

PEKING REVIEW

43

October 24, 1975

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**In Commemoration of 40th
Anniversary of Victory of
The Long March**

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**Chairman Mao Meets
Madame Mariam Traore**

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Secretary of State Kissinger**

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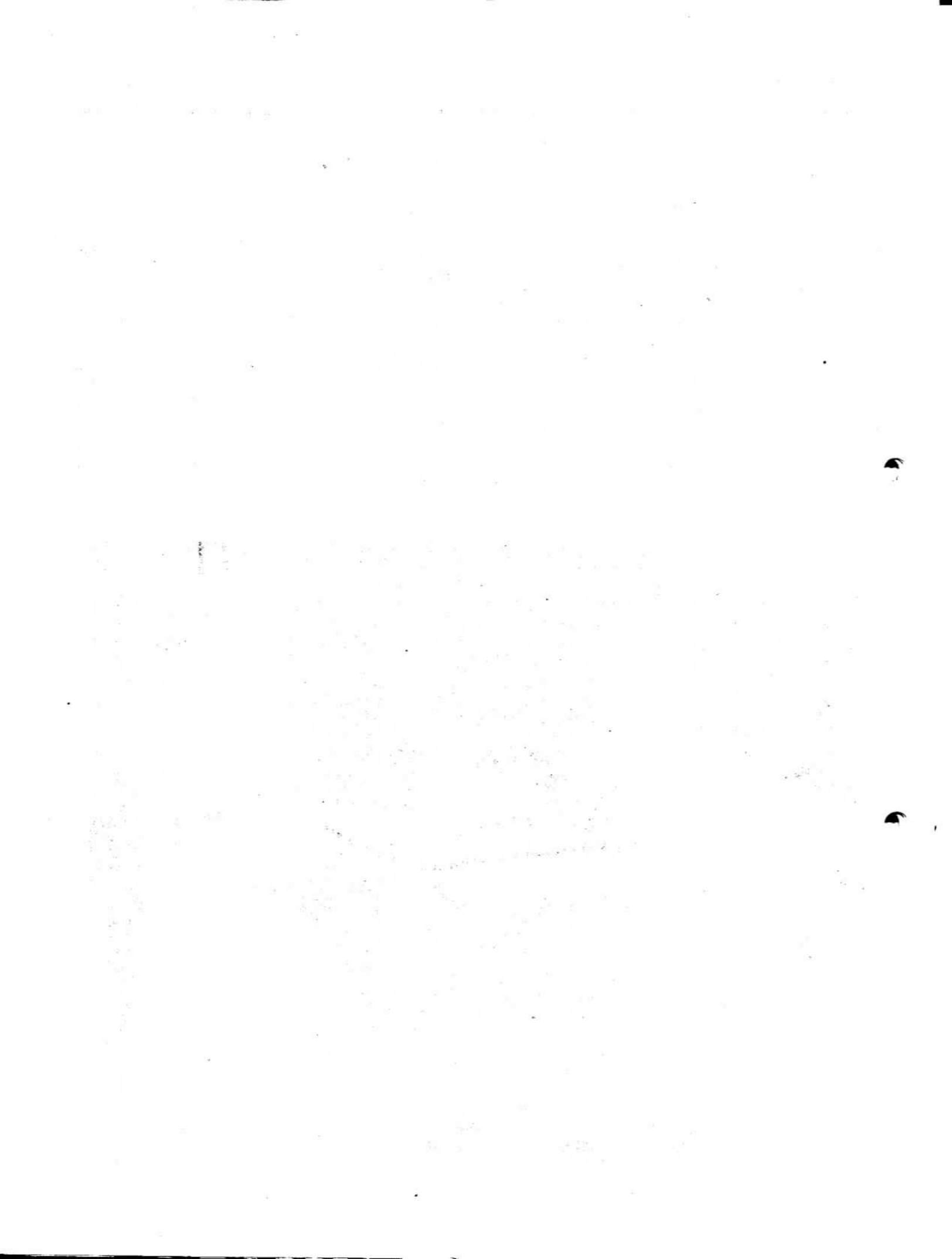
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Chairman Mao in northern Shensi (1936).

Photo by Edgar Snow



Chairman Mao Meets Madame Mariam Traore

CHAIRMAN Mao Tsetung on the evening of October 19 met with Madame Mariam Traore, wife of the Head of State of the Republic of Mali and President of the Malian National Union of Women, and members of the party accompanying her on her visit to China: Madame Traore Nee Astou Sangare, wife of Member of the Military Committee for National Liberation Youssouf Traore and Secretary for Foreign Relations of the Malian National Union of Women; Madame Oulematou Keita, wife of Minister of Finance and Commerce Founke Keita and Secretary for Economic Affairs of the Malian National Union of Women; Madame Hawa Thiero, Secretary for Information of the Malian National Union of Women; and Souleymane Diabate, Attache to the Presidency of the Government.

Malian Ambassador to China Sinaly Thera was present on the occasion.

At the meeting, Chairman Mao extended a warm welcome to Madame Mariam Traore and her party on their visit to China. After shaking hands with all the distinguished guests, Chairman Mao had a cordial and friendly conversation with Madame Mariam Traore and Ambassador Sinaly Thera. Chairman Mao asked them to convey his cordial greetings to Malian Head of State Moussa Traore.

Vice-Premier Li Hsien-nien, Vice-Minister of Foreign Affairs Wang Hai-jung, and Deputy Departmental Directors of the Foreign Ministry Chi Tsung-hua, Tang Wen-sheng and Lo Hsu were present at the meeting.



Chairman Mao Meets Secretary Of State Kissinger



CHAIRMAN Mao Tsetung on the evening of October 21 met with Dr. Henry A. Kissinger, U.S. Secretary of State and Assistant to the President for National Security Affairs, his wife Nancy M. Kissinger, and his party.

American guests at the meeting were George H.W. Bush, Chief of the U.S. Liaison Office in China; Helmut Sonnenfeldt, Counsellor of the State Department; Philip C. Habib, Assistant Secretary of State for East Asian Affairs; Winston Lord, Director of the Office of Policy Planning of the State Department; William H. Gleysteen Jr., Deputy Assistant Secretary of State for East Asian

Affairs; Peter W. Rodman, White House staff member; and Anne Boddicker, secretary.

Chairman Mao shook hands with all the American guests and had a conversation in a friendly atmosphere with Dr. Kissinger, George Bush and Winston Lord on a wide range of questions. Chairman Mao asked Dr. Kissinger to convey his regards to President Ford.

Present on the occasion were Vice-Premier Teng Hsiao-ping, Foreign Minister Chiao Kuan-hua, Chief of the Chinese Liaison Office in the United States Huang Chen, Vice-Foreign Minister Wang Hai-jung and Deputy Departmental Directors of the Foreign Ministry Tang Wen-sheng and Chang Han-chih.

Victory of Long March Commemorated

OCTOBER 19 was the 40th anniversary of the victory of the Long March of the Chinese Workers' and Peasants' Red Army, precursor of the Chinese People's Liberation Army. With revolutionary pride, commanders and fighters of the P.L.A.'s ground, naval and air forces studied theory and the Party's line, and recalled the tradition in connection with the great Long March. Enormously inspired, they all pledged to learn from the heroes of the Red Army their revolutionary spirit in closely following our great leader Chairman Mao and unswervingly going forward, carrying forward the revolutionary tradition. They expressed the determination to conscientiously carry out Chairman Mao's three instructions on studying the theory of the dictatorship of the proletariat to combat and prevent revisionism, promoting stability and unity and boosting the national economy. And they were resolved to courageously advance to win new and still greater victories on the bright road of continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat.

In the last few days leading organs of the P.L.A.'s services and arms and units of the various military areas held commemorative meetings and report meetings and forums on the Long March. Theatrical items in praise of Chairman Mao's revolutionary line and reflecting the heroic deeds performed on the Long March were presented. Many veteran Red Army men went to companies and joined young fighters in recalling the Long March, discussing the tradition of the Red Army and studying the Party's line. Old, middle-aged and the young generations got together in high spirits to sing revolutionary songs that set Chairman Mao's poems *The Long March* and *Mount Liupan* to music and Red Army songs, tell stories about the Long March and recite poems in commemoration of it. In this way they expressed their lofty aims to learn

from the Red Army and continue the revolution.

While studying the history of the two-line struggle in the Party during the Long March, commanders and fighters of the various units gained a deeper understanding that **"the correctness or incorrectness of the ideological and political line decides everything."** Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line is the only correct line guiding the Chinese revolution from victory to victory.

In their study of the Red Army's revolutionary heroism, members of the various units have further enhanced their revolutionary enthusiasm of fighting selflessly to combat and prevent revisionism and consolidate the dictatorship of the proletariat. They unanimously expressed the determination that to firmly and correctly carry out Chairman Mao's revolutionary line and persevere in continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat, they would always bear in mind the Red Army's spirit during the Long March and pass on the tradition of hard struggle from generation to generation.

Veteran fighters of the Red Army's First, Second and Fourth Front Armies and of the Northern Shensi Red Army at the time reviewed how the various Red Army units united in their triumphant struggle 40 years ago. When they studied again Chairman Mao's teaching **"Unite to win still greater victories,"** they felt those words were exceptionally warm and close to them. While studying the Party's line of uniting for victory, commanders and fighters of the various units criticized the crimes of such renegades to Marxism as Wang Ming, Chang Kuo-tao, Liu Shao-chi and Lin Piao who engaged in splittist activities and capitulated to the enemy. This further enhanced their consciousness of doing a better job in revolutionary unity under the guidance of Chairman Mao's revolutionary line and their determination to consolidate the dictatorship of the proletariat and be prepared against war.

Starting from October 19, literary and art units of the general departments, military areas, services and arms of the People's Liberation Army presented in four Peking theatres items in praise of the great Long March for workers, peasants and soldiers. These included the modern drama *The Long March*, the suite of songs *The Red Army Fears Not the Trials of a Distant March*, the dances *Storming the Luting Bridge*, *Wind Flutters the Red Flags as We Scale the Snow-Capped Mountains* and *Years of Hardship* as well as musical items.

Madame Mariam Traore Visits China

Madame Mariam Traore, wife of the Head of State of the Republic of Mali and President of the Malian National Union of Women, visited Peking from October 16 to 20.

Madame Mariam Traore came to China for a friendly visit at the invitation of the Chinese Government. On their arrival, the Malian guests were warmly greeted at the airport by Vice-Premier Li Hsien-nien and others as well as over 2,000 people in the capital. Kang Ke-ching, wife of Chu Teh, Chairman of the N.P.C. Standing Committee, greeted Madame Mariam Traore at the Guest House.

Vice-Premier Li Hsien-nien gave a banquet on the evening of October 17 to warmly welcome the Malian guests.

Speaking at the banquet, Vice-Premier Li Hsien-nien paid tribute to the Malian people for the success they have achieved under the leadership of the Head of State Moussa Traore in safeguarding national independence and state sovereignty and developing the national economy and culture.

"In international affairs," he continued, "the Malian Government has pursued a policy of non-alignment, combated imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism, Zionism, white racism and big-power hegemonism,

thus making a useful contribution to the united struggle of the third world against imperialism and hegemonism."

The Chinese Vice-Premier added: The friendly visit of His Excellency the Head of State Moussa Traore to our country in 1973 had written an important chapter in the annals of Sino-Malian relations of friendly co-operation. Madame Mariam Traore's present visit to China will certainly make a new contribution to furthering the mutual understanding and friendship between the peoples of China and Mali.

Madame Mariam Traore said in her toast: "The quality and warmth of the reception we have been given show in an eloquent manner the solidity of the fraternal ties of friendship that have always united our countries, our peoples and our governments."

She expressed the belief that her present visit would open a new chapter in the relations between the women's movements in Mali and China.

Madame Mariam Traore gave a banquet on the eve of her departure from Peking to visit other parts of China. In a toast on the occasion, she again spoke of the friendship between the peoples of the two countries. She said: Our two peoples

have always cherished profound affection for each other because of their common experiences, not only in consideration of the misery they suffered in the past, but also of the struggle they have waged for liberation from colonialist domination and oppression.

"Today our two countries are engaged in the construction of an independent national economy by their own efforts. They are waging a consistent struggle against imperialism, old and new colonialism, hegemonism, Zionism and racism. They are maintaining fraternal relations of co-operation in all fields on the basis of mutual respect for sovereignty and territorial integrity, non-aggression and non-interference in each other's internal affairs, equality, mutual benefit and peaceful coexistence," she added.

While in Peking, Madame Mariam Traore attended a forum with Chinese women cadres at which they discussed women's work in China and Mali.

U.S. Secretary of State Kissinger in Peking

Dr. Henry A. Kissinger, U.S. Secretary of State and Assistant to the President for National Security

Affairs, and his party arrived in Peking on October 19 for a visit to China. Dr. Kissinger was accompanied by his wife Nancy M. Kissinger. Greeting them at the airport were Foreign Minister Chiao Kuan-hua and others.

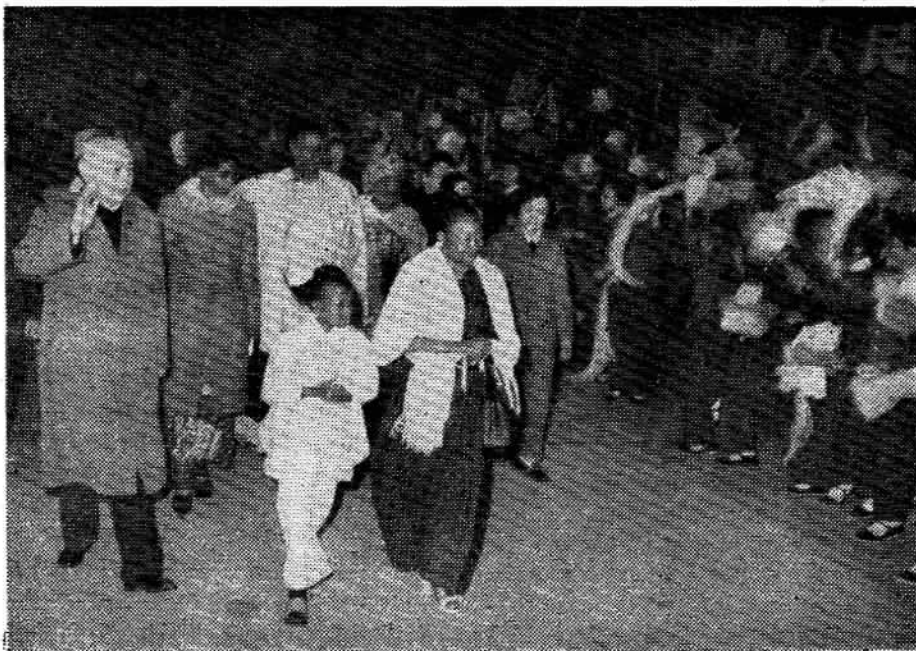
Foreign Minister Chiao Kuan-hua gave a banquet in honour of Dr. Kissinger, his wife and his party on the evening of their arrival.

Vice-Premier Teng Hsiao-ping was at the banquet. Prior to that, he met with Dr. Kissinger and his party.

George H.W. Bush, Chief of the U.S. Liaison Office in China, and Mrs. Bush attended the banquet.

Foreign Minister Chiao Kuan-hua said in his toast: "The current international situation is characterized by great disorder under heaven, and the situation is excellent. The basic contradictions in the world are sharpening. The factors for both revolution and war are increasing. The stark reality is not that detente has developed to a new stage, but that the danger of a new world war is mounting. We do not believe there is any lasting peace. Things develop according to objective laws independent of man's will. The only way to deal with hegemonism is to wage a tit-for-tat struggle against it. To base oneself on illusions, to mistake hopes or wishes for reality and act accordingly will only abet the ambitions of expansionism and lead to grave consequences. In this regard, the history of World War II provides a useful lesson. In the face of the growing danger of war, China's fundamental policy is to dig tunnels deep, store grain everywhere and never seek hegemony, to persist in independence and self-reliance and make all necessary preparations. We are deeply convinced that, whatever zigzags and reverses there may be in the development of history, the general trend of the world is towards light and not darkness.

"A new page was turned in the relations between China and the



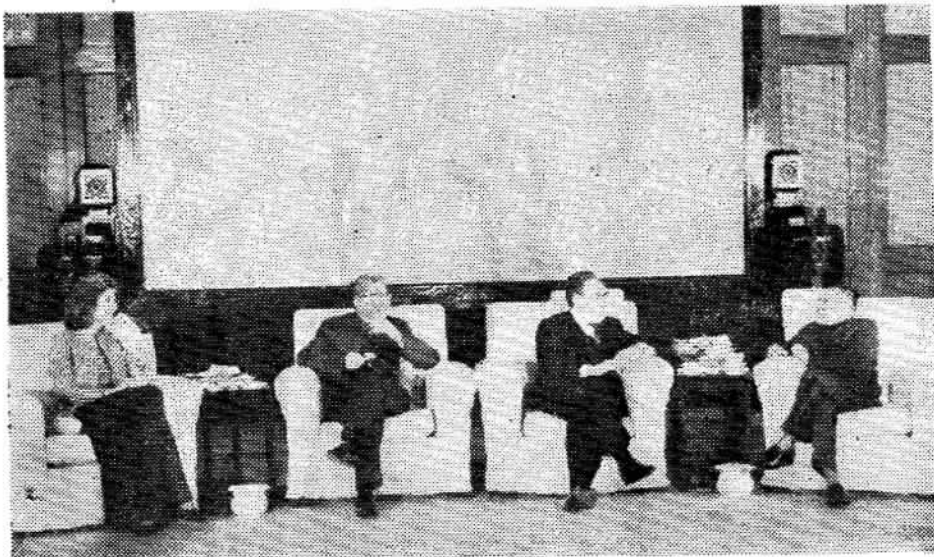
Madame Mariam Traore is greeted at the airport by Vice-Premier Li Hsien-nien and people of the capital.

United States with President Nixon's visit to China and the issuance of the Shanghai communique by our two sides in 1972," he continued. "On the whole, Sino-U.S. relations have moved forward in the last few years. China and the United States have different social systems and there are essential differences between their policies. However, in the current turbulent world situation, our two sides have common points as well. This has been set forth clearly in the Shanghai communique. So long as our two sides earnestly observe in actual practice the principles established in the Shanghai communique, there is reason to believe that Sino-U.S. relations will continue to move ahead. This is the common desire of the Chinese and American peoples. On the Chinese side, we will do our part to promote Sino-U.S. relations in the spirit of the Shanghai communique, as we have done all along."

Dr. Kissinger said in his toast: Today is the 40th anniversary of the end of the Long March. This occasion therefore has profound meaning for the People's Republic of China and those here tonight who made that epic journey. That event was testimony to the world as well of the courage and the vision of those who set out on the Long March. Their success demonstrated that faith was even more important than material circumstances in achieving great things.

Dr. Kissinger said: "There is no relationship to which the United States assigns greater significance than its ties with the People's Republic of China. The differences between us are apparent. Our task is not to intensify those differences, but to advance our relationship on the basis of our mutual interests. Such a relationship would strengthen each of us. It would threaten no one."

He continued: "Each country must pursue a policy suitable to its own circumstances. The United States will resist hegemony as we have already stated in the Shanghai communique. But the United States will also make



Vice-Premier Teng Hsiao-ping meeting Dr. Kissinger.

every effort to avoid needless confrontations when it can do so without threatening the security of a third country. In this policy we will be guided by action and reality and not rhetoric."

He added that President Ford would soon be coming to China with the intention of strengthening relations on the basis of the Shanghai communique.

"During the next few days we will have the opportunity to exchange views on a wide range of matters of common interest. These regular consultations have become a valuable feature of our relationship," Dr. Kissinger concluded.

Vice-Premier Teng Hsiao-ping and Foreign Minister Chiao Kuan-hua held talks with Dr. Kissinger.

Visit by Swiss Communist Party (M-L) Delegation

The Delegation of the Communist Party of Switzerland (Marxist-Leninist) recently visited China at the invitation of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China. Comrade Keng Piao, Member of the C.P.C. Central Committee and Head of the International Liaison Department of the C.P.C. Central Committee, and Comrade Chang Hsiang-shan, Deputy Head of the International Liaison Department, met and feted all members of the delegation and had cordial and friendly talks with them. While in

China, the delegation visited Peking, Taching, Harbin and other places.

Autumn Export Commodities Fair Opens

China's 1975 Autumn Export Commodities Fair opened in Kwangchow on October 15.

On display in the 12 halls at the fair are more than 40,000 varieties of export commodities and products showing the new achievements in China's industry, agriculture, science and technology. Among these are crude oil from the Taching, Shengli and Takang Oilfields, a heavy-duty precision thread grinding machine with a laser measuring device made by the Shanghai Machine Tools Plant, good barley and wheat strains from the Tibetan Plateau; and turtles and tuna from Hsisha — one group of China's islands in the South China Sea. Many products as well as photos and models show advanced examples on the industrial and agricultural fronts.

This is the 38th session of the semi-annual fair since its inauguration in 1957. The number of visitors rose from some 1,200 coming from more than 20 countries and regions in 1957 to more than 25,000 from 107 countries and regions at this year's spring fair. China now has trade relations with more than 150 countries and regions, and has signed government trade agreements and protocols with 70 countries.

暖天渡
 楊橫鐵
 寒。更
 岷山千里
 雲、三
 區、及
 冬、開
 龍
 年、東
 三、年
 月、日

The Long March is the first of its kind in the annals of history, . . . it is a manifesto, a propaganda force, a seeding-machine. Since Pan Ku divided the heavens from the earth and the Three Sovereigns and Five Emperors reigned, has history ever witnessed a long march such as ours? For twelve months we were under daily reconnaissance and bombing from the skies by scores of planes, while on land we were encircled and pursued, obstructed and intercepted by a huge force of several hundred thousand men, and we encountered untold difficulties and dangers on the way; yet by using our two legs we swept across a distance of more than twenty thousand *li* through the length and breadth of eleven provinces. Let us ask, has history ever known a long march to equal ours? No, never. The Long March is a manifesto. It has proclaimed to the world that the Red Army is an army of heroes, while the imperialists and their running dogs, Chiang Kai-shek and his like, are impotent. It has proclaimed their utter failure to encircle, pursue, obstruct and intercept us. The Long March is also a propaganda force. It has announced to some 200 million people in eleven provinces that the road of the Red Army is their only road to liberation. Without the Long March, how could the broad masses have learned so quickly about the existence of the great truth which the Red Army embodies? The Long March is also a seeding-machine. In the eleven provinces it has sown many seeds which will sprout, leaf, blossom, and bear fruit, and will yield a harvest in the future. In a word, the Long March has ended with victory for us and defeat for the enemy.

(Mao Tsetung: *On Tactics Against Japanese Imperialism.*)

長征詩一首
 紅軍不怕
 遠征難，
 萬水千山
 只等閒。
 五嶺逶迤
 騰細浪，
 帶泥丸。
 金沙水拍
 石崖響，

Chairman Mao's handwriting in April 1962 of the poem "The Long March" he wrote in October 1935.

In Commemoration of 40th Anniversary Of Victory of the Long March

Editorial by "Renmin Ribao" and "Jiefangjun Bao"

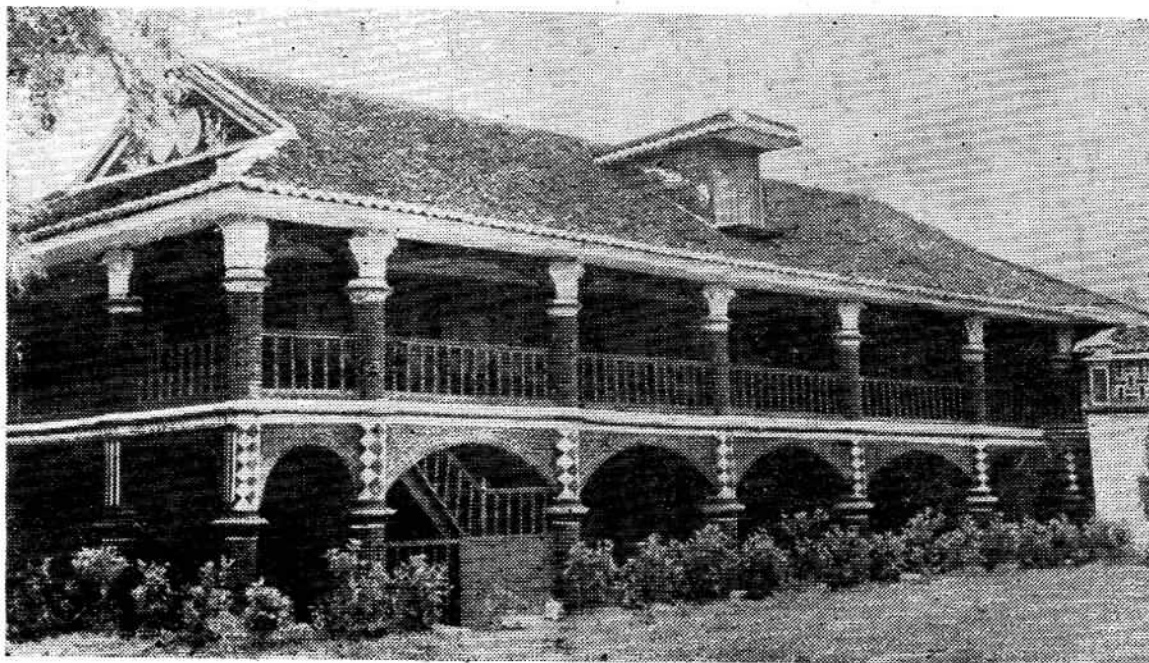
FULL of revolutionary pride, the whole Party, the whole army and the people of the whole country today commemorate the 40th anniversary of the victory of the Long March of the Chinese Workers' and Peasants' Red Army, precursor of the People's Liberation Army.

Led by our great leader Chairman Mao and the Party Central Committee, the First Front Army of the Red Army arrived in northern Shensi on October 19, 1935. The Second and Fourth Front Armies arrived there together in October the next year. Thus the three main Red Army forces completed their great strategic movement and successfully joined up with the 25th Army, which had arrived earlier, and the Northern Shensi Red Army. The Long March was a great and sublime epic in which the Red Army swept across 25,000 li (12,500 kilometres) through the length and

breadth of eleven provinces, crossing perpetually snow-capped mountains and trackless grasslands and smashing encirclement, pursuit, obstruction and interception by several hundred thousand enemy troops. Chairman Mao has said: "The Long March is the first of its kind in the annals of history, . . . it is a manifesto, a propaganda force, a seeding-machine." "A new situation arose as soon as the Long March was over." The historic meritorious service of the Red Army's Long March is indelibly engraved in the minds of the people of all nationalities of the motherland. The Red Army's heroic deeds during the Long March will always encourage the Communists and revolutionary people of our country to advance valiantly along Chairman Mao's revolutionary line from generation to generation.

Chairman Mao has said: "The correctness or incorrectness of the ideological and political line decides

THE GREAT LONG MARCH



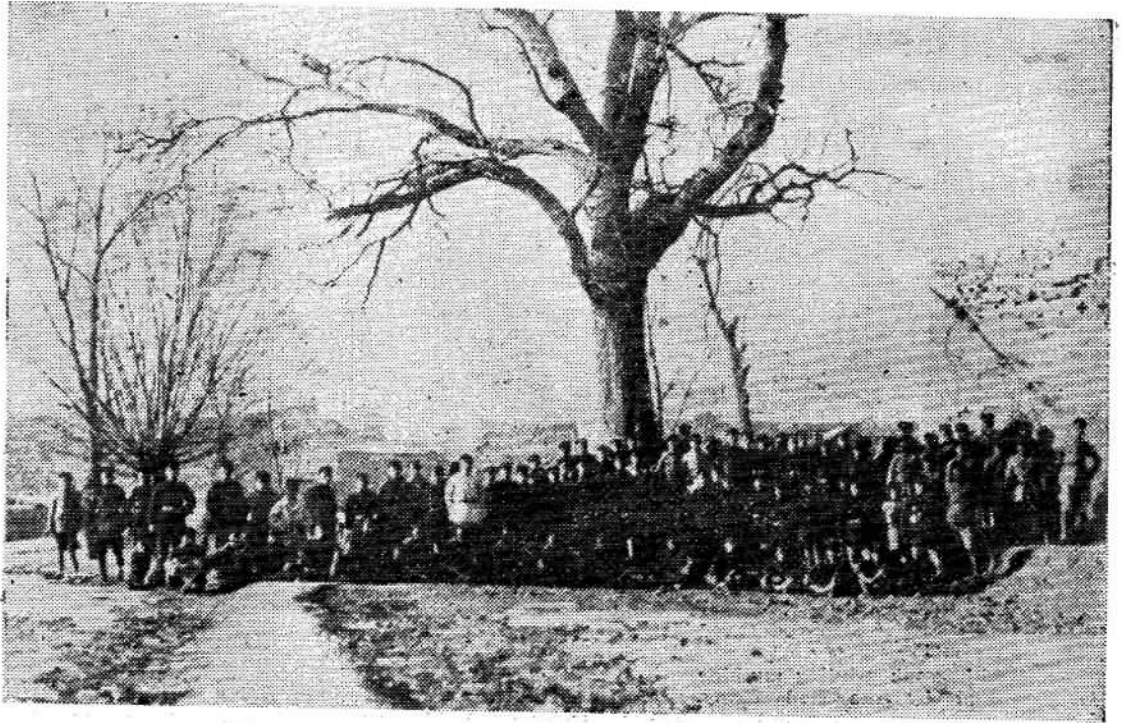
Site of the Tsunyi Meeting.



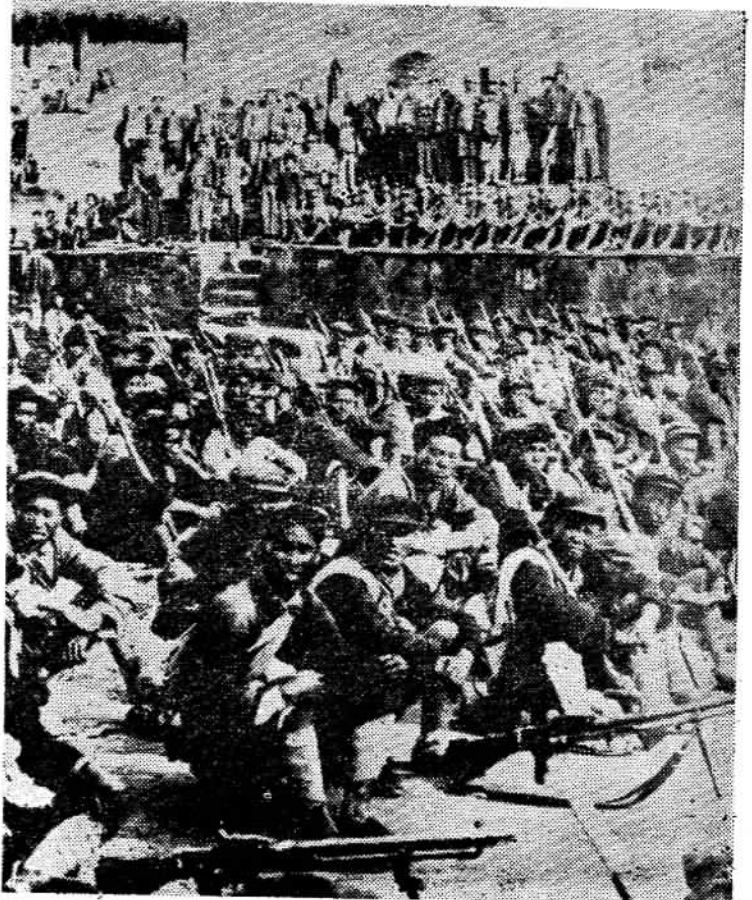
Part of the Red Army's Second Front Army that arrived in northern Shensi.



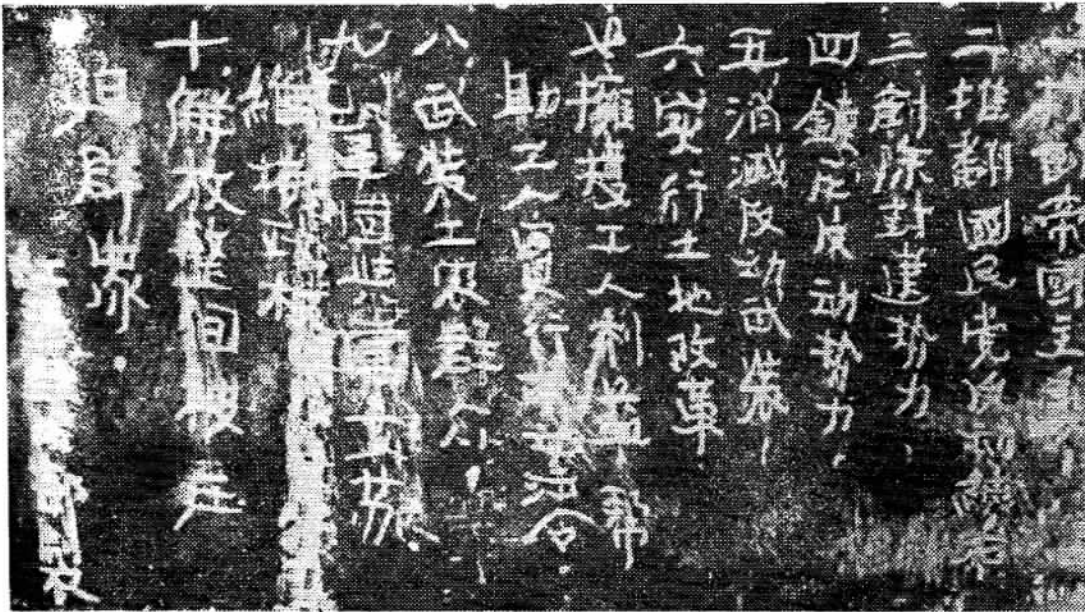
Part of the First Front Army of the Red Army that arrived in northern Shensi after the Long March.



Part of the Red Army's 15th Army Group.



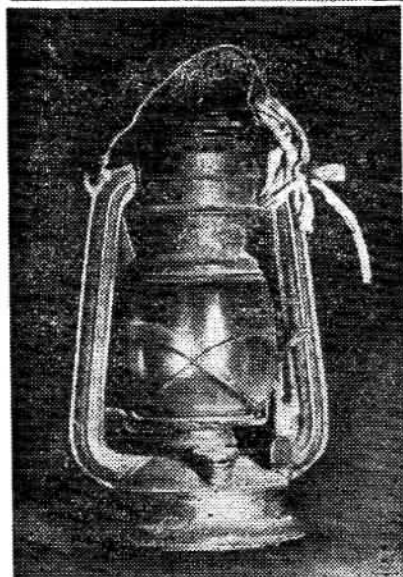
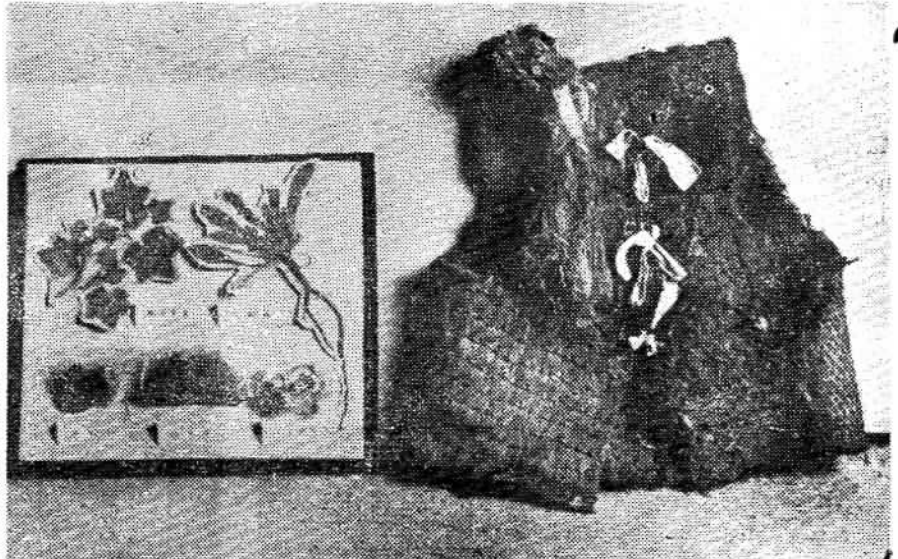
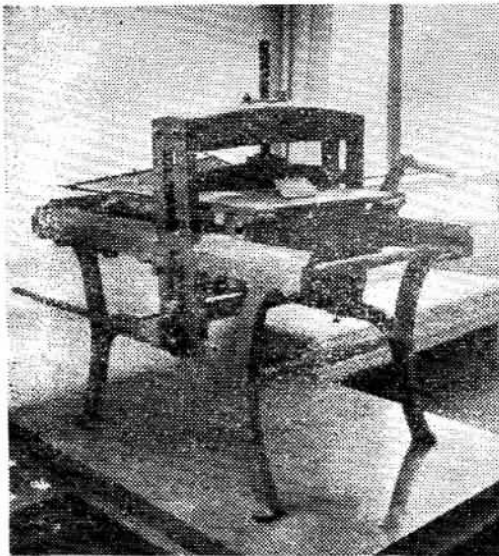
Part of the Red Army's Fourth Front Army that arrived in northern Shensi.



Red Army slogans.

Wild plants (specimens) eaten by the Red Army men and their vest made by them.

Lithograph printing machine used by the Red Army.



A storm lantern used by the Red Army during the Long March.

When the Red Army bought a pig from a peasant, it gave him 15 yuan in paper money (right) and a certificate of purchase written by a company commander so that the seller could exchange the paper money for silver yuan from units that came through later.

everything. When the Party's line is correct, we have everything: if we have no men, we will have them; if we have no rifles, we can get them; if we do not have state power, we will be able to seize it. If the line is incorrect, we will lose what we already have." The history of the Long March fully proves this brilliant thesis of Chairman Mao's. Under the guidance of Chairman Mao's revolutionary line, at the beginning of the Second Revolutionary Civil War we built up an army and established red base areas we had not had before, and we smashed the enemy's repeated "encirclement and suppression" campaigns and developed the excellent revolutionary situation. Because Wang Ming usurped the central leadership of the Party in 1931 and pursued a "Left" opportunist line, the revolutionary forces suffered heavy losses amounting to 90 per cent of their strength in the red areas and almost 100 per cent in the white areas; the Red Army was compelled to shift its forces and start the Long March. At that most critical moment for the Party and the Red Army, the Tsunyi Meeting rectified the Wang Ming line militarily and organizationally and established Chairman Mao's leading position in the whole Party. This enabled the Red Army to preserve and temper its backbone forces, defeat Chang Kuo-tao's Right opportunist line and triumphantly complete the Long March, thereby opening up a new situation for the Chinese revolution. A review of the history of the Long March helps us come to the profound understanding that no matter how tortuous the course of the revolution may be, the revolution triumphs and develops when we implement Chairman Mao's line and it suffers setbacks and defeats when we depart from Chairman Mao's line.

The struggle between Chairman Mao's revolutionary line on the one hand and Wang Ming's "Left" opportunist line and Chang Kuo-tao's Right opportunist line on the other was a struggle between Marxism and revisionism. All those who practise revisionism are capitulationists. Completely violating the principle of integrating the universal truth of Marxism-Leninism with the concrete practice of the Chinese revolution, Wang Ming, a self-styled "100 per cent Bolshevik," first turned "Left" and then Right, and finally went over to the enemy in betrayal of the country to serve as a running dog of Soviet revisionist social-imperialism. Chang Kuo-tao opposed marching to the north to fight the Japanese aggressors and advocated fleeing south, and finally surrendered to the Kuomintang reactionaries and became an ignominious renegade. Liu Shao-chi and Lin Piao followed the same path. This teaches us that to uphold Marxism, we must persist in the struggle against revisionism and capitulationism and oppose capitulationists.

The Long March serves as very vivid and rich teaching material on the struggle between the two lines. The basic line of the Party tells us that the struggle between the two classes, the two roads and the two lines exists throughout the entire historical period of socialism. Socialism or capitalism — we are still faced with the two possibilities today. The struggle between the two lines will continue in the next 50 or 100 years, and even 10,000 years from now there still will be the struggle between the two lines. We must inherit and carry forward the Red Army's glorious tradition in steadfastly implementing Chairman Mao's revolutionary line, uphold the Party's basic line for the historical period of socialism, study conscientiously and well the theory of the dictatorship of the proletariat, actively participate in the criticism of the novel *Water Margin* [see *Peking Review* No. 37, 1975. — Tr.] and go on criticizing the counter-revolutionary revisionist line of Liu Shao-chi and Lin Piao. Through study and criticism, the people of the whole country will learn to distinguish between correct and erroneous lines in complicated struggles. This is our surest guarantee for continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat.

Whether to practise unity or splittism was an important aspect of the two-line struggle during the Long March. Wang Ming engaged in factional activities, "with me as the core"; Chang Kuo-tao, on the strength of his having a large number of soldiers and rifles, set up his own bogus central committee. Their intrigues to split the Party and the Red Army were contrary to the people's will and were bound to fail. Chairman Mao advocated that people "hailing from all corners of the country," no matter from which mountain stronghold or front army, from the north or from the south, should all unite for a common revolutionary objective. Precisely because Chairman Mao's revolutionary line was followed and the forces of the Red Army of various fronts were united, the Long March ended with defeat for the enemy and victory for us. It is essential to inherit and carry forward the Red Army's glorious tradition of unity in struggle, stress the political line, the whole situation, the Party spirit as well as unity and discipline, implement the Party's proletarian policies conscientiously and promote stability and unity.

The hardships the Red Army came across during the Long March were almost without parallel in history; the heroism it showed was also unprecedented. "The Red Army fears not the trials of a distant march; to them a thousand mountains, ten thousand rivers are nothing" — this revolutionary spirit of the heroes of the Red Army is something we should learn from at all times. The Chinese revolution has won great victories but, as Chairman Mao has taught us, "our past work is

only the first step in a long march of ten thousand li." We have a longer journey ahead and greater and more arduous tasks. Our working and living conditions are now far superior to those at the time of the Red Army's Long March, but we must never abandon the revolutionary tradition of hard struggle. We should maintain the same vigour, the same revolutionary enthusiasm and the same daring death-defying spirit we displayed in the years of revolutionary war, and carry on our revolutionary work to the end.

In commemorating the 40th anniversary of the victory of the Red Army's Long March, our hearts turn with great respect to the revolutionary martyrs who heroically laid down their lives in the course of the Long March and we extend our warmest regards to the

veteran Red Army men still fighting on various fronts. The people of the whole country are at present conscientiously carrying out Chairman Mao's three directives on studying theory and combating and preventing revisionism, on stability and unity and on pushing the national economy forward, and they are working hard to speed up socialist construction, consolidate the dictatorship of the proletariat and be prepared against war. The situation is fine and also pressing. Under the leadership of the Party Central Committee headed by Chairman Mao, the whole Party, the whole army and the people of the whole country should inherit and carry forward the revolutionary tradition the Red Army established during the Long March, and unite to win still greater victories.

(October 19)

U.N. General Assembly

General Debate Ends

THE 30th Session of the United Nations General Assembly is taking place at a time when factors for both revolution and war are increasing on a world scale. This situation could not but be reflected in the general debate starting September 22 and ending October 9.

Excellent Situation Acclaimed

One outstanding characteristic of the debate was acclamation of the victorious development of the revolutionary struggles against colonialism, imperialism and hegemonism over the past year. Representatives of many third world countries praised the great victories won by the three Indochinese peoples and paid high tribute to the Cambodian and Vietnamese peoples' heroic exploits in completely defeating the U.S. aggressor and its lackeys and in their struggles for national liberation. The restoration to the Royal Government of National Union of Cambodia of the Cambodian seat at the United Nations illegally usurped by the traitorous Lon Nol clique was sincerely greeted by the representatives. The speech of Samdech Norodom Sihanouk, Head of State and Chairman of the National United Front of Cambodia, at a plenary meeting of the General Assembly was welcomed enthusiastically by representatives of an overwhelming majority of countries, the third world countries in particular.

Many representatives pointed out that the victory of the three Indochinese peoples was a brilliant example showing that a weak nation can defeat a strong, and

a small nation can defeat a big. Their victory has greatly inspired the just struggles of all oppressed nations and oppressed peoples.

Most representatives supported the applications of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam and the Republic of South Viet Nam for U.N. membership. By an overwhelming majority vote of 123 in favour, the General Assembly adopted a draft resolution asking the Security Council to reconsider their applications. The abominable U.S. practice of vetoing the draft resolution was strongly condemned.

Representatives of Asian, African and Latin American countries expressed warm congratulations on the independence of Mozambique, Cape Verde, Sao Tome and Principe, and Papua New Guinea. They welcomed the admission of these newly independent countries to U.N. membership.

Representatives of many third world countries expressed satisfaction with the progress in extending the anti-imperialist and anti-hegemonic struggle from the political to the economic sphere. They also expressed the determination to consolidate and develop the achievements already made and carry through to the end the struggle to transform the old international economic relations and establish a new international economic order. Many representatives stressed the need to develop the national economy on the basis of independence and self-reliance and to pay attention to agricultural production, with emphasis on grain.

Many representatives at the conference emphasized that to combat superpower exploitation, plunder, interference and control, and to safeguard their state sovereignty and national independence and develop their national economies, the third world countries must further strengthen unity and develop their dialogue and contacts with the second world countries on the basis of equality and mutual benefit.

The representatives of the third world countries which share the same destiny expressed firm support for the Asian, African and Latin American peoples' just struggle against colonialism, imperialism and hegemonism. They firmly supported the aspiration of the Korean people for independent and peaceful reunification of their fatherland, and demanded immediate dissolution of the "U.N. Command," withdrawal of U.S. troops from south Korea and resolution of their own problems by the Korean people themselves. They supported the Arab and Palestinian people's just struggle against Israeli Zionism, and supported the Namibian, Zimbabwean and Azanian peoples' struggle against colonialism and racism.

The situation in Angola aroused the serious concern of the third world, the African countries in particular. Many representatives condemned the superpower which provoked the civil war in Angola, and called on all national-liberation organizations in Angola to uphold unity against the enemy and frustrate the superpower's schemes.

Heighten Vigilance Against Danger of War

Another characteristic of the general debate at the current session is that representatives of more and more countries have seen through the "detente" and "disarmament" fraud perpetrated by the superpowers, Soviet social-imperialism in particular, and realized that the danger of war is visibly growing. Many representatives pointed out that at present, when contention between the two superpowers for world hegemony has become more and more intense, high vigilance must be maintained against the stark reality of the recognizable growing danger of a new world war.

Representatives of many countries pointed out the fact that the louder the superpowers preach "detente," the more this shows the intensification of their contention for world hegemony and the approaching danger of a new world war. In spreading a false sense of security, both aim to benumb each other and dissipate the fighting will of the people, so that one day they can suddenly impose a war on the people of the world. Some representatives pointed out in the lounge that the Soviet Union's intention in propagating "detente" is to give people sleeping pills and strike at them when they are asleep. Some noted in their speeches that present reality is decidedly not an "irreversible process of detente" as alleged by the Soviet representative, but daily

intensified contention between the two superpowers and the visibly growing danger of war.

Albanian Foreign Minister Nesti Nase pointed out that a grave and dangerous situation had been created in Europe, the Balkans, the Mediterranean, and the Middle East as a result of the intensifying rivalry between the two superpowers there. Referring to Middle East tension, Foreign Minister of Upper Volta Saye Zerbo said: "This crisis, which constantly moves back and forth between wars and uncertain truces, is more acute and more explosive than ever." The Malagasy Foreign Minister Remi Tiandraza pointed out that the Indian Ocean has become a theatre of confrontation of irreconcilable superpower interests.

Exposing the superpowers' "disarmament" fraud, representatives of some countries noted that the superpowers, while shouting "disarmament" every day, are actually expanding their armaments daily. They are further developing and increasing their nuclear and conventional weapons under the cover of "disarmament," "limitation of strategic weapons," etc. Junior Minister for Foreign Affairs of Tanzania Isaac Sepetu pointed out: "It has been clearly revealed that nuclear disarmament has become a tactic of a few powers only to acquire a monopoly of nuclear weapons." "The last 30 years have heard a lot of talk about disarmament. In reality, however, there is neither the will for, nor evidence of, meaningful disarmament," he said. Referring to the nuclear arms race between the two superpowers, Hamilton S. Amerasinghe, Representative of Sri Lanka, pointed out: "All talk of strategic arms limitation must be taken with a pinch of salt." Foreign Minister of Thailand Chatichai Choonhavan pointed out that the arms race, both in nuclear and in conventional weapons, goes on unabated. The Malagasy Foreign Minister said that 30 years have elapsed since the end of World War II, but general and complete disarmament remains nothing but an illusion. He pointed out that the most powerful nations seem to be pushing the world towards a new war by organizing and extending violence on a gigantic scale. Swedish Foreign Minister Sven Andersson noted that with the constant increase in the number of nuclear and conventional weapons, "the risk of a devastating war has thus increased."

A number of representatives emphasized that in the face of the reality that the danger of war is visibly increasing, one must strengthen one's own defences instead of waiting for disarmament by the superpowers. Foreign Minister of Burundi Gilles Bimazubute said: "Every state has the right and even the duty to acquire the necessary means for its defence." The Albanian Foreign Minister said: "Confronted with their [the two superpowers'] threats, the freedom-loving people and states have not only the right but also the duty to build up their strength and defence potential in order to face up to any situation, attack or aggression."

"Marx, Engels and Lenin on the Dictatorship of The Proletariat": Questions and Answers (4)

During every transition from capitalism to Socialism, dictatorship is necessary for two main reasons, or along two main channels. Firstly, capitalism cannot be defeated and eradicated without the ruthless suppression of the resistance of the exploiters, who cannot at once be deprived of their wealth, of their advantages of organization and knowledge, and consequently for a fairly long period will inevitably try to overthrow the hated rule of the poor; secondly, every great revolution, and a socialist revolution in particular, even if there were no external war, is inconceivable without internal war, i.e., civil war, which is even more devastating than external war, and involves thousands and millions of cases of wavering and desertion from one side to another, implies a state of extreme indefiniteness, lack of equilibrium and chaos. And of course, all the elements of disintegration of the old society, which are inevitably very numerous and connected mainly with the petty bourgeoisie (because it is the petty bourgeoisie that every war and every crisis ruins and destroys first) cannot but "reveal themselves" during such a profound revolution. And these elements of disintegration cannot "reveal themselves" otherwise than in the increase of crime, hooliganism, corruption, profiteering and outrages of every kind. To put these down requires time and *requires an iron hand*.

There has not been a single great revolution in history in which the people did not instinctively realize this and did not reveal salutary firmness by shooting thieves on the spot. The misfortune of previous revolutions was that the revolutionary enthusiasm of the masses, which sustained them in their state of tension and gave them the strength ruthlessly to suppress the elements of disintegration, did not last long. The social, i.e., the class reason for this instability of the revolutionary enthusiasm of the masses was the weakness of the proletariat, which *alone* is able (if it is sufficiently numerous, class conscious and disciplined) to win over to its side the majority of the working and exploited people (the majority of the poor, to speak more simply and popularly) and retain power sufficiently long to suppress completely all the exploiters as well as all the elements of disintegration.

It was this historical experience of all revolutions, it was this world-historical — economic and political — lesson that Marx summed up in giving his short, sharp, concise and expressive formula: dictatorship of the proletariat.

V.I. Lenin: *The Immediate Tasks of the Soviet Government* (March-April 1918)

Question: Why did Lenin say that all the exploiters and elements of disintegration must be ruthlessly suppressed and this "requires an iron hand"?

Answer: In the six months following the October Revolution in Russia, the overthrown landlord and capitalist classes put up resistance in all fields and engaged in counter-revolutionary armed riots on many occasions, while the old society's elements of disintegration also took advantage of this to stir up trouble. All this caused an unstable social order and Soviet political power at that time was very weak in dealing with them. In the light of this fact and the experience of the previous great revolutions, Lenin emphatically pointed to the necessity for the proletariat to use an iron hand to suppress class enemies. He pointed out that during the transition from capitalism to socialism, it is necessary to carry out ruthless suppression along two main channels: First, it is imperative to mercilessly suppress the resistance of the exploiters. Because the overthrown exploiters are never reconciled to their defeat and because they still have strength as well as local and temporary advantages in some aspects, therefore within a considerably long period of time, they are bound to try to overthrow proletarian political power. Second, it is imperative to mercilessly suppress all trouble-making elements of disintegration. Since socialist revolution is an unprecedentedly profound revolution, some bad elements are certain to take advantage of every opportunity to make trouble, fish in troubled waters and reveal themselves during this great revolution, "and these elements of disintegration cannot 'reveal themselves' otherwise than in the increase of crime, hooliganism, corruption, profiteering and outrages of every kind." Their disruptive activities directly endanger the socialist revolution and socialist construction. That is why it is necessary to exercise dictatorship over them. An iron hand is required to deal with both exploiters and bad elements, and on no account should we show

any weakness. Otherwise, the political power of the proletariat cannot be consolidated.

Question: Why are the elements of disintegration of the old society "connected mainly with the petty bourgeoisie"?

Answer: Economically, the petty bourgeoisie stands at the crossroads of the proletariat and the bourgeoisie and is polarized continuously, which determines that this class vacillates politically. Wars and crises ruin and destroy first the economically weak petty bourgeoisie and drive it to bankruptcy in large numbers. After going bankrupt, the greater part of the petty bourgeoisie joins the ranks of the proletariat, while a small part becomes lumpen-proletarians. Some may "reveal themselves" during a profound revolution, doing evil things and undermining the proletarian revolutionary cause, and become bad elements and twin brothers of the landlord and capitalist classes.

Question: Why did Lenin say that the revolutionary enthusiasm of the masses in ruthlessly suppressing the elements of disintegration must last long?

Answer: This indicates yet another important experience of the dictatorship of the proletariat, that is, the "ruthless suppression" of class enemies by the proletariat and revolutionary people with an "iron hand" must "last long." In the absence of persistent efforts, political power cannot be maintained and consolidated.

In the countless great revolutions in history, the masses' enthusiasm in suppressing class enemies was high indeed, but all the revolutions ended in failure because such enthusiasm did not last long. The Paris Commune was a case in point. An extremely important lesson from its final defeat was that after seizing political power, the proletariat failed to continue to resolutely and thoroughly suppress the remnant counter-revolutionary forces and maintain the revolutionary enthusiasm of the masses for long. This enabled the reactionary classes to rally their forces again, stage a comeback and strangle the revolution.

Lenin also pointed out that the class reason for the instability of the revolutionary enthusiasm of the masses in suppressing counter-revolution during the great revolutions in the past was the weakness of the proletariat. As the most revolutionary and advanced class in human history, the proletariat represents the fundamental interests of the labouring people. Only when it is sufficiently numerous, class conscious and disciplined can it unite with the majority of the exploited labouring people and suppress all class enemies in a sustained and thoroughgoing way. Throughout the socialist period, we must, under the leadership of the Party, continuously enhance our revolutionary consciousness, strengthen revolutionary discipline, unite with the broad masses of the labouring people, always maintain the revolutionary enthusiasm for suppressing the exploiters and bad elements, and truly fulfil the task of consolidating the dictatorship of the proletariat right through to the grass-roots level.

October 24, 1975

The class of exploiters, the landlords and capitalists, has not disappeared and cannot disappear all at once under the dictatorship of the proletariat. The exploiters have been smashed, but not destroyed. They still have an international base in the form of international capital, a branch of which they represent. They still retain a part of certain means of production, they still have money, they still have vast social connections. Just because they have been defeated, their energy of resistance has increased a hundred- and thousand-fold. The "art" of state, military and economic administration gives them a superiority, and a very great superiority, so that their importance is incomparably greater than their numerical strength among the population would warrant. The class struggle waged by the overthrown exploiters against the victorious vanguard of the exploited, i.e., the proletariat, has become incomparably more bitter. And it cannot be otherwise in the case of a revolution, if this concept is not replaced (as it is by all the heroes of the Second International) by reformist illusions.

V.I. Lenin: *Economics and Politics in the Era of the Dictatorship of the Proletariat* (October 1919)

Question: How should we understand the main idea of this passage from Lenin?

Answer: It mainly sets forth that after the proletariat has seized political power, the overthrown exploited classes, far from disappearing, still have a counter-revolutionary strength incomparably greater than their numerical strength and their class struggle against the proletariat has become more bitter. Hence the importance and necessity of strengthening the dictatorship of the proletariat.

Question: Why did Lenin stress again and again that under the dictatorship of the proletariat the overthrown exploited classes are still powerful and their class struggle against the proletariat has become incomparably more bitter?

Answer: This exposition by Lenin summed up the experience of the dictatorship of the proletariat gained in the two years or so after the October Revolution and repudiated the revisionist fallacies at that time. Under the dictatorship of the proletariat, the exploiters have been smashed, but not destroyed; "for a long time after the revolution the exploiters inevitably continue to enjoy a number of great practical advantages." (Lenin: *The Proletarian Revolution and the Renegade Kautsky*.) Having vast international connections, they invariably work hand in glove with international bourgeoisie and

(Continued on p. 21.)

Friendship Notes

A Historical Gift

Breaking through the enemy's blockade lines, the well-known U.S. writer Edgar Snow arrived in the revolutionary base area in northern



Shensi 39 years ago to report on the Chinese Red Army which had arrived there after its Long March. While he was there the Red Army gave him a military uniform and a cap as a gift. And Mr. Snow took the picture of "Chairman Mao in northern Shensi." The cap was worn by Chairman Mao in the photo (see p. 3).

On her present friendly visit to China, Mrs. Lois Snow gave this cap of historical significance which the late Mr. Snow and she had kept for 39 years to China as a gift when she met Madame Teng Ying-chao, Member of the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress. Madame Teng Ying-chao expressed deep gratitude to Mrs. Snow for such a valuable gift.

Artists From Fraternal Korea

Spectators crowded the gymnasiums, open grounds of people's communes and open-air stages of factories to see performances by the Korean Pyongyang Acrobatic Troupe. They applauded and cheered. Warm friendly feelings linked both per-

formers and spectators, and the acrobatic feats won the hearts of the audiences.

The Pyongyang Acrobatic Troupe came to China in September on the eve of the 27th anniversary of the founding of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea. During its stay it gave more than 30 performances in Peking, Changsha, Shaoshan — the home town of Chairman Mao, Shanghai, Shenyang and the border city Tantung. More than 300,000 attended the shows in the short span of one month. The success of this touring performance added lustre to the

revolutionary friendship between the two peoples.

The troupe was born in 1952 during the Korean Fatherland Liberation War. It made its debut in an underground theatre in Pyongyang which was wantonly bombed by enemy planes. Despite all hazards in the face of enemy gunfire during the war years, it went to the front lines to perform for the fighters. It has continued to expand in the last 20 years and now has several hundred members, including both performers and crew. Its programme includes more than 200 items such as gymnastics, feats of magic, animal acts and clowns. The troupe has travelled to several scores of countries in Asia, Africa, Europe and Oceania.

With their traditional relish for the acrobatic art, the Chinese people particularly enjoyed the fine skills and spectacular national style demonstrated by the artists from a country which is a comrade-in-arms. China's well-known woman acrobat Hsia Chu-hua, who performed in Pyongyang 19 years ago, made a

special trip from Wuhan to Peking to see the performance by her Korean colleagues. While in Pyongyang she had made friends with Song Sun Ok, then a young performer and both had learnt from each other. She warmly congratulated Song Sun Ok and the other Korean performers for their successes, saying, "Your skill has improved so quickly and I have much to learn from you." Another Chinese acrobat, Ho Lin-ti, was presented with two *chindallae*, the favourite flower of the Korean people, when he visited Korea with the Shenyang Acrobatic Troupe. He had kept this precious gift ever since. In Shenyang, while meeting Korean acrobat Li Ui Sok whom he had not seen for many years, he presented one of the flowers to his Korean comrade-in-arms as a gift. "I hope the friendship between our two peoples will fully blossom year after year like *chindallae*," he said.

Story of a Yugoslav Seaman

A young man stepped off an airliner at Belgrade Airport. Seeing him walking slowly but steadily, those who had come to meet him were amazed. It was hard to believe that the young man was Branko Kalabric, a Yugoslav sailor who had had one of his shins severed in an accident on board ship. After treatment in China, his severed shin was successfully rejoined.

Kalabric arrived in the harbour of Chihuahua on a Yugoslav ship in May 1974. His right shin had been severed by a steel cable. Chinese medical personnel immediately gave him emergency treatment and then rejoined the severed part. After a year's treatment he recovered and returned to his country.

His medical care in China got wide coverage in the Yugoslav press and on the radio. It was regarded as another vivid expression of the friendship between the Yugoslav and Chinese peoples.

This friendship has existed traditionally. Both peoples suffered foreign aggression over a long period and carried out heroic and indomitable struggles for national liberation.

They have admiration and sympathy for each other. As a veteran guerrilla fighter in Sarajevo told Chinese visitors: "In the difficult days of our anti-fascist war, the heroic deeds of the Chinese Red Army's Long March spread far and wide among Yugoslav guerrillas and encouraged them to carry on their fight."

Friendly exchanges between both countries have been increasing in recent years. A new chapter of friendship is being written by the two peoples in their common struggle against imperialism and hegemonism.

A Visit to Island Country In the Pacific

Papua New Guinea proclaimed independence on September 16. On the eve of this event, Hsinhua News Agency correspondents visited this beautiful island country in the South Pacific. Following are some of their descriptions of this new-born country.

The people of Papua New Guinea have made great strides on the road to independence in the past year. To fill government posts with its own cadres, foreign officials have been replaced by young intellectuals in large numbers. Its own technicians are maturing. To shake off foreign control, it issued its own currency — kina. Peasants are trying to

grow rice so as to change the single-product economy left behind by the colonialists. A series of measures have been taken to control foreign capital.

Close relations between the peoples of Papua New Guinea and China date back a long time ago. When the Japanese militarists invaded and occupied the country during World War II, the local people brought the old and young Chinese nationals living there deep into the mountains to take refuge. They built huts and reclaimed barren fields together, like people of one family. The young Chinese joined the people of Papua New Guinea in taking up arms against the Japanese invaders. Once a Chinese was found lying on the ground in a forest who was seriously wounded after being strafed by an enemy plane. Seeing this, a villager carried him across the mountains to where he lived in defiance of the danger and hardship.

In recent years, contacts between officials and peoples of China and Papua New Guinea have been increasing, thereby promoting the development of relations between the two countries and mutual understanding by the two peoples. Sir Albert Maori Kiki, Minister for Defence, Foreign Relations and Trade, was warmly greeted when he talked about his China visit early in

the year in Papua New Guinea University's auditorium. This shows the people of Papua New Guinea are eager to understand New China.

Chinese Football Team In Fiji

A Chinese football team was recently in Fiji, another beautiful island country in the South Pacific. Though the stay was short, it was a memorable visit.

The Chinese team played the Fiji National Football Team in Nandi, a city in the western part of Viti Levu. More than 4,000 out of a population of 20,000 in the city turned out for the match. Some came from Suva, the capital, over 300 kilometres away. All schools in the city finished classes early so that teachers and students could see the game. The grounds where the match took place rang with applause and cheers. Football fans and the press both were of the opinion that it was a rarely seen friendship match. The Chinese footballers were deeply moved by the warm sentiments of the Fiji people.

More than 100 people, including members of both houses of parliament, representatives of workers and businessmen, people in literary and cultural circles, trade unions and peasants, attended a reception given by local Chinese for the football team at the end of its visit.

(Continued from p. 19.)

with imperialists and revisionists abroad in their underhand activities to subvert the dictatorship of the proletariat. They still have property and money and retain certain means of production for a certain period of time. They still have vast social connections. They are still quite influential in the cultural, scientific and technical fields and have accumulated knowledge and experience in state, military and economic administration from long years of reactionary rule. The role they play is far, far greater than their numerical strength among the population would warrant. Their reactionary class nature determines that **"just because they have been defeated, their energy of resistance has increased a hundred- and thousand-fold."** All this has been an objective reality and a historical fact since the victory of the Russian October Revolution. However, it is precisely on these questions that a fundamental difference

exists between Marxism and revisionism. Shortly after the October Revolution, in co-ordination with the wild attacks on the young Soviet regime by international imperialism and reactionaries in Russia, Kautsky, revisionist chieftain of the Second International, and his kind lashed out at the dictatorship of the proletariat. He prattled that after the Russian October Revolution, the capitalists and big landlords had ceased to exist as classes because they had been expropriated. While again and again spreading such nonsense as exploiters would behave themselves and obey the proletarian majority once they had lost political power, he advertised that the proletariat need not exercise dictatorship over the small number of exploiters but should practise what he called "pure democracy." Lenin's exposition is precisely an incisive criticism of the revisionist fallacies mouthed by Kautsky and his like.

(To be continued.)

ROUND THE WORLD

EAST TIMOR

Independence Movement Advances

The national independence movement in Portuguese Timor (East Timor) is gaining momentum.

In mid-August the Revolutionary Front for Independent East Timor (FRETILIN) which strongly demands independence for East Timor, put down a coup staged by the Timor Democratic Union (UDT). After two months' struggle, the FRETILIN controls most of East Timor. Reuter reported from Dili that the FRETILIN had set up on October 11 a commission controlling and supervising East Timor's economic affairs.

There are three political parties in East Timor which were set up when the Portuguese authorities announced, after the 1974 coup in Portugal, that a referendum should be held in East Timor for self-determination.

The FRETILIN stands for immediate independence and has the support of most of the people. Holding that there are no conditions for real independence in East Timor at present and that independence should be realized step by step, the UDT advocates close ties with Portugal. The third party, the People's Democratic Association of Timor (APODETI), claims that East Timor should be incorporated into Indonesia. Taking advantage of the drastic change in Portugal, the UDT engineered a coup on August 11 and occupied for some time the police bureau, radio station, port and airport in Dili in an attempt to form a government under its leadership.

AP reported from Jakarta on August 11 that Indonesian Foreign Minister Malik had expressed the hope in a speech made after the coup in East Timor that it join the Republic of Indonesia. He said: "If they want to join the republic, we will protect them." The paper *Indonesian Observer* also said that the

best solution for Portuguese Timor would be integration with Indonesia. Shortly afterwards, the Indonesian Government sent warships to patrol the sea near East Timor. A Reuter October 8 dispatch from Singapore said Indonesia had launched an air, sea and land attack on Batugade, a town in East Timor.

The FRETILIN on October 10 sent a message concerning this incident to the U.N. Security Council, demanding that the desire of the people of East Timor for independence and freedom be respected.

The island of Timor is located in southeastern Asia. Portugal occupies the eastern part which has an area of 14,925 square kilometres and a population of about 660,000 people. The western part is Indonesian territory. The Portuguese and Dutch colonialists respectively invaded and carved up the island in the 16th and 17th centuries. A treaty was concluded between Portugal and the Netherlands in 1859 to redivide the island. Since then the people of East Timor have carried out an unremitting struggle for national liberation and independence.

U.S.S.R.-G.D.R.

New Treaty Signed

The Soviet Union signed in Moscow on October 7 a new "treaty of friendship, co-operation and mutual assistance" with the German Democratic Republic.

As early as 1964 a similar treaty effective for 20 years was signed between the two countries. Now, with only half the operative period having elapsed, the Brezhnev clique has rigged up a new one of the same name.

This new treaty stresses so-called "all-round co-operation" between both countries, including "further improvement of political and ideological co-operation," development and deepening of "economic integration," expansion of "specialization and co-

operation" in production and so on and so forth.'

It emphasizes: Both sides reaffirm that "it is the common internationalist obligations of the socialist countries" to "retain, reinforce and defend" "the gains of socialism" and that they are prepared to take "necessary measures" to "preserve and defend" these "historical gains."

A clause to the same effect, it may be recalled, was written in "the treaty of friendship, co-operation and mutual assistance" concluded between the Soviet Union and Czechoslovakia in 1970 following the Soviet revisionists' invasion in 1968 of Czechoslovakia in the name of "defending the gains of socialism."

The new treaty omitted all references to the aim of reunification of Germany mentioned in the previous treaty. Instead, it stresses the "inviolability of the state frontiers in Europe" and "the unchangeability of the frontiers" between the two German states. The New York Times News Service pointed out that the new treaty "codifies the Kremlin's desire for a permanently divided Germany. It thereby represents Moscow's first attempt to give legal status to the ratification of Europe's postwar frontiers as prescribed by the European security conference document signed in Helsinki last July."

On the very day the new treaty was made public, a spokesman of the Government of the Federal Republic of Germany said in a statement that the aim of his government's "policy remains one of working for a state of peace in which the German people may achieve reunification through free self-determination." He added: "We maintain, in the spirit of the reservation for a unified Germany, that the German question remains unsettled" and that "that treaty does not in the least affect the political state of affairs in Germany."

The Bonn newspaper, *General-Anzeiger*, pointed out: "In the long run, the aspirations for a unified Germany cannot be rubbed out with an eraser." "The Moscow treaty is not strong enough to ban the feelings for national unity."

ON THE HOME FRONT

Learning Revolutionary Tradition on Long March Route

TO do military field training and learn from the Red Army its glorious revolutionary tradition, commanders and fighters of a People's Liberation Army unit under the Chengtu Command recently went to places the Red Army had passed through. Inspired by the feats of the Red Army men, they are determined to advance along Chairman Mao's revolutionary line for ever.

Displaying a revolutionary heroic spirit, the Red Army at that time crossed the Tatu River and Chiachin Mountains which were natural barriers along the route of the Long March. When commanders and fighters arrived there, each was deeply stirred. They studied the history of the two-line struggle in the Party in the "Memorial Hall of the Red Army's Long March" and asked the local people in the villages where the Red Army had passed through to relate its heroic deeds. From this they realized more than ever that Chairman Mao's revolutionary line is the one and only correct line which has guided the Chinese revolution from victory to victory.

Cadres and fighters of a regiment came to the ferry landing on the Tatu River where 17 brave Red Army men had forced their way across. A veteran boatman who helped the Red Army cross the river described how the heroes, braving a blanket of raining bullets, swiftly crossed the river, annihilated the enemy on the opposite bank and blazed a trail for the Red Army. This was a heart-moving lesson for everyone.

The sun in autumn often blazed during the daytime, and at night it literally rained cats and dogs in areas along the Tatu. Learning from the Red Army its revolutionary spirit, commanders and fighters pressed forward, climbing mountains and crossing gorges in the rain. They climbed mountains over 3,000 metres above sea level, went through vast uninhabited primitive forests, crossed marshes where people seldom are seen and overcame the difficulties caused by landslides. In addition, they carried out many river-crossing exercises. All this was aimed at training themselves in the revolutionary spirit of fearing neither hardship nor death.

Commanders and fighters of a company made great efforts to prac-

tise river-crossing with full kits in the swift and bone-chilling Tatu River and successfully completed their training mission. Climbing over a 4,000-metre-high cliff, commanders and fighters of a company in one regiment had to inch their way up with the help of vines. Owing to the shortage of oxygen at high altitudes, some comrades got mountain sickness and breathing was difficult. In pushing forward, each encouraged the other with the heroic deeds performed by the Red Army when it crossed snowy mountains and grasslands. They said: "Training on the Long March route, we defy high mountains and long distance; learning from the Red Army its time-honoured tradition, we hold high the red banner and advance for ever."

During the military field training exercise, leading cadres of the unit who had taken part in the Long March recalled to commanders and fighters moving episodes of how under extremely difficult and harsh conditions the Red Army upheld the principle of unity between officers and men and unity between army and the people. In this way, they further raised everyone's consciousness in carrying forward the revolutionary tradition. Many leading cadres in regiments and battalions helped fighters carry knapsacks. At night they let the soldiers sleep indoors while they themselves bedded down under the eaves so that the new recruits deeply felt the warmth and comradeship in the revolutionary ranks. When commanders and fighters of a company in an artillery regiment arrived at a Yi nationality village where pears were abundant, it was harvest time but no one picked any to eat. Instead they gathered those that had fallen to the ground and delivered them to the production brigade. During field training, members of an engineering company studied the theory of the proletarian dictatorship with commune members, helped them build high-yield fields and gave pointers to the local militia in its military training. The people praised them: "The Red Army has come back again!"



A veteran Red Army man tells P.L.A. fighters about the heroic deeds of their precursors in crossing the Tatu River during the Long March.

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