

PEKING REVIEW

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JOINT STATEMENT OF CHINA AND ALBANIA

**Workers, Peasants and Soldiers Creatively
Study and Apply Mao Tse-tung's
Philosophical Thinking**

**Chinese Communist Youth League Will
Not Send Delegation to Soviet
Komsomol Congress**

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Communist Youth League Holds Plenary Session

A COMMUNIQUE issued by the third plenary session of the Ninth Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Youth League was published in *Renmin Ribao* on May 4. The central theme discussed at the session, which took place from April 1 to 20, was ways and means to put politics first and develop the movement to study Chairman Mao's writings in a still better way so as to continuously promote the revolutionization of the nation's youth.

Hu Ke-shih, member of the Secretariat of the League's Central Committee, gave a report entitled: "The Communist Youth League Should Be a School for Creatively Studying and Applying Mao Tse-tung's Thinking." A resolution was adopted calling on the youth to carry forward the movement to study Chairman Mao's writings.

The session, said the communique, analysed the present youth movement in the country. It pointed out that in the past few years a new upsurge in the creative study and application of Chairman Mao's writings had arisen among the young people. Tempered in the socialist education movement and with their political consciousness further heightened, the nation's youth were playing an increasingly important role in the three great revolutionary movements: class struggle, struggle for production and scientific experiment. The upshot was a new high in the revolutionization of the youth.

In view of the class struggle both in the country and throughout the world, it is of particular importance to give top priority to the question of putting politics first. It is all the more important among the young people because it will not only affect the course of the revolution at present but also the bringing up of the younger generations and the future of the country and the revolution which will take the efforts of several generations, perhaps ten or more, to accomplish. Passing on the

torch of revolution from one generation to the next, therefore, first of all requires that the present younger generation grow up as true successors to the proletarian revolutionary cause. The communique stated: "The Party and Chairman Mao Tse-tung have taught us that the struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie to win over the young people is an important part of the class struggle throughout the period of socialism. While the proletariat wants to educate and remould the young in accordance with its world outlook, the bourgeoisie wants to influence and remould the youth in accordance with its own world outlook. The struggle between the two classes to win over the youth is a protracted, fierce and complicated one which might take a hundred or several hundred years to settle. This is the main contradiction in youth work throughout the entire transition period. This situation demands that the Communist Youth League put politics first and that all work of the League have as its key the class struggle and the struggle between the socialist and capitalist roads."

The plenary session held that putting politics first was the fundamental guiding principle in revolutionizing the youth. If proletarian politics were not put in command, then bourgeois politics would seize the opportunity to exert its influence. Putting politics first, the session also maintained, was the correct and effective way of bringing the young people's socialist initiative into full play, the guarantee for the sound building of the Communist Youth League, which is an instrument of the proletariat in class struggle, and for the Party's absolute leadership over the League and the key to revolutionizing cadres among the youth.

The communique listed the tasks to be fulfilled in putting politics first and added: "Putting politics first means giving first place to Mao Tse-

tung's thinking. The Communist Youth League must give top priority to the creative study and application of Chairman Mao's writings. Mao Tse-tung's thinking is the highest peak of Marxism-Leninism in our epoch, and the highest and most creative expression of Marxism-Leninism. Mao Tse-tung's thinking is not only a guide for China's revolution and construction: it is a powerful ideological weapon for the proletariat of the world and all oppressed peoples in their fight against imperialism, modern revisionism and all reactionaries, and it is a great banner for the liberation of mankind." The communique said that the paramount task of the Communist Youth League "is to put Mao Tse-tung's thinking in command in all its work and to make the League a school where Mao Tse-tung's thinking is studied and applied creatively."

Participate in the Socialist Cultural Revolution

A new upsurge in the socialist cultural revolution has taken shape throughout the country, and all young people are called upon to take part. The communique said: "The socialist cultural revolution now surging forward is a class struggle in the ideological sphere; it is of crucial importance to the deepening of China's socialist revolution at the present stage. Works of literature and art, education, history, philosophy and other fields opposing the Party and socialism are poison used by the bourgeoisie to corrode the youth. When the masses of young people have mastered Mao Tse-tung's thinking, they will be able to grasp the truth and they will be invincible, daring to break thoroughly with the ideology of all exploiting classes and becoming an active and courageous force in the current socialist cultural revolution." The communique stressed that all League members and all young people should take an active

part in this revolution, and that all young workers, peasants, soldiers and intellectuals should join in the struggle in order to distinguish fragrant flowers from poisonous weeds and to foster proletarian ideology and eliminate bourgeois ideology. The session called on Communist Youth League organizations at all levels, League members and the young people to raise still higher the great red banner of Mao Tse-tung's thinking and to struggle for the great socialist cause.

Chinese, Rumanian Leaders Meet

The Rumanian Party and Government Delegation led by Emil Bodnaras, Member of the Executive Committee and of the Permanent Presidium of the Central Committee of the Rumanian Communist Party and First Vice-Chairman of the Council of Ministers, arrived in Peking on May 11 on its way home after visiting the Democratic Republic of Vietnam. Among those welcoming the delegation at the airport were Chen Yi and Li Hsien-nien, Members of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party and Vice-Premiers.

That evening Chou En-lai, Vice-Chairman of the Central Committee of the C.P.C. and Premier, and Chen Yi and Li Hsien-nien met Emil Bodnaras and members of the delegation. Later, Chou En-lai and Chen Yi gave a banquet in honour of the Rumanian comrades. Both Chou En-lai and Emil Bodnaras proposed toasts to the friendship between the Chinese and Rumanian Parties and peoples.

The next day, Chou En-lai and Emil Bodnaras held talks in a comradely and friendly atmosphere. That evening, Emil Bodnaras gave a banquet for the Chinese leaders.

The Rumanian delegation left Peking for home on May 13.

Support for Palestinian Arabs' Struggle

On the occasion of Palestine Day (May 15), the Chinese Committee for

Afro-Asian Solidarity sent a cable to Ahmed el Shukeiry, Chairman of the Palestine Liberation Organization, reaffirming the Chinese people's resolute support for the heroic struggle of the people of Palestine against U.S.-led imperialism and its tool of aggression, Israel.

The cable also expressed firm support for the just struggle of the people of Palestine for their return to their homeland and restoration of their legitimate rights in Palestine, and for the just struggle of the Arab peoples against the triple forces of aggression represented by U.S. imperialism, West German militarism and Zionism.

In an editorial, *Renmin Ribao* declared that the Palestinian Arabs had every right to return to their homeland and their just struggle had won the sympathy and support of the Afro-Asian people and other people of the world.

The paper noted that U.S. imperialism, which was the principal enemy of the Palestinian Arabs, had created Israel as one of its bases in the Middle East. Washington had consistently aided and abetted Israel to menace the peace and security of the Arab countries, it said.

While supporting Israel in applying pressure on the Arab people, Washington also used softening-up tactics, trying by every means to bring the Arab people to a "reconciliation" with the Zionists and an acceptance of the status quo of Israel, that is, an acceptance of the humiliating position of the victimized Palestinian Arabs.

Renmin Ribao added that the Soviet revisionist leadership was a partner in the U.S. imperialist plan against the Arabs. The collusion of the Soviet revisionists with the Zionists was known to all. Recently the Soviet journal *New Times* openly advocated the application of the "Tashkent spirit" to the settlement of the Israel-Arab dispute. "This is a despicable conspiracy of the revisionist leadership of the Soviet Union which works hand in glove with the U.S. imperialists in betraying the interests of the Palestinian Arabs and the anti-im-

perialist struggle of the people of the Arab countries."

But the people of the Arab countries and the Palestinian Arabs could not be deceived, *Renmin Ribao* said. Not long ago, public opinion in the Arab countries had given a sharp rebuff to the absurd allegation that the "Tashkent declaration" had set an example for the Middle East. The Palestine Liberation Organization had time and again declared that armed struggle was the only road for the liberation of Palestine.

Guinean Dance Troupe Acclaimed

The Guinean National Dance Troupe, "Djoliba," led by Sissoko Amadou and Kouyate Sori Kandia, has made a big hit in Peking. Distinctively national in style and militant in spirit, the dances reflect the daily life of the Guinean people and their aspirations for progress. The Guinean artists also sang popular Chinese songs to the warm applause of the spectators among whom were Vice-Premier and Madame Chen Yi.

Premier Chou En-lai attended the April 29 performance. The same evening he met the leaders and members of the troupe and had a friendly conversation with them.

The Chinese-African People's Friendship Association gave a banquet on May 8 for the Guinean artists. Vice-Premier Chen Yi and his wife attended.

Speaking at the banquet, Vice-Premier Chen Yi congratulated the visitors on their successful tour of China. He recalled attending an excellent performance by the "Djoliba" troupe in Conakry last year when he visited Guinea. He expressed his joy at meeting the Guinean artists again in Peking. Chen Yi praised their performance which reflected the Guinean people's fight for freedom, their endeavours in building a happy life and their anti-imperialist struggle.

"Djoliba," he said, "is a peaceful river and the people living on its banks are heroic people who have waged a valiant struggle and finally

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Joint Statement of China and Albania

The two sides are determined to further strengthen their friendship and unity and resolutely oppose U.S. imperialism and Soviet modern revisionism

- The two sides point out with great satisfaction that the revolutionary friendship between China and Albania, forged by the Chinese Communist Party headed by Comrade Mao Tse-tung and the Albanian Party of Labour headed by Comrade Enver Hoxha, has witnessed a tremendous and all-round development.
- The two sides hold that throughout the historical period of socialist society, there remain in socialist countries class struggle, the struggle between the road of socialism and the road of capitalism and the danger of the emergence of revisionism and restoration of capitalism. In order to prevent the revisionists from grabbing Party and state leadership and restoring capitalism, and in order to consolidate and develop socialism and ensure the future transition to communism, it is imperative to persist in a Marxist-Leninist revolutionary line, uphold the dictatorship of the proletariat, carry the socialist revolution through to the end on the economic, political, military, ideological and cultural fronts, and train and bring up successors to the proletarian revolutionary cause who are loyal to Marxism-Leninism.
- The two sides point out that China and Albania adhere to proletarian internationalism, resolutely oppose imperialism and all reactionaries, firmly support the revolutionary struggles of all oppressed peoples and nations, and resolutely oppose great-power chauvinism and national egoism.
- The two sides point out that the leading group of the C.P.S.U. has already degenerated into a group of renegades from Marxism-Leninism and accomplices of U.S. imperialism. The recent 23rd Congress of the C.P.S.U. demonstrates that the general line pursued by the leading group of the C.P.S.U. remains the revisionist one formulated by it from the time of its 20th to that of its 22nd Congress. Marxist-Leninists of the whole world must step up their fight and follow up their victories by carrying through to the end the struggle against modern revisionism whose centre is the leading group of the C.P.S.U.
- The two sides stress that the people of the world must form an international united front against U.S. imperialism and its lackeys, which is the broadest possible and not narrow, and the truest and not sham, united front. Modern revisionism whose centre is the leading group of the C.P.S.U. has long since been in league with U.S. imperialism, set itself against the people of the whole world and excluded itself from the anti-U.S. international united front. The fight against imperialism headed by the United States and its lackeys and the fight against modern revisionism with the leading group of the C.P.S.U. as its centre are two inseparable tasks. Only by resolutely opposing modern revisionism with the leading group of the C.P.S.U. as its centre will one win the fight against U.S. imperialism.

AT the invitation of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China and the Government of the People's Republic of China, the Albanian Party and Government Delegation headed by Comrade Mehmet Shehu, Member of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Albanian Party of Labour and Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Peo-

ple's Republic of Albania, paid a friendly visit to the People's Republic of China from April 26 to May 11, 1966.

During their stay in China, the Albanian Party and Government Delegation toured Peking, Shanghai, Harbin, Kunming and Hangchow, visited industrial

enterprises, people's communes and cultural institutions, met people of various circles of China, acquainted themselves with the Chinese people's tremendous achievements and highly militant spirit in socialist construction and were everywhere accorded warm welcome and most cordial and fraternal reception by the Chinese people. This was a vivid expression of the great friendship and fighting unity between the two Parties, the two countries and the two peoples.

Comrade Mao Tse-tung, Chairman of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party, met all the comrades of the Albanian Party and Government Delegation and had most cordial conversations with them.

During the visit, talks were held between the Chinese Party and Government Delegation headed by Comrade Liu Shao-chi, Vice-Chairman of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party and Chairman of the People's Republic of China and Comrade Chou En-lai, Vice-Chairman of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party and Premier of the State Council of the People's Republic of China, and the Albanian Party and Government Delegation headed by Comrade Mehmet Shehu on important issues concerning the present international situation and the international communist movement, on the experience of the two countries in socialist revolution and socialist construction and on the question of further consolidating and developing the unity, the friendship and the relations of mutual help and co-operation between the two Parties and the two countries. The talks proceeded in an atmosphere of the greatest sincerity and friendship. Both sides are completely at one in their stand and views on the questions that were discussed.

Taking part in the talks were:

On the Chinese side:

Comrade Chu Teh, Vice-Chairman of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party and Chairman of the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress of the People's Republic of China,

Comrade Teng Hsiao-ping, General Secretary of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party and Vice-Premier of the State Council of the People's Republic of China,

Comrade Chen Yi, Member of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party and Vice-Premier of the State Council and Minister of Foreign Affairs of the People's Republic of China,

Comrades Li Fu-chun and Tan Chen-lin, Members of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party and Vice-Premiers of the State Council of the People's Republic of China,

Comrade Kang Sheng, Alternate Member of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party and Vice-Chairman of the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress of the People's Republic of China,

Comrade Po I-po, Alternate Member of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party and Vice-Premier of the State Council of the People's Republic of China,

Comrades Yeh Chien-ying and Wu Hsiu-chuan, Members of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party,

Comrade Wang Ping-nan, Vice-Minister of Foreign Affairs of the People's Republic of China,

Comrade Hsu Chien-kuo, Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of the People's Republic of China to the People's Republic of Albania, and other comrades;

On the Albanian side:

Comrade Hysni Kapo, Member of the Political Bureau and Secretary of the Central Committee of the Albanian Party of Labour,

Comrade Abdyl Kellezi, Member of the Central Committee of the Albanian Party of Labour and Chairman of the Albania-China Friendship Association,

Comrade Nesti Nase, Alternate Member of the Central Committee of the Albanian Party of Labour and Minister of Foreign Affairs of the People's Republic of Albania,

Comrade Vasil Nathanaili, Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of the People's Republic of Albania to the People's Republic of China, and other comrades.

In the talks, the two sides point out with great satisfaction that the revolutionary friendship between China and Albania, forged by the Chinese Communist Party headed by Comrade Mao Tse-tung and the Albanian Party of Labour headed by Comrade Enver Hoxha, has witnessed a tremendous and all-round development in recent years. In the common struggle against imperialism headed by the United States, against the reactionaries of various countries and against modern revisionism whose centre is the leading group of the C.P.S.U. as well as in the common struggle of their socialist revolution and socialist construction, the Chinese and Albanian Parties, the two countries and the two peoples have constantly strengthened their friendship, solidarity and sincere mutual help and co-operation. The great friendship and fighting unity between the two Parties, the two countries and the

two peoples are based entirely on Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism; they have stood all tests and are unbreakable. The steady consolidation and growth of the friendship and unity between China and Albania are in the fundamental interests of the two peoples and in the interests of the international communist movement and the people of the whole world. The two sides are determined to work for the further strengthening of the friendship and unity between the two Parties, the two countries and the two peoples and to support, assist, encourage and learn from each other and advance shoulder to shoulder in the struggle for the common cause.

The Chinese side warmly acclaim the brilliant successes and tremendous achievements scored by the heroic Albanian people, pick in one hand and rifle in the other, in socialist revolution and socialist construction and in the struggle against imperialism and modern revisionism. It highly appraises the measures for revolutionization recently adopted by the Albanian Party of Labour and the Government of the People's Republic of Albania on the political, economic, military, cultural and other fronts. These measures testify to the Marxist-Leninist far-sightedness of the Central Committee of the Albanian Party of Labour headed by Comrade Enver Hoxha, the revolutionary spirit of the Albanian people in building socialism through self-reliance and hard work and their unshakable determination to carry the socialist revolution through to the end. They are new brilliant examples of the creative integration by the Albanian Party of Labour of the universal truth of Marxism-Leninism with the concrete practice of Albania.

The Chinese side holds that these measures are of great theoretical and practical significance and that they will not only give a great impetus to Albania's socialist revolution and socialist construction but also enrich the experience of the dictatorship of the proletariat, thus exerting a far-reaching international influence.

The Chinese side holds that the Albanian Party of Labour, the Government of the People's Republic of Albania and the Albanian people, holding high the revolutionary banner of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism, have always firmly opposed imperialism headed by the United States and its lackeys, consistently stood in the forefront of the struggle against modern revisionism whose centre is the leading group of the C.P.S.U. and made outstanding contributions in defending the purity of Marxism-Leninism, in supporting and assisting the revolutionary struggles of all peoples and in safeguarding world peace.

The Chinese side holds that, in the struggle against imperialism and modern revisionism, the Albanian Party of Labour, the People's Republic of Albania and the Albanian people have set for all Marxist-Leninists and revolutionary people a shining example of fearlessly withstanding the threats and hostile activities of

the imperialists, the revisionists and all reactionary forces, bravely overcoming all kinds of difficulties and persisting in a revolutionary line. Albania's successes and achievements in all fields of life are due to the correct leadership of the Albanian Party of Labour headed by Comrade Enver Hoxha, the beloved leader of the Albanian people.

The Chinese side holds that the Albanian Party of Labour, holding high the revolutionary banner of Marxism-Leninism in Europe, where imperialism and modern revisionism are putting up a death-bed struggle, illuminates the road of advance of the revolutionary people. The European proletariat and the revolutionary people of the whole world will for ever remember socialist Albania's historic contributions.

In the talks, the Chinese side expressed its sincere gratitude to the Albanian Party of Labour, the Government of the People's Republic of Albania and the Albanian people for their important support to China in her socialist revolution and socialist construction and in her struggle against imperialism, reaction and modern revisionism.

No matter what storms may arise in the world, the Communist Party of China, the Government of the People's Republic of China and the Chinese people will resolutely stand by the Albanian Party of Labour, the Government of the People's Republic of Albania and the Albanian people who adhere to the line of fighting against imperialism headed by the United States, against modern revisionism whose centre is the leading group of the C.P.S.U. and against all reactionaries, and will give them all possible support and assistance.

The Albanian side greatly rejoices at the brilliant successes achieved by the Chinese people in their socialist revolution and socialist construction. The victory of the great Chinese revolution has shaken world imperialism and colonialism to their foundation and brought about a fundamental change in the balance of world forces, tipping it in favour of socialism.

Under the wise leadership of the Chinese Communist Party and Chairman Mao Tse-tung, the brave and industrious Chinese people, holding high the red banner of Mao Tse-tung's thought and adhering to a correct Marxist-Leninist line, have faithfully followed the revolutionary path of self-reliance, continuously developed socialist agriculture as the foundation of the national economy and socialist industry as its leading factor, resolutely and unswervingly combated the bourgeois stand, viewpoints and ideas in the ideological field, unfolded the three great revolutionary movements of class struggle, the struggle for production, and scientific experiment, and have achieved brilliant successes.

The Albanian Party of Labour, the Government of the People's Republic of Albania and the entire Albanian people warmly congratulate the fraternal

Chinese people, their Party and their Government on the complete success of China's third nuclear explosion, which is a graphic evidence of the high level of science and technology and the creative power of the great Chinese people, a most important positive factor supporting all peoples opposing the nuclear monopoly, nuclear threats and joint schemes of the U.S. imperialists and the Khrushchov revisionists, as well as a powerful factor conducive to international peace and security.

The Albanian side holds that the unswerving Marxist-Leninist policy pursued by the People's Republic of China in opposing imperialism, and above all U.S. imperialism, and waging a tit-for-tat struggle against it, accords to the fullest extent with the fundamental interests of the peoples of the socialist camp and with those of the anti-imperialist and anti-colonialist struggle of all peoples fighting for freedom, national independence, democracy, socialism and world peace. The Albanian people fully support the far-sighted, Marxist-Leninist and peace-loving foreign policy of the People's Republic of China.

The Albanian side reiterates that by its unremitting struggle in defence of the purity of Marxism-Leninism and against modern revisionism, and above all against the Soviet revisionist leading group, the Chinese Communist Party has been making most valuable contributions to the international communist movement and the working-class movement. Today, the Chinese Communist Party is the main force in the struggle against the modern revisionists who are agents of imperialism within the communist movement; it is a strong champion of the revolutionary struggle of all Communists of the world for the victory of socialism and communism. The Albanian Party of Labour fully supports the Marxist-Leninist stand taken by the Chinese Communist Party headed by Comrade Mao Tse-tung and is determined, together with the Chinese Communist Party and the other Marxist-Leninist Parties, to carry through to the end the struggle against modern revisionism with the Khrushchov revisionists as its centre.

The Albanian side points out that the correct Marxist-Leninist line of the glorious Chinese Communist Party and Comrade Mao Tse-tung's great theory and thought are the source of all the great successes and achievements of the People's Republic of China in socialist revolution and socialist construction and in the struggle to oppose imperialism, reaction and modern revisionism and to support and assist all oppressed peoples and nations. Comrade Mao Tse-tung's theory and thought are the creative integration of the universal truth of Marxism-Leninism with the practice of the Chinese revolution and China's socialist construction, and are the further development of the theory of Marxism-Leninism in the present age.

The Albanian side expresses sincere gratitude to the great Chinese people, the glorious Communist Party of China and the Government of the People's Republic of China for the fraternal internationalist aid

they have rendered to the People's Republic of Albania both in the past and in the present.

The two sides exchanged the experience of the two countries in socialist revolution and socialist construction.

The two sides point out that all Marxist-Leninists must draw an important lesson from the Khrushchov revisionist clique's usurpation of Party and state leadership in the Soviet Union, the land of the great October Revolution with a history of several decades of socialist construction, an event which has pushed the Soviet Union onto the road of capitalist restoration.

The two sides hold that throughout the historical period of socialist society, there remain in socialist countries class struggle, the struggle between the road of socialism and the road of capitalism and the danger of the emergence of revisionism and the restoration of capitalism. In order to prevent the revisionists from grabbing Party and state leadership and restoring capitalism, and in order to consolidate and develop socialism and ensure the future transition to communism, it is imperative to persist in a Marxist-Leninist revolutionary line, uphold the dictatorship of the proletariat, carry the socialist revolution through to the end on the economic, political, military, ideological and cultural fronts, and train and bring up successors to the proletarian revolutionary cause who are loyal to Marxism-Leninism.

The two sides hold that in socialist society there exist two types of social contradictions of different nature, namely, contradictions among the people and contradictions between ourselves and the enemy. The correct understanding and handling of these two types of social contradictions have a vital bearing on the consolidation of the dictatorship of the proletariat and the development of socialist society.

The two sides hold that in order to uphold and develop the socialist cause, socialist countries must constantly safeguard and strengthen the dictatorship of the proletariat led by the working class and based on the worker-peasant alliance. It is imperative to exercise dictatorship over the overthrown exploiting classes, reactionaries and all other enemies who resist socialist revolution and sabotage socialist construction and at the same time to practise people's democracy among the workers, peasants, revolutionary intellectuals and other labouring people in accordance with the principle of democratic centralism. It is imperative to attach great importance to the constant consolidation and strengthening of national defence, the organization and training of the broad masses militarily, and the introduction of the system of turning every citizen into a soldier in addition to stepping up the building of modernized regular forces so as to be ready at all times to smash any possible armed aggression by imperialism and its lackeys.

The two sides hold that in order to build socialism successfully in our two countries, it is necessary to

ceaselessly develop the productive forces and attach special importance to the development of agriculture while developing industry. The two sides point out that our two socialist countries are following the policy of self-reliance in socialist construction. In the socialist revolution and socialist construction, we are adhering to the mass line, closely relying on the masses and unfolding revolutionary mass movements.

Historical experience shows that to carry out within the Party and among the masses education in Marxism-Leninism, dialectical materialism and historical materialism, and education in class struggle, the revolutionary tradition and communism, to give prominence to proletarian politics and promote the revolutionization of people's thinking, are essential and fundamental conditions to ensure progress along the road of socialism. Once people's political consciousness is raised, once the theory of Marxism-Leninism is grasped by the masses, it will become a powerful material force transforming society and the world.

The two sides hold that it is necessary, by means of uninterrupted revolution on the cultural front, to thoroughly eliminate the bourgeois stand and viewpoints in all fields of culture, expand the ranks of working class intellectuals serving socialism, and develop a new socialist culture serving the working masses.

Socialist construction is aimed at the transition to communism. Therefore, in the stage of socialism, in addition to the energetic development of the socialist productive forces and the continuous enhancement of men's communist consciousness and morality, the two Parties deem it necessary to take measures for revolutionization in accordance with the theories of Marxism-Leninism and in the light of the concrete historical conditions and characteristics of each country, in order correctly to develop the socialist relations of production, gradually reduce the differences between workers and peasants, between cities and the countryside and between manual and mental workers and so create conditions for the gradual transition to communism.

The two sides point out that as the vanguard of the proletariat, the Communist Party must exist as long as the dictatorship of the proletariat lasts. The two Parties are guided by the principle that in all work for socialist revolution and socialist construction, it is necessary to strengthen Party leadership, practise inner-Party democracy, conduct criticism and self-criticism, strengthen the ties between the Party and the broad working masses and insist on the principle of integrating the universal truth of Marxism-Leninism with the concrete practice of each country.

The two sides point out that systematic and all-sided experience is yet to be summed up on how to prevent the emergence of revisionism and restoration of capitalism in the socialist countries and to ensure the gradual transition to communism. The historical task of summing up this experience falls on the shoulders of the true Marxist-Leninists of our time. In this

regard, the Chinese Communist Party and the Albanian Party of Labour have already adopted important measures for revolutionization in the light of the concrete conditions in their own countries and are resolved to continue to make their contributions.

The two sides point out that in foreign policy the People's Republic of China and the People's Republic of Albania adhere to proletarian internationalism, resolutely oppose imperialism and all reactionaries, firmly support the revolutionary struggles of all oppressed peoples and nations, and resolutely oppose great-power chauvinism and national egoism. The two sides hold that the relations between the socialist countries should be based on the principles of independence, complete equality and proletarian internationalist mutual support and assistance.

Both sides point out that the revolutionary people all over the world are now locked in a fierce battle with U.S. imperialism and its lackeys. The different world contradictions are becoming sharper and sharper. The whole world is in the process of great upheaval, great division and great reorganization. This is the inevitable result of the deepening of the people's revolutionary struggles.

The two sides point out that the peoples' national-liberation movement, the international communist movement and the struggle of the proletariat in the capitalist countries have inflicted one defeat after another on imperialism. The trend of development of the international situation is favourable to socialism and the peoples' revolutionary struggles and unfavourable to imperialism, revisionism and reaction. The socialist countries persevering in the revolutionary line of Marxism-Leninism are growing daily stronger. The national-democratic movement in Asia, Africa and Latin America is continuing to mount. The struggle of the working class and other labouring people in the capitalist countries in Western Europe, North America and Oceania against U.S. imperialism and domestic monopoly capital is being unfolded on an extensive scale. The American people's struggle against the Johnson Administration's aggression in Vietnam and the American Negroes' struggle against racial discrimination are advancing wave upon wave. The angry tide of the people of the world against U.S. imperialism is mounting ever higher. The revolutionary forces of the people of the world are daily growing. The Marxist-Leninist ranks are steadily expanding while the modern revisionist bloc is being steadily weakened. The contradictions among the imperialist powers have become sharper than at any time since World War II. U.S. imperialism has never been so isolated or so beset with difficulties as today. All signs indicate that a new great anti-U.S. revolutionary storm is fast approaching. U.S. imperialism and the reactionaries of various countries are countering the peoples with frenzied attacks and stirring up a counter-revolutionary adverse current. But these are only temporary phenomena which do not bespeak their strength but rather their weakness. Their death-bed struggles can in no way change the course

of historical development but will only stimulate more vigorous advance of the revolutionary struggle of the people of the world.

The two sides point out that the Vietnamese people's struggle against U.S. aggression and for national salvation now constitutes the focus of the anti-U.S. struggle of the people of the world. In Vietnam, the strategy of people's war is prevailing over the global strategy of imperialism. The victories of the Vietnamese people have exploded the myth of the invincibility of U.S. imperialism and once again proved that it is a paper tiger, outwardly strong but inwardly weak. The Vietnamese people's struggle against U.S. aggression has effectively tied down and weakened the aggressive forces of U.S. imperialism and greatly supported and helped the revolutionary struggles of all other peoples.

The two sides point out that, in order to save itself from its thorough defeat in Vietnam, U.S. imperialism is actively employing its counter-revolutionary dual tactics. On the one hand, it is accelerating the escalation of its war of aggression, attempting to spread it directly to the Democratic Republic of Vietnam, to the whole of Indo-China and to China; on the other hand, it is vigorously peddling its "peace talks" fraud, vainly attempting to gain what it cannot win on the battlefield.

The two sides call on the people of the whole world to maintain sharp vigilance against the U.S. imperialist plot of expanding its war of aggression against Vietnam, and ceaselessly and firmly to expose the "peace talks" tricks played by the imperialist U.S. Government with the support of the Khrushchov revisionists. The two sides reaffirm their resolute support for the four-point stand of the Government of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam and the five-part statement of the South Vietnam National Front for Liberation. The United States must stop its aggression in the whole of Vietnam. It must withdraw all its armed forces from southern Vietnam. It must recognize the South Vietnam National Front for Liberation as the sole genuine representative of the people of southern Vietnam. The two sides pledge all-out support and assistance to the Vietnamese people in their just and heroic struggle to defeat U.S. imperialism, liberate the south, defend the north and thus to reunify their fatherland, till final victory. The two sides point out that the attitude towards the struggle of the Vietnamese people constitutes a watershed between the anti-imperialist fighters and the accomplices of imperialism, between the supporters of the peoples' liberation struggle and its saboteurs, between the fighters for revolution and the cause of socialism and the betrayers of revolution and socialism. It is imperative to thoroughly expose the attitude of the Khrushchov revisionists, who claim to be friends and supporters of the Vietnamese people, but who actually work hand in glove with the U.S. imperialist aggressors, the murderers of the Vietnamese people.

The two sides strongly condemn U.S. imperialism for steadily extending its attacks on the liberated areas

of Laos and firmly support the patriotic and just struggle of the Neo Lao Haksat and the Laotian people against U.S. imperialism and its lackeys.

The two sides strongly condemn U.S. imperialism for instigating the Thai reactionaries and the south Vietnamese puppets to acts of aggression and provocation against the Kingdom of Cambodia, firmly support the Cambodian people in their just struggle against aggression and in defence of territorial integrity and sovereignty, and support Cambodia's policy of peace and neutrality.

The two sides firmly support the Korean people in their just struggle against the U.S. imperialist forcible occupation of south Korea and for the withdrawal of U.S. troops and the reunification of their country; they firmly support the Korean people's just stand against the "Japan-ROK Treaty."

The two sides firmly support the Japanese people's heroic struggle against the Japan-U.S. Security Treaty and the "Japan-ROK Treaty," for the dismantling of U.S. military bases and against the stationing of U.S. nuclear submarines in Japan; they firmly support the Japanese people's just struggle against the collusion of Japanese monopoly capital with U.S. imperialism in reviving Japanese militarism.

The two sides strongly condemn the fascist outrages of the Indonesian Right-wing generals clique in usurping the state power of Indonesia and massacring Indonesian Communists and progressives; they strongly condemn the Indonesian Right-wing forces for their barbarous and frantic opposition to China and persecution of the Chinese nationals. They express deep concern and firm support for the Indonesian Communists, revolutionary people and progressives who are persevering in struggle under white terror. They express the firm conviction that the Indonesian people with their glorious revolutionary tradition will win final victory under the correct leadership of the Indonesian Communist Party.

The two sides firmly support the Pakistan people's just struggle in defence of national independence and state sovereignty. They hold that the Kashmir question should be settled in accordance with the wishes of the Kashmiri people. They reaffirm their support for the Kashmiri people in their struggle for the right to self-determination.

Both sides support the people of the Arab countries in their struggle to oppose imperialist aggression and oppression and to win and safeguard national independence; they support the Arab people of Palestine in their effort to recover their legitimate rights.

The two sides firmly support the struggles of the people of the Congo (Leopoldville), "Portuguese" Guinea, Mozambique, Angola and Southern Rhodesia.

The two sides firmly support the people of Guinea, Mali, Tanzania and the Congo (Brazzaville) in their just

struggle against imperialist subversion and in defence of state sovereignty and independence.

The two sides firmly support the people of the Dominican Republic, Peru, Colombia, Guatemala and Venezuela in their armed struggle for national liberation.

Both sides support the people of Asia, Africa and Latin America in their just struggle to oppose imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism and to win and safeguard national independence.

Both sides hold that the revival of West German revanchist militarism and the Bonn government's expansionist policy pose a serious menace to the peace and security of Europe.

The two sides strongly condemn U.S. imperialism for its crime of vigorously fostering West German militarism, attempting to give nuclear weapons to the West German revanchists and aiding and abetting the West German militarists in their attempt to annex the German Democratic Republic. The two sides resolutely oppose any betrayal of the interests of the German Democratic Republic. They reaffirm their support for the German Democratic Republic in its just struggle against West German militarism and in defence of state sovereignty, and they deem it necessary as soon as possible to conclude a German peace treaty and, on this basis, to settle the question of West Berlin.

The two sides firmly support the American people's struggle against the Johnson Administration's aggression in Vietnam; they firmly support the American Negroes' struggle against racial discrimination and for freedom and equal rights.

Both sides support the working class and other labouring people of the capitalist countries in Western Europe, North America and Oceania in their struggle against U.S. imperialism and domestic monopoly capital and for state sovereignty, better living conditions, democratic rights and social progress.

The two sides point out that the deal on the "prevention of nuclear proliferation," which the United States and the Soviet Union are now making at the Geneva Disarmament Conference, is a great conspiracy to consolidate their nuclear monopoly and deprive other countries of the right to develop nuclear weapons for self-defence. All peace-loving countries and peoples must resolutely oppose this conspiracy. The two sides reiterate that nuclear weapons must be completely prohibited and thoroughly destroyed and that, first of all, the use of nuclear weapons must be banned. The Albanian side reaffirms its full support for the proposal of the Chinese Government for a summit conference of all the countries of the world to discuss the question of complete prohibition and thorough destruction of nuclear weapons.

The two sides point out that, despite the opposition of Albania and many other peace-loving countries, U.S.

imperialism is increasingly turning the United Nations into a tool for pursuing its policy of aggression, and that the Soviet revisionist leading group, in order to realize its fond dream of world domination through Soviet-U.S. collaboration, is increasingly making the United Nations a place for Soviet-U.S. political bargaining. The two sides hold that the domination of the United Nations by a few big powers must be ended and that the United Nations must rectify its errors and undergo a thorough reorganization.

Both sides point out that in the present international communist movement the struggle of Marxism-Leninism against modern revisionism with the leading group of the C.P.S.U. as its centre is developing victoriously. Khrushchov's downfall was a great victory for all the Marxist-Leninists of the world and marked the bankruptcy and fiasco of modern revisionism.

The two sides point out that the leading group of the C.P.S.U. is carrying on Khrushchov revisionism without Khrushchov. It has gone farther than Khrushchov in restoring capitalism, capitulating to U.S. imperialism and practising splittism and great-power chauvinism towards fraternal countries and Parties. It is helping U.S. imperialism in its effort to extinguish the raging flames of the Vietnamese people's revolution. It is working in co-ordination with U.S. imperialism to form a ring of encirclement against China. In collusion with U.S. imperialism, it is selling out the interests of the revolution of the peoples in Asia, Africa, Latin America and elsewhere. To cater to the needs of U.S. imperialism, it convened the Moscow Meeting of March 1965 openly splitting the international communist movement. It has supported turncoats of all descriptions in sabotaging and intimidating fraternal Marxist-Leninist Parties and revolutionary groups in various countries. The leading group of the C.P.S.U. has already degenerated into a group of renegades from Marxism-Leninism and accomplices of U.S. imperialism.

The two sides point out that the recent 23rd Congress of the C.P.S.U. demonstrates that the general line pursued by the leading group of the C.P.S.U. remains the revisionist one formulated by it from the time of its 20th to that of its 22nd Congress. At the latest Congress, it energetically employed dual tactics, evaded all important issues and covered up the various contradictions. This is an indication that the new leadership of the C.P.S.U. is still flabbier than Khrushchov. Beset with all kinds of contradictions, the leading group of the C.P.S.U. is at present in dire straits both at home and abroad, and it is having an increasingly hard time.

The two sides hold that Marxist-Leninists of the whole world must step up their fight and follow up their victories by carrying through to the end the struggle against modern revisionism whose centre is the leading group of the C.P.S.U. and never allow it any respite. It is necessary to wage uncompromising and principled struggles against these renegades from Marxism-Leninism and never to show them any flexibility;

it is necessary to continue to expose and criticize them firmly and thoroughly and never to "cease open polemics" with them; it is necessary to continue to give full support to Marxist-Leninists of all countries in the struggle against modern revisionism and never to accept their call for "cessation of factional activities;" it is necessary to draw a clear line of demarcation between ourselves and them politically, ideologically and organizationally and never to take any "united action" with them.

The two sides point out that true Marxist-Leninists and thorough proletarian revolutionaries are fearless. The modern revisionists vilify the Chinese Communist Party, the Albanian Party of Labour and other Marxist-Leninists as "dogmatists," "adventurists" and "sectarians," but in fact what they attack is nothing but Marxism-Leninism.

Steadfast adherence to principle and dauntless courage are essential to a victorious revolution, whereas an opportunist and pragmatic attitude is bound to cause serious damage to the revolutionary cause and lead it to failure. Only by remaining unwavering in all circumstances can one attain final victory.

The Chinese Communist Party and the Albanian Party of Labour reiterate that, while waging resolute and uncompromising struggles against the Khrushchov revisionist group which is the centre of international modern revisionism, it is necessary to conduct a firm struggle against the traitorous revisionist Tito clique of Yugoslavia. The Tito clique of renegades is the first revisionist group to emerge in a socialist country. It has caused the Yugoslav Party and state to degenerate and brought about the complete restoration of capitalism. It is a special detachment of U.S. imperialism and plays the role of a saboteur against the national-democratic revolutionary movements in Asia, Africa and Latin America.

The two sides reiterate that the Chinese Communist Party and the Albanian Party of Labour regard it as their noble internationalist duty to thoroughly expose the acts of betrayal of the Soviet modern revisionists and so help the fraternal Soviet people. The Chinese Communist Party and the Albanian Party of Labour are deeply convinced that the revisionist renegades' rule in the Soviet Union is a temporary phenomenon and that the great Soviet people have inexhaustible revolutionary strength. The Chinese and Albanian peoples will, as in the past, safeguard the great, unbreakable fighting friendship between them and the Soviet people.

The two sides stress that, in the present situation which is favourable to revolution, in order to isolate U.S. imperialism to the maximum extent and deal it the heaviest blows, the people of the world must form an international united front against U.S. imperialism and its lackeys, which is the broadest possible and not narrow, and the truest and not sham, united front. This united front must be based on the anti-imperialist revolutionary unity of all the people of the world and

must include all countries and people who oppose U.S. imperialist aggression, control, intervention or bullying, but in no circumstances must it include the lackeys and accomplices of U.S. imperialism. Modern revisionism whose centre is the leading group of the C.P.S.U. has long since been in league with U.S. imperialism, set itself against the people of the whole world and excluded itself from the anti-U.S. international united front. The fight against imperialism headed by the United States and its lackeys and the fight against modern revisionism with the leading group of the C.P.S.U. as its centre are two inseparable tasks. Only by resolutely opposing modern revisionism with the leading group of the C.P.S.U. as its centre will one win the fight against U.S. imperialism.

The two sides are convinced that the masses who constitute the overwhelming majority of mankind, the American people included, are for revolution and against imperialism and its lackeys and that the overwhelming majority of the Communists in the international communist movement will advance along the path of Marxism-Leninism. The revolutionary people of the world and the great international communist movement will eventually sweep away all obstacles and unite still more closely on the basis of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism. The prospects for the cause of world revolution are infinitely bright. Imperialism, modern revisionism and reaction will all perish in the end. Socialism and communism will win final victory throughout the world.

The two sides hold that the visit of the Albanian Party and Government Delegation headed by Comrade Mehmet Shehu to the People's Republic of China and the intimate talks between the leaders of the two Parties and the two countries have made an important contribution to the further strengthening of the unity, the friendship and the relations of mutual assistance and co-operation between the two Parties, the two Governments and the two peoples and that they have an important bearing on the promotion of the unity and growth of the world Marxist-Leninist ranks and on the furtherance of the great struggle of all the revolutionary peoples against U.S. imperialism, modern revisionism and reaction and for world peace, national liberation, people's democracy and socialism.

Peking, May 11, 1966

(Signed)

CHOU EN-LAI

Vice-Chairman of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China and Premier of the State Council of the People's Republic of China

(Signed)

MEHMET SHEHU

Member of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Albanian Party of Labour and Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the People's Republic of Albania

Comrade Mehmet Shehu's Speech At Farewell Banquet

Following is a translation of the full text of the speech made by Comrade Mehmet Shehu, Head of the Albanian Party and Government Delegation, at the farewell banquet given by him in Peking on May 10, 1966. — Ed.

**Dear Comrade Liu Shao-chi,
Dear Comrade Chou En-lai,
Dear Comrades and Esteemed Friends,
Ladies and Gentlemen,**

The visit of our Party and Government Delegation to the People's Republic of China is coming to an end.

First of all, I feel it my duty to express, on behalf of the Albanian Party of Labour and Comrade Enver Hoxha and in the name of the Government of the People's Republic of Albania, the entire Albanian people and all the other comrades on the Delegation, our heartfelt gratitude to the great Chinese people, the glorious Chinese Communist Party and the Government of the People's Republic of China and to Comrade Mao Tse-tung, the great leader of the 700 million Chinese people and the great and devoted friend of the Albanian people, for the warmest and very brotherly reception accorded us during our visit to your beautiful country.

We feel at home in your beautiful, vast, mighty and flourishing country. The extremely warm, cordial and fraternal reception given to us in Kunming, Peking, Harbin, Shanghai and Hangchow, our meetings with the untiring and dexterous commune members, the heroic workers in the factories, the powerful militia units and the students and Young Pioneers educated in the revolutionary spirit, and the very cordial talks with your beloved state leaders and, in particular, the unforgettable meeting with Comrade Mao Tse-tung, the great and glorious leader of the Chinese people and their Party and the most respected friend of the Albanian people — all this fills our hearts with the ever-growing, the purest, most sincere, most revolutionary, internationalist and eternal friendship between our two Parties and two peoples.

Wherever we went, we were accorded by the Chinese people a reception which is beyond description and exceeds all our expectations. We feel the warmth and kinship of comrades-in-arms, the sincerity of dauntless revolutionaries and the love of true internationalists for the Albanian people, our Party of Labour and Comrade Enver Hoxha, the leader of our Party and people. We have personally seen and felt everywhere the great friendship cherished by the great Chinese people towards the Albanian people and we have personally seen and felt the strength of this great friendship. This friendship is a great encouragement to our

Party, Government and people. It encourages them to fight for the cause of socialist construction in Albania, for our common cause of communism and for the cause of world peace. We will bring this great friendship of the Chinese people and their Party and leaders to our Party and our people.

The meetings and talks our Delegation held with the leading comrades of the Communist Party of China and the Government of the People's Republic of China are unforgettable to us. Our talks were conducted between true comrades and brothers, between equal comrades-in-arms striving for the common aim and ideal. As in the past, we are completely at one in our views on all questions we have discussed. We have held discussions on the relations between our two Parties and our two countries, on the socialist construction in our two countries, on the international situation and the international communist movement. In particular, we have had fruitful exchange of opinions on the question of taking measures for preventing the emergence of revisionism and the restoration of capitalism in our two countries. Our talks are characterized throughout by identity of views and actions. The Joint Statement of Albania and China is an embodiment of this unbreakable unity and constitutes one more important document for the constant strengthening of the great friendship and the revolutionary fraternal co-operation between our two peoples and our two Parties.

Our meeting with the great leader Comrade Mao Tse-tung will remain for ever in our hearts. We had several meetings with Comrade Mao Tse-tung before. But every time we met him, we were further inspired by his great thought and theories, his firm adherence to the Marxist-Leninist principle and his Communist simplicity. Talking with Comrade Mao Tse-tung will immediately remind one of the words of the outstanding internationalist Doctor Norman Bethune. When Bethune met Comrade Mao Tse-tung for the first time 28 years ago, he wrote down his impression of Comrade Mao Tse-tung as follows: ". . . he is a giant, one of the greatest men of our century."

The Albanian people and the Party of Labour of Albania have infinite admiration for Comrade Mao Tse-tung. He is not only the great leader of the Chinese people and the Chinese Communist Party but also the faithful successor to the great cause of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin.

The international situation and the international communist movement today are characterized by the fact that U.S. imperialism and Soviet revisionism are collaborating in a scheme to bury socialism and dominate the world. In this complex situation, great China has

become an impregnable bastion of socialism, a bulwark of revolution and an insurmountable barrier to imperialism and revisionism.

The reason is that China has all along been led by the glorious Communist Party. The Chinese Communist Party has always given brilliant leadership to the Chinese people because it is in possession of the immortal Marxist-Leninist ideas and the great thought and theories of Mao Tse-tung. Hence, glory goes to Comrade Mao Tse-tung, who belongs not only to China but also to Albania, to the whole socialist camp, the entire international communist movement and the progressive mankind as a whole! Glory for ever goes to Comrade Mao Tse-tung and his great contributions!

People's China has left a deep impression on us. In your country, the heroic Chinese people are plunging themselves with an incomparable revolutionary zeal into the three great revolutionary movements of class struggle, the struggle for production and scientific experiment.

The brilliant successes achieved by the Chinese people in ideological education and material production and in giving play to the creative powers of the working masses have laid a most solid basis for new successes and for the fulfilment of the great tasks under the Third Five-Year Plan (1966-70).

We are fully convinced that the mass line, which is being so effectively implemented in People's China, is pushing and will continue to push China's socialist construction forward. It is the guarantee for still greater victories. The Tachai Brigade has become a banner for socialist agriculture, the oil workers of Taching have become a banner for China's socialist industry. New Tachais and new Tachings are now emerging in all parts of your country, and their banners fly all over the vast land of China. This mass movement is irresistible, because it is a revolutionary movement; and it is revolutionary because it is guided by the great thought and teachings of Comrade Mao Tse-tung and the great principles of creative Marxism-Leninism. The momentum of this mass movement is more forceful than the torrents of the Yangtse River, it is grander than the Pacific Ocean, it is more majestic than the Himalayas, because the source of strength of this movement surpasses that of any other forces in the world, because it has the science of Marxism-Leninism as its basis, and because the labouring masses are the creators of material and spiritual wealth, the creators of history.

Wherever we went in your beautiful and glorious country, we saw the tremendous revolutionary enthusiasm and passionate creative labour of the great Chinese people in building socialism. We saw the iron solidarity and unity between the Chinese people and the glorious Chinese Communist Party headed by Comrade Mao Tse-tung; we saw the determination, preparedness and invincible strength of the great Chinese people in protecting their victorious and great socialist country from the possible attack by any enemy; we saw the internationalist spirit of the Chinese peo-

ple. We saw that every worker, peasant, student or fighter has in his mind implanted the idea of working, studying, creating and fighting not only for his own country but also for all other peoples.

Wherever we went, we saw People's China's great truth of putting politics in command and giving prominence to politics. During our visit in People's China, we were affected by your revolutionary enthusiasm, joy, confidence in victory, tirelessness in work, determination and ideological principle. We saw how People's China has become a great school for Marxism-Leninism, in which not only those of a higher educational and cultural level are studying the great ideas and teachings of Mao Tse-tung and of Marxism-Leninism, but all the working masses, without exception, are studying them. This is the best example of mastery of these ideas by all the working masses and their turning the great ideas of Marxism-Leninism into material forces. This is the only road to ensure uninterrupted revolution, tempering of people's revolutionary consciousness, and training new people ready to sacrifice their very lives for the people and the great cause of Marxism-Leninism, builders of socialism and communism and fighters for the world revolution. This is the only road to for ever prevent the emergence of modern revisionism or capitulation to imperialism.

We greatly rejoice over all these great achievements we have seen during the few days of our stay in China. We regard these achievements as our own achievements and are inspired by them.

Our Delegation wishes to take this opportunity to sincerely congratulate the great Chinese people, the glorious Chinese Communist Party and the illustrious Chinese scientists and scientific workers on the new and great victory of the explosion of their third nuclear bomb yesterday. This is a very great victory not only for People's China but also for the socialist camp and mankind, because nuclear weapons in the hands of revolutionaries educated in Marxism-Leninism and Mao Tse-tung's thought are in the service of peace and socialism and throw into panic our enemy — the U.S. imperialists who are attempting to burn up the whole world and bury socialism. Glory to the revolutionary scientists of People's China! Glory to the powerful Liberation Army of the great China!

The Albanian people and the Albanian Party of Labour are proud to stand side by side with People's China on the road of socialist construction and in the great battle between Marxism-Leninism on the one hand and imperialism and modern revisionism on the other. The People's Republic of Albania is situated in the southwestern part of the socialist camp. The people of our country are working, constructing, studying and living there "with pick in one hand and rifle in the other" because, geographically, they are encircled by imperialism and revisionism. They have never yielded and will never yield in future. "Rather die standing than live on their knees," they stint no sacrifices and are advancing resolutely towards the peak of socialism. They have

never felt alone, because they have many loyal and powerful friends like the People's Republic of China; the people in the socialist countries and people the world over are all their friends. The Albanian Party of Labour and the Albanian people will safeguard their great friendship with the fraternal Chinese people as the most precious thing, and will strive for the further tempering of this great friendship. Marxism-Leninism is not restricted by geographical distance but lives in the hearts of the people. Therefore, our friendship that is based on Marxism-Leninism will bring happiness to our two peoples, gladden all our friends and annoy our enemies. Our friendship, like Marxism-Leninism, will grow for ever.

The Albanian Party of Labour attaches special importance to communist education so as to cultivate in our people a pure revolutionary consciousness. Our Party has carefully studied the causes for the emergence of revisionism in the Soviet Union and many other countries and Parties. It clearly knows the root-cause and reasons for the emergence of modern revisionism. Our Party is fully aware of them and has adopted and will continue to adopt, on the basis of Marxist-Leninist ideas and theory, all measures to block the channels of the rise of modern revisionism and restoration of capitalism in Albania. We assure you, Chinese brothers and comrades-in-arms, that imperialism and modern revisionism will never be allowed to succeed in the People's Republic of Albania, which is under the leadership of the Albanian Party of Labour and Comrade Enver Hoxha. The Albanian Party of Labour and the Albanian people regard it as their internationalist duty to wage uncompromising struggles against imperialism headed by the United States and modern revisionism centred round the Khrushchov leading clique of the Soviet Union and to carry these struggles through to the end.

At present, the international situation is favourable to the advance of mankind in the struggle for freedom and along the road of revolution. Owing to the revolutionary and anti-imperialist struggles of the people of all countries and the inherent contradictions of imperialism, the imperialist system has been irrevocably shaken to its very foundation. On the other hand, the modern revisionists—the servants and collaborators of imperialism—are also facing disasters. In spite of this, the people and revolutionaries of all countries have no reason to be off their guard. The enemy will never give up its position of its own accord. On the contrary, particularly in their dying days, the imperialists and revisionists will put up death-bed struggles all the more desperately and go in for adventures so as to avoid their doom.

The line of demarcation between the Marxist-Leninist front and the revisionist front has now been drawn most distinctly. There can be no intermediate zone or "no man's land" between these two fronts and these two ideologies that are locked in a life-and-death struggle. Historical experience proves that the middle-

of-the-road attitude of standing "neither on this side nor on that side" cannot live long. In this struggle the polarization of various forces is inevitable. This is an objective law that is constantly at work independent of the will of anyone who attempts to sit between two stools.

U.S. imperialism is ganging up with the revisionist Soviet leaders and other revisionists and with the reactionaries of various countries in hatching all kinds of plots, engineering coups d'etat, carrying out schemes and setting traps in an all-out effort to make revolution recede. But, as in the past, they are not able to turn back the tide of revolution that is sweeping the world, to prevent the revolutionary storms in Asia, Africa and Latin America, to stop the revolutionary actions of the international working class and to destroy socialism, because the objective laws of world development are propelling revolution forward and pushing imperialism and its offspring revisionism towards their inevitable doom.

Look! Here is a vivid example which demonstrates that imperialism is not as strong as it appears and that it has no strength to put down the struggle of the world's people for freedom. This example is the legendary heroism of the fraternal Vietnamese people fighting against U.S. imperialist aggression. No matter how many troops the enemies send and how many kinds of weapons they use and no matter what plots the imperialists and the modern revisionists engineer for a "peaceful" settlement of the Vietnam question, final victory will definitely belong to the Vietnamese people. The Vietnamese people's freedom lies in the muzzles of their guns, and not at the negotiation table of U.S. imperialism. All peoples opposing U.S. imperialism are with the Vietnamese people. The Albanian people regard the struggle of the fraternal Vietnamese people as their own struggle.

The People's Republic of Albania fully supports Comrade Chou En-lai's four-point statement on China's policy towards the U.S.A. This statement bears out the correctness of the foreign policy of People's China and her revolutionary steadfastness and firm strength in opposing U.S. aggression and in defending the peoples and peace.

On the eve of our departure from your country, we heartily wish the fraternal Chinese people increasingly great successes in their noble work for the prosperity of their socialist motherland, in the glorious common fight against imperialism and modern revisionism and in the struggle in defence of peace in Asia and the world.

Dear comrades and respected friends! Please allow me to thank you for attending this reception.

Let us raise our glasses and drink a toast
to the great and unbreakable friendship between
the peoples of Albania and China,
to the great and heroic Chinese people,

to the glorious Chinese Communist Party and its great leader, dear Comrade Mao Tse-tung, esteemed friend of the Albanian people,

to the fraternal People's Republic of China and its Chairman Comrade Liu Shao-chi,

to the National People's Congress of the People's Republic of China and the Chairman of its Standing Committee Comrade Chu Teh,

to the Government of the People's Republic of China and its Premier Comrade Chou En-lai,

to the health of Comrade Teng Hsiao-ping, General Secretary of the Chinese Communist Party,

to the health of the diplomatic envoys and their wives present at this banquet,

to the health of everybody present here, and

to the victory of Marxism-Leninism!

Comrade Chou En-lai's Speech at Comrade Shehu's Farewell Banquet

Following is a translation of the full text of Comrade Chou En-lai's speech at the May 10 farewell banquet given by the Albanian Party and Government Delegation headed by Comrade Mehmet Shehu. — Ed.

Dear Comrade Mehmet Shehu,

Dear Comrade Hysni Kapo,

**Dear Comrades of the Albanian Party
and Government Delegation,**

Comrades and Friends,

It gives us great pleasure and honour to attend this grand banquet today given by the Albanian Party and Government Delegation and gather together once more with Comrade Shehu, Comrade Kapo and all the other comrades of the Delegation. Just now, Comrade Shehu has said many warm and cordial words about our Party, our country and our people and spoken very highly of our work. This constitutes a very great encouragement and support to us. For this, I extend hearty thanks to you in the name of the Communist Party, the Government and the people of China.

During its stay in China, the Albanian Party and Government Delegation toured some villages and cities in both the northern and the southern parts of our country, visited industrial and mining enterprises, people's communes and cultural institutions, and came into extensive contact and had cordial meetings with the broad masses of the working people and representatives of all walks of life in our country. You have acquainted us with the brilliant achievements and valuable experience gained by the Albanian people in socialist revolution and socialist construction. The dauntless heroism and the spirit of uninterrupted revolution you have demonstrated on the road of advance is an example for the Chinese people to learn from.

During these days of your visit, the Chinese people have been filled with boundless, festive joys. Wherever you went, the air vibrated with the great friendship between our two peoples. Such is the proletarian revolutionary friendship, the most precious of all friend-

ships. Your visit has pushed to a new high the fighting unity which has long existed between us.

During the visit of your Delegation, our two sides held sincere and cordial talks. We had a full exchange of ideas and held completely identical views on the major issues relating to the socialist revolution and socialist construction of our two countries, the present international situation and the international communist movement.

We both hold that it is imperative to consolidate and develop the dictatorship of the proletariat, carry the socialist revolution through to the end on the political, military, economic, ideological and cultural fronts, dig up the roots of revisionism, ensure the complete victory of the cause of socialism and create the conditions for the future transition to communism.

We both hold that it is imperative to carry through to the end the struggle against imperialism headed by the United States and all reactionaries, and firmly support the national-liberation movement in Asia, Africa and Latin America and the revolutionary struggles of all peoples.

We both hold that it is imperative to carry through to the end the struggle against modern revisionism whose centre is the leading group of the C.P.S.U. and constantly strengthen and expand the world ranks of Marxist-Leninists.

The Joint Statement of China and Albania soon to be issued is a document of historic significance. It is a new milestone in the annals of great friendship and fraternal co-operation between our two Parties and two countries. I am deeply convinced that our talks will not only greatly strengthen the friendship and co-operation between our two Parties, two countries and two peoples and promote the further development of socialist revolution and socialist construction in our two countries, but will also make an outstanding contribution to the cause of defending world peace and promoting human progress.

Comrades and friends! Yesterday, our country successfully conducted its third nuclear test. This is an

important contribution to the defence of China's security and world peace made by the Chinese people who, holding high the great red banner of Mao Tse-tung's thought, have relied on their own efforts and worked hard to build a powerful country. Our sole purpose in developing nuclear weapons is defence, and our ultimate aim is the elimination of nuclear weapons. At the time of the explosion of China's first atom bomb, the Chinese Government already explained China's fundamental stand on the question of nuclear weapons and concretely proposed the holding of a summit conference of all the countries of the world to discuss the complete prohibition and thorough destruction of nuclear weapons. Moreover, China has proposed to the United States that the two countries undertake the obligation of not being the first to use nuclear weapons against each other. But U.S. imperialism has rejected China's proposal, continued to develop and mass produce nuclear weapons of various kinds, further expanded its nuclear bases all over the world, particularly those around China, and stepped up its nuclear blackmail and threats against China and other peace-loving countries. In collusion with U.S. imperialism, the revisionist leading group of the Soviet Union is actively engineering a treaty on the "prevention of nuclear proliferation" so as to maintain their nuclear monopoly, intimidate the oppressed nations and peoples and realize its dream of world domination through Soviet-U.S. collaboration. In these circumstances, China cannot but conduct necessary and limited nuclear tests to develop nuclear weapons. The success of China's third nuclear test is undoubtedly a great encouragement to the peoples who are fighting heroically for their own liberation.

Blind faith in nuclear weapons is one of the main characteristics of the Khrushchov revisionists. While succumbing to the nuclear blackmail of U.S. imperialism, they are trying to blackmail others with nuclear weapons. They think that with nuclear weapons in hand they can settle all world problems. This is an utterly wrong idea, a reactionary idea. Like all other new weapons in history, nuclear weapons cannot be monopolized. All reactionary forces are doomed to extinction, whatever new weapons they wield. Nuclear weapons can save neither U.S. imperialism nor the revisionist leading group of the Soviet Union.

China is developing nuclear weapons, but she absolutely will not place blind faith in them. We will never submit to the nuclear blackmail of anyone, nor will we ever use nuclear weapons to blackmail others. As we did on the previous two occasions of nuclear testing, we declare again this time that at no time and in no circumstances will China be the first to use nuclear weapons. We are deeply convinced that a nuclear war can be prevented and nuclear weapons can be completely banned, provided that all the peace-loving people and countries work together and persevere in struggle.

Comrades and friends! Excellent is the present situation of the struggle of the revolutionary people of

the world against imperialism and modern revisionism. The fact that imperialism, modern revisionism and all reactionaries are making reckless attacks on us precisely shows that we have done the right thing and that truth is on our side. Their attempt to isolate China and Albania and so force us to change our policies is a sheer day-dream. The people throughout the world who are for revolution are with us. We are not isolated, and never will be. It is imperialism, modern revisionism and all reactionaries that are really isolated, because they have set themselves against the people. Imperialism and all reactionaries are paper tigers. Taken together with modern revisionism, all of them remain paper tigers. It is the people, and certainly not the handful of decadent reactionaries, who decide the course of world historical development.

Let us hold still higher the ever-victorious banner of Marxism-Leninism, the banner of opposing imperialism headed by the United States and all reactionaries and the banner of opposing modern revisionism with the leading group of the C.P.S.U. as its centre, rally the revolutionary people of the whole world, advance bravely and fight shoulder to shoulder for world peace, national liberation, people's democracy and socialism, and for a new world without imperialism, without capitalism and without exploitation of man by man.

Dear comrades! Your visit in our country has successfully concluded. On the eve of your departure from our country, we once again request you to convey the Chinese people's fraternal greetings to the Albanian people and Comrade Mao Tse-tung's cordial regards to Comrade Enver Hoxha, the beloved leader of the Albanian people and close friend of the Chinese people.

Now I propose a toast

to the complete success of the visit of the Albanian Party and Government Delegation,

to the consolidation and development of the great friendship between the Chinese and Albanian Parties, the two countries and the two peoples,

to the victory of Marxism-Leninism,

to the glorious Albanian Party of Labour,

to the staunch People's Republic of Albania,

to the heroic Albanian people,

to the health of Comrade Enver Hoxha, the beloved leader of the Albanian people and close friend of the Chinese people,

to the health of Comrades Shehu and Kapo, outstanding Party and state leaders of Albania, and all other comrades on the Albanian Party and Government Delegation,

to the health of the diplomatic envoys and their wives, and

to the health of all our comrades and friends present here!

A Document of Great Historic Significance

THE Albanian Party and Government Delegation led by Comrade Mehmet Shehu, Member of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Albanian Party of Labour and Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the People's Republic of Albania, has successfully concluded its friendly visit to China. Together with the fraternal Albanian people, the Chinese people warmly hail the great success of the visit which is of historic significance.

For more than two weeks, the envoys of the heroic Albanian people received the heartiest, warmest and most affectionate welcome on the grandest scale from the people of China. Throughout the length and breadth of the land, in the capital and all other places, a holiday atmosphere prevailed wherever the distinguished Albanian guests went, and, in the midst of universal rejoicing, the jubilant crowds beat drums and gongs, sang and danced. Earth-shaking shouts of "Long live Sino-Albanian friendship," "Long live Comrade Enver Hoxha" and "Long live Chairman Mao Tse-tung" reverberated to the skies. Such cheers have struck fear into the hearts of the enemy but tremendously encouraged our friends. It was not an ordinary visit. It was a grand review of the militant unity and revolutionary friendship of the Parties and peoples of China and Albania, and a great demonstration against imperialism, the reactionaries of all countries and modern revisionism.

During the visit, the Party and government leaders of the two countries held the most sincere and friendly talks on important issues concerning the present international situation and international communist movement, on the experience of the two countries in socialist revolution and socialist construction and on the question of further consolidating and developing the unity, the friendship and the relations of mutual help and co-operation between the two Parties and between the two countries. The two sides are completely at one in their stand and views on all the questions covered. The fruitful results find full expression in their joint statement.

The Joint Sino-Albanian Statement gives a penetrating analysis of the present international situation and, holding high the banner of anti-U.S. imperialism, it pledges firm support for the revolutionary struggle of all peoples. It severely condemns the shameful betrayal of the Soviet modern revisionists and elaborates the fighting tasks faced by all Marxist-Leninists and revolutionary people of the world. It generalizes the experience of the two countries in socialist revolution

and socialist construction and stresses the need to carry the socialist revolution through to the end. The joint statement is imbued with the proletarian spirit of unswerving and thoroughgoing revolution and internationalism and embodies the common contribution of the Parties of the two countries in defending and enriching Marxism-Leninism. The whole document glows with the brilliance of Marxist-Leninist ideas. It is a historic document of great theoretical and practical significance.

The international communist movement now has a history of more than a century. Facts have proved that under the leadership of a Marxist-Leninist revolutionary Party and uniting with the broad masses of the labouring people, the proletariat can break the chains of the old world, overthrow the reactionary rule of the exploiting classes and take state power into its own hands. The international proletariat has accumulated rich experience in this respect. The victory of the October Revolution, the victory of the Chinese revolution, and the birth of a number of other socialist countries are proof of this. Nevertheless, as is pointed out in the joint statement, systematic and all-sided experience on how to prevent revisionists from usurping the leadership of the Party and the state and restoring capitalism after the seizure of power by the proletariat, on how to consolidate and develop the dictatorship of the proletariat and the socialist system, and on how to ensure the gradual transition to communism is yet to be summed up. The Khrushchov revisionist clique's usurpation of Party and state leadership and its taking the Soviet Union on to the road of capitalist restoration are a serious lesson and warning to all socialist countries. It is now a historic task of great urgency and importance to solve this question in a serious and thorough manner.

It is the objective law of social development that throughout the historical period of socialist society, there remain in socialist countries the class struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie, the struggle between the road of socialism and the road of capitalism, and the danger of the restoration of capitalism. After the proletariat has seized power, and has carried out the socialist revolution in the ownership of means of production, it is necessary, while carrying on the socialist revolution on the economic front, to carry through to the end the socialist revolution on the political, military, ideological and cultural fronts in order to uproot revisionism and ensure the complete victory of the socialist cause, and in order to create conditions for the future transition to commu-

nism. In the joint statement, the Communist Party of China and the Party of Labour of Albania, basing themselves on the fundamental theories of Marxism-Leninism, summed up the historical experience of the dictatorship of the proletariat in their own and other countries, in particular the lesson of the Khrushchov revisionist clique's usurpation of the Party and state leadership of the Soviet Union, and set forth a series of important principles and measures for persevering in socialist revolution and socialist construction, for consolidating and developing the dictatorship of the proletariat and the socialist system, and for preventing the restoration of capitalism. To persevere in and carry out these principles and measures will greatly enrich the experience of the dictatorship of the proletariat, and thereby exercise a far-reaching influence on the entire international communist movement.

The Parties of the two countries agree that the whole world is now in a process of great upheaval, great division and great reorganization. Such a phenomenon is not terrible. It is excellent. It reflects a deepening of the development of the revolutionary struggle of all peoples, in particular the national-democratic revolutionary struggle of the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America, and heralds the inevitable growth of a new, great and worldwide anti-U.S. revolutionary storm.

The Parties of the two countries attach great importance to the anti-imperialist revolutionary struggle in Asia, Africa and Latin America and give very high evaluation to the great victories won by the heroic Vietnamese people in their struggle against U.S. aggression and for national salvation. They wholeheartedly condemn the heinous crimes committed by the U.S. imperialist aggressors in Vietnam, expose the big fraud and big conspiracy of U.S. imperialism and its accomplices over "peace talks," and stand firmly behind the Vietnamese people who are waging a people's war to thoroughly defeat the U.S. aggressor. The Parties and peoples of China and Albania are determined to hold still higher the anti-U.S. banner, stand shoulder to shoulder with the Vietnamese people, with all other peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America, with the workers of the world and all oppressed peoples and oppressed nations, and fight unswervingly as promoters of the world revolution and, in defiance of all difficulties and all risks, to carry through to the end the struggle against U.S. imperialism and its lackeys.

The two Parties hold that in the present situation which is favourable to revolution, in order to isolate U.S. imperialism to the maximum extent and deal it the heaviest blows, it is necessary for the world's people to form an international united front against U.S. imperialism and its lackeys, which is the broadest possible and not narrow, and the truest and not sham, united front. Modern revisionism whose centre is the leading group of the C.P.S.U. has long been in league with U.S. imperialism, set itself against the people of the whole world and excluded itself from the anti-U.S.

international united front. The fight against imperialism headed by the United States and its lackeys and the fight against modern revisionism with the leading group of the C.P.S.U. as its centre are two inseparable tasks. Only by resolutely opposing modern revisionism with the leading group of the C.P.S.U. as its centre will one win the fight against U.S. imperialism.

The struggle of the world Marxist-Leninists against modern revisionism which has the leading group of the C.P.S.U. as its centre is forging ahead victoriously; the situation is excellent. The downfall of Khrushchov was a great victory for all Marxist-Leninists and marked the bankruptcy of modern revisionism and was a big defeat for it. After assuming power, the new leadership of the C.P.S.U. have persisted in carrying out Khrushchovism without Khrushchov. They are worse than Khrushchov and have gone farther than him in restoring capitalism, capitulating to imperialism and practising splittism and great-power chauvinism towards the fraternal countries and Parties. The leading group of the C.P.S.U. has already degenerated into a group of renegades from Marxism-Leninism and accomplices of U.S. imperialism. At the same time, the leading group of the C.P.S.U. is still flabbier than Khrushchov, is in a far tighter spot and is having an increasingly tough time. Marxist-Leninists of the world must unequivocally adhere to principle and draw a clear line of demarcation, politically, ideologically and organizationally, between themselves and the modern revisionists who have the leading group of the C.P.S.U. at their centre. It is out of the question to "cease open polemics" with them, to take any "united action" with them, or to allow them any respite. It is necessary to step up the fight and follow up the victories by carrying through to the end the struggle against modern revisionism whose centre is the leading group of the C.P.S.U. and never to cease fighting before modern revisionism is completely defeated.

The Albanian Party of Labour headed by Comrade Enver Hoxha is worthy of the name of a great, glorious and correct Marxist-Leninist Party. The Albanian people are worthy of being called a heroic people standing fearlessly erect in their full stature. They are not afraid of imperialism, of Khrushchov revisionism, or of the Yugoslav Tito group. They have no fear of ogres of any kind. They are not scared by isolation. They are prepared to defy all difficulties and they dare to make revolution, dare to struggle and dare to seize victory. We should all learn from this example of indomitable, fearless proletarian spirit. "Pick in one hand and rifle in the other," they engage in arduous struggles and stand everready. They neither fear the enemy's threats nor believe in his "fine words," but always maintain a high degree of revolutionary vigilance. They have successfully defended the fruits of their revolution. This stubborn fighting will command our heartfelt admiration. By leading the Albanian people in the struggle against imperialism and modern revisionism the Albanian Party of Labour has made tremendous contributions to the revolutionary cause of the people of

the world. Just as is pointed out by the joint statement, the Albanian Party, "holding high the revolutionary banner of Marxism-Leninism in Europe, where imperialism and modern revisionism are putting up a death-bed struggle, illuminates the road of advance of the revolutionary people. The European proletariat and the revolutionary people of the whole world will for ever remember socialist Albania's historic contributions."

In their common struggle against U.S.-led imperialism, reaction and modern revisionism which has the leading group of the C.P.S.U. as its centre and in the common cause of their socialist revolution and socialist construction, the Chinese and Albanian Parties, the two countries and the two peoples have formed

a militant friendship and a great unity which is everlasting, noble and unbreakable. Our friendship and unity is firmly built on the basis of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism. The relations between us are a shining example for relations between fraternal Parties, fraternal countries and fraternal peoples. Whatever the storms and stresses or the difficulties that may lie ahead in the course of struggle for our common cause, the Chinese people will for ever unite with the Albanian people, and, with them, support, encourage and learn from each other and march forward shoulder to shoulder. Our common cause is a great and just cause. Victory will certainly be ours.

("Renmin Ribao" editorial, May 15.)

Chinese Communist Youth League Will Not Send Delegation to Soviet Komsomol Congress

C.C.Y.L. Central Committee's reply to the Central Committee of the Soviet Young Communist League (Komsomol) points out that the leadership of the Soviet Komsomol has degenerated into an instrument of the leading group of the Communist Party of Soviet Union for the advancement of revisionism.

May 10, 1966

**The Central Committee of the Komsomol
of the Soviet Union
Comrades,**

The Central Committee of the Communist Youth League of China has received your letter dated March 30, inviting us to send a delegation to attend your 15th Congress.

We must point out that the leadership of the Soviet Komsomol has, in recent years, degenerated into an instrument of the leading group of the C.P.S.U. for the advancement of revisionism. Adhering to the general line of the leading group of the C.P.S.U. for Soviet-U.S. collaboration to dominate the world, you have been pushing capitulationism and splittism in the international youth movement and working against China, against communism, against the people, against revolution and against the youth organizations which persist in anti-imperialism and in revolution. In order to meet the needs of the U.S. imperialist policy of "peaceful evolution" and to serve the privileged Soviet bourgeois stratum, you have vigorously been spreading among the Soviet youth a corrupt and decadent bourgeois ideological virus and way of life which paves the way for a capitalist restoration. You have betrayed the revolutionary orientation and revolutionary tradition of the Soviet Komsomol, which was founded and nurtured by the great Lenin and Stalin. You have betrayed the fundamental interests of the youth and the people of the Soviet Union and of the whole world. The Communist Youth League of China,

as an assistant to the great Marxist-Leninist Communist Party of China, must draw an outright, clear-cut line of demarcation between itself and you.

It is very obvious that the aim of your forthcoming Congress is to carry through the revisionist line of the 23rd Congress of the C.P.S.U. Acting under the dictate of the leading group of the C.P.S.U., you are now engaged in a desperate, large-scale anti-China campaign. Your invitation to us is sent entirely with ulterior motives. In these circumstances, we cannot send a delegation to attend your 15th Congress.

The broad masses of the Soviet youth and members of the Soviet Komsomol, who have a glorious revolutionary tradition, are for revolution and for friendship with the Chinese youth and the Chinese people. As always, the young people of China will continue to work for the safeguarding of the revolutionary friendship between the Chinese and Soviet people and between the youth of the two countries based on Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism. We are convinced that the people and the youth of China and the Soviet Union, together with all revolutionary peoples and youth, will eventually sweep away all obstacles and unite, and march forward shoulder to shoulder in their common struggle against U.S.-led imperialism, against modern revisionism whose centre is the leading group of the C.P.S.U., and against all reactionaries.

With greetings,

**The Central Committee of the
Communist Youth League of China**

Workers, Peasants and Soldiers Creatively Study And Apply Mao Tse-tung's Philosophical Thinking

— *Using the Law of the Unity of Opposites*

Many excellent essays have been written in recent years by workers, peasants, soldiers and revolutionary cadres telling of their experience in studying and applying in a creative way the philosophical thinking of Comrade Mao Tse-tung. *Zhexue Yanjiu* (Philosophical Research), a magazine with a national circulation which is published every other month, devoted the whole of its second issue in 1966 to selections from such writings. Under the heading "One Hundred Examples Illustrating the Law of the Unity of Opposites," the journal printed 100 selections, all throwing light, from different angles, on this basic law of materialist dialectics, the law of the unity of opposites. It also carried a *Preface* on the great contribution to Marxist-Leninist dialectics made by Comrade Mao Tse-tung. *Peking Review* has selected 19 of the 100 selections for publication in this and subsequent issues together with the 12 editor's notes in that issue of the journal. The *Preface* is printed below, with the first editor's note and selections on the concept of "one divides into two." — Ed.

Preface

by THE EDITORIAL DEPARTMENT OF "ZHEXUE YANJIU"

THE masses of workers, peasants and soldiers and revolutionary cadres are studying Chairman Mao's works on an extensive scale while participating in the three great revolutionary movements of class struggle, the struggle for production and scientific experiment. Their creative study and application of Mao Tse-tung's thinking have yielded great and fruitful results. The fact that large numbers of people are consciously using the law of the unity of opposites to resolve concrete problems in all kinds of work has greatly promoted the revolutionization of men's minds as well as their work. Mao Tse-tung's thinking, once it grips the broad masses, becomes a stupendous force in transforming the world.

Comrade Mao Tse-tung has said: "The law of contradiction in things, that is, the law of the unity of opposites, is the basic law of materialist dialectics." He also said: "The law of the unity of opposites is a fundamental law of the universe." Comrade Mao Tse-tung has developed Lenin's idea concerning this law as the kernel of dialectics, expounding the law of the unity of opposites as the basic law of materialist dialectics, and disclosing the interconnections between this law and the other laws of materialist dialectics. He has made a creative, all-round exposition of the content of this law, thus bringing Marxist-Leninist dialectics to a new and higher stage. This is a great contribution by Comrade Mao Tse-tung to Marxist-Leninist philosophy.

The law of the unity of opposites is not parallel to, or on the same level with, the other laws of materialist dialectics. The other laws and categories of materialist dialectics, such as the law of the transformation of quantity into quality and vice versa, and the law of

affirmation and negation, etc., are, in the last analysis, different expressions and extensions of this fundamental law — the unity of opposites.

The law of the transformation of quantity into quality and vice versa is the unity of opposites, of quantity and quality, quantitative change and qualitative change, in the development of things. The movement and development of things invariably manifests itself in two states: the state of quantitative change with the two contradictory aspects within a thing in a state of relative unity; and the state of qualitative change, the dissolution of this unity, and the transformation of one thing into another. The struggle between the two contradictory aspects within a thing determines the continuous transition from quantitative change to qualitative change and from qualitative change to quantitative change.

The law of affirmation and negation is the unity of opposites, of affirmation and negation, in the development of things. The development of things is invariably expressed as a process of affirmation — negation — affirmation — negation. . . . The result of the struggle between the opposites, affirmation and negation, is the dying out of the old and the growth of the new, the development of a thing from a lower to a higher stage.

Other categories of materialist dialectics, such as phenomena and essence, cause and effect, form and content, the part and the whole, the particular and the general, possibility and reality, chance and necessity, freedom and necessity, etc., are all relationships of

opposites in particular aspects of the process of the development of things.

That is to say, the law of the unity of opposites is the controlling law whereas all the other laws and categories of materialist dialectics are expressions and extensions of this law. In studying materialist dialectics, we must first of all study this law as Comrade Mao Tse-tung teaches. All the other laws and categories of materialist dialectics are incomprehensible if divorced from the law of the unity of opposites.

Applying this law, Comrade Mao Tse-tung has disclosed and elucidated the contradictions in socialist society. He has taught us that we must learn to use this law in observing and handling these contradictions; to be good at distinguishing contradictions among the people from contradictions between the enemy and ourselves, and in handling both correctly: to take class struggle and the struggle between the socialist and the capitalist roads as the key factor in all our work; and to put proletarian politics first. We must follow Comrade Mao Tse-tung's teachings more closely, never forget the class struggle, always put politics in command and oppose eclecticism and unprincipled compromise.

Comrade Mao Tse-tung has comprehensively advanced and developed Marxism-Leninism. Mao Tse-

tung's thinking represents the highest peak of Marxism-Leninism in our time. We must study it still better. We must study the revolutionary dialectics which he has developed. For us, Mao Tse-tung's thinking is an invincible weapon for correctly observing things, studying problems, handling contradictions and waging struggles. We must more consciously make use of this sharp weapon in our fight against modern revisionism, dogmatism, metaphysics and scholasticism.

Marxist dialectics is not a dead philosophy confined to the library. It is a living philosophy born of the revolutionary struggle of the masses and in turn serving that struggle. In studying this revolutionary dialectics, we must therefore put great stress on its practical application.

The 100 writings we publish in this issue [of Philosophical Research] are taken from essays written by the worker, peasant and soldier masses and by revolutionary cadres, essays written to show how their authors creatively study and apply Comrade Mao Tse-tung's dialectical thinking, solve problems and sum up work in the light of the law of the unity of opposites. These examples, presenting facts and comments, are vivid, militant and convincing. They are radically different in flavour from the philosophy of the library, from philosophy that proceeds from abstraction to abstraction.

"One Divides Into Two" Applies to All Things in the World

EDITOR'S NOTE: *"One divides into two" applies to all things in the world. Two, contradictory, aspects exist in everything. When studying a question or handling any work, we must recognize its contradictions, analyse them and work earnestly to resolve them. Comrade Mao Tse-tung has said that Marxist dialectics "teaches us primarily how to observe and analyse the movement of opposites in different things and, on the basis of such analysis, to indicate the methods for resolving contradictions." He has also said: "We must learn to take an all-round view of things, seeing not only the positive side of things but also the negative side." The application of the concept of "one divides into two" is for us a fundamental method in studying things.*

The Fans Are Not All of One Family

IN Hoyang County, Shensi Province, there is a village called the Fan Family Swamp in which, with two exceptions, every household has the same family name — Fan. In 1962, some ex-landlords there, capitalizing on the clan idea still persisting among some of the villagers, tried to pave the way for a come-back through such activities as the compilation of the "Fan Clan Ancestral Register." They argued that all the Fans had a common ancestry and so they were all of "one family." But the facts brought to light by the former poor and lower-middle peasants there showed that things had definitely

"One divides into two" denotes a stand, a viewpoint and a method and in recent years, the worker, peasant, and soldier masses and revolutionary cadres have used it in the course of their creative study and application of Mao Tse-tung's philosophical thinking to the class struggle, the struggle for production and scientific experiment, to political and ideological work, military training and fighting, improving techniques, operating machines, farming, doing business, teaching, treating diseases and playing ball games, in order to remould themselves and do their revolutionary work well. The concept of "one divides into two" has gradually been mastered by the broad masses of workers, peasants and soldiers, and by revolutionary cadres; it has become the sharpest of weapons in their hands.

not been as these ex-landlords said. In the past, some Fans owned the bulk of the land in the village while others had no land at all; some had been landlords and others, hired farm hands; some had led a life of extravagance while others starved to death. They might have had common ancestors but their posterity had long been divided into two, into landlords and rich peasants, and poor and lower-middle peasants. In no sense were these two groups "people of one family." Even in the "Ancestral Register," sponsored by the landlords, people were divided into two. Those who had been officials in the old society had their names written in red; the names of those poor people who had been looked on as

ne'er-do-wells were not allowed to be entered in the main text — their names were listed only in the “supplements.”

People in Fan Family Swamp have been awakened in the course of the class struggles in the village. They have begun to break away from the old clan concept. This is fine. The struggle between classes is the basic contradiction in a class society. The chief distinction between men is a class distinction and not whether they are Changs, Lis, Fans or Wangs. The Fans are divided into two, exploiter classes and the exploited; so are the Changs, Lis and Wangs. The same is true with the nationalities. The Han people are divided into two and so are the Tibetans, Chuangs, Uighurs and all the other minority nationalities. All nationalities are divided into exploiters and the exploited. The whole of China and the whole world are likewise divided into two. On the one side are the imperialists, revisionists, and the reactionaries of the various countries, and on the other side are the people who are oppressed and exploited. If we are to group people into one family, we must see that we people of the working class, we poor and lower-middle peasants and the broad masses of the working people are genuinely of one family. We are of one family with the Chinese Communist Party and Chairman Mao, and we are of one family with all the oppressed and exploited people the world over. Only by using the concept of “one divides into two” can we acquire a correct understanding of all men and things in the world. (by Yu Hsin-yen. Originally published in *Zhongguo Qingnian* (Chinese Youth), No. 21, 1965, as *Notes on the Study of “One Divides Into Two.”*)

To Fight the Heavens One Must Understand How “One Divides Into Two”

TO farm means to deal with the Lord of Heaven. Drought and flood are his two notorious plays which he often stages alternately. Fighting natural calamities is mainly a fight against drought or flood, and in this respect, the concept of “one divides into two” has proved to be our sharpest weapon. We shall always have the initiative in our hands and stand on unassailable ground if we remember to take precautions against drought while giving our main attention to fighting a flood, and keeping the danger of flood in mind while our efforts are directed mainly against a drought.

In 1964 we got too much rain. Nearly 1,000 mm. for the year, or almost twice the average. There were only seven fine days in October. In such circumstances when it came to autumn ploughing, taking into consideration the dampness of the earth at the time and a possible drought later, we suggested that the land be ploughed deep and given a thorough harrowing. But some had other ideas. They said: “Since we’ve had too much rain and the soil is soaked, it is better not to harrow the ploughed land. That will help to break down the soil and kill the pests.”

May 20, 1966

In order to ensure a good crop by correctly combining the fight against flood with precautions against drought, we suggested that members of our production brigade make a study of how we had battled against natural calamities in recent years and try to discover the laws governing these calamities.

They found that for many years drought and flood had often alternated, first one and then another and vice versa. There is a local saying: “After a bad flood there is bound to be a bad drought, and after a bad drought there is bound to be a bad flood.” But, in Nanliu, as in other parts of Shansi Province, more calamities are caused by drought than by flood. So when fighting flood, we must take precautions against drought. We all finally agreed that the thing to do was to harrow well after the autumn ploughing. This was done on the 1,020 *mu* of cotton fields of our brigade that autumn. We harrowed our alkaline soil two or three times. In this way we succeeded in ensuring that we sowed at the proper time and that the seeds sprouted well.

There was indeed a severe drought in 1965, and we waged a resolute struggle against it. But at the same time we gave a lot of thought to the possibility of a subsequent flood. For instance, in tending the cotton, we saw to it that manuring, pest control and pruning were done as early as possible to help early fruition and earlier opening of the bolls. This would play a positive role against both flood and drought. The result was that fields so cultivated yielded an average of 1.5 bolls more per plant than others. The bolls were bigger and opened earlier, and produced longer fibres. We have also built 100 embankments on our wheat fields to improve the soil and water conservancy.

In managing our land, we have adopted a series of measures including the following: periodic levelling of the fields, digging up the top soil to a depth not exceeding 33 cm., and filling in earth to a depth of not more than 6.6 cm., using earth dug up to fill in depressions, and harrowing the new top soil immediately after it is spread. These measures are effective against flood and also ensure that in case of prolonged drought we can still sow in time and get a full stand of seedlings. (Originally published in *Renmin Ribao*, January 16, 1966, as the *Boundless Power of Materialist Dialectics* and written by Chou Ming-shan when he was secretary of the Party branch of Nanliu Production Brigade, Nanfan People's Commune, in Chianghsien County, Shansi Province.)

Use the Concept of “One Divides Into Two” and Be Alert for Gaps in Our Work

AS a result of a continuous series of innovations and the socialist labour emulation campaign in the last few years, big advances have been achieved in the production of the two open-hearth furnaces in our workshop. But still from time to time gaps have appeared in

the working of the two furnaces. For instance, at one time, our No. 1 furnace, compared with the No. 2, was having shorter useful life between overhauls, consuming more raw materials and taking longer to make a heat of steel. With No. 1 furnace clearly lagging behind No. 2, what should we of the No. 1 furnace do? Should we learn modestly from our more advanced comrades or should we be satisfied with the existing situation? We chose the former attitude and method.

We took a careful look at the work of our comrades of No. 2 and tried to learn from them modestly. We found that they did their work with greater revolutionary enthusiasm than we and made better use of gas. We realized that we should emulate their revolutionary enthusiasm and master their advanced methods. After experiments with more than 300 heats of steel we finally evolved a method of varying the proportion of gas used at different stages of the steel making process — filling the furnace, melting, and refining the steel. This method soon enabled us not only to catch up with the No. 2 furnace but to surpass it in economical use of materials and the time needed for each heat of steel.

When they learnt of this, comrades on the No. 2 furnace immediately came over to learn from us. With our help they soon mastered our new method. At the same time they passed on to us their experience in repairing furnaces. Mutual help and study and the drive to overtake each other resulted in increasing the productivity of our two furnaces.

The two furnaces had notable achievements to their credit in 1963. Compared with 1962, they showed a 14 per cent increase in annual production; a 1.77 per cent increase in the ratio of standard quality steel ingots; a 16 per cent increase in the average useful life of a furnace between overhauls and a 16-minute cut in the time needed for each heat of steel. Marked economies were effected in the consumption of iron and coal per ton of steel.

We were able to achieve these successes mainly because educated by the Party, we had worked hard to ferret out the gaps in our work, and analyse and resolve the contradictions discovered. Gaps in the work are contradictions. In the drive to compare with, learn from, and overtake the advanced and help those who lag behind, it is only by finding out first of all where one lags behind others, that is, by discovering the differences between one unit and another, as well as between one person and another, that one can determine whom one should in fact compare with, learn from and catch up with, and what measures should be taken to help the less advanced. Only in this way can one correctly resolve contradictions and promote the transformation of things in the interests of the revolution. There are always contradictions between the advanced and the backward in production, between various units and persons — differences in the amount of output, in the quality of products and in the amount of raw and other materials used and so on. But the important thing is: What is one's attitude towards these contradictions? If we take the dialectical concept of "one divides into two" as our

guide and try to find out where and why we lag behind others and where and why others have got ahead of us, and follow this up with concrete measures to catch up with them, we will then be able to turn the backward into the advanced and the advanced into the more advanced. (by Han Hsin-liang. Originally published in *Jiefang Ribao* (Liberation Daily), December 18, 1964, as *Shall We Look for Gaps or for "Common Points"?*)

Doing Business in the Light of "One Divides Into Two"

EVERY day a shop assistant serves many customers. In general, they fall into two groups, those who make a purchase and those who do not. Some come in with the definite purpose of buying something they need; they buy and leave the shop with the goods they had in mind. Some, dropping in casually, may find something to their liking and on the spur of the moment decide to buy, others come in just to take a look around. In the past, I took an absolute and static view of these different types of customers. Those who were prepared to buy, I thought, would buy if we could offer them the goods they wanted; while those who were not prepared to buy would not buy no matter how I attended to them. Failing to analyse them in the light of the concept of "one divides into two," I used to give a warm reception to those who looked as if they intended to buy, but take a different attitude towards those who were merely taking a look at our counters.

Then a customer told me of an annoying experience she had had at another shop. She had asked to see some shoes she thought of buying at a later time when she got her pay, but was given the answer: "I'll show them to you if you really want them!" This led her to raise the question: Why do you shop assistants have a different attitude to those who buy and those who don't buy? Couldn't a customer see the goods even if she did not intend to buy right away? Though this criticism was not directed at me, it gave me much food for thought. I think we must apply the concept of "one divides into two" to all things and view our problems dialectically. Customers who do not make a purchase are also divided into two; their not buying is not absolute. For a customer, a look around today is for the purpose of buying tomorrow. For a shop assistant, this particular customer has bought nothing today, but since everyone, viewed collectively, gets his daily necessities — foods, clothes and other things — through the channel of shops, it may be said that there are no customers who do not buy. Viewed from our sales counters, she who does not buy this time may buy next time; she who buys this time may be the one who merely looked around last time; she who does not buy now may come again to buy sometime later. Viewed from the shop as a whole, not buying at one counter does not mean not buying at another counter; not buying in our shop does not mean not buying at some other shops. With these questions settled, I then ask myself how it could come

about that I should have adopted different attitudes towards customers who buy and those who do not. I found that this was mainly because I used to look on my work simply as a task to be done, and that the idea of wholehearted service to the people had not been firmly implanted in my mind.

Since then I have changed my way of working, and show the same warm attitude towards all customers, whether they are buying or not. For example, a customer once came in wanting to buy a leather suit case. We had only three on display at the time but none of these was to her liking. So we brought up another five from storage. After looking these over, she said she wanted to try some other shops. At this, I said: "A leather suit case will last you at least eight to ten years. So it's best to choose carefully. Please

come back if you can't find anything better." Two hours later she did come back, and this time asked me to pick a case for her. She also expressed appreciation of our patience. This illustrates that if we treat all customers, buyers or not, in the same way, those who buy nothing at the time will feel at home and have a good impression of us. This amounts to creating conditions for them to come back again in the future. (by Fan Yu-chen. Originally published in *Renmin Ribao*, January 16, 1966, as *Contradictions in Doing Business*. Fan Yu-chen is a shop assistant in the Women's and Children's Store in Lanchow, Kansu Province.)



(To be continued.)

Product of the Cultural Revolution

The "White-Haired Girl"—A New Revolutionary Ballet

THE *White-Haired Girl*, the Shanghai Dance School's new production, is a new product of the socialist cultural revolution, a good example of proletarian revolutionary innovation. Nightly performances since May Day at Peking's Tianqiao Theatre have been to capacity audiences. Press coverage — editorials, reviews, special articles, sketches and photographs — has been exceptionally extensive and enthusiastic.

Acclaimed as another successful attempt to remould ballet in accordance with Mao Tse-tung's thinking and make it a revolutionary, national, popular art form in China, the *White-Haired Girl* is a bold advance by a very young troupe. The Shanghai school was set up only in 1960, but it has carried forward the initiative represented by the Peking ballet troupe's *Red Detachment of Women* and produced a second full-length ballet that adapts the classical ballet to a modern revolutionary theme. The new ballet is based on the well-known opera of the same name that had its premiere in Yenan in 1944 and, with the liberation, came to be known and loved throughout China, first on the stage and then as a film.

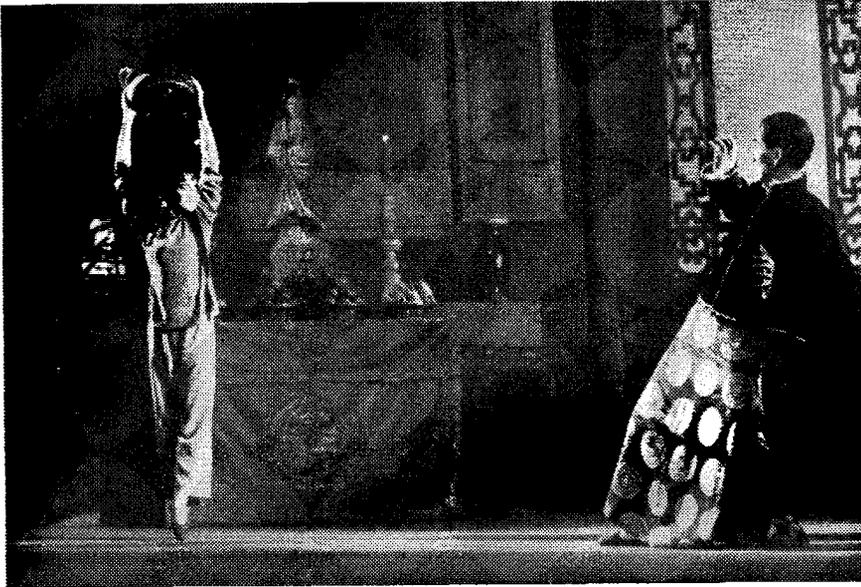
New Emphasis

The story of a poor peasant girl, the original opera tells of the crimes of the landlord class in old China, the terrible oppression suffered by the former poor and lower-middle peasants and their spirit of resistance. The ballet version follows the opera fairly closely but

it highlights and emphasizes the law of class struggle that "wherever there is oppression, there is resistance," as well as the truth that only armed struggle led by the Communist Party will bring liberation to the oppressed classes. In its eight scenes and a prologue and epilogue, it brings the spirit of peasant revolution led by the Party to the fore in characterization.

For instance, in the opera, the heroine Hsi-erh's father commits suicide, after he — a poor, debt-ridden peasant — is tricked and forced to sign the deed turning her over to the landlord. In the first scene of the ballet, his hatred for the landlord knows no bounds when he finds he has been tricked and he is killed as he strikes at the landlord and his bullies with his carrying pole. His death and the kidnapping of Hsi-erh enrage the peasants, and, counselled by an underground Party member (a new character introduced in the ballet), Hsi-erh's betrothed and other young men understand that only organized armed revolt can succeed. They go off to join the Eighth Route Army.

Hsi-erh too is a more forceful character than in the opera. Maltreated and a slave in the landlord's house, she is undaunted. When the landlord insults her, she slaps his face and hurls an altar tripod at him before making her escape into the mountains. Fighting the elements and the evils of a corrupt society, Hsi-erh's hair turns white but she is sustained by a burning desire to live and be avenged. When she meets the landlord and his steward in a deserted temple she attacks them and they flee in terror from this "appari-



Hsi-erh defies the landlord

tion." Meanwhile the people's army has reached the village and called on the peasants to join the revolutionary struggle. Hsi-erh is found. The Party and the army lead her and the rest of the villagers to arrest the landlord and his underling and denounce them for their crimes. The opera ended here with the overthrow of these exploiters and oppressors. The producers of the ballet, wishing to express the thought of carrying on the revolution, have added an epilogue: Hsi-erh is seen marching off with the revolutionary army, a gun on her shoulder, to fight for the cause of the liberation of the oppressed people. The ballet lauds the revolutionary spirit of the poor and lower-middle peasants led by the Chinese Communist Party. It is a clarion call encouraging the people to arm themselves with Mao Tse-tung's thinking, to carry the revolution through to the end.

Ballet Serves Socialism

During the Spring Festival of 1964, the teachers and students of the Shanghai Dance School went to perform for the peasants and units of the People's Liberation Army. They saw the enthusiasm with which the people greeted the new operas on modern revolutionary themes, and asked themselves how they could bring classical ballet to serve the workers and peasants better. The success of the *Red Detachment of Women* was a big encouragement to them. They were particularly attentive to the passage in Chairman Mao's *Talks at the Yen-an Forum on Literature and Art* where he speaks on the question of "for whom our works of literature and art are produced." This, he says, "is fundamental; it is a question of principle." And he points out that revolutionary literature and art should serve the broad masses of workers, peasants and soldiers, should "fit well into the whole revolutionary machine as a component part . . . operate as powerful weapons for uniting and educating the people and for attacking and destroying the enemy. . . ."

With this guidance, they began to examine more deeply their own attitude to their art and to the masses. They had thought originally that they were serving the labouring masses if they performed ballets such as *Swan Lake* for them and that it was up to the latter to learn to enjoy them. Now enlightened, they realize that if they perform works which propagandize the individualism and humanism of the bourgeoisie they are, in fact, not really serving the masses but actually undermining the ideological foundations of the socialist revolution and construction.

But how to serve the people with their dancing? Chairman Mao's teachings and ideas also guided them here on such difficult problems as the use of the cultural heritage and on the artists' approach to reality from a materialist-dialectical standpoint. In a little over a year, the young teachers and students of the dance school achieved an astonishing success. New to ballet though they were, they have produced a score and dance compositions which are effective and have a national style. The dancers mastered great difficulties in creating authentic revolutionary characters in ballet form. Their experience confirms that a revolution in ballet needs in the first instance a revolution in ideology. A deep love for the people and a revolutionary determination to serve them was decisive in their advance.

Weeding Through the Old to Let the New Emerge

One of their basic problems was how to adapt the foreign classical ballet form to reflect the modern revolutionary life of the Chinese people, to serve the socialist revolution and construction. This, in sum, they realized, was the problem of solving the contradiction between an old art form and new revolutionary content. Using the experience that had already been accumulated in China's modern theatre arts, the producers took as their starting point reality and the need to make the characters true to life. Those classical forms, techniques and movements which could be used or adapted to express the new ideas, emotions and sentiments, were used. If they proved utterly intractable, they were discarded.

For example: the accompanying song in the temple scene where Hsi-erh meets the landlord, expresses her dominant sentiment: "I want to tear him to pieces!" And this passionate hatred for the landlord, for her the embodiment of evil in the old society, is expressed most forcefully in her dance. Driven by the storm of her emotions, she leaps, whirls, on her toes and uses other classical ballet techniques, but fundamentally her dance,

incorporating realistic mime and new movements, is based on the reality of her character and the situation. It is all cast in ballet form.

Some have asked: If you start from revolutionary political content and life won't this spoil the characteristics of classical ballet? If one believes that ethereal, fairy-like poses and "charm" are the essence of ballet, then this may be said to be destroyed. Without destroying this it will be impossible to create a revolutionary style of ballet, to present the struggles, the ideals, the feelings and sentiments of the worker and peasant masses. But on the other hand, the basic forms and techniques of the ballet will gain new life and be enriched and developed as it extends its artistic range and is remoulded to encompass the revolutionary life of the masses.

The experience of the *White-Haired Girl* confirms that a contemporary revolutionary theme can offer wide scope for using the special advantages of ballet — such as its powerful and sweeping movements, leaps and bounds, lifts and turns, and its basic forms like the solo and *pas de deux*, and the ensemble dancing of the *corps de ballet*. These are made more effective by successfully absorbing traditional gestures and movements from the classical Chinese theatre. One of many examples is the way Hsi-erh's father uses traditional Peking opera gestures with excellent effect as he brings her a New Year present or attacks the landlord.

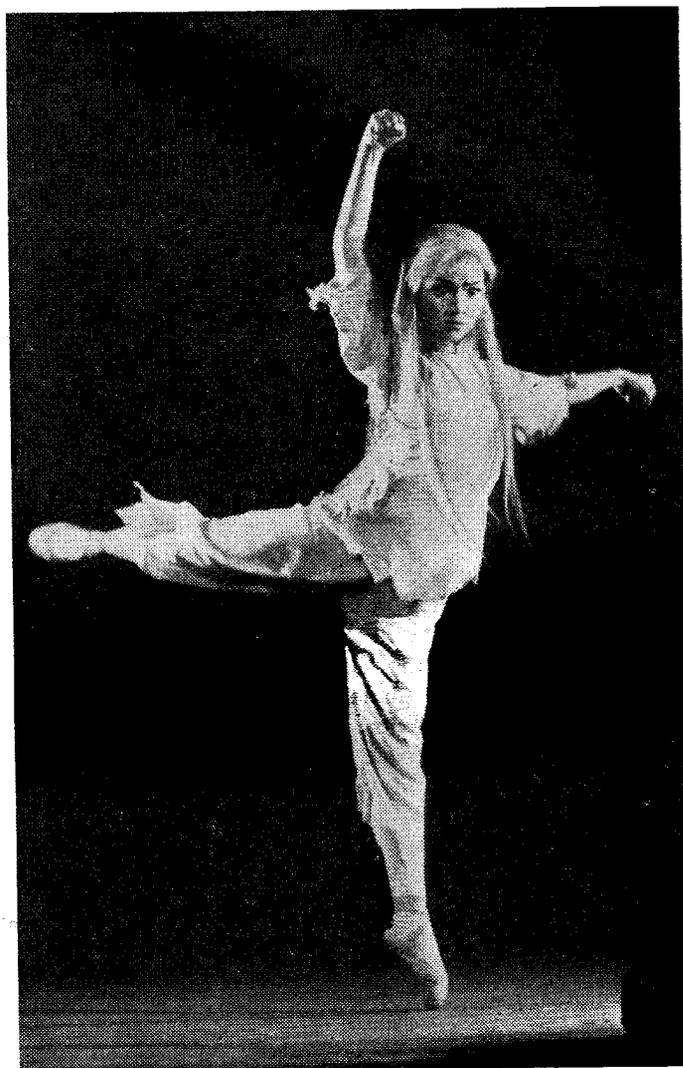
An effective innovation is the incorporation of singing with dancing. The effect is powerful. It is intermittent, stressing, expounding the content at moments of high tension. The voices and words unfold the theme and sometimes the thoughts and emotions of the characters. This helps the audience follow the story and at the same time, along with the music, inspires the dancers. The scene in the cave when Hsi-erh is rescued gives a fine example of this. The words "Chairman Mao is the sun, the Party is the sun" are sung as the red light of dawn shines down into the cave. The song expresses what the dance cannot. They combine to produce a deep impression.

The music, played by a modern orchestra that includes indigenous instruments, also helps to widen the appeal of the ballet. The composers have incorporated a number of popular melodies of the time. They use the melody of *The North Wind Blows*, the famous song from the opera, as the *leitmotif* for Hsi-erh. This song and music combine to aid the success of this new attempt to make classical ballet a revolutionary, national and popular art form in China.

Approved by Working People

The *White-Haired Girl* started as a short ballet and has been revised scores of times in its progress to a full-length spectacle. Many revisions were made even after its premiere in Shanghai where it played to packed houses for 100 performances before coming to Peking.

May 20, 1966



The white-haired girl — Hsi-erh

The ballet was collectively choreographed by teachers and students of the school. Besides having the constant advice of the Party, they benefited much from the concrete, clear and practical suggestions made by the working people. They organized six forums where worker and peasant participants gave some 200 suggestions ranging from the theme to the music, the characterizations, dancing, singing and stage settings. A great many of them were accepted.

In Peking, as in Shanghai, the people have given high praise to the ballet. A peasant said: "This tells the story of us peasants. It says what I want to say myself." A people's fighter wrote: "Its militant sentiment inspires me." Many have said: "This is our own ballet" and "It is a revolution in ballet, a revolutionary ballet."

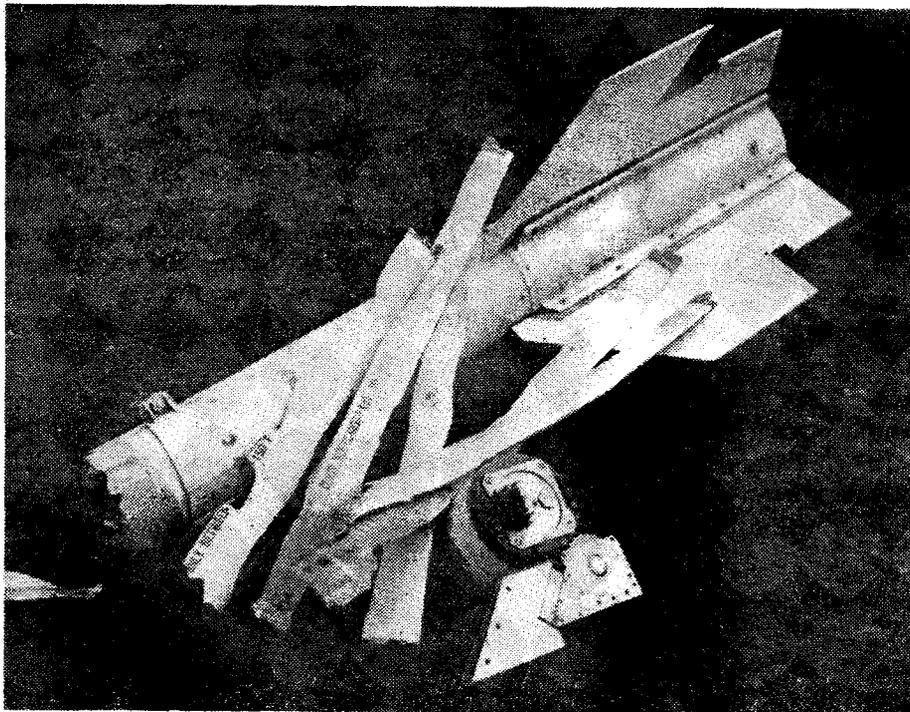
The success of the *White-Haired Girl* is the fruit of the efforts of artists who have raised high the great red banner of Mao Tse-tung's thinking, and who have put politics first and the result of the revolutionization of their ideology. It is further proof that serving the workers, peasants and soldiers and socialism is the only correct road for Chinese culture and art.

Evidence of U.S. Imperialism's War Provocation Cannot Be Denied

- The debt of blood U.S. imperialism owes to the Chinese people must be repaid!
- Should the U.S. imperialists dare to impose war on us, we will certainly take them on right to the very end. The U.S. aggressors will not be able to escape the fate of being wiped out lock, stock and barrel.

ON May 12, five U.S. pirate aircraft intruded into China's air space over the area northeast of Makwan, Yunnan Province, and in a surprise attack, shot down a Chinese plane on a training flight. We now make public photographs showing the remains of the guided missiles and auxiliary fuel tanks jettisoned by the U.S. aircraft in the above-mentioned area while attacking the Chinese plane. In the face of these irrefutable pieces of evidence, U.S. imperialism, try as it may, cannot deny its crime of deliberately making itself the enemy of the Chinese people and launching this grave war provocation against them.

For some time after this incident, the U.S. authorities in Washington and Saigon did not dare to breathe a word of it. Only after China lodged a strong protest were they compelled to hastily come out into the open, making statements and concocting tales to deny and evade their responsibility for the crime.



Evidence showing that U.S. pirate aircraft used guided missiles to shoot down a Chinese plane in training flight northeast of Makwan in China's Yunnan Province: the remains of a "Sidewinder" air-to-air missile.

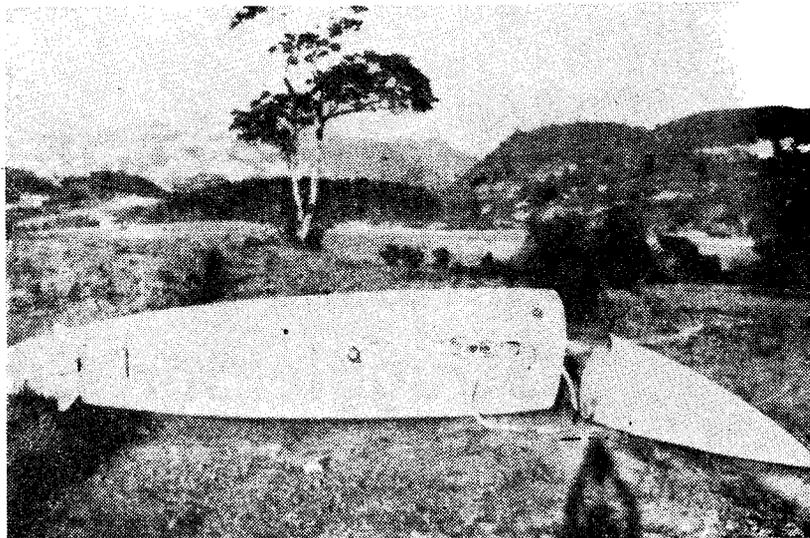
In Saigon, a spokesman of the U.S. aggressor forces said that U.S. aircraft "knocked down a communist plane." But a while later, he declared that the nationality of the plane was not known and that the pilots did not see the markings on it. The U.S. military spokesman said that the incident took place 105 miles northwest of Hanoi and 25 to 30 miles south of the Chinese border. Later, he placed the scene of the incident at a place 115 miles northwest of Hanoi and 50 miles from the Chinese border. They also told a fantastic tale that two missiles were fired by American planes "over north Vietnam," and that apart from the one shot down, a second plane might have been hit, which could have remained in the air for two or three minutes and then crashed in China. These contradictory lies, through which the speakers have slapped themselves on the face, have clearly revealed the embarrassment of the U.S. aggressors at being caught red-handed.

U.S. officials in Washington, who had intended to remain behind the scenes and keep silent, found however that the tales made up by the U.S. military spokesmen in Saigon were riddled with discrepancies and utterly unpresentable. They quickly came out with the statement that they had no evidence that Chinese aircraft had been flying from bases in China into Vietnam. Both the White House and State Department spokesmen "withheld comment" on the Chinese protest. They said that they would not say anything "to confirm or deny the Chinese claim."

After all, facts are facts and cannot be denied. As abundant evidence is available, it is now time for the Washington gentlemen to hang their heads and admit their guilt. We can tell them that the fragments of the missiles used by the U.S. pirate planes in their sur-

prise attack on the Chinese trainer plane after they had intruded into China's air space, and the seven auxiliary fuel tanks jettisoned by them, have fallen in the area northeast of Makwan, in the Chinese Province of Yunnan. The tanks bear the marks: "Mfd by Sargent-Fletcher Co. El Monte, California." Does this mean that the intrusion took place "over north Vietnam"? Is it conceivable that Chinese aircraft could have carried the auxiliary fuel tanks of the U.S. fighter planes into Chinese territory?

It should be pointed out that this serious war provocation against China by the U.S. imperialists is definitely not accidental. This incident has occurred at a time when Washington is stepping up its efforts to expand the war of aggression against Vietnam and is shamelessly threatening China with war. Such a situation cannot but arouse a high degree of vigilance among the Chinese people. During the last few days, U.S. President Johnson has successively called meetings of the National Security Council, the supreme military policy-making organ of the United States, to plot the further expansion of the aggressive war against Vietnam. U.S. pirate planes have recently intensified their reckless bombings of north Vietnam. The U.S. military authorities in Saigon announced that on the one day of May 12, U.S. aircraft made 135 raids on north Vietnam, a daily total that greatly surpasses the past record. The U.S. press has disclosed that the U.S. military authorities are preparing to put into effect "a major escalation of the war," to bomb Hanoi and Haiphong. For the past fortnight, Washington officials have repeatedly clamoured that "there is no sanctuary" in the aggressive war against Vietnam, so as to create a climate of public opinion ready to accept the intrusions of their pirate planes into China's air space and to carry out their plot to extend the U.S. aggressive war against



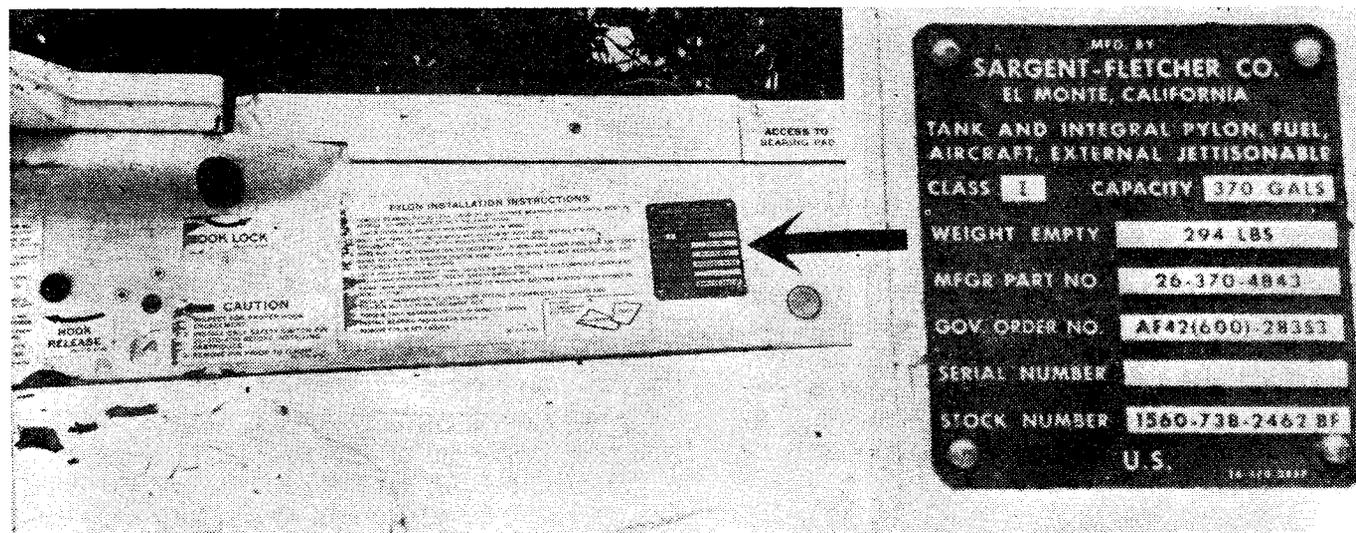
Evidence that U.S. pirate aircraft intruded into China's air space: an auxiliary fuel tank jettisoned near Tangfang, 33 kilometres northeast of Makwan in China's Yunnan Province.

Vietnam to China. Obviously, the provocative act of the U.S. aggressors is a part of the overall plan of the United States to extend the war.

In a statement on the U.S. imperialist plot to expand its aggressive war, a spokesman of the Chinese Ministry of National Defence has solemnly declared: The Chinese people and the Chinese People's Liberation Army have long been prepared. The debt in blood owed by U.S. imperialism to the Chinese people must be repaid.

We Chinese people mean what we say. Should the U.S. imperialists dare to impose war on us, we will certainly take them on right to the very end. Once the war breaks out, it will have no boundaries. The U.S. aggressors will not be able to escape the fate of being wiped out lock, stock and barrel.

(May 17, 1966.)



Markings on an auxiliary fuel tank belonging to a U.S. F-4C tactical fighter plane. Enlargement shows the words "Mfd by Sargent-Fletcher Co. El Monte, California," "Capacity 370 Gals," "Weight empty 294 lbs," etc.

China's Nuclear Test Inspires the Oppressed Peoples in Their Struggle for Liberation!

THE nuclear explosion containing thermo-nuclear material which was successfully conducted by China on May 9 has had repercussions throughout the world. It has caused panic among the imperialists, U.S. imperialists in particular, the modern revisionists and all other reactionaries on earth. One feigned unconcern, another simply kept his mouth shut, a third tried in every way to belittle the significance of the event and a fourth cooked up lies to throw mud at China. . . . But the broad masses the world over, the overwhelming majority of the world's population, the revolutionaries and progressives, took the news in a completely different way. They welcomed the explosion with all their hearts, hailing the Chinese test as a support and great inspiration to all progressive mankind.

Greetings

Albania. From Tirana came a message of greetings signed by the Albanian Party and government leaders Enver Hoxha, First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Albanian Party of Labour; Haxhi Lleshi, President of the Presidium of the People's Assembly of the Albanian People's Republic; and Mehmet Shehu, Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Albanian People's Republic. Addressed to Chairman Mao Tse-tung of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party, Chairman Liu Shao-chi of the People's Republic of China, Chu Teh, Chairman of the Chinese National People's Congress Standing Committee, and Chou En-lai, Premier of the State Council, the message stresses that this latest victory of the Chinese people is a blow against the American-Soviet plot. "Nuclear weapons in the hands of the Chinese people," it says, "are an important guarantee for the maintenance of peace in the world, a great inspiration and a new encouragement for the peoples who are fighting for their liberation. The successful nuclear explosion by People's China is a heavy blow against the atomic blackmail and threats of the American imperialists and against the American-Soviet plot to maintain a nuclear monopoly and to split up and sabotage the revolu-

tionary liberation struggles of the peoples in Asia, Africa and Latin America."

The Albanian leaders also announce their support for China's stand on the question of nuclear arms which, they affirm, is "an entirely correct stand and one of principle, in the interests of socialism, of freedom and independence of the peoples."

Vietnam. Ho Chi Minh, President of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam, Truong Chinh, Chairman of the Standing Committee of the D.R.V. National Assembly, and Pham Van Dong, Premier of the D.R.V. Government, in their message to Chairman Mao Tse-tung, Chairman Liu Shao-chi, Chairman Chu Teh and Premier Chou En-lai, extended their warmest congratulations. Pointing out that the successful test "will further strengthen the national defence potential of China and the forces defending world peace," the Vietnamese leaders say that this success "constitutes a great stimulus to all nations now devoting themselves to the fight against U.S. imperialist aggression, for independence and freedom."

In the name of all cadres and fighters of the Vietnamese People's Army, D.R.V.'s Vice-Premier and Defence Minister Senior General Vo Nguyen Giap also sent his greetings to Vice-Premier and Minister of National Defence Lin Piao. He said that China has reached the peak of modern science and technology, thanks to "the clear-sighted leadership of the Chinese Communist Party headed by the respected Chairman Mao Tse-tung." This great achievement of the Chinese people, he added, has inspired the people and the People's Army of Vietnam "to develop still further the invincible might of people's war, and intensify their determination to defeat the U.S. imperialist aggressors, to defend the north, liberate the south and achieve the reunification of the fatherland."

From south Vietnam, a message signed by Nguyen Huu Tho, President of the Presidium of the Central Committee of the South Vietnam National Front for Liberation, was sent to Chairman Mao Tse-tung, Chairman Liu Shao-chi, Chairman Chu Teh and Premier Chou En-lai. China's "glorious achievement . . .

stimulates the south Vietnamese people in their war of resistance against the U.S. imperialist aggressors and their henchmen, for independence, democracy, peace and neutrality, with a view to reunifying the country," President Nguyen Huu Tho said. The South Vietnam Liberation Armed Forces Command also sent its warm greetings to Lin Piao, declaring that the new success in China's nuclear testing "is a direct and stunning blow at the U.S. imperialist policy of nuclear blackmail."

Democratic People's Republic of Korea. Chairman Mao Tse-tung, Chairman Liu Shao-chi, Chairman Chu Teh and Premier Chou En-lai received a message of warm congratulations from Kim Il Sung, Chairman of the Central Committee of the Korean Workers' Party and Premier of the Cabinet of the D.P.R.K., and Choi Yong Kun, President of the Presidium of the Supreme People's Assembly of the D.P.R.K. The message reads in part: "The recent successful nuclear test in China is another victory of the fraternal Chinese people won under the leadership of the Chinese Communist Party in the struggle for further strengthening national defence and safeguarding the security of the country and is a telling blow against the U.S. imperialists who are running wild in their policy of nuclear blackmail and new war provocation machinations."

Laos. Prince Souphanouvong, Chairman of the Central Committee of the Neo Lao Haksat and Vice-Premier of the Laotian Tripartite National Union Government, in his warm congratulations to Premier Chou En-lai said that "the stupendous success of the third successful nuclear explosion . . . is an important contribution to safeguarding the socialist camp, enhancing the strength of the national-liberation movements in the world and opposing the nuclear threats of U.S. imperialism." In Khang Khay, the Chinese Economic and Cultural Mission to Laos was congratulated on the occasion by General Sinkapo, Representative of the Supreme Command of the Laotian People's Liberation Army, who attributed the success to Mao Tse-tung's thinking. This great success, he said, belonged not only to the Chinese people but to all the oppressed and exploited people in the world, including the Laotian people. This was why "the Laotian people rejoiced at this new success," he said.

Belgium. Jacques Grippa, Secretary of the Central Committee of the Belgian Communist Party, sent a message to the Chinese Communist Party's Central Committee. He said that this latest success, ensured by Marxism-Leninism and Comrade Mao Tse-tung's thinking, was another evidence of the brilliant victories won by the Chinese people in their big leap forward in every field of endeavour by relying on their own efforts. "China's nuclear test," Jacques Grippa added, "demonstrates that nuclear weapons, like other weapons, cannot be monopolized. On the other hand, it also explodes the myth on which the nuclear blackmail and threats of the imperialists and their collaborators, the Khrushchov revisionists, are based."

Guinea. In a message to Chairman Liu Shao-chi and Premier Chou En-lai, Guinean President Sekou Toure sent warm congratulations on behalf of his people. "We have been particularly impressed by your renewed offer to convene a world conference for the complete prohibition of nuclear and thermo-nuclear weapons. Your statement that you will never be the first to use such weapons does honour to the Chinese people and proves your desire for peace," the Guinean President declared.

From Conakry **Kwame Nkrumah** sent greetings to Chairman Liu Shao-chi and Premier Chou En-lai. In his messages, he said: "We of Africa understand and appreciate the decision of the People's Republic of China never to use nuclear weapons except in case of self-defence."

Thailand. Phayom Chulanont, Representative Abroad of the Thailand Patriotic Front, in a letter to the China Peace Committee and the Chinese Committee for Afro-Asian Solidarity, said the news gladdened and inspired peace-loving people all over the world who were opposing imperialism and its collaborators. He said his people, in common with all peace-loving people the world over, resolutely supported the Chinese stand: that it was essential to conduct necessary nuclear tests within defined limits and to develop nuclear weapons in order to oppose the nuclear blackmail and threats by U.S. imperialism and to oppose the U.S.-Soviet collusion for maintaining a nuclear monopoly and sabotaging the revolutionary struggles of all oppressed peoples and nations.

Premier Chou En-lai has received a letter of congratulations from Pridi Banomyong, former Regent of Thailand. The letter reads in part: "I hail this victory in hard work and self-reliance under the leadership of the Chinese Communist Party and its great leader, Chairman Mao Tse-tung. I hail the great victory of the general line, the great victory in its [China's] three revolutionary movements and the great victory of Mao Tse-tung's thought."

Ceylon. Basil de Silva, Deputy Leader of the National Liberation Front of Ceylon, said in a letter that at a time when the Soviet revisionists, who were in possession of nuclear and thermo-nuclear bombs, had started to curry favour with the U.S. imperialists for world domination, "China's possession of these weapons gives tremendous inspiration to peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America struggling against imperialism."

Zanzibar. Mohamed Mfaume Omar, Vice-Chairman of the Workers' Department of the Zanzibar Afro-Shirazi Party, in a letter to China, said the explosion "has still further strengthened the confidence and determination of the people who are fighting with revolutionary and anti-imperialist zeal against colonial and imperialist domination in Africa, Asia and Latin America and for reconstruction of the liberated countries."

The Congo (L). The Congo (L) Supreme Council of Revolution in a message to the Chinese Embassy in Cairo said: "The Congolese people hail this new victory and regard it as their own victory, and as a victory for the struggle against U.S. imperialism, for peace and progress of all peoples."

Somali. Deputy to the Somali National Assembly Saeed Farah Abdi in his letter to the Hsinhua office in Mogadishu said: "To us in Africa, China's successful development of nuclear weapons means development against U.S. imperialist blackmail and its suppression of the revolutionary struggles of all oppressed peoples and nations."

A.A.J.A. Secretariat. The message of congratulations from the Secretariat of the Afro-Asian Journalists' Association signed by Secretary-General Djawoto and sent to Premier Chou En-lai stated: "It is a crushing blow to the mad ambition of the U.S. imperialists and their apologists to dominate the world." While shattering the fond hopes of the U.S. imperialists and the fake revolutionaries who collaborate with them to blackmail freedom-loving nations by monopolizing nuclear weapons, the Chinese explosion "has infused immense courage and confidence into peoples fighting for their liberation."

Statements and Foreign Press Opinion

Masayoshi Oka, Member of Presidium of the Central Committee of the Japanese Communist Party, pointed out in a statement (May 10) that "China was obliged to conduct the latest nuclear test to ensure its own safety in the face of the U.S. imperialist policy of nuclear war." He quoted the Chinese government statement issued previously that China "is developing nuclear weapons for defence." Comparing the Chinese attitude with that of U.S. imperialism which has opposed the prohibition of nuclear weapons, and even persisted in claiming "the right to use nuclear weapons first," Masayoshi Oka said that "this makes it plain who is the provocateur of nuclear war." The only way of eliminating radio-active fallout altogether was to oppose the U.S. imperialist policy of nuclear war and to struggle for the achievement of the complete prohibition of nuclear weapons, his statement added. The Japanese Communist Party "will struggle to bring about the complete prohibition of nuclear weapons and to smash the policies of U.S. imperialism and the Sato cabinet for 'containing China' and turning Japan into a base for nuclear war," Masayoshi Oka declared.

"**Vanguard,**" organ of the Communist Party of Australia (Marxist-Leninist), said on May 12 that once more the great Chinese people, led by the Communist Party of China headed by Mao Tse-tung, have confounded the capitalists and their "experts." Describing the explosion as "another triumph for the policy of self-reliance," the paper noted that "it is the

result of the correct application of the scientific theories of Marxism-Leninism to the work of socialist construction in China. In every field of their construction work the Chinese people are making great strides in the understanding and application of Marxism-Leninism."

V.G. Wilcox, General Secretary of the Communist Party of New Zealand, issued a statement on May 17 on behalf of the National Secretariat of the C.P.N.Z. "This victory," the statement says, "is not just a Chinese one — it is a victory for the socialist camp, for all opposing revisionism." It points out that "U.S. imperialism and the modern revisionists in the leadership of the C.P.S.U. are finding out that nuclear weapons, like all other new weapons throughout history, cannot be successfully monopolized and used to frighten others into subjection." In conclusion, it declares that "China's bomb — the bomb of the poor and oppressed of the earth — stands guard for socialism, for national liberation and for peace."

The Ceylon Communist Party's Sinhalese weekly "Kamkaruwa" (May 17) wrote editorially: "The successful testing by People's China, which is the reliable and most revolutionary bulwark of modern humanity fighting for national liberation, has brought a great joy to the peoples of various countries who are heroically fighting against imperialism, modern revisionism and for national independence."

Asia

Yoshitaro Hirano, Chairman of the Japanese National Peace Committee, referring to the Sato government's "censure" of Chinese nuclear testing, said: "The Sato government is under the U.S. imperialist nuclear umbrella. It has taken a hostile attitude towards China and regards it as a supposed enemy; therefore, it is not entitled to speak about China's nuclear testing," which, he added, was meant to support all oppressed peoples and nations in their revolutionary struggles.

A Japanese friend who was a victim of the U.S. atom bombing of Nagasaki more than 20 years ago, asked the Osaka Chapter of the Japan-China Friendship Association to convey to China this message: "I acclaim: Long live the success of China's nuclear test! Long live Mao Tse-tung's thinking!"

Cambodian National Radio announced: "We Cambodian people unreservedly approve China's nuclear test." "We unequivocally hold that only by confronting atomic bomb with atomic bomb can one strike fear into the hearts of the aggressors and force them to retreat and make them afraid of menacing Southeast Asia."

The Pakistan press heartily applauded China's nuclear test. To quote only one or two statements, "**Anjam**" called it "a great achievement" which has raised the prestige of the Afro-Asian nations, "**Mushri-que**" of Lahore said that China had not only put an end

to Western monopoly in the field of nuclear power, but had also started to shift rapidly the balance of power in the world.

"Ludu" of Burma: "The Chinese people's possession of nuclear weapons is a great encouragement to the peoples who are fighting heroically for their liberation. . . ."

"Naya Samaj" of Nepal: China's third nuclear test has aroused a wave of delight in Asia and Africa. "There is no reason to condemn actions taken by China for security and self-defence." China is not the first country to test nuclear weapons and has never used them, it stressed.

Abdel Latif Deifallah, Yemeni Minister of Public Works, said: "China's nuclear explosion is a service to mankind and will safeguard world peace. . . I observe and feel myself that China has followed one principle, that is, to serve the peoples all over the world."

"As Saorah" (Syria): "The people's fists, especially the nuclear fists, frustrated the devil." "China's nuclear explosion will lead to new revolutionary explosions in the new emerging countries to hasten the doom of imperialism and end the people's disasters."

The Singapore Socialist Front in a statement said: ". . . it came as a shock to the United States and its lackeys and made them realize that they could no longer rely on nuclear weapons to dominate the world."

Africa

Leballo, Acting President of the Pan-Africanist Congress of Azania (South Africa), said: "The oppressed people all over the world rejoice over the magnificent achievement of the Chinese people based on the thinking of Chairman Mao Tse-tung."

Sam Nujom, President of the South West African People's Organization, said that the organization saw it as a great contribution to world peace and a heavy blow for the imperialist forces.

Morses, Representative of the South West African National Union in Cairo, said: "At a time when U.S. imperialism is using its counter-revolutionary dual tactics of advocating the prevention of nuclear proliferation while expanding its tests and production of nuclear weapons since the tripartite nuclear treaty, it is a revolutionary act for the Chinese people to develop nuclear weapons."

Bobby Mack, Representative of the Bechuanaland People's Party in Cairo, said: "The nuclear weapons of China are for the defence of world peace, unlike the weapons in the hands of the imperialists which are to be used for aggression."

N.A. Mphanya, Assistant Secretary-General of the Basutoland Congress Party, said that the Chinese test was a powerful blow to the imperialist nuclear black-

mail perpetrated by the most ferocious enemy of the people of the world — the U.S. paper tiger.

Mahluza, Military Secretary of the Mozambique Revolutionary Committee, said: "The nuclear weapons possessed by China protect us, the oppressed people, from the U.S. imperialist policy of nuclear blackmail."

The Swaziland Progressive Party hailed the test by China, which, it said, is the great friend of the oppressed people.

Aristides Pereira, Deputy General Secretary and Amada Fidel, Member of the General Secretariat of the African Independence Party of Guinea and Cape Verde Islands also warmly congratulated China.

In Conakry, Yoshio Narita, Secretary of the Permanent Secretariat of the Executive Committee of the Afro-Asian Lawyers' Conference, said: "Contrary to those in the hands of the Soviet Union, nuclear weapons in the hands of the People's Republic of China are very useful for stopping the aggression of U.S. imperialism."

"African Revolution," organ of the Algerian National Liberation Front, repudiated the distortions levelled against China's recent nuclear test. It said that China's stand on the question of nuclear arms was quite clear and "throughout the world, people are watching with admiration the road traversed in the field of science by the Chinese technical personnel."

Latin America

Robert Williams, noted American Negro leader, issued a statement in Havana, saying that the Chinese bomb was a people's bomb. "It is a mighty freedom bomb," he stressed. "All just-minded peoples who oppose international plundering and bullying can find new hope in China's ever growing power of self-defence," and "we oppressed can press our struggle for liberation more resolutely because the nuclear thunder we hear from great China represents the growing power of the people."

General Heriberto Jara of Mexico told a Hsinhua correspondent that the United States had built many military and nuclear bases in Asia and Africa and the focus of its aggression was aimed at China. "Therefore, it is only natural for China to carry out nuclear tests."

The June 14 Revolutionary Movement of the Dominican Republic in a statement stressed the new change in the balance of world forces caused by China's third nuclear test in favour of the oppressed peoples in their struggle against imperialism and reaction.

"Espartaco," the Chilean revolutionary organization, in a statement issued by its National Leading Committee, pointed out that the test "is a forceful blow to the plan of aggression of U.S. imperialism and to the attempt of the Governments of the United States and the Soviet Union to monopolize nuclear weapons for the purpose of dividing up the world into their spheres of domination."

The True Renegade Features Of Sholokhov

by TSAI HUI

THE law of history is extremely severe. At critical moments of struggle, it always ruthlessly forces the opportunists of various sorts and renegades to tear off the veils covering their faces so that their true features are exposed. Such is the case of Mikhail A. Sholokhov. In October 1965, the "Communist" and "proletarian writer" Sholokhov, in a state of awed excitement, accepted the Nobel prize for literature which even the French bourgeois writer Jean-Paul Sartre would not accept. In Sartre's words, to accept the prize would be to receive "a distinction reserved for the writers of the West or for the traitors of the East."

Ever since the victory of the Great October Socialist Revolution, the organization in charge of awarding the Nobel prize for literature has sought for "traitors of the East" among Russian writers in a hundred and one ways. Although they loudly proclaimed how very much they valued "literary talents," they never recognized the literary talents of Gorky whom Lenin praised. And it is only those "talents" among Russian writers who resolutely oppose communism and the October Socialist Revolution, whom they approve, take pains to seek out, and reward lavishly.

In 1933, that is, in the sixteenth year after the victory of the October Revolution, the Nobel prize committee for the first time gave the prize for literature to a Russian writer. The writer was not Gorky or any other author who supported the socialist revolution. It was "White Russian author" Ivan Bunin, who bitterly hated the October Revolution and fled to live in Paris.

With the same kind of political motivation in 1958, the committee gave the prize to another notorious traitor: Boris Pasternak, author of the anti-communist novel *Dr. Zhivago*. And through this, reactionaries all over the world stirred up an anti-Soviet, anti-communist wave. The Western bourgeois press expressed great appreciation for the role played by the Nobel prize for literature and the Vienna paper *Kurrier* went so far as to call it "the Nobel prize against communism." At that time, the Soviet people angrily denounced the Nobel prize for literature as a "tool of the West," and unanimously condemned the traitorous behaviour of Pasternak. The Soviet paper *Pravda* had to say on October 26 of that year: "The man to whom the reactionary bourgeoisie awarded the Nobel prize" "was one who had slandered the socialist revolution and the Soviet people." Even Sholokhov, though unwillingly, felt forced to state his position by denouncing Pasternak as "an internal emigre."

Most ironic is the fact that not so many years later Sholokhov himself gratefully accepted the Nobel prize for literature which he himself once condemned as having been awarded to "an internal emigre." Of course, with Sholokhov's "talents" he could not be so stupid as to openly admit that what he accepted was a reward for traitors. So Sholokhov and the small handful of modern revisionist writers whom he represents are now doing all they can to make the Soviet people believe that the nature of the Nobel prize for literature has changed and has become extraordinarily "unbiased." Speaking to a UPI correspondent, a leading member of the Union of Soviet Writers even had the impudence to describe the award as "a great prize for socialist literature." The Central Committee of the C.P.S.U. and the Council of Ministers of the U.S.S.R. also stepped forward and, in their own right, spoke of it as "another proof of the world's recognition" . . . "of the indisputable achievements of socialist realist literature."

ENOUGH, worthy sorcerers! Brilliant though your sleight-of-hand, your extreme excitement arising from the unexpected flattery you feel about the prize being awarded Sholokhov has caused you to "neglect" an important fact, namely, that, Anders Osterling, chairman of the Nobel committee of the Swedish Academy of Sciences, had already provided a public explanation of why they awarded him the prize. And the reason is not that they had changed their position but that "although Mr. Sholokhov is a convinced Communist, he kept ideological comment completely out of his great, four-volume work. [*And Quiet Flows the Don*]."

Well, now, have you not — you, the leaders of the Central Committee of the C.P.S.U. and ministers of the U.S.S.R. Council of Ministers, you the important and the not so important commentators of the Soviet Union — have you not been making absolutely positive statements that the award of the Nobel prize for literature to Sholokhov shows "recognition" of "socialist realist literature," and is "a great prize for socialist literature"? So now it is clear: Your much advertised "socialist literature" is the kind of literature, a literature, so-called, "with no ideological tendency" and "standing above classes," that is encouraged by the bourgeoisie. You glibly profess to abide by Lenin's principles. Yet you have altogether forgotten these slogans of Lenin: "Down with non-partisan writers! Down with literary supermen!" Is there not powerful irony in this itself?

In fact, there is no such thing as literature that "keeps out ideological comment completely," that

“stands above classes.” These are simply literary terms used by the bourgeoisie and the revisionists to fool readers, to mislead them and cover up the despicable purpose of serving imperialism and the bourgeoisie. In the present day world, all literature and art belong to a particular class and conform to a particular political line; hence, they necessarily propagandize a particular ideology and have a particular political tendency. Literature that the bourgeoisie and modern revisionists style as unrelated to ideology in reality spreads the reactionary ideology of the bourgeoisie in a hundred and one ways and has a reactionary political tendency.

Sholokhov's *And Quiet Flows the Don* is just such a “great work.” If this novel is analysed from the Marxist, class viewpoint, it is not difficult to discover that one of the important reasons why Sholokhov's name is listed together with that of Boris Pasternak on the “roll of Nobel prize winners for literature” is precisely because his “great four-volume work” produces the same effect as Pasternak's *Dr. Zhivago*, although in a different way. If in *Dr. Zhivago* Pasternak paints a vicious picture of the “ruin” of the Russian intellectuals in the new society, and hurls all kinds of slanders at the Soviet Red Army and the new life after the October Revolution, through portraying an old Russian bourgeois intellectual, Zhivago, who hates the October Revolution and the socialist system, then it is equally true that Sholokhov, through his undisguised praise of the counter-revolutionary Grigory, who had frenziedly fought the Red Army and had committed many bloody crimes, in his novel *And Quiet Flows the Don*, venomously attacks the October Socialist Revolution and the “inhumanity” of class struggle — because they not only crushed the “fine soul” of Grigory and robbed him of everything which could “connect him with the world he lives in,” but also ruined the peaceful, happy and tranquil life of the Melekhov family — and hurls outright curses on revolutionary wars.

AT the recent 23rd Congress of the C.P.S.U. which began with a big fanfare, Sholokhov condemned some Soviet writers as “renegades,” and said: “There is nothing so foul and base as slandering one's own mother, vilely insulting her and raising one's hand against her.” Actually, are not these words appropriate for Sholokhov himself? As far back as two decades ago, he had already used his *And Quiet Flows the Don* to vilify the path of the October Revolution; he had already raised his hand against his own “mother,” against Lenin, Stalin, and the Great October Socialist Revolution!

With a class sensitivity uniquely its own, the U.S. bourgeois press has clearly seen the violent anti-communist ideology in *And Quiet Flows the Don* and has therefore given it a high appraisal. When Sholokhov received the Nobel prize for literature, the *Saturday Review* wrote excitedly that this Russian prize-winner “represents those very Don Cossacks who had fought against the Red Army,” and that he “has voiced through his fictional characters certain doubts about

communist dogmas and practices.” It is not hard to see that the reactionary Western bourgeoisie look on Sholokhov with favour for this important reason, not any other reason.

A QUESTION worthy of deeper thought is why, when Sholokhov was previously put forward as a candidate for the Nobel prize for literature twenty years ago (in 1946), the Western bourgeoisie did not choose him at that time but only “discovered” his “talent” nineteen years later (in 1965). What is the key to this mystery?

When the mystery is solved, the reason turns out to be very simple; before the Khrushchov revisionists usurped the leadership of the Soviet Union, Sholokhov was not, after all, so bold as to reveal himself fully in his true colours. Therefore, although the Western bourgeoisie greatly appreciated his *And Quiet Flows the Don*, they could not as yet trust him fully; consequently they took a “wait and see” attitude. At that time, although Sholokhov had already attacked revolutionary wars and the October Revolution in his novel, yet he still on occasions had to say something hypocritically in praise of the October Revolution and of Stalin.

Like Khrushchov, he used to call Stalin his “father.” At Stalin's unfortunate death in 1953, Sholokhov had cried out in a hypocritical tone: “Father, farewell, farewell for ever, dear father whom I warmly loved throughout my life!” and he swore to store up for Stalin “sacred condolences for ever in my heart.”

Yet within a very short period, at the 20th Congress of the C.P.S.U. in 1956, he publicly embraced Khrushchov who was madly attacking Stalin, and closely colluded with Khrushchov in unbridled attacks on Fadeyev, one of the chief leaders of the C.P.S.U. in the sphere of literature during the time when Stalin was in leadership. Then he wrote his short story *The Fate of a Man*, which can be called a specimen of modern revisionist literature, and became Khrushchov's bellwether in spreading revisionism in the field of Soviet literature and art.

Thereafter, wherever Khrushchov flew, Sholokhov always remained, as he had sworn, “together” with him “ideologically.” Still more revoltingly, this same Sholokhov brazenly announced at the 22nd Congress of the C.P.S.U. that he felt a kind of “unutterable . . . man's . . . admiration” for Khrushchov.

Naturally Khrushchov and his successors also showed unusual appreciation of this faithful mouth-piece, who has a special role to play. For not only does he have the title of “Party member writer” but he is a winner of the Stalin Prize and has always been a deputy to the Supreme Soviet. This collection of titles can, at least for the time being, mislead some Soviet people and some personalities in international cultural circles who do not know the real facts, and can play a certain deceptive role among them.

Soviet-U.S. collaboration for the domination of the world is the very soul of the Khrushchov revisionist line. This is why Sholokhov has worked hard to peddle Soviet-U.S. cultural co-operation among Soviet

readers and in international cultural circles, and has become an eager fugleman for Soviet-U.S. cultural cooperation.

On the one hand, inside the Soviet Union he has been actively spreading bourgeois thinking, the bourgeois theory of human nature and bourgeois notions of liberty, equality and fraternity, and has been instilling into the mass of Soviet readers reactionary bourgeois ideas of individualism, humanitarianism and pacifism. And, on the other hand, he has completely changed his "hermit-like" way of life and has repeatedly gone abroad on propaganda missions everywhere to prod writers of the oppressed nations and oppressed classes to take "united action" and "express opinions collectively" with imperialist and bourgeois writers.

Towards this end he has pleaded to U.S. imperialism: "Let us visit each other! We have nothing to quarrel over and no reason to fight one another!" Thus, at a European conference of writers, he appealed with all his might for writers to "come to agreement" and "find a common language" "just as the great statesmen and diplomats" of the United States, the Soviet Union and Britain were doing.

WHAT is his motive? He is trying to protect the interests of the ruling clique in both the Soviet Union and the United States and he does not allow people to rise up in revolution. Sholokhov is indiscriminately against every kind of war; when it comes to a revolutionary war of oppressed people or a war of liberation waged by an invaded nation, he always wants the writers of the world to be the first to rush forward and say "no" and to speak up before those who say "yes." In short, he not only has turned traitor to revolution him-

self but does not allow others to rise up in revolution. And he not only does not permit others to make revolutions but wants all writers in the world "to unite" and "collectively" forbid others to make revolutions.

These are the services for which Sholokhov has not only won the special favour of Khrushchov and his successors but also prizes from the reactionary Western bourgeoisie.

Facts show that the nature of the Nobel prize which the Soviet people call a "tool of the West" has not changed, but Sholokhov has already completely discarded the fig-leaf with which he had covered his nakedness and stands completely revealed as a "tool of the West." The reactionary bourgeoisie has finally found a more useful "traitor of the East" than Boris Pasternak.

We can say to Sholokhov and the handful of modern revisionist writers and artists he represents: Do not crow too soon. Do not get conceited too soon! Since you have openly betrayed the cause of proletarian revolution, you will surely be cast aside by the Soviet people and all the revolutionary peoples of the world. The wheel of history mercilessly crushes all obstacles on its road of advance. The proletarian revolutionary cause, the revolutionary cause of all the oppressed people of the world, full of youthfulness and vitality, will surely sweep through the world with the momentum of an avalanche and the force of a thunderbolt. Proletarian revolutionary literature and art will surely grow in vigour in the course of struggle and will always serve as the war drums and as the clarion call to inspire the people to rise up in struggle.

(*"Wenji Bao," No. 5, 1966.*)

Foreign Ministry Note to Indonesia

China to Send Ships to Receive Chinese Nationals Who Desire to Return

- Expresses great indignation at the Indonesian Government's attempt to deny its responsibility for opposing China and persecuting Chinese nationals.

Following is the main text of a Chinese Foreign Ministry note handed on May 18 to the Indonesian Embassy in China. — Ed.

IN its note, the Indonesian Government tried to deny its responsibility for opposing China and persecuting Chinese nationals, openly prevaricated about its atrocious persecution of Chinese nationals and brazenly rejected the four-point request of the Chinese Government that the Indonesian Government transport back to China the persecuted Chinese nationals. This attitude of the Indonesian Government is most unrea-

sonable, and the Chinese Government expresses its great indignation at it.

Since last October, you have conducted massive activities against China and Chinese nationals and carried out inhuman persecution of Chinese nationals. Your doings run completely counter to the will of the broad masses of the Indonesian people, who want to be friendly to the Chinese people and to live in amity with Chinese nationals. Hiring yourselves out to imperialism and conducting rabid crimes against China and Chinese nationals, you have aroused the firm opposition of the Indonesian people. In your note, you

asserted that the atrocious persecution of Chinese nationals was "a reaction of the indignant masses of the people" and that it was due to the broadcasts of Radio Peking and the attitude and actions of the Chinese nationals. You definitely cannot achieve your aim of whitewashing your crime of opposing China and persecuting Chinese nationals by usurping the name of the "masses of the people" of Indonesia. Your assertion is a gross insult to the Indonesian people.

What you called the "masses of the people" are not really the masses of the people; to put it bluntly, they are but the handful of Indonesian reactionaries. You hate China precisely because she adheres to an anti-imperialist revolutionary stand. You are ceaselessly abusing Radio Peking simply because it has exposed your crime of hiring yourselves out to imperialism and your anti-Communist and anti-popular crimes. You are wildly persecuting Chinese nationals solely because the masses of Chinese nationals love their motherland and endeavour to develop the friendship between the Chinese and Indonesian peoples. In short, your rabid opposition to China and persecution of Chinese nationals are wholly unpopular and can in no way harm the great People's Republic of China; they will only expose your ugly features as henchmen of imperialism in opposing China.

The four-point request made by the Chinese Government for transporting back those persecuted Chinese nationals who desire to return of their own will is a fully reasonable and legitimate one. Yet in its note, the Indonesian Government asserted that it did not deem it necessary to meet the request of the Chinese Government and that the return of Chinese nationals would be due to orders or political measures of the Chinese Government. The Indonesian Minister of Foreign Affairs Mr. Malik also openly declared that the Indonesian Government had not expelled the Chinese nationals and driven them back home and that, if they wished to leave Indonesia, all responsibility had to rest with themselves and the Chinese Government which had proposed the repatriation. These assertions are most absurd.

The whole world knows that the Indonesian Government has made the persecution of Chinese nationals an important component of its anti-China policy. In an organized and planned way, you have engineered a whole series of atrocious acts of persecution of Chinese nationals so that large numbers of them, who have resided in Indonesia for generations, have become homeless and deprived of all property or means of subsistence and are unable to live on in Indonesia. In these circumstances, the persecuted Chinese nationals are naturally compelled to ask to return to China. How can it be said that the demand of these Chinese nationals to return is due to orders or political measures of the Chinese Government? And how can it be argued that the Indonesian Government bears no responsibility since it has not issued orders to expel them? No matter how you quibble, you cannot shirk any part of the responsibility resting on you.

It must be pointed out that the demand of the persecuted and greatly suffering Chinese nationals to come back to China is a wholly different case from that of the departure for home of overseas nationals in normal circumstances. Even their lives and property are insecure; how can these Chinese nationals be asked to go through the aliens departure procedures as in normal circumstances? While the Indonesian Government hypocritically said that it did not object to the return of Chinese nationals, it rejected the reasonable four-point request of the Chinese Government and stressed the fulfilment of departure procedures in accordance with the rules and regulations of the Indonesian Government. This can only be regarded as a deliberate attempt to harass and obstruct the return of Chinese nationals. The Chinese Government cannot but closely guard against this scheme.

At present, thousands of persecuted Chinese nationals in Indonesia have lost their means of livelihood and urgently desire to return to their motherland. The Indonesian Government has not only failed to provide them with the necessary relief and rehabilitation, but also refused to arrange ships for transporting them back to China. The Chinese Government naturally cannot be indifferent to their fate. It demands once again that the Indonesian Government undertake to arrange ships for transporting back to China those Chinese nationals who desire to return of their own will. However, pending the fulfilment by the Indonesian Government of the duty incumbent on it, the Chinese Government has decided to send ships to Indonesia in the near future to receive the persecuted Chinese nationals who desire to return. In this connection, the Chinese Government demands that the Indonesian Government do the following:

1. Immediately stop its persecution of Chinese nationals, release all those who have been arrested and detained, and effectively protect the lives and property of the Chinese nationals.

2. Ensure the safety of the Chinese nationals, who desire to return of their own will, while they are travelling to or staying in port, provide them with the necessary transportation facilities and food and accommodation, simplify the procedures for their departure and refrain from stopping them from bringing back their personal effects and funds.

3. Ensure the safety of the Chinese ships and their crews, that will come to receive the Chinese nationals, while they are entering, staying in and leaving Indonesian ports; provide them with the necessary assistance and facilities.

For the smooth carrying out of the work of transporting the Chinese nationals back to China, the Chinese Government proposes that the two Governments immediately hold consultations on concrete matters and make appropriate arrangements.

The Chinese Government hopes that the Indonesian Government will give a speedy reply to its demands mentioned above.

Indonesian Reactionaries Intensify Anti-China Activities

WORKING hand in glove with U.S. imperialism and its accomplices, the Indonesian Right-wing reactionary forces are stepping up their brutal racist persecution of Chinese nationals in various parts of Indonesia. Since the armed attack on the Chinese Embassy in Djakarta on April 15 by hooligans organized by the Indonesian Government, new outrages against Chinese diplomatic missions in Indonesia have occurred in quick succession. The Indonesian Right-wing military regime, with the active collusion of agents of the Chiang Kai-shek gang, is even actively planning another armed raid on the Chinese Embassy in Djakarta.

Persecution of Chinese Nationals

Twice recently the Chinese Embassy in Indonesia has lodged the strongest protests with the Indonesian Foreign Ministry over the savage persecution of Chinese nationals by the Indonesian Right-wing reactionary forces.

The Embassy's note of May 11 expressed immense indignation at the outrageous persecution of overseas Chinese at Atjeh in North Sumatra and at Kediri in East Java. It said that since the army and police forcibly took over the General Association of Overseas Chinese and the Yang Hwei School at Lhokseumawe in north Atjeh County on April 15, Chinese nationals there have lived in an atmosphere of terror. The note described the April 18, 19 and 20 outrages in Lhokseumawe city and nearby towns and said that similar atrocities against overseas Chinese have occurred in Bireuen, Lhoksukon, and some other towns in north Atjeh from April 18 to 22. The note also recalled that as early as mid October 1965, Chinese nationals in Peureulak, south Atjeh, were subjected to savage persecution and that Woen Tat Shan, Oei Muk Siang, Tjan Ek Ming and Jap Pak Siang, leaders of the local overseas Chinese organizations, had been killed by the reactionaries.

The note also gave an account of the outrages against overseas Chinese in Kediri, East Java, on April 11 and declared that the facts quoted showed that the anti-Chinese racist campaign of the Indonesian Right-wing reactionary forces had reached the height of savagery.

The Embassy in its May 11 note demanded that the Indonesian Government immediately end the agitation against China and Chinese nationals, take measures to ensure that similar incidents will not recur, severely punish those who master-minded and organized the outrages, release those Chinese nationals still detained, pay compensation for all the losses the Chinese nationals have suffered, give quick emergency relief to and rehabilitate the victimized Chinese, en-

sure their personal safety, and fulfil its unshirkable obligation of repatriating those victimized Chinese who choose to go back to their own country.

Earlier, in a note dated April 25, the Chinese Embassy had lodged the strongest protest with the Indonesian Government against the fascist anti-Chinese persecution and massacre of overseas Chinese nationals in Bima County, west Nusa Tenggara Province. The note said that since the middle of January this year, the Indonesian Right-wing reactionary forces had never stopped their racist persecution of overseas Chinese in Bima and had inflicted serious losses in life and property on them.

In its April 25 note the Chinese Embassy demanded that the Indonesian Government immediately release all overseas Chinese still under detention, severely punish the organizers of the outrages, pay pensions to families of those Chinese nationals who had been killed and compensation to those who had suffered losses, and ensure the safety of all Chinese nationals. The Embassy also demanded that the Indonesian Government reply promptly to the April 12 note of the Chinese Foreign Ministry concerning the repatriation of overseas Chinese to their motherland and, in accordance with the reasonable four-point demand in that note, first of all, help those Chinese nationals in Bima to return to their homeland as soon as possible.

Besides the shocking racist outrages mentioned above, the Right-wing reactionary forces are increasing their persecution of Chinese nationals in other parts of Indonesia. The military authorities and hooligans organized by the Right-wing forces have "taken over," "put under control," or "closed down" overseas Chinese societies, schools and enterprises, and have taken other measures to systematically clamp down upon them and disrupt them everywhere. Many overseas Chinese families have thus been ruined.

On May 8, Huang Mu-he, a staff member of the General Association of Overseas Chinese Organizations in Djakarta, arrived in Peking. Despite being seriously injured, he had shown an indomitable spirit in standing up to the vicious assaults of Indonesian Right-wing soldiers and thugs when they attacked the General Association of Overseas Chinese Organizations on April 8 (see *Peking Review*, No. 16, p. 10).

New Attacks on Chinese Missions

The Chinese Embassy in Indonesia on May 7 lodged the strongest protest with the Indonesian Government against the extremely serious incident of the wrecking and forcible occupation of the Chinese Con-

sulate in Makasar on May 4 by Indonesian Right-wing hooligans supported by troops and police. It demanded that the Indonesian Government immediately remove the culprits who are forcibly occupying the Consulate, compensate for all losses, and guarantee against the recurrence of similar incidents in the future.

The Chinese Embassy's note sternly pointed out that, following the armed attack on the Chinese Embassy by the reactionary hooligans organized by the Indonesian Government, "there have occurred in close succession as many as six cases in which the offices of the Commercial Counsellor and the Military Attache of the Chinese Embassy and its living quarters as well as the office and living quarters of the Chinese Consulate-General were wrecked and seized. Now again, the Chinese Consulate in Makasar has been illegally seized. The whole series of outrages fully prove that the Indonesian Government has gone a step further in taking most rabid actions in various ways to push the relations between the two countries to a complete rupture and have exploded the lie that it is 'willing to maintain good and normal relations with China.' No amount of fine words can cover up the fact that the Indonesian Government has violated the code of international relations in a way never known in history by instigating and organizing the series of criminal acts against China and the Chinese nationals. In no way can the Indonesian Government escape its responsibility for these criminal acts."

On May 7, the Indonesian Right-wing military regime once again organized an anti-China provocation. It directed special agents of the Chiang Kai-shek gang to force Chinese nationals in Medan to attend an anti-China meeting and demonstration, and to make another wild attack on the Chinese Consulate in Medan.

Organizing New Raid on Chinese Embassy

According to a Djakarta report quoting reliable sources, the Indonesian Right-wing military regime is actively organizing thugs and agents of the Chiang Kai-shek gang to make another and more serious

armed raid on the Chinese Embassy. The military regime intends to call an anti-China rally at the Banteng Square. After the rally, armed Indonesian personnel are to join the thugs and the agents of the Chiang gang in making another armed raid on the Chinese Embassy, setting fire to the building and killing the diplomatic staff.

This foul scheme of the utmost gravity was worked out at the suggestion of Abdul Haris Nasution and Suharto, bosses of the Right-wing generals' clique. A meeting was held at the Moy Kong Restaurant in Djakarta on April 29, presided over by Yang Wei-ping, an agent of the Chiang gang and a spy in the pay of the Indonesian army authorities who took part in the criminal raid on the Chinese Embassy in Indonesia on April 15. The meeting passed a resolution to coerce all Chinese nationals in Indonesia to pledge their allegiance to Suharto and support all his actions.

The agents of the Chiang gang said publicly after the meeting that they had obtained "full support" from the supreme Indonesian Right-wing military authorities. They added that they had decided to call another "allegiance-pledging rally" in Djakarta so as to push further the massive campaign against China and Chinese nationals. They intend to join the Indonesian Right-wing thugs in attacking the Chinese Embassy again and looting and wrecking the shops and homes of patriotic Chinese nationals.

Antara, the official Indonesian news agency, on May 7 reported the meeting of the Chiang gang's agents and announced that "a rally of the overseas Chinese in Djakarta in support of the Indonesian Government's actions" would be held.

Of late, the Right-wing military and administrative authorities in different parts of Indonesia have made use of the Chiang Kai-shek gangsters and asked them to furnish information on overseas Chinese organizations and schools, to advise on how to persecute the overseas Chinese, and to act as hatchetmen in raiding and wrecking the Chinese Embassy and Consulates and persecuting overseas Chinese organizations and schools.

Topsy-turvy Logic

by "RENMIN RIBAO" COMMENTATOR

AFTER organizing the armed forces and hooligans to carry out a series of fascist outrages against the Chinese Embassy and Consulates, the Indonesian Government refused to reply to the many protests of the Chinese Government, and showed not the slightest sign of repentance. On the contrary, it resorts to all sorts of quibbling to deny its responsibility. In his May 5 foreign policy statement to the Co-operation Parliament, Adam Malik, Indonesian Deputy Prime Minister and Foreign Minister, declared that the anti-China outrages in Indonesia were "understandable and logical."

One cannot but be shocked to see the Indonesian Government openly claiming that its fascist outrages in violating the diplomatic immunity of the Chinese Embassy and Consulates are a normal conduct in international relations.

Malik invented a strange logic to the effect that while the Indonesian reactionaries may engage in frantic anti-communist, anti-people, anti-China and anti-Chinese activities, Chinese newspapers and radio must not report the truth. If they did, they "attacked" and "humiliated"

Indonesia, and this resulted in "strong reactions and hard feelings among the Indonesian people" who are, therefore, entitled to commit fascist outrages against Chinese diplomatic agencies, and that the Indonesian Government is not to blame for these outrages.

A Most Stupid Lie

This logic of Malik's does not hold water. In the first place, the question of China "attacking" and "humiliating" Indonesia does not arise at all. Quite the contrary. It is the Indonesian Right-wing reactionary forces which have been daily and viciously attacking China. In the seven months or more after the Right-wing generals' clique started the counter-revolutionary coup d'etat, Indonesian newspapers and radio have featured more than 2,000 articles attacking and slandering China. A number of the Indonesian Right-wing leaders publicly maligned China as "imperialist" and "neo-colonialist." It is impossible for Malik to deny the Indonesian Government's criminal responsibility by turning facts upside down or by making counter-charges.

Malik mouthed a most stupid lie when he claimed that the Indonesian people had perpetrated the anti-China fascist outrages. It is well known that all these outrages were committed by a handful of counter-revolutionary Right-wingers who do not represent the Indonesian people at all. The Indonesian people want to be on good terms with all peoples, including the Chinese people. It is the greatest insult to the Indonesian people to foist on them the foul crimes of arson, looting and killing committed by the Right-wing cutthroats.

Facts cannot be denied. All the fascist outrages of raiding, wrecking and forcibly occupying the Chinese diplomatic agencies have been perpetrated with the Indonesian Government as the direct organizer and commander and with the undisguised co-ordination of the Indonesian armed forces. Indonesia today is completely under the sanguinary rule of the Right-wing military regime; those who oppose it are to be slaughtered. In the Indonesian capital Djakarta, thousands of hooligans and hundreds of army troops have committed murder, looting and arson against the Chinese Embassy in broad daylight. The Army even dispatched armoured cars to smash open the gate of the Chinese Embassy so as to clear the way for the hooligans. The troops also opened fire and wounded a staff member of the Chinese Embassy. How could these incidents have ever taken place if the Indonesian Government itself did not organize and direct them? In fact, chieftains of the Right-wing military clique Suharto, Nasution and Malik himself have all encouraged the hooligans by their "speeches," "congratulations" and orders. Malik's attempts to absolve the Indonesian Government of its responsibility for the crimes will only make them even more glaring.

Unparalleled Effrontery

The brutal atrocities committed by the Right-wing military regime of Indonesia in making wild raids on

the Chinese Embassy and Consulates have been so frequent, on so large a scale and in a manner so despicable that no parallel can be found in the history of international relations. In the past seven months or more, it has raided, on more than 20 occasions, the Embassy, Consulates and other agencies of Chinese representatives in Indonesia, beating up and injuring more than 40 Chinese diplomatic officials, staff members and newsmen, wrecking and forcibly occupying most of the offices and living quarters of the Chinese Embassy and Consulates, and seizing and looting the property and furniture of Chinese diplomatic missions and their personnel. In addition, the Right-wing military regime has conducted massive persecution of Chinese nationals and killed hundreds of them. Hitlerite Germany and militarist Japan did not dare, even in time of war, to commit such atrocities against the Embassies and Consulates of their belligerents. But now Malik has the impudence to say that all this is "logical." This is indeed unparalleled effrontery! If this reactionary "logic" of the Indonesian Government is accepted, can there be any normal diplomatic relations or any elementary principle guiding international relations to speak about?

In his foreign policy statement, Malik alleged that China "openly showed its inability to understand the developments" in Indonesia and "showed complete lack of understanding" of the Indonesian situation and that China had "attacked" and "humiliated" Indonesia. Once again invoking the Bandung principles, he scurrilously accused China of "interfering" in Indonesia's "internal affairs." All this is sheer nonsense.

Indonesian Reactionary Right-Wing Forces — Violators of Bandung Spirit

What change has taken place in Indonesia since October 1 last year is clear not only to the Chinese people but to the people of the whole world. What the Indonesian Right-wingers themselves have said and done explains what has happened in Indonesia. After they staged the counter-revolutionary coup, the Indonesian reactionary Right-wing forces, with the generals' clique as their core, plunged the country into white terror and conducted a wholesale massacre of Communists and patriotic democrats; thus hundreds of thousands of people were slaughtered by the counter-revolutionaries. In their foreign policy, these reactionary Right-wing forces have thrown themselves into the laps of the imperialists. They publicly declared their intention to "improve relations with the United States," and received "aid" from the U.S. and British imperialists and Japanese militarists. They have unleashed violent campaigns against China and Chinese nationals and treated socialist China as their enemy. The Indonesian reactionary Right-wing forces did it, and the newspapers and news agencies of other countries reported it. Why should the Chinese newspapers, news agency and radio conceal the truth and whitewash them? Why should the Chinese newspapers, news agency and radio which

reported the facts be accused of "attacking" and "humiliating" Indonesia and "interfering" in its "internal affairs?" To put it bluntly, those who have plunged Indonesia into unparalleled humiliation and shame are none other than the handful of Indonesian reactionary Right-wing forces. It is the same forces, and the same forces alone, which have wantonly trampled underfoot the Bandung principles of Afro-Asian solidarity against imperialism, and has desecrated the Bandung spirit.

While unscrupulously vilifying and attacking China, Malik stated with tongue in cheek that the Indonesian Government still hoped to "maintain normal good relations" with China. Mr. Malik had better put a stop to

his histrionics and dual tactics. As a matter of fact, his statement is not only an effort at prevarication to cover up the anti-China crimes, but, it is an encouragement to the Indonesian Right-wing thugs and a signal for engineering new fascist outrages against China, which warrants attention. We must warn the Indonesian Government: You may do all you can in your anti-China activities, but no matter what tricks you resort to, you can never escape the full criminal responsibility for your deliberate attempt to bring about a complete rupture in relations between China and Indonesia. History will pass the severest verdict upon your anti-China crimes.

(*"Renmin Ribao," May 11.*)

Foreign Ministry Statement

A Warning to Thai Reactionaries

- **By brazenly joining the U.S. imperialist war of aggression against Vietnam, the Thai authorities are inevitably linking up Thailand with the Vietnam battlefield.**

ON May 3, the Thanom government of Thailand declared that it was going to dispatch its naval and air units to fight in southern Vietnam. **This is a grave step taken by the Thai reactionaries to participate openly in the U.S. imperialist war of aggression against Vietnam.** On May 6, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam issued a statement exposing the U.S. imperialists' criminal scheme of expanding the war of aggression against Vietnam by driving their lackeys into it, and strongly condemning the acts of provocation on the part of the Thanom government of Thailand. **The Chinese Government and people fully support the just stand of the Government of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam and firmly denounce the acts of aggression of the Thai reactionaries, who are serving as accomplices of U.S. imperialism.**

U.S. imperialism has been using the Thai reactionaries as tools for its aggression against Vietnam and the other Indo-Chinese states. It has long been directing the Thai reactionaries to commit naked intervention in Laos and uninterrupted acts of provocation and aggression against the Kingdom of Cambodia. In particular, Thailand has become an important military base for the U.S. aggressors in the U.S. imperialist war of aggression against Vietnam. The number of U.S. military personnel stationed in Thailand has exceeded 18,000. Most of the U.S. planes bombing Vietnam and Laos take off from Thailand. In order to expand its aggression against all the Indo-Chinese states, the United States is accelerating the construction of harbours, airfields, highways and other military installa-

tions in Thailand. Suffering one disastrous defeat after another in the war of aggression in Vietnam, U.S. imperialism has become more isolated than ever. Now, it has further instigated the Thai reactionaries to send troops to south Vietnam as its cannon-fodder. This shows that U.S. imperialism has reached the end of its tether in the war of aggression in Vietnam and is recklessly dragging in its lackey Thailand to spread the flames of its war of aggression against Vietnam and Indo-China.

U.S. imperialism is doomed to failure in its war of aggression against Vietnam. It has been unable to change its passive position of having to receive blows even with the more than 200,000 aggressor troops it has sent over and the tens of thousands of vassal troops it has mustered from south Korea, Australia and New Zealand. The addition now of a few warships, a few planes and a few hundred troops as cannon-fodder from Thailand can in no way save it from its final defeat. But the Thai authorities should know that Thailand is right beside Indo-China. **By brazenly joining the U.S. imperialist war of aggression against Vietnam, you are inevitably linking up Thailand with the Vietnam battlefield and setting yourselves against the people of the Indo-Chinese and Southeast Asian countries. We hereby warn the Thai authorities: By unscrupulously selling out state sovereignty and national interests and willingly serving U.S. imperialism, you will surely be spurned by the Indo-Chinese peoples, arouse the strong opposition of the people of Thailand and thus hasten your own downfall.**

(*May 13*)

India's Slanders Cannot Cover Up Its Intrusions Into Chinese Territory

THE Chinese Ministry of Foreign Affairs in a note of May 4 to the Indian Embassy in China refuted the groundless counter-charges about Chinese "intrusions" into Indian territory, made by the Indian Government in its three notes of February 2, 3 and 8, 1966. The Chinese note points out that apparently, this was a vain attempt to confuse public opinion and cover up the facts of Indian intrusions.

The note says, "In its notes under reference, the Indian side repeatedly asserted that China had sent her troops into the 20-kilometre zone on her side of the line of actual control along the Sino-Indian border and into the Longju, Che Dong and other areas which she had vacated on her own initiative and where she had refrained from establishing civilian checkposts, and that she had broken her promise and violated the provisions of the Colombo proposals. This assertion is utterly absurd."

It points out, "The said 20-kilometre zone and Longju, Che Dong and other areas are all Chinese territory. It was to seek relaxation of the border situation that, after repulsing the armed Indian attack in the winter of 1962, China took the initiative to withdraw her frontier guards 20 kilometres behind the line of actual control between the Chinese and Indian sides and decided not to establish even civilian checkposts in Longju, Che Dong, Wuje and the areas in the western sector of the Sino-Indian border, where there was a dispute about the cease-fire arrangement. This fully testified to China's sincerity in seeking a peaceful settlement of the boundary question. The statements and documents issued at the time by the Chinese Government and its leaders, which were quoted in the Indian notes, precisely constitute a convincing proof of this sincerity."

The note says that **China's above action in no way meant relinquishment of sovereignty over her territory or of the right to take precautionary and self-defence measures against Indian intrusions and provocations.** While withdrawing and taking other steps as mentioned above, the Chinese Government sternly demanded that India "refrain from making provocations again and from re-entering the four areas where there is a dispute about the cease-fire arrangement" and that she "correctly understand China's effort for peace and respond to it favourably." Moreover, the Chinese Government solemnly declared that, should India continue to make intrusions and provocations in disregard of the efforts made by China on her own initiative, "China reserves the right to strike back in self-defence, and the Indian Government will be held completely

responsible for all the grave consequences arising therefrom." "The Chinese Government hopes that history will not be repeated. If unfortunately it should be repeated, the Chinese Government believes that the whole world will be able to see even more clearly than before who should be held responsible for the tension along the Sino-Indian border." These words of the Chinese Government are perfectly clear and unequivocal, it says.

The note stresses that in the past three years, India has not only failed to make any positive response to China's initiative measures but has kept up her intrusions and provocations on the Sino-Indian and China-Sikkim borders, violated the 20-kilometre demilitarized zone on the Chinese side of the line of actual control along the Sino-Indian border, and even repeatedly intruded into Longju, Che Dong, Wuje and other areas where China had on her own initiative refrained from establishing any civilian checkposts. There were as many as 374 Indian ground and air intrusions during the three years from late 1962 to the end of 1965. What was more serious, in the latter half of 1965 the intruding Indian troops provoked several armed clashes. **In the face of such a grave situation, it was only natural for the Chinese Government to adopt the necessary precautionary and self-defence measures. Such is what the Chinese Government has said and also what it has done. The Indian Government will never succeed in its attempt to misrepresent China's initiative measure of withdrawal and to make China put up with its expansionist and aggressive policy indefinitely without checking it.**

It says, "As for the charge that China has violated the Colombo proposals, it is even more absurd. In the first place, since the Colombo proposals are mere proposals, the question of violation or non-violation simply does not arise. Next, it must be pointed out that it was when China had taken a whole series of measures on her own initiative that the Colombo proposals came into being. China's concrete steps of withdrawing her frontier guards to 20 kilometres behind the entire line of actual control and refraining from establishing civilian checkposts in Longju, Che Dong and two other areas far exceeded the proposals of the Colombo Conference. On the other hand, the Indian Government, while prating about its acceptance of the Colombo proposals, in fact made no positive response whatsoever. On the contrary, by her intrusions India demonstrated that she had altogether cast the Colombo proposals to the winds. Obviously, India is using the Colombo proposals merely as a tool to compel China to make unilat-

eral concessions, hoping that China will tolerate India's renewed and unbridled intrusions and provocations. It is a great irony for India to continue to harp on the Colombo proposals in these circumstances."

Dealing with the line of actual control between the two sides along the Sino-Indian border, the note points out once again that the discrepancy between it and the Sino-Indian traditional customary boundary is entirely due to the fact that India has invaded and occupied large tracts of Chinese territory. It is an objective and undeniable fact that in the western sector it roughly coincides with the traditional customary boundary. In the eastern sector, the so-called McMahon Line has become the line of actual control between the two sides because the Chinese side, proceeding from the desire to maintain the status quo pending a settlement of the boundary question, decided not to cross it. But this has in no way altered the illegal nature of the "McMahon Line." **No sovereign state can tolerate these ever-growing and unbounded territorial ambitions on the part of India. India will never be able to realize her ambitions of perpetuating her illegal occupation of Chinese territory,** the note says.

The note says, "As for the China-Sikkim boundary, clearly the question now is that India has not only stationed large numbers of troops in Sikkim, but has constantly crossed the delimited China-Sikkim boundary to intrude into Chinese territory and provoke conflict. It is preposterous to assert that China attempts to 'spoil the special and cordial relations which exist between India and Sikkim' and 'to apply military pressure on Sikkim.' What are the 'special and cordial relations' between India and Sikkim? To put it bluntly, they are the protectorship imposed on the people of Sikkim by the Indian Government, which has inherited

the mantle of aggression from British imperialism. Frankly speaking, such unequal relationship in which a big country bullies a small one and encroaches upon its sovereignty, has long been spurned by the people of the world, and especially by the awakened Afro-Asian peoples. It is most unseemly for India to try her utmost to maintain this relationship. Talking about 'military pressure on Sikkim,' it is not China that applies it, but precisely India, who is tightening her military control over Sikkim on the pretext of 'defence.' Is not this the plain fact?"

The note says, "As the Chinese Government has repeatedly pointed out, India's purpose, both in conducting border intrusions and in making slanderous counter-charges against China, is to meet the needs of its domestic and foreign policies. Although the Indian Government has flatly denied this, its denial cannot alter the objective fact. **In order to ask for food and money from the U.S. imperialists and the modern revisionists to solve the grave famine and economic difficulties at home, the Indian Prime Minister has recently not hesitated to repeatedly slander China as a 'threat,' cry that 'China must be contained' and even boast about India's 'contribution' along the Sino-Indian border, in the hope of receiving more 'notice' and 'thanks.' This only enables the whole world to see more clearly the role the Indian Government is now playing in the international arena. We would like to tell the Indian Government that, as the government of an Asian country, it will bring no good to its country by continuing to collaborate with imperialism and its accomplices and even hiring itself out and serving as their pawn, and that attempts at expansionism and aggression against its neighbours will bring nothing except more and more disasters to its people.**"

THE WEEK

(Continued from p. 4.)

gained their freedom. The chorus *Djoliba* is a song in praise of African heroes." Chen Yi also spoke favourably of the dance *Devil of the Mountain Spring* which was about the people in ancient times who discarded superstition, fought and killed the devil, regained the source of the water and survived. He said that the dance conveyed to the people of the present world the message that they could gain freedom and independence only by overthrowing imperialism and colonialism. "This is the best kind of dance, and is of practical and educational significance," he said.

Another dance, *Mother*, portrayed a Guinean woman who made a coura-

geous sacrifice in defending the rights and honour of the country. After her first son laid down his life for the country, she did not hesitate to send her second son to the front to fight for independence and freedom. Vice-Premier Chen Yi said: "There are mothers like her in Guinea, in Africa, in China, in Asia, Latin America and elsewhere in the world. Many Chinese theatre-goers are moved to tears by this dance. Imperialists do not like it, but we like it very much and we hope that it will be introduced to all parts of Asia, Africa and Latin America."

Chen Yi cited the song *Fighting Africa Sings the Praises of Mao Tse-tung and His Great Cause* as one of the best numbers brought to Chinese audiences by the Guinean artists. In this song, they praised Chairman Mao

Tse-tung's works as "an inexhaustible source of strength" and Mao Tse-tung's thinking as "the never-setting sun which shines on the vast territory of China and in the hearts of the fighting people throughout the world." The artists also expressed their desire to "dedicate this song to their black and white brothers in Europe and the United States. Wherever we go, we will lend wings to this voice of truth." The Vice-Premier said that this song expressed the Guinean people's boundless affection and respect for Chairman Mao Tse-tung and his great works. On behalf of the Chinese people, he expressed his thanks to the Guinean artists. He added: "We will strive to strengthen the militant friendship between the Chinese and Guinean peoples and struggle together to overthrow imperialism and colonialism."

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