

PEKING REVIEW

35

August 30, 1968

The Working Class Must Exercise Leadership in Everything

Important Article by Yao Wen-yuan

Brutal Aggression by Soviet Revisionist Renegade Clique Against Czechoslovakia Resolutely Condemned

1. Statement by the Central Committee of the Albanian Party of Labour and the Council of Ministers of Albania.
2. New Zealand Communist Party Statement.
3. Statement of Executive Committee of Swedish Communist League-Marxist-Leninist.
4. Statement by National Executive Committee of Chilean Revolutionary Communist Party.

Communist Party of Poland Is A Working-Class Party

Excerpts from an article by Communist Party of Poland

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報

CHAIRMAN MAO TSE-TUNG'S

LATEST DIRECTIVES

In carrying out the proletarian revolution in education, it is essential to have working-class leadership; it is essential for the masses of workers to take part and, in co-operation with Liberation Army fighters, bring about a revolutionary "three-in-one" combination, together with the activists among the students, teachers and workers in the schools who are determined to carry the proletarian revolution in education through to the end. The workers' propaganda teams should stay permanently in the schools and take part in fulfilling all the tasks of struggle-criticism-transformation in the schools, and they will always lead the schools. In the countryside, the schools should be managed by the poor and lower-middle peasants — the most reliable ally of the working class.

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The struggle-criticism-transformation in a factory, on the whole, goes through the following stages: establishing a revolutionary committee based on the "three-in-one" combination, mass criticism and repudiation, purifying the class ranks, rectifying the Party organization, simplifying organizational structure, changing irrational rules and regulations and sending people who work in offices to grass-roots levels.

Our country has 700 million people, and the working class is the leading class. It is essential to bring into full play the leading role of the working class in the great cultural revolution and in all fields of work. On its part, the working class should always raise its political consciousness in the course of struggle.

— MAO TSE-TUNG

The Working Class Must Exercise Leadership In Everything

by YAO WEN-YUAN

A GREAT high tide of struggle-criticism-transformation is coming. The publication of Chairman Mao's latest instructions and the systematic entry, under leadership, of the mighty army of industrial workers into schools and all other units where struggle-criticism-transformation has not been carried out well are signals of the coming high tide. This high tide follows the work on a number of tasks, including the establishment of revolutionary committees in provinces, municipalities and autonomous regions, mass criticism and repudiation and the purifying of the class ranks. It will bring about profound changes in all fields, fiercely storm all those parts of the superstructure which do not conform to the socialist economic base, educate the masses, smash the hidden reactionaries, carry the great proletarian cultural revolution forward to all-round victory and greatly stimulate the development of the social productive forces.

The important task now confronting the revolutionary committees at all levels is to do the work of struggle-criticism-transformation conscientiously and well, and without losing any time. In order to accomplish this task, it is imperative to persist in leadership by the working class and to **"bring into full play the leading role of the working class in the great cultural revolution and in all fields of work."**

The slogan of replacing the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie with the dictatorship of the proletariat was put forth from the very time when Marxism began to take shape in the mid-19th century, one hundred and twenty years ago. Only imperialism, the landlord class, the bourgeoisie and their agents — the revisionists, old and new — are opposed to this thoroughgoing revolutionary slogan. The Communist Party of China takes this slogan as its basic programme. In order to realize this slogan, it is essential to unite with the non-worker masses, mainly the peasant masses, the urban petty bourgeoisie and those intellectuals who can be remoulded, and to lead them forward.

Throughout the entire process, the great proletarian cultural revolution has been under the sole leadership of one class only, the working class. Our Party is the vanguard of the proletariat. The proletarian headquarters headed by Chairman Mao and with Vice-Chairman Lin Biao as its deputy leader represents in a concentrated way the interests of the working class, the poor and lower-middle peasants and the masses of labouring people; it is the only centre of leadership for the whole Party, the whole army, the whole nation and the masses of revolutionary people. Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line and all his instructions reflect the pressing demands of the working class and

of the hundreds of millions of revolutionary people and embody the proletariat's firm and strong leadership of the whole great proletarian cultural revolution. It was the leadership of the proletarian headquarters headed by Chairman Mao that made it possible to launch the great proletarian cultural revolution in which hundreds of millions of revolutionary people are taking part. To persist in working-class leadership it is essential, first and foremost, to ensure that every instruction from Chairman Mao, the great leader of the working class, and every order issued by the supreme fighting command of the working class are carried out swiftly and smoothly. The theory of "many centres," that is, the theory of "no centre," mountain-stronghold mentality, sectarianism and other reactionary bourgeois trends undermining working-class leadership must be opposed. The revolutionary committees in all places are organs of power of the dictatorship of the proletariat. All units should accept leadership by the revolutionary committees. It is impermissible to allow in our country the existence of any "independent kingdom," big or small, which is counter-posed to Chairman Mao's proletarian headquarters. The old Peking Municipal Party Committee, this watertight and impenetrable "independent kingdom" which resisted Chairman Mao's instructions, was a means used by the gang of big conspirators, China's Khrushchov and company, to oppose working-class leadership and restore capitalism. This "independent kingdom" was completely smashed by revolutionary storms. This historical lesson in class struggle should be borne in mind by all revolutionaries. The citizens of "independent kingdoms," big or small, under the control of bourgeois elements in various parts of the country should also study this lesson.

The workers' propaganda teams are entering the field of education. This is an earth-shaking event. Schools were the monopoly of the exploiting classes and their children from ancient times. Conditions improved somewhat after liberation, but in the main the schools were still monopolized by bourgeois intellectuals. Some students from these schools have been able for various reasons to integrate themselves with the workers, peasants and soldiers and serve them (generally speaking, because they themselves or their teachers are comparatively good or because of the influence of their families, relatives or friends, but chiefly because of the influence of society). Some others have not. In a state of the dictatorship of the proletariat, there is a serious situation—the bourgeoisie contends with the proletariat for leadership. When the young Red Guard fighters rose in rebellion against the handful of capitalist roaders within the Party during the current great proletarian cultural revolution, the reactionary bourgeois forces in the schools for a while got hard blows. But shortly afterwards, certain people were again active in secret. They incited the masses to struggle against each other, and set themselves to sabotage the great cultural revolution, disrupt struggle-criticism-transformation, undermine the great alliance and the revolutionary "three-in-one" combination and

obstruct the work of purifying the class ranks and of Party rectification. All this has aroused dissatisfaction among the masses. The facts show us that under such circumstances it is impossible for the students and intellectuals by themselves alone to fulfil the task of struggle-criticism-transformation and a whole number of other tasks on the educational front; workers and People's Liberation Army fighters must take part, and it is essential to have strong leadership by the working class.

Chairman Mao recently pointed out: **"In carrying out the proletarian revolution in education, it is essential to have working-class leadership; it is essential for the masses of workers to take part and, in co-operation with Liberation Army fighters, bring about a revolutionary "three-in-one" combination, together with the activists among the students, teachers and workers in the schools who are determined to carry the proletarian revolution in education through to the end. The workers' propaganda teams should stay permanently in the schools and take part in fulfilling all the tasks of struggle-criticism-transformation in the schools, and they will always lead the schools. In the countryside, the schools should be managed by the poor and lower-middle peasants—the most reliable ally of the working class."**

This instruction of Chairman Mao's indicates the orientation and road for the educational revolution in the schools. It is a sharp weapon for thoroughly destroying the bourgeois educational system. The masses of young students should enthusiastically welcome the taking over of the school front by the working class, its participating in struggle-criticism-transformation and its always leading the schools.

The working class has rich practical experience in the three great revolutionary movements of class struggle, the struggle for production and scientific experiment. It most bitterly hates all counter-revolutionary words and deeds against socialism and against Mao Tse-tung's thought. It utterly hates the old educational system which served the exploiting classes. It most strongly opposes the "civil war" activities of certain intellectuals in damaging state property and obstructing struggle-criticism-transformation. It thoroughly detests the habit of empty talk and the practice of double-dealing, where words and actions do not match. Therefore, when they combine with fighters of the Chinese People's Liberation Army—the main pillar of the dictatorship of the proletariat—the masses of the working class will be most powerful in stopping all erroneous tendencies contrary to Chairman Mao's revolutionary line and most effective in resolving all kinds of problems which have been described as long-standing, big and difficult. Contradictions that the intellectuals have been quarrelling over without end and unable to resolve are quickly settled when the workers arrive. As regards the handful of villains who have been hiding behind the scenes and inciting the masses

to struggle against each other, only when the workers and Liberation Army fighters take a hand in this matter is it possible to lay their counter-revolutionary features completely bare.

"It's quite enough for the workers to run factories." This is an anti-Marxist viewpoint. The working class understands that it can achieve its own final emancipation only by emancipating all mankind. Without carrying the proletarian revolution in education in the schools through to the end and without rooting out revisionism, the working class cannot achieve its final emancipation, and the danger of capitalist restoration and of the working class being again exploited and oppressed will still exist. It is the bounden duty of the politically conscious working class to take an active part in the great cultural revolution in all fields and to ensure that Mao Tse-tung's thought occupies every front in culture and education.

"Let us liberate ourselves. There is no need for the workers outside school to join in." What the 16-Point Decision states is that the method "is for the masses to liberate themselves." Are the workers not included in the "masses"? Is the working class not your own? All genuine proletarian revolutionaries — not those who pay lip-service to deceive people — regard the working class as their own and as the most advanced section of the masses of the people with the highest political consciousness. The "three-in-one" combination of workers, soldiers and the revolutionary activists in the schools is the most reliable guarantee for the masses to liberate themselves. Whoever looks on the workers as a force alien to himself is, if not muddle-headed, himself an element alien to the working class; and the working class then has every reason to exercise dictatorship over him. Some intellectuals who are self-proclaimed "proletarian revolutionaries" oppose the workers whenever the working class touches on the interests of their tiny "independent kingdoms." There are still quite a few people in China like Lord Sheh who was fond of dragons but was frightened out of his wits when a real dragon paid him a visit. These are the people who look down upon the workers and peasants, like to put on airs and think themselves great. As a matter of fact, they are just modern Lord Shehs. It is essential for the workers and People's Liberation Army fighters to go to those places where intellectuals are concentrated, be they schools or other units, to smash the complete domination by intellectuals, occupy the "independent kingdoms," big or small, and take over those places where the advocates of the theory of "many centres," that is, the theory of "no centre," are entrenched. In this way, the unhealthy atmosphere, style of work and thinking that exist among intellectuals in concentrated groups can be changed and thus there is the possibility for intellectuals to remould themselves and achieve liberation.

"Workers don't understand education." So say some so-called high-ranking intellectuals. Away with your

ugly, bourgeois intellectual airs! There are two kinds of education: bourgeois education and proletarian education. What you "understand" is the pseudo-knowledge of the bourgeoisie. Those who teach science and engineering do not know how to operate or repair machines; those who teach literature do not know how to write essays; those who teach agricultural chemistry do not know how to use fertilizer. Aren't such laughing-stocks to be found everywhere? The proletarian educational system under which theory and practice accord with each other can be gradually brought into being only if the proletariat takes a direct part. You are utterly ignorant of this.

"The workers don't know the situation in the schools and the history of the struggle between the two lines." Don't worry, comrades. The workers will get to know them. Compared with those short-sighted intellectuals who see only their small mountain-strongholds, the working class stands on a far higher eminence. The workers will not stay in the schools for just a few days; they will keep on working there permanently and always occupy the school front and lead the schools. Everything that exists objectively can be known. The working class will deepen its recognition of the world through its own revolutionary practice and remake the world in its own image.

Workers' propaganda teams should systematically and in a planned way go to universities, middle schools and primary schools, to all areas of the superstructure and to all units in which the struggle-criticism-transformation has not been carried out well. Taking Mao Tse-tung's thought as the guiding principle, they should unite with and help the activists there who are determined to carry the proletarian revolution in education through to the end, unite with the great majority of the masses including those intellectuals who can be remoulded and, in the proletarian spirit of thoroughgoing revolution, promote the struggle-criticism-transformation there. This is a great historical mission of the Chinese working class at the present time. In the course of fulfilling this mission, the working class will itself be profoundly steeled in the class struggle and a group of outstanding worker-cadres will emerge, not merely to manage schools but to strengthen every aspect of the state organs and the revolutionary committees at all levels.

In order to fulfil this historical mission, the working class must earnestly study Mao Tse-tung's thought well, learn the mass line and the style of investigation and study that Chairman Mao has always taught us, make constant efforts to raise their political consciousness, heighten their revolutionary sense of discipline and constantly criticize and repudiate the corrosion and influence of rotten bourgeois ways within the working class. The bourgeoisie has a traditional influence in the cultural and educational units. When the working class transforms the world according to the proletarian

world outlook, that is, Mao Tse-tung's thought, the bourgeoisie always makes every effort to use the bourgeois world outlook to corrode the weak sections in the ranks of the workers, including those of their leading cadres. We must maintain sharp vigilance against this. It is necessary to keep to the firm stand of the proletariat and maintain vigilance against attacks from sugar-coated bullets or other means against the ranks of the workers. We must conscientiously do a good job of purifying the class ranks, grasping revolution and promoting production, and make a success of the struggle-criticism-transformation in factories and other enterprises.

Chairman Mao has recently pointed out: "The struggle-criticism-transformation in a factory, on the whole, goes through the following stages: establishing a revolutionary committee based on the 'three-in-one' combination, mass criticism and repudiation, purifying the class ranks, rectifying the Party organization, simplifying organizational structure, changing irrational rules and regulations and sending people who work in offices to grass-roots levels."

These words of Chairman Mao's sum up the development of the mass movement during the stage of struggle-criticism-transformation, and clearly point out the road for us to fulfil the task of struggle-criticism-transformation in factories and other enterprises.

The first task is to establish the "three-in-one" revolutionary committee so that leadership in factories and other enterprises is truly in the hands of the proletariat. This is often carried out in combination with the tasks of mass criticism and repudiation and the purifying, by and large, of the class ranks.

Revolutionary mass criticism and repudiation enables people to wipe out the pernicious influence of the counter-revolutionary revisionist line of China's Khrushchov and his agents in various places, enhances their consciousness of the struggle between the two lines, opens the way, both politically and ideologically, for purifying the class ranks, and, in the course of purifying the class ranks, plays a role in mobilizing the masses and consolidating the achievements in the struggle. To purify the class ranks and deal sure, accurate and relentless blows at the handful of enemy agents, renegades, diehard capitalist roaders and the landlords, rich peasants, counter-revolutionaries, bad elements and Rightists who have not reformed themselves, is an extremely important task for the working class in exercising the dictatorship of the proletariat over the bourgeoisie and all other exploiting classes, purifying its own ranks and weeding out class enemies who have wormed their way into the working class, and it provides the mass criticism and repudiation with vivid living material. Mass criticism and repudiation and the purifying of the class ranks promote each other

and give impetus to each other. They create the best conditions for rectifying the Party organization. After going through strict tests in class struggle politically, ideologically and organizationally, the masses of Party members greatly raise their political consciousness and greatly improve their relations with the masses; the very few bad elements are weeded out of the Party; how things stand with Party members both politically and organizationally is basically made clear; a number of activists emerging in the movement are admitted into the Party, thus infusing it with new blood; and a leading nucleus which resolutely implements Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line is gradually formed. In this way, we can do a good job in rectifying the Party organization and can reach the great goal set by Chairman Mao for Party rectification: "The Party organization should be composed of the advanced elements of the proletariat; it should be a vigorous vanguard organization capable of leading the proletariat and the revolutionary masses in the fight against the class enemy."

This applies to the movement in industrial and mining enterprises and, broadly speaking, also to the movement in cultural and educational institutions and in the Party and government organs.

The upsurge in revolution spurs the upsurge in production. Thanks to the efforts of the hundreds of millions of poor and lower-middle peasants, agriculture in our country has produced bumper harvests for a number of years running. Only with a solid socialist position in the countryside has it been possible for the great proletarian cultural revolution to win victory after victory in the cities. We salute the poor and lower-middle peasants, the firm ally of the working class. With the deep-going development of the struggle-criticism-transformation, many new things are coming forth on the industrial front as well. In the course of transformation, a vigorous technical revolution has come into being in many places. The situation is excellent and inspiring. The handful of class enemies who vainly attempted to stage a come-back have come to their end. At present, U.S. imperialism, Soviet revisionism and all reaction throughout the world find the going very hard. They are bruised and battered, disintegrating and in an impasse. Under the leadership of Comrade Mao Tse-tung, our great socialist motherland, steeled in the great proletarian cultural revolution, is resplendent and has unlimited prospects. We must strive to keep up with the developing situation, fully mobilize the masses, sum up experience promptly, do a good job of investigation and study, be good at seizing on good examples, work out over-all plans, strengthen the leadership and make earnest efforts to fight well in the battle of struggle-criticism-transformation. This is a battle in our fight to win all-round victory in the great proletarian cultural revolution. Let us follow Chairman Mao's great strategic plan closely and advance from victory to victory!

Fukien Provincial and Foochow Municipal Revolutionary Committees Established

IN the tempest of class struggle, the Fukien Provincial Revolutionary Committee and the Municipal Revolutionary Committee of Foochow, the provincial capital, were simultaneously established on August 19. Fukien is an outpost along the southeast coastal frontier of our motherland and stands in the forefront of the struggle against U.S. imperialism and the Chiang Kai-shek bandit gang. This victory was achieved under the brilliant guidance of our great leader Chairman Mao's latest series of instructions and the close attention of the proletarian headquarters headed by Chairman Mao and with Vice-Chairman Lin Piao as its deputy leader.

This is another great victory for the invincible thought of Mao Tse-tung, for Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line and for the great proletarian cultural revolution. It is of tremendous significance in strengthening and consolidating the dictatorship of the proletariat in the forefront of our motherland's southeast coastal frontier, in liberating its sacred territory of Taiwan and in assisting the oppressed peoples and nations of the world in their struggle against U.S. imperialism, Soviet modern revisionism and the reactionaries of various countries.

As long as 39 years ago, our great leader Chairman Mao led the Workers' and Peasants' Red Army into Fukien to spread the flames of armed struggle kindled in the Chinggang Mountains of Kiangsi Province, and created a red base area in the western part of Fukien Province. In 1929, Chairman Mao personally wrote the epoch-making resolution of the Kutien Congress (the Ninth Party Congress of the Fourth Army of the Red Army), *On Correcting Mistaken Ideas in the Party*, thus drawing up the great programme for the building of our Party and army.

Under the wise leadership of Chairman Mao, the masses of the revolutionary people in Fukien, along with the people throughout the rest of the country, won emancipation after several decades of arduous struggle. Since liberation, fighting shoulder to shoulder with the three services of the People's Liberation Army on the Fukien front, they have hit hard at U.S. imperialism and its lackey, the Chiang Kai-shek bandit gang, who have engaged in war provocations in the Taiwan Straits and carried out all sorts of disruptive activities. They have defended the socialist revolution and socialist construction of the motherland and brought about tremendous changes in Fukien Province.

In the great and unprecedented proletarian cultural revolution, the proletarian revolutionaries and revolutionary masses in Fukien launched a fierce struggle against China's Khrushchov and his agents there, including Yeh Fei, Fan Shih-jen, Hou Chen-ya, and the rest of the handful of renegades, enemy agents, counter-revolutionaries and diehard capitalist roaders, smashed their conspiracies to restore capitalism in Fukien and have thus won the decisive victory in the great cultural revolution.

Resolutely responding to Chairman Mao's great call "**The People's Liberation Army should help the broad masses of the Left,**" the commanders and fighters of the three services of the P.L.A. on the Fukien front have used Mao Tse-tung's thought to carry out propaganda work among the masses, organize and arm them. They have made tremendous contributions in the great struggle to defend the coastal frontier of the motherland and the great proletarian cultural revolution and in the glorious task of helping the Left, helping industry and agriculture, exercising military control and carrying out military and political training.

Celebration Rally

On August 19, 400,000 armymen and civilians, carrying huge portraits of Chairman Mao and waving red-covered *Quotations From Chairman Mao Tse-tung*, assembled in Foochow to celebrate the birth of the Fukien Provincial and Foochow Municipal Revolutionary Committees. They cheered again and again: "Long live the victory of Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line!" "Long live the great Communist Party of China!" "Long live the great leader Chairman Mao!"

Addressing the rally, Han Hsien-chu, Chairman of the Fukien Provincial Revolutionary Committee, said: "Sailing the seas depends on the helmsman, making revolution depends on Mao Tse-tung's thought. With its inauguration, the revolutionary committee should, as its most important and most basic task, carry on the mass movement for the creative study and application of Mao Tse-tung's thought on a still broader scale and in a still deeper-going way.

"It should run well and in greater numbers all types of Mao Tse-tung's thought study classes. It is

essential to use Mao Tse-tung's thought as the weapon to **'fight self, repudiate revisionism,'** destroy self-interest and foster devotion to the public interest, remould the old world outlook and make great efforts to promote ideological revolutionization among the revolutionary people of the whole province."

Han Hsien-chu continued: "We should grasp class struggle and the struggle between the two lines as our guide, and unleash a vigorous and sustained offensive against the class enemy. We should make further efforts to unfold the campaign of revolutionary mass criticism and repudiation and thoroughly wipe out the pernicious influence of counter-revolutionary revisionism spread by China's Khrushchov and his agents in Fukien. At the same time, we should boldly mobilize the masses and rely on them to thoroughly expose the handful of renegades, enemy agents, diehard capitalist roaders and other counter-revolutionaries and the landlords, rich peasants, counter-revolutionaries, bad elements and Rightists who have not reformed themselves. We should strictly distinguish contradictions between the enemy and ourselves from contradictions among the people, so that under the guidance of Chairman Mao's revolutionary line, all the revolutionary forces are united in their common struggle against the enemy."

"As Fukien is on the coastal front," Comrade Han Hsien-chu noted, "it is all the more necessary for the army and civilians in the province to heighten their vigilance so that the class enemy can never succeed in his plot to sow discord in the relations between the army and the people. We should enhance our preparedness against war, be ready at all times to utterly annihilate the U.S.-Chiang bandits should they dare to invade, and be ready at all times to liberate Taiwan."

In conclusion Comrade Han Hsien-chu said: "Our great leader Chairman Mao has recently taught us that **'our country has 700 million people, and the working class is the leading class. It is essential to bring into full play the leading role of the working class in the great cultural revolution and in all fields of work. On its part, the working class should always raise its political consciousness in the course of struggle.'** We of the working class should firmly bear this teaching in mind, play our role as the main force in the great cultural revolution still better and strengthen our sense of responsibility as masters of our country on the production and construction front. All revolutionary intellectuals and young students should firmly take the road of integrating themselves with the workers, peasants and soldiers. We should never forget class struggle, never forget the dictatorship of the proletariat, never forget to put proletarian politics to the fore and never forget to hold high the great red banner of Mao Tse-tung's thought. We should be united under the leadership of the proletarian head-

quarters headed by Chairman Mao and with Vice-Chairman Lan Piao as its deputy leader, seize all-round victory in the great proletarian cultural revolution ideologically, politically, economically and organizationally and ensure that the great red banner of the invincible thought of Mao Tse-tung flies high for ever over the whole of Fukien Province!"

Speaking at the rally on behalf of all the commanders and fighters of P.L.A. ground, naval and air force units on the Fukien front, Comrade Pi Ting-chun, leading member of the P.L.A. units on the Fukien front and Vice-Chairman of the Fukien Provincial Revolutionary Committee, declared, "We commanders and fighters of the three services on the Fukien front are determined to follow Chairman Mao's great teaching that **'the rights the people have won must never be lightly given up but must be defended by fighting,'** and pledge ourselves to give powerful backing to the revolutionary committees at all levels."

Other speakers at the rally included Comrade Lan Jung-yu, Vice-Chairman of the Fukien Provincial Revolutionary Committee and a revolutionary leading cadre, and representatives of workers, poor and lower-middle peasants and young Red Guard fighters.

Amidst thunderous cheers, the rally adopted a message of salute to our great leader Chairman Mao.

The rally was followed by a grand parade to mark the occasion.

Press Hails the Event

Renmin Ribao and *Jiefangjun Bao* carried a joint editorial entitled "Unite in Common Opposition to the Enemy", warmly greeting the establishment of the Fukien Provincial Revolutionary Committee. The editorial points out that the founding of this revolutionary committee is of major strategic significance in consolidating our national defence and strengthening the dictatorship of the proletariat. It reviews the victorious course travelled by the masses of Fukien's revolutionary people in the past decades under the leadership of our great leader Chairman Mao. The editorial continues: "The army and civilians in Fukien Province, who are fighting in the front line of national defence and who are charged with serious tasks of struggle against the enemy, must bear in mind Chairman Mao's teachings and rally to fight the enemy. They must never relax their vigilance.

"We must continue to repudiate in depth the counter-revolutionary revisionist line of China's Khrushchov. We must fully rouse the masses and do a really good job in purifying the class ranks. We must strengthen preparedness against war and be ready at all times to liberate Taiwan. We must conscientiously adhere to Chair-

(Continued on p. 22.)

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Brutal Aggression by Soviet Revisionist Renegade Clique Against Czechoslovakia Resolutely Condemned

Statement by the Central Committee of the Albanian Party of Labour and the Council of Ministers of Albania

- Expressing most determined internationalist solidarity and support to the Czechoslovak people.
- Solemnly declaring that whoever dares to touch the sacred frontiers of the People's Republic of Albania, even if he is a member of the Warsaw Treaty, will be rebuffed and defeated by the Albanian people.

THE Central Committee of the Albanian Party of Labour and the Council of Ministers of the People's Republic of Albania issued on August 22 a solemn statement on the armed intervention and aggression unleashed by the Soviet revisionist renegade clique against Czechoslovakia. The full text of the statement follows:

On the night of August 20-21 of 1968, the military forces of the Soviet Union, the People's Republic of Poland, the German Democratic Republic, the People's Republic of Hungary and the People's Republic of Bulgaria, in flagrant contravention of all norms governing the relations between states, committed brutal aggression against the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic and the Czechoslovak people in a surprise, perfidious and fascist manner, occupying by force the whole territory of Czechoslovakia.

While the occupation troops attacked and invaded Czechoslovak territory from many directions simultaneously, the traitorous Czechoslovak revisionist leadership headed by Alexander Dubcek, which was hell-bent on the road of betrayal of the interests of the Czechoslovak people and was terrified by the aggressor troops, capitulated in the most shameful way, calling on the Czechoslovak people and their army not to put up any resistance at all in defence of their homeland and against the invading foreign troops.

The Central Committee of the Albanian Party of Labour and the Government of the People's Republic of Albania most resolutely condemn and denounce the barbarous aggression by the Soviet revisionists and their servants against the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic

and the Czechoslovak people, as well as the betrayal and capitulation by the Czechoslovak revisionist leadership.

The Central Committee of the Albanian Party of Labour and the Government of the People's Republic of Albania consider that the Czechoslovak tragedy originates from the 20th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, which threw the Marxist-Leninist line of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union of Lenin-Stalin overboard, replacing it with the Khrushchov reactionary revisionist line which led to the revival of the revisionist forces in Czechoslovakia and which led to disastrous consequences in the Soviet Union itself and brought difficulty to the whole international communist movement. The military occupation of Czechoslovakia by the Soviet revisionists and their servants is a product of the global strategy of the Soviet revisionist treacherous leadership's collaboration with U.S. imperialism.

The aggression against Czechoslovakia by the Soviet revisionists and their servants is a fascist-type aggression and constitutes the most flagrant violation of the principle of the freedom and sovereignty of the peoples. This shameful aggression committed by the Brezhnev-Kosygin Khrushchovite revisionist clique has brought the greatest disgrace to the honour and prestige of the Soviet Union and the Soviet people. After this base aggression, no one in the world can have the slightest faith in the Soviet revisionist leadership. This is the greatest warning to the Soviet people, to the peoples of the socialist countries and of the countries which are ruled by the revisionist cliques, to the peoples of Europe

and of the whole world about the danger posed by the counter-revolutionary revisionist clique which is ruling today in the Soviet Union, and about its imperialist and fascist aims and methods for the domination of the peoples by relying on its collaboration with U.S. imperialism.

The revisionists' aggression against the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic, which was committed in the name of the Warsaw Treaty, once more confirms what has long been declared by the Albanian Party of Labour and the Government of the People's Republic of Albania: the Warsaw Treaty has ceased to be a pact protecting the socialist countries which are signatories to it from imperialist aggression and West German revanchism. From a peace treaty, the Warsaw Treaty has been turned into a treaty of war for enslavement. From a treaty of defence against imperialist aggression, it has been turned into an aggressive treaty against the socialist countries themselves. Therefore, the Albanian Party of Labour, the Government of the People's Republic of Albania and the Albanian people condemn with disgust this aggressive treaty and solemnly declare that whoever dares to touch the sacred frontiers of the People's Republic of Albania, even if he is a member of the Warsaw Treaty, will be rebuffed and defeated by the Albanian people who are united as one around their Party and Government.

In these tragic moments for the Czechoslovak people, the Albanian Party of Labour, the Government of the People's Republic of Albania and the Albanian people express to the fraternal Czechoslovak people their most determined internationalist solidarity and support. They have faith in the revolutionary and freedom-loving spirit of the Czechoslovak people. They consider that for the Czechoslovak people the only way of salvation and to regain their freedom is the road of an uncompromising struggle through to the end against the foreign invaders, the Soviet, German, Polish, Hungarian and Bulgarian revisionists, against U.S. imperialism and German revanchism, and against all the local revisionists and reactionaries. This struggle will be a difficult and protracted one, but it is the only correct and possible road for the salvation of Czechoslovakia, for the defence of freedom and socialism. The Albanian people have followed this road; that is why they are today free

and sovereign and have thwarted the imperialist-revisionist plans.

The Albanian people are convinced by their own experience and age-old history that freedom is not bestowed, but is gained through blood and sacrifice. Therefore, the Albanian Party of Labour, the Albanian Government and people call on the genuine Czechoslovak revolutionary Communists and freedom-loving Czechoslovak people to rise up in an uncompromising struggle through to the end against the revisionist invaders and against the internal enemies; and they can be sure that they are not alone, that all the freedom-loving peoples of the world support their struggle and that siding with them are also the real revolutionary Communists and the peoples of the Soviet Union, of the German Democratic Republic, Poland, Hungary and Bulgaria, who are suffering under the yoke of the revisionist cliques which organized the barbarous aggression against Czechoslovakia. The Albanian Communists and the Albanian people will always side with the Czechoslovak people in their struggle for freedom. The Czechoslovak people will surely win in this liberation struggle.

The Albanian Party of Labour, the Government of the People's Republic of Albania and the Albanian people have faith in and call on the genuine Soviet Bolsheviks and the Soviet people to rise up in struggle against the revisionist-fascist clique which is oppressing them, to make another great October Revolution, to bury once and for all the ill-famed 20th Congress and its tragic consequences on a national and international scale, to overthrow the Brezhnev-Kosygin revisionist clique, and to make the invading Soviet forces leave Czechoslovakia and all other countries where these forces have been stationed for domination.

The Albanian Party of Labour, the Government of the People's Republic of Albania and the Albanian people call on all revolutionary Communists and all freedom-loving peoples in the world to support the sacred cause of freedom of the Czechoslovak people, to condemn this barbarous aggression by the Soviet revisionists and their servants and to frustrate the big Soviet-American plot for world domination, a plot which has become the basis of the revival of fascist methods in oppressing the peoples and in depriving them of their freedom.

New Zealand Communist Party Statement

- **The Czechoslovak working class and people have only one road back to socialism, i.e., the road of revolution against the whole pack of phoney communists in their own country — which includes the followers of both Dubcek and the Soviet revisionist leaders.**

THE Communist Party of New Zealand in a statement on August 23 severely denounced the Soviet revisionist renegade clique for its monstrous crime of flagrantly dispatching large numbers of troops to carry out the military occupation of Czechoslovakia. The

statement, entitled "The Truth About Czechoslovakia," reads as follows:

The military occupation of Czechoslovakia by Soviet and other satellite forces shows that the Soviet

leaders are in fact, imperialists, not communists. Since Khrushchov they have abandoned socialism and restored capitalism in the Soviet Union. Now they are acting like the capitalists of a big power towards the capitalists of a small power.

The Communist Party of New Zealand told them to their face five years ago that this was the road they were taking. Today's events prove it.

When the Soviet ruling group took the road of capitalism under Khrushchov, they bullied and bribed the Communist leaders of Czechoslovakia and other Eastern European countries into taking the same road. What has happened is that two sets of renegades have fallen out.

The restoration of capitalism took place in Czechoslovakia under the regime of President Novotny which was ousted earlier this year by Dubcek and his group. But Novotny, while going back to capitalism, was content for Czechoslovakia to remain a Soviet dependency. Dubcek and company wanted to cut completely free from the Soviet orbit and join up openly with Western capitalism.

The groundwork had already been laid for this under Novotny. The step-by-step restoration of capitalism which his group carried out created a new capitalist class in the form of highly paid bureaucrats and "business executives." And it also gave a new impetus to old capitalist forces which had not by any means been eliminated. These old and new capitalist forces brought Dubcek to power, using the pretext of "democratic reforms" to carry out open counter-revolution.

But the main culprits are the men in the Kremlin. They are representatives of the new capitalist grouping which has usurped power in what was formerly a great socialist state ruled by the working class.

They are not communists but careerists who seek a fat and comfortable living for themselves and the new bureaucratic manager class at the expense of the toiling people.

When Brezhnev and Kosygin supported Khrushchov in turning the Soviet Union back to capitalism they were able to deceive many people by claiming that they were creatively developing the teachings of Marx and Lenin, the great theory of communism known as Marxism-Leninism. What they actually did was to revise this theory out of recognition. Their revision of communist principles split the world communist movement.

The Communist Party of New Zealand stood with China and Albania in opposition to Soviet revisionism. They warned that the Soviet leaders were betraying the workers of the Soviet Union and the world, that Soviet policy would lead back to capitalism, to imperialism. They have been proved right.

Spokesmen and the press of capitalism seek to use the Russian actions to discredit socialism and communism, but any worker with real knowledge will see through this. He will know that the Soviet leaders are phoney communists. Therefore their actions cannot discredit genuine socialism which is flourishing in China and Albania.

The Soviet occupation of Czechoslovakia means that the Czechoslovak working class and people are under capitalism — Russian style, instead of capitalism, Western style. They have only one road back to socialism. That is the road of revolution against the whole pack of phoney communists in their own country — which includes the followers of both Dubcek and the Russian leaders.

In due course they will take this road. So will the Soviet people.

Statement of Executive Committee of Swedish Communist League-Marxist-Leninist

- **The Soviet revisionists' invasion and occupation of Czechoslovakia was carried out with the tacit consent of the U.S. imperialists. Just like the U.S. imperialist aggression in Vietnam, it is part of the endeavour of the U.S. imperialists and Soviet revisionists to divide the world between themselves.**

THE Executive Committee of the Communist League-Marxist-Leninist of Sweden issued a statement on August 22, strongly denouncing the Soviet revisionist renegade clique for its criminal act of aggression — the armed occupation of Czechoslovakia.

The statement said that the Soviet Government's military occupation of Czechoslovakia is an act of big-nation chauvinism. The Soviet revisionists "pay lip-service to the teachings of Marx and Lenin but act like capitalists and imperialists in thought and in deed."

"The military occupation was carried out with the tacit consent of the U.S. imperialists. Just like the U.S. aggression in Vietnam, it is part of the endeavour of the U.S. imperialists and Soviet revisionists to divide the world between themselves. Just like the U.S. imperialists' brutal aggression in Vietnam, it reveals that both the revisionists and the imperialists are prepared to use every means to maintain their oppression of the peoples. But it also exposes their weakness and their inevitable bankruptcy.

"The leaders of the Soviet Union say that they have occupied Czechoslovakia in order to prevent the restoration of capitalism there. What a shameless lie!"

The statement pointed out that the Dubcek clique is bent on restoring capitalism in Czechoslovakia. But, it added, the Soviet revisionists are by no means going to stop the development towards capitalism in Czechoslovakia which had started already in the time of Novotny, because they themselves are hell-bent upon restoring capitalism in the Soviet Union. The Czechoslovak people are the only ones who can prevent the restoration of capitalism in their country. The revisionists in Moscow as well as those in Prague are trampling upon the interests of the Czechoslovak people which are protected only by the Czechoslovak Marxist-Leninists.

The statement went on: "Then why have the revisionist leaders of the Soviet Union occupied Czechoslovakia militarily? The answer is that Dubcek tried to imitate Tito of Yugoslavia and restore capitalism out-

side the economic, political and military control of the Soviet revisionists. This is a threat against the Warsaw Pact, which is completely dominated by the Soviet revisionists, and against their economic privileges in Czechoslovakia and other countries in Eastern Europe."

The statement pointed out that the result of the military occupation of Czechoslovakia by the Soviet revisionists and their puppets will only be to hasten their exposure and collapse.

It stressed that the Swedish Communist League-Marxist-Leninist condemns the military occupation of Czechoslovakia by the Soviet revisionists and their puppets and demands the immediate withdrawal of the occupation troops.

It noted that the stand of the Swedish Communist League-Marxist-Leninist has nothing in common with that of the bourgeois parties which oppose the military occupation of Czechoslovakia not because they support the Czechoslovak people but because they support Dubcek's attempts to impose open capitalist rule on the Czechoslovak people.

"Therefore," the statement concluded, "our slogans are: Withdraw all military occupation troops from Czechoslovakia. Wholehearted support to the struggle of the Czechoslovak people and the Czechoslovak Marxist-Leninists to bring their country back to the socialist road without foreign intervention."

Statement by National Executive Committee of Chilean Revolutionary Communist Party

- **Support for the Czechoslovak people's struggle to overthrow Czechoslovak revisionist rule and expel Soviet revisionist invaders.**

IN a statement issued on August 23, the National Executive Committee of the Revolutionary Communist Party of Chile condemned the Soviet revisionist clique of renegades for their armed occupation of Czechoslovakia and expressed the warmest support for the Czechoslovak people. The statement expressed the belief that the Czechoslovak people will, through their struggle and unity, overthrow the renegade clique riding on their backs and drive out the Soviet revisionist invaders from their territory.

The statement said: "Neither the Soviet Union nor Czechoslovakia is led by Communists. They are controlled by cliques of renegades who have betrayed Marxism-Leninism and by enemies of the world proletarian revolution. All the policies of both governments are directed at the restoration of capitalism in their

countries for the benefit of their respective bureaucratic capitalist classes. The armed invasion of Czechoslovak territory ordered by the Soviet leading clique corresponds to its policy of big-nation chauvinism and is not for the defence of a proletarian regime; it corresponds to its ambitions for expansion and domination, to its conception of the world as zones to be divided between the U.S.S.R. and U.S. imperialism."

The statement of the Chilean Revolutionary Communist Party said that the barefaced invasion of Czechoslovakia by the revisionists proves the decomposition of revisionism in the whole world. The statement appealed to "all honest militants who are still in the old Communist Party (revisionist) to abandon the corrupt leading clique and re-embark on the Marxist-Leninist road."

Communist Party of Poland Is a Working-Class Party

— Excerpts from an article by the Communist Party of Poland

The Communist Party of Poland, a Marxist-Leninist political party, was established on December 4, 1965 in a country which is under the rule of the Gomulka revisionist clique.

Not long ago, the Communist Party of Poland released a long article "The Communist Party of Poland Is a Party of the Working Class." The article exposes the Gomulka clique's betrayal of Marxism-Leninism and its restoration of capitalism in Poland. It points out that inasmuch as the Polish United Workers' Party has become a social-democratic party, the working class cannot do without its own revolutionary political party, and therefore the creation of the Communist Party of Poland is a historical inevitability. The article explains that the Communist Party of Poland will be built up as a revolutionary party which is loyal to the proletariat; and it will struggle for the overthrow of revisionist rule and for the re-establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat.

Excerpts follow. — Ed.

FOR a workers' party to deviate from the principle of the dictatorship of the proletariat means that it will inevitably take the road of capitalist restoration.

The eleven years of the Gomulka clique's rule are sufficient to convince the Polish working class of the meaning of Gomulka's "new stage," "socialism" and "democracy." The workers have also seen that in reality the "Polish road to socialism" is a road leading to capitalism. It is the old road of the exploiting classes, a road leading to the "paradise" ballyhooed by the churches for the past 2,000 years. In Gomulka's "new stage," it is not the working class but the bourgeoisie which more and more has become the master of the state.

The Polish United Workers' Party has changed its nature and been turned into its opposite, from a revolutionary party into a counter-revolutionary party. All this did not happen overnight. The danger of betrayal had been accumulating gradually and the retrogression emerged eventually in 1956 through a violent upheaval — a retrogression to capitalism.

In the entire period of transition from capitalism to communism, the working class cannot do without its own revolutionary political organization. The political party of the working class must not be a "party of the entire people" as advocated by the modern revisionists. It must maintain its existence until classes are ultimately abolished and the transition to the second stage of full communism has been realized throughout the world.

Inasmuch as the Polish United Workers' Party has become a social-democratic party, the working class cannot do without its own revolutionary political party and therefore the creation of the Communist Party of Poland is a historical inevitability. The declaration on the founding of the Communist Party of Poland on December 4, 1965, says that "without the Communist Party, without this militant vanguard of the working class, it is impossible to build socialism."

The newborn Communist Party of Poland must critically review the past, mainly the betrayal of the socialist road in our country.

Judged by its social composition, the Polish United Workers' Party has gradually become more and more a party of the petty bourgeoisie, a party of the bourgeoisie.

The leadership of the Polish United Workers' Party has departed from the theories of Marxism-Leninism and the principles and methods of proletarian internationalism. It has gradually replaced the recognition of classes and class struggle with the policy of the dying out of class struggle and that of class collaboration, the policy of compromise with the bourgeoisie and the policy of capitalism peacefully growing into socialism. Revolutionary policies have been replaced by reformist policies. Representatives of the working class, genuine revolutionaries in the Party and government departments, have been replaced by "experts," so-called diploma-holders, who are actually representatives of the bourgeoisie. The Polish United Workers' Party can no longer be considered a revolutionary party. Instead

of serving the working class, the policy pursued by the leadership of this party now serves the development of capitalism in town and country. It is a policy directed against the workers.

In the first few years after liberation, the reforms carried out in Poland were all in the category of the bourgeois democratic revolution. They were aimed at monopoly capital, the big capitalists and the landlords; but the petty commodity economy in both the urban and the rural areas was not touched. Urban property (houses and vacant land) and a considerable amount of private capital hiring less than 50 workers were not touched. True, great historical reforms were carried out: the big industries, transport and the banks were nationalized, and the land belonging to the landlords was confiscated. But an enormous and extremely active basis for capitalist production still remained in the cities and villages. The great reforms completed within the scope of the bourgeois democratic revolution had created a powerful basis for socialist revolution, establishing the conditions for further revolutionary changes in the economic field. The problem then hinged on the continuation of the struggle to turn the bourgeois democratic revolution into a socialist revolution. Such a prospect did exist. Since the people's democratic state played the role of the dictatorship of the proletariat, the vanguard of the working class — the Party — was the leading political force for realizing the dictatorship of the proletariat. To prevent Poland from sliding back on to the path of capitalist restoration, it was necessary to advance, to further complete its revolution in the economic base and in the superstructure through class struggle, to uninterruptedly carry out the policy of further restricting and edging out capitalist economic factors in both the urban and rural areas, and to resolutely and unceasingly strengthen the proletarian dictatorship. The biggest and most difficult problem was to transform the peasant economy into large-scale, socialist economy. In 1948, Poland had embarked on the road of developing producers' co-operatives. This actually was the beginning of the socialist revolution. Gomulka then openly opposed the revolutionary transformation of the villages and left the Party. However, in 1956, he rose to power and the producers' co-operatives were dissolved. The "new leadership" deliberately departed from the revolutionary path of transforming agriculture, ceased to carry on the socialist revolution, and proceeded along the "Polish road" leading back to capitalism. The cancellation of the policy of restricting and edging out the capitalist factors in the urban and rural areas simply gave support to the development of capitalist economy and meant taking the road of restoring capitalism.

Marking the millennium of the founding of the Polish state, members of the Political Bureau of the Polish United Workers' Party in their speeches openly declared that there was no economic basis for the existence of exploiting classes in Poland and that there were no antagonistic contradictions in Poland. In doing so, they were attempting to defend their policies of the dying out

of class struggle and of class collaboration; in fact they were taking up the cudgels for the peaceful growth of socialism into capitalism. If there is no economic basis for the existence of exploiting classes in Poland, then it ought to follow that there are no exploiting classes either. And if there are no exploiting classes, then there is no good reason at all for carrying on class struggle against the non-existent exploiters. All this is a big political fraud designed to cover up their real support for the development of capitalism.

When Poland was under the dictatorship of the proletariat, the nationalized industries, transport, banks and monopoly of foreign trade were of a socialist character and served to consolidate the economic base of the people's regime and to raise the living standards of the masses within the framework of a planned economy. But after the clique of renegades to socialism usurped the leadership of the Party and the state, the "new leadership" — the Political Bureau and the state apparatus subordinated to it (as Gomulka has openly said, the Party itself does not exercise the function of government) — has actually played the role of the dictatorship of the bureaucrat-bourgeoisie. We know that the economic base strengthens the superstructure. Therefore, who has political power determines which class, the proletariat or the bourgeoisie, is to be strengthened by the economic base. In the present circumstances when the modern revisionists are in power, our socialist industry, transport, banks and monopoly of foreign trade, the whole of our socialized economy, have begun to lose their socialist character and to play more and more the role of state capitalism, and, as in the capitalist countries, have begun to serve the interests of the bourgeoisie and not the working masses.

Every day and every hour the property of the people is flowing, in legal or illegal forms, from the hands of the workers into the pockets of the newly emerging bourgeoisie. Capital is being amassed in the thousands of millions, some in the form of "deposits" in state savings banks and some in the form of foreign exchange stored away in the country or abroad. This has become the property of the new bourgeoisie. Extravagance and luxury on the one hand and poverty on the other — these two antagonistic extremes are developing markedly. The development of the capitalist economy is manifested in the departure from the socialist principle of planned economy and in the embarkation on the road of regulation of prices by market factors, material incentives, a big discrepancy in wages, and inflation and unemployment. Capitalism, which is developing rapidly, is monopolizing all surplus products. The workers are labouring for the bourgeoisie.

That Poland has embarked on the road of capitalist restoration is indicated by the renunciation of the class struggle against the influence of bourgeois thinking in the spheres of ideology, politics and culture, and by the abandonment of transformation of the urban and rural capitalist economy.

The question has been asked: What guarantees are there that the Communist Party of Poland will not in the future change into something like the Polish United Workers' Party, that it will not change into a social-democratic party?

The key of loyalty to Marxist-Leninist theory and to proletarian internationalism lies in the hands of the working class. The workers have to rely wholly on themselves to guarantee that the Communist Party of Poland remains for ever a Leninist-type party and the revolutionary and faithful vanguard of the working class. The working class must draw a lesson from the past; it must firmly rely on its own strength instead of assistance from bourgeois philanthropists. The historic duty of overthrowing the bourgeoisie and its lackeys in all countries and throughout the world and of building a society without classes rests on the shoulders of the working class. The dictatorship of the proletariat does not drop from the skies. No one can replace the working class in its task of seizing political power.

The workers must take their own cause into their own hands! The Party will then become a revolutionary organization and the faithful headquarters of the proletariat. Only the workers and genuine revolutionaries can prevent the Party from divorcing itself from the masses, degenerating and sliding towards social-democracy and the bourgeoisie. Lenin said that without getting organized, the working class will not be able to accomplish anything. It can be said that the vanguard of the working class, even if it is organized, will accomplish nothing if its leadership is in the hands of renegades to socialism. Only when the organization is under the leadership of genuine revolutionaries and Marxists from the ranks of the workers themselves can the organized workers become an invincible force.

The meaning of a Leninist-type party and Lenin's theory on the Bolshevization of the Party can be summed up as follows: Under the leadership of Lenin, the whole Party and its leadership master the basic principles and methods of Marxist dialectics, forge close links with the masses, and skilfully apply these principles and methods in everyday practice. The Leninist Bolshevik Party is a matchless example of proletarian discipline, militancy and flexibility of tactics in struggle. A critical attitude towards errors enables the Party to correctly light up the road of struggle, speedily correct the errors, remain with the masses and march at their head in struggle. Comrade Mao Tse-tung has pointed out that a party is a revolutionary party if it integrates theory with practice in a revolutionary way, maintains constant links with the broadest sections of the masses, and adopts a serious attitude towards its own mistakes. The vanguard of the Polish working class—the Polish Communists—under the banner of the Communist Party of Poland, is resolved to build such a revolutionary party which will be faithful to the proletariat for ever.

The Communist Party of Poland is the vanguard of the heroic Polish working class. It embodies the class

interests, demands and aspirations of the working class. The Communist Party of Poland has rallied into its ranks the most advanced and most revolutionary sections of the urban and rural working masses of the proletariat.

In order to avoid the past errors of betraying socialism, the structural composition of the Communist Party of Poland must be made up overwhelmingly of the workers, of the proletarian class; it must be linked with the working class and with the latter's life and struggle. The composition of the leading organs must be decisively proletarian.

The ranks of the Communist Party of Poland should consist of the outstanding and finest activists of the working class, and activists of the labouring masses who are most faithful and most selfless. Veteran Communists who have been tested and tempered in struggle should be in the Communist Party of Poland. However, young activists should also be admitted into the Party. Just as they long to join the army, these young activists long to be admitted into the Party so that in the ranks of the Party they can fight for the political power of the working class and for the dictatorship of the proletariat.

The Communist Party of Poland is a party which is engaged in revolutionary activity. In the present circumstances, it cannot carry out its activities legally because it would be destroyed by the renegades to communism, since it is their mortal enemy. Being illegal, the Party naturally has to comply with higher requirements in its composition. It is this guiding thought on expanding the Party ranks that has determined the following definition: the Party should possess the character of cadres, and it should be composed of the finest revolutionaries who are imbued with the highest spirit of self-sacrifice, who maintain an attitude of hatred towards the renegades to socialism, consciously and willingly contribute their strength and abilities to the struggle for the cause of the working class, and who, when necessary, are ready to make the greatest sacrifice.

Even the best working-class composition cannot guarantee that the Party will automatically carry out revolutionary activities. Whether the Party is revolutionary or opportunist or counter-revolutionary is determined by the composition of its leadership and its policies. Whether the Party is revolutionary or counter-revolutionary is determined by the question: Whom does its policy serve, the working class or its enemies? Although they flaunt the label of workers, the British Labour Party and the French Socialist Party pursue a policy of compromise with the bourgeoisie. They are bourgeois parties which are capable of protecting the interests of big capital better than the bourgeois themselves. The former Communist Parties now under the leadership of the modern revisionists have likewise departed from Marxism and betrayed the interests of the working class. They have embarked on the road of collaboration with the bourgeoisie.

The Party's policy serves the working class if it uses revolutionary methods to put its activities on the basis of the scientific Marxist-Leninist theory, and closely links theory with practice. If the leading organ uses socialist revolutionary theory to guide its activities and applies it in a creative manner on the basis of an analysis of concrete conditions as well as the needs of proletarian internationalism and world revolution, then such a party will be a party of the workers not merely in the sense of class composition, it will be a genuinely revolutionary and proletarian party.

Lenin said: **"Without revolutionary theory there can be no revolutionary movement."** The Communist Party of Poland is the Party of the Polish proletariat which bases its activities on the scientific foundation of socialist revolutionary theory — Marxism-Leninism. The words of the Marxist classic writers are not repeated dogmatically but are put into practice in actual struggle. Marxism is the science which maps out the road and methods of action, but action itself proceeds within the concrete historical reality. The whole difficulty lies in whether or not the Party leadership is good at and wants to correctly apply this scientific guidance to present-day activity, whether or not it is good at and wants to imbue its current policies with clear-cut class and revolutionary characteristics. Such characteristics will enable the Party to overcome difficulties and will lead the working class to march forward along the revolutionary road. Such characteristics will make it possible not only to safeguard the positions already occupied but consolidate these positions, expand the scope of activity and influence, and even create a stable foundation for future victories. Combining theory with practice in a revolutionary way will enable the working class to make continuous advances in the struggle to fulfil its own historical mission.

In wildly attacking the theory of Marxism-Leninism as being "out of date" under the slogan of fighting dogmatism and applying Marxism in a "creative way," the modern revisionists have discarded the revolutionary content of the theory of Marxism-Leninism. They hold that it is dogmatism to defend the scientific principles of the writers of the Marxist classics or even to quote them; in their view, only by tampering with Marxism and its revolutionary content can one be "creative." But the fact is that only by developing and applying the theory of Marx and Engels truly, creatively and in a revolutionary way is it possible to make great achievements. In his struggle against the Social-Democrats and the opportunism of the parties of the Second International as well as the Second International itself, Lenin developed the theory of Marx about socialist revolution and the possibility of establishing the dictatorship of the proletariat in a country which is the weakest link of imperialism. Lenin's genius in developing the theory of Marxism in a revolutionary manner was borne out by the seizure of power in Russia. The same thing also happened in China. The founding of the People's Republic of China is the result of Mao Tse-tung's creative development of Lenin's theory. These are all historical

facts of world significance. But what achievements in revolution can be listed by the new and old-line revisionists, the counterfeits of so-called "creative" Marxism? They have been "revising" Marx for a hundred years, but they have not come up with a single positive accomplishment. All the facts of life have denounced them as renegades to working-class interests, renegades who have strengthened the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie. World-shaking events such as the Great October Socialist Revolution, the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat in Russia, the building of socialism in the Soviet Union, the defeat of Hitlerism, the founding of the People's Republic of China, the establishment of the socialist system of states, and the great proletarian cultural revolution now in progress in China testify that Lenin, Stalin and Mao Tse-tung have made tremendous revolutionary developments in the theory of Marx and Engels, have applied theory to practice with genius and in a revolutionary way, and have combined theory with practice.

In their struggle against the revolutionary theory of socialism, the modern revisionists have divided the writers of Marxist-Leninist classics into two groups. They say that Marx, Engels and Lenin are outstanding thinkers, but their theory is about the previous century, so it is out of date and it is not applicable to the present reality. The bourgeoisie and its lackeys, the renegades to communism, cannot afford any serious polemic against the theoretical writings of Stalin and Mao Tse-tung, which are a real treasure-house of knowledge for every revolutionary. They do not allow the sale of these writings, and have even recently banned the reading of quotations from Mao Tse-tung. This shows that mastery of the science of Marxism-Leninism by workers is extremely dangerous to modern revisionism. The Polish Communists are not to be cowed, and they do not believe in the lies of the revisionists. Communists must wage a resolute struggle in defence of the writers of the Marxist-Leninist classics: Marx, Engels, Lenin, Stalin and Mao Tse-tung. Their writings are the most powerful weapon in the hands of the working class in their fight against imperialism and its agents. Today, Mao Tse-tung is the most outstanding theorist on socialist revolution and the successor to the writers of the Marxist-Leninist classics. He is also the leader of the vanguard of the world revolution — the Chinese Communist Party and the Chinese people who stand in the forefront of the world revolution and are fighting U.S. imperialism and modern revisionism. The fact is that genuine revolutionaries must never yield to the pressure of the bourgeoisie in its shameful behaviour of attacking the successor to the cause of Marxism-Leninism. The Polish working class will not allow itself to remain silent in the face of the deception, rumours and slanders spread by the renegades to communism about the leaders of the world revolution. It wages and will continue to wage a struggle to expose this political trickery.

The strategy of the Party is of primary importance and determines the main orientation of the struggle, i.e., to seize political power, consolidate the dictatorship of

the proletariat and build socialism and communism. In order to fulfil the strategic task, the tactics of struggle must be adapted to the needs and situation arising from the class struggle that is unfolding. The Communist Party of Poland maintains that classes and class struggle exist. Class struggle is the motive force of action and progress. So long as class society exists, there are classes, because class society will continue to exist in the whole transition period, and class struggle will also remain until communist society is built everywhere in the world. The working class is the only class which history has produced whose task is, by means of revolutionary struggle, to eliminate all classes and build a communist society without classes.

Only the people's enemies can say that society is peaceful and there is no class struggle. In the present stage of our development, the Party of the working class guides the class struggle so as to bring about the revolutionary social transformation and consolidate the dictatorship of the proletariat in the sphere of the economic base and the superstructure. The class struggle leads to changes both in the form and content of production and distribution, and of economic management. Every economic base historically formed has its corresponding superstructure. In the exercise of the dictatorship of the proletariat, the working class executes supervision over all sorts of transformation, and, through adopting higher efficiency production measures on the foundation of the existing economic base, eliminates loss and waste in an attempt to enlarge and strengthen the economic base so as to continuously increase production and meet the needs of society more and more in all fields. Only after the working class has seized power can all these tasks be fulfilled. Therefore, the most important question in the whole revolutionary struggle is for the working class to establish the dictatorship of the proletariat. Every manifestation of class activity embodies politics, so it is imperative to plunge resolutely into the general current of struggle to seize political power and establish the dictatorship of the proletariat.

During the period of struggle for political power, the dictatorship of the proletariat is the objective; and after seizing political power, the dictatorship of the proletariat forthwith becomes the means and the powerful instrument of the struggle for eliminating class society and building socialism and communism. This is because, after the seizure of political power, the class struggle becomes acute and the dictatorship of the proletariat cannot even for a single moment stop carrying on the class struggle aimed at comprehensively developing and strengthening socialist construction. Socialist construction must be ceaselessly carried on on all fronts and in the sphere of the economic base and the superstructure. The dictatorship of the proletariat must be constantly perfected and consolidated. At every moment and under all circumstances it should be able to adapt itself to changes and be flexible, while dealing the class enemies' counter-revolutionary activities head-on blows.

Only the road of revolution will enable the working class to gain political power. The forms of struggle may

be varied, but their revolutionary nature is beyond doubt. With class struggle as its guide to action, the Party must bring about revolutionary changes, and must help the masses to constantly realize in their struggle the necessity of seizing political power through the path of revolutionary activity and armed uprising.

Class struggle is going on simultaneously in various fields, but there is always a principal link in the struggle. In the present struggle for political power, this principal link is political struggle, a struggle for establishing the dictatorship of the proletariat. Only when political power is in the hands of the workers can the working class settle all its problems. And then the already-gained political power will be consolidated through the struggle, the emphasis of which lies in the economic departments, through the path of nationalizing the means of production and banks, and through the monopoly of foreign trade, land reform, collectivization, etc. However, class struggle will also go on in other fields including the ideological, scientific, cultural and educational departments. Therefore, the dictatorship of the proletariat should not confine its leadership in class struggle to the political and economic spheres because class struggle is also going on in the ideological and cultural fields. It is impossible to build socialism and to prepare solid conditions for the transition to communism unless the positions of the bourgeoisie in the ideological and cultural fields are smashed and conquered. A revolution of this kind is now going on in China. The absence of resolute struggle and purification in the whole superstructure has paved the way for the restoration of capitalism in the Soviet Union, Poland and other socialist countries. After losing its state power and property, the bourgeoisie is still rather powerful in the fields of ideology, culture and administrative management. It still has money and maintains its links with the reactionaries of the world. With the support of all kinds of reactionary forces at home and abroad, the bourgeoisie of a country can wage a struggle for the restoration of its political power through conspiracies and other subterfuges and trickery. All forms of class struggle are developing by twists and turns. The current of struggle going on in class society penetrates the Party and is reflected in the Party. The development of class struggle, the balance of revolutionary forces and the changes in the internal situation, and the reflections of these events within the Party require that the leadership and the whole Party always combine theory with practice and carry on struggles against all kinds of tendencies on both fronts so as to safeguard the revolutionary principle of the Party's policies.

In order to overcome all difficulties in its struggle in every circumstance, the Party must maintain constant links with the masses, first of all with the masses of the workers. A fundamental task of the Communist Party of Poland is to win the trust of the working class. A political party which is divorced from the working class is no longer a revolutionary party.

While struggling for the sympathy of the whole working class, we should spare no time in organizing

allies in towns and rural areas and unite them round the working class. Without the worker-peasant alliance, neither the seizure of political power nor the consolidation of the dictatorship of the proletariat is possible. Concerning the individual peasants, the pillar of the Party is still the poor peasantry and the semi-proletariat in the countryside. This is the social-political foundation of the working class in the struggle for the alliance with the middle peasants, for the consolidation of the already-won political power, and for the transformation of agriculture. Without winning over the countryside, the working class will not be able to gain political power.

The Communist Party of Poland has tried and is striving to win over the intellectuals to stand on the side of the working class and throw themselves into the struggle. The revolutionary intellectuals in Poland should, under the leadership of the Communist Party of Poland, play a big, creative, progressive and revolutionary part.

It is possible for the working class to seize political power only when close links are forged with the masses, the working class, the labouring peasantry and the revolutionary intellectuals. The Party should, first of all, forge links with the entire working class and then with the labouring masses in the city and countryside. The Party's most important task is to arouse the masses in their struggles, expand the struggles to a wider scope, and merge these struggles into a big revolutionary current.

The Communist Party of Poland is a Party with centralism based on the principle of democracy. The basic characteristics of the Party in its daily activities are democratic centralism and its members' consciousness of strict discipline. This unity in action determines the Party's strength and combat effectiveness.

The main task in the daily struggle is to help the working class and the broadest sections of the masses become aware of the fact that there is no other road but the seizure of political power by force of arms. Therefore, all propaganda and agitation work must clearly be imbued with a revolutionary spirit. The political power which has been lost cannot be re-seized through reformist activities. Only the revolutionary struggle which culminates in an armed uprising can possibly lead the working class to the dictatorship of the proletariat. To take back the political power which has been lost, it is imperative to wage the same kind of revolutionary struggle as the original seizure of political power required.

At present, the dictatorship of a traitorous bureaucracy, the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie, which can be overthrown only through revolutionary struggle, is coming into being in our country.

The social-democrats' road is the road of reformism, the road of betraying the interests of the working class and defending the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie. It is also the road taken by traitors to communism. The road of communism is the road of waging revolutionary

struggles for the working class to gain political power and build socialism. It is the road of Marxism-Leninism through which the working class vanquishes the bourgeoisie.

The revolutionary unity and solidarity of the international communist movement and of the workers' movement have created the most favourable conditions for the complete emancipation and development of the forces of the revolutionary struggles in all countries. We are part of the forces of the world proletariat. We subordinate our own interests to the general interests of the workers' movement as a whole.

The revolutionary solidarity of the world communist movement, of the Marxist-Leninist movement and of the national-liberation movement based on the principles of the revolutionary theories of socialism and proletarian internationalism is the highest principle in opposing imperialism and modern revisionism. In order to eventually vanquish imperialism, the workers must achieve worldwide solidarity in their revolutionary struggles.

The Polish working class has its glorious history and great revolutionary traditions. Before World War II, we were called "agents" of Moscow because we adopted an attitude of internationalism in defence of the first state under the dictatorship of the proletariat. Today, we are called "agents" of Peking and Tirana because of our hostility to U.S. imperialism and our struggle against modern revisionism. There is no difference between the past and the present — the genuine revolutionaries and the working masses are on one side of the barricades and the bourgeoisie and its flunkies on the other. Today, as in the past, the Polish Communists are faithful representatives of the Polish proletariat and fighters in the world revolution. Only a section of the nationalist, wavering petty bourgeoisie can be frightened by the charge that the genuine revolutionaries are adopting "pro-China" and "pro-Albania" positions. For the workers, this charge can only strengthen their conviction that we are the most faithful fighters in their interests and the irreconcilable enemies of the bourgeoisie and their running dogs. Together with the whole re-emerging Marxist-Leninist movement, the Communist Party of Poland, the vanguard of the heroic Polish working class, rallies around the Communist Party of China and the Albanian Party of Labour in the struggle against U.S. imperialism and modern revisionism which is centred around the leadership of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union.

Long live the international solidarity of Marxist-Leninists in the struggle against the enemies of the international communist movement and the national-liberation movement!

Plunge into battle!

Strive for victory!

Capitalism shall not pass in Poland!

Long live the Communist Party of Poland — the Party of the working class!

Washington and Moscow Collaborate As Well As Contend Over Czechoslovakia

THE armed occupation of Czechoslovakia by the Soviet revisionist renegade clique has irritated U.S. imperialism. While bringing pressure to bear on the Soviet revisionists, U.S. imperialism has hastened to declare that it would not renounce its collaboration with them merely on this account.

Late at night on August 20, just as the Soviet revisionist renegade clique began sending troops to invade Czechoslovakia, it immediately informed the chieftain of U.S. imperialism, Lyndon Johnson, of this move through Dobrynin, its ambassador to the United States. On the same night, Johnson called an emergency meeting of the National Security Council, the highest U.S. policy-making body, and issued a statement himself on August 21 denouncing the dispatch of troops by the Soviet revisionists and calling on "the Soviet Union and its associates to withdraw their troops from Czechoslovakia."

Dean Rusk, another chieftain of U.S. imperialism, declared with a threatening note at his August 22 press conference that the United States believed that the Soviet revisionists' military occupation of Czechoslovakia "cannot help but damage" relations between the United States and the Soviet Union. He asked the Soviet revisionist renegade clique to "have second or third thoughts about this." He also asked the Soviet revisionists to act with "moderation" in regard to the chieftains of the Dubcek revisionist clique and "not to engage in punitive or excessive measures" against them, thus coming out openly to bolster up the Czechoslovak revisionist clique. In addition, the United States mustered its Western allies to "condemn" the Soviet revisionists in the U.N. Security Council, a tool of the United States, and to call on the Soviet revisionists "forthwith to withdraw" their invasion forces.

On the other hand, U.S. official mouthpieces and propaganda machinery in the pay of the U.S. Government have again and again spread the word that the armed occupation would not affect the global counter-revolutionary collaboration between the United States and the Soviet Union. Immediately after reading out Johnson's statement on August 21, a White House spokesman stressed that "I don't know of any change of the President's very earnest desire" to step up U.S.-Soviet collaboration. On the same day, a U.S. news agency report said that although the invasion would

have a "disturbing influence" on U.S.-Soviet relations, it would not necessarily mean a suspension of all efforts to improve these relations. The United States, it said, has no intention of abandoning efforts to start talks on "nuclear missile limitations" and other matters.

In the dogfight between the Soviet and the Czechoslovak revisionist renegade cliques, U.S. imperialism has always supported the Dubcek clique to free itself from the control of the Soviet revisionists and throw itself into the hands of the Western imperialist bloc headed by the United States. At the end of last April, U.S. Under-Secretary of State Eugene V. Rostow, one of the policy-makers of U.S. ruling circles, stressed in a public address that the United States was watching "with sympathy and hope" how Czechoslovakia was "improving the political atmosphere." To encourage the Dubcek clique to throw in its lot with the United States as soon as possible, he purposely indicated that the United States "will never be slow in responding." Immediately after his speech, the U.S. State Department issued an official statement saying that the United States "is watching with interest and sympathy the developments in Czechoslovakia" and hoped that "they — the developments — will lead to an improvement in relations between Czechoslovakia and the United States." The statement hinted clearly that, as an inducement, Washington might consider giving the Dubcek clique financial and economic benefits.

However, at a time when the revolutionary tide of the world's people is surging forward and when U.S. imperialism is riddled with internal and external crises and in an unprecedentedly difficult position, the United States needs the Soviet revisionist renegade clique to serve as its counter-revolutionary accomplice more urgently than ever before. In fact, this clique has been doing its utmost to help U.S. imperialism in this respect. Therefore, U.S. ruling circles, proceeding from their counter-revolutionary global interests, have to act with restraint in supporting, instigating and inducing the Czechoslovak revisionists to lean to the side of the Western bloc. They do not want anything to interfere with the fundamental interests of their counter-revolutionary global collaboration with the Soviet revisionists. It was precisely out of this consideration that the U.S. imperialist propaganda machine, while applauding and abetting the Dubcek clique most vociferously not long ago in its act of betrayal and encouraging it to firmly

follow the road of "liberalization," over and over hinted that it should remain "cool," "flexible" and act with "discretion" so that the Soviet revisionists would not lose their tempers and resort to military action.

Since the Brezhnev-Kosygin renegade clique came into power, especially since the sinister Glassboro meeting between Johnson and Kosygin in June last year, the Soviet revisionist renegade clique has redoubled its efforts to carry out its counter-revolutionary policy of collaboration with the United States for world domination. And it has since speeded up its collusion with U.S. imperialism in a vain attempt to redivide the world. Like other imperialists, the Soviet revisionists play naked big-power politics, using the sovereign rights and interests of other countries controlled by them as chips for deals with U.S. imperialism. On a series of important international questions, including Vietnam, the Middle East and a so-called "nuclear disarmament," they either arrived at a tacit understanding with U.S. imperialism beforehand or clinched agreements afterwards; in other words, these two have the final say. There were signs that the Soviet revisionists' armed occupation of Czechoslovakia was carried out with tacit U.S. consent. U.S. bourgeois papers admitted frankly that the United States had been acquainted by the Soviet revisionists with the fact that they were sending troops into Czechoslovakia and that this had the tacit consent of the United States. After the

armed aggression took place, U.S. officials had more than once linked the Czechoslovak situation with the Vietnam question and expressed the "hope" that "the Czechoslovak crisis might be 'compartmentalized'" by the Soviet revisionists as "the Americans tried to do with Vietnam." In its commentary, the British newspaper *Guardian* did not mince words when it pointed out that U.S. reactions to the Soviet revisionists' armed invasion of Czechoslovakia showed that there was a "tacit understanding" between "Washington and Moscow" and that "the U.S. was prepared to give Russia 'carte blanche' in Czechoslovakia, just as Russia had given the U.S. 'carte blanche' in Vietnam." It is quite clear that on the Czechoslovak question, just as on other important international problems, there looms the plot of U.S.-Soviet collaboration and behind-the-scene deal.

On the Czechoslovak question, the United States and the Soviet Union have put on a shabby show, fighting each other on the one hand and collaborating on the other. It fully exposes their imperialist nature of close collaboration in a vain attempt to dominate the world. However, as the revolutionary struggle of the people of the world is surging forward vigorously, the more shabby shows they stage, the sooner will they meet their doom.

(*Hsinhua report, August 25*)

People's Armed Forces Led by the Communist Party of Burma Score Major Victories

UPHOLDING the proletarian revolutionary line of "winning the war and seizing political power," the Communist Party of Burma headed by Comrade Thakin Than Tun has in the past year led the Burmese people in scoring major victories by smashing the large-scale counter-revolutionary "encirclement and suppression" campaigns of the reactionary Burmese Government, consolidating the revolutionary base areas and expanding the revolutionary armed forces. The revolutionary situation in Burma is excellent.

Beginning August last year, the reactionary Burmese Government, with the support of U.S. imperialism and the Soviet revisionist ruling clique, mobilized scores of army battalions, including the 77th and 88th divisions which were reinforced and re-

equipped with U.S. weapons, to carry on frantic and continual attacks against the Pegu mountain area and other revolutionary base areas of the people's armed forces led by the Communist Party of Burma.

Smashing Enemy's Offensives by Offensives

Following the militant call to "smash the enemy's offensives by offensives," issued by Chairman Thakin Than Tun and the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Burma, the Burmese people's armed forces and the broad masses of the revolutionary people in the base areas actively plunged into battle. When the enemy forces were tired out after searching in the base areas in vain, the Burmese people's forces ambushed

them in Paukkaung and Zigon, annihilating them by whole squads and platoons and forcing them to retreat in panic.

Meanwhile, rendering powerful support to the operations against the enemy's "encirclement and suppression" campaigns in the base areas, the people's armed forces in Pegu region attacked the cities and townlets occupied by the enemy in the Pegu, Prome, Tharrawaddy and Toungoo districts, and raided and disrupted communication lines including the Rangoon-Mandalay and Rangoon-Prome Railways. Fighting heroically, the people's armed forces succeeded in completely frustrating the enemy's counter-revolutionary "encirclement and suppression" campaigns and safeguarding the revolutionary base areas. Though the reactionary Burmese Government imposed a tight news ban in order to cover up their ignominious defeat, the incomplete figures which have leaked out show that in the ten months between August last year and May, the people's armed forces led by the Communist Party of Burma fought over 140 battles in the Pegu mountain area and its vicinity, wiping out large numbers of enemy forces and striking heavy blows at them.

The people's armed forces were also very active and mounted frequent attacks in other parts of Burma during the past year. They scored important victories by wiping out enemy forces in their many raids on a number of cities and towns as well as land and water communication lines in the Bassein, Myaungmya, Moulmein, Tavoy, Mergui and other districts in the Irrawaddy Delta and in Tenasserim in the southeastern part of Burma. Frequent reports of victories have also come from the Akyab region in the southwestern part of Burma and from Upper Burma.

Armed With Materiel Captured From Enemy

In the past year, the Burmese people's armed forces, using the guerrilla tactics of flexibility and mobility, have made it a practice to concentrate superior forces to attack the enemy and have won greater and greater victories. On many occasions, they wiped out the enemy by squads and platoons and captured large quantities of arms and materiel with which they equipped themselves.

On November 21, last year, the people's armed forces led by the Communist Party of Burma annihilated at one stroke two squads of enemy troops equipped with American automatic weapons at the foot of Pegu mountain, capturing one mortar, nine other weapons and quite a lot of military materiel.

On December 29, the maritime guerrillas led by the Communist Party of Burma in Tavoy intercepted five fishing boats of the reactionary government. When the enemy sent a company to the rescue the people's armed forces ambushed it, capturing more than 30 enemy troops and over 30 weapons.

On March 4 this year, some 200 men of the armed forces of the Burmese National Democratic United Front,

in a three-pronged assault, occupied a police office on the east bank of the Sittang River in Toungoo district of Pegu region.

On March 6 this year, the people's armed forces led by the Communist Party of Burma concentrated their force, attacked and occupied the town of An in Akyab region for 24 hours. They wrecked the police barracks and their warehouses and telecommunication installations and captured large quantities of arms, ammunition and materiel.

From March till May, the people's armed forces led by the Communist Party of Burma together with those of the various nationalities in Burma scored repeated victories, annihilating the enemy's forces in big numbers in Tenasserim and the Irrawaddy Delta.

On April 29, the armed forces of the National Democratic United Front of Burma and the local masses in a four-pronged attack took Kyauktaga town in Pegu district. They captured large quantities of supplies from the warehouses of the reactionary government.

At dawn on June 2, the people's armed forces and militia led by the Communist Party of Burma launched a surprise attack against a police post in the town of Nyaunglebin, Pegu district. Meanwhile, another unit of the people's armed forces, in co-ordination with this attack, raided another place in the vicinity. In these two engagements, the people's armed forces fought so well that the 6th and 17th infantry battalions and many other units of the reactionary government troops were simply unable to deal with them.

On June 7, the armed forces of the Burmese National Democratic United Front launched a surprise attack on Bogale town in the Irrawaddy region in co-ordination with a number of their fighters who had entered the town in advance. They captured large quantities of materials from three "people's stores" of the reactionary government.

Attacking Enemy Rear by Raiding Communication Lines

The Burmese people's armed forces have frequently attacked the land and water communication routes which are heavily guarded by the reactionary government troops. The Rangoon-Mandalay and Rangoon-Prome Railways as well as certain highways and inland navigation routes are often paralysed. The Burmese reactionary papers revealed that in the last ten days of May alone, the people's forces on four occasions blasted the enemy's armoured cars and trains along the Rangoon-Mandalay and Rangoon-Prome Railways.

On the evening of May 29, the Karen people's armed forces stormed a railway station five miles north of Pegu, set fire to its equipment and cut its telephone and telegraph lines. On the evening of June 21, the people's armed forces in Toungoo district blew up by mines an armoured train which was guarding the railways. They completely wiped out an enemy squad,

capturing three machine-guns, two rifles and a quantity of ammunition.

On June 28, the people's armed forces led by the Communist Party of Burma burnt down a bridge on the Pinlebu-Kawlin Highway in northern Burma.

On July 4, the people's armed forces intercepted two of the reactionary government's motorized sailing boats off the coast of Tavoy district, capturing large quantities of supplies.

The reactionary Burmese Government has been scared stiff by the attacks of the people's armed forces on the land and water communication routes. The reactionary authorities of Pegu, Prome, Tharrawaddy, Toungoo and other districts around Rangoon in late June and early July one after another imposed a curfew all along the railway lines from 6 p.m. to 6 a.m. in an attempt to ensure their safety.

The reactionary Burmese authorities regularly send military vessels to escort the ships sailing between Bassein and Rangoon. Moreover, they ordered recently that all ships be fitted with steel plates as a protection.

Masses Aroused to Wage Struggles and Establish Political Power

While carrying out revolutionary armed struggle, the Communist Party of Burma has extensively and

thoroughly aroused the masses by every means in accordance with the specific conditions of the revolutionary base areas, the guerrilla areas and the enemy-occupied areas. In the revolutionary base areas and the guerrilla areas, the Communist Party of Burma is leading the broad masses of poor peasants in their fight to protect their food crops against the reactionary government's plunder, and to eliminate enemy agents and local despots. In Pegu, Bassein, Myaungmya and other districts, land reform is being carried out. The awakened peasants are rising up to smash the rural reactionary political machinery and economic organizations set up in the villages to squeeze the people. They are establishing red political power at the grass-roots level. Actively joining the ranks of the people's armed forces and militia, many young peasants have taken up arms and participated in the revolutionary armed struggle.

Inspired by the people's revolutionary armed struggle and the peasant movement, struggles to seize food grains and anti-hunger demonstrations, both on an unprecedented scale, erupted in July and August of last year in more than 30 cities and towns, including Mandalay, Pegu and Akyab, which are still under the domination of the reactionary government.

The Burmese people's revolutionary armed struggle and their extensive revolutionary mass struggles are combining to form a mighty torrent which is making fierce onslaughts on the tyrannical rule of the reactionary Burmese Government.

(Continued from p. 8.)

man Mao's thought on people's war, rely closely on the masses and consolidate the 'Great Wall' of iron of the coastal areas of the motherland. As for the U.S.-Chiang bandit gang, should they dare to invade the front line of our country, we must wipe them out resolutely, thoroughly, wholly and completely."

The editorial stresses: "The force at the core leading our cause forward is the Chinese Communist Party.' The proletarian headquarters headed by Chairman Mao and with Vice-Chairman Lin Piao as its deputy leader is the one and only leading centre for the whole Party, army and state and all the revolutionary masses. We must closely unite around this proletarian headquarters, unify our thinking and act in concert under the command of the proletarian headquarters, completely crush the Right splittist theory of 'many centres,' that is, the theory of 'no centre,' and resolutely oppose the bad practice of the double-dealers who seem to comply but in reality resist.

"Recently, Chairman Mao once again pointed out: 'Our country has 700 million people, and the working class is the leading class. It is essential to bring into full

play the leading role of the working class in the great cultural revolution and in all fields of work. On its part, the working class should always raise its political consciousness in the course of struggle.' This instruction of Chairman Mao's must be resolutely implemented in the revolution in education and in carrying out the tasks of struggle-criticism-transformation in various sectors of the superstructure. Under the leadership of the revolutionary committees, Mao Tse-tung's thought propaganda teams with workers as the main force and with the participation of commanders and fighters of the Liberation Army should go in a systematic way to schools and all other units in which the tasks of struggle-criticism-transformation have not yet been properly carried out, to promote the revolutionary great alliance, the purifying of the class ranks and the revolution in education, and carry out conscientiously and well the tasks of struggle-criticism-transformation. This is a revolutionary innovation developed in line with Chairman Mao's great strategic plan. This task should be carried out well, and the unprecedented, great proletarian cultural revolution carried through to the end in the present excellent situation."

This army is powerful because all its members have a conscious discipline; they have come together and they fight not for the private interests of a few individuals or a narrow clique, but for the interests of the broad masses and of the whole nation. The sole purpose of this army is to stand firmly with the Chinese people and to serve them whole-heartedly.

— MAO TSE-TUNG

P.L.A. Men Repudiate China's Khrushchov

The Interests of the Revolution Are Our Very Life

The People's Liberation Army, like the revolutionary workers and peasants, constitutes a main force in the current nationwide revolutionary mass movement to criticize and repudiate China's Khrushchov and his revisionism, the bourgeoisie and all other exploiting classes. The army's soldiers and cadres express their criticism in the form of wall newspapers, big-character posters, cartoons and posters which they put up in their barracks, the places where they are stationed and on the walls of the streets. They also voice their criticisms in speeches at meetings held together with workers, peasants, students, Red Guards and other revolutionary people. They regard this revolutionary mass criticism and repudiation as a new course in creatively studying and applying the great thought of Mao Tse-tung.

The following short articles were written by P.L.A. personnel, on the basis of their personal experience, to denounce the bourgeois egoistic world outlook propagated by China's Khrushchov. — Ed.

You Can Never Discredit Us Revolutionary Fighters!

by Pang Chao-sheng, deputy company leader
cited for first-class merit

China's Khrushchov, who gave himself up to the enemy and betrayed the revolution on many occasions, did all he could to peddle the bourgeois philosophy of survival, and raved that "if the need arises we may give up certain Party work in order to preserve the comrades." This is entirely designed for the renegades to wash their hands of their crimes, and is aimed at corrupting our Party and poisoning its members.

Chairman Mao teaches us: "At no time and in no circumstances should a Communist place his personal interests first; he should subordinate them to the interests of the nation and of the masses." Deep in our heart we all understand that the interests of the Party, the people and the revolution stand above everything else and when they are in danger Communists should protect them at all costs, even sacrificing their lives if need be. They should never be afraid of dying for the revolution or sacrifice the Party's interests for their own sake, still less should they betray the Party.

On August 19 last year, we were escorting a group of proletarian revolutionaries and young Red Guard fighters across the Kankiang River to their home districts to carry on the revolution there, when, in the turbulent current in mid-stream, water washed into the boat. A disaster occurred and the boat sank.

Armed with Mao Tse-tung's thought, the revolutionary fighters thought only of the interests of the Party. They acted according to Chairman Mao's teachings: A Communist should look "upon the interests of the revolution as his very life" and Communists should be "ready at all times to give our lives for the cause." In the face of peril, every fighter went into action without fear. Holding high the treasured, red-covered *Quotations From Chairman Mao Tse-tung*, our platoon leader Li Wen-chung shouted out a quotation from Chairman Mao: "Be resolute, fear no sacrifice and surmount every difficulty to win victory." At that moment I had only one idea in my mind: To defend the Red Guards means to defend Chairman Mao's revolutionary line; I must fulfil the task entrusted to me by the Party even at the cost of my life! Mao Tse-tung's thought gave me inexhaustible strength and from the swirling river, one by one I saved eight Red Guards. By the concerted effort of the comrades of the whole platoon, more than 50 proletarian revolutionaries and young Red Guard fight-

ers were saved. But Li Wen-chung and two other comrades sacrificed their lives with honour. They protected the interests of the Party at the cost of their lives. They died for the interests of the people and therefore their death is weightier than Mount Tai. The heroic deeds of these comrades are the severest criticism of the philosophy of survival advanced by China's Khrushchov.

China's Khrushchov can never discredit us revolutionary fighters armed with Mao Tse-tung's thought. Let this coward and his philosophy of survival be damned!

A Communist Should Be Utterly Devoted to the Revolution

**by Ting Fu-chi, railway corps fighter and activist
in the study of Chairman Mao's works**

China's Khrushchov did all he could to spread such falsehoods as that it was "very well worthwhile" for a Communist when his death "wins the highest respect of the people and is well remembered and highly praised by his descendants for generations," and that it was "very well worthwhile" to "suffer a little temporary loss" in exchange for the "confidence and respect of the people and the masses." This is the greatest insult to us Communists and revolutionary fighters. This speculator, China's Khrushchov, regarded a Communist's work for the revolution as a deal, that is, seeking self-interest under the guise of public interest. This was a thorough exposure of his ugly, bourgeois egoistic soul.

"Our Communist Party and the Eighth Route and New Fourth Armies led by our Party are battalions of the revolution. These battalions of ours are wholly dedicated to the liberation of the people and work entirely in the people's interests." Following Chairman Mao's teachings, our Communists serve the Chinese people and the people of the world wholly and entirely. Without flinching they charge the enemy through a hail of bullets or give their lives for the revolution; facing the enemy's executioners they stand firm with their heads held high and fearless of death. Chairman Mao is always in our mind and we Communists work for the sole purpose of emancipating mankind. In performing our duty we never consider whether it is "worthwhile" or not or how to win the "respect" and "praise" of others. Chang Szu-teh, Liu Hu-lan, Lei Feng, Li Wen-chung, Men Ho and many other revolutionary martyrs are brilliant examples of comrades who lived and died for the revolution. Quite the opposite to what China's Khrushchov advocated, it was not because they wanted to win the "respect" and "praise" of others and be "remembered" by them that they performed their heroic deeds.

Once I and more than 50 comrades went to a work site where we were building a railway. We were approaching the entrance of a tunnel when we saw the

dynamite store-room near there catch fire. Dense smoke filled the room; the fire blazed up. If the dynamite exploded, our comrades-in-arms would be endangered and there would be a heavy loss of machines and equipment. At this most dangerous and crucial moment, I remembered Chairman Mao's teachings: A Communist **"should be more concerned about the Party and the masses than about any individual,"** and **"more concerned about others than about himself."** When we **"die for the people it is a worthy death."**

Chairman Mao's teachings are an order. I had only one thought in my mind: I must get the dynamite and detonators out of the room, save our class brothers from injury or death and protect state property from loss. Through the dense smoke I rushed into the store-room twice and, together with my comrades-in-arms, moved out the dynamite and detonators. An explosion was prevented.

At that critical moment, we had no thought that we were doing something to win the "respect" and "praise" of others. If I had followed China's Khrushchov's reasoning, considering only whether this was "worthwhile" or not or whether others would "remember" and "praise" me in the event of my death, then I would not have dared to rush into that room at all because it might cost me my life. Acting on what he said, I might even, like him, have become a shameless deserter at the moment of danger.

In the final analysis, China's Khrushchov's trash about what is "worthwhile" or not leads people to speculate in the revolution, to seek personal fame and gain, and use bourgeois self-interest to oppose the proletarian public interest. He tried in this way to corrupt us Communists and change the Party's political colour, so that he could restore capitalism in China. How vicious!

Armed with Mao Tse-tung's thought, we Communists and revolutionary fighters deeply understand that only complete devotion to the public interest breeds selflessness, and only selflessness yields fearlessness. We are determined to thoroughly criticize and completely discredit the whole mess of bourgeois egoistic philosophy pushed by China's Khrushchov. We will always preserve the qualities of Communists, fear neither hardship nor death, work wholeheartedly for the public interest all our life and completely dedicate ourselves to the grandest cause of mankind — communism.

Be More Concerned About the Party And the Masses Than About Oneself

**by Wang Yu-chang, activist in the study of
Chairman Mao's works and model in cherishing
the soldiers**

Chairman Mao teaches us: A Communist should be **"selfless"** and be animated by **"utter devotion to others without any thought of self."** China's Khrushchov,

however, shamelessly ranted: "Lose a little to gain much," and "care for and protect oneself for the interests of the Party and the revolution." Down with that! This is a vicious calumny on us Communists.

A Communist's life belongs to the Party and the people. We should live and die for the revolution. To work faithfully for the revolutionary cause is the greatest happiness for us Communists. I have only one hand now, but with this one hand I will still serve the people for ever. I have only one leg now, but with my one leg I will still stride forward along the revolutionary road pointed out by Chairman Mao. I will put the invincible thought of Mao Tse-tung in command of every second of my life.

There cannot be the least falsehood where work for the revolution and the people is concerned. Only by casting out self-interest and establishing devotion to the public interest, can one be fearless of difficulties, danger and death. In the past few years, I have, on five occasions, saved comrades-in-arms who were in danger. Each time I was prepared to sacrifice my life. Once, during a grenade throwing drill in May 1965, a fighter made a slip and the grenade, spitting smoke, rolled into a shelter.

At this critical moment, I immediately remembered Chairman Mao's teachings: A Communist **"should be more concerned about the Party and the masses than about any individual, and more concerned about others than about himself."** When we **"die for the people it is a worthy death."**

Chairman Mao's supreme directive is an order. I would rather die myself than see the death of my comrades-in-arms. I would save my class brothers at all costs. I rushed to the smoking grenade and snatched it up, but just as I turned around it exploded. I was wounded in dozens of places and became seriously disabled. But I was happy because my comrades-in-arms were saved from danger and I had done something useful, which was my bounden duty, for the Party and the people.

What is the strength that has enabled me to save my comrades-in-arms at the possible cost of my life? It is the great thought of Mao Tse-tung.

Chairman Mao teaches us: **"Our cadres must show concern for every soldier."** To show concern for the soldiers, I feel, means to show concern for the revolution. The people entrust their sons to the army units. We are the leading personnel in the army. If we do not show concern for the soldiers and save them when they are in danger, we will fail to live up to the expectations of the Party, the people and our class brothers. A person who so fails cannot be counted as a revolutionary cadre and Communist. It is only because I follow Chairman Mao's teachings and have deep class feelings in wanting to share all the difficulties of my class brothers that I can be selfless and fearless and save my comrades self-sacrificingly. If I were a person like that described by China's

Khrushchov who thinks only to "gain much" and "care for himself," I would surely not have been able to save my comrades-in-arms when the grenade was on the point of exploding. I would have been taken aback and stood still or even turned and run away. How despicable that would have been! I am determined not to fall into the trap set by China's Khrushchov.

Though my body is seriously injured, my movements hampered and it is difficult for me to speak, my blood is hot and I will be boundlessly loyal to Chairman Mao as long as my heart beats! Together with the fighters, I will completely discredit the egoistic philosophy spread by China's Khrushchov, always and everywhere take as my maxims the "three constantly read articles" (*Serve the People, In Memory of Norman Bethune and The Foolish Old Man Who Removed the Mountains*), and pledge myself to be a proletarian vanguard fighter loyal to Mao Tse-tung's thought and wholeheartedly serving the people for ever.

Wholehearted Devotion to the Revolution

by Chen Ching-luan, squadron leader of an air force unit

China's Khrushchov advocated putting personal interests above all else, ranting to our Party members that "consideration must be given to personal interests and without personal interests there will be no collective interests." This is utterly reactionary!

Chairman Mao teaches us: **"A Communist should have largeness of mind and he should be staunch and active, looking upon the interests of the revolution as his very life and subordinating his personal interests to those of the revolution."** In the minds of us Communist Party members, only "public interests" are allowed a place; "self-interest" is not allowed to exist. The revolution demands that we use Mao Tse-tung's thought to direct our every action and command every second of our lives. In an air battle with the Chiang gang pirates, Comrade Tu Feng-jui, our close comrade-in-arms, saw that his fellow fighters were hemmed in by the enemy planes. Fired with boundless love for his class brothers and bitter hatred for the enemy, heedless of his own wounds, he piloted his plane straight at the enemy, his guns blazing, brought down two of their planes and so won the engagement. But he himself died a hero's death. This spirit of heroic self-sacrifice manifests the red hearts of our revolutionary fighters and Communist Party members who are boundlessly loyal to Mao Tse-tung's thought.

In carrying out an assignment and especially when engaging the enemy, we often have to face the choice between life and death. This is a most severe test for us on the question of whether we work for self-interest or for the public interest. In the past few years, the comrades of our squadron have kept firmly

in mind the inscription written by Vice-Chairman Lin Piao for our unit, which reads: "Learn from Comrade Tu Feng-jui's fighting style of heroism and tenacity." We vigorously strive to destroy self-interest and firmly establish devotion to the public interest and work for the revolution wholeheartedly. On one occasion when Comrade Kao Chien-kung, our former squadron leader, was carrying out an assignment, his engine suddenly stalled, the plane pitched violently and lost height rapidly. When he saw his plane gliding down towards an area dotted with towns and villages, he realized that the place would turn into a sea of flames if his plane crashed there.

At that critical moment, should he abandon the plane and parachute out to save his life or should he protect state property and people's lives?

Mao Tse-tung's thought directed his flight with these words: **"Our duty is to hold ourselves responsible to the people."** While steering his plane down in a direction where there were no towns or villages, he calmly tried to restart the engine and finally succeeded and continued the flight.

We are deeply aware that only when we are devoted wholeheartedly to the public interest can we fight for the people throughout our lives, and dare to sacrifice ourselves heroically for the revolution and for the people in the moment of danger. If we fail to fight self-interest relentlessly and thoroughly transform our world outlook in normal times, we may, in that instant of danger when our selfish ideas emerge, bring unimaginable loss to the revolutionary cause.

Marching forward in the footsteps of the heroes, we mercilessly denounce the theory of "merging public interest with self-interest" advocated by China's Khrushchov and thoroughly repudiate his revisionist trash at every crucial moment, in our every act during every flight and at each moment of flight. We must redouble our efforts to creatively study and apply Chairman Mao's works, fight self-interest and repudiate revisionism, consciously destroy self-interest and foster devotion to the public interest, put Mao Tse-tung's thought in command of our minds and use it to direct our battles.

To Live a Militant Life for the Revolution and to Die a Glorious Death for the Revolution

by Yu Chun, political commissar of a P.L.A. unit

China's Khrushchov urged Communist Party members to "care for oneself and protect one's own life and health." His philosophy simply means that everything is for survival and survival is everything. This is purely a philosophy of renegades and cowards.

Our great leader Chairman Mao teaches us that a Communist Party member should **"look upon the in-**

terests of the revolution as his very life," and be **"ready at all times to give our lives for the cause."** Guided by the brilliant light of Mao Tse-tung's thought, countless revolutionary martyrs and our revolutionary forebears fought hard and seized political power from the hands of the enemy at the cost of their lives. Today, it is likewise necessary to give full play to the thoroughgoing revolutionary spirit of fighting in defiance of all danger, in order to consolidate the dictatorship of the proletariat and to defend our socialist motherland.

A few years ago, I fell victim to cancer. After an operation, the doctor predicted, I could only live at most three to five years more. I was faced with this question: What attitude should I take towards these three to five short years of life? Should I meticulously "care for myself and protect my own life and health," according to China's Khrushchov's "philosophy of survival"? Or should I follow Chairman Mao's teaching to "bend my back until my dying day" for the interests of the people and fight to the last second of my life advancing along the revolutionary road? At this crucial moment, I determined to follow Chairman Mao's teachings, and use Mao Tse-tung's thought to command every second of my life. So long as I still have a gasp of breath, I will breathe the same air as the people; so long as I can still move, I will closely follow the great strategic plan of Chairman Mao and march forward in the direction he points out.

A Communist Party member should regard his own life as one which belongs to the Party and should never regard it as his own. In handling the relations between the revolution and one's own self, one should put the revolution and not survival in first place. To care for one's own body for the sake of survival is a dyed-in-the-wool bourgeois idea. The sole value of life lies not in its length but in whether or not it benefits the people. The more one works for the people and the greater the contribution one makes to them, the greater will be the value of one's life. Working with double effort in one's limited life is tantamount to prolonging one's life. The doctor predicted that I could only live another three to five years more, but in fact I am still living very well. The doctor's prediction was not a rigid order but a call to step up the struggle. This is the proletarian fighters' outlook on life and death and on happiness.

Living a militant life for the people and dying a glorious death for the people are revolutionary qualities characteristic of the proletariat. The idea that survival is everything and everything is for survival represents the ugly soul of the bourgeoisie. Such heroes as Comrades Liu Hu-lan, Tung Tsun-jui, Huang Chi-kuang, Tsai Yung-hsiang, Li Wen-chung and others gave their young lives for the Party, the people and the interests of the revolution. They live for ever in the hearts of the people. On the other hand, those renegades who betrayed the revolution, sold out their comrades and crawled out from the lair of the enemy, though still alive, have long been sentenced to death politically by

P.L.A. Artillery Fighters on Wholehearted Devotion to the People and the Revolution

Certain people say that a man's most precious possession is his life. But, as I see it, the most precious possession a man can have is a high level of proletarian consciousness, the vigorous revolutionary fighting will of the proletariat and its lofty moral qualities.

Peng Tsu-hsun, battalion political instructor

Leave safety to our class brothers and keep the danger to ourselves! We will willingly sacrifice our lives for the life of the people!

The third company of an artillery unit

To sacrifice myself on the battlefield in the interests of the revolution would be, for me, the greatest glory and happiness in life.

Kuan Shih-ho, fighter

Live to serve the people wholeheartedly and die for the people, utterly devoted to them! I would rather grow up and be tempered in battle amidst the roar of guns than spend my life in tranquillity. I would rather shed my blood and sacrifice my life for the people of the world than be a contemptible coward clinging to life and afraid of death. Willingly and gladly will I give my life to defend our impregnable motherland and to win the liberation of the people of the world.

Chia Chan-kang, fighter

For the sake of the revolution, we should do our best to avoid unnecessary sacrifices. But when the revolution demands it, we should die for our just cause with no regret. We should look death in the face calmly and lay down our lives, if need be, without the least hesitation.

Cheng Jo-tu, cadre of an artillery unit

With a red heart dedicated wholly to the interests of the world's people, I do not hesitate to give my all. The heavens may fall and the earth may sink, but I will never falter in my determination to remain always loyal to Chairman Mao.

Liu Chien-lieh, fighter

Live and die, head unbowed! We must stand firm like giants of steel at our battle stations.

An anti-aircraft machine-gun company

The power of enemy gunfire is limited, but the power of Mao Tse-tung's thought is boundless!

Li Shu-heng, squad leader

The enemy's guns may wound our bodies or even take our lives, but they can never shatter or deprive us revolutionary fighters of our loyalty to Chairman Mao and to Mao Tse-tung's thought, nor can they break our iron will.

Hsu Shu-ho, fighter

In the face of danger, step forward! Though death confronts me, in the interests of the people I am ready to die cheerfully.

Chu Kuei-yuan, fighter

Fear no sacrifice for the ideal of communism! It takes millions of lives to win victory in the people's revolution. It is the greatest glory and happiness for us Communists to sacrifice ourselves to win that victory.

Li Shao-ming, deputy squad leader

the people and become filthy and contemptible, like dog's dung.

Bearing Hardships for the Revolution Is Happiness

by Chao Chen-tsang, mess squad leader

THE nonsense spread by China's Khrushchov about "bearing a little hardship in order to finally gain much" is a means of poisoning the minds of revolutionary fighters and corrupting Communists.

Chairman Mao teaches us to be "the first to bear hardships, the last to enjoy comforts." I try to act according to Chairman Mao's teachings and regard bearing hardships for the revolution as my greatest happiness. The first day I joined the army, I became a cook. I also volunteered to stoke the fires, dirty and tiring work, and so had to deal with coal, smoke and

dirt all day long. When I was appointed deputy mess squad leader, I was still doing the work of a stoker and continued to do the same work even after I became squad leader. I stoked the fires during my four years' service in the army. I look at things this way: The more hardships I bear the greater the support I give to the revolution of the people of the world. The more coal I economize the bigger my contribution to the world's people.

Tending the fires, I am doing my bit to fan the flames of revolution, flames that are burning away all the rotten things of the old world and are bringing liberation to the peoples and an end to imperialism, revisionism and reaction. So long as the Chinese revolution and the world revolution demand it, I am willing to be a cook all my life. I will use Mao Tse-tung's thought to make the revolutionary flames blaze still fiercer and consume China's Khrushchov together with the bourgeois world outlook he peddled.

ACROSS THE LAND

China Reaps Bumper Early Rice Crop

IN the wake of this year's rich summer grain crop, China has harvested a rich crop of early rice. This is another brilliant success gained by the masses of poor and lower-middle peasants and rural revolutionary cadres firmly carrying out Chairman Mao's great policy of "grasping revolution, promoting production." It is also a striking indication of the increasingly excellent situation in China's countryside.

Most of the early rice has now been reaped. Rich harvests are reported from these main producing areas: Kwangtung, Kiangsi, Chekiang, Hunan, Hupeh, Anhwei, Kiangsu and Shanghai. During the growing period, some places were affected by drought or water-logging. However, they still managed to get fairly good harvests.

The early rice season this year coincides with the crucial period in which China's great cultural revolution is winning all-round victory. Inspired and spurred by the excellent situation in the great cultural revolution, the poor and lower-middle peasants and rural revolu-

tionary cadres closely followed Chairman Mao's great strategic plan and, with unprecedented enthusiasm, grasped revolution and promoted production. They mounted fierce attacks against the handful of class enemies and effectively hit at and smashed the latter's plots to sabotage revolution and production. At the same time, setting up various types of Mao Tse-tung's thought study classes, they studied and carried out Chairman Mao's latest series of instructions, deepened revolutionary mass criticism and repudiation, ever more thoroughly uprooted the counter-revolutionary revisionism spread by China's Khrushchov and his agents in various places, and thereby widely disseminated the invincible thought of Mao Tse-tung.

The masses of commune members and cadres further enhanced their consciousness in the class struggle and the struggle between the two lines, and their socialist enthusiasm reached a new high. As a result, every task in early rice production was better done this year than ever before. This created favourable conditions for this season's rich harvest.

The firm leadership provided by the revolutionary committees in various places and the powerful support of the P.L.A. units who are helping agriculture also played a big role in raising the bumper early rice crop.

More Teeth Fossils of Giant Ape Found in China

YOUNG Chinese revolutionary scientific workers recently discovered teeth fossils of the giant ape (*Gigantopithecus*) in Hupeh Province, central China. This find, the first of its kind in this area, is of great referential value for the study of the evolution of man.

This important discovery, another new achievement by Chinese revolutionary scientific workers, was the result of scientific research done in accordance with the brilliant dialectical-materialist theories of our great leader Chairman Mao.

Gigantopithecus was a huge ape which lived during the early Pleistocene period, some one million years ago. Giant ape fossils are of great significance in the study of the evolution of Primates, including mankind, and for a correct understanding of the theory that labour created man advanced by Engels, one of the great teachers of the proletariat.

Since the founding of the People's Republic of China, three fairly well-preserved lower jaws and more than 1,000 teeth fossils of the giant ape and other related material have been found in Kwangsi, south China. Now, this year, young Chinese revolutionary scientific workers unearthed over 200 teeth fossils of the giant ape for the first time in western Hupeh. This shows that during the early Pleistocene period, the giant ape, huge among Primates, not only lived in south China but also in central China. This new discovery enlarges knowledge of the scope of distribution of giant apes in China and demolishes the absurd statement of Chinese and foreign bourgeois "authorities" that giant apes lived only in south China.



After reaping a rich crop of early rice, members of the Changgang People's Commune in Kiangsi Province deliver grain to the state granaries.

Rumanian Ambassador Gives National Day Reception

Rumanian Ambassador to China Aurel Duma gave a reception in Peking on August 23 in celebration of Rumania's National Day. Premier Chou En-lai, Chief of the General Staff of the Chinese People's Liberation Army Huang Yung-sheng, Vice-Premiers Chen Yi and Li Hsien-nien, and Vice-Chairman of the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress Kuo Mo-jo were among those who attended.

In his speech at the reception, Ambassador Aurel Duma recapitulated the Rumanian people's victories in the anti-fascist war and in the struggle to overthrow the Antonescu dictatorial regime. He also spoke of Rumania's progress in various fields in the past 24 years.

Referring to Rumania's foreign policy, the Rumanian Ambassador said that all the activities of his country in the international arena were based on the following principles: national sovereignty, independence, complete equality, non-interference in internal affairs and mutual benefit. He added that strict adherence to these principles was an important condition for developing normal relations between countries, strengthening mutual trust and cooperation among all peoples and safeguarding world peace.

Ambassador Aurel Duma pointed out that the armed forces of certain countries had recently entered Czechoslovakia. This was a serious encroachment on a nation's sovereignty.

On the friendly relations between the Rumanian and Chinese peoples, he said that the Rumanian people cherished profound friendship and high respect for the great Chinese people. He added that they were closely following the remarkable achievements of the Chinese people

in various fields and that they heartily rejoiced at this.

Premier Chou En-lai, in his speech, laid emphasis on the armed invasion and occupation of Czechoslovakia by the Soviet revisionist leading clique and its followers, with the Czechoslovak revisionist leading clique ordering the people not to resist.

The Premier declared: The Chinese Government and people strongly condemn the Soviet revisionist leading clique and its followers for their crime of aggression, and firmly support the Czechoslovak people in their heroic struggle of resistance to Soviet military occupation.

Premier Chou also expressed the Chinese people's support for the Rumanian Government's mobilizing the people to wage struggles in defence of their independence and sovereignty. (For full text of Premier Chou En-lai's speech, see Supplement to No. 34 of *Peking Review*.)

Protest Over Soviet Occupation Troops' Intrusion Into Chinese Embassy In Czechoslovakia

A responsible member of the Department of Soviet Union and East European Affairs of the Chinese Foreign Ministry on August 26 summoned Y.N. Razdukhov, Charge d'Affaires ad interim of the Soviet Embassy in China, and lodged a serious protest with the Soviet Government against the incident in which Soviet occupation troops intruded into the Chinese Embassy in Czechoslovakia and fired into the air over the Embassy, menacing its safety and normal activities.

The responsible member pointed out: "Recently, the Soviet occupation troops invading Czechoslovakia car-

ried out armed patrol and stood sentry around the Chinese Embassy in Czechoslovakia and put its activities under surveillance. At 11:00 hours (Prague time) on August 24, several Soviet occupation soldiers illegally intruded into the Embassy of the People's Republic of China in Czechoslovakia. At 22:00 hours on August 25, the Soviet occupation troops fired dozens of shots into the air over the Chinese Embassy. All this constitutes a direct threat to the safety and normal activities of the Chinese Embassy. This is an extremely serious incident and a provocation against the Chinese people. The Chinese Government and people express their great indignation."

In conclusion, the responsible member sternly pointed out: "I have been authorized to lodge a serious protest with the Government of the Soviet Union. The Soviet Government must immediately stop such provocative acts and guarantee that there will be no recurrence of similar incidents. Otherwise, the Soviet Government must bear the responsibility for all the consequences arising therefrom."

Hongkong British Authorities' Unreasonable Action in Cancelling Registration of Chung Wah Middle School Protested

A responsible member of the West European Affairs Department of the Chinese Foreign Ministry on the afternoon of August 26 summoned P. Cradock, Charge d'Affaires ad interim of the Office of the Charge d'Affaires of Britain, and lodged a serious protest with the British Government against the Hongkong British authorities' unreasonable action in

cancelling the registration of the Chung Wah Middle School.

The responsible member said: On August 3, I clearly expressed to Mr. Hopson the serious concern of the Chinese Government over the question of the British authorities in Hongkong contemplating to cancel the registration of the Chung Wah Middle School in Hongkong, and I sternly warned the British Government that it must enjoin the British authorities in Hongkong immediately to adopt effective measures to meet the just demands of the teachers and students of that school. However, in disregard of this stern warning of the Chinese Government and the strong opposition voiced by the teachers and students of the Chung Wah Middle School and our patriotic countrymen of all circles in Hongkong and Kowloon, the British authorities in Hongkong flagrantly announced on August 14 the decision to cancel the registration of that school. This is a grave incident in which the British Government and the British authorities in Hongkong wilfully persecute patriotic Chinese educational undertakings and renew tension in Hongkong.

The responsible member pointed out: The Chinese Government has long ago solemnly stated that Chinese inhabitants in Hongkong have every right to study and propagate Mao Tse-tung's thought and to carry out relevant activities there, and that they have every right to engage in patriotic educational undertakings in Hongkong. These sacred rights of theirs brook no encroachment by anybody. On the pretext of an accidental explosion in that school's laboratory, the British authorities in Hongkong forcibly closed the Chung Wah Middle School last November and unwarrantedly arrested Huang Tsu-fen, the headmaster of the school, thereby seriously depriving several hundred teachers and students of the school of their right to work and study. Now the British authorities in Hongkong has even resorted to fur-

ther political persecution against that school by cancelling its registration on the same specious pretext. This move by the British authorities in Hongkong can only be regarded as a grave political provocation against the Chinese people and their patriotic countrymen in Hongkong. The Chinese Government expresses its indignation over this unreasonable action of the British authorities in Hongkong. I am instructed to lodge a serious protest with the British Government against this.

In conclusion, the responsible member emphasized: The British Government has talked glibly about its "desire to ease Sino-British relations" and its "desire to see the settlement of outstanding differences," but in fact it has been committing one brazen provocation after another against the Chinese people and our patriotic countrymen in Hongkong. The British Government and the British authorities in Hongkong must be held fully responsible for the consequences arising therefrom.

Strong Protest Against Indian Government's New Crime in Creating "Two Chinas"

Openly collaborating with the Chiang Kai-shek bandit gang, the reactionary Indian Government is becoming more and more frenzied in its anti-China activities of creating "two Chinas." This fully reveals the reactionary Indian Government as a running dog at the beck and call of U.S. imperialism in opposing China.

A so-called "conference on the application of science and technology to the development of Asia" has been held in New Delhi by the United Nations, a tool of U.S. imperialism and Soviet revisionism. The reactionary Indian Government has gone so far as to permit the Chiang gang elements to attend the conference together with delegates

of the Soviet revisionist renegade clique.

In his speech at a parliament session on August 9 dealing with the question of participation by Chiang Kai-shek elements in this conference, Indian Minister of State for Education Bhagwat Jha Azad openly used the reactionary, shop-worn U.S. imperialist term in calling the People's Republic of China "Communist China," while calling the Chiang Kai-shek gang, the sworn enemy of the Chinese people, the "republic of China." This is a new crime committed by the reactionary Indian Government in openly creating "two Chinas."

On August 17, Charge d'Affaires ad interim of the Chinese Embassy in India Chen Chao-yuan lodged a strong protest with the Indian Foreign Ministry against this outrage. He pointed out that the Indian Government had deliberately acted contrary to its repeated assurances to the Chinese Government that the Indian Government recognized only the People's Republic of China and opposed the creation of "two Chinas." He also noted that at present U.S. imperialism was intensifying its activities of creating "two Chinas" and that the Indian Government was also stepping up its anti-China campaign in various fields.

This criminal move by the reactionary Indian Government is no accident. In a statement in the United States in September last year, Indian Deputy Prime Minister Morarji Desai brazenly described Taiwan, which is China's sacred territory and where the Chiang Kai-shek gang is entrenched, as an "independent country." Later, the reactionary Indian Government for the first time allowed 500 anti-Chinese hooligans in India to go to Taiwan to participate in the bogus "national day" celebrations of the Chiang gang. At the same time, a meeting marking the Chiang gang's so-called "national day" was openly held in the Indian

capital. Indian M.P.s and people in diplomatic circles attended this reactionary gathering.

Since the beginning of this year, the reactionary Indian Government has on several occasions allowed Chiang Kai-shek elements to attend international conferences in India. Such action on the part of the reactionary Indian Government has greatly pleased the Chiang elements. The papers of the Chiang gang in Taiwan have recently declared

openly that the Chiang gang is "on the same battlefield" with the reactionary Indian Government and that both parties have "in fact become allies fighting shoulder to shoulder."

In the past, the reactionary Indian Government did its utmost to pretend that it was "non-aligned" and that it did not like to have close contact with U.S. imperialism's lackeys in Asia. Its accomplices at home, the Indian revisionists, also did their best to whitewash it, say-

ing that it was not a lackey of U.S. imperialism and that its relations with U.S. imperialism were not those between master and servant but were relations of so-called "co-operation." But, following its U.S. master's baton, the reactionary Indian Government's increasingly conspicuous collaboration recently with the notorious Chiang gang shows that both are merely birds of a feather. The Indian reactionaries have fully exposed their features as a slave and running dog of U.S. imperialism.

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IN THIS ISSUE

ARTICLES AND DOCUMENTS

The Working Class Must Exercise Leadership in Everything — Yao Wen-yuan	3
Fukien Provincial and Foochow Municipal Revolutionary Committees Established	7
Brutal Aggression by Soviet Revisionist Renegade Clique Against Czechoslovakia Resolutely Condemned	9
Statement by the Central Committee of the Albanian Party of Labour and the Council of Ministers of Albania	9
New Zealand Communist Party Statement	10
Statement of Executive Committee of Swedish Communist League-Marxist-Leninist	11

Statement by National Executive Committee of Chilean Revolutionary Communist Party 12

Communist Party of Poland Is a Working-Class Party
— Excerpts from an article by the Communist Party of Poland 13

Washington and Moscow Collaborate As Well As Contend Over Czechoslovakia 19

People's Armed Forces Led by the Communist Party of Burma Score Major Victories 20

The Interests of the Revolution Are Our Very Life — P.L.A. Men Repudiate China's Khrushchov 23

ACROSS THE LAND 28

THE WEEK 29

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