

PEKING REVIEW

24

June 12, 1970

**Always Marching Along the
Road of Serving the Workers,
Peasants and Soldiers**

— Study of the "Talks at the Yanan Forum on Literature and Art"

**Cambodian Head of State Samdech
Norodom Sihanouk Arrives
In Peking**

**Rumanian Delegation Led by Comrade
Bodnaras on Friendly Visit to China**

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QUOTATIONS FROM CHAIRMAN MAO TSETUNG

This question of "for whom?" is fundamental; it is a question of principle.

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A new upsurge in the struggle against U.S. imperialism is now emerging throughout the world. Ever since World War II, U.S. imperialism and its followers have been continuously launching wars of aggression and the people in various countries have been continuously waging revolutionary wars to defeat the aggressors. The danger of a new world war still exists, and the people of all countries must get prepared. But revolution is the main trend in the world today.

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A weak nation can defeat a strong, a small nation can defeat a big.

Rumanian Delegation Led by Comrade Bodnaras on Friendly Visit to China

Comrade Emil Bodnaras, Member of the Executive Committee and Permanent Presidium of the Central Committee of the Rumanian Communist Party and Vice-President of the State Council of the Rumanian Socialist Republic, and the Delegation of the Grand National Assembly and the State Council of the Rumanian Socialist Republic he is leading arrived in Peking by special plane on June 9 for a friendly visit to China at the invitation of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China and the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress of the People's Republic of China.

Members of the delegation are: Gheorghe Necula, Member of the Central Committee of the R.C.P., Vice-Chairman of the Grand National Assembly and First Secretary of the Ilfov County Committee of the R.C.P.; Ion Circei, Member of the C.C. of the R.C.P., Head of the Organization Department of the C.C. of the R.C.P. and Secretary of the Grand National Assembly; Dumitru Balalia, Member of the C.C. of the R.C.P. and Chairman of the Grand National Assembly's Permanent Committee for People's Councils and State Administration; Demeter Janos, Vice-Chairman of the National Council of the Front of Socialist Unity, Deputy to the Grand National Assembly and Member of the Bureau of the Council of the Working People of Hungarian Nationality; Nicolae Ionescu, Deputy Head of the Foreign Relations Department of the C.C. of the R.C.P., and Mircea Nicolaescu, Ambassador of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

Warmly welcoming the envoys of friendship of the fraternal Rumanian people at the airport were Kang

Sheng, Member of the Standing Committee of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party and Vice-Chairman of the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress; Huang Yung-sheng, Member of the Political Bureau of the Party Central Committee and Chief of the General Staff of the Chinese People's Liberation Army; Li Hsien-nien, Member of the Political Bureau of the Party Central Committee and Vice-Premier of the State Council; Kuo Mo-jo, Member of the Party Central Committee and Vice-Chairman of the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress; leading members of departments under the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party, Chinese government departments, the Chinese People's Liberation Army, the Peking Municipal Revolutionary Committee and the Chinese People's Association for Friendship With Foreign Countries; the Chinese Ambassador to Rumania; and thousands of revolutionary people in the capital.

Peking Airport that day flew the national flags of China and Rumania. It was alive with warm expressions of friendship between the people of the two countries. The revolutionary masses gathered at the airport carried streamers inscribed with slogans in both Chinese and Rumanian, including "Long live the friendship between the people of China and Rumania," and shouted slogans to give a hearty welcome to the distinguished Rumanian guests and express firm support for the just struggle of the Rumanian people in maintaining independence and keeping the initiative in their own hands.

As Comrade Bodnaras and the other Rumanian comrades stepped

from the plane amid the beating of drums and gongs, Comrades Kang Sheng, Huang Yung-sheng, Li Hsien-nien and Kuo Mo-jo stepped forward and warmly shook hands with them. Then, Comrade Bodnaras and the other Rumanian comrades, accompanied by Comrade Kang Sheng and other comrades, walked around to greet the welcoming crowds. Waving the national flags of China and Rumania, the welcomers shouted: "A warm welcome to the Delegation of the Grand National Assembly and the State Council of the Rumanian Socialist Republic led by Comrade Bodnaras!" "We warmly welcome the distinguished guests from Rumania!" "We salute the fraternal Rumanian people!" "We firmly support the just struggle of the Rumanian people in maintaining independence and keeping the initiative in their own hands!" "Long live the friendship between the people of China and Rumania!" "We firmly support the people of the three Indo-Chinese countries in their war of resistance against U.S. aggression and for national salvation!" "People of the world, unite and defeat the U.S. aggressors and all their running dogs!" "Long live the great unity of the people of the world!" Comrades Bodnaras and Kang Sheng and other comrades repeatedly paused and shook hands with people, talked to them and were photographed with them as they walked round.

Among those welcoming the distinguished Rumanian guests at the airport were Rumanian Ambassador to China Aurel Duma and embassy members, Ambassador of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea to China Hyun Joon Keuk and embassy members, and diplomatic envoys of other countries to China.

On June 9, *Renmin Ribao* carried an editorial warmly welcoming the fraternal Rumanian people's envoys

of friendship. It said: "Having a glorious revolutionary tradition and a militant history, the Rumanian people under the leadership of the Rumanian Communist Party led by Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu adhere to the principle of maintaining independence, keeping the initiative in one's own hands and self-reliance and have scored major achievements in building their motherland. In the 25 years since liberation, Rumania has made marked progress in industry, agriculture, science and technology, and in other fields. The Chinese people are sincerely delighted at the victorious achievements of the Rumanian people. At present, the Rumanian people are mobilizing to struggle stubbornly to overcome the worst natural disaster in their history. The Chinese people express their admiration for the Rumanian people's spirit of fearing no difficulty and of hard work."

The editorial continued: "The Rumanian people have courageously struggled against foreign aggression and interference to safeguard the independence and sovereignty of their country. Their friendship with the people of other countries is growing steadily. During the current revolutionary struggle waged by the people of Indo-China against U.S. imperialism's expansion of its aggressive war, the Rumanian people have resolutely stood on the side of the people of Cambodia, Laos and Viet Nam. This just stand of Rumania's has won acclaim from the people of all countries."

In conclusion, the editorial said: "The great leader Chairman Mao has pointed out: **'The just struggles of the people of all countries support each other.'** The people of China and Rumania have forged a profound friendship during their protracted revolutionary struggles. They have all along supported each other in the struggles against foreign aggression and interference. We believe that the friendly visit to our country of the Delegation of the Rumanian

Grand National Assembly and State Council led by Comrade Emil Bodnarus is bound to further strengthen the traditional friendship between

the people of China and Rumania and make a positive contribution to the militant unity among the revolutionary people of the world."

Pakistan Air Force Commander-in-Chief Abdul Rahim Khan Visits China

Air Marshal Abdul Rahim Khan, Commander-in-Chief of the Pakistan Air Force, and his wife paid a friendship visit to China from May 31 to June 7 at the invitation of Wu Fa-hsien, Commander of the Air Force of the Chinese People's Liberation Army.

Premier Chou En-lai and Huang Yung-sheng, Chief of the General Staff of the P.L.A., received Air Marshal Abdul Rahim Khan and his party and had a friendly talk with them on June 3. This was followed by a banquet, given in honour of the guests from Pakistan.

Commander Wu Fa-hsien Gives Banquet to Welcome Guests. Commander Wu Fa-hsien gave a banquet on May 31 evening, warmly welcoming Air Marshal Abdul Rahim Khan.

Commander Wu Fa-hsien and Air Marshal Abdul Rahim Khan spoke at the banquet which was filled with friendship between the people and armies of China and Pakistan.

Wu Fa-hsien said: China and Pakistan are friendly neighbours. There exists a profound traditional friendship between our two peoples. In recent years, the friendship between China and Pakistan has been constantly consolidated and developed, and the friendly relations and co-operation between our two armies have also developed accordingly. The smooth development of the friendly relations between China and Pakistan is in accord with the fundamental interests of our two peoples and conducive to the Afro-Asian people's cause of unity against imperialism.

He said: The Pakistan people have a glorious tradition of opposing imperialism and expansionism. The Pakistan Government and people have pursued a foreign policy of independence and persisted in safeguarding state sovereignty and national dignity and in opposing foreign aggression and interference. The Chinese people and the Chinese People's Liberation Army firmly support the Pakistan people and army in their just struggle to oppose foreign interference and safeguard state sovereignty and firmly support the Kashmiri people in their just struggle for the right to self-determination.

Wu Fa-hsien pointed out: The present international situation is excellent. The revolutionary struggles of the people of the world are developing vigorously. In order to save itself from defeat in Viet Nam and Laos, U.S. imperialism engineered the reactionary coup d'etat by the Lon Nol-Sirik Matak clique, brazenly dispatched its troops to invade Cambodia and resumed the bombing of north Viet Nam. The U.S. imperialist aggression and expansion have evoked the indignant resistance of the three Indo-Chinese peoples. The three Indo-Chinese peoples' war against U.S. aggression and for national salvation is now developing with the force of a thunderbolt, and the situation is getting better and better. Our great leader Chairman Mao has recently issued the solemn statement "People of the World, Unite and Defeat the U.S. Aggressors and All Their Running Dogs!" in which he points out: **"Strengthening**

their unity, supporting each other and persevering in a protracted people's war, the three Indo-Chinese peoples will certainly overcome all difficulties and win complete victory."

Wu Fa-hsien said in conclusion: Tempered through the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, the Chinese people and the Chinese People's Liberation Army are determined to respond to Chairman Mao's fighting call to firmly support the three Indo-Chinese peoples in carrying the war against U.S. aggression and for national salvation through to the end, firmly support the Palestinian people and the Arab people in their just struggle against U.S. imperialism and Israeli Zionism, and firmly support the peoples of the world in carrying their revolutionary struggles against U.S. imperialism and all its lackeys through to the end!

In his speech, Air Marshal Abdul Rahim Khan said: The friendship between the people of Pakistan and China is founded on mutuality of our interests and non-interference in each other's internal affairs. This friendship will grow from strength to strength and prove a powerful force in the cause of peace and stability in Asia.

He said: We are pledged to the people of Jammu and Kashmir that they be given the right of self-determination. The people of Pakistan are gratified at the firm and consistent support that the People's Republic of China has given to the cause of the Kashmiri people.

He said: We believe that the People's Republic of China is fully entitled in her own right to play a leading role in the affairs of the world. We categorically reject the myth of "two Chinas."

Air Marshal Abdul Rahim Khan said: Pakistan firmly supports the Arab people's demand that Israel must at once vacate all Arab territories she has occupied by aggression. Pakistan supports the legitimate rights of the people of Palestine, stands by the people in Southeast Asia, and is concerned over developments in Cambodia.

He said: Under the inspiring guidance of your great leader Chairman Mao, the Chinese people have achieved spectacular progress. The launching of China's first man-made satellite on April 24 this year is a resounding success China has achieved in the field of science. We as fellow Asians feel proud and we wish the people of China greater success, progress and prosperity.

He said: The people of Pakistan will always remember with deep gratitude the resolute support given by the People's Republic of China at the time of our national peril when India launched an aggression against Pakistan in 1965. During those critical days in our national existence not only did we defeat a treacherous enemy but also found a true friend.

In conclusion, he said: Provided Pakistan and China are united, we are certainly able to defeat imperialism and thus set an example for the people of Asia.

Before the banquet, Commander Wu Fa-hsien received Air Marshal Abdul Rahim Khan and other Pakistan guests and had a friendly talk with them.

Air Marshal Rahim Khan Gives Farewell Banquet. Air Marshal Abdul Rahim Khan gave a farewell banquet on June 3 evening.

Attending the banquet were Commander of the P.L.A. Air Force Wu Fa-hsien, leading members of the P.L.A. general departments, Air Force and Peking Garrison and other departments concerned, and Chinese Ambassador to Pakistan Chang Tung.

Both Air Marshal Abdul Rahim Khan and Commander Wu Fa-hsien spoke at the banquet.

Air Marshal Abdul Rahim Khan said: What we have seen in China has greatly impressed us. The whole nation to a man has rallied round the great leader Chairman Mao Tsetung. Under the brilliant, wise and far-sighted leadership of the great leader Chairman Mao, the Chinese people have worked with dedication and revolutionary fervour to make tremendous achievements. We wish Chairman Mao Tsetung a long, long

life! May Chairman Mao always lead the Chinese people to greater and brighter glories! We are firmly convinced that a nation, so devoted in its cultivation and practice of virtues as China is, cannot but be peaceful and does not pose a threat to any other nation.

He said: Pakistan-China friendship has contributed significantly to the cause of peace in our region. Our friendship is not based on the transient motives of expediency or selfishness.

He said: China's firm and consistent support to the people of Jammu and Kashmir in their just struggle for their inalienable right of self-determination has been a source of great strength and inspiration to them. China has given us generous economic assistance. This has yielded substantial results in our economic development. China proved in deeds the depth and loyalty of her friendship for Pakistan and her firm backing for a just cause.

Air Marshal Abdul Rahim Khan said: As we look at the world today, we come to the inescapable conclusion that without the active participation and agreement of the People's Republic of China in world affairs there is no hope for peace and stability in Asia or in any corner of the world at large.

He said in conclusion: We shall greatly look forward to the exchange of visits between our two countries in the months and years ahead, so as to promote the constant growth and development of Pakistan-China friendship.

In his speech, Commander Wu Fa-hsien said: Air Marshal Abdul Rahim Khan's visit has achieved very good results and made useful contributions to the further promotion of mutual understanding and friendship between our two peoples, two armies and two air forces.

He said: Our great leader Chairman Mao teaches us: **"The just struggles of the people of all countries support each other."** Our two peoples sympathize with, support and encourage each other in the struggle

against imperialism and expansionism. The Chinese people and Government consistently give warm sympathy and support to the Pakistan people in their just struggle to safeguard national independence and oppose foreign aggression and interference, and firmly support the Kashmiri people in their just struggle for the right to self-determination. The Pakistan Government and people support the struggle of the Chinese people against the creation of "two Chinas" and support the restoration of China's legitimate rights in the United Nations. We express our thanks for this.

To safeguard and develop the friendship between China and Pakistan, Wu Fa-hsien pointed out, is the common aspirations of our two peoples. Together with our Pakistan friends, we will, as always, make joint efforts to further develop the friendly relations and co-operation between our two countries. The people of Pakistan can rest assured that the Chinese people will always remain their reliable friends in the struggle against imperialism and expansionism.

Wu Fa-hsien said in conclusion: In such an excellent situation both at home and abroad, the Chinese people and Chinese People's Liberation Army continue to maintain high vigilance, enhance preparedness against war and are ready at all times to wipe out all enemies who dare to invade our country. Meanwhile, we will certainly fulfil our proletarian internationalist duty and give firm support to the revolutionary struggles of the peoples of the world against U.S. imperialism and all its lackeys until final victory is won.

During his stay in Peking, Air Marshal Abdul Rahim Khan, accompanied by Commander Wu Fa-hsien, watched an exhibition flight by an Air Force unit of the P.L.A. Peking units and visited the "May 7" Pharmaceutical Factory run by the families of servicemen of the Air Force unit and an exhibition of clay sculpture presenting the family histories of some commanders and fighters of the unit. The guests from Pakistan saw a modern revolutionary dance drama,

The Red Detachment of Women, and visited the Ming Tombs and the Great Wall in company with Deputy Commander of the P.L.A. Air Force Kuang Jen-nung.

Air Marshal Abdul Rahim Khan, accompanied by Deputy Commander Kuang Jen-nung, made a special trip to visit Shaoshan, birthplace of our great leader Chairman Mao. The Air Marshal's party also visited Shanghai, Hangchow and other cities in south China.

Air Force Commander Wu Fa-hsien, leading members of the departments concerned, commanders and fighters of the Chinese Air Force and more than a thousand militiamen of the capital were at the airport to welcome Air Marshal Abdul Rahim Khan on his arrival and to give him a warm send-off when he left Peking.

Premier Chou Receives Cambodian Foreign Minister Sarin Chhak and Ambassador Ker Meas

Chou En-lai, Premier of the State Council of the People's Republic of China, received Sarin Chhak, Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Royal Government of National Union Under the Leadership of the National United Front of Kampuchea, and Ker Meas, Ambassador to China of the Kingdom of Cambodia under the leadership of the N.U.F.K., on June 5 afternoon.

Premier Chou En-lai had a cordial and friendly talk with them.

Present on the occasion were Han Nien-lung, Vice-Minister of Foreign Affairs; Tsao Ke-chiang, Deputy Director of the Asian Department of the Foreign Ministry; and Han Hsu, Deputy Director of the Protocol Department of the Foreign Ministry.

Premier Chou Receives New Yugoslav Ambassador to China

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

new Ambassador of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia to China, and had a friendly conversation with him on June 5 afternoon.

Among those present on the occasion were Li Lien-ching, Deputy Director of the Soviet Union and East European Department of the Foreign Ministry, and Han Hsu, Deputy Director of the Protocol Department of the Foreign Ministry.

52nd Anniversary of Independence of Afghanistan Marked

Hedayatullah Saidi, Charge d'Affaires ad interim of the Embassy of the Kingdom of Afghanistan in China, gave a reception on May 27 to mark the 52nd anniversary of the independence of Afghanistan.

Present on the occasion were Chou En-lai, Premier of the State Council; Li Hsien-nien, Vice-Premier; Kuo Mo-jo, Vice-Chairman of the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress; and leading members of the departments concerned.

Charge d'Affaires ad interim Hedayatullah Saidi and Vice-Premier Li Hsien-nien spoke at the reception.

Hedayatullah Saidi said: Our relations with the People's Republic of China rely on friendly and traditional ties and have been further strengthened through the wishes of both sides for mutual respect and understanding, non-interference in each other's internal affairs, equality and the Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence. Afghanistan has always supported the restoration of the legitimate rights of the People's Republic of China in the United Nations and will continue its efforts in this way.

He added: Economic co-operation between our two countries, financial and technical assistance of the People's Republic of China for building some developing projects of Afghanistan are being appreciated by the Afghan people and Government. The signing of the Sino-Afghan Boundary Agreement has been resulted in pro-

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Peking Review, No. 24

In Commemoration of the 28th Anniversary of "Talks at the Yen-an Forum on Literature and Art"

Always Marching Along the Road of Serving the Workers, Peasants And Soldiers

— Study of the "Talks at the Yen-an Forum on Literature and Art"

by the Writing Group of the Revolutionary Committee of the
Kwangsi Chuang Autonomous Region

TWENTY-EIGHT years ago, our great leader and the revolutionary teacher of the proletariat Chairman Mao issued the *Talks at the Yen-an Forum on Literature and Art*. This is a brilliant, epoch-making Marxist-Leninist document.

In this great work, Chairman Mao, by virtue of the thoroughgoing proletarian world outlook, comprehensively, systematically and penetratingly summed up the historical experience of the struggle between the two lines on the literary and art front, pointed out the fundamental orientation for proletarian literature and art to serve the workers, peasants and soldiers, defined the most correct proletarian revolutionary line in literature and art and solved in theory and in practice a series of questions of principle concerning the development of the movement for proletarian revolution in literature and art, thus bringing Marxist-Leninist world outlook and theory on literature and art to a completely new stage. The *Talks* is a great programme for the proletarian cultural revolution and a guide to action for the revolutionary literary and art workers as well as all revolutionary intellectuals in remoulding their world outlook.

Like a brilliant beacon, this great work of Chairman Mao's has in the past 28 years illuminated the way for the masses of revolutionary literary and art workers to advance victoriously along the road of serving the workers, peasants and soldiers, tremendously in-

spiring the revolutionary people in their struggle to thoroughly smash the reactionary feudal, bourgeois and revisionist culture. Its influence has been great and far-reaching with regard to the Chinese proletariat's seizure and consolidation of political power and the promotion of the world revolutionary movement.

History has entered the militant 70s. China's Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution has already won tremendous victory; the movement for proletarian revolution in literature and art is surging forward. The re-study of this brilliant work of Chairman Mao's is of major importance to us in thoroughly criticizing the counter-revolutionary revisionist line in literature and art pushed by the renegade, hidden traitor and scab Liu Shao-chi and his agents in this field — Chou Yang, Hsia Yen, Tien Han and Yang Han-sheng — and in conscientiously carrying out the struggle-criticism-transformation on this front so that literature and art will always advance along the road of serving the workers, peasants and soldiers.

I

Chairman Mao explicitly pointed out in his *Talks at the Yen-an Forum on Literature and Art*: "All our literature and art are for the masses of the people, and in the first place for the workers, peasants and soldiers; they are created for the workers, peasants and soldiers

and are for their use." This great teaching of Chairman Mao's represents the fundamental orientation of proletarian literature and art, and constitutes the fundamental distinction between the proletarian literature and art and the literature and art of all exploiting classes.

The masses of workers, peasants and soldiers are the true makers of history as well as the true creators of literature and art. Ours is a new epoch in which the workers, peasants and soldiers are the masters. The proletariat and the working masses are grasping in their own hands the destiny of world history, and are creating a new world without imperialism, without capitalism and without any system of exploitation. Literature and art that persevere in serving the workers, peasants and soldiers will have boundless vitality, be capable of encouraging and educating the people and will be welcomed by the masses of the people, whereas the literature and art which run counter to the principle of serving the workers, peasants and soldiers are against the tide of history and are bound to be spurned by them.

Chairman Mao teaches us: **"This question of 'for whom?' is fundamental; it is a question of principle."** (*Talks at the Yen-an Forum on Literature and Art.*) On the literary and art front, fierce struggles centring round the question of for whom have been waged between the two classes and the two lines. Acting on the instructions of their sinister master Liu Shao-chi and abusing the power they had usurped, the vicious chieftain Chou Yang and company in literary and art circles had frantically opposed Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line in literature and art and energetically pushed the sinister counter-revolutionary revisionist line. The so-called "literature and art of the entire people" was the major slogan of this pernicious line. Chou Yang and company alleged that the stage had been reached in which literature and art could become "the undertaking of the entire people" and that literature and art should "serve all types of people."

Chairman Mao pointed out in his *Talks*: **"In the world today all culture, all literature and art belong to definite classes and are geared to definite political lines. There is in fact no such thing as art for art's sake, art that stands above classes, art that is detached from or independent of politics."** Literature and art have always been an instrument of class struggle. In socialist society classes, class contradictions and class struggle still exist. The bourgeoisie vigorously opposes the literature and art which are of value to the proletariat. Naturally what the bourgeoisie welcomes and applauds is harmful to the proletariat. There is absolutely no such things as "literature and art of the entire people" that "serve all types of people"! This tattered banner — "literature and art of the entire people" — flaunted by Chou Yang and company is nothing new; it is only a refurbished version of "the literature and art that transcend classes" peddled by Chiang Kai-shek's hired literati Liang Shih-chiu and his ilk, which Chairman Mao discredited long ago in his *Talks*. Hitting the nail on the head, Chairman Mao pointed out then: People

like Liang Shih-chiu **"talk about literature and art as transcending classes, but in fact they uphold bourgeois literature and art and oppose proletarian literature and art."** (*Talks at the Yen-an Forum on Literature and Art.*) The "literature and art of the entire people" which Liu Shao-chi and Chou Yang and company advocated are in fact feudal, bourgeois and revisionist literature and art and are against the Party and socialism. Such reactionary literature and art served their plot to subvert the dictatorship of the proletariat and to restore capitalism.

In order to deceive the masses, Chou Yang and other counter-revolutionary revisionists sometimes raised the cry of writing about the workers, peasants and soldiers and including such roles in stage performances. In practice, however, they distorted the images of the workers, peasants and soldiers and threw mud in their faces. They either slandered them as backward elements, varlets and ruffians or filled our socialist literary and art stage with feudal, bourgeois and revisionist ghosts and monsters in the guise of workers, peasants and soldiers. The opera *Liu San Chieh* ("Third Sister Liu") painstakingly fostered by them in Kwangsi was a typical example which pretended to eulogize the working people but in fact slandered them.

In the fierce struggle between the two classes and the two lines on the literary and art front, Comrade Chiang Ching led the revolutionary literary and art workers in attacking and capturing the stubborn fortresses — Peking opera, ballet and symphonic music — in which feudal, bourgeois and revisionist rule prevailed, and subsequently creating the model revolutionary theatrical works radiant with Mao Tsetung Thought, thereby ushering in a new era of the development of proletarian literature and art.

The model revolutionary theatrical works have driven the representatives of the exploiting classes and all monsters and ghosts off the stage. This represents the emancipation of the workers, peasants and soldiers on the literary and art stage, and gives expression to their earnest aspirations. These productions portray and eulogize with enthusiasm worker, peasant and soldier heroes and heroines who are armed with Mao Tsetung Thought and in the process encourage and strengthen them tremendously. These works fully embody Chairman Mao's correct principles **"Make the past serve the present and foreign things serve China"** and **"Weed through the old to bring forth the new."** Peking opera traditions and classical art forms such as the ballet and symphonic music which originated in foreign countries have been transformed or innovated, in line with the requirements of revolutionary contents, into the art forms loved by workers, peasants and soldiers in whose service they are now performed. From politics to the arts, from content to form and from the creative thinking to method of writing, these model revolutionary theatrical works have set a brilliant example of revolutionary literature and art serving the workers, peasants and soldiers. These art treasures reflect our great era of Mao Tsetung. They constitute

a powerful spiritual weapon that inspires the Chinese people and the revolutionary people of the world to wage valiant struggles to bury imperialism, revisionism and all reaction.

Earth-shaking changes have taken place in the sphere of literature and art since the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution. But **“the defeated class will still struggle. These people are still around and this class still exists.”** A handful of class enemies who are not reconciled to their defeat are still attempting to use their reactionary literature and art in putting up a last-ditch resistance. At the same time, there are some people in the literary and art ranks who have not yet fully settled for themselves the question of literature and art serving the workers, peasants and soldiers because their world outlook has not been thoroughly remoulded and because the pernicious influence of the sinister counter-revolutionary revisionist line in literature and art has not been completely eliminated. This is expressed concentratedly in the following: Whether one portrays with proletarian feelings the lofty images of the worker, peasant and soldier heroes or follows the old path of engaging in “truthful writing” and in presenting “middle characters” based on his unreformed bourgeois or petty-bourgeois feelings; whether one performs a play on a revolutionary theme and be a revolutionary or contends for a title role, seeks prominence and attempts to steal the limelight; whether one goes among the workers, peasants and soldiers to serve them or wants the workers, peasants and soldiers to serve oneself; whether one creates new and original socialist and proletarian works or sticks to outdated conventional practice and clings tenaciously to the old contents and forms. These questions are essentially questions of whether one serves the workers, peasants and soldiers wholeheartedly or strives for personal fame, gain and position. The masses of literary and art workers should wage an arduous struggle and commit themselves to long-term efforts in order to really solve for themselves ideologically the question concerning the direction for literature and art to serve the workers, peasants and soldiers.

II

In the *Talks*, Chairman Mao earnestly taught us: Our literary and art workers **“must . . . shift their stand; they must gradually move their feet over to the side of the workers, peasants and soldiers, to the side of the proletariat, through the process of going into their very midst and into the thick of practical struggles and through the process of studying Marxism and society. Only in this way can we have a literature and art that are truly for the workers, peasants and soldiers, a truly proletarian literature and art.”** This great teaching of Chairman Mao's is the only correct road for revolutionary literary and art workers to follow in order to serve the workers, peasants and soldiers.

Facts prove that only by integrating with the workers, peasants and soldiers, conscientiously remoulding their world outlook and becoming revolutionaries will literary and art workers be able to understand the

mental world of the heroes of the proletariat and have the political enthusiasm to portray their images. Otherwise they cannot put on revolutionary theatrical works well or portray the heroic images of workers, peasants and soldiers, or when they do portray them, **“the clothes are the clothes of working people but the faces are those of petty-bourgeois intellectuals”** (*Talks at the Yen-an Forum on Literature and Art*), and the images of workers, peasants and soldiers they create are inevitably distorted and presented in an ugly way.

For a long time, Liu Shao-chi, Chou Yang and their gang opposed the literary and art workers' study of Mao Tsetung Thought and their going deep among the workers, peasants and soldiers. Declaiming the “special nature of literary and art work” with all their might, this gang separated the workers in this field from the workers, peasants and soldiers. It shut them up in isolated courtyards, let them take the bourgeois “authorities” and “drama despots” as their teachers, and advised them to learn from “deadwood” and “foreign dross” and experience feudal, bourgeois and revisionist life. All this was done under the guise of “cultivating the bearing of an artist.” Poisoned by such “spiritual opium,” many people in the literary and art ranks fell behind or stopped following the road of serving the workers, peasants and soldiers, while some were even corrupted to the core. The powerful Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution shattered Liu Shao-chi's counter-revolutionary revisionist line in literature and art and blazed a broad road for literary and art workers to integrate themselves with the workers, peasants and soldiers. Following Chairman Mao's great teaching, revolutionary literary and art workers have been going to factories, villages and army units to remould their world outlook in the three great revolutionary movements of class struggle, the struggle for production and scientific experiment, and have achieved outstanding results.

In order to genuinely integrate with the workers, peasants and soldiers, it is necessary to place the living study and application of Mao Tsetung Thought above everything else, strive to arm oneself with Chairman Mao's great theory of continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat, study the “three constantly read articles” as maxims, and continuously fight self and criticize revisionism. Only in this way can one wipe out the poisonous vestiges of the sinister counter-revolutionary revisionist line in literature and art and resist being corrupted by all sorts of decadent bourgeois ideas. Only in this way can one have the same stand, feelings and language as the proletariat and the masses of workers, peasants and soldiers, can one move his feet over to the side of the workers, peasants and soldiers, to the side of the proletariat and persevere in the orientation of making literature and art serve the workers, peasants and soldiers.

To truly integrate with the workers, peasants and soldiers, one must stop putting on airs, respectfully take them as teachers, modestly become their willing pupil and learn from them sincerely. The workers, peasants and soldiers are the masters of our country.

They cherish boundless love for Chairman Mao, study Mao Tsetung Thought well and have a firm proletarian class stand. Their consciousness of class struggle and the struggle between the two lines is high and they have acquired rich experience in the three great revolutionary struggles. Revolutionary literary and art workers must accept re-education by them, thus putting into practice Chairman Mao's great teaching that **"only by being their [the masses'] pupil can he be their teacher,"** and completely remould their thoughts and feelings in order to shoulder the militant task of using literature and art as weapons **for uniting and educating the people and for attacking and destroying the enemy.** (*Talks at the Yen-an Forum on Literature and Art.*)

If one wants to genuinely integrate with the workers, peasants and soldiers, he must completely solve the problem of relationship between the individual and the masses, discard the so-called "bearing of an artist," serve the workers, peasants and soldiers wholeheartedly and be an "ox" for the masses. It is necessary to live, fight and study together with the workers, peasants and soldiers, breathing the same breath, sharing the same fate, loving what they love and hating what they hate. If one considers himself exceptional and believes he is pure and lofty, he will be unable to effectuate a basic change in his thoughts and feelings and make any progress in remoulding his world outlook even if he lives among the masses.

If you want to truly integrate with the workers, peasants and soldiers, **"you must make up your mind to undergo a long and even painful process of tempering."** (*Talks at the Yen-an Forum on Literature and Art.*) Through practical struggles, literary and art workers should learn from the workers, peasants and soldiers their spirit of revolutionary heroism and revolutionary optimism of fearing neither hardship nor death and seeking neither fame nor gain, and gradually establish the proletarian world outlook of serving the people heart and soul.

III

Chairman Mao pointed out in the *Talks*: **"Since our literature and art are basically for the workers, peasants and soldiers, 'popularization' means to popularize among the workers, peasants and soldiers, and 'raising standards' means to advance from their present level."** Popularizing among the workers, peasants and soldiers and advancing from their present level is the fundamental principle which the literary and art workers must follow in serving the workers, peasants and soldiers. It is only through constant popularization and raising of standards in the course of the practical struggle of the workers, peasants and soldiers and in keeping with their needs, capacity to receive and the direction of their advance that proletarian literature and art can flourish and develop and truly serve them. Mao Tsetung Thought is the soul of the proletarian revolution. To popularize among the workers, peasants and soldiers can only be popularization under the guidance

of Mao Tsetung Thought; to raise standards from their present level can only be an elevation under the guidance of Mao Tsetung Thought. The popularization of revolutionary literature and art actually means sweeping away all the old feudal, bourgeois and revisionist literature and art from every corner, and ensuring that Mao Tsetung Thought firmly occupies the positions in literature and art and that the proletariat exercises all-round dictatorship in the literary and art sphere. Therefore, popularization must be given first place. At the same time, because the revolution continues to develop and the people advance, literary and art workers must do a good job of raising standards on the basis of popularization to meet the needs of workers, peasants and soldiers.

In creating the model revolutionary theatrical works, the principle of combining popularization with raising standards is applied. These works portray the brilliant images of worker, peasant and soldier heroes, express their thoughts and feelings and speak what is in their hearts. They are both works of popularization which are **"needed and can be readily accepted by the workers, peasants and soldiers themselves,"** and treasures resulting from raising standards **"in the direction in which the workers, peasants and soldiers are themselves advancing"** and **"in the direction in which the proletariat is advancing."** (*Talks at the Yen-an Forum on Literature and Art.*) We should take the model revolutionary theatrical works as examples to conscientiously carry out the tasks of struggle-criticism-transformation on the literary and art front.

At present, guided by Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line in literature and art and propelled by the model revolutionary theatrical works, a movement for proletarian revolution in literature and art is gaining momentum. This is a widespread popularization movement to further liberate literature and art from the grip of a few "specialists." Chairman Mao taught us in the *Talks*: Our specialists in literature and art **"should make close contact with comrades engaged in the work of popularizing literature and art among the masses. On the one hand, they should help and guide the popularizers, and on the other, they should learn from these comrades and, through them, draw nourishment from the masses to replenish and enrich themselves."** Professional workers in literature and art must follow this teaching of Chairman Mao's, plunge without hesitation into the surging movement for proletarian revolution in literature and art, integrate with the workers, peasants and soldiers well, do their best in the work of popularization and raising the standards and better serve the workers, peasants and soldiers.

Literature and art serving the workers, peasants and soldiers is expressed through specific works of literature and art and artistic images. Therefore, the key lies in doing a good job of creation. Revolutionary literary and art workers must study the valuable experience provided by the model revolutionary theatrical works, study the literature and art produced by the masses and learn to use the creative method advocated

by Chairman Mao, that is, the method of combining revolutionary realism with revolutionary romanticism. They must portray with utmost enthusiasm the heroic images of workers, peasants and soldiers abounding with the brilliance of Mao Tsetung Thought. Revolutionary literary and art workers should also make great efforts to create literary and art works of various kinds which are guided by Mao Tsetung Thought, which serve the workers, peasants and soldiers, and in which there is unity of political content and truthfulness and also of revolutionary content and artistry. They should strive to create excellent works worthy of our great country, great Party, great people and great army.

Literary and art workers must have a revolutionized work-style if they are to serve the workers, peasants and soldiers. To carry out socialist revolution and socialist construction, the masses of workers, peasants and soldiers fight day and night at the forefront of the three great revolutionary movements. Revolutionary literary and art workers must display the revolutionary spirit of enduring great hardships and develop a revolutionized, militant work-style. They should also persevere in the main orientation of serving the workers, peasants and soldiers and in using the flexible and varied forms of small detachments, small stages and short items to bring revolutionary literature and art directly to the fields, workshops and army companies at appropriate times and serve at the "homes" of workers, peasants and soldiers.

Chairman Mao very incisively pointed out in the Talks: "Today, anything that is truly of the masses

must necessarily be led by the proletariat. Whatever is under the leadership of the bourgeoisie cannot possibly be of the masses." To place literary and art work under the leadership of the Party is a fundamental question in implementing the principle of literature and art serving the workers, peasants and soldiers. Hoisting the reactionary banner of "freedom of creation," Liu Shao-chi, Chou Yang and their gang frantically opposed the leadership of the Party and turned the entire field of literature and art into an "impenetrable and watertight" independent kingdom. We must firmly remember this historical lesson and, in the course of struggle-criticism-transformation, conscientiously grasp well the work of purifying the class ranks and of Party consolidation and building on the literary and art front, ensure that Mao Tsetung Thought strikes deep roots in the sphere of literature and art, guarantee the all-round implementation of Chairman Mao's revolutionary line and the Party's principles and policies, and ensure that leadership in the field of literature and art is placed in the firm grasp of the proletariat.

Let us always raise high the great red banner of Mao Tsetung Thought, follow our great leader Chairman Mao closely, and always continue the revolution and advance valiantly in the direction of literature and art serving the workers, peasants and soldiers so that proletarian literature and art will develop and flourish and the dictatorship of the proletariat will be consolidated and strengthened!

(Slightly abridged translation of an article published in "Hongqi," No. 6, 1970)

(Continued from p. 6.)

moting the good neighbourly relations and friendship between our two countries.

He said that the people and Government of Afghanistan praised the development and progress of the People's Republic of China under the wise leadership of its great leader Chairman Mao Tsetung. They congratulated China on the successful launching of a man-made earth satellite and wished China further successes in various fields.

In his speech, Vice-Premier Li Hsien-nien said: We sincerely wish the Royal Government of Afghanistan and the Afghan people new successes in their cause of safeguarding national independence and building their country under the leadership of His Majesty King Mohammed Zahir Shah.

Vice-Premier Li Hsien-nien said: China and Afghanistan are friendly neighbours. There exists a long-standing friendship between our two peoples, who have always lived together in amity and treated each other as equals. Particularly in the recent decade and more, with the joint efforts of our two Governments and peoples, the friendly and good-neighbourly relations between China and Afghanistan have developed and grown stronger on the basis of the Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence. We have smoothly settled the boundary question left over by history and concluded the Sino-Afghan Boundary Treaty. In a spirit of friendly co-operation and mutual support, we concluded the agreement concerning economic and technical co-operation and the agreement concerning cultural co-operation between China and Afghanistan.

Vice-Premier Li Hsien-nien concluded by saying: The present international situation is excellent. The three Indo-Chinese peoples' struggle against U.S. aggression and for national salvation and the struggle of the world's revolutionary people against the U.S. aggression in Cambodia and expansion of its war in Indo-China are developing vigorously. On May 20 our great leader Chairman Mao issued the solemn statement "People of the World, Unite and Defeat the U.S. Aggressors and All Their Running Dogs!" In firm response to Chairman Mao's great call, the Chinese Government and people are determined to unite with the three Indo-Chinese peoples and all the oppressed people and nations of the world to fight to the end to defeat the U.S. aggressors and all their running dogs!

Cambodian Head of State Samdech Norodom Sihanouk Arrives in Peking

SAMDECH Norodom Sihanouk, Head of State of Cambodia and Chairman of the National United Front of Kampuchea, and Madame Sihanouk were given a rousing welcome by more than 5,000 revolutionary people in Peking when they arrived in the Chinese capital by special plane on the afternoon of June 8 after successfully concluding a friendly visit to the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam.

Samdech Penn Nouth, Chairman of the Political Bureau of the N.U.F.K. Central Committee and Prime Minister of the Royal Government of National Union of Cambodia, and Madame Penn Nouth; Princess Norodom Ket Kanya, aunt of Samdech Norodom Sihanouk; Dr. Ngo Hou, Member of the N.U.F.K. Central Committee and Minister of Public Health, Religious and Social Affairs of the Royal Government of National Union of Cambodia, and Madame Ngo Hou; Thiounn Mumm, Member of the Political Bureau of the N.U.F.K. Central Committee and Minister of Economy and Finance of the Royal Government of National Union of Cambodia; Huot Sambath, Member of the Political Bureau of the N.U.F.K. Central Committee and Minister of Public Works, Telecommunications and Reconstruction of the Royal Government of National Union of Cambodia; and others who had accompanied Samdech Norodom Sihanouk on his visit to the D.R.V.N., arrived in Peking on the same plane.

Chou En-lai, Premier of the State Council; Huang Yung-sheng, Chief of the General Staff of the Chinese People's Liberation Army; Wu Fa-hsien, Deputy Chief of the General Staff of the P.L.A.; Li Hsien-nien, Vice-Premier of the State Council; and Kuo Mo-jo, Vice-Chairman of the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress, welcomed the distinguished Cambodian guests at the airport.

Also present at the airport were:

Prince Norodom Yuvaneath, son of Samdech Norodom Sihanouk; Major-General Duong Sam Ol, Member of the Political Bureau of the N.U.F.K. Central Committee and Minister of Military Equipment and Armament of the Royal Government of National Union of Cambodia, and Madame Duong Sam Ol; Ker Meas, Ambassador of the Kingdom of Cambodia under the leadership of the N.U.F.K. to China; and other members of the Royal Government of National Union of Cambodia and Cambodian students who are in Peking;

Bui Tan Linh, Charge d'Affaires ad interim of the Embassy of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam in China, and Madame Bui Tan Linh; and

Nguyen Van Quang, Ambassador of the Republic of South Viet Nam to China.

Peking Airport was alive that day with the revolutionary atmosphere of unity and militancy of the people of China, Cambodia and the rest of Indo-China. There were huge portraits of the Chinese people's great leader Chairman Mao and of Cambodian Head of State Samdech Norodom Sihanouk. The national flags of China and Cambodia flew at the airport. The special plane carrying Samdech Norodom Sihanouk landed amidst cheers. Beaming with smiles, Samdech Norodom Sihanouk alighted from the plane. Premier Chou En-lai, Chief of the P.L.A. General Staff Huang Yung-sheng, Deputy Chief of the P.L.A. General Staff Wu Fa-hsien, Vice-Premier Li Hsien-nien, Vice-Chairman of the N.P.C. Standing Committee Kuo Mo-jo and others went forward to shake hands cordially with Samdech Norodom Sihanouk and Madame Sihanouk, Prime Minister Penn Nouth and Madame Penn Nouth and the other distinguished Cambodian guests.

A grand ceremony of welcome was held at the airport. The band played the national anthems of Cambodia and China. Samdech Norodom Sihanouk, Prime Minister Penn Nouth and other distinguished Cambodian guests, accompanied by Premier Chou En-lai and others, reviewed a guard of honour of the three services of the P.L.A., militiamen and Red Guards.

Samdech Norodom Sihanouk and Madame Sihanouk, Prime Minister Penn Nouth and Madame Penn Nouth, and others, accompanied by Premier Chou En-lai and others, walked round to meet the welcoming crowd amidst a thunderous ovation mingled with the beating of drums and gongs. With profound revolutionary feelings of the Chinese people for the Cambodian people, the welcomers held high streamers inscribed with slogans in both Chinese and Cambodian: "Warm welcome to Samdech Norodom Sihanouk, Head of State of Cambodia" and "Long live the friendship between China and Cambodia." They waved the national flags of China and Cambodia and repeatedly shouted: "We warmly welcome Samdech Norodom Sihanouk, Head of State of Cambodia!" "We warmly welcome the distinguished Cambodian guests!" "We firmly support the people of the three Indo-Chinese countries in their war of resistance against U.S. aggression and for national salvation!" "People of the world, unite and defeat the U.S. aggressors and all their running dogs!" "U.S. imperialism is bound to be defeated! The Indo-Chinese peoples are sure to win!" "Long live China-Cambodia friendship!" "Long live Samdech Norodom Sihanouk!" and "Long live Chairman Mao!" Samdech Norodom Sihanouk greeted the masses, clapping his hands again and again.

After the welcoming ceremony, Samdech Norodom Sihanouk, accompanied by Premier Chou En-lai, drove to the Guest House.

Hoang Minh Giam, Minister of Culture of the Government of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam, and Nguyen Thuong, former Ambassador of the D.R.V.N. to Cambodia, accompanied Samdech Norodom Sihanouk to Peking by the same plane.

Han Nien-lung, Chinese Vice-Minister of Foreign Affairs, and Comrades Han Hsu and Wang Chen, who had made a special trip to Hanoi to welcome Samdech Norodom Sihanouk, accompanied the distinguished Cambodian guests to Peking.

Also present at the airport were leading members of the Chinese Government departments concerned, the Chinese People's Liberation Army, the Peking Municipal Revolutionary Committee and the Chinese People's Association for Friendship with Foreign Countries. Kang Mao-chao, Chinese Ambassador to the Kingdom of Cambodia, and other members of the Chinese Embassy were also present.

Diplomatic envoys of various countries to China were also present.

Samdech Norodom Sihanouk Leaves Hanoi

Samdech Norodom Sihanouk, Head of State of Cambodia and Chairman of the National United Front of Kampuchea, and Madame Sihanouk concluded their friendship visit to the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam and left Hanoi by special plane on the morning of June 8.

That morning, the people of various strata in Hanoi, cherishing profound feelings of militant solidarity and brotherly friendship for the Cambodian people, gathered at the Hanoi Municipal Theatre Square to warmly bid farewell to Samdech and Madame Sihanouk, Samdech and Madame Penn Nouth, and the other distinguished Cambodian guests. Samdech and Madame Sihanouk, Samdech and Madame Penn Nouth, and the other distinguished Cambodian guests, accompanied by Ton Duc Thang, President of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam; Truong Chinh, Chairman of the Standing Committee of the National Assembly, and Madame Truong Chinh; Pham Van Dong, Premier; Vo Nguyen Giap, Vice-Premier and Minister of National Defence, and Madame Vo Nguyen Giap; and Nguyen Duy Trinh, Vice-Premier and Minister of Foreign Affairs, and Madame Nguyen Duy Trinh, drove by car from the Guest House of the Government to the square.

A grand farewell ceremony was held at the square. The band played the national anthems of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam and the Kingdom of Cambodia. A 21-gun salute was fired. Samdech Sihanouk and Samdech Penn Nouth, accompanied by President Ton Duc Thang, Chairman Truong Chinh, Premier Pham Van Dong and others, reviewed a guard of honour.

President Ton Duc Thang and Samdech Sihanouk spoke at the farewell ceremony.

President Ton Duc Thang said: "You have, Samdech Head of State, fulfilled your high mission, in this historic visit, of strengthening the militant solidarity and fraternal friendship between our two nations. The joint statement signed recently has expressed the perfect identity of views between our two countries and reflected the iron determination of our two peoples to support each other wholeheartedly, to fight shoulder to shoulder, to gain total victory over the U.S. aggressors and their henchmen and to engage in long-term co-operation so as to build up our countries, each in its own way."

"The Vietnamese people and the D.R.V.N. Government," he added, "are immensely grateful to the fraternal Khmer people for having reserved for our struggle against U.S. aggression and for national salvation, a profound sympathy and a strong, firm, noticeable and effective support. The Vietnamese people and the D.R.V.N. Government pledge to give wholehearted support to the just struggle of the fraternal Khmer people against the U.S. imperialist aggressors and their lackeys, the Lon Nol-Sirik Matak clique, till total victory."

President Ton Duc Thang said: "In the recent days, the peoples of our two countries have enthusiastically welcomed the friendship visit of Samdech Head of State in the D.R.V.N. by their resounding exploits. It is certain that in the period to come, in the light of the Joint Declaration of the Summit Conference of the Indo-Chinese Peoples and the joint statement of our two countries, the peoples of our two countries, together with the fraternal Laotian people will strengthen their solidarity, persist in and step up their struggle so as to win yet greater victories."

Samdech Sihanouk said in his speech: "During our stay, we have had very important and cordial political conversations and working meetings with the highest national leaders of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam.

"No problem, no dispute exists between our two countries and states. Nothing divides us. Everything unites us. That is perfectly clear from the Khmer-Vietnamese joint statement signed on June 7, 1970.

"Fortified by the unreserved backing, full support and unconditional material assistance which the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam, its Government and its people have given fraternally to the Khmer people, your close friend and companion-in-arms, we are leaving you, dear Vietnamese brothers and sisters, with the firm conviction that, in spite of the difficulties inherent to all liberation wars and to all struggles against a rich and powerful enemy, we Vietnamese and Khmers will, together with the fraternal Laotian people, succeed in driving him out of our Indo-China and will thus see

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Premier Chou En-lai Sends Message To President Huynh Tan Phat

— Extending warmest congratulations on the first anniversary of the establishment of the Provisional Revolutionary Government of the Republic of South Viet Nam

President Huynh Tan Phat of the Provisional Revolutionary Government of the Republic of South Viet Nam,

On the occasion of the first anniversary of the establishment of the Provisional Revolutionary Government of the Republic of South Viet Nam, I express, on behalf of the Chinese Government and people, the warmest fraternal congratulations to the Provisional Revolutionary Government of the Republic of South Viet Nam and the heroic south Vietnamese people.

The establishment of the Provisional Revolutionary Government of the Republic of South Viet Nam is a fruit of victory of the south Vietnamese people in their long sanguinary war of resistance against U.S. imperialism; it marks a new historical stage in the south Vietnamese people's war against U.S. aggression and for national salvation. In the past year, under the leadership of the South Viet Nam National Front for Liberation and the Provisional Revolutionary Government of the Republic of South Viet Nam, the heroic south Vietnamese people, carrying on their struggle persistently, fearing no sacrifice and fighting courageously and unflinchingly, have launched fierce attacks against the U.S. aggressors and their lackeys, dealing heavy blows at the Nixon government's scheme of "Vietnamizing" its war of aggression against Viet Nam and winning brilliant victories. Your victories have greatly inspired and supported the people of the whole world in their anti-imperialist revolutionary struggles, accumulated rich experience for the oppressed nations and oppressed people in their struggle for liberation and set for the world a brilliant example in which **"a weak nation can defeat a strong, a small nation can defeat a big."**

At present, the situation is getting better and better in the Indo-Chinese peoples' war against U.S. aggression and for national salvation. Badly battered on the south Viet Nam battlefield, U.S. imperialism is vainly attempting to save itself from defeat by resorting to military adventures. It instigated the Lon Nol-Sirik

Matak clique to stage a reactionary coup d'etat against the Cambodian Head of State Samdech Norodom Sihanouk, brazenly dispatched its troops to invade Cambodia and stepped up its aggression against Laos, thus spreading the flames of war to the whole of Indo-China. But the result is the spread of the raging flames of the Cambodian people's patriotic armed struggle against U.S. imperialism to all parts of Cambodia, even closer unity between the three Indo-Chinese peoples and an unprecedented upsurge in the mass movements of the American people and the people of the whole world against U.S. imperialism's expansion of its war of aggression in Indo-China. U.S. imperialism has never been so isolated and weak as it is now. We are convinced that the south Vietnamese people with a glorious revolutionary tradition, adhering to the behest of the Vietnamese people's great leader President Ho Chi Minh, giving full play to the revolutionary spirit of **"firm resolve to fight and win,"** responding to the militant call of the Summit Conference of the Indo-Chinese Peoples and persevering in protracted war, will certainly win complete victory in their war against U.S. aggression and for national salvation.

"The 700 million Chinese people provide a powerful backing for the Vietnamese people; the vast expanse of China's territory is their reliable rear area." Following this teaching of our great leader Chairman Mao Tsetung, the Chinese people will give firm support to the Vietnamese people's war against U.S. aggression and for national salvation until all the U.S. aggressors are driven out of Vietnamese soil.

The Vietnamese people will surely win victory!

The U.S. aggressors will surely be defeated!

Chou En-lai

Premier of the State Council of the
People's Republic of China

June 5, 1970

Peking Review, No. 24

Ambassador Nguyen Van Quang Gives Reception

— Warm celebration of the first anniversary of the establishment of the Provisional Revolutionary Government of the Republic of South Viet Nam

N GUYEN Van Quang, Ambassador of the Provisional Revolutionary Government of the Republic of South Viet Nam to China, gave a grand reception on June 6, warmly celebrating the first anniversary of the establishment of the Provisional Revolutionary Government of the Republic of South Viet Nam.

Present at the reception were: Chou En-lai, Member of the Standing Committee of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party and Premier of the State Council; Kang Sheng, Member of the Standing Committee of the Political Bureau of the Party Central Committee and Vice-Chairman of the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress; Huang Yung-sheng, Member of the Political Bureau of the Party Central Committee and Chief of the General Staff of the Chinese People's Liberation Army; Wu Fa-hsien, Member of the Political Bureau of the Party Central Committee and Deputy Chief of the P.L.A. General Staff; Li Hsien-nien, Member of the Political Bureau of the Party Central Committee and Vice-Premier of the State Council; Chi Teng-kuei, Alternate Member of the Political Bureau of the Party Central Committee; Kuo Mo-jo, Member of the Party Central Committee and Vice-Chairman of the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress; responsible members and representatives of various departments under the Party Central Committee and the State Council, the Chinese People's Liberation Army, the Peking Municipal Revolutionary Committee and the Chinese People's Association for Friendship With Foreign Countries and representatives of the revolutionary masses of Peking.

Bui Tan Linh, Charge d'Affaires ad interim of the Embassy of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam in China, and Madame Bui Tan Linh; Ton Quang Phiet, Vice-President of the Viet Nam-China Friendship Association, and other Vietnamese comrades in Peking were present.

Also present at the reception were:

Thakin Ba Thein Tin, Head of the Delegation of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Burma and **Vice-Chairman** of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Burma;

A comrade of the Delegation of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Indonesia headed by Jusuf Adjitorop;

Prince Norodom Yuvaneath, son of Head of State of Cambodia Samdech Norodom Sihanouk; Major-General Duong Sam Oi, Member of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the National United Front of Kampuchea and Minister of Military Equipment and Armament of the Royal Government of National Union, and Madame Duong Sam Oi; and Ker Meas, Ambassador to China of the Kingdom of Cambodia under the leadership of the National United Front of Kampuchea.

The official flag of the Republic of South Viet Nam and the national flag of China hung in the banquet hall of Peking Hotel where the grand reception was held. When the reception began, the band played the national anthem of China and the official song of the Republic of South Viet Nam. Ambassador Nguyen Van Quang and Vice-Premier Li Hsien-nien made speeches at the reception which was permeated with an atmosphere of cordiality and friendship between the people of China and Viet Nam.

Ambassador Nguyen Van Quang recounted the brilliant victories won by the heroic south Vietnamese people in their war of resistance against U.S. aggression and for national salvation. He made particular mention of the tremendous victory in the 1968 early spring general offensive. This victory, he said, marks a turning point, ushering in a new stage for the revolution in south Viet Nam. As our President Ho Chi Minh taught: **"The victories won by the south Viet Nam armed forces and people in the early days of this spring have brought to a new, very favourable situation the war of resistance to U.S. aggression and for national salvation in which our entire people are engaged. No force on earth can save the U.S. aggressors and their henchmen from complete collapse."**

He said: "The establishment of the Provisional Revolutionary Government of the Republic of South Viet Nam is the necessary development of the revolution in south Viet Nam, now entering a new stage full of glorious victories." The revolutionary peoples welcomed the birth of the Provisional Revolutionary Government of the Republic of South Viet Nam with great

joy and satisfaction, the Ambassador said: "To date 25 countries have recognized and established diplomatic relations with our Government. Besides, relations in different forms and on different levels exist between our Government and 40 other countries. The international prestige of the Provisional Revolutionary Government has constantly been improved day after day."

Ambassador Nguyen Van Quang said: "Since its establishment, the Provisional Revolutionary Government has ceaselessly been consolidated and developed. Its armed forces continue to grow from strength to strength. As they fight on the stronger they become, the greater their combat effectiveness and their victories. At present, they are smashing the U.S. imperialists' policy of 'Vietnamizing' the war, a vicious policy full of contradictions."

On the contrary, he continued, the enemy, isolated and at the end of the rope and sustaining all-sided and ever bitter defeats, is making desperate efforts to get out of its difficulties.

He strongly condemned the U.S. imperialists, pointing out that while expanding their war of aggression in south Viet Nam and Laos, the U.S. imperialists have brazenly stage-managed the coup d'etat overthrowing the legal Royal Government of Cambodia led by Head of State Samdech Norodom Sihanouk, and extended the war to Cambodia. He pointed out that the U.S. imperialists have turned the whole Indo-China into a furnace of war in an attempt to occupy the whole of Indo-China.

The U.S. imperialists, the ambassador continued, are clamouring peace in words but intensifying, expanding and prolonging the war in deeds. This can find vivid expression in Nixon's February 18, 1970 speech, a speech full of aggressive, bellicose, treacherous and brazen tones, which is being resolutely condemned and laid bare by the world's people, including the American people. U.S. imperialism is the chief culprit of the aggression against Indo-China. U.S. imperialism must bear full responsibility for all the consequences arising from its war of aggression in Indo-China, he pointed out.

"Basking in the light of the Joint Declaration of the Summit Conference of the Indo-Chinese Peoples," Ambassador Nguyen Van Quang stressed, "the Indo-Chinese peoples have been giving full play to their victorious position, their initiative and their offensive position and dealing deadly blows at the U.S. imperialists and their lackeys. The brilliant future of the Indo-Chinese peoples is in sight and they will certainly achieve their noble objectives."

The ambassador declared: "Faithful to this Joint Declaration, the 14 million people of south Viet Nam, who, together with their 17 million kith-and-kin compatriots in the north, are determined to put into reality the sacred testament of President Ho Chi Minh, the great leader of the entire Vietnamese people, and will,

shoulder to shoulder with the fraternal peoples of Laos and Cambodia, fight resolutely till complete victory."

Ambassador Nguyen Van Quang expressed his wholehearted congratulations on the establishment of the National United Front of Kampuchea and the Royal Government of National Union Under the Leadership of the N.U.F.K., and reiterated the consistent support of the Vietnamese people for the struggle of the Asian, African and Latin American peoples and all progressive movements in the world. "We consider it our noble internationalist duty," he said.

The ambassador stressed: "Viet Nam and China are two neighbours closely related as lips and teeth. In the long struggle against colonialism and neo-colonialism, the people of our two countries always united closely, shared weal and woe, fought shoulder to shoulder and won victories together. Our President Ho Chi Minh has often said: '**Profound is the friendship between Viet Nam and China, who are both comrades and brothers.**' This profound friendship is developing in a most satisfactory manner."

He continued: "In our present struggle against U.S. aggression and for national salvation, we are very proud and feel assured of having the vast territory of great China as our great rear area." He pointed out that in the victories won by the Vietnamese people there is a great contribution made by the fraternal Chinese people.

Ambassador Nguyen Van Quang said: The May 20, 1970 solemn statement '**People of the World, Unite and Defeat the U.S. Aggressors and All Their Running Dogs!**' issued by esteemed and beloved Chairman Mao Tsetung, the great leader of the Chinese people, is a resolute, powerful and timely support given by the Communist Party of China, the Chinese Government and the fraternal Chinese people to the Indo-Chinese peoples in general and to the Vietnamese people of both zones in particular in their struggle of resistance against U.S. aggression and for national salvation. It is a heavy blow at the arrogant U.S. imperialists. He wished the Chinese people ever greater victories in their socialist revolution and socialist construction and in the consolidation of their national defence.

In conclusion, Ambassador Nguyen Van Quang said: "The south Vietnamese people are determined to advance from victory to victory and attack the enemy in all fields, to strive for fully realizing our beloved President Ho Chi Minh's testament: Liberate the south, defend the north and proceed to achieve the peaceful reunification of the fatherland."

Speaking on behalf of the Chinese Government and people, Vice-Premier Li Hsien-nien conveyed the highest respects to the heroic south Vietnamese people who are fighting in the forefront of the struggle against U.S. aggression and expressed the warmest congratulations on the first anniversary of the establishment of the

Provisional Revolutionary Government of the Republic of South Viet Nam.

He said: "The south Vietnamese people have already fought against U.S. imperialism and its lackeys for ten years. The establishment of the Provisional Revolutionary Government of the Republic of South Viet Nam opened a new stage in the south Vietnamese people's struggle against U.S. aggression and for national salvation. In the past year, led by the South Viet Nam National Front for Liberation and the Provisional Revolutionary Government of the Republic of South Viet Nam and following the teaching of the Vietnamese people's great leader President Ho Chi Minh **'fearless of sacrifices and hardships, determined to carry on and vigorously step up the resistance war, with the firm resolve to fight and win,'** the south Vietnamese people have persevered in the people's war, wiped out large numbers of effectives of the U.S. and puppet troops, frustrated the Nixon government's scheme of 'Vietnamizing' its war of aggression against Viet Nam and won tremendous victories."

Vice-Premier Li Hsien-nien continued: "The great victory of the Vietnamese people's war against U.S. aggression and for national salvation is an important contribution to the struggle of the people of the world against the U.S. aggressors and their lackeys. This great victory shows to the people of the whole world: **'The people of a small country can certainly defeat aggression by a big country, if only they dare to rise in struggle, dare to take up arms and grasp in their own hands the destiny of their country.'**"

Vice-Premier Li Hsien-nien said: "U.S. imperialism is vainly attempting to seek a way out by expanding its war of aggression. It instigated the Lon Nol-Sirik Matak Rightist clique to stage a reactionary coup d'etat against the Cambodian Head of State Samdech Norodom Sihanouk. Thereupon, it dispatched troops to invade Cambodia on a massive scale, resumed the bombing of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam and stepped up its aggression against Laos. The U.S. imperialist wanton aggression has kindled the flames of the Cambodian people's armed struggle against U.S. imperialism and pushed forward the three Indo-Chinese peoples' united struggle against U.S. aggression. At the same time, it has kindled the flames of the American people's revolutionary struggle and aroused the strong opposition of the people of the whole world. Never has U.S. imperialism found itself in such an impasse as it does now, while for the people of Viet Nam, Cambodia and Laos, the prospect of victory has never been so bright as it is today."

"In order to save itself from defeat," Vice-Premier Li Hsien-nien added, "the Nixon government is pressing forward with its policy of 'making Asians fight Asians.' Not only has it impelled the Saigon puppet

troops to invade Cambodia, but it has now directed another lackey, the Thanom-Prphas clique of Thailand, also to send troops there. This is a grave step taken by U.S. imperialism to expand its war of aggression against Indo-China further to other parts of Southeast Asia. The Chinese Government and people sternly condemn U.S. imperialism and the reactionaries of Thailand for this new crime of aggression. Actively serving as an accomplice of U.S. imperialism in Viet Nam and Laos and now in Cambodia and obstinately making themselves the enemy of the three Indo-Chinese peoples, the Thai reactionaries will only evoke even stronger resistance from the three Indo-Chinese peoples and stimulate the development of the Thai people's revolutionary armed struggle. The perverse acts of U.S. imperialism and its lackeys can only hasten their own destruction.

"While carrying on military adventures, U.S. imperialism is stepping up political deception in a vain attempt to undermine the Indo-Chinese people's struggle against U.S. aggression and for national salvation by plotting international conferences under various names. The so-called 'Asian conference' convened in Djakarta not long ago was a counter-revolutionary conference in the service of U.S. imperialism. It has been universally condemned and resolutely opposed by the Indo-Chinese peoples and the people throughout the world. Nixon's speech of June 3 on U.S. invasion of Cambodia is fraught with sophistry, deception and threats. It is a concentrated revelation of his counter-revolutionary dual tactics.

"The revolutionary situation in Indo-China is getting better and better. We are deeply convinced that no plots or schemes of U.S. imperialism and its followers will ever succeed in the face of the heroic people of the three Indo-Chinese countries, the American people and the people of the world. In response to the militant call of the Summit Conference of the Indo-Chinese Peoples, the people of Viet Nam, Laos and Cambodia, uniting closely, supporting each other and persevering in a protracted people's war, will certainly overcome all difficulties and win complete victory in their war against U.S. aggression and for national salvation."

In conclusion, Vice-Premier Li Hsien-nien stressed: "Tempered through the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution and armed with Mao Tsetung Thought, the 700 million Chinese people, resolutely responding to our great leader Chairman Mao's solemn statement of May 20, 1970, will give firm support to the people of all countries in their struggle against the U.S. aggressors and their lackeys and pledge themselves to provide a powerful backing for the three Indo-Chinese peoples. In this great struggle, the Chinese people will always stand on the side of the people of Viet Nam, Laos and Cambodia. Together we unite, together we fight and together we will win victory."

Comrade Enver Hoxha Delivers Important Speech

COMRADE Enver Hoxha, First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Albanian Party of Labour, arrived in Tropoja Region on May 30 on his inspection tour of the northern regions of Albania, according to the Albanian Telegraph Agency.

A welcome mass meeting was held in the city of Bajram Curri, capital of this region, at which Comrade Enver Hoxha delivered an important speech.

After having greeted those present on behalf of the Central Committee of the Albanian Party of Labour and the Albanian Government and after having thanked them for the warm welcome accorded him, Comrade Enver Hoxha said: Whenever I come here, just as when I had the opportunity to meet and converse with Tropoja people during my work in Tirana, I have seen in your brilliant faces and eyes reflecting the ardent feelings of your hearts that you are joyful and courageous people. Today, too, I am seeing how great is your joy which expresses the profound love and your firm loyalty for our Party, for just as the entire Albanian people, you had dreamt of such a valiant Party in your struggles against slavery, exploitation and century-long darkness.

Then Comrade Enver Hoxha spoke to the highlanders who had come from all parts of that region of the heroic struggle that the Tropoja people waged together with the whole Albanian people against the Nazi fascist occupiers, a struggle which paved the way to socialism and made Albania an impregnable fortress which is honoured today by the whole world.

Comrade Enver Hoxha spoke also of the miserable situation to which the Tropoja people and all the Albanian people had been reduced by the regime of the bourgeoisie, kulaks and chiefs of clans and the hordes of fascists. All these evil things, he said, had to be buried once and for all by the people who, however, could not liquidate and bury them except through the barrel of the gun. Herein lies the great merit of the Albanian people and the Albanian Party of Labour, of this Marxist-Leninist Party which taught the people that only through struggle would they win freedom and independence and that only through struggle and revolution would they come to power and mercilessly oppress the exploiting classes and all those who had trampled underfoot their rights and had robbed them of their freedom.

Precisely thanks to the revolution carried out by the people and led by the Party, the people and nobody else are today the masters in Albania which has become a country without exploiters and the exploited. Albania is a country of the dictatorship of the proletariat where the working class and its faithful ally, peasantry, make law, the rightest law of mankind.

Comrade Enver Hoxha said: Tropoja is a highland region, but our Party has made it possible that this region is today self-sufficient in food grains. In your region there are now so many tractors that the whole Albania did not have in the year 1938. In your region the area of arable land has increased threefold. In the past you produced only maize, even that with great difficulty, while today you are producing wheat as well of which you get on an average in the whole region 19.3 quintals per hectare. Let this be an example for the most fertile plains of the revisionist countries, where agriculture is on the decline, while the co-operative system has been destroyed. Let them see how on the Shkelzeni plateaus real socialism is being built by this valiant people who are led by the Party according to the teachings of Lenin and Stalin.

Comrade Enver Hoxha said: As we have gathered today here at this ancient place full of historic events, we cannot fail to think of that outstanding man, after whose name is called this entirely new city of socialism, of the eagle of the mountains, the patriot and revolutionary, the hero of the people Bajram Curri.

Speaking of the prospects for the region of Tropoja, Comrade Enver Hoxha said: Your region is a highland. But the thought should be entirely removed from the minds of people that highlands have no prospect of economic and cultural development. This is an erroneous, non-Marxist viewpoint. Only the capitalists and revisionists think in this way, concentrating all their efforts on places where profits are bigger for themselves and not for the people.

Comrade Enver Hoxha spoke also of some problems of the socialist revolution in the political, ideological, cultural and other fields. Socialism, he said, is a social order not only with an advanced economic basis, but also with an advanced superstructure. This means that we should develop socialist revolution uninterruptedly, in the field of production as well as in the political, ideological, cultural and other fields.

Thanks to the work and care of the people themselves and of the Party, Comrade Enver Hoxha said, Albania has become an invincible granitic rock of socialism on the Adriatic coast. Under the leadership of the Party, she holds aloft the banner of the struggle against U.S.-led imperialism and against modern revisionism, with the Soviet traitors at the head. We have many powerful friends and comrades in the world, like the great China of Mao Tsetung with a population of 700 million and all the revolutionary peoples and the Marxist-Leninist forces which grow with every passing day in struggle against the common enemies.

In the international revolutionary situation existing in the world, the imperialists, revisionists and reactionaries are suffering great defeats, internal and external, political, economic and military. In order to extricate themselves from this situation they hatch up plots and create new hotbeds of aggression, as they have done in Viet Nam, Laos, Czechoslovakia and elsewhere, as the U.S. imperialists did in Cambodia recently. This shows not their strength but their weakness. It shows that their end is approaching. The powerful fists of the peoples will smash their plans and will destroy them fully and completely. In this situation our people are performing with honour their national and internationalist duties by supporting the struggle of the peoples for freedom, independence and socialism. We are consistently implementing the policy of defending our socialist gains, the freedom and independence of our homeland. Therefore, all of us, old and young, should keep our gunpowder dry, we are soldiers of revolution.

Referring to Albania's relations with Yugoslavia, Comrade Enver Hoxha said: Our country pursues the policy of good neighbourliness, of respect of sovereignty and of non-interference in the internal affairs of all neighbouring states. The policy of our Party and Government is a principled policy based on the teachings of Marxism-Leninism. On this basis we have established and will establish our relations with other countries, on this basis we develop also our relations with our neighbour Yugoslavia.

Our viewpoints about Yugoslavia are known and we publicly state them. We do not interfere with the internal affairs of the Yugoslav peoples, but we do not hide that between us and the Yugoslav leadership there exist deep irreconcilable ideological contradictions which originate from the fact that the Yugoslav leadership is not Marxist-Leninist. On the contrary, it follows a revisionist line with all its consequences. Such is the opinion of our Party and, while we allow to ourselves the right to have and defend through to the end this viewpoint, we do not deny to anyone, likewise, the right to have his own opinion about us. Therefore, our Party will never renounce the principled ideological polemics, but it will fight through to the end against any anti-Marxist and revisionist viewpoint of whatever hue it may be.

But we develop inter-state relations with the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, in trade as well as in all the issues of mutual interest. We have stood and stand for the constant improvement of such relations and the goodwill in this direction neither has failed nor will fail on our part also in the future, for, as we have said and continually say, we are friends and brothers with the peoples of Yugoslavia. Therefore, we hope that these feelings of friendship that have been forged in the common struggle against the fascists, when the Albanian and Yugoslav partisans fought jointly, bandaged the wounds of one another and won together, be developed by us in a correct way and in mutual interest.

At the same time we bear in mind that there exist the U.S. and Soviet imperialists for whom the People's Republic of Albania is a thorn in their side and they continually plot against it. But they will never attain their criminal aims, for our people stand on their guard and have their fingers on the trigger. In these last two years the Khrushchov revisionist aggressors have been threatening Yugoslavia and her peoples, their freedom, independence and sovereignty. The people of all nationalities living in Yugoslavia valiantly fought during the anti-fascist war and they will surely know how to fight again and rebuff any aggressor that would attempt to violate their freedom and independence won with blood and sacrifices. The Albanian people, in case of danger, will be on the side of the Yugoslav peoples against any aggressor whatever that would menace the freedom, sovereignty and national independence of our peoples. And the aggressor should be convinced that he not only cannot break and defeat us, but in such an adventure he would meet with his death. We have said and continue to say this clearly, unequivocally and openly. And this stand of ours is a principled one.

As is known, in Yugoslavia there is a large Albanian population. Our Kosovar brothers live and work there. It would be anti-Marxist and a national betrayal if we would neglect this fact, if we would not concern ourselves with their fate. *Borba*, central organ of the Yugoslav leadership, admitted as an undeniable truth the fact that the Albanian people "have always been a target of foreign invaders, but despite this they have always found strength to preserve their national identity. It is not fortuitous that the Albanians are the most ancient ethnic group living in Europe and have fought for their national independence." We wish that our brothers beyond the border should have all their full rights, like all the other peoples of Yugoslavia.

Comrade Enver Hoxha said: We say it openly: We have never interfered, nor do we intend to interfere with the internal affairs of Yugoslavia. We are not of those to call the Macedonians or the Turks as Albanians, but we say that the Kosovars, the Albanians of Macedonia or those of Montenegro are Albanians. Therefore, we are fully entitled to denounce any action

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People of Indonesia, Unite and Take the Road of Armed Revolution

—Statement by the Delegation of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Indonesia commemorating 50th anniversary of founding of C. P. of Indonesia

THE Delegation of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Indonesia issued a statement signed by the leader of the delegation Jusuf Adjitorop in commemoration of the 50th anniversary of the founding of the Communist Party of Indonesia which falls on May 23, 1970. The statement is entitled: "People of Indonesia, Unite Under the Leadership of the Communist Party of Indonesia, Surmount Every Difficulty, and Continue to March Forward Courageously Along the Road of Armed Revolution."

The statement pointed out that the Communist Party of Indonesia was born 50 years ago under the impact of the Great October Socialist Revolution in Russia and determined the orientation of the revolutionary struggle of the Indonesian people for liberation and socialism. For half a century, the Communist Party of Indonesia has struggled against Dutch colonialism, Japanese fascism, and the Indonesian reactionaries under the manipulation of U.S. imperialism for the liberation of the Indonesian people and gained extremely rich experience. After a zigzag course and after failure and set-backs, the Communist Party of Indonesia published the self-criticism adopted by the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Party in September 1966, summed up its experience and found a correct line, namely, the line of seizure of power by armed force in conformity with Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought. Although the Communist Party of Indonesia faces all kinds of difficulties in carrying out the correct line of taking the road of armed revolution, yet this is only temporary. The Communists and people of Indonesia, under the guidance of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought and following the principle stated in the self-criticism of the Political Bureau of the Party Central Committee, have decided

to "Be resolute, fear no sacrifice and surmount every difficulty to win victory."

The statement analysed the present revolutionary situation in Indonesia and pointed out that the Suharto fascist regime is faced with all kinds of insurmountable grave difficulties at home and abroad. This regime is the most concentrated representative of the bureaucrat-capitalist class, the comprador class and the landlord class and is out-and-out in the service of U.S. imperialism. They have pushed the Indonesian people deeper and deeper into an abyss.

The statement thoroughly exposed the fact that the Suharto fascist regime is carrying out a foreign policy and a military policy completely serving the global strategy of U.S. imperialism and has turned Indonesia into a military base, a place for producing strategic raw materials and a source of manpower for providing cannon-fodder. It supports U.S. imperialism's expansion of its war of aggression in Indo-China and defends the Lon Nol-Sirik Matak clique. Furthermore, it has played the role of a U.S. imperialist stooge in Southeast Asia by convening the so-called "Asian conference on the Cambodian question."

The statement pointed out that the Suharto fascist regime's counter-revolutionary armed suppression, brutal and barbarous massacre and persecution of the Indonesian Communists and other patriots can in no way prevent the uprising and resistance of the Indonesian Communists and people. Under the leadership of the Communist Party of Indonesia, the people have risen in armed struggle ever since 1967, the highest form of manifestation of the resistance struggle of the Indonesian people.

The statement analysed the current excellent international situation favourable to the Indonesian revo-

lution. It pointed out that the present international situation is characterized by the increasingly unprecedented upsurge in the great struggle of the proletariat and revolutionary people the world over against imperialism, modern revisionism and the reactionaries of various countries.

The statement said that China's Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution personally initiated and led by Comrade Mao Tsetung has destroyed the bourgeois headquarters headed by the renegade, hidden traitor and scab Liu Shao-chi, prevented a capitalist restoration and consolidated the dictatorship of the proletariat, thus strengthening comprehensively and fundamentally the People's Republic of China, the powerful bulwark and the most reliable base of world revolution.

It said that Albania, the bulwark and beacon of socialism in Europe under the leadership of the Albanian Party of Labour with Comrade Enver Hoxha as its leader, unfolded the vigorous ideological revolutionization movement, further consolidated the dictatorship of the proletariat and enhanced the development of the cause of socialist construction.

The statement strongly denounced the U.S. imperialist invasion of Cambodia and its expansion of the aggressive war to the whole of Indo-China. The statement pointed out that the recent Summit Conference of the Indo-Chinese Peoples manifested the firm determination of the Vietnamese, Laotian and Cambodian peoples to oppose their common enemy, U.S. imperialism, by armed struggle. At present, the new phase in the struggle of the three Indo-Chinese peoples has promoted the development of the struggle of the people of the whole world against U.S. imperialism, and is very favourable to the revolutionary struggle of the Indonesian people for the overthrow of the Suharto fascist regime.

The statement exposed Soviet revisionist social-imperialism as the arch renegade to Leninism. It pointed out that modern revisionism headed by the Soviet social-imperialists is being increasingly discredited. Guided by Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought and steeled in the acute class struggle, the Marxist-Leninist Parties and organizations throughout the world have grown up and are forging ahead.

The statement pointed out emphatically that Chairman Mao's solemn statement of May 20, 1970, in support of the struggle of the world's people against U.S. imperialism is of extraordinary significance, and gives a powerful impetus to the revolutionary struggle of

the people the world over. This statement has inspired the Indonesian Communists and people tremendously in their struggle to overthrow the Suharto regime.

The statement pointed out that the Communist Party of Indonesia should continuously sum up experience in struggle so as to be able to lead the revolutionary struggle of the Indonesian people ever more correctly.

After reviewing the history of the Communist Party of Indonesia in leading the armed struggle in the anti-Dutch armed uprising in 1926, the August revolution in 1945 and the Madiun incident in 1948, the statement pointed out that the Party had failed to sum up correctly the valuable experience in these armed struggles; consequently the Communist Party of Indonesia fell into the error of following a Right opportunist and revisionist line in the years from 1951 to 1965 under the influence of the adverse current of modern revisionism in the international communist movement. In particular, the statement criticized the revisionist line of "peaceful transition" advocated by the Soviet revisionist renegade clique as a road to bury the revolution and a road to ruin the Party and the revolutionary movement. This lesson learnt in blood must never be forgotten even for a single moment.

The statement said that the self-criticism of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Indonesia in holding aloft the great red banner of Mao Tsetung Thought — Marxism-Leninism of our era — pointed out the road which our Party should take, the road of armed struggle as taken by the Chinese revolution. The self-criticism of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Indonesia formulated the Party's three new banners, setting forth the tasks of the Party in the struggle for the victory of the people's democratic revolution. The three banners are: to build a Marxist-Leninist Party free from subjectivism, opportunism and modern revisionism; to wage a people's armed struggle which essentially is the struggle for an agrarian revolution against feudalism by the armed peasants under the leadership of the working class; and to form a revolutionary united front led by the working class and based on the worker-peasant alliance. In this respect, Comrade Mao Tsetung teaches: **"The united front and armed struggle are the two basic weapons for defeating the enemy. The united front is a united front for carrying on armed struggle. And the Party is the heroic warrior wielding the two weapons, the united front and the armed struggle, to storm and shatter the enemy's positions."**

The statement exposed the Soviet revisionists and a handful of Indonesian revisionist renegades for frenziedly opposing the self-criticism of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Indonesia, opposing the road of armed revolution taken by the Indonesian people, and continuing to peddle their revisionist "theory" of "peaceful transition." But the Indonesian people will definitely not be fooled by these renegades and will firmly take the road of armed revolution.

The statement pointed out that the problems of geography, archipelago, transportation, etc., are not the principal questions in waging a revolutionary war. The main question is that of relying on the masses of the people. The road of armed struggle for the Indonesian people must be that of relying on the peasants, establishing revolutionary bases in the rural areas, using the countryside to encircle the cities and finally capturing the cities and liberating the whole country. Indonesia is a semi-colonial and semi-feudal country where the peasants constitute the main force of the revolution. The peasants are the broadest and most reliable ally of the proletariat. Without arousing, organizing, arming and mobilizing the peasants, the proletariat cannot wage a long-term armed struggle against a strong enemy. Through leading the struggle of the peasants, the Communist Party of Indonesia can establish a people's armed force composed of workers and peasants, which will grow from small to big and from weak to strong in its fight to smash the enemy forces.

The statement stressed: In line with the general principle of Party building at present, that is, to serve the armed struggle, we must put the emphasis of our work in the countryside and underground activities so as to carry out the task of rebuilding the Communist Party of Indonesia into a Marxist-Leninist Party at an accelerated tempo.

The statement pointed out: The experience of Party building in the history of the Communist Party of Indonesia deeply convinces us of the correctness of the following teaching of Comrade Mao Tsetung — the most important and essential problem in building a Marxist-Leninist Party is ideological work. To build the Party ideologically means to foster and establish Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought in the whole Party, to oppose non-proletarian ideas and lines of various hues within the Party, to put into full play Marxist-Leninist criticism and self-criticism, to enhance consciousness in the struggle between the two lines, to sum up experience correctly and to be good at applying the universal truth of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought to the concrete practice of the Indonesian revolution.

The statement said in conclusion that by continuously raising the ideological level of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought in the whole Party and through being tempered in armed struggle, the Communist Party of Indonesia will, on the correct ideological basis of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought, surely become stronger and more united and be capable of leading the Indonesian revolution to victory.

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the dawn of our common freedom, our common prosperity and our common happiness."

After the speeches, Samdech Sihanouk and Samdech Penn Nouth shook hands with responsible members of the various departments of the Vietnamese Government, and with Truong Cong Dong, Acting Head of the Special Representation of the Republic of South Viet Nam in the D.R.V.N., and foreign diplomatic envoys to the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam. Then they went round the square to meet the masses who had come to bid farewell. The masses waved the national flags of the Kingdom of Cambodia and the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam and shouted: "Cambodia — Viet Nam" and "Viet Nam — Cambodia."

After the farewell ceremony, Samdech Sihanouk and Samdech Penn Nouth warmly shook hands with

and embraced President Ton Duc Thang and Chairman Truong Chinh time and again. They then bade farewell reluctantly. Accompanied by Premier Pham Van Dong, Vice-Premier and Madame Vo Nguyen Giap, Vice-Premier and Madame Nguyen Duy Trinh, and others, they drove to the airport by car. All along the way, they were seen off by tens of thousands of people lining both sides of the road.

Samdech Sihanouk and Samdech Penn Nouth and other distinguished Cambodian guests embraced and bade farewell to Premier Pham Van Dong, Vice-Premier Vo Nguyen Giap and Vice-Premier Nguyen Duy Trinh before boarding the plane.

Also seeing the guests off at the airport were Phoumi Vongvichit, General Secretary of the Central Committee of the Laotian Patriotic Front, and Wang Yu-ping, Chinese Ambassador to Viet Nam.

World's People Warmly Acclaim Chairman Mao's Solemn Statement

Statement of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Malaya

— Chairman Mao, with great far-sightedness, makes the brilliant
thesis on the world's revolutionary situation

The "Voice of Malayan Revolution" on May 31 broadcast a statement entitled "Warmly Hail the Publication of the Solemn Statement of Chairman Mao — Statement of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Malaya." It reads in full as follows:

Chairman Mao, the great teacher of the proletariat, issued on May 20 a solemn statement in support of the struggle of the world's people against U.S. imperialism, calling on "people of the world, unite and defeat the U.S. aggressors and all their running dogs!"

The Malayan Communists and the Malayan people warmly support the solemn statement of Chairman Mao and resolutely respond to Chairman Mao's militant call.

At the important moment when a new upsurge in the struggle of the people of the world against U.S. imperialism is emerging, Chairman Mao, the Lenin of the present era, points out with great far-sightedness to the people of various countries the orientation for their victorious advance. This has enormously strengthened the courage in struggle and confidence in victory of the people of various countries who are striving for liberation.

Chairman Mao has profoundly analysed the increasingly excellent revolutionary situation in the world and set forth the brilliant thesis: "The danger of a new world war still exists, and the people of all countries must get prepared. But revolution is the main trend in the world today."

Chairman Mao has further expounded his famous Marxist-Leninist thesis, namely, "Imperialism and all

reactionaries are paper tigers," and has, with the most vivid words and indisputable facts, thoroughly exposed the paper-tiger nature of U.S. imperialism, now in the throes of its death-bed struggle.

Summing up with genius the experience of the struggle for liberation by the people of various countries, Chairman Mao states: "A weak nation can defeat a strong, a small nation can defeat a big. The people of a small country can certainly defeat aggression by a big country, if only they dare to rise in struggle, dare to take up arms and grasp in their own hands the destiny of their country. This is a law of history."

Chairman Mao's solemn statement is another brilliant classic work in the theoretical treasure-house of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought. The publication of the statement is of far-reaching significance to the world revolution. It has tremendously encouraged the revolutionary struggle of the world's people and the Malayan people and dealt a very heavy blow at imperialism headed by the United States, modern revisionism and their running dogs. It will powerfully promote the rapid and vigorous development of the world revolution.

In recent years, U.S. imperialism and the Japanese reactionaries who act as a shock force in the U.S. imperialist aggression against Asia have stepped up their penetration into Malaya. The Rahman-Razak puppet clique and the Lee Kuan Yew puppet clique are shamelessly serving U.S. imperialism in its heinous crimes of invading Indo-China and driving Asians to fight Asians. In perpetrating such despicable acts, they will

meet severe punishment from the Malayan people and the people of Asia.

Resolutely responding to the great militant call of Chairman Mao, the Malayan Communists and the Malayan people will persist in and develop our revolu-

tionary armed struggle and make our contribution to defeating U.S. imperialism and all its running dogs.

Long live Chairman Mao, the great leader of the people of the world, a long, long life to him!

May 28, 1970

First Secretary of Central Committee of Congolese Party of Labour N'Dalla Issues Statement

—The experience of the Congolese people has proved that the people of a small country can certainly defeat aggression by a big country if they dare to rise in struggle

Claude-Ernest N'Dalla, First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Congolese Party of Labour, in an interview with a Hsinhua correspondent on May 24, warmly praised Chairman Mao's May 20 solemn statement in support of the world people's struggle against U.S. imperialism. N'Dalla stressed, "Our own experience enables us to understand the thought of Chairman Mao that a small country, a weak country can defeat a big country, a strong country. It is essential that the people of the small country dare to take up arms and dare to rise in struggle."

N'Dalla said, "Chairman Mao's statement was issued at a time when a face-to-face struggle has been unfolded between the forces of national-liberation movements in the world, especially in the countries of Africa, Asia and Latin America and the forces of imperialism and when this contradiction has become extremely sharp and in favour of the peoples."

Chairman Mao's statement is clear and complete, he said. "It merits the learning by heart by every one of us so as to grasp the situation in which we live. It is because we can change the situation only when we know its nature thoroughly. This statement of Chairman Mao helps us to understand the situation thoroughly and to know that the aggressive nature of U.S. imperialism is not a sign of strength, but rather a sign of weakness. This statement helps us also to see clearly that U.S. imperialism, which looks like a huge monster, is in fact only a paper tiger."

He cited the facts of the Vietnamese people's struggle against U.S. aggression and for national salvation and the struggle of the People's Republic of the Congo for safeguarding national independence and opposing imperialism to prove the following brilliant thesis put forward by Chairman Mao: "A weak nation can defeat a strong, a small nation can defeat a big.

The people of a small country can certainly defeat aggression by a big country, if only they dare to rise in struggle, dare to take up arms and grasp in their own hands the destiny of their country." N'Dalla continued, "The United States has not been able to make the small country of Viet Nam submit as it intended. The U.S. imperialists have met with fierce resistance from the people of that country. The United States has been dealt blows by the ever-victorious people's war." He said, "The People's Republic of the Congo has barely a million inhabitants with a territory of 342,000 square kilometres. The imperialists are afraid of the influence that our people's regime will produce. They took measures to make troubles for us. But we depend broadly on the masses of people and draw lessons from our past experiences; we dare to rise in struggle and dare to take up arms and grasp our destiny in our own hands."

N'Dalla pointed out that U.S. imperialism has been driven to the wall in south Viet Nam. Trying to extricate itself from its passive position in Viet Nam, U.S. imperialism brazenly extended its aggression to Laos and Cambodia. But this has only increased its own difficulties. As the Chinese folk saying goes, "Lifting a rock only to drop it on one's own feet," the U.S. imperialists have lifted a rock only to drop it on their own feet.

The expansion of the war of aggression in Indo-China by U.S. imperialism, he said, has not only given rise to the large-scale struggle of the people of Laos, Cambodia and Viet Nam, but also aroused indignant protests in the whole world and even inside the United States itself. These are nooses round the neck of U.S. imperialism fastened by U.S. imperialism itself.

In conclusion, N'Dalla said, "I am sure that our brothers in Laos, Cambodia and Viet Nam will certainly triumph."

Statement by Yasser Arafat

— Chairman Mao's statement is a powerful impetus to the national-liberation movement

Yasser Arafat, Chairman of the Executive Committee of the Palestine Liberation Organization and Official Spokesman for the Palestine National Liberation Movement (Fateh), in an interview with a Hsinhua correspondent on May 27 warmly praised Chairman Mao's solemn statement of May 20 in support of the struggle of the world's people against U.S. imperialism.

Arafat said that the Palestinian revolutionaries highly appreciate the statement. "The great leader Chairman Mao's statement has come at the important and crucial moment when the fighting peoples are opposing the forces of U.S.-led imperialism, colonialism and Zionism," he added.

He said that Chairman Mao's statement is illuminating the liberation movements in Indo-China, Palestine, Asia, Africa and Latin America and giving a tremendous impetus to them.

Arafat said that the great leader Chairman Mao Tsetung in his statement elucidates the truth that the revolutionaries in the world including those in Viet Nam, Laos, Cambodia and Palestine must unite. The oppressed and fighting people of small nations can win victory over the imperialists and their running dogs, if only they take up arms and rise in struggle.

Statement by Responsible Member for Information Of the U.S. Black Panther Party

— Chairman Mao's statement has tremendously encouraged the American people in their revolutionary struggle

Eldridge Cleaver, responsible member for information of the Black Panther Party, the Afro-American organization which advocates armed resistance against violent repression, expressed, in his recent interview with the Hsinhua correspondent in Algiers, the warmest support for Chairman Mao's solemn statement supporting the struggle of the world's people against U.S. imperialism. He said that Chairman Mao's statement was a tremendous encouragement and support to the American people in their revolutionary struggle, and that the cause of the American people was sure to be victorious and U.S. fascist ruling circles were bound to be defeated.

Cleaver said, "In his statement, Chairman Mao Tsetung has set forth a brilliant and timely analysis of the qualitatively new and excellent situation that exists in the world." "This statement pulls together into clear focus the revolutionary struggles and the liberation struggles of the people of the whole world, including the revolutionary struggle of the American people themselves."

He pointed out, "This statement by Chairman Mao Tsetung has reflected the heartfelt feelings and common hope of millions of oppressed people in the United States. It made the American people see clearly the reactionary and aggressive nature of U.S. imperialism. U.S. imperialism has carried out barbarous and criminal fascist repression on the domestic scale and rampant aggression on the international scale, thus committing innumerable crimes." He went on to say, "The black people in the United States have been the long-suffering victims of fascist violence and repression. But under the reactionary Nixon clique, this violence and repression has been escalated to unprecedented heights."

He said, "Chairman Mao Tsetung has said: 'U.S. imperialism, which looks like a huge monster, is in essence a paper tiger, now in the throes of its death-struggle.' This is perfectly correct. U.S. imperialism is a paper tiger abroad; it is also a paper tiger at home. The invasion of Cambodia by the Nixon administration has aroused enormous indignation among the entire American people. The Nixon administration, trembling with fear at the gigantic and growing mass

movement against the policy of aggression and war pursued by the Nixon fascist clique, is killing black and white people and has unleashed a bloodbath against the demonstrating masses. However, the mass movement is growing bigger and bigger." He said, "Determined to fight to the finish against the economic, political and social system of the United States, the black and white people have joined hands, struggling to the end against the madmen in the Pentagon who dominate this system which is responsible for the misery and bloodshed all over the world today."

Cleaver said that never before has the Nixon government been so isolated as it is today. And never before has it been so clear that its criminal rule can only be ended by the people rising up courageously to take up arms and seize their own destiny from the handful of willful exploiters and murderers.

Cleaver pointed out that the solemn statement of Chairman Mao Tsetung, the great leader of the Chinese

revolution, hero and teacher of the revolutionary people of the world, has added impetus to the struggle of the people of the world against the common enemy of us all — U.S. fascist imperialism, and has made an inestimable contribution to all mankind. Chairman Mao Tsetung's inspiring statement gives new heart to the peoples in their struggles to throw off the shackles and chains of oppression now being held in place by U.S. imperialism.

Cleaver said, "We welcome this statement because we have learnt, by shedding our blood, that the statement is of great significance and that only through relentless struggle, by resorting to arms inside the very house of U.S. fascism and imperialism, can we gain our freedom and liberation."

In conclusion, Eldridge Cleaver shouted: "Long live Chairman Mao Tsetung! Long live the victory of people's war! Death to U.S. fascism and imperialist aggression! All power to the people!"

(Continued from p. 19.)

denying to our Kosovar brothers and other Albanians their rights granted to them by the Yugoslav Constitution, and any measure aimed at their denationalization or removal from the lands of their forefathers. We cannot remain silent when it happens that Albanians living in Yugoslavia are charged with so-called political guilts, when they concern themselves with the development of new life in Albania, with our victories and successes in the building of socialism. It would be a short-sighted and unsuccessful policy to attempt to counterpose the Albanian population of Kosovo, in whatever form, to the People's Republic of Albania. We have carried and shall always carry out the defence of our Kosovar brothers and of their rights within the international and human rules, within the rules of good neighbourliness between our two states.

We are sure that the peoples of Yugoslavia, who are our friends, correctly understand us and approve this stand. Only those who are not only against the Kosovars but also against the freedom and independence of the peoples of Yugoslavia, would accuse us of being chauvinists and of allegedly interfering with the domestic affairs of Yugoslavia.

The people of Albania rejoice that their Kosovar brothers are ever more participating in the development of economy and the governing of the country, that the people, youth and intellectuals of Kosovo attend Albanian schools and are making great efforts to strengthen and develop the Albanian language, traditions, customs and culture. Our people and various scientific, educational and cultural institutions have been and are always prepared to help their Kosovar

brothers on their noble road. We are willing, besides trade relations, to develop also cultural relations. We can do this also with the other peoples of Yugoslavia, but with Kosovo this is favoured by the same traditions, culture and language. The various faculties of our university and the other institutes of higher learning are prepared to help our Kosovar brothers with the necessary texts of various subject matters. Our higher schools, likewise, can grant also scholarships to Kosovar youths to complete their studies in the faculties they like, as they can admit many others, or even Kosovar teachers for practice and specialization, or to exchange experience. We have the conviction that in this direction, too, the fraternal peoples of Yugoslavia will understand and support us, for we are on the international road.

In conclusion, Comrade Enver Hoxha said: A bright future awaits our people. We are successfully closing the 4th Five-Year Plan and are preparing to start with new forces the struggle for the 5th Five-Year Plan which will lead our country to higher peaks. Great prospects open also to the Tropoja Region. Here, uninterrupted transformations and progress will be made in the domain of agriculture. A great development will be assumed by the mines and geological researches of minerals, which promise a great deal. Construction work, communications, trade, education and culture will develop. At Fierze there will go up the greatest power giant, unexampled in our country and rare in the Balkans and in Europe, which will supply fresh electric power to industry, mines, agriculture, animal husbandry and our homes.

(Hsinhua May 31 dispatch from Tirana)

Cambodian Head of State Samdech Norodom Sihanouk Issues Statement on Nixon's Television Speech

- Severely denouncing Nixon's gangster logic.
- Making it clear that the Khmer people will continue to fight till the complete liberation of their fatherland and, side by side with the Vietnamese and Lao-tian peoples, will continue to fight till U.S. imperialism and its lackeys are completely driven out of Indo-China.

Samdech Norodom Sihanouk, Head of State of Cambodia and Chairman of the National United Front of Kampuchea, issued a press statement in Hanoi on June 5 sharply denouncing U.S. President Nixon's June 3 television speech in which Nixon obstinately persisted in carrying on the war of aggression against Cambodia. The statement reads in full as follows:

Concerning the televised address of June 3, 1970 of Mr. Nixon, President of the U.S.A., I am duty-bound to make the following statement:

1. Mr. Nixon said: "Between April 20 and April 30, communist forces launched a series of attacks against a number of key cities in neutral Cambodia. . . in flagrant violation of Cambodian neutrality."

The National Liberation Army led by the N.U.F.K. has every right to attack the mercenary army of the Lon Nol-Sirik Matak reactionaries, usurpers of constitutional power in Phnom Penh.

This struggle of the Khmer people against an illegal, anti-popular regime, which betrays the neutrality and independence of the fatherland, does not concern Mr. Nixon, the U.S.A. or other powers.

Mr. Nixon was making fun of the world when he spoke of violation of Khmer neutrality by the army of the N.U.F.K. which includes in its midst not only Communists but also a great number of democratic and patriotic nationalists.

The intervention by the U.S. and mercenary forces in Cambodia constitutes a flagrant violation of my country's neutrality, sovereignty, and territorial integrity, a violation condemned by all the peoples of the world including the American people.

Mr. Nixon and the U.S.A. also cynically violate international law by meddling most overtly in the internal affairs of another country.

The pretext of "Vietcong sanctuaries" does not hold water. In this connection I would like to draw the attention of the international public to the very clear and frank statement of Senator William Fulbright: "The Nixon administration intended to wage a full scale war by proxy in Cambodia to prop up the Lon Nol government . . . it is equally clear that the purpose of this proxy military campaign is not to eliminate communist border sanctuaries . . . but to sustain the feeble Lon Nol military regime in Phnom Penh."

2. Mr. Nixon has praised the bogus "Asian conference" in Djakarta by attributing to it the "merit" of "supporting the Cambodian government's efforts to maintain Cambodia's neutrality, independence and territorial integrity."

It is a cynicism unworthy of a head of state to make believe that the pro-U.S. regime in Phnom Penh has made "efforts to maintain the neutrality, independence and territorial integrity of Cambodia."

The whole world knows and American senators of good faith have pointed out that the traitor Lon Nol has done everything to deprive his country of its neutrality, independence and territorial integrity to the benefit of neo-colonialist U.S. imperialism and the pro-U.S. regimes in Saigon and Bangkok.

The whole world knows that Cambodia, under the "reign" of Lon Nol, has become a colony with as many as three bosses, that her territorial integrity, her borders and her territorial waters and airspace are thoroughly violated by these three bosses, and that it is not next July that will see Cambodia recover her independence and territorial integrity, the territorial integrity that the regimes in Saigon and Bangkok, in deciding on the occupation without a time-limit of two-thirds of our provinces by their armed forces, have impudently promised to reduce to the state of a memory.

As for the neutrality of our country, how can one speak of it now, when the Lon Nol regime has entered into alliance with the regimes most notoriously aligned

with the U.S.A. (Saigon, Bangkok, Taipei, Seoul, etc.), and when the only self-styled "non-aligned" governments supporting it answer to the names of Djakarta and Kuala Lumpur?

3. Mr. Nixon pretends that by intervening in Cambodia he wants to save the lives of his troops in south Viet Nam.

This cynicism is beyond comparison, because no Indo-Chinese nation has ever provoked the U.S. army. The arrival of this army in south Viet Nam has never been stipulated in or recognized by the 1954 Geneva Agreements on Indo-China.

If Mr. Nixon wants to save the lives of his troops, the only thing he has to do is to respect the 1954 Geneva Agreements on Indo-China and bring home immediately and unconditionally all his armed forces. Then none of our Indo-Chinese peoples will think of pursuing the Yankee troops as far as America.

4. Mr. Nixon has gone to any length in his cynicism and cowardice by threatening our people with the worst military retaliations if they will not let the Lon Nol regime alone after the withdrawal of U.S. troops from Cambodia next July 1. Indeed, he said: "If their answer to our troops withdrawal program... is to increase their attacks... I shall, as my action five weeks ago demonstrated, take strong and effective measures to deal with that situation."

It is certain that despite the disproportion of forces, the Khmer people, strong with their right and their just cause, and also strong with the effective support of the other peoples, particularly the glorious and heroic Vietnamese people, will not shrink back at this threat.

The Khmer people will continue to fight till the complete liberation of their fatherland and, side by side with the brother Vietnamese and Laotian peoples, will continue to fight till U.S. imperialism and its lackeys are completely driven out of our Indo-China.

5. Mr. Nixon has affirmed that "we take this action not for the purpose of expanding the war into Cambodia but for the purpose of ending the war in Viet Nam."

With this utter cynicism which is characteristic of him, he argues that his gangster action constitutes "the best means to achieve a just peace."

First of all, he should be reminded that in the eyes of the whole world he has actually expanded the war into Cambodia and to the whole of Indo-China.

Since his fatal decision to invade Cambodia, the international press has pointed out that the term "the Viet Nam war" should now be replaced by "the new war in Indo-China."

Whatever he may say, Mr. Nixon cannot evade this heavy responsibility.

As for his "just peace" in Viet Nam, I think I can believe that the heroic people of Viet Nam will under-

take to force him to accept a Vietnamese peace, the only just peace, and not an American peace, very falsely "just."

Moreover Nixon himself has implicitly admitted that by a "just peace in Viet Nam" he means an imposed American peace, a peace of permanent dependence on neo-colonialist U.S. imperialism, because he has shown his fear in seeing the other peoples oppressed or threatened by this imperialism slip through his fingers following a victory of the Vietnamese people. Indeed, he said: "If an American president had failed to meet this threat to 400,000 American men in Viet Nam, would those nations and peoples who rely on America's power and treaty commitments for their security in Latin America, Europe, the Middle East or other parts of Asia retain any confidence in the United States? That is why I deeply believe that a just peace in Viet Nam is essential, if there is to be a lasting peace in other parts of the world."

Nixon cannot be clearer in owning to the world that if south Viet Nam manages to liberate itself from U.S. imperialism, its example will be explosively catching in Latin America, even in Europe, in the Middle East, and the rest of Asia.

But, whatever it may do, U.S. imperialism cannot escape its inevitable defeat in south Viet Nam in the face of the glorious, heroic and indomitable Vietnamese people. This people will also have the historic and tremendous honour to inflict on the U.S.A. its first defeat in its overbearing history.

Such is my unshakable conviction.

Norodom Sihanouk

P.S. It should be noted that, in material and personnel, Mr. Nixon has singularly magnified his gains while minimizing, just as singularly, his losses in this "Cambodian operation."

The reckoning of the number of "enemies killed," for example, is too complacent, in the sense that at least 90 per cent of these so-called enemies are poor Khmer peasants and city-dwellers including old people, women and children killed by the bombs of B-52s. Besides, this reckoning is not done by counting the bodies on the battlefield but mostly by "estimates" from afar even from planes in flight. The Western press itself has pointed out this fantasy.

As for the claim of denying the South Viet Nam National Front for Liberation all material means to continue on a large scale the war of liberation in south Viet Nam, it is ridiculous. The proof is that the National Front for Liberation has dealt most violent blows at hundreds of posts and dozens of urban centres, including Da Lat, which are defended by the imperialist enemy and the satellite forces. The American press itself has pointed out that the U.S. armed forces have sustained very heavy losses as a result of these blows.

Cambodian Head of State Samdech Norodom Sihanouk Issues Message to American People

Samdech Norodom Sihanouk, Head of State of Cambodia and Chairman of the National United Front of Kampuchea, issued in Hanoi on June 4 a message to the American people, according to a VNA report of June 5. The message reads in full as follows:

Respected Citizens of the United States,

Norodom Sihanouk of Cambodia is certainly not unknown to you. A number of newspapers have endeavoured to present him to you in scarcely flattering terms. However, men of quality, for instance Senator Mike Mansfield, have made a point to inform you that he had for 15 years (from 1955 to 1970) succeeded in safeguarding national independence, freedom and peace for his people.

Today, this independence, freedom and peace have been completely destroyed because of the invasion of my country by U.S. forces and south Vietnamese mercenary forces on President Nixon's orders.

This massive invasion, followed by the long-term occupation and intensive and continuous bombing of my country is carried out under the pretext that it is necessary to wipe out the so-called "communist sanctuaries."

However, people of scrupulous intellectual honesty have given the lie to this false pretext.

In this connection, allow me to quote a very recent statement by Senator J. William Fulbright: "The Nixon administration intended to wage a full scale war by proxy in Cambodia to prop up the Lon Nol government . . . it is equally clear that the purpose of this proxy military campaign is not to eliminate communist border sanctuaries . . . but to sustain the feeble Lon Nol military regime in Phnom Penh."

Your press, radio, and television have amply shown you the hideous face of the bloodthirsty Lon Nol regime. No need for me to speak again of the innumerable and unjustified crimes it has committed since the March 18 coup d'etat. These crimes have shocked the conscience of mankind, particularly that of the American people and youth who are endowed with the noble ideals of freedom, peace and justice.

President Nixon's decision, taken without the consent of his country's Congress, without even the approval of his own government, to invade, to bomb, to ravage my country, crippling and killing an increasing number of its innocent and peaceful inhabitants, has

now plunged Cambodia into a disaster, a misery and a humiliation unknown in the nearly bi-millenary history of the Khmer people.

What crime has this Buddhist and pacifist people committed to deserve such a chastisement from your President who represents however a very great nation endowed with the well established traditions of democracy, liberalism and justice?

What has it to do with the U.S.A. that in Cambodia there are the popular masses and the "Leftists" struggling against the "Rightists" dictatorship?

Since the times of Foster Dulles whose doctrine was summarized in these two sentences: "Neutralism is immoral" and "those who do not side with us are against us," can the Washington government draw pride from "having brought into being"—to speak only of Asia—any truly democratic and popular regime worth of being defended by U.S. arms and by the sacrifice of hundreds of thousands of American lives?

Does America believe that it is helping Asia by offering it such dictatorships as those of Saigon, Bangkok, Seoul, and today of Phnom Penh?

Does America really believe that the progress achieved by communism in Asian countries, particularly in Southeast Asian countries and even in south Viet Nam, is to the credit of an imaginary invasion or subversion by the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam or the People's Republic of China?

Had one not better visualize it as the logical consequence of an American policy very badly conceived for the Asians?

A French proverb says that: "You must not be more royalist than the king."

May I humbly suggest that the U.S.A. should renounce playing the role of a "gendarme" in South-east Asia, that it should no longer claim to be "more Asian than the Asians themselves"?

The Indo-Chinese peoples, Khmer, Vietnamese, and Laotian have never thought of threatening the U.S.A.

They merely demand that it should not interfere in the internal affairs of Indo-China.

If problems arise in each of these Indo-Chinese countries, they should be solved only by the people concerned.

With regard to Cambodia, we Khmers absolutely cannot understand why the U.S.A. has introduced into our country not only its own armed forces but also tens of thousands of its mercenaries from Saigon to occupy our country and to behave as conquerors and absolute masters of our humiliated nation.

We learn that before long the armed forces of Thailand will, in their turn, come and station not only in Phnom Penh but also in such provinces as Battambang and Siem Reap which have always been the object of unconcealed expansionist schemes of this neighbour of ours.

Senator Mike Mansfield has repeatedly pointed out to your government the very obvious territorial ambitions towards our country of the republic of Saigon and the kingdom of Bangkok, both satellites of the U.S.A.

The Saigon government has availed itself of President Nixon's decision to extend the war to Cambodia to occupy, without any time-limit according to its own declaration, more than one-third of our country, the sea coast and the coastal islands included.

For its part, Thailand has just obtained from the Lon Nol government the "agreement" to let it utilize with full sovereignty our territorial waters and even the Cambodian part of the Mekong, not to speak of the right to occupy militarily many of our north-western and northern provinces.

Thus, what remain of the political sovereignty and the territorial integrity of Cambodia the "safeguarding" of which serves as a pretext for the armed intervention of the U.S.A. in our country?

The authority of Lon Nol, the protege of Mr. Nixon himself, is reduced to governing Phnom Penh only, and this through terror against its population under an inhuman martial law.

In a very recent dispatch from Cambodia, an American reporter named Don Shannon wrote: "Nine weeks after his ouster of Prince Sihanouk, Premier Lon

Nol is called 'mayor of Phnom Penh' by the diplomatic corps. . . . Lon Nol now has publicly confessed that he has no control over his country outside the capital, one of the 20 ambassadors remaining here commented, shaking his head. . . ."

You realize therefore that President Nixon has not brought any good to his country, still less to his people, in extending the war to Cambodia.

The Khmer people and myself demand nothing which can do harm to the sovereign rights of the U.S.A. We only demand that it let the Cambodians alone and free them totally, unconditionally and immediately from the armed intervention by American ground, naval, and air forces and that of their satellites (in Saigon and Bangkok).

We know that Congressmen and many other outstanding people of your great country, especially the popular masses and the liberal youth, have stood up vigorously to defend our just cause.

We know that for the victory of this cause and for the salvation of U.S. honour and the ideals which have made it great, many citizens, chiefly many students, have fallen under the fire of the so-called defenders of "order."

With the greatest emotion, the greatest respect and the most sincere gratefulness, we pay tribute to the memory of these real heroes.

In order that their so noble and generous sacrifices should not be made in vain, we demand that the great American people do their best to compel President Nixon to order the total and immediate withdrawal of U.S. and satellite troops from our country.

In this way, friendship and peaceful co-operation between Cambodia and the U.S.A. can be respectively safeguarded and conceived in the future.

Thank you.

Hanoi, June 4, 1970



"Renmin Ribao" Commentaries

Faithful Flunkey

by "Renmin Ribao" Commentator

INSTIGATED by U.S. imperialism, the Thanom-Praphas puppet clique of Thailand has flagrantly decided to invade Cambodia by sending its troops into that country. This is another towering crime committed by the Thai reactionaries against the Cambodian

people. It is a towering crime against the Thai people as well.

One important tactic with which U.S. imperialism pushes the "Nixon doctrine" in Asia is to "use Asians to fight Asians." The direct armed invasion of Cam-

bodia by U.S. imperialism is in itself a complete exposure of the vicious nature of this so-called "Nixon doctrine." Under the hammer blows of the Cambodian people and other Indo-Chinese peoples fighting in unity, the U.S. aggressor troops have met with crushing defeat and the Lon Nol-Sirik Matak puppet clique which they have tried to prop up is tottering. In these circumstances, however, the Nixon government, unreconciled to its defeat, is pushing further ahead its criminal scheme of "using Asians to fight Asians." It is getting its Thai and other lackeys to muster additional cannon-fodder. This is a clear demonstration of the predicament of the U.S. aggressors in Indo-China.

The Thai reactionaries are faithful running dogs fostered by U.S. imperialism. Since the end of World War II, they have been working vigorously in the service of U.S. imperialism, actively providing it with cannon-fodder in almost every war of aggression U.S. imperialism launched in Asia. They served U.S. imperialism in its war of aggression against Korea, in its war of aggression against Viet Nam and in its war of aggression against Laos. They are now again serving in the U.S. imperialist war of aggression against Cambodia. In fact, like the other stooges of U.S. impe-

rialism in Indo-China, the Thai reactionaries are no more than puppets shored up with the bayonets of U.S. imperialism. They are like a clay idol herding its flock across a river. Battered in the torrential people's revolution, they are hardly able to survive themselves.

Our great leader Chairman Mao points out: "A flunkey who allows himself to be led by the nose by U.S. imperialism will only end up in the same grave as his master."

The master cannot save his flunkey, nor can the flunkey help his master. The dispatch of troops to invade Cambodia by the Thanom-Praphas puppet clique cannot save U.S. imperialism from its fate of complete defeat in Cambodia. It will only meet with still more resolute resistance from the Cambodian and other people of Indo-China. It will only give a more rapid and vigorous impetus to the revolutionary struggle of the Thai people. No matter how desperately the U.S. aggressors and their running dogs struggle, they will be completely destroyed in the flames of revolution of the three Indo-Chinese peoples and the people of other countries in Southeast Asia.

(June 5)

Quibble and Deception

U.S. imperialist chieftain Nixon turned up with a carefully prepared speech on June 3. Quibble plus deception characterizes this speech.

In his recent solemn statement, our great leader Chairman Mao has pointed out: "The Nixon government is beset with troubles internally and externally, with utter chaos at home and extreme isolation abroad." Nixon's speech precisely reflects the predicament of U.S. imperialism.

To defend the U.S. imperialists' crime of sending troops to invade Cambodia, Nixon amassed a number of reasons, which can be summed up in one sentence: "To protect the lives and security of our (U.S.) forces in south Viet Nam." What is strange is that since south Viet Nam is far from the United States, how did these Americans make their inroads into Viet Nam? What evil deeds have they engaged in? How does the problem of their "security" arise? Is it the peoples of Cambodia, Viet Nam and Laos who have "threatened" the "security" of the United States, or is it the U.S. aggressors who have endangered the security of the Indo-Chinese peoples? While trying his best to evade all these questions, Nixon used his gangster logic to make the situation appear to be: U.S. "security",

must be "protected" by sending troops to south Viet Nam, while the "security" of the U.S. aggressor troops in south Viet Nam can be "protected" only by invading Cambodia. This is undisguised advocacy of "aggression is justified," an imperialist fallacy pure and simple.

The imperialists have always lived on rumour-mongering and lying. The fact is the U.S. aggressors have suffered heavy defeats in Cambodia, while Nixon has said that tremendous "victories" have been won. The reason for Nixon's big talk and passing himself off as a winner is because he is in a tight spot. The Nixon government not only suffers military defeats, but is in the throes of political trouble as well. The invasion of Cambodia by U.S. troops has aroused the indignation and opposition of the American people and has been unanimously denounced by the people all over the world. Mutual recriminations and mutual attacks are going on within U.S. ruling circles. Nixon feels it particularly necessary to make up rumours and talk big in such a situation.

By publicizing once more that U.S. aggressor troops in Cambodia will soon be "withdrawn" to south

Viet Nam, Nixon tried to give the impression that he would soon put an end to the war of aggression in Cambodia. This is pure deception. The fact is that the Nixon government has not only driven the south Vietnamese puppet troops to invade Cambodia, but also ordered the Thai reactionaries to send their troops to Cambodia as cannon-fodder. It has gone so far as to clamour for intensifying air raids against the liberated

areas of Cambodia. Far from putting an end to the aggression against Cambodia, U.S. imperialism is stubbornly persisting in its aggression against Cambodia. Far from minimizing the war in Indo-China, it is feverishly expanding the war there. Nixon's quibble and deception will be to no avail whatsoever.

(June 8, 1970)

U.S. Imperialism's Grave Military Provocation Against Korean People

by "Renmin Ribao" Commentator

ON June 3, U.S. aggressor troops wantonly shelled the posts of the Korean People's Army at the western and central sectors of the military demarcation line. The Korean People's Army fired back at the aggressors and gave them the punishment they deserved. On June 5, U.S. imperialism sent a fully armed spy ship, protected by fighters and warships, to intrude into the coastal waters in the northern half of Korea for spying activities. The spy ship was sunk by a naval unit of the heroic Korean People's Army on the spot.

These wanton aggressive activities of U.S. imperialism and its running dogs are grave provocations against the Korean people as well as against the people of other Asian countries.

The U.S. aggressors have been intensifying their activities of military aggression against the Democratic People's Republic of Korea in recent years. In January 1968, the U.S. armed spy ship *Pueblo* intruded into the territorial waters of north Korea near Wunsan and was captured by the Korean People's Army. In April 1969, a U.S. reconnaissance plane which intruded into the air space of D.P.R.K. was instantly shot down. U.S. imperialism's chieftain Nixon had the cheek to shout that spying activities against the Democratic People's Republic of Korea would be continued under armed protection. Meanwhile, U.S. imperialism has massed large numbers of armed forces in south Korea and engaged in big military manoeuvres so as to step up the threat of war. Recent U.S. military provocations against Korea obviously are criminal activities carried out by the Nixon government in deliberately aggravating the tense situation in Korea and plotting a new war there.

Simultaneously with its large-scale invasion of Cambodia and extension of the war in Indo-China, the

Nixon government is carrying out grave military provocations against the Korean people. Moreover, it has gone further and directed the Pak Jung Hi puppet clique, the Thanom-Prapas puppet clique and the reactionary Sato government to speed up their collusion with the Lon Nol-Sirik Matak puppet clique to serve the U.S. policy of aggression. This shows that the military provocation by the Nixon government against Korea is no isolated incident but a component part of its plot to expand its war of aggression in all of Asia.

In his solemn statement supporting the people of the world in their struggle against U.S. imperialism, our great leader Chairman Mao has pointed out: "U.S. imperialism, which looks like a huge monster, is in essence a paper tiger, now in the throes of its deathbed struggle." Baring its fangs and extending its claws all over the world, U.S. imperialism fully exposes its aggressive nature and reveals its weakness as a paper tiger. So long as they close their ranks still further, support each other and carry out a joint struggle, the people of Asia and the whole world will thoroughly defeat the U.S. aggressors and their running dogs.

China and Korea are fraternal neighbours linked by mountains and rivers. The friendship of the two peoples is a militant friendship cemented in blood. The Chinese people resolutely support the heroic Korean people in their just struggle against U.S. imperialist aggression and for the reunification of their fatherland. We warn the U.S. aggressors and their lackeys: If they are determined to pursue their reckless course of action and continue to play with fire, what awaits them can only be complete defeat.

(June 8, 1970)

Cambodian Head of State Samdech Norodom Sihanouk's

Fifth Message to the Khmer Nation

I PAY my respects to Her Majesty the Queen, Samdech religious heads, Buddhist monks and the Khmer people.

In the course of this month of May, the Lon Nol-Sirik Matak gang of traitors has led the motherland and the nation to enslavement, submitted them to the rule of the American imperialists and their Bangkok and Saigon flunkies, and subjected them to the worst humiliation ever known in the history of our Kampuchea.

Today the members of the U.S. Embassy and C.I.A. can do as they please in Phnom Penh and elsewhere in Cambodia. The number of American personnel keeps increasing and they grant themselves the right to transport by air from Saigon to Phnom Penh (Pochentong Airport) all sorts of materials for carrying out subversion and war by U.S. imperialism and neo-colonialism.

Militarily, the U.S. ground forces occupy and put to fire and sword a great part of our country; the U.S. naval forces use our rivers and territorial waters in a sovereign manner; as to the U.S. air force, the Lon Nol-Sirik Matak gang takes great pleasure to invite it to bomb savagely and intensively many of our provinces, districts, villages and cities, destroying everything that belongs to our innocent and peaceable people, including many lives, and plunging our people into misery and inhuman sufferings.

This does not satisfy the sadism of the Phnom Penh reactionary traitors. The press of the "free" world reveals in effect that when they were informed of the intention of their American masters to withdraw the U.S. troops to south Viet Nam around June 30, the Lon Nol "government" and military chiefs implored the "great patron" not to do so, because they are afraid of being wiped out by the "enemy."

* * *

With regard to the Thais (the Bangkok regime), the Lon Nol-Sirik Matak gang behaves most despicably. These traitors have many times implored the Siamese to condescend to establish diplomatic relations with their illegal regime. The Siamese replied that they would not take the trouble but that the Khmers (the Lonnotists) should go to Bangkok to make their request. The Lonnotists did what the Siamese (American flunkies) had ordered them to do.

Now the Thais can send their C.I.A. agents to Phnom Penh as personnel of their embassy in order to

co-operate with the Americans in the aggressive activities of SEATO against our people.

The Thais will have the right to enter Cambodia freely and to exploit the resources of our country, particularly the interesting tourist resources (as well as the air lines), for example, Phnom Penh, Siem Reap (Angkor), Battambang, Preah Vihear.

Concerning Preah Vihear, you know that for many years I have succeeded in preventing the Thais from touching it. Today the Lon Nol-Sirik Matak-Yem Sambaur gang gives them the right to do as they like there: Now the Bangkok government has announced that it would share in the work and expenses in the maintenance and restoration of this inalienable heritage of our ancestors. The International Court at the Hague has recognized that the sacred temple belongs solely to Cambodia. By means of "co-management," Thailand will be able to appropriate 50 per cent of this Khmer heritage without striking a blow.

The Lon Nol-Sirik Matak gang dares to show not only that it has sold the country to the Americans and the Siamese (Thais), but also that it surrenders the country to the Vietnamese (of the Thieu-Ky regime), whereas not long ago it feverishly incited hundreds of thousands of Khmers to wage a "crusade" against the "Vietnamese race, traditional and mortal enemy" of the Khmer race.

Today, the Lon Nol regime very openly surrenders the independence, neutrality and territorial integrity of the Khmers to the Vietnamese (of the Thieu-Ky regime).

Before the March 18 coup d'etat perpetrated by the traitors, our people and our nation enjoyed reliable peace and friendship with socialist Viet Nam, and the only misfortunes they knew (the loss of many lives, destruction of a great number of our achievements, villages, fields, cattle . . .) were the result of aggression, cannon fire and air raids by the American and Saigon satellite armed forces.

Gripped by fear and panic in the face of the revolution of our people who refuse to let it usurp state power, oppress and murder the compatriots, "suck the blood" of the national economy and put the country in the "cage" of American imperialism, the Lon Nol gang hurriedly invited the Americans and the Saigonists (of the Thieu-Ky clique) to invade and plunder our motherland in line with the plan which it had long conceived and which it could not put into effect when I was in power in our country as national leader from 1955 to 1969.

Now that Lon Nol and Sirik Matak are so thirsty for absolute power, our Khmer motherland has become a colony with three masters: the American imperialists and neo-colonialists, their Bangkok and Saigon flunkies.

Lon Nol, Sirik Matak and company had the effrontery to boast that they would never allow the Vietnamese to oppress the Khmers or to "swallow up" Khmer territories.

Today our people and the whole world see very clearly that it is these traitors who have personally invited the Vietnamese (of the Thieu-Ky clique) to come to kill and plunder the Khmers and who have even insisted that these Vietnamese should establish their colonial rule on the national territory of the Khmers.

An AFP dispatch from Saigon on May 11 reported these words of President Thieu: "The question of how long we shall remain in Cambodia is secondary. We shall remain as long as necessary. . . . No limit of time or space has been imposed on the south Vietnamese forces in their operations in Cambodia and the Cambodian government has agreed to this."

A Reuter dispatch of May 1 (by Michael Neale) reported that "some south Vietnamese officers suggested that the Fish-Hook campaign should have been an all-Vietnamese affair. They said that south Vietnamese soldiers now 'felt at home' in Cambodia."

This is undoubtedly what the Lon Nol-Sirik Matak regime called "salvation and national liberation from Vietnamese imperialism"!

An AFP dispatch of May 8 (by Derek Wilson) revealed that "General Do Cao Tri told reporters, 'We are free to do as we like. The Cambodians agree with this.'"

This is undoubtedly what the Phnom Penh traitors called "the chasing of the Vietnamese"! Not content with such a "performance," Lon Nol, Sirik Matak and their ilk surrender our coast and coastal islands to their Saigon patrons.

An AFP dispatch from Phnom Penh on May 14 (by Paul Leandri and John Swain) told us that "Cambodian military sources said that Phnom Penh and Saigon had agreed to let the south Vietnamese carry out a naval blockade of the Cambodian coast."

An AFP dispatch from Washington on the same day added that, according to Melvin Laird (the great patron of Lon Nol, Sirik Matak, Thieu and Ky) . . . the "blockade of the Cambodian coast, enforced officially by Vietnamese naval units, will also last as long as necessary."

An AFP dispatch from Saigon on May 12 said: "Vice-president of south Viet Nam General Nguyen Cao Ky landed near the ferry of Neak Leung. . . . declared to the press that south Viet Nam would have no

scruple whatsoever (sic) about leaving its forces in Cambodia after the Americans had pulled out theirs."

Another AFP dispatch from Washington on May 14 reported the following remarks by Melvin Laird, U.S. Defence Secretary: "It will perhaps be necessary to continue the bombing of the enemy forces in Cambodia once the last American soldiers will have withdrawn by the end of June."

By "enemy forces," it means our Khmer people themselves.

This is the Lon Nol gang's so-called "defence of the independence and honour of Cambodia" and "salvation of the Khmer people"!

The traitors will wholeheartedly allow the Americans, Thais and Vietnamese (of Saigon) to occupy and govern the whole of Cambodia as long as these traitors themselves are able to "rule" in Phnom Penh even if its "sovereignty" does not go beyond five kilometres from the city!

In this respect, an AFP dispatch by Derek Wilson on May 13 said that "three-star General Do Cao Tri . . . said, 'We have been ordered not to get closer than five kilometres to Phnom Penh to respect Cambodian sovereignty.'"

Thus, under the "rule" of the Lon Nol-Sirik Matak gang, the independence and sovereignty of the Khmers are confined to Phnom Penh and five kilometres from the city, and not beyond this limit!

This is most ridiculous!

But this is not all. The Vietnamese patrons of Lon Nol, Sirik Matak and company hold the Khmer soldiers in utter contempt.

According to AFP (in the same dispatch of May 13), General Do Cao Tri made the following comment on Lon Nol's mercenaries: "The Cambodian army isn't fighting. It seems more afraid of us than the Vietcong."

This is utter contempt. Humiliated to the last degree, Lon Nol has gone so far as to think of following the piteous example of the despicable Tshombe, the African traitor to his people and to Africa.

Indeed, Lon Nol, Sirik Matak and company feel very "close" to Tshombe who had sold out his race and people to the white colonialists and imperialists.

Unable to vanquish the Congolese people's revolutionary resistance with his "black" army, Tshombe had believed that success would "come" to him if colonialist and imperialist masters provided white mercenary officers for his army.

The white mercenaries have failed to save Tshombe.

In desperation, Lon Nol and Sirik Matak want to try a new experiment with white mercenaries. An AFP dispatch from Phnom Penh on May 14 said that "the Cambodian government confirmed today that it had already been approached by white mercenaries. . . . So

far the Cambodian government has not made an official statement, but the sources said it was certainly considering the possibility."

* * *

The humiliations which the Lon Nol regime suffers in the international sphere find some sort of "expression" in the recent bogus Asian conference which was attended by the notorious satellites and lackeys of U.S. imperialism and which was designed to save this traitorous regime in the face of the victorious assaults of the Khmer people and their Liberation Army.

Although the above-mentioned conference was designed to save the skin of the Lon Nol clique, the participating countries strove to show that if they are satellites and lackeys of the United States, the government of Phnom Penh is merely a "lackey of lackeys," that is to say, it should be a "grade" lower.

An AFP dispatch from Djakarta on May 15 revealed that "Cambodia will attend only to explain the situation and not to participate in the debates . . . only the flags of the participating countries flew today in front of the conference building. The mast for the Cambodian flag was bare. Yesterday Mr. Yem Sambaur . . . said that his country had been invited as a full member."

But Adam Malik, who was the initiator of the conference allegedly for aiding Cambodia, told the press with visible contempt for the Lon Nol clique that "Cambodia is not a full member."

* * *

These are the "fruits" reaped by the traitors Lon Nol-Sirik Matak and company who have plunged the country and the nation into war and catastrophe on the one hand, and led them to enslavement and the worst humiliations on the other.

Their propaganda strives every day to make people believe that I am responsible for all these misfortunes!

But, no matter how they try, they will never be able to deceive our people and world opinion.

On May 3, in the city of Rijeka, President Tito of Yugoslavia, an illustrious hero of the Yugoslav resistance against the German and Italian fascists, upheld justice when he said: "I have been to that country. I found that Cambodia was a flourishing country with a high standard of living and with an advanced industrial potential. This is a country which together with its leadership, such as Prince Sihanouk, really wants to save itself from being involved in disaster. Unfortunately, this did not depend on them." — (Extract from a bulletin of Tanjug Agency.)

Mr. De Broglie, President of the Foreign Affairs Committee of the French National Assembly, asserted

in these terms: "From what madness did people smash the building constructed by the Cambodian Head of State . . . ? After the skilful engineering of this aberrant operation, one should not say any more that Cambodia was a victim of foreign aggression . . . now, a popular and national resistance is coming into being . . ."

The man who made this conclusion is not a communist. He is of "the Right" and a prince. Mr. De Broglie has put it well; the Cambodian tragedy created by the clique of traitors cannot be justified by a non-existing "foreign invasion."

At the bottom of this tragedy was not "Vietcong" or "Vietminh" invasion, but simply the unbridled ambition of the perpetrators of the coup d'etat, who served their personal interests on the one hand and the supreme interests of their money-lenders, the American imperialists, and their Saigon and Bangkok accomplices on the other.

Now that their employers have installed themselves in Cambodia, Lon Nol-Sirik Matak and company cling to and implore their employers never to abandon them.

An AFP dispatch from Phnom Penh on May 14 (by Paul Leandri and John Swain) said on this subject: "In fact, there is considerable alarm in government circles over whether south Vietnamese combat troops intend to leave Cambodia . . . with Thailand and Cambodia now firm allies for the first time since 1961, Thai forces might . . . be asked to fight . . . in northern Cambodia."

If I had refused to have our country reconciled with the governments of Saigon and Bangkok, it was simply because they obstinately refused to recognize officially the existing borders of our country.

Worse still, the government of Saigon refused to withdraw the letter it had addressed to the Royal Khmer Government officially demanding that Cambodia give up several frontier villages in Svay Rieng and the coastal islands opposite to our cities of Kep and Ream. With regard to the government of Bangkok, it refused to declare respect for the decision of the International Court concerning the Temple of Preah Vihear.

The Democratic Republic of Viet Nam and the Provisional Revolutionary Government of South Viet Nam have solemnly recognized the existing borders of our Kampuchea and have never invaded, still less colonized, our country. And the gang of traitors Lon Nol-Sirik Matak pushed and is pushing the Khmer nation to make war on this Viet Nam and does not scruple to ally itself with the governments of Bangkok and Saigon.

And these new "allies" have hurriedly come to install themselves in our country, like in a vanquished country.

Today the Americans have set up their colony on a considerable part of the regions of Svay Rieng, Memot, Snoul, Mondolkiri, Ratanakiri, etc. . . .

The Saigonists have set up their colony in Svay Rieng, part of Kompong Cham, part of Prey Veng, part of Kandal, part of the Mekong, and all the coast from Hatien (south Viet Nam) to Sihanoukville, including all our coastal islands. In addition, they have declared that they reserve the right to occupy in future the regions of Takeo, Kampot, Kompong Som, etc. . . .

The Siamese (Thais) have hastened to occupy Preah Vihear. According to the press of the "free" world, they will be "invited" by the Lon Nol "government" to send their armed forces to colonize the regions of Battambang, Oddor Meanchey, Preah Vihear, etc.

Bangkok has just ordered its "fifth column," the "Free" Khmers of Songsakd and Son Ngoc Thanh, to dissolve their "front" and integrate it into the Lon Nol regime.

* * *

In view of the extremely obvious and grave betrayal of the country by the Lon Nol-Sirik Matak group, the Khmer people will never pardon them.

This is why our People's National Liberation Army, supported by all patriotic citizens, men and women, who hasten to join en masse the National United Front of Kampuchea, has redoubled its efforts in its heroic fight against our mortal enemies, the U.S. imperialist neo-colonialists, their Saigon and Bangkok lackeys and their sub-lackeys Lon Nol-Sirik Matak-Sim Var-Cheng Heng-Trinh Hoanh-In Tam and company.

Our citizens, men and women, and our youth in the provinces now recognize the true nature, the hideous countenance of the despicable traitors of the Lon Nol group. This is why they do not hesitate to give every possible aid to our Liberation Army, enabling it to win new and important victories in several regions of the country.

Even within the army paid by the Lon Nol regime to serve it, an increasing number of officers, non-commissioned officers and especially soldiers have become aware of their aberration which had led them to serve the evil cause of the traitors and that of the U.S. imperialists and their Saigon and Bangkok lackeys. These military men, realizing their mistake, have joined the N.U.F.K. and the ranks of the Liberation Army.

In Phnom Penh, there is still a considerable number of persons who still obstinately cling to the "government" of Lon Nol because they indulge in corruption and cling to their property and to the "good life" which the extremely rich "Uncle Sam" promises them.

But the working people, patriotic youth and progressive intellectuals have irresistibly broken away from this regime.

A convincing indication of this is the fact that very recently the students armed by Lon Nol have turned

round and trained their guns on the Vietnamese sent to Phnom Penh by Thieu-Ky to carry out pro-imperialist subversion.

This fact shows that my young compatriots of Phnom Penh have begun to be aware of the deception of Lon Nol who had made them see black as white and white as black.

I am confident that our citizens, young and old, men and women, ecclesiastics and laymen, will rise as one man and help in every way our N.U.F.K. and our People's National Liberation Army to win complete victory over all the enemies of the country and the people, that is, the troops of invasion, aggression, destruction, oppression and colonization of the U.S. imperialists, Bangkok, Saigon and Lon Nol-Sirik Matak.

I solemnly warn those persons, big capitalists and property-owners who remain in the service of the traitors Lon Nol-Sirik Matak and their American masters that it is high time that they changed their attitude.

If they do so quickly, the people and the N.U.F.K. will forgive them of their crimes. If they abandon Lon Nol and American imperialism in time, they will not be punished in any way, and they and their families can preserve their property and other possessions.

But if they put off quitting their service to Lon Nol and the Americans, the people and the N.U.F.K. will surely give them severe punishment (the chief culprits may even lose their lives) and all their property will be confiscated and distributed among the poor families and among the families of the patriots killed or seriously wounded in the war of liberation.

Probably, these opportunists are weighing the possibility of each "camp" to win or lose in the conflict.

They should know that the Khmer people and the N.U.F.K. cannot be defeated in this war.

The U.S. imperialists cannot remain long in Indo-China to protect the regimes of those Indo-Chinese who are traitors to Indo-China.

President Nixon cannot be in power indefinitely, nor can he for ever save the skin of his lackeys Lon Nol-Sirik Matak-Thieu-Ky-Souvanna Phouma and others.

The American people and youth and the peoples of the world will not permit Nixon to carry on his extremely criminal undertaking in Indo-China for a long time.

As to the three Indo-Chinese peoples, Khmers, Vietnamese and Laotians, they have decided to unite, establish a common front of struggle, assist each other to the maximum and exert all their efforts to drive American imperialism out of Indo-China completely and for good.

Our three peoples are not and will not be alone in our cause. They are and will always be supported powerfully by a great number of socialist and progressive countries which will give them multifarious and most effective aid, thus contributing to their victory and to the restoration of independence and national sovereignty to our respective countries.

So it is absolutely certain that Indo-China will be restored to the Indo-Chinese.

The U.S. imperialists and their lackeys will have no future whatsoever in Cambodia, Viet Nam and Laos.

If the opportunists see the realities in Indo-China in this way, they should hasten to quit the evil path so as to be loyal to the motherland and the people.

* * *

Here I conclude my fifth message to the nation.

I pay my most profound respects to Your Majesty, to Your Eminences and to the people.

Long live Cambodia!

May 24, 1970

Cambodia's Patriotic Armed Forces and People Win Signal Victories

They have overthrown reactionary local administrations in many places, liberated vast areas with a population of over one million and set up organs of people's power in many provinces, districts, townships and villages and wiped out or disintegrated more than 24,000 enemy troops, including nearly 2,000 U.S. troops, in the last two months.

IN response to the call of Cambodian Head of State Samdech Norodom Sihanouk, the National United Front of Kampuchea and the Royal Government of National Union, the people of all strata in Cambodia and their National Liberation Army have won signal victories in stepping up their struggle against the U.S. aggressors and their lackey, the traitorous Lon Nol-Sirik Matak clique, according to Viet Nam News Agency (V.N.A.) quoting a report of the Information Bureau of the National United Front of Kampuchea.

Preliminary statistics show that in the past two months the Cambodian patriotic armed forces and people have overthrown the reactionary local administrations of the U.S. stooges in many places, liberated vast areas with a population of over one million and set up organs of people's power in many provinces, districts and hundreds of townships and villages. They have wiped out or disintegrated more than 24,000 enemy troops, including nearly 2,000 U.S. troops, annihilated, heavily mauled or disintegrated 28 enemy battalions and captured more than 10,000 weapons, several hundred military vehicles and over 600 tons of ammunition and military equipment.

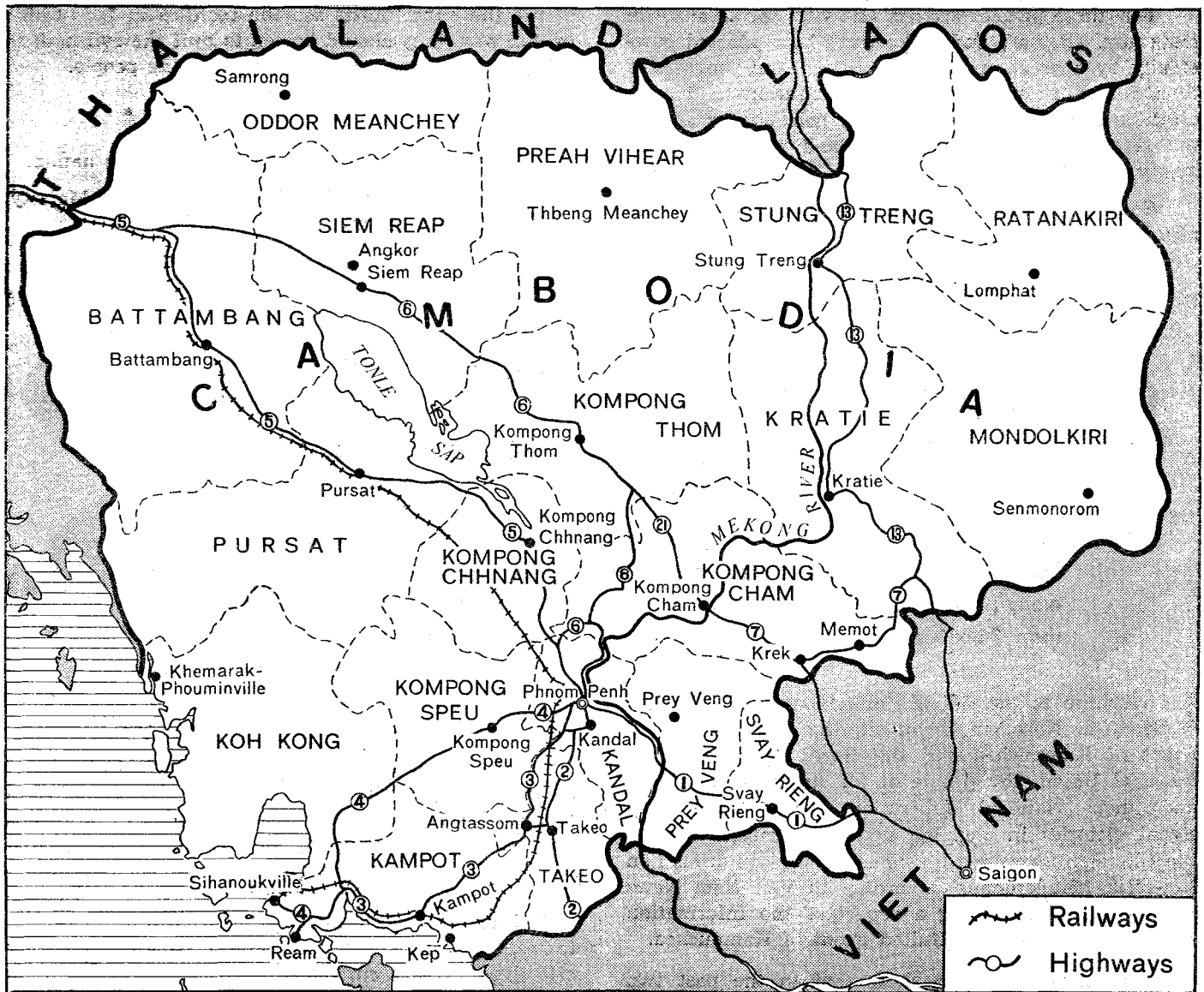
After the reactionary Lon Nol-Sirik Matak clique usurped state power by launching the March 18 coup d'etat at the instigation of U.S. imperialism, the Khmer people, determined as they were to defeat the U.S. imperialist aggressors and the reactionary Lon Nol-Sirik Matak clique, closed their ranks within the National United Front of Kampuchea. The historic call issued by Cambodian Head of State Samdech Norodom Sihanouk on March 23 drew enthusiastic response from the Buddhist monks and people of all strata. They rose

resolutely to oppose the United States and the reactionary Lon Nol-Sirik Matak clique.

The Cambodian people's movement which is marked by the link-up of the armed struggle with the political struggle is developing vigorously from day to day. The National Liberation Army has fought valiantly and staunchly, smashing time and again the enemy's "mopping-up" operations. It has successively encircled, attacked and captured many provincial capitals, cities, towns, strongholds and posts, annihilating many enemy effectives. It has cut many important communication lines leading from Phnom Penh to various provinces, liberated many important areas, and encircled and split up the enemy in many places.

In the face of the vigorous offensive of the National Liberation Army of Kampuchea, the morale was very low among the troops of the reactionary Lon Nol-Sirik Matak clique. Many enemy units rapidly disintegrated or abandoned their strongholds and posts and fled. Whole companies and even battalions, responding to the appeal of Head of State Samdech Norodom Sihanouk, crossed over with their arms to the people's side.

To save the Lon Nol-Sirik Matak clique from the critical situation, U.S. imperialism brazenly sent a great number of troops to openly invade Cambodia, thus expanding the U.S. war of aggression to the whole of Indo-China. It dispatched nearly 100,000 U.S. and Saigon puppet troops for a massive invasion of Cambodia from several directions. It also sent hundreds of aircraft, including B-52s, to conduct wanton raids on Cambodian territory. At the same time, hundreds of helicopters were used to transport about 10,000 commandos of Khmer origin directly trained and equipped by the



Sketch Map of Cambodia

United States from south Viet Nam to Phnom Penh to buttress up the Lon Nol-Sirik Matak reactionary clique.

In Cambodia, the U.S. aggressor troops and Saigon puppet troops carried out the barbarous "burn all, kill all, destroy all" policy. Wherever they went, they unscrupulously burnt and looted the villages, destroyed towns and cities, and raped and committed other towering crimes against the Cambodian people.

Burning with bitter hatred for the U.S. aggressors and the reactionary clique, the people and the National Liberation Army of Kampuchea repeatedly intercepted the U.S. and Saigon puppet troops from various directions, and continued to encircle, attack, wipe out and disintegrate the troops of the reactionary Lon Nol-Sirik Matak clique. From April 29 to May 16, the National Liberation Army in Kompong Cham, Svay Rieng and

other provinces killed or wounded over 2,500 enemy troops, including about 2,000 U.S. troops, and destroyed two artillery positions in their counter-attacks against the U.S. and Saigon puppet troops' "mopping-up" operations. The National Liberation Army also captured or damaged 30 enemy heavy artillery pieces and about 320 military vehicles, including more than 200 tanks and armoured cars, shot down over 30 enemy planes and sank 3 war vessels.

While intercepting the U.S. and Saigon puppet troops, the National Liberation Army, from the night of May 2 to dawn the following day, overran the Ba Nam military sub-sector and Neak Leung and Kompong Trabek, wiping out or capturing over 1,000 enemy troops. The National Liberation Army also set free many people imprisoned by the Lon Nol-Sirik Matak reactionary clique.

From May 6 to 16, the National Liberation Army, together with the people of Kratie, Mondolkiri, Takeo, Kandal, Stung Treng and Kompong Cham Provinces, launched military operations, besieging cities and towns, military sub-sectors, and many strongholds and posts of the enemy and liberating the three provincial capitals of Mondolkiri, Kratie and Stung Treng and many district towns.

Side by side with launching attacks, the National Liberation Army publicized the Political Programme of the National United Front of Kampuchea and called on the officers and men of the enemy forces to rise up, together with the people, against the U.S. aggressors and the traitorous Lon Nol-Sirik Matak lackey clique. As a result, several thousand enemy soldiers deserted. Collective desertion took place in the enemy's 93rd battalion in Kratie, the 62nd battalion in Prey Veng and the 6th battalion in Neak Leung. On May 6 and 8, more than 1,500 officers and men of the reactionary Lon Nol-Sirik Matak clique in the city of Kratie revolted, and together with the National Liberation Army attacked the enemy positions in the city, punished the die-hard reactionaries and liberated the whole city. Subsequently they joined the National Liberation Army, bringing with them more than 2,000 weapons of various kinds and a quantity of ammunition. In the same

period, the Cambodian people and the National Liberation Army persuaded six enemy battalions in Prey Veng, Mondolkiri and Kompong Cham Provinces to cross over with their weapons and join the National Liberation Army. This brought about the complete disintegration of the enemy's 5th infantry brigade.

The broad masses of youth in the liberated areas enlisted in the National Liberation Army, which has grown in strength rapidly. Hundreds of guerrilla units were organized in nearly all the villages and hamlets, plantations and organizations.

At present, the patriotic armed forces and people of Cambodia are advancing victoriously, and are determined to overcome all difficulties and hardships, to make all sacrifices, to undergo all severe tests, to display the tradition of staunch and tenacious struggle, to unite closely within the National United Front of Kampuchea under the leadership of Head of State Samdech Norodom Sihanouk, to energetically realize the Political Programme of the National United Front of Kampuchea, to actively increase their strength in various fields, and to promote the military, political and various other forms of struggle, so as to seize still bigger victories.

(Hsinhua May 22 dispatch)

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Daily English Language Transmissions

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		19:00-20:00	(Dar-es-Salaam)		
	01:00-02:00	19:00-20:00	(Cape Town, Salisbury)	40, 30	7350, 9860
		20:00-21:00	(Dar-es-Salaam)		
WEST AND NORTH AFRICA	03:30-04:30	18:45-19:45	(Monrovia)	30, 25, 19	9965, 11695, 15030
		19:30-20:30	(Accra, Freetown)		
	04:30-05:30	20:30-21:30	(Lagos)	30, 25, 19	9965, 11695, 15030
		21:30-22:30	(Cairo)		
EUROPE	04:30-05:30	19:45-20:45	(Monrovia)	30, 25, 19	9965, 11695, 15030
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	04:30-05:30	21:30-22:30	(Lagos)	45, 39, 33, 25	6620, 7590, 9030, 11675
		22:30-23:30	(Cairo)		
	05:30-06:30	21:30-22:30	(London, Stockholm, Paris)	45, 39, 33, 25	6620, 7590, 9030, 11675
		22:30-23:30	(London, Stockholm, Paris)		
NORTH AMERICA (EAST COAST)	08:00-09:00	19:00-20:00	(E.S.T.)	19, 16	15060, 17673
	09:00-10:00	20:00-21:00	(E.S.T.)	42, 30, 19, 16	7120, 9780, 15060, 17715, 17855
	10:00-11:00	21:00-22:00	(E.S.T.)	19, 16	15060, 17715, 17855
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	20:00-21:00	07:00-08:00	(E.S.T.)	25, 19	11685, 15095
NORTH AMERICA (WEST COAST)	11:00-12:00	19:00-20:00	(P.S.T.)	19, 16	15045, 15095, 15385, 17673
	12:00-13:00	20:00-21:00	(P.S.T.)	19, 16	15045, 15095, 15385, 17673
AUSTRALIA AND NEW ZEALAND	16:30-17:30	18:30-19:30	(Aust. S.T.)	25, 19, 16	11600, 11720, 15060, 15435, 17835
		20:30-21:30	(N.Z.S.T.)		
	17:30-18:30	19:30-20:30	(Aust. S.T.)	25, 19, 16	11600, 11720, 15060, 15435, 17835
		21:30-22:30	(N.Z.S.T.)		
SOUTHEAST ASIA	20:00-21:00	19:00-20:00	(Western Indonesia, Bangkok)	32	9290, 9365
		19:30-20:30	(Singapore)	25, 19	11600, 15285
	21:00-22:00	20:00-21:00	(Saigon, Manila)	32, 25	9290, 11600
		20:00-21:00	(Rangoon)		
	21:00-22:00	20:00-21:00	(Western Indonesia, Bangkok)	19	15095, 15285
		20:30-21:30	(Singapore)		
	21:00-22:00	21:00-22:00	(Saigon, Manila)	248	1210
		19:30-20:30	(Rangoon)		
SOUTH ASIA	02:00-03:00	23:30-00:30	(Delhi)	41, 40, 19	7315, 7470, 15095
	22:00-23:00	19:30-20:30	(Delhi, Colombo)		
		19:00-20:00	(West Pakistan)	41, 19	7315, 15095
		20:00-21:00	(East Pakistan)		
		19:40-20:40	(Kathmandu)	41, 19	7315, 15095
	23:00-24:00	20:30-21:30	(Delhi, Colombo)		
		20:00-21:00	(West Pakistan)	41, 19	7315, 15095
		21:00-22:00	(East Pakistan)		
	23:00-24:00	20:40-21:40	(Kathmandu)		