Yangtse river bridge at Nanking. It had extensive contacts and cordial talks with workers, commune members, commanders and fighters in the Chinese People's Liberation Army, young Red Guards and revolutionary cadres. Wherever they went, the distinguished guests from Albania received a warm welcome and a fraternal reception from the Chinese people, which is an expression of the unbreakable friendship between the people of China and Albania. The Albanian Government Economic Delegation's visit to China has further consolidated and developed the revolutionary friendship and militant solidarity between the people of the two countries, and made new contributions to strengthening economic co-operation between them and to developing their socialist construction.

At the conclusion of the talks, both sides reaffirmed their determination to always unite, fight and win victories together in the common fight against imperialism, modern revisionism and all reaction,

November 20, 1968.

INTERNATIONAL COMMUNIST MOVEMENT

Soviet Revisionists' Armed Occupation of Czechoslovakia Strongly Condemned

Article by the Political Commission of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Peru

THE Political Commission of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Peru has condemned the Soviet revisionist renegade clique for its aggression against Czechoslovakia. This appears in an article by the Political Commission in the 39th issue of *Bandera Roja*, organ of the Party's Central Committee.

The article says that the infamous occupation of Czechoslovakia by the Soviet revisionist clique is an odious result of the attempt to divide the world into "spheres of influence" between U.S. imperialism and the Soviet revisionist clique.

As the representative of the bourgeois privileged stratum in the Soviet Union, the article points out, the Brezhnev-Kosygin revisionist clique has restored the capitalist commodity economy, the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie and capitalist culture. They have abandoned proletarian internationalism and tried to divide the world into "spheres of influence." Brezhnev even informed Johnson in advance that he was prepared to occupy Czechoslovakia.

The article says: "These grave events have once again confirmed the universal truth of Mao Tse-tung's

thought, Marxism-Leninism of the present era, on the existence of classes and class struggle in socialist society. They have also confirmed the extraordinary importance of (China's) great proletarian cultural revolution in preventing the restoration of capitalism."

In the acute and complicated class struggle, the article continues, the proletariat has lost state power in the Soviet Union, Yugoslavia and other countries where the dictatorship of the proletariat was once established. This is a deplorable tragedy as well as a severe lesson. However, this is but a temporary reverse. The just struggles of the proletariat and the youth in these

countries have clearly demonstrated the bright prospects of these struggles.

The article says: "Comrade Mao Tse-tung has said: 'Although the leadership of the Soviet Party and state has now been usurped by revisionists, I would advise comrades to remain firm in the conviction that the masses of the Soviet people and of Party members and cadres are good, that they desire revolution and that revisionist rule will not last long.'"

The article points out: "The renegade cliques which have stained the world proletariat and social revolution will not be long in power."

Statement of the Bolivian Communist Party

THE Bolivian Communist Party in a recent statement strongly denounced the Soviet revisionist renegade clique for sending troops to occupy Czechoslovakia and expressed solidarity with the Marxist-Leninist Communists, working class and people of Czechoslovakia. The statement says: "This event has clearly exposed the nature of modern revisionism and its treason against the true interests of the international communist movement."

It adds that the pretext used by the Soviet revisionist clique for its armed aggression against the Czechoslovak people does not hold water. This military occupation is adapted to the interests of the Soviet revisionist clique in establishing its hegemony in contravention of

the will and interests of the proletariat and people in Czechoslovakia and the Soviet Union.

The statement says that the Bolivian Communist Party vehemently condemns the current aggression against the Czechoslovak people. "We Communists," it stresses, "together with the Bolivian working class and people, voice our solidarity with the Marxist-Leninist Communists, working class and people of Czechoslovakia, and express our conviction that so long as the people there triumphantly hold aloft the banner of Marxism-Leninism — and this applies to the Soviet Union and other countries under revisionist rule as well — they are sure to sweep away in the not distant future the revisionists, U.S. imperialists and all other anti-socialist forces."

Statement of the Marxist-Leninist Group of The Greek Communist Party

THE Marxist-Leninist Group of the Greek Communist Party residing abroad in a recent statement strongly condemned the Soviet revisionist renegade clique for its criminal armed invasion and military occupation of Czechoslovakia. This incident fully laid bare the true social-imperialist features of the Soviet revisionists, the statement said.

The statement pointed out that "the Soviet revisionists have long since betrayed socialism and trampled proletarian internationalism underfoot. When they did their best to describe their military invasion and occupation of Czechoslovakia as an action 'defending' socialism and proletarian internationalism, their imperialist features were thoroughly exposed."

It continued: "The act of aggression committed by the Soviet aggressors will only arouse stronger indignation among the people and make the Czechoslovak people and all other fighting peoples intensify their resist-

ance and struggle against the schemes of imperialism and revisionism.

"In spite of the Czechoslovak revisionists' call to surrender, the Czechoslovak people have risen nevertheless and organized all forms of resistance and struggle in order to free themselves from the rule of military occupation by the invaders.

"For the Czechoslovak people who are going through a severe test, the only way out is to wage a struggle against the Soviet revisionists, the imperialists and the domestic reactionaries, fight for national independence and freedom, defend their socialist gains, rebuild and consolidate the dictatorship of the proletariat and strive for the victory of socialism in Czechoslovakia."

The statement stressed that "as a result of the capitulationist and opportunist leadership of the Greek Communist Party and the betrayal by revisionism, the

Greek people are experiencing a harsh test under the fascist rule of U.S. imperialism. Through the Czechoslovak incident, the Greek people have seen more clearly that the struggle against imperialism and fascism is inseparable from the struggle against modern revisionism."

In conclusion, the statement said that wherever they live and work, the Greek revolutionary fighters residing abroad "will link up their own struggle against imperialism and revisionism with the world people's struggles in defence of independence and Marxism-Leninism and for socialism and communism."

Soviet Revisionism — New Tsar Lording It Over the East European People

by Yung Chung-tung

THE Soviet revisionist renegade clique has long degenerated into a gang of social-imperialists. The Warsaw Treaty is a tool in their hands to manipulate the East European countries politically and militarily and to push their social-imperialist policy of aggression, while the "Council for Mutual Economic Aid" ("CMEA") has long been their tool to control the finances and economy of these countries and to enslave and plunder the East European people.

Our great leader Chairman Mao has pointed out: **"The governments of the imperialist countries, though they engaged in counter-revolutionary activities every day, had never told the truth in their statements or official documents but had filled or at least flavoured them with professions of humanity, justice and virtue."** Soviet revisionist social-imperialism behaves exactly like this. It is convincingly evident that it uses the "CMEA" to engage in big-nation chauvinism, national egoism and neo-colonialism, and ruthlessly exploit and plunder the East European people. But in their official documents, they lavishly utter sweet words and honeyed phrases, such as that "CMEA" institutes "all-round co-operation" among its members in economy, science and technique according to the basic principle of the "international socialist division of labour" and the principle of "complete equality, respect for sovereignty and national interest, mutual benefit and comradely assistance." However, the peoples of the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe and the revolutionary people the world over can see more and more clearly that Soviet revisionism and U.S. imperialism are jackals of the same lair.

To push what they call the "international socialist division of labour," the Soviet revisionists have manufactured volumes of counter-revolutionary theories. They claim that the daily growing tempo of technical development is restricting the possibility of the relatively small countries to solve their many complicated problems by their own efforts, that many "CMEA"

member countries cannot ensure the building of an adequate and effective national economy on the basis of high productive forces and extensive use of modern machinery, equipment and technology, because these countries lack scientists and designers and their domestic markets are too small. According to the logic of the Soviet revisionist renegade clique, the small countries should depend on the big powers and become the latter's economic appendages and colonies. The small countries can only be suppliers of raw materials to the big powers and let the big powers develop industry. Isn't this the pure and simple gangster logic of imperialism?

We can see from a host of facts that the so-called international division of labour introduced by the Soviet revisionist renegade clique in Eastern Europe is in essence the "division of labour" between the enslaving and the enslaved, between the exploiter and the exploited, and between the plunderer and the plundered — that is, the "division of labour" between the Soviet revisionist social-imperialist suzerain and its colonies. Such "division of labour" is exactly the same kind as that practised by U.S. imperialism towards many colonial and semi-colonial countries in Asia, Africa and Latin America.

We can also see from a host of facts that the so-called production specialization pushed by the Soviet revisionist clique in Eastern Europe is in essence designed to make production lopsided — that is to say, it is the colonization of production. The so-called co-operation in production which the Soviet revisionists are practising in Eastern Europe is in reality "all-round co-operation" between the Soviet revisionist clique and the East European revisionist groups in oppressing, exploiting and plundering the East European people. The so-called economic integration they have carried out is, in effect, designed to colonize the "CMEA" member countries. This is exactly the same as U.S. imperialist "economic integration" in Latin America.

In imperial Russia the tsar was "the gendarme of Europe." Today, a mass of facts proves that the Soviet revisionist renegade clique is the biggest colonial ruler and the biggest exploiter of the East European people and that it is a new tsar riding roughshod over them. The fact that it carries out aggression, control, enslavement and plunder of other "CMEA" members glaringly reveals the reactionary nature of "international socialist division of labour" and rips aside the figleaf about its publicized "respect for sovereignty and national interest" and "equality and mutual benefit." The flagrant aggression which the Soviet revisionist renegade clique launched against Czechoslovakia by lining up a pack of its followers thoroughly exposes its allegation about "defending the socialist community" as outright rubbish.

Our great leader Chairman Mao long ago pointed out: "The socialist system will eventually replace the capitalist system; this is an objective law independent of man's will. However much the reactionaries try to hold back the wheel of history, sooner or later revolution will take place and will inevitably triumph." The Soviet revisionist renegade clique is carrying out capitalist restoration in the East European countries through the counter-revolutionary Warsaw Treaty as

well as "CMEA" and reducing these countries to colonies and dependencies. Politically, Soviet revisionism wantonly tramples upon the sovereignty and independence of the other "CMEA" members and grossly interferes in their internal and external policies; economically, it enslaves and plunders the people of these countries; and militarily, it resorts to armed control, even sending troops to carry out aggression and to create puppets at bayonet point. These facts have educated the masses of the people, enabling the Soviet and East European peoples to better understand the counter-revolutionary nature of Soviet revisionist social-imperialism and the revisionist ruling groups in Eastern Europe, and enabling the revolutionary people of the world to recognize more clearly the reactionary features of the modern revisionist bloc headed by Soviet revisionism. The Soviet and East European peoples, who have a glorious revolutionary tradition, are having a new awakening. Like the imperialists headed by the United States, the modern revisionists headed by the Soviet revisionist renegade clique are disintegrating, torn by contradictions and plunging steadily into unprecedented isolation. It will not be long before they are swept into the grave by the revolutionary people of the world!

How Soviet Revisionists Use the "CMEA" to Plunder and Exploit East European People

TO hoodwink the people of Eastern Europe and the world's revolutionary people, the Soviet revisionist renegade clique is carrying out criminal acts of neo-colonialism under the signboard of "defending the interests of the socialist community." This clique long ago degenerated into a bunch of social-imperialists. Regarding Eastern Europe as its sphere of influence, it has made a number of countries there its source of raw materials, outlets for capital investment, and commodity markets on the pretext of "international socialist division of labour," "production specialization," "cooperation in production," "economic integration," etc. The "Council for Mutual Economic Aid" ("CMEA") is a tool of Soviet revisionist social-imperialism for controlling the financial and economic lifelines of several East European countries and plundering and exploiting their people.

So-Called "Production Specialization" Means Colonization

All out for "production specialization" within the "CMEA," this revisionist renegade clique has laid the foundation for a colonial or semi-colonial economy in a number of East European countries. The so-called "production specialization" means that one or several "CMEA" member countries specialize in producing one product to meet the needs of other mem-

bers. This entails "a division of labour" in which the Soviet Union concentrates on producing machinery, equipment and other industrial products while other member countries are confined to producing food, farm products and minerals. Hungary, for instance, supplies 32.3 per cent of the Soviet wool imports, 57.7 per cent of canned vegetables imports and 46 per cent of medicinal raw material imports. Bulgaria provides the Soviet Union with large quantities of tobacco, fruit, vegetables and other foods. The 1966-70 long-term trade agreements concluded by the Soviet Union with Hungary and Bulgaria explicitly says that Hungary should supply the Soviet Union with 670 million rubles' worth of agricultural products and other consumer goods and Bulgaria should supply it with 325 million rubles' worth of agricultural products. Czechoslovakia, which is comparatively developed industrially, is even the main supply source of pitch, uranium, pipes and raw materials for making tires for the Soviet Union. The raw materials supplied to the Soviet revisionists by the Czechoslovak revisionist clique in 1965 reached 38 per cent of the total value of Czechoslovak exports to the Soviet Union, or 349 million rubles. Along with this, the Soviet revisionist leading clique dumps large quantities of industrial products into these countries to block them from developing their industries. Not only have industrially undeveloped East European

countries become the markets for Soviet industrial products, even Czechoslovakia is no exception. Every year it has to purchase from the Soviet Union large amounts of various types of machinery, means of transportation and complete sets of industrial equipment. In fact, these countries have become sources of raw materials and commodity markets for Soviet revisionism.

In the name of "production specialization," the Soviet revisionists have led several East European countries to a lopsided economic development. Here, Czechoslovakia provides a typical example. Bowing to the baton of the Soviet revisionists who control 67 per cent of the national economy of the country, the Czechoslovak revisionist renegade clique has developed its industry one-sidedly with the result that agricultural production has dropped drastically, and its agricultural output is still below the pre-war level. Output of food grains in 1964 went down by 40 per cent as compared with the pre-war peak. Since it does not make full use of its domestic resources, the Czechoslovak revisionist clique always depends on imports from the Soviet Union for mineral products. As a result of the damage from "production specialization," Czechoslovak industrial output once decreased and technical levels sunk. Machinery and equipment imported from the Soviet Union occupy a more and more dominant position in the Czechoslovak national economy.

"Production specialization" has enabled the Soviet revisionists to control the foreign trade of other member countries of the "CMEA," thereby making them greatly dependent upon the Soviet Union. The Soviet revisionists control over 35 per cent of Czechoslovakia's exports of heavy industrial products. Concerning Czechoslovakia's imports, they control 95 per cent of its oil, 65 per cent of its iron ore, 50 per cent of its copper and 99 per cent of its wheat. The extent of their control over Hungary's exports is shown by these figures: 79 per cent of lifting and transport equipment, 82 per cent of food industry equipment, 68 per cent of telecommunications equipment, 79 per cent of ships and floating equipment and 60 per cent of medicines. Concerning Hungary's imports, they control 85 per cent of the crude oil, 92 per cent of the oil products, 95 per cent of the iron ore, 97 per cent of the pig-iron, 91 per cent of the sulphate fertilizers, 77 per cent of the power and 73 per cent of the timber. The foreign trade of these countries has thus fallen into the clutches of the Soviet revisionists who manipulate and influence those countries' foreign trade policies at will.

East European Countries Turned Into Processing Plants in the Name of "Co-operation in Production"

In the name of "co-operation in production," Soviet social-imperialism has turned other member countries in "CMEA" into plants processing raw materials which it exports to them in order to control production in their iron and steel, shipbuilding, chemical, oil, textile and other industries. The major portion of the industries of several "CMEA" member countries, such as the oil and chemical industries of Czechoslovakia,

the German Democratic Republic and Poland, is controlled by the Soviet revisionists.

Most of the East European countries' raw materials are supplied by these revisionists. The materials they supply are processed into finished products which are then taken back to the Soviet Union and re-exported to the East European countries at high prices. In this way, the Soviet revisionists ruthlessly exploit these countries. Over 56 per cent of Czechoslovak raw material imports in 1964, for instance, came from the Soviet Union while 50 per cent of the machinery, 80 per cent of the rolling equipment, over 50 per cent of the light industrial equipment and 100 per cent of the ships and related equipment — all made in Czechoslovakia — were transported to the Soviet Union. In addition, while Czechoslovakia processes various types of industrial parts for the Soviet revisionists, such as carburetors and other parts for motor cars, it imports motor cars and different kinds of industrial equipment from the Soviet Union. Hungary exports bauxite to the Soviet revisionists' plants and imports the finished product — aluminium — at high prices from them. These facts forcefully expose the predatory nature of "co-operation in production."

Large Quantities of Unsalable Goods Labelled "Aid," "Loans" and "Technical Co-operation" Exported at High Prices

Soviet revisionist social-imperialism also uses "aid," "loans" and "economic and technical co-operation" to export huge sums of capital to the member countries of the "CMEA." The total amount of "loans" by Soviet revisionism to Czechoslovakia, Bulgaria, Poland and other member countries reaches some thousands of millions of rubles. It should be pointed out that Soviet revisionism's so-called "aid" and "loans" to the "CMEA" member countries are not in cash but are unsalable products and equipment sent to these countries at exorbitant prices in the guise of "aid" and "loans." For example, according to the 1966-70 five-year plan, Soviet revisionism, in the name of "aid," will send large amounts of complete sets of factory equipment to various East European countries. In this period, Soviet revisionism will ship Hungary complete sets of equipment for 30 factories.

East European People Ruthlessly Exploited and Plundered Through Unequal Exchanges

Trade between the Soviet revisionist renegade clique and other "CMEA" members has always been unequal. Not only does Soviet revisionism force these countries to buy its unsalable goods, but it ruthlessly exploits the East European people through exchange at unequal values. By raising the value of the ruble, it pushes up the prices of exports to "CMEA" members and reduces the prices of imports from them. Making use of the fact that these countries lack raw materials, it gets a large amount of industrial goods in return for a small quantity of raw materials, thus openly plundering the cheap labour power of the people of these countries. For example, a machine from Czechoslovakia, which

could be exchanged for 520 tons of iron ore with other countries, is exchanged with the Soviet Union for only 140 tons of iron ore; rolling stock gets only 1,300 tons of oil from the Soviet revisionists whereas it could be exchanged for 3,400 tons of oil in other countries. With control over the industries of the "CMEA" member countries, Soviet revisionism callously slashes the prices of industrial goods these countries export to the Soviet Union. For example, a DP 1600-type lathe from the German Democratic Republic sold to the Soviet Union can fetch only 15,000 rubles although the former could get 20,000 rubles if the lathe were sold to other countries; a GFL 400 X 300 milling machine sold to the Soviet Union gets 6,000 rubles but it could get 9,000 rubles from other countries. The Soviet revisionists sell oil to Italy at 1.31 U.S. dollars a barrel, to Japan at 1.26 U.S. dollars and to West Germany at 1.27 U.S. dollars, but they sell oil to the East European countries at 2.61 U.S. dollars while the price per barrel for Hungary is as high as 3.04 U.S. dollars. The price of the atomic reactors which the Soviet revisionists have sold to some East European countries are five times higher than the international market price.

Trampling on the Sovereignty of Other Countries in The Name of "Economic Integration"

In the name of "co-ordinating" the plans for the national economies of the various East European countries, Soviet revisionism has gone to great lengths to force

"economic integration" and "super-state" "departmental organization" on the "CMEA" members, ruthlessly interfering in their internal affairs and trampling on their sovereignty. After the collapse of the fallacy of "inter-state economic complexes," which was trotted out in 1964, the Soviet revisionist renegade clique at the end of 1966 again manipulated the "CMEA" to pass a so-called "agreement on departmental organization" as a means to control the member countries. According to this agreement, a whole series of "super-state" departmental organizations were to be established to regulate the production, sales, distribution, supply of raw materials, etc., of the various "CMEA" members. These countries have thus in fact been turned into dependencies of Soviet revisionism. The revisionist ruling cliques in Eastern Europe betrayed the interests of the people of their countries by capitulating to Soviet revisionism and allowing it to control their countries' economic lifelines.

In a nutshell, under the neo-colonialism pushed by the Soviet revisionist renegade clique, many countries in Eastern Europe have been reduced to colonies and protectorates of Soviet revisionism and have to suffer all its plunder and insults. But this cannot last long. Soviet revisionism's aggressive actions are gradually awakening the oppressed East European people and stimulating them to rise up in revolutionary struggle against Soviet revisionist social-imperialism and its agents.

U.S. Imperialism Extremely Unpopular for Pursuing Anti-China Policy in United Nations

THE United Nations General Assembly once again held a "debate" on the so-called "question of Chinese representation" from November 11 to 19 at its 23rd session. The U. N. discussion of this so-called question year after year clearly shows in itself that although U.S. imperialism, which persists in making itself an enemy of the Chinese people, has again and again set in motion its voting machine to exclude for a long period of time the legitimate representative of the 700 million Chinese people from the United Nations, it can never silence the just voice of the peoples of the world who are making ever stronger demands for restoring to the People's Republic of China its legitimate rights in the United Nations. U.S. imperialism's reactionary policy of hostility towards China is extremely unpopular. It is utterly isolated on this question.

The recent "debate" was held at a time when the world-shaking, great proletarian cultural revolution in China has won great and decisive victories. The U.S. imperialists, the Soviet revisionist renegade clique and

the reactionaries of all countries are frightened by this great revolutionary movement of the Chinese people; they have cranked up all their propaganda machines, ceaselessly hurling the most rabid and shameless slanders against the great Chinese people. However, lies can never prevail over truth. China's great proletarian cultural revolution has won the warm support of the revolutionary people the world over and New China's international prestige is rising daily. Despite the curses flung at China by the imperialists, revisionists and other reactionaries, more countries this year joined in the sponsorship of the resolution demanding the restoration to China of its legitimate rights in the United Nations than did last year.

The resolution put forward by Albania, Algeria, Cambodia, the Congo (Brazzaville), Cuba, Guinea, Mali, Mauritania, Pakistan, Tanzania, Rumania, the Sudan, Syria, Southern Yemen and Zambia demands recognition of the Government of the People's Republic of China as the only lawful representative of the Chinese people,

restoration to the People's Republic of China of all its legitimate rights in the U. N. and expulsion of the "representatives" of the Chiang Kai-shek bandit gang from all U.N. organs. This resolution reflects the ardent desire of the broad masses of the people in the world.

At the meeting, Albanian delegate Halim Budo exposed with iron facts the crimes committed by U.S. imperialism and Soviet revisionism in league with each other in opposing China and revolution, and refuted all kinds of brazen anti-China calumnies by imperialism, revisionism and the reactionaries. He pointed out that U.S.-Soviet collaboration is mainly spearheaded against China because it is the most powerful and insurmountable obstacle to the realization of their vicious plan for world hegemony and an impregnable bastion in defence of the freedom of the peoples and of their struggle against imperialism, colonialism and revisionism and for liberation. In his speech, Budo warmly acclaimed the tremendous successes of the Chinese people in the great proletarian cultural revolution and in socialist construction; he praised China for its steadfast adherence to the principle of proletarian internationalism, for following a policy of peace, friendship and good neighbourliness and resolutely opposing the policies of aggression and war of U.S. imperialism and Soviet revisionism. He stressed that the Government of the People's Republic of China alone is qualified to enjoy China's legitimate rights in the U.N. Organization.

Speaking at the "debate," representatives of many Asian and African countries condemned U.S. imperialism for its crime of propping up the remnant Chiang Kai-shek bandit gang, which has long been spurned by the Chinese people, to entrench itself on China's seat in the United Nations while excluding for a long period of time the legitimate representative of the Chinese people from the United Nations. They also opposed the "two Chinas" scheme of U.S. imperialism.

Pakistan representative Agha Shahi pointed out that the draft resolution sponsored by Albania and other countries "based itself on the inescapable reality that there is only one China and the representatives of the Government of the People's Republic of China are the only ones who can lawfully represent China in all the organs of the United Nations." He stressed that Pakistan categorically rejects the "two Chinas" formula.

Nepalese representative Padma Bahadur Khatri praised China for the active role it has played in Asian peace. Taking the friendly relations between Nepal and China as an example, he pointed out that these relations "are solidly founded on good neighbourliness, the Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence and the Ten Principles of the Bandung Declaration."

Tanzanian representative Danieli denounced the United States for obstructing by "delaying tactics" the restoration to China of its legitimate rights. He said that the United States must be held responsible for this and should be condemned. Repudiating the absurd U.S.

argument insisting that China should be "represented" by the Chiang Kai-shek bandit gang, he pointed out that Taiwan is a province of China and is now completely under U.S. military occupation.

Alphonse Ongagou, representative of the Congo (Brazzaville), pointed out that the Chiang Kai-shek bandit gang has no right at all to represent the Chinese people. At present, he said, Taiwan is reduced to an American colony and Chiang Kai-shek, who has long been repudiated by the Chinese people, is merely a puppet protected by the United States. Ongagou also praised China for its disinterested assistance to other Asian and African countries.

Refuting the lies which have been spread to slander China and to deliberately sow discord in the friendly relations between China and other Asian and African countries, Guinean representative Diallo pointed out that Guinea is "delighted with its bilateral relations with China." He also expressed admiration for China's assistance to and respect for other Asian and African countries.

Backing up the demand for the restoration to China of its legitimate rights, Zambian representative Vernon Mwaanga pointed out emphatically that the People's Republic of China is a peace-loving country and none of today's major international problems could be solved without its participation. He added that the allegation that the Chiang Kai-shek bandit gang could "represent" China is "mere fiction."

Confronted with the stern condemnation and demands of just world opinion, U.S. imperialism again resorted to the vicious trick it has played for years on this question. Once again, it lined up more than ten lackeys and pawns such as Japan, Thailand and the Philippines, which willingly serve as its hatchetmen against China, to table a "draft resolution" which turns the restoration of China's legitimate representation, a question requiring by rule a simple majority vote, into an "important question" requiring a two-thirds majority. This arbitrary act of the United States again met with wide opposition. Many Asian and African representatives pointed out that the U.S. argument cannot hold water and is a deliberate attempt to delay the solution of this question.

Seeing that this scurrilous trick has become more and more unpopular, U.S. imperialism in the "debate" instructed Italy, Belgium and three other countries to serve up once again the long rejected "draft resolution" on setting up a "committee" to "study" China's representation. This was to serve as a "second line of defence" in obstructing restoration to China of its legitimate rights and to prepare public opinion for U.S. imperialism's scheme to create "two Chinas." A letter distributed in the United Nations by Belgian representative Schuurmans inadvertently revealed what this "draft resolution" cooked up by U.S. imperialism was driving at. Schuurmans admitted in the letter that in participating in the sponsorship of the "draft resolu-

tion," Belgium had in mind such "a solution" as "two Chinas." As in the two previous sessions, this "draft resolution" was exposed and condemned by the representatives of many countries which uphold justice. They noted that such a proposal, which serves the "two Chinas" scheme, is unacceptable.

The representative of the Soviet revisionist renegade clique again played the despicable role of a double-dealer in the recent "debate." At the November 13 meeting, Yakov Malik hypocritically expressed "support" for restoring China's legitimate rights in the United Nations and "opposition" to the idea of "two Chinas." But, immediately afterwards, he put the "question of restoration of China's representation" on a par with that of admitting the two German states. The Soviet delegate was thus openly serving U.S. imperialism's scheme of creating "two Chinas." Furthermore, on the eve of the "debate," personnel of the Soviet revisionist clique distributed much anti-China material in the U.N. to prepare public opinion, in co-ordination with U.S. im-

perialism, for obstructing the restoration of China's legitimate rights in the United Nations. Once again the renegade features of the Soviet revisionist clique have thus been exposed to the light of day.

As in previous years, U.S. imperialism again set in motion its voting machine at the General Assembly session to block the restoration to China of its legitimate rights in the United Nations. But this kind of voting cannot in the slightest harm the Chinese people who, holding aloft the great red banner of Mao Tse-tung's thought, are proudly marching forward with big strides. On the contrary, it only once again reveals the ugly features of U.S. imperialism — its hostility to the Chinese people — and its fear of mighty socialist China which adheres to an anti-imperialist and anti-revisionist stand. It also reveals the political and moral bankruptcy of the so-called United Nations Organization. It proves that the Chinese people are absolutely right when they look upon this "international organization" as nothing but a tool of U.S. imperialism for aggression.

(Continued from p. 18.)

on the glorious task of protecting the revolutionary masses. When Wang Yu-kang's wife visited him, she was worried about his safety. So he told her some of his thoughts after studying Chairman Mao's works: "A revolutionary should contribute his entire energy and even his life to the communist cause, and be useful to the people. When the motherland and the people require it, I will come to the fore and give all in defending Chairman Mao and the people."

Once he was injured in work and his wife was very worried. Remarking on this, Wang Yu-kang took his wife one Sunday to a martyr's tomb. There he studied with her Chairman Mao's great teaching: "Thousands upon thousands of martyrs have heroically laid down their lives for the people; let us hold their banner high and march ahead along the path crimson with their blood!" This fully demonstrated his lofty quality of having only Chairman Mao and the people in his mind.

Fighter Hsu Tung-yao was an educated city youth before he enlisted. He had begun school in his childhood, and never suffered hardships or had any training in labour. Unused to the strenuous military life in the company, he hoped at first to transfer to the medical team to become an orderly.

Soon, the great leader Chairman Mao issued the call "Learn from Comrade Lei Feng." A vigorous movement to emulate the great communist fighter Comrade Lei Feng was launched throughout the army and the country. Its many activities gave Hsu Tung-yao great education and called forth his deep proletarian class sentiments for Chairman Mao and Mao Tse-tung's thought. He wrote in his diary: "I will study Chairman Mao's writings every day, listen to his every word and follow him in making revolution all my life." From

then on, he pored over the "three constantly read articles" and stressed applying them to eliminate self-interest and foster devotion to the public interest. In his five years in the army, he was cited as a "five-good" fighter every year. In the battle to put out the mountain fire, he heroically gave his young life in the cause of the people's interests and to save a comrade-in-arms.

Fighter Wang Huan-chin raised the level of his proletarian class consciousness to a new high in the great proletarian cultural revolution. Studying hard and resolutely carrying out Chairman Mao's latest instructions, he armed himself with Chairman Mao's theory, line and principles and policies on continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat and raised his consciousness in class struggle and the struggle between the two lines.

While working on a construction project, he was injured and passed out from the pain. As soon as he came to, he asked to join the work again. He said: "Taking part in this work means defending the dictatorship of the proletariat and defending Chairman Mao's revolutionary line. I'm staying in the fight!" The comrades forced him to rest. However, even during his two days of rest, he ignored his pain, overcame difficulties arising from a low educational level and, on his bunk, wrote a 4,000-character article denouncing the renegade, traitor and scab Liu Shao-chi.

The 4th company is now studying the Communiqué of the Enlarged 12th Plenary Session of the Eighth Central Committee of the Party and is carrying out the great fighting tasks set by that session. Its members are determined to march forward with giant strides along the revolutionary course charted by the great leader Chairman Mao and make new contributions to the people in the fight to win all-round victory in the great proletarian cultural revolution.

Comrades Chen Po-ta and Kang Sheng Hold Talks With Comrade Hill

Comrades Chen Po-ta and Kang Sheng, Members of the Standing Committee of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party, held talks with Comrade E.F. Hill, Chairman of the Australian Communist Party (Marxist-Leninist) in Peking on November 21.

The talks proceeded in a very cordial and friendly atmosphere.

Accompanied by Comrade Wu Teh, Vice-Chairman of the Peking Municipal Revolutionary Committee, Comrade Hill visited the Peking Hsinhua Printing House on the morning of November 21.

Comrade Hill was warmly greeted by more than 1,200 revolutionary workers and staff members of the printing house. Holding aloft portraits of our great leader Chairman Mao, they shouted "Workers of all countries, unite!" and other slogans.

Responsible members of the revolutionary committee of the printing house told Comrade Hill how the revolutionary workers and staff members there had creatively studied and applied Mao Tse-tung's thought and closely followed the great leader Chairman Mao's great strategic plan. They also gave an account of how they grasped revolution, promoted production and steadily, accurately and relentlessly attacked a handful of class enemies. Comrade Hill visited the flat-bed press, intaglio printing, letterpress, rotary press and binding workshops, where the great leader Chairman Mao's works — the treasured revolutionary books — are printed.

A rally, attended by the revolutionary workers and staff members, was held in the rotary press workshop by the revolutionary committee of the printing house to welcome Comrade Hill.

On behalf of all the revolutionary workers and staff members, vice-chairman of the revolutionary committee Comrade Wang Lien-chang warmly greeted Comrade Hill, Chairman of the Australian Communist Party (Marxist-Leninist) which holds high the banner of Marxism-Leninism and the banner of anti-imperialist and anti-revisionist struggle. He said: "All the revolutionary workers and staff members in our printing house firmly support and are resolutely implementing the communiqué and decisions of the Enlarged 12th Plenary Session of the Eighth Central Committee of our Party. They are creatively studying and applying Chairman Mao's works, taking firm hold of revolution, and making vigorous efforts to promote production. They are printing the red treasured books by our great leader Chairman Mao and his portraits with the highest political enthusiasm and the greatest revolutionary energy, and their work is of the best quality. They regard this as a concrete action in support of the revolutionary struggles of the people throughout the world against U.S. imperialism, modern revisionism and the reactionaries of all countries."

Comrade Hill spoke amidst warm applause. He said: "The historic decisions of the Enlarged 12th Plenary Session of the Eighth Central Committee review the truly world-shaking experiences of the great proletarian cultural revolution. These experiences have vast importance for China; they have vast importance for the working class and oppressed people of the world. The imperialists headed by the U.S. imperialists, the modern revisionists headed by the Soviet revisionist clique and all other reactionaries placed great hopes on Liu Shao-chi and his miserable bunch of scoundrels. His exposure and the decision to expel him once and for all from your Party and to remove him from all positions have dealt them a shattering blow. This is a mighty contribution to the world revolutionary movement.

"Your experience in the storm of the cultural revolution has refreshed and invigorated you and with you the working people of the world. It has brought Marxism-Leninism in an entirely new and higher stage, the thought of Mao Tse-tung, to fresh millions generating a material force. The successful revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat has enormously strengthened China and with that has enormously strengthened the world revolutionary movement."

Comrade Hill stressed: "All these great victories have been achieved under the leadership of your great, glorious and correct Party under the inspiration of the thought of Chairman Mao and under his personal guidance. Strict adherence to his thought and guidance guarantees your victory; it guarantees our victory; it guarantees the victory of world socialist revolution."

In conclusion, Comrade Hill shouted: "Long live proletarian internationalism!" "Long live the victory of the great proletarian cultural revolution!" "Long live the victory of Marxism-Leninism, the thought of Mao Tse-tung!" and "Long live Chairman Mao!"

19th Anniversary of Establishment of Diplomatic Relations Between Albania and China Celebrated

Albanian Ambassador to China Vasil Nathanaili gave a reception in Peking on November 23 to celebrate the 19th anniversary of the establishment of diplomatic relations between Albania and China.

Vice-Premier Hsieh Fu-chih and responsible members of departments concerned attended.

In his speech at the reception, Ambassador Nathanaili praised the fraternal relations of friendship and cooperation in all fields between Albania and China since the estab-

lishment of diplomatic relations 19 years ago. He said: "In the 19 years of successful socialist construction in our two countries, the militant friendship, the fraternal, close and all-round co-operation and the great steel-like unity between the Albanian and Chinese peoples have been developed and strengthened, and have set a brilliant example for the revolutionary people of the world. This friendship between the Marxist-Leninist Parties and the glorious peoples of our two countries, their unity in thinking and action and the persistent struggle they have waged against imperialism headed by the United States and against revisionism with the Soviet renegade clique as its centre are historic victories for the teachings of Marxism-Leninism and the great principles of proletarian internationalism."

The Albanian Ambassador continued: "The Enlarged 12th Plenary Session of the Eighth Central Committee of the Communist Party of China which was presided over by Comrade Mao Tse-tung is an event of great historic significance to the destiny of the Chinese people and to the cause of world revolution and socialism. It is a complete victory for the proletarian revolutionary line with Chairman Mao as its representative over the bourgeois reactionary line of Liu Shao-chi—the renegade to the Chinese Communist Party and the Chinese people—and his agents."

Vice-Minister of Foreign Affairs Chi Peng-fei said in his speech: "The friendship between China and Albania is founded and fostered by Chairman Mao, the great leader of the Chinese people, and Comrade Enver Hoxha, the great leader of the Albanian people. This is the most precious and the greatest friendship. In the last 19 years, the Parties and peoples of our two countries have always supported each other, inspired each other and fought shoulder to shoulder in the great cause of opposing imperialism headed by the United States, modern revisionism headed by the Soviet revisionist renegade clique and all reaction. The Chinese people are conscious at all times of the fraternal support and help they receive from the Albanian people.

The Albanian Party of Labour, headed by the great Marxist-Leninist Comrade Enver Hoxha, and the Albanian people have highly evaluated and resolutely supported China's great proletarian cultural revolution since its very beginning. The Albanian Party of Labour was also the first to warmly praise the recent Enlarged 12th Plenary Session of the Eighth Central Committee of our Party and the communique issued by the session."

"Under the brilliant leadership of Comrade Enver Hoxha," Vice-Minister Chi Peng-fei added, "the heroic Albanian people hold high the great banner of Marxism-Leninism and unfold a vigorous revolutionization movement to promote the revolutionization of people's thinking, prevent the restoration of capitalism and consolidate the dictatorship of the proletariat. You have worked hard to build your country through self-reliance and have adhered to the socialist road. You persist in principle, defy brute force, and dare to wage a tit-for-tat, unswerving struggle against imperialism headed by U.S. imperialism and modern revisionism headed by the Soviet revisionist renegade clique. By their heroic struggle and brilliant achievements, the fraternal Albanian people have won the respect and admiration of the revolutionary people all over the world. The Chinese people are proud to have such close comrades-in-arms as you."

Statement by Spokesman of Information Department of Chinese Foreign Ministry

**On Date of 135th Meeting of Sino-U.S.
Ambassadorial Talks**

The spokesman of the Information Department of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the People's Republic of China on November 26 issued a statement on the date of the 135th meeting of the Sino-U.S. ambassadorial talks. The statement reads in full as follows:

On November 18, the U.S. State Department press officer and the U.S. Embassy in Poland issued state-

ments in which they did their utmost to distort the facts and divulged the discussions between China and the United States about the date of the 135th meeting of the Sino-U.S. ambassadorial talks, falsely accusing the Chinese side of having no intention of holding the meeting as scheduled and failing over a long period of time to respond to the U.S. proposal. In this connection, the spokesman of the Information Department of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the People's Republic of China has been instructed to refute as follows:

1. The position of the Chinese side on the date of the 135th meeting of the Sino-U.S. ambassadorial talks has been consistent and explicit and is in conformity with the principle of reaching agreement through consultation between the two sides. The 135th meeting of the Sino-U.S. ambassadorial talks was originally scheduled for May 29. On May 18, the Chinese side suggested that the meeting be postponed till the middle of November or late November, and the U.S. side later agreed to this suggestion. Since then, the Chinese side has not changed its view. It is utterly groundless and most absurd for the U.S. side to assert that the Chinese side has no intention of acting upon its own proposal.

2. The U.S. side has played a host of tricks on the date of this meeting. In its letter of September 12, it wanted to fix the date of the meeting rigidly for November 20. On November 8, it gave an oral notice demanding that the Chinese side reply to its suggestion of September 12 within a time limit of five days. This is a typical imperialist attitude. Furthermore, on November 15, it sent over a written notice, in which it groundlessly "assumed" that China has no intention of acting upon its original proposal and suggested that the meeting be postponed till February 5 or 11 next year. Without waiting for a reply from the Chinese side, the U.S. Government unilaterally announced on November 18 a postponement of the meeting in violation of the principle of reaching agreement through consultation.

It must be pointed out that the days when U.S. imperialism can ride roughshod over the world and order others about are long gone, never to return. It is a sheer pipe dream to expect that the Chinese Government will accept such insolence from U.S. imperialism!

3. What is the aim of the U.S. side in putting up such a singular performance within a short space of ten days? Evidently, the U.S. Government has no intention whatsoever to hold the Sino-U.S. ambassadorial talks within this year, but is trying hard to postpone the 135th meeting of the Sino-U.S. ambassadorial talks till February next year while shifting the responsibility for the postponement onto the Chinese side. To put it bluntly, this is because the United States is going to change its president, and the U.S. Government is now in a stage wherein the incoming is superseding the outgoing; hence it must try to

drag on until the present period is over.

4. Actually why should the U.S. side have taken the trouble of doing all this? Since you find it necessary to postpone the meeting, say it outright! The Chinese side can give consideration to it. Chen Tung, Charge d'Affaires a.i. of the Embassy of the People's Republic of China in Poland, already wrote to the U.S. Ambassador to Poland Mr. Walter J. Stoessel, Jr. on November 25, making a concrete suggestion that the two sides might as well meet on February 20 next year. By that time, the new U.S. president will have been in office for a month, and the U.S. side will probably be able to make up its mind.

5. Over the past 13 years, the Chinese Government has consistently adhered to the following two principles in the Sino-U.S. ambassadorial talks: First, the U.S. Government

undertakes to immediately withdraw all its armed forces from China's territory Taiwan Province and the Taiwan Straits area and dismantle all its military installations in Taiwan Province; second, the U.S. Government agrees that China and the United States conclude an agreement on the Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence. But in the past 13 years, while refusing all along to reach an agreement with the Chinese Government on these two principles, the U.S. Government, putting the cart before the horse, has kept on haggling over side issues. The Chinese Government has repeatedly told the U.S. side in explicit terms that the Chinese Government will never barter away principles. If the U.S. side continues its current practice, no result whatsoever will come of the Sino-U.S. ambassadorial talks no matter which administration assumes office in the United States.

PEKING REVIEW

Vol. 11, No. 48
November 29, 1968

Published in English, French, Spanish,
Japanese and German editions

IN THIS ISSUE

ARTICLES AND DOCUMENTS

Report to the Second Plenary Session of the Seventh Central Committee of the Communist Party of China (March 5, 1949) — Mao Tse-tung 3

Conscientiously Study the History of the Struggle Between the Two Lines — Editorial of *Renmin Ribao*, *Hongqi* and *Jiefangjun Bao* 10

Chairman Mao, Vice-Chairman Lin and Premier Chou Warmly Greet 24th Anniversary of Liberation of Albania 14

Chairman Mao's Fighters Love the People Most 15

Outstanding Examples of Revolutionized P.L.A. Companies 16

Chairman Mao's Works Welcomed Abroad 19

On the Visit to China by the Albanian Government Economic Delegation (press communique) 20

Soviet Revisionists' Armed Occupation of Czechoslovakia Strongly Condemned 21

Article by the Political Commission of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Peru 21

Statement of the Bolivian Communist Party 22

Statement of the Marxist-Leninist Group of the Greek Communist Party 22

Soviet Revisionism — New Tsar Lording It Over the East European People — by Yung Chung-tung 23

How Soviet Revisionists Use the "CMEA" to Plunder and Exploit East European People 24

U.S. Imperialism Extremely Unpopular for Pursuing Anti-China Policy in United Nations 26

16 THE WEEK 29

Published every Friday by PEKING REVIEW, Peking (37), China
Post Office Registration No. 2-922 Cable Address: Peking 2910
Printed in the People's Republic of China

Just Off the Press

Compass for the Victory of the Revolutionary People of All Countries

In English

On September 18, 1962, Chairman Mao Tse-tung wrote the following important inscription for Japanese worker friends: "The Japanese revolution will undoubtedly be victorious, provided the universal truth of Marxism-Leninism is really integrated with the concrete practice of the Japanese revolution." On the occasion of the sixth anniversary of this brilliant inscription, a facsimile of it in Chairman Mao's handwriting was made public in *Renmin Ribao* (the People's Daily). It is extremely important and of far-reaching significance not only for the revolutionary cause of the Japanese people but also for the revolutionary cause of the people of all other countries. This booklet contains the inscription and editorials on it by *Renmin Ribao* and *Jiefangjun Bao* (the Liberation Army Daily).

Also available in Burmese, French, German, Indonesian, Italian, Japanese, Russian, Spanish and Vietnamese

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 the

Mail Order Dept., GUOZI SHUDIAN, P.O. Box 399, Peking, China