

PEKING REVIEW

28

July 10, 1964

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A WEEKLY MAGAZINE OF CHINESE NEWS AND VIEWS

SELECTED MILITARY WRITINGS OF MAO TSE-TUNG

The *Selected Military Writings of Mao Tse-tung*, comprising twenty-nine articles from the *Selected Works*, Volumes I-IV, are the chief military writings of Comrade Mao Tse-tung, done at various periods in the history of the Chinese people's democratic revolution.

In the present volume is to be found Comrade Mao Tse-tung's scientific elucidation of three fundamental problems of the revolutionary armed struggles of the Chinese people, namely, strategy and tactics for the revolutionary war, building a people's army, and establishing armed revolutionary bases. The military writings amply express the military line which was formulated by Comrade Mao Tse-tung, through the application of the principles of Marxism-Leninism, to serve the political line of the Chinese people's revolution.

The book will help the reader acquire a fuller understanding of how the Chinese people step by step succeeded in winning the great victory in their revolution after decades of arduous struggles.

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PEKING REVIEW

北京周报

(BEIJING ZHOUBAO)

A WEEKLY MAGAZINE OF CHINESE
NEWS AND VIEWS

July 10, 1964 Vol. VII No. 28

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THE WEEK

Among the major events of the week:

- Two collections of *Selected Readings From Mao Tse-tung’s Works* have been published and are now on sale throughout the country.

- The Communist Youth League of China held its Ninth Congress, the largest ever, in Peking last month. It discussed the question of promoting the revolutionization of China’s youth and mapped out the League’s current and future tasks.

- Chairman Liu Shao-chi and other Chinese leaders sent a cable to Ho Chi Minh, Truong Chinh and Pham Van Dong, congratulating them on their re-election to their posts of leadership in the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam.

- An air force unit of the Chinese People’s Liberation Army shot down another U.S.-made U-2 plane of the Chiang Kai-shek gang over east China on July 7.

Marshal Lin Piao, Minister of National Defence, issued an order commending the unit for this major victory.

- The Chinese Government has extended recognition to Malawi (Nyasaland) which became independent on July 6.

- The Chinese press published:

- a statement by V.G. Wilcox, General Secretary of the Communist Party of New Zealand, on the occasion of the 25th anniversary of the founding of *People’s Voice*. He declared that the C.P. of New Zealand would always uphold the banner of Marxism-Leninism.

- a speech by Premalal Kumarasiri, General Secretary of the Communist Party of Ceylon, at a meeting held on July 3 in Colombo celebrating the 21st anniversary of the Party’s founding. He called for the further strengthening of the Party to fulfil its tasks in opposing imperialism and revisionism.

Mao Tse-tung’s Works in New Foreign Language Editions

A Russian edition of the fourth volume of the *Selected Works of Mao Tse-tung*, previously published in English, French and Spanish, was issued in Peking last month. Based on the 1960 Chinese edition brought out by the People’s Publishing House in Peking, the Russian translation has additional annotations for the convenience of its readers.

The fourth volume of the *Selected Works* includes 70 works written by Chairman Mao Tse-tung from August 1945 to September 1949; the period from the end of the War of Resistance Against Japan to the founding of the People’s Republic of China. Among them are “The Situation and Our Policy After the Victory in the War of Resistance Against Japan,” “Some Points in Appraisal of the Present International Situation,” “Talk with the American Correspondent Anna Louise Strong,”

“Concentrate a Superior Force to Destroy the Enemy Forces One by One.” “The Present Situation and Our Tasks,” “Speech at a Conference of Cadres in the Shansi-Suiyuan Liberated Area,” “Carry the Revolution Through to the End,” and “On the People’s Democratic Dictatorship.”

Military Writings. A French edition of the *Selected Military Writings of Mao Tse-tung*, containing 29 important works on military affairs selected from the four volumes of the *Selected Works*, was also published by the Foreign Languages Press in June.

In these writings, Chairman Mao makes a scientific analysis of the three fundamental questions of the Chinese people’s armed revolutionary struggles — strategy and tactics of revolutionary war, building a people’s army and establishing base areas for the armed revolution. They record the road taken by the Chinese people in their steady advance

through decades of arduous struggle to the victory of the revolution.

Ghana's National Day

July 1 this year marked the fourth anniversary of the founding of the Republic of Ghana and its army. On the eve of the Ghanaian National Day, Chairman Liu Shao-chi and Premier Chou En-lai sent a joint message of greetings to President Kwame Nkrumah.

In Peking, Ghanaian Ambassador Joe-Fio N. Meyer held a National Day reception on July 1. Premier Chou En-lai and Vice-Premier Li Hsien-nien were among the guests. In his speech, the Ghanaian Ambassador spoke of the growth of Sino-Ghanaian and Sino-African relations. "The visit of Premier Chou En-lai and Vice-Premier Chen Yi to Africa," said the Ambassador, "has strengthened the friendship and solidarity between China and Africa." He praised the Chinese Government and people for their untiring efforts in working for the convening of the Second Asian-African Conference.

Vice-Premier Li Hsien-nien, in his speech, hailed the achievements of the Ghanaian people in safeguarding their national independence and developing their national economy under the leadership of President Nkrumah. "In international affairs," he said, "Ghana follows a policy of peace, neutrality and non-alignment, supports the African people in their struggle for independence and freedom and has made important contributions to the promotion of African unity and Asian-African solidarity."

Expressing his admiration for the Ghanaian people in smashing subversive imperialist schemes, the Vice-Premier declared that the Chinese Government and people would spare no efforts to promote the cause of Asian-African unity in the fight against imperialism.

Greeting Malawi's Independence

One more African country has become independent. This is Malawi, formerly called Nyasaland in central Africa, which declared its independence on July 6 after nearly a century of British colonial rule.

In a message of greetings to Malawian Prime Minister Hastings Banda, Foreign Minister Chen Yi took the opportunity to inform him that the Government of the People's Republic of China had decided to recognize Malawi. Premier Chou En-lai also sent a message of congratulations to Prime Minister Banda.

Greeting Malawi's independence, *Renmin Ribao* in its July 6 editorial said that "this is a victory won by the people of Malawi in their protracted struggle against British colonial rule and to win national independence." The paper, however, deplored the Malawian Government's unfriendly attitude in creating a "two Chinas" situation at its independence celebrations. While inviting China to send a delegation, it insisted on inviting at the same time representatives of the Chiang Kai-shek gang. "This," said *Renmin Ribao*, "is obviously due to influence exerted by the U.S. and British imperialists." Declaring that the "two Chinas" plot was hatched by U.S. imperialism for the purpose of perpetuating its occupation of China's Taiwan Province, *Renmin Ribao* said that the Chinese people and Government would never tolerate it in any place or in any form.

Foreign Guests in Peking

Many guests from Ceylon, Japan, Iraq, North Kalimantan, Syria, Viet Nam, Algeria and other Asian and African countries arrived in Peking on a visit after attending the Second Asian Economic Seminar held recently in Pyongyang, Korea.

On July 1, Liao Cheng-chih, Chairman of the Chinese Committee for Afro-Asian Solidarity, gave a cocktail party to welcome them and to celebrate the success of the seminar. Premier Chou En-lai and Kuo Mo-jo, Vice-Chairman of the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress, were among those present. The reception proceeded in an atmosphere of friendship. Both hosts and guests toasted the success of the Pyongyang discussion.

Earlier that afternoon Premier Chou En-lai had a cordial talk with all the guests.

More participants of the seminar arrived in Peking on July 5 at the invitation of the China Council for the Promotion of International Trade.

Indonesia's Victory Over Imperialism

At a special meeting in Lausanne, Switzerland, on June 26, the executive committee of the International Olympic Committee (I.O.C.), confronted by mounting opposition, decided to lift its unjustified suspension of Indonesia from the Olympic Games for an indefinite period. The suspension had been adopted by the I.O.C. after Indonesia refused Israel and the Chiang Kai-shek clique permission to take part in the 1962 Fourth Asian Games in Djakarta. This is a resounding victory for the Indonesian people and the new emerging forces in their anti-imperialist struggle in the world of sports.

Expressing admiration for the Indonesian people's unremitting struggle against the imperialist-controlled I.O.C. and their victory over imperialist intrigues, an official of the All-China Sports Federation issued a statement on July 5. It recalled how the I.O.C., under instructions from U.S. imperialism, had carried out political plots everywhere while flaunting the slogan that "politics should not interfere with sports." "But the I.O.C.'s criminal activities," the statement said, "have made the people of the whole world, particularly those of the new emerging forces, recognize ever more clearly its reactionary features as a tool of imperialism." The hostile attitude of the I.O.C. towards Indonesia, however, had become increasingly unpopular and was meeting with growing opposition from the people of Indonesia and other countries. "Faced with the danger of many countries boycotting the Tokyo Olympics," the statement declared, "the I.O.C. was compelled to lift its unjustified suspension of Indonesia. This fully proves once again that in dealing with imperialism victory can be won only by uniting in a resolute struggle against it."

(Continued on p. 30)

"Selected Readings From Mao Tse-tung's Works" Published

TWO collections of *Selected Readings from Mao Tse-tung's Works*, published early this month, will be on sale throughout the country beginning July 10.

The *Selected Readings* have been edited and published to meet the needs of the cadres and the masses in their study of Mao Tse-tung's works. Collection A is for cadres, while Collection B is for workers, peasants and young intellectuals.

The *Selected Readings* have been edited by its editorial committee working under the direction of the Publication Committee of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party for the Selected Works of Mao Tse-tung. Included are Comrade Mao Tse-tung's works expounding the Marxist stand, viewpoint, style of work, way of thinking and method of work.

Collection A contains 37 works written by Comrade Mao Tse-tung in the years 1927-58. Among them are "Against Book-ism," "It Is a Good and Not a Bad Thing to Be Opposed by the Enemy," and "Speech at the National Conference on Propaganda Work of the Chinese Communist Party" which are published for the general public for the first time.

Collection B contains 37 works written by Comrade Mao Tse-tung in the years 1926-63. In addition to the two articles "Against Book-ism" and "It Is a Good and Not a Bad Thing to Be Opposed by the Enemy," it contains "Where Do Man's Correct Ideas Come From?" which was not previously published for the general public.

"Against Book-ism" was written by Comrade Mao Tse-tung in May 1930 to combat dogmatic thinking in the Red Army at that time. In this article he creatively expounds the idea that investigation and research constitute the basic work in closely integrating Marxist theory with revolutionary reality, and systematically explains the basic principles and chief methods of making investigations. The article is of great theoretical and practical importance, and is a great, historical document in the ideological building of the Chinese Communist Party.

"It Is a Good and Not a Bad Thing to Be Opposed by the Enemy" was written by Comrade Mao Tse-tung

in May 1939 to mark the third anniversary of the founding of the Chinese People's Anti-Japanese Military and Political University in Yen-an. It puts forward the important political principle that "it is a good and not a bad thing to be opposed by the enemy." It also elucidates the three main features characterizing the style of work of the Chinese people's revolutionary army: a firm and correct political orientation, an assiduous and plain working style, and a flexible and mobile strategy and tactics.

In his "Speech at the National Conference on Propaganda Work of the Chinese Communist Party" made in March 1957, Comrade Mao Tse-tung has dealt with the question of intellectuals in the socialist period, and some important aspects of the Chinese Communist Party's policy towards them. Here, Comrade Mao has stressed that the basic way for intellectuals to remould their ideology is to join the class struggle and closely identify themselves with the workers and peasants. This speech is of far-reaching significance in promoting the socialist cultural revolution and cultural building of our country.

"Where Do Man's Correct Ideas Come From?" explains in simple and concise language the basic questions of the dialectical-materialist theory of knowledge. It is of great importance in giving us guidance in our practical work in every field. Written in May 1963, the article is a philosophical generalization by Comrade Mao Tse-tung of practical experience gained in revolution and construction.

Collection A of the *Selected Readings* is published by the People's Publishing House, while Collection B is published by the China Youth Publishing House.

Concurrently with the publication of *Selected Readings From Mao Tse-tung's Works*, the four articles — "Against Book-ism," "It Is a Good and Not a Bad Thing to Be Opposed by the Enemy," "Speech at the National Conference on Propaganda Work of the Chinese Communist Party" and "Where Do Man's Correct Ideas Come From?" — have each been printed separately in booklet form by the People's Publishing House.



Youth delegates cheering Mao Tse-tung, Liu Shao-chi, Chou En-lai, Chu Teh, Teng Hsiao-ping at the opening of the congress

The 9th Chinese Communist Youth League Congress

- The congress defines the League's future tasks: Hold High the Red Banner of Mao Tse-tung's Thinking! Revolutionize Chinese Youth!
- Comrade Teng Hsiao-ping makes a political report, calling on the country's youth to be revolutionaries for ever, not only in the three major revolutionary movements at home — class struggle, struggle for production and scientific experiment — but also in class struggle on an international scale, to show concern for and support the liberation struggle of the people of the world and be genuine internationalists.

THE Chinese Communist Youth League held its 9th National Congress in Peking from June 11 to 29. Holding high the red banner of Mao Tse-tung's thinking, it fully discussed the question of promoting the revolutionization of our country's youth and defined the future work and tasks of the Communist Youth League. Attending the congress were 2,396 delegates as well as 927 observers. Delegates from all parts of the motherland belonging to different nationalities, included cadres of Communist Youth League organizations at all levels and outstanding Communist Youth League members working on various fronts. This was the biggest League congress since the inauguration of the Communist Youth League.

The opening ceremony, which took place in the stately Great Hall of the People on June 11, at 4 o'clock in the afternoon, was attended by Chairman Mao Tse-tung — great leader of the Chinese people and respected and beloved teacher of Chinese youth — Liu Shao-chi, Chou En-lai and Chu Teh, Vice-Chairmen of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party, and Teng Hsiao-ping, General Secretary of the Party's Central Committee. When Chairman Mao and his close com-

rades-in-arms walked to the rostrum, they were greeted by all present with thunderous applause and warm cheers.

Before the congress opened, Chairman Mao, Vice-Chairmen Liu Shao-chi, Chou En-lai and Chu Teh of the Chinese Communist Party's Central Committee, General Secretary Teng Hsiao-ping of the Party's Central Committee and others received all the delegates, were photographed with them and had cordial talks with well-known people among the delegates who were advanced in different fields.

Liu Hsi-yuan, Executive Chairman of the Congress, made the opening speech. He gave a brief review of the tremendous contributions made by Chinese youth and the Communist Youth League organizations to China's cause of socialism since the last congress and explained the historic mission of the present congress. The congress hall re-echoed with stormy and prolonged applause and all the delegates showed their deepest respect and love and gratitude for the great leader Chairman Mao and his close comrades-in-arms sitting on the rostrum when Liu Hsi-yuan said that the Party and Chairman Mao have led our great cause from vic-



Chairman Mao meets youth delegates who have distinguished themselves in various fields

tory to victory, that the Party and Chairman Mao are nurturing and bringing up our country's youth in a healthy way, that Mao Tse-tung's thinking is the beacon light illuminating the way for the youth movement in our country and the very source from which the wisdom and strength of our youth spring.

The opening ceremony was followed by a report on its work made by Hu Yao-pang on behalf of the previous Central Committee under the title "For the Revolutionization of Our Youth!" The report summed up the basic experiences of Communist Youth League work in the past few years, giving an account of the struggle between the Marxist-Leninist line and the modern revisionist line in youth work, and defined the task of the Communist Youth League in leading the revolutionization of Chinese youth.

On June 13, Hu Ke-shih delivered the "Report on Revising the League Constitution." He laid emphasis on explaining the need to further build up the Communist Youth League guided by Mao Tse-tung's thinking and make it a hard core of China's youth movement led by the Party.

The congress earnestly discussed the two reports with unanimous agreement that the implementation of the principles and tasks put forward in these reports will certainly propel China's youth movement and the construction of the Communist Youth League into a new stage.

During the meeting, Comrade Teng Hsiao-ping, General Secretary of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party, made a political report to the congress.

Comrade Teng Hsiao-ping analysed in detail the very excellent current situation both at home and abroad, and expounded on the question of the struggle

against modern revisionism. In the struggle against imperialism and reactionaries in all lands, in the struggle against modern revisionism, he pointed out, the revolutionary cause of the people of the world is making immense development, as is Marxism-Leninism. The thinking of Mao Tse-tung more and more reveals the great role it plays in the international and domestic revolutionary struggles and in the struggle for socialist construction.

Comrade Teng Hsiao-ping said that in our country it is necessary to adopt a series of correct policies and measures to eradicate the roots of revisionism and prevent the restoration of capitalism. He called on the youth of the country to be revolutionaries for ever, not only in the three major revolutionary movements at home — class

struggle, struggle for production and scientific experiment — but also in the class struggle on the international scale, to show concern for and give support to the liberation struggle of the people of the whole world and to be genuine internationalists.

Comrade Teng Hsiao-ping gave his sincere and best wishes for the work of the Communist Youth League. This work in the last few years, he said, has been well done and marked by achievements. The work of educating the younger generation being very important, the Communist Youth League has heavier responsibilities; it must do more work and play a still greater role. He pointed out that the Communist Youth League must, by relying on its members and progressive young people, rally the youth and get them organized in manifold forms and to the greatest extent possible in the light of the characteristics and interests of different young people. Comrade Teng Hsiao-ping also gave directions on questions concerning expanding the ranks of the League, training and promoting young cadres.

Comrade Teng Hsiao-ping's report greatly inspired all delegates present. They studied and discussed it in earnest, pledging that they will respond to the Party's concern and expectations by still greater achievements in their actual work.

During the meeting, Comrades Tan Chen-lin, Lu Ting-yi and Po I-po delivered important reports concerning economic and ideological construction from which the delegates learnt much. Responsible comrades from the All-China Federation of Trade Unions, the National Women's Federation, the All-China Federation of Literary and Art Circles, and the Physical Culture and Sports Commission also made speeches to greet the congress.

The delegates performed their duties by treating every item on the agenda of the congress in a highly responsible manner and in a democratic spirit. In the discussions at the congress, 186 delegates contributed speeches, verbally or in written form. They told of their own experiences in studying Marxism-Leninism, in studying Chairman Mao's works, in socialist education, class education, in the movement of learning from Lei Feng, in young intellectuals going to the countryside and mountain regions, in unfolding the movement to emulate, learn from and catch up with the advanced and to help those lagging behind, in scientific experiments, in the building of the League, in cultural, recreational and sports activities, in the work of the Young Pioneers, in the method of leadership and in international activities; they also made many useful suggestions in these fields. Many famous advanced personnel, heroes and model workers, also reported on their outstanding achievements and experiences to the congress. From beginning to end the congress was filled with an air of unity, alertness, earnestness and liveliness.

In winding up, the congress unanimously passed a resolution on the working report, adopted the newly

revised League Constitution and elected the 9th Central Committee. The new Central Committee has 178 members and 74 alternate members. Most of the new Central Committee members are high-calibre young cadres and people advanced in different fields who grew up after liberation.

The congress called on all Communist Youth League members, together with the youth of the country, led by the great Chinese Communist Party and Chairman Mao, to become further united, to work energetically to make the country strong, to rely on one's own efforts in national construction, to engage in hard struggle, to build the country industriously and thriftily, and to fight to turn China into a powerful socialist state with modern agriculture, modern industry, modern national defence and modern science and technology. It called on the youth throughout the country to unite closely with the youth of the whole world, to engage in the common struggle, fight against imperialism and reactionaries in all lands, against modern revisionism and modern dogmatism and for the complete realization of communism throughout the world.

For the Revolutionization of Our Youth!

Report on the Work of the Chinese Communist Youth League Delivered at Its Ninth Congress

June 11, 1964

by HU YAO-PANG

Comrades!

I present this report on our work to our congress on behalf of the Central Committee of the Communist Youth League.

We are holding this congress at a time when there is an excellent, rapidly developing revolutionary situation.

Internationally, great tidal waves of the people's revolution are sweeping through Asia, Africa and Latin America, and a world united front against U.S. imperialism is taking shape. The great debate within the international communist movement has enabled more and more people to see the ugly features of the modern revisionists, those sham revolutionaries and genuine capitulationists. The Marxist-Leninists of the world are regrouping and expanding their ranks under the banner of revolution.

At home, the Chinese people are inspired by the revolutionary spirit of working hard to build the country with industry and thrift and by self-reliant efforts,

and to make their country prosperous by energetic endeavours. In this way they have beaten the serious natural calamities that occurred and the difficulties put in their way by the Khrushchovian revisionist clique; they have got over the shortcomings and mistakes in their work. They have rapidly brought about an all-round turn for the better in their national economy. All China's socialist endeavours are thriving.

What makes possible these successes of our country? The Chinese people have achieved these successes because, led by the Chinese Communist Party and Chairman Mao, they have held aloft the Three Red Banners, unswervingly adhered to the general line of building socialism, consolidated the system of the people's communes and consistently carried out a set of correct policies and principles. Our victory is a victory for Marxism-Leninism, a victory for the thinking of Mao Tse-tung.

In the years between this and our last congress, the Communist Youth League organizations at all levels have rallied the youth of all nationalities and led them

forward. Responding to each and every call of the Party, they have stood in the forefront of the socialist revolution and socialist construction and made their energetic contribution. The youth of our country have proved themselves firm in the struggle against the subversive and wrecking activities of our class enemies inside and outside the country. The Communist Youth League organizations at all levels and League members have faithfully acquitted themselves as assistants of the Party in rallying the youth of the country closely around the Party. Our line of advance has been correct and we have done good work.

The task of this congress is to gain a deeper understanding of the great significance of our work with regard to youth in the period of socialism, to make a serious effort to sum up our experience, add to our achievements, overcome our shortcomings, and carry the work of the entire League to a new and higher Marxist-Leninist level. We shall do this by following the behests and directives of the Party and Chairman Mao and by basing ourselves on actual practice in the socialist revolution and socialist construction in our country and on the new situation and experience acquired over a long period in the international communist movement.

This report is divided into five parts. The first part is:

I. The Historic Task of Youth Work in the Period Of Socialism

We live at a time when imperialism is heading to its end and socialism is advancing to victory. The great historic task before our people and youth of all nationalities is to build China into a strong socialist country with a modern agriculture, industry, national defence, science and technology, to carry the socialist revolution through to the end, prevent the restoration of capitalism, and be ready at all times to defend our socialist motherland and liberate our sacred territory of Taiwan. Besides this, we must unite with all the workers of the world, with all the oppressed peoples and nations and with all peace-loving people to overthrow U.S. imperialism and strive for the creation step by step of a new world without imperialism, without capitalism, and without exploitation of man by man.

Ours is a glorious task, a hard and tremendous task.

The productive forces of our country have developed swiftly since liberation. But it will take scores of years for us to put our national economy on a modern foundation and completely change the face of our country from what it was before—poor and blank. Our Party and the people place great hopes in our youth. As Chairman Mao once said to the youth: "The world is as much yours as ours but ultimately it is yours. You young people are full of vitality and at a stage of vigorous growth; you are like the sun at eight or nine in the morning. We put our hopes on you."

The youth of our country must carry forward the great spirit of arduous struggle of the predecessors of our revolution. They must do their utmost and make themselves the shock force of socialism. The richer and stronger we make our new, socialist China, the greater will be our contribution to the world and humanity.

Socialist society has a tremendous superiority over capitalist society. Under the dictatorship of the proletariat, the broad masses of the people of the socialist countries have achieved a democracy such as has never existed in any capitalist country. Following the victorious advance of the socialist revolution, the social productive forces develop incomparably faster than in the old society. Socialism has opened up an infinitely beautiful future for the people and youth of our country.

The development of socialism is by no means all plain sailing. The period of socialism is a historical period of transition from capitalist society to communist society; it is a period of the dictatorship of the proletariat. What distinguishes this period is that classes and class struggle still exist, that the struggle between the road of socialism and the road of capitalism remains, that the question of "who will win" is still unsolved, that there is still a danger of capitalism making a comeback, that there remain the antitheses between workers and peasants, between town and country, between manual and mental labour. It appears that this period of transition will take five or ten generations or even longer to complete itself.

In his great work *On the Correct Handling of Contradictions Among the People*, Chairman Mao gave an all-round and systematic analysis of classes, contradictions and class struggle in a socialist society after the nationalization of industry and the collectivization of agriculture has, in the main, been completed, that is, after socialism has won the basic victory on the economic front. This is a new development of Marxism-Leninism: Chairman Mao teaches us that class struggle will continue through the whole historical period of socialism. This struggle is protracted, tortuous, complex and, sometimes, even very acute. This is because the exploiting classes, though overthrown, are not reconciled to their fate of being eliminated and always seek to stage a comeback; because the influence of bourgeois ideology and culture and force of habits of the old society will continue to exist over a long period and, in some respects, will be stronger than ours; because the spontaneous tendency towards capitalism still exists among the petty bourgeoisie whose remoulding is a long-term task; and because a number of degenerates and new bourgeois elements will also appear within the ranks of the working class and the personnel of the state organs as a result of the influence of the bourgeoisie and the corrosive role it plays. The complexity of the class struggle is further increased by the fact that the forces of capitalism and other reactionary forces at home invariably collude with and are connected with the international capitalist forces.

In his work *On the Correct Handling of Contradictions Among the People*, Chairman Mao also teaches us that contradictions in a socialist society are of two types, that is, contradictions among the people and contradictions between ourselves and the enemy, and that many contradictions of the former type exist. These two types of contradictions can, under certain conditions, be transformed into each other. A dictatorial method must be adopted in dealing with the enemy. To resolve contradictions among the people the method of "unity-criticism-unity" must be used; this means to start off with a desire for unity and resolve contradictions through criticism or struggle so as to achieve a new unity on a new basis. By acting in accordance with this teaching of Chairman Mao, the working class will be able to unite the whole people, constituting more than 90 per cent of the country's population, isolate the enemy, comprising only a few per cent of the population, and consolidate the dictatorship of the proletariat.

There are various classes and strata among the whole people constituting more than 90 per cent of the population. We should rely on the workers and the poor and lower-middle peasants, unite the middle peasants, all working people and other classes, strata and social groups who approve, support and take part in the cause of socialist construction and oppose all the social forces and social groups who resist socialist revolution and harbour hostility to socialist construction and sabotage it. This is the Party's strategic line throughout the period of socialism.

Since classes and class struggle, the three antitheses and the two different types of contradictions continue to exist in a socialist society, it has not one but two possibilities of development, not one, but two possible futures. A socialist country will be able to abolish classes step by step, narrow down the existing antitheses and pass over into communism in the end if it persists in carrying out its Marxist-Leninist line and policies, consolidates the dictatorship of the proletariat, correctly handles the two different types of contradictions, carries the socialist revolution on the political, economic as well as ideological fronts through to the end and strengthens and develops its socialist economy. Otherwise, the bourgeois forces will get out of hand, new bourgeois elements and new rich peasants will emerge and the three antitheses will be more accentuated. The new bourgeois elements and new rich peasants are the social foundation of modern revisionism. Once the revisionist forces occupy a dominant position, a socialist society will evolve into capitalism. It is precisely in anticipation of this situation that imperialism has never for a single moment forgotten to implement towards the socialist countries a strategy of achieving victory by peaceful means.

The "peaceful evolution" of socialism into capitalism has long since been realized in Yugoslavia. Khrushchov is the biggest revisionist of today and under his revisionist leadership the fruits of socialism, which were gained at the cost of tremendous sacrifices by the great Soviet people, are being increasingly lost,

the capitalist forces are becoming rampant and youths are being subjected to serious corruption by capitalism. This situation cannot but arouse our greatest vigilance.

The struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie to win over the youth is an important aspect of the class struggle in the period of socialism. The proletariat demands that youth should revolutionize itself and take over from their elders not only in the struggle for production but also in the class struggle, and shatter all possibility of a capitalist comeback. On the other hand, all the enemies of the revolution are doing all they can to drag the youth on to a non-revolutionary or counter-revolutionary path. The former U.S. Secretary of State Dulles and the former U.S. Assistant Secretary of State for Far Eastern Affairs Hilsman openly revealed that U.S. imperialism placed its hopes of staging a counter-revolutionary comeback in China on the degeneration of China's younger generation and that at no time were they forgetting to achieve the so-called "peaceful evolution" through the instrumentality of the youth of the third and fourth generations. This struggle to win over the youth will have a bearing on the issue of who will win, the proletariat or the bourgeoisie and on whether or not the revolution can be carried through to the end.

In our socialist, New China, all favourable conditions exist for training our youth to be heirs to the revolution of the proletariat. We have the correct, Marxist-Leninist leadership of the Chinese Communist Party headed by our great Chairman Mao. We have in the main completed the socialist transformation in the ownership of the means of production; we are carrying on large-scale socialist construction and carrying out the socialist revolution politically and ideologically in a thoroughgoing way. Proletarian ideology holds a leading position in many fields of social ideology. The whole country and the whole Party has taken up the cause of educating the youth in the spirit of our revolutionary traditions. People can see in the youth of our country a spirit of warm love for the Party, and for socialism, and of bitter hatred for imperialism and all reactionaries, and for revisionism, and a spirit of bold enterprise in the people's cause and dedication to the revolution. The great communist fighter Lei Feng is one of the most outstanding representatives of contemporary youth in our country.

At the same time, we must also bear in mind that young people, coming from different classes and strata of society, still bear the impress of various class ideologies. Since they have been brought up under conditions of peace and stability, it is easy for them to lapse into a false sense of peace and tranquillity and to look for a life of ease and security. Because they have not been through the severe test of revolutionary struggle, they lack a thorough understanding of the complexity and exacting demands of revolution. Thus it is that, under the corrupt influence of bourgeois ideology, a certain number of new bourgeois elements and revisionists will inevitably crop up among the young people. It is wrong and dangerous to think that youth,

"born in the new society and brought up under the red flag," is "born red" and can automatically be heirs to the revolutionary cause without revolutionary Marxist-Leninist education, steeling in practical revolutionary struggle and conscious ideological remoulding.

At the Tenth Plenum of the Eighth Central Committee of the Communist Party, Chairman Mao, our beloved leader and teacher, pointed out with great emphasis that it is necessary to strengthen the class education of youth to ensure that the revolution in our country will not be perverted in generations to come. This historic directive of Chairman Mao charts the course of the work of our Communist Youth League throughout the period of socialism and illumines the way ahead for the hundreds of millions of youth in our country.

It is a great strategic task of the proletarian dictatorship and also a fundamental aim of the work of our Communist Youth League to hold aloft the red banner of the great thinking of Mao Tse-tung, so as to help turn the young people of the coming generations in our country into proletarian revolutionaries.

II. Two Diametrically Opposed Lines in Youth Work

In order to ensure that the young people of the coming generations will always be revolutionaries and not be corrupted, it is necessary to wage a continuous struggle to eliminate bourgeois ideology and foster proletarian ideology throughout the socialist period. At the Second Session of the Eighth National Congress of the Chinese Communist Party, Comrade Liu Shao-chi pointed out that "to build a socialist and communist society, we must not only wipe out all the old systems of exploitation and oppression of man by man, but also utterly eliminate obsolete ideas and habits which are derived from and serve these old systems; we must eliminate bourgeois ideology and foster proletarian ideology, that is to say, eventually eliminate all vestiges of the exploiting classes and exploiting systems from the minds of the people." Two diametrically opposed lines exist in youth work. Which one is followed determines whether that work will foster proletarian ideology and eliminate bourgeois ideology or foster bourgeois ideology and eliminate proletarian ideology.

One is based on the standpoint of proletarian class education, to arm youth with a Marxist-Leninist class viewpoint, a mass viewpoint, a labour viewpoint, a dialectical-materialist viewpoint, in other words, with the communist world outlook and Mao Tse-tung's thinking, so as to help turn young people into proletarian revolutionaries. This is the Marxist-Leninist line in youth work.

The other is based on the standpoint of class reconciliation and the liquidation of the revolution, to corrupt the revolutionary will of the young people with the deceptive pacifism and humanism of the bourgeoisie and bourgeois individualism, to do everything possible

to draw the young people away from the revolution and even lead them on to the path of opposing the revolution. This is the modern revisionist line in youth work. The modern dogmatists, who trail behind the modern revisionists in response to their baton, also implement this line in their youth work.

The question of which line to follow is a vital question which decides whether the youth can carry on the cause of the proletarian revolution; it is a vital question which concerns the future of the socialist state. It is a serious fighting task of our Communist Youth League to persist in the Marxist-Leninist revolutionary line and to combat resolutely the fallacious line of the modern revisionists and modern dogmatists in youth work.

One of the fundamental differences between the modern revisionists and us is on the question whether to arm youth with Marxist-Leninist teaching on class struggle or to corrupt youth with the nonsense of class collaboration, which means capitulation to the bourgeoisie.

The teaching of class struggle is the essence of Marxism-Leninism, and proletarian class education is the basis of the communist education of the youth. This class education is particularly important to young people who grow up in the new society. Lenin has clearly stated: "It [the youth] can learn Communism only by linking up every step in its studies, training and education with the continuous struggle the proletarians and the toilers are waging against the old exploiting society."

The primary question in class education is to distinguish between the enemy and ourselves. We must not only be able to recognize U.S. imperialism, the Chiang Kai-shek bandits and other open enemies of all kinds, as well as remnant and emerging capitalist forces; we must also be able to recognize those hidden enemies who persist in their reactionary stand, oppose the socialist revolution and sabotage socialist construction. The working class, representing the advanced forces of production, is the best organized and the most disciplined, far-sighted and thoroughly revolutionary class; it is the leading class in our country. Only under its leadership can the socialist revolution and socialist construction in our country win victory. The poor peasants and lower-middle peasants are the most reliable allies of the working class in the countryside; they are the force on which we depend in carrying on revolution and construction.

Not everyone clearly understands this vital question of whom to rely upon in socialist revolution and socialist construction. Some, for instance, hold the view that in developing industry and engaging in other kinds of construction reliance should be placed mainly on experts, technology and intellectuals. This viewpoint is wrong. Intellectuals are needed for socialist construction, but they invariably belong to a certain social class and serve its interests. They can play a positive role in revolution and construction only when they accept

the leadership of the working class, serve the workers and peasants, and identify themselves with them. There are also people who maintain that following agricultural collectivization, we should mainly rely on the middle peasants, and who talk about "relying on the poor peasants in the land reform and on the middle peasants in production." This viewpoint is wrong too. In the countryside, the well-to-do middle peasants are always wavering and irresolute in taking the socialist road; some of them represent the spontaneous forces of capitalism. Only those who were farmhands, poor peasants and lower-middle peasants during the land reform and before co-operative farming was introduced, form the majority of the peasants; they suffered most in the old society, go in for revolution most resolutely, and are firm against all exploiting systems and exploiting classes. That is why we should rely upon them not only in the revolutionary struggle and in the fight against the forces of capitalism but also during the whole course of socialist construction.

By relying on the ranks of these revolutionary classes—the working class and the poor and lower-middle peasants—and closely uniting with the middle peasants and the rest of the working people, we are in a position to crush all the activities of the landlords, rich peasants, counter-revolutionaries, bad elements and Rightists aimed at sabotaging and staging a comeback, and transform the majority of them into new men; to battle the urban and rural capitalist forces and prevent any evolution into capitalism; to supervise cadres and prevent any of them from degenerating; to unite with, educate and remould the great majority of the intellectuals and get them to serve socialism; and to effectively educate the young people to take a firm class stand and carry on the glorious traditions of the revolution. Firm reliance on the ranks of these revolutionary classes is the basic guarantee against revisionism and a capitalist restoration, the basic guarantee for successfully completing the socialist revolution and socialist construction.

Our young people must take a staunch proletarian stand, that is, they must be firmly wedded to the idea of relying permanently on the working class and the poor peasants and lower-middle peasants, and always identify themselves with them. Young people can become staunch revolutionaries only when they rely firmly on the working class and the poor peasants and lower-middle peasants, resolutely stand by the people who make up more than 90 per cent of the population, and loyally represent their interests. Should they stand on the side of the small number of people who form only a few per cent of the population and represent the latter's interests, they would be on the road of non-revolution or counter-revolution. A correct solution of the question of which side to stand on and whom to rely upon means for young people the solution of the basic question of revolutionization.

The modern revisionists do their best to spread the fallacy about "the state of the whole people" and the "party of the entire people" and negate classes and

class struggle, invoking a hypocritical "love of humanity" to obscure the understanding of young people regarding the line of demarcation between the enemy and ourselves, and asserting that "man is to man a friend, comrade and brother" and so on and so forth. Chairman Mao Tse-tung put it well: "There is absolutely no such thing in the world as love, or hatred, without reason or cause. As for the so-called 'love of humanity,' there has been no such all-inclusive love since humanity was divided into classes. . . . We cannot love enemies, we cannot love social evils, our aim is to destroy them." Let us ponder this over: How can there be love between the murderous and plundering imperialists and the oppressed nations and peoples, between the exploiting and exploited classes? And how can the workers and peasants of a socialist country become "friends, comrades and brothers" of speculators and racketeers and thieves of the state treasury, etc.? In performing this sleight of hand the sole aim of the modern revisionists is to pacify the millions of angry people, enslaved and oppressed, with the "love of humanity," and prevent them from rising in resistance, to try to cover up the classes and class contradictions that actually exist in Soviet society and to disarm the young people in the face of the stern class struggle and get them, when they have been bereft of class vigilance, to become captives of the bourgeoisie.

Another major difference between us and the modern revisionists is on the question of whether to educate young people in an ardent love of labour and of identification with the workers and peasants or to scorn manual labour and divorce themselves from the workers and peasants.

Chairman Mao said: ". . . the establishment of our socialist system has opened the road leading to the ideal state of the future, but we must work hard, very hard indeed, if we are to make that ideal a reality." The attitude to be taken towards labour for socialist construction is an important yardstick for determining whether the young people have a revolutionary consciousness and whether it is high or low.

All the wealth of the world is created by labour. Nothing can be produced without manual labour. The steady advance of science and technology helps to raise the productivity of labour greatly and lighten its intensity and continuously reduce heavy manual labour to light manual or mental labour, thus creating conditions for the integration of manual and mental labour in the new society, and that is why it is necessary to strive for the modernization of science and technology. But manual labour will never disappear. With the new developments of science and technology and the extension of man's mastery over nature, new kinds of heavy manual labour will appear again in certain branches and spheres of production. The attitude of looking down on manual labour and of seeking to make gains without doing any work is the common characteristic of all exploiters and the source of all evils. Manual labour is not only a necessary means of creat-

ing wealth and transforming the objective world but also an extremely important condition for carrying out our ideological remoulding and permanently ensuring against degeneration. Only those who ardently love labour and always stand together with the workers and peasants and share their weal and woe can be staunch revolutionaries to the end and immune to degeneration under all circumstances. It must be noted that the idea of loving leisure and hating labour, of holding manual labour in contempt — an idea consistently spread by the exploiting classes — has a deep-rooted influence and so a long struggle is needed before this poison can be removed from society. Revolutionary young people should set an example of ardently loving labour and make themselves pioneers in changing old social habits and customs and implementing new ones.

The difference between manual and mental labour remains in a socialist society. The Marxist-Leninist approach to this problem is to strive to reduce this difference, instead of aggravating it. We stand for making intellectuals workers, and the worker and peasant masses intellectuals, both for the same purpose: to enable them to work still better in their socialist labour. Making intellectuals workers means that they should become closely linked with the worker-peasant masses, serve them wholeheartedly, respect manual labour and manual workers, learn from the workers and peasants and become one with them in thought and feeling. Chairman Mao Tse-tung has said: "The ultimate line of demarcation between the revolutionary intellectuals on the one hand and non-revolutionary and counter-revolutionary intellectuals on the other lies in whether they are willing to, and actually do, become one with the masses of workers and peasants." The fundamental road leading to the revolutionization of educated youth is for them to make themselves working people, to identify themselves with the workers and peasants and to turn themselves into socialist-minded, cultured workers.

Modern revisionists look down upon manual labour. They are opposed to intellectuals becoming workers, alleging that for intellectuals to engage in manual labour is simply a waste of talent and that for cadres to take part in labour means a lowering of efficiency. Modern revisionists buy over a part of the intellectuals by offering them high positions and fat salaries; they thus make them lord it over the labouring people, and turn them into props supporting their revisionist policies. They use this as a bait to make their young people despise manual labour and avoid becoming one with the workers and peasants, while setting as their goal the acquiring of handsome salaries and special privileges. What the modern revisionists in effect uphold is the very thing practised by the exploiting classes — the principle that "those who work with their minds govern others; while those who toil with their hands are governed by others."

Yet another major difference between us and the modern revisionists is on the question of whether to educate the youth in the great collectivist spirit of the

proletariat or to corrupt them with bourgeois individualism.

In the history of mankind the cause of the proletariat is an unprecedentedly great and arduous one. Its accomplishment calls for the endeavours of millions of people filled with the revolutionary spirit of defying all difficulties and being undaunted by any sacrifice. For such people, the long-cherished goal is not the happiness of one person or one family only, but a happy and prosperous life to be shared by all the working people on earth. They bear the whole world in mind and their outlook is worldwide; they regard dedication to the emancipation of mankind as the highest honour and the greatest happiness. They always give first place to the interests of the people; they have an ardent love for the collective, a deep concern for their comrades; they never work for their own interest but always for that of others. In time of emergency, they come forward without hesitation and sacrifice themselves in the interests of the public. Conscientiously they subject themselves to the collective, and subordinate everything to the needs of the revolution. They always work with a will, and are always keen in creating and making innovations. Yet they live simply, are modest, and never show off. A man like this is a man who upholds the loftiest morals of mankind, a great fighter for communism. Lei Feng is precisely such an example. The Party wants us youth to become men of this type.

The modern revisionists revile Lei Feng, the communist fighter wholly dedicated to serving the people, as "mindless," and his "selflessness as being of a caricatured-anecdotal character," and so on and so forth. May we ask you: What sort of person then do you have in mind who is not "a caricature and anecdote," who has the finest "mind"? Pavlov, First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Soviet Communist Youth League, said: "What is important is to make all youth understand that all they do is for themselves." The modern revisionists even consider that the times of Pavel Korchagin have passed, saying that "I think that we have heroicized too zealously and for too long a time the figure of the puritanical Communist and the selflessness that becomes fanatically self-sacrificial. . . ." This is a deep insult to young Soviet heroes of the type of Pavel Korchagin, Zoya and Matrosov, a deep insult to revolutionary Soviet youth. The modern revisionists have done their utmost to negate the glorious revolutionary tradition of the Soviet people and youth and uphold the bourgeois creed of "everybody for himself and the Devil take the hindmost," a creed bitterly denounced by Lenin.

Yet another major difference between us and the modern revisionists is on the question of whether to educate youth to cherish the great ideals of communism and to carry the revolution to the end, or whether to try hard to propagate the "philosophy of survival" with its emphasis on living regardless of purpose, and use intimidation and deceit to make youth forsake their great revolutionary ideals.

To build a new world of communism—a world without imperialism, without capitalism and without exploitation of man by man is to raise human society to such a prosperous and happy state as has never been seen before. This is not something that can be done by the people of one country. Its realization depends on the awakening of the people of the world, on their mutual encouragement, mutual support and joint struggle. The communist cause has always been international. For this reason, in striving for the communist ideals, national egoism must be rejected absolutely, and the long-term objective must under no circumstances be forsaken in exchange for immediate, momentary gains.

All victories demand the paying of a certain price. Temporary sacrifices are made to achieve long-range gains. The sacrifices of the minority are made to win happiness for the millions. Sacrifices of this type are glorious and noble. Lenin pointed out long ago that those who thought that the proletarian revolution could be made only under conditions where everything would be plain sailing and with no setbacks and sacrifices, were not revolutionaries, but could in fact slip back into the counter-revolutionary bourgeois camp. Our victory of today was won after our revolutionary predecessors made untold sacrifices and fought bloody struggles. If our youth want to carry on the revolutionary cause of their predecessors, they must carry forward the latter's revolutionary spirit of being unafraid of sacrifice, of daring to struggle and to seize victory; they must further develop their predecessors' glorious tradition of tirelessly waging the struggle.

The modern revisionists are cowed by imperialist pressure. They are scared out of their wits by the imperialist policy of nuclear blackmail. From fearing the war, they pass to being afraid of revolution. From giving up the revolution themselves, they pass to opposing other people making revolutions. They have substituted bourgeois individual enjoyment and national egoism for the communist ideal of emancipating all the oppressed peoples. They frighten the youth: "A single spark can touch off a world war!" "Youth are the first victims of a war." "At all costs, no revolution!" Khrushchov loudly declared that goulash is something worthwhile fighting for. The modern revisionists attack our struggle for the revolution as a policy of "suffering on earth to win 'a place in paradise.'" They have even shamelessly said: "Just because in China a chicken isn't eaten doesn't mean that it's easier for someone in Africa." The modern revisionists dare not harm a single hair of imperialism and capitalism. They just want to survive, they don't want revolution. They have utterly cast away communist ideals. If this is not downright selfish philistinism seeking nothing but to live and to keep clear of death, what is it?

But it should be pointed out that the patent rights for the invention of such a philistine philosophy do not belong to the modern revisionists. Ever since the birth of the communist movement, there have been scum in the revolutionary ranks who stop at nothing in enticing people to give up their great goals for immediate in-

terests. The old-line revisionists said long ago: It would be better for the young people to spend their money on sausages rather than on buying the *Communist Manifesto*. More than 60 years ago, leaders of the Economists in Russia also raised the cry: An increase of a kopeck on every ruble of wages is more practicable and valuable than any kind of socialism or politics. But neither the lure of "sausages" nor of a "kopeck increase" could stop tens of thousands of young people in those days from choosing the revolutionary road, so how can such talk about "goulash" today halt the advance of the revolutionary ranks which are mighty now as never before?

Comrades! From the foregoing we can see clearly that the Marxist-Leninist line in our youth work is aimed at bringing up our young people as staunch and reliable heirs to the proletarian revolution, and enable them to uphold the revolutionary red banner from generation to generation, till the complete victory of communism. The aim of the modern revisionist line in youth work, on the contrary, is to turn young people into captives of the bourgeoisie and tools to be used by the modern revisionist groups in implementing their rule. This constitutes part of the whole fallacious line of the modern revisionists who are throwing the revolutionary cause of the proletariat overboard and are effecting a capitalist comeback. The appearance in the socialist camp of this modern revisionist line which denies and opposes revolution is an extremely pernicious thing poisoning the minds of thousands upon thousands of young people. But a bad thing can be turned to good account. If we thoroughly expose this revisionist line which does such great harm to the young people and turn it into a teacher by negative example, it will be of great help in educating all cadres who are doing youth work and all our revolutionary youth, making them more awake and alert, and able to rally still more conscientiously under the banner of Marxism-Leninism to struggle still more resolutely to implement the proletarian line for revolutionization.

III. Steeling and Growing Up in the Three Great Revolutionary Movements

How do we carry out the Marxist-Leninist line in our youth work? Our experience can be summed up in a nutshell: Under the guidance of Mao Tse-tung's thinking, firmly adhere to the integration of revolutionary education and revolutionary practice, mobilize the broad masses of youth to play their role, steel themselves and mature in the three great revolutionary movements—in class struggle, in the struggle for production and in scientific experiment.

Chairman Mao Tse-tung has stressed the great importance of these movements. He has pointed out that while they are great revolutionary movements facilitating the building of a strong socialist country, they are also reliable guarantees against bureaucracy, revisionism and dogmatism—thus making our position for ever invincible—and also reliable guarantees that the proletariat unite with the broad masses of the

working people to put democratic dictatorship into practice. Fiery revolutionary struggles are the best crucible for steeling revolutionaries. Our revolutionary predecessors were tempered in the stress and strain of mass revolutionary struggles. If young people want to join the new generation of revolutionaries, they too must go and steel themselves in the stress and strain of socialist, mass revolutionary struggles.

How should the Communist Youth League do its work in helping young people play a positive role in these three great revolutionary movements and in getting a revolutionary education?

First, it must lead the youth in joining the class struggle and in actively participating in the movement for socialist education.

The socialist education movement now being unfolded all over the country is a profound development of our socialist revolution; it is capital construction in the political, economic, ideological and organizational fields in a socialist country, and another great movement for re-educating and remoulding men on a large scale. It is also the best school for class education among the youth. In this movement, face-to-face struggles are waged against our class enemies and their criminal activities exposed; by recalling the miseries of the past and considering the happiness of today, the poor and lower-middle peasants compare the old and new societies to bring out their sharp contrasts; serious bourgeois ideas and acts are criticized, and the danger of taking the capitalist road shown up. Experience shows that in places where such education is earnestly carried out among the youth through the socialist education movement, the revolutionization of their ideology has been greatly promoted. Organizations of the League should, first and foremost, effectively mobilize the youth among the workers and the poor and lower-middle peasants, help them raise their level of class consciousness and rely on them to rally the other young people. These organizations should give guidance to the mass of young people in conscientiously studying the directives and various policies concerning the socialist education movement issued by the Party's Central Committee, help them master the correct handling of contradictions among the people and the correct handling of the relations between the state, the collective and individuals, develop production, consolidate the socialist economy and the system of the people's communes, and smash the attacks of the capitalist and feudal forces.

In unfolding the socialist education movement, we should make extensive use of the histories of villages, people's communes, factories and families to educate the young people. Experience has proved that educating the young in these "four histories" is a good way of helping them carry forward the work of keeping the "family records" of the proletariat going and of educating young people by relying on the working class and the poor and lower-middle peasants; it is a new development in implementing the mass line in class educa-

tion. In order to help the young keep the "family records" of the proletariat going generation after generation, education in the "four histories," in the history of class struggle and in revolutionary tradition should be made compulsory political subjects for the youth and children of our country.

In the socialist education movement, the Communist Youth League must win over, educate, and remould the youth who come from the families of landlords, rich peasants and other exploiting classes and it must do this work earnestly. These young people did not take a direct part in exploitation, so they are not exploiters. However, as they grew up in homes of the exploiting classes, they have been influenced by those families in varying degrees and in this respect they are different from the sons and daughters of the working people. We should organize them to take an active part in the socialist education movement, teach them to turn against the classes they were born into, resolutely go over to the side of the working class and the poor and lower-middle peasants, and take the road of socialism. Although they were not able to choose their class origin, they can certainly chart their own future. They can certainly take their destinies into their own hands and they have bright prospects before them so long as they take the Party's teachings to heart and strive to remould themselves.

A mass of facts that came to light in the course of the socialist education movement in various parts of the country reveal that in competing with us to win the youth the class enemy often tries to make a breakthrough on the front of cultural life. If proletarian ideology does not take over the field of cultural life, bourgeois ideology is bound to take over and turn it into one for activities aimed at restoring capitalism. In co-operation with the departments concerned the League organizations should build up fields of study and recreational activities for the youth in an energetic and systematic way, lead them to read revolutionary books and papers, sing revolutionary songs, stage revolutionary dramas, and promote various kinds of cultural, recreational and sports activities which are healthy, colourful and rich in content so as to satisfy the various likes and interests of young people in their spare time and develop their noble revolutionary sentiments.

The Communist Youth League must constantly teach the youth to maintain revolutionary vigilance, defend their socialist motherland and safeguard the dictatorship of the proletariat. Huang Chi-kuang, Lo Sheng-chiao, An Yeh-min, Tu Feng-jui, Lo Kuang-hsieh, Samuil Mukhamed, Ouyang Hai and many, many other great revolutionary fighters who were trained in the People's Liberation Army and who are loyal to the motherland and to the people, are noble examples who should be emulated by the youth of the whole country. The young officers and men of the People's Liberation Army must keep their weapons at the ready, continuously raise their ideological level, master the skill of destroying the enemy, and strive to have more

"Five Good" soldiers and "Four Good" companies. The youth of the whole country must take an active part in militia training, study the military arts hard and be ready at all times to defend the motherland arms in hand. U.S. imperialism is determined to be the sworn enemy of the Chinese people. It still occupies our territory of Taiwan and repeatedly carries out provocations against us. We must completely shatter U.S. imperialism's criminal, aggressive acts. We must liberate Taiwan! We will never lay down our arms so long as imperialism exists externally and class struggle exists internally.

Secondly, the Communist Youth League must guide the youth to take part in the struggle for production so that they will become the shock force in the socialist construction of our motherland.

Today we are no longer working for landlords or capitalists, nor merely to support our families. We are working for the great cause of the working class, for the well-being of the people and also to give more powerful support to the revolutionary struggles of the peoples of other lands. The various jobs which have to be done in every sphere of work are all indispensable to the cause of socialism. Every revolutionary youth should ardently love ordinary labour, cheerfully accept the work he is assigned to, consciously take up the difficult tasks, and in his ordinary daily work show revolutionary will and the spirit of revolutionary heroism.

Revolutionary emulation movements to learn from the People's Liberation Army, the oil workers of Taching and the peasants of Tachai, and to "compare with the advanced, learn from and overtake them, and help the less advanced," are taking place throughout the country. These have greatly stimulated the revolutionary spirit of the broad masses of the people and the youth; they have pushed the movement for more production and economy steadily to a new high, opening up broad perspectives for rapid growth of the productive forces in our country.

The Communist Youth League must mobilize the broad masses of the youth to take part in the movement "to compare, learn, overtake and help" for more production and economy, to take an active part in the drive for technical innovations and the technical revolution, and to introduce all kinds of organizational forms and lively working methods to bring the labour enthusiasm of the youth into full play.

As an important shock force in socialist construction, the broad masses of young workers and peasants have in the past few years produced many model workers and outstanding workers such as Li Jui-huan, Wu Ta-yu, Chang Hung-chih, Chen Liang, Ting Chang-hua, Teng Yen-tang and Hsu Jen-hua. The League organizations should attach great importance to their experience and organize the broad masses of the youth to learn from them. The main and most usual method which the Communist Youth League uses in carry-

ing out its activities in productive labour is to mobilize its members and the youth to work together with the middle-aged and the old, and play an active role in this co-operation. Sometimes, as production requires, it is possible to organize the youth alone, under the unified leadership of the Party committees and with the support of the middle-aged and the old, to accomplish some rather pressing, difficult and new tasks. In the course of these activities, the initiative of the youth should be cherished, their rational proposals supported, and attention be paid to maintain a proper balance of work and rest.

In our country's socialist construction, the most outstanding and most important task is to modernize agriculture. At the present time hundreds of millions of peasants in our country are changing the face of nature and working to modernize agriculture. It is a golden opportunity for the youth of our country to win honour in socialist construction. Together with the middle-aged and by relying on themselves and working hard, the young people in the countryside must strive to develop agricultural production, forestry, stockbreeding, side-occupations and fishery, and so build a new socialist countryside.

In recent years, large numbers of educated youth have been taking part in agricultural production. This is an important measure to reinforce agricultural construction and to carry through the cultural and technical revolutions in the countryside. It is also an important means for revolutionizing the educated youth of our country. It is also a new development in the period of socialist construction of the glorious tradition of the educated youth of our country joining with the workers and peasants. We are pleased to see that tens of millions of educated youth have already made worthy contributions on the agricultural front. Everywhere outstanding young people like Hsing Yen-tzu, Chao Yun, Chou Ming-shan, Tung Chia-keng and Han Chih-kang have emerged. Today throughout the country educated youth make up over 80 per cent of the staffs of tractor stations, drainage and irrigation stations, seed stations, and stations for popularizing new techniques. The part played by the educated youth in agriculture will become ever greater with the continuous development of agricultural technical transformation. Educated youth are an active force in the countryside in propagating the Party's principles and policies, bringing in socialist culture, brightening village life, toppling superstitions and changing old customs and habits. All this proves the words of Chairman Mao that "in our vast rural areas there is plenty of room for them to develop their talents to the full."

The educational policy of our country is to train our young people into cultured labourers with a socialist consciousness. In the future, and for a relatively long period to come, apart from those who will go on with their studies or take up work in industry, commerce and the service trades, the majority of middle school graduates will take up work in agricultural production. This is a need created by the develop-

ment of the national economy, and is also the main way for young people to join in socialist construction. All students in school should study conscientiously and well, no matter whether they will later on continue with their studies or go straight to work in industry or agriculture. Study hard, love labour; have a "red heart" and so be prepared for two eventualities. This is the right attitude for educated young people to have in relation to the question of whether they will carry on with school studies or go out to work.

The Communist Youth League must make great efforts to mobilize educated youth politically to take part in agricultural labour, and actively co-operate with the departments concerned to make proper arrangements for them so that they can settle down and work. League organizations should show keen concern for those educated youth who go to the countryside or up into the mountain areas; they must pay attention to using this force effectively, to develop their strong points, to support their reasonable proposals and demands and to enable them to settle down happily in the countryside.

We are confident that the transformation of our countryside will be speeded up with the co-operation between peasants with rich experience in the struggle for production and the educated young people who have some knowledge in science and culture, along with all kinds of aid from the working class and the state.

Thirdly, the Communist Youth League must lead the young people to take part in scientific experiments, work hard to raise their cultural, and scientific and technical levels.

Young people are most sensitive to new things and most willing to learn; they are the least conservative in thinking, and besides, many young people have a certain store of scientific and cultural knowledge. They are a most active and lively force in the mass movement for scientific experiment. This is a revolutionary movement to search for objective laws in a scientific way in order to make our transformation of nature more effective. League organizations must foster on a wide scale the interest of the youth in the study of science and technology, and so enable them to play a fuller role in the mass movement for scientific experiment.

In organizing young people to take an active part in mass scientific experimental activities, we must advocate the fusing of a revolutionary spirit with a scientific attitude. Youth should be encouraged and taught to develop a bold, creative spirit, to break down superstitious beliefs and to emancipate their minds, refusing either to be tied down by old conventions and prejudices, or to give up in face of difficulties or temporary setbacks. Science is a down-to-earth business and must be approached in a serious and strict way. We must respect practice, respect the experience of the masses, and respect those truths that have really been tested and proved. Only by integrating the rev-

olutionary spirit of daring to think, daring to speak and daring to do with a scientific attitude of seeking truth from the facts will we be able to discover objective laws and achieve results of real value.

In order to bring about a continuous rise in the cultural and scientific levels of young workers and farmers, League organizations must take a keen interest in the spare-time education of young people, actively co-operate with the cultural and educational departments, and on the basis of summed-up experience go on to organize young people to resolutely carry on with long-term spare-time studies and build up, step by step, in the cities and countryside a relatively complete system of spare-time education.

The young scientists and technicians of our country are a new emerging force trained by the Party and the state. Young scientists and technicians should aim high and have lofty ambitions and make outstanding contributions in accordance with the scientific plans of the state. We hope many more red and expert young scientific and technical workers like Hsu Yung-chi, Wang Lin-ho and Chou Hsiu-chi will appear.

Students in our institutes of higher learning and in specialized secondary schools must work hard to master the basic theory, specialized knowledge and production skills required in their respective fields. League organizations in the schools should strengthen ideological and political work, develop students' initiative and ability for independent thought in the course of their studies, and enrich extra-curricular activities to enable students to develop their moral excellence, increase their knowledge and improve their physiques in a lively and active way.

Without a revolutionary theory there can be no revolutionary movement. The three great revolutionary movements of the class struggle, the struggle for production and of scientific experiment in our country are guided by great Marxism-Leninism and the great thinking of Mao Tse-tung. In order to guide the youth to undergo tempering conscientiously in these three great revolutionary movements and to train them to become staunch, reliable heirs to the cause of the proletarian revolution, the movement to study Marxism-Leninism and the works of Chairman Mao must be pressed ahead so as to lead the broad masses of the youth to work hard and master the teachings of Mao Tse-tung.

Comrade Mao Tse-tung is a great Marxist-Leninist of the contemporary era. Integrating the universal truth of Marxism-Leninism with the concrete practice of the Chinese revolution and construction in the course of the great struggle of the Chinese people, Comrade Mao Tse-tung has creatively developed Marxism-Leninism. The thinking of Mao Tse-tung is the Chinese people's guide in carrying on their revolution and socialist construction; it is a powerful ideological weapon against imperialism, modern revisionism and modern dogmatism, and Chairman Mao's works are the best textbooks for revolutionizing the youth of our country. In re-

cent years, the movement for studying the works of Chairman Mao which has been growing daily among the young people of our country is an ideological revolutionary movement of the youth of China who want to make progress, who want to master Marxism-Leninism.

Today, among the young people on the fronts of industry and agriculture, in the armed forces, schools and trading departments, a large number of activists in studying the writings of Chairman Mao has appeared. Young people such as Liao Chu-chiang, Feng Fu-sheng, Huang Tsu-shih, Yu Ching-hsien, Wei Shu-chin, Li Su-wen and others. They have a certain common experience: Firstly, they have a clear aim in their study, that is, they are studying for the sake of the revolution, to revolutionize themselves ideologically. Secondly, they have a correct method of study, which is the principle of resolutely integrating theory with practice, studying to find a solution to a particular problem on hand, integrating their study and its application, studying and currently applying what they study. Thirdly, they have the will to persevere in their studies. In studying the works of Chairman Mao the youth of our country should study this experience well.

The Communist Youth League should promote the movement for studying Chairman Mao's works, and develop it widely, deeply, solidly and on a long-term basis. In organizing these studies the principle of studying consciously and voluntarily must be strictly observed. Help should first be given to those activists in study and the more advanced groups that most urgently wish to study, helping them to raise the standards of their studies, and popularizing their experience in study and on this basis, gradually leading more young people to take part in such studies. In organizing these studies attention must be paid to actual results, and not just go after quantity. Communist Youth League members, especially League cadres, should take the lead and work hard to become activists in the study of Chairman Mao's works.

It can be confidently expected that the development of the movement for the study of Chairman Mao's works will have an extremely far-reaching effect in furthering the revolutionization of the youth of our country. It will raise greatly the revolutionary consciousness of our youth, and make our youth red and expert revolutionary fighters filled with a vigorous revolutionary spirit and good at mastering objective laws.

IV. Strengthen Efforts to Build the Youth League and Enhance the Fighting Strength of League Organizations

In order to carry through the Party's Marxist-Leninist line on youth work and promote the revolutionization of the youth of our country, it is necessary to build a stalwart revolutionary nucleus, to organize the advanced sections of the youth, and, through them,

to unite and educate the middle and backward sections of the youth for a common advance under the leadership of the Party. This revolutionary nucleus organization of the youth is the Communist Youth League. The stronger the League organizations we build, the better will the Communist Youth League be able to play its role as a nucleus in uniting and educating the youth.

We must strengthen our efforts in building the League also because the League, existing as it does in an environment of class struggle and with members brought up in families of different social strata, is inevitably subjected to corrosion by bourgeois and other non-proletarian ideologies; our class enemies furthermore invariably try by every conceivable means to worm their way into the Communist Youth League in an attempt to disintegrate it from within. Consequently, the Communist Youth League must constantly strengthen its efforts in building itself up, resist corrosion by bourgeois ideology and attacks from class enemies, and continuously check over and consolidate its organization; only in this way can it develop its fighting strength and victoriously fulfil its mission of promoting the revolutionization of the youth.

To persevere in maintaining the advanced character of the League and strengthen its close ties with the mass of young people—these are two basic requisites for augmenting the fighting strength of the League. The advanced political character of the Communist Youth League means, most essentially, that it must ensure the absolute leadership of the Party, take Marxism-Leninism and Mao Tse-tung's thinking as its guiding ideology, and give first place to ideological and political work in relation to all other work. Organizationally it must adhere to democratic centralism, uphold the class line and always preserve the purity of its ranks.

Party leadership is the lifeline of the League. The Chinese Communist Party is a great, glorious, correct and long-tested Marxist-Leninist political party, the organizer and leader of the Chinese people in their revolution and construction. The entire history of China's youth movement proves that only the Party can chart the correct orientation and course for the youth of our country, and give them the best care and education. To ensure the Party's absolute leadership the Communist Youth League should, under the leadership of the Party committees at all levels, mobilize and organize its members and the youth to carry through resolutely the Party's line, principles and various policies, to take an active part in fulfilling the central task of a given period, and thus to struggle for the fulfilment of the Party's political task. At the same time the League should pay attention to launching and improving its day-to-day work in co-ordination with the central task, and, in keeping with the characteristics of youth, carrying out certain independent activities. Only by doing all this can we make the League a loyal assistant of the Party.

The advanced character of the Communist Youth League should manifest itself most constantly, directly

and massively through its members. The masses usually judge a League organization by the thinking and actions of its members. Every League member must conscientiously fulfil his obligations and constantly improve himself so that he will become a genuine revolutionary fighter. Members of the Communist Youth League should actively publicize the Party's principles and policies, and take the lead in implementing them as well as in the struggle for production and in various social movements. Members of the Communist Youth League should resolutely safeguard the interests of the Party and the people; they should bravely expose and combat such evil-doers and evils as corruption and embezzlement, speculation and profiteering, and breaches of the law and public order; they should bravely expose and combat all other actions and words detrimental to socialism. They should, along with the masses, resist all feudal superstitious activities as well as all old ideas and habits which are not in keeping with the interests of socialism. They should honestly report to the Party problems in production, shortcomings and mistakes in work, and such misdeeds as bureaucracy, extravagance and waste; and, together with the masses, make active efforts to rectify them.

A fundamental question for the Communist Youth League is to keep close contact with the mass of young people. We should unite and organize the youth to the fullest possible extent. Every cadre and member of the Communist Youth League must show concern for other young people, approach them, find out their views and needs, and become their bosom friends. In essence, the needs of youth are identical with those of the masses of the middle-aged people. However, as the youth are going through a period of physical growth and the accumulation of knowledge, they have certain special needs. The Communist Youth League should give full consideration to the two aspects of the life of young people — work and study, and their recreation, physical culture and rest; it should take all-round care of the growth of youth. We should do our work in a more lively and go-ahead way. We should be adept at guiding the youth to start and develop by themselves healthy, small-scale and diverse cultural, recreational and sports activities so as to enrich their life after working hours. When contradictions arise between the work and other aspects of the life of the youth, between their personal interests and the revolutionary interests, we should be adept at persuading them to abide by the principle of giving first place to the revolution, work and the interests of the state and the collective.

To integrate the checking over of the League organization with various political movements is an important experience gained in building our League. We must resolutely expose and struggle against bad elements who worm their way into the League and the degenerated elements, and clear them out. As to cadres and members of the League who make mistakes because the class enemy has deceived and corrupted them, they should be persuaded to "wash their hands and take a bath" [meaning to rectify their mistakes by self-

criticism — *P.R. Ed.*] in the spirit of "curing the sickness to save the patient" and "taking warning from past mistakes to avoid future ones" and earnestly mend their ways. At the proper time we must commend those cadres and members who stand firm in fighting the class enemy, who draw a clear demarcation line between whom or what to love and whom or what to hate, and who are boundlessly loyal to the Party and people, and we must pay attention to promote them to take charge of certain work of the leadership. League organizations at all levels must also take the unfolding of an ideological struggle to foster proletarian ideology and eliminate bourgeois ideology as a militant day-to-day task in building the League.

Organizations at the grass-root level are in the most constant and most direct contact with the masses of young people. All directives, calls and plans issued to League members and the youth by the Party committees and the higher League committees have to be carried out through the organizations at the grass-root level. Today, a movement for socialist education is being unfolded in the cities and villages all over the country, so we should take this excellent opportunity to check over the League organizations at the grass-root level in real earnest and strengthen the building of the basic organizations. In checking over the League, a distinction must be made between the two kinds of contradictions which are different in nature, and exactly where the trouble lies be found by seeking the truth from the facts. As long as it is not a matter of an issue between the enemy and ourselves, we should mainly employ education and organizational measures should be only supplementary. An important condition in perfecting a basic organization is to have a good nucleus of leadership — this involves the vital question of whose hands hold the leadership of that basic organization. In selecting people to take up the work of leadership in Youth League branches, we must choose young Party members and League members who have a good family background, who are ideologically sound, whose style of work is beyond reproach and who are enthusiastic in serving the young people. League organizations at all levels must without exception pay attention to the work of fostering and promoting young cadres; to continuously replenish the leading bodies of the League organizations at all levels, they must select and promote young cadres who have a sound ideology and good working style, who are politically progressive, and hard-working and show good prospects.

In order to improve and reinforce the basic organizations, many local League organizations have in recent years started to engage in activities to create "Four Good" League branches. The Four Goods are: (1) good in ideological and political work, (2) good in the "Three Good" activities (for good health, good studies and good work), (3) good in having a healthy and regular organizational life, (4) good in the working style of keeping contact with the masses. Our practice shows that these activities to create "Four Good" League

branches have greatly enlivened the life of the League and strengthened the ties between the League and the young people and augmented the fighting strength of the League; they are the central link in strengthening the building of the League and getting all the other work going. League organizations working in every sphere of life must develop such activities in a planned and down-to-earth way in the light of their own specific conditions and by using the method of "one leading another" or of "one leading two others," so that the number of "Four Good" League branches will increase year by year and grow step by step.

The work of consolidating the League must go hand in hand with the work of developing it. The Communist Youth League is an organization with an age limit; it is like a pool of running water with every year a batch of over-age League members leaving the League while a batch of progressive youth are drawn into it so as to maintain its special feature of being a youth organization. Besides this, with the movement for socialist education, large numbers of young activists have emerged on the various fronts and are now qualified to join the League. In the next two to three years, the number of League members must register a fairly large increase. This is of great significance for enlivening the life of the League and increasing the fighting strength of the League. At present, members under 20 and female members constitute a relatively small proportion of the League, so we must strengthen the work of recruiting new members among these groups.

In order to implement the Party's leadership in the League still better, League committees at all levels must pay attention to the day-to-day work, to the strengthening of systematic leadership and integrating the central task of the Party with the work of the League in a satisfactory manner. The Party's Central Committee has given us the directive that all work pertaining to the central task of the Party must be placed under the unified leadership of the Party committees and under unified arrangements, and that in all work special to the young people, the Communist Youth League must assume systematic leadership. To improve the League's systematic leadership, the higher League committees must give concrete help to the League committees at lower levels in solving problems in their work, so as to end the situation which exists in some localities where the League exercises no control over lower branches and where there is a lack of contact between upper and lower organizations. In this respect, the primary task is to perfect the League committees at county and commune levels.

Our great and ultimate objective demands that we pay still more attention to the healthy growth of the youth and children of our country. To educate them in a communist spirit, to lead them to study well, and make steady progress day by day, to enable them sink their roots in the revolution while they are still young — this is an important political task of the Communist Youth League. League organizations at all levels must without exception give due importance and take an

interest in the work of the Young Pioneers, strengthen the building of an army of instructors for the Young Pioneers, paying particular attention to the work of strengthening the building of Young Pioneer organizations in the countryside.

The Party has constantly taught us that the Communist Youth League must establish a good working style and guide the mass of youth in acquiring good habits and ways of doing things. A style of work is a tacit call, an invisible spiritual force. The working style of the League, good or bad, has a direct influence on the revolutionization of the youth. The young look up to the League members; the League members look up to the cadres. Cadres must set an example for League members and all the young people.

What kind of a working style should we, cadres of the Communist Youth League, develop? To generalize, it should be a style full of vitality and that seeks truth from the facts.

By "full of vitality" we mean a cadre should have the revolutionary drive to grapple with difficulties courageously. The cause of the proletariat, be it revolution or construction, always develops and grows by surmounting all kinds of difficulties. A revolutionary fighter should, under all circumstances, stride forward bravely, undaunted even by repeated setbacks.

By "full of vitality" we mean that one should use one's brains, have the courage to raise and be adept at raising questions and have a sense of responsibility towards the revolution and a creative spirit. Anyone with a real sense of responsibility should regard the cause of revolutionary advance as supreme. This does not mean that such a person will never commit mistakes, but that he has the courage to uphold the truth and rectify errors. Only people with such an attitude can be full of vitality and creativeness, free from negligence and slovenliness and avoid getting into a rut in their work.

By "full of vitality" we mean having the spirit to learn diligently and never getting conceited. Study is of especial importance for cadres of the Communist Youth League. We should be adept at learning from the Communist Party, the people, reality, books, neighbours and from everyone who is experienced and well informed. Only by paying constant attention to absorbing new things, acquiring new knowledge and continuously raising one's ideological level can one sustain one's revolutionary vitality.

Cadres of the Communist Youth League must strictly abide by the system established by the Party and Government for cadres to take part in physical labour, a system which is a basic measure enabling cadres to maintain their revolutionary vitality and never degenerate. We must always uphold the fine tradition of hard work and plain living, keeping in close touch with the masses, and guard against corruption by bourgeois ideology. Extravagance and waste corrupt one's mind and the pursuit of personal material comforts saps one's revolutionary will. We must guard

against being divorced from reality and the masses and avoid contamination with the bad habits of bureaucratism.

Such vitality in work must be built on the basis of a thorough understanding of the situation; it must be combined with the spirit of seeking truth from the facts. The overwhelming majority of our Communist Youth League cadres have tremendous enthusiasm and drive, but they often suffer from the weakness of not being down to earth enough. This is something we should be particularly vigilant about. The greater our revolutionary drive the better, but we must proceed from reality and respect objective laws. We should not be afraid of difficulties and should scorn them, but we should make a concrete analysis of them and treat them seriously. We must have a great ideal, but we must be willing to do ordinary work in a down-to-earth spirit. This is what Chairman Mao has often taught us: we must have a warm heart and a cool head and, combining the two, promote the revolution in a level-headed way. We should bear in mind Chairman Mao's teaching that man's correct notions can come only from the practice of the masses, and make sure to go deep into reality, conduct surveys and investigations, sum up experience and constantly enhance our ideological level and professional proficiency.

By "seeking truth from the facts" we mean one should be an honest person, speak and act honestly, speak nothing but the truth, neither exaggerating nor understating it. We must apply the dialectical method which recognizes that everything tends to divide itself in two and recognize achievements as well as shortcomings. We must start from reality and handle matters according to the Party's policies. We should never act rashly or recklessly, neither should we be untruthful. We should adopt a serious and earnest attitude, cherish a spirit of getting on with the job and doing solid work, make our deeds tally with our words and our appearance with our inner mind.

By "seeking truth from the facts" we mean one should work conscientiously with revolutionary perseverance. We should do more to lay a proper foundation and try to get real results. Comrade Teng Hsiao-ping has time and again taught us that cadres of the Communist Youth League should learn to work meticulously, and especially that they should be adept at doing ideological work painstakingly bit by bit. He said that painstaking and meticulous work is, in the last analysis, more rewarding. We should study the Party's policies seriously, and attach importance to surveys and investigations of youth work and youth problems. Once we have a firm grasp of policy, a thorough knowledge of the situation and a good understanding of the problem involved, we should bring our revolutionary perseverance into play, tackle the problem on hand firmly and persistently until it is solved.

All cadres of the Communist Youth League should foster devotion and a sense of responsibility to the revolution; they should live up to the Party's trust, be strict with themselves, work hard to develop a fine

working style full of vitality and seeking truth from the facts, strive to give a good account of themselves and become the Party's fine youth workers.

V. Raise Still Higher the Revolutionary Banner of Unity, Anti-Imperialism and Internationalism

The Party and Chairman Mao have consistently taught us that we should not only be concerned with the destiny of our own people, but should share the weal and woe of the world's people. We have always regarded the revolutionary cause of our country as part and parcel of that of the whole world and considered the victories achieved by other peoples in their revolutionary struggles as our own. As a big socialist country China should make greater contributions to mankind. We should always be modest, treat the people of all other countries as equals and with an attitude of friendliness, be highly vigilant and guard strictly against big-nation chauvinism. Big-nation chauvinism is an expression of bourgeois ideology and is most harmful to our common cause of unity against the enemy. Taught by the Party, Chinese youth has all along engaged in international activities in a spirit of proletarian internationalism. Many young men and women, in supporting the people of other lands to build their countries, have worked selflessly and shared the happiness and sufferings of the local people. Chinese youth should carry forward this internationalist spirit for ever.

U.S. imperialism is the sworn enemy of the people of the world, it is also the sworn enemy of the world's youth. Not long ago, Chairman Mao in a number of statements expressing support for the struggles of the American Negro people, the peoples of south Viet Nam, Panama and Japan called on the people of the whole world, on all nations and peoples subjected to U.S. imperialist aggression, oppression, control, interference and bullying, to unite and form the broadest united front against U.S. imperialism's policies of aggression and war, and to safeguard world peace. Chairman Mao's call received an enthusiastic response from the people and youth of all countries. The task of our country's youth is to unite with all the peace-loving, progressive, and revolutionary youth of the world and wage a common struggle against U.S. imperialism, to safeguard world peace, and for the progress of mankind and the bright future of youth.

To strengthen the unity and friendship of the youth of the socialist countries on the basis of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism is our firm and unshakable principle. We should study and learn from the experience of the socialist countries in socialist revolution and socialist construction, and this includes their negative experience. Each victory won by the youth of the socialist countries in socialist revolution and socialist construction, and in the struggle against imperialism and revisionism greatly inspires and gladdens us. The Khrushchov revisionist group and its followers, the leadership of the Soviet Communist Youth League, are carrying on anti-China activities

in a big way. They wantonly slander the youth movement of our country, and by distorting facts and fabricating rumours vainly try to sow dissension between the Chinese youth and the great Soviet youth and undermine the profound friendship established by the youth of our two countries in prolonged revolutionary struggle. But all this will surely come to naught.

Chinese youth, with fraternal feelings, closely follow the struggle of the youth of Asia, Africa and Latin America against imperialism and for national liberation. The Asian, African and Latin American areas are the focus of the various types of contradictions in the contemporary world; they are the storm-centres of world revolution dealing direct blows at U.S. imperialism. The youth movement in Asia, Africa and Latin America also constitutes a force which is most active, most revolutionary and most militant in the present-day international youth movement. We firmly support the struggle waged by the youth of all Asian, African and Latin American countries against imperialism headed by the United States and for winning and safeguarding national independence, and for developing their national economies and national cultures. In the common struggle, we youth of Asia, Africa and Latin America will always stand united, support each other and march forward shoulder to shoulder.

We are also deeply concerned about the sufferings of the young people in all the capitalist countries in Western Europe, in North America and in Oceania. Aggression and control by U.S. imperialism and the reactionary rule of monopoly capital pose a serious threat to the sovereignty of these countries and do great harm to the broad masses of the people and youth there. We Chinese youth resolutely support all the progressive struggles waged by the youth in these countries for social progress, to safeguard national and democratic rights, to improve the people's livelihood and to defend the immediate interests of the broad masses of the youth.

Chinese youth are ready to unite and co-operate with all peace-loving youth and youth organizations all over the world that stand for national independence and wish to be friendly with China, and join hands with them to wage a common struggle to defend world peace and oppose our common enemy — U.S. imperialism and old and new colonialism. Friendly relations with us have been established by 384 youth and student organizations in 130 countries of the world. We have friends all over the world.

The youth of our country firmly uphold the traditional line of the World Democratic Youth Federation and the International Union of Students, that is, one of uniting the youth and students of the whole world to oppose imperialism and colonialism, defend world peace, win national independence and democracy, strive for a bright future of the youth and the democratization of education, and defend the rights of the youth. In recent years, the Khrushchov revisionist group and its followers — the leaders of the youth organizations of the Soviet Union have renounced the fundamental

interests of the world's people and youth and imposed on these two international organizations the erroneous line of a fake peace and real capitulation, of opposing the people's revolution in all countries and splitting the forces of international solidarity. They are trying by hook or by crook to turn these two international organizations into their tools in implementing the modern revisionist foreign policy and splitting the unity of international youth. As a result of the modern revisionists' manipulation, control and divisive activities, these two organizations have increasingly failed to reflect the will and demands of the youth and students of all countries. That is why in the past few years a fierce struggle to uphold the correct line and oppose the erroneous line has been unfolded in the international youth movement. Through this struggle, the world's youth have seen more and more clearly the ugly features of the modern revisionists acting as apologists for U.S. imperialism and for colonialism.

The imperialists, the reactionaries of all countries, and the modern revisionists comprise only a tiny minority of the population. Over 90 per cent of the world's people and youth will always want revolution. In the face of the awakened, united and organized people, all the imperialists, reactionaries, and modern revisionists as well as those nuclear weapons which they use to intimidate the people with are, in the last analysis, only paper tigers. So long as we stand with the over 90 per cent of the people, we will always be invincible. We look forward to the prospects of the revolutionary struggle of the world's people and of the international youth movement with full confidence. Now, the peoples and youth of all countries, from Cuba to south Viet Nam, from Japan to the Congo and Cyprus, from south Korea to Venezuela and Panama, are tightening the nooses around the neck of the U.S. imperialists from many points. Various signs indicate that a still more powerful storm of world revolution is fast approaching. Neither imperialist repression nor modern revisionist deception can stop the coming revolutionary storm.

Comrades! Looking back into the past and forward to the future, we are full of revolutionary pride. The great political unity of our people has never been so firm as today. Our strength to build socialism independently and self-reliantly in China has never been so great as today. The revolutionary militant will and drive of China's youth has never soared so high as it does today. In our country a new revolutionary generation is maturing in struggle. The youth of the different nationalities of China will rally still more closely around the Party and raise the torch of revolution still higher.

Let the coming storm of revolution be fiercer! The future belongs to ever-revolutionary youth!

Long live our guide: invincible Marxism-Leninism!

Long live our great, socialist motherland!

Long live the great Chinese Communist Party!

Long live our great leader, our respected and beloved teacher Chairman Mao!

Another Punishment for the U.S.-Chiang Gang

Following is a translation of a "Renmin Ribao" editorial of July 9, 1964.—Ed.

ON July 7, an air force unit of the Chinese People's Liberation Army brought down another high-altitude reconnaissance plane of the Chiang Kai-shek gang, a U.S.-made U-2 flying somewhere over eastern China. It was a really good shot, a wonderful shot! The whole nation greets this great victory and salutes and extends hearty congratulations to the Air Force of the Chinese People's Liberation Army which has so vigilantly guarded China's territorial air.

This is the third U.S.-Chiang U-2 spy plane we have shot down. They come again and again and are shot down again and again. In recent years, we had, on different occasions, brought down nine U.S.-Chiang spy planes of various types and models. This time another U-2 came to court destruction, bringing the score to a round number of ten. These ten consist of one of the RB-57A type, one of the RB-57D type, one B-17, three P2V-7's, one of the RF-101C type and three U-2's. This record shows that no U.S.-Chiang spy plane can escape destruction, no matter of what type, no matter whether it comes over at high or low altitude, and no matter how sly and secret is its flight.

During this period, instigated by U.S. imperialism, the Chiang Kai-shek gang also continued to send armed agents to harass the mainland. These agents keep on coming and we keep on wiping them out. Since October 1962, our armed forces and people have put out of action a total of 33 groups of armed U.S.-Chiang agents numbering 398 men.

Every U.S.-Chiang spy plane we bring down, and every group of its armed agents we wipe out is a punishing blow to U.S. imperialism and the Chiang Kai-shek gang. Trying to "save face," the Chiang gang of late has been bragging about the "success" in their "surprise attacks on the mainland." These gangsters have no conception of shame. The truth is that when on June 2 a group of its armed agents attacked Moyeh Island in Shantung Province, these bandits were routed by our people's militia the moment they landed and they fled in panic. The Chiang gang themselves admitted that one of their bandits was killed and another three wounded. On June 21, another group came to attack and harass the coast of Kwangtung Province.

Before they too ran away they kidnapped three unarmed fishermen whom they caught off-guard. And this is what they boast of as their "victorious march." Stuff and nonsense! The Chiang gang always keep quiet and refuse to admit that large batches of their men have been wiped out, but once they have a lucky narrow escape, they try to cover up their embarrassment by talking big. It is a ridiculous performance.

We must warn U.S. imperialism and the Chiang gang: our people and armed forces have all the determination, confidence, power and the means needed to smash your provocations and trouble-making: we are quite sure of that. Your hirelings, whether they come by land, sea or air, in broad daylight or at dead of night, will end up badly.

Every crime committed by the Chiang gang in harassing the mainland is at U.S. imperialist instigation and perpetrated with its backing. The real and chief culprit is U.S. imperialism. Lately, in co-ordination with its activities to extend its aggression in Laos and south Viet Nam, U.S. imperialism is deliberately aggravating tension in the Far East, and in particular intensifying its military provocations and armed threats against the Chinese people. It not only directs the Chiang gang to harass the Chinese mainland more frequently, but, at the same time, more audaciously, sends its own warships and planes to violate our territorial waters and air. After the spokesman of the Chinese Foreign Ministry issued, on instructions, the 300th serious warning against U.S. imperialism's military provocations, it again sent military aircraft to intrude into our territorial air over northern Kiangsu Province and carry out wanton provocations. This shows that U.S. imperialism is determined to be hostile to the Chinese people to the end.

The Chinese people know very well that the aggressive nature of U.S. imperialism will not change and that the Chiang gang will die without repenting. In spite of our many serious warnings to U.S. imperialism, in spite of the many severe punishments we have inflicted on the Chiang gang, they will certainly continue to make trouble. Our military forces and civilians must therefore heighten their vigilance a hundred times over, be ready at any time to deal resolute blows in answer to the provocations and harassments by U.S. imperialism and its running dogs, the Chiang Kai-shek gang.

China Backs the Democratic Republic Of Viet Nam

- The Chinese people cannot be expected to look on with folded arms in the face of any aggression against the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam.
- U.S. intervention and aggression in south Viet Nam must be stopped and all U.S. troops and military personnel must be withdrawn from south Viet Nam. The internal affairs of south Viet Nam must be settled by the south Vietnamese people themselves.
- The Chinese Government hopes that all countries and people interested in the peace of Indo-China, and particularly the Co-Chairmen and the participating nations of the Geneva Conference, will immediately take effective measures to check U.S. aggression and intervention so as to preserve the peace and security of this area.

Chen Yi, Minister of Foreign Affairs of the People's Republic of China, sent a letter on July 6 relating to the situation in south Viet Nam to Xuan Thuy, Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam, in reply to the latter's communication of June 25. Following is a translation of Foreign Minister Chen Yi's letter. — Ed.

I HAVE the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of June 25. In your letter, you explained in detail the present grave situation in the southern part of Viet Nam, asking the countries concerned to stop the provocative schemes of U.S. imperialism against the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam and its war of aggression in southern Viet Nam. The Chinese Government and people firmly support the solemn stand and just demands of the Government of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam.

Recently, in order to save itself from the serious defeats it is suffering in its aggression in southern Viet Nam and to extricate itself from isolation, U.S. imperialism is stepping up its plot to extend its war of aggression in southern Viet Nam, trying hard to drag some of its allies down into the mire so as to internationalize the war and even attempting to bring in the United Nations for intervention in southern Viet Nam and other parts of Indo-China. U.S. imperialism is also openly clamouring for an extension of the war to the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam and threatening to subject northern Viet Nam to air and naval blockade as well as bombing. All this demonstrates once again that U.S. imperialism is the most ferocious enemy of the Vietnamese, the Indo-Chinese and all the peace-loving people of the whole world.

But these desperate struggles and wild clamours of U.S. imperialism do not bespeak its strength; on the contrary, they show that it can find no way out under the blows of the heroic south Vietnamese people. The criminal schemes of U.S. imperialism are now meeting

with the increasingly strong opposition and condemnation of the peace-loving countries and people of the whole world. The heroic south Vietnamese people, redoubling their efforts and intensifying their struggle, are dealing ever heavier blows at the U.S. aggressors and the puppet clique in southern Viet Nam. It is my firm belief that, with the support of the entire Vietnamese people and the peace-loving countries and people of the whole world, the south Vietnamese people will eventually smash the U.S. imperialist criminal plot of extending the war and achieve the complete liberation of southern Viet Nam. The aspiration of the entire Vietnamese people for the peaceful reunification of their motherland is bound to come true in the end.

China and the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam are fraternal neighbours closely related like the lips and the teeth. The Chinese people cannot be expected to look on with folded arms in the face of any aggression against the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam. The Chinese Government hereby reiterates again that the Geneva agreements on Viet Nam and Indo-China must be observed, U.S. intervention and aggression in southern Viet Nam must be stopped and U.S. troops and military personnel must be withdrawn from southern Viet Nam completely. The internal affairs of southern Viet Nam must be settled by the south Vietnamese people themselves. The U.S. attempt to make use of the United Nations for intervention in southern Viet Nam and Indo-China is in violation of the Geneva agreements and therefore illegal and impermissible; it must be resolutely opposed. The Chinese Government hopes that all countries and people interested in the peace of Indo-China, and particularly the Co-Chairmen and the participating nations of the Geneva Conference, will immediately take effective measures to check the U.S. aggression and intervention so as to preserve the peace and security of this area.

Please accept the renewed assurances of my highest consideration.

A Stern Warning to U.S. Imperialism

Following is a translation of the July 9 editorial of "Renmin Ribao." — Ed.

IN his reply of July 6 to Xuan Thuy, Foreign Minister of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam, Chinese Foreign Minister Chen Yi has expressed resolute support for the just stand of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam in opposing the attempt of U.S. imperialism to extend the aggressive war now being waged in south Viet Nam. "The Chinese people," he declared, "cannot be expected to look on with folded arms in the face of any aggression against the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam." This is a strong warning served by the Chinese Government concerning the frenzied war cries being uttered by U.S. imperialism.

This year, U.S. imperialism has suffered more serious defeats than ever before in its aggression and intervention in south Viet Nam. The Johnson Administration, in order to save itself from a fiasco in south Viet Nam, attempted at the meetings at Manila [SEATO] and the Hague [NATO] to drag its allies into the quagmire too and make them share its criminal responsibility for aggression in south Viet Nam. When this scheme fell through, the U.S. Government hurriedly called the Honolulu conference to plot the extension of its war of aggression in south Viet Nam and Indo-China. Following this, it has appointed the former Chairman of the U.S. Joint Chiefs of Staff, Maxwell Taylor, "ambassador" to south Viet Nam. He has announced his intention of continuing to give "unstinting" support to the puppet regime in south Viet Nam for "vigorous implementation and execution" of the U.S. plan of aggression there. What is more, the Johnson Administration is making an open clamour about extending the war to the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam. Recently, intrusions into the territorial waters and air and across the western frontiers of the northern part of Viet Nam by U.S. imperialism and its flunkies have become more frequent than ever. They have repeatedly threatened to impose a naval and air blockade against the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam and bomb it.

These frenzied war cries and activities of U.S. imperialism once again prove that the nature of imperialism will never change and that it will never withdraw from the arena of history of its own accord. Only by fighting resolutely to the end against U.S. imperial-

ism, can the revolutionary people defeat its death-bed struggle and win final victory.

Frankly speaking, the Johnson Administration's clamour about extending the war of aggression against south Viet Nam and invading the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam does not in the least demonstrate the strength of U.S. imperialism. Truth is with the Vietnamese people, and so is strength. Facts have proved that the heroic Vietnamese people are strong. The statement adopted by the National Assembly of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam on July 3 on the situation in south Viet Nam has given a firm and resounding answer to this frenzied plot of U.S. imperialism. That statement warned that should the U.S. imperialists "be rash enough to expand their war to north Viet Nam, the whole people of north Viet Nam, millions rising as one man, would stand together with the people in the south to defeat them." The statement shows not only the determination of the Vietnamese people to defend their motherland but also their heroism and mettle in defying U.S. imperialist threats.

The Democratic Republic of Viet Nam is a member of the socialist camp. The Chinese people have always maintained that to uphold the peace and security of the whole socialist camp, to protect each of its members from imperialist encroachment and to defend the socialist camp is the inescapable proletarian internationalist duty of all socialist countries. The Democratic Republic of Viet Nam is a fraternal neighbouring country as closely related to China as the lips are to the teeth. Should the U.S. imperialists attack the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam, thus threatening the peace and security of China, the Chinese people naturally cannot be expected to look on with folded arms. The Chinese people will certainly not allow the U.S. imperialists to play with fire right by their side.

U.S. imperialist aggression against south Viet Nam is doomed to utter failure. The only way out now for U.S. imperialism is to get out of south Viet Nam and allow the south Vietnamese people to settle their own problems. The adventurist plan of the U.S. Government to expand the war of aggression against south Viet Nam should arouse the serious attention of all peace-loving countries and peoples. All participating nations of the Geneva conference, and particularly its Co-Chairmen, have the responsibility to take timely and effective measures to check the U.S. imperialists' new war plot, so as to safeguard peace in Indo-China and Southeast Asia.

American Wares With a New Label

Comment on the Vientiane "Consultations"

Following is a translation of the "Renmin Ribao" editorial of July 5, 1964. Subheads are ours. — Ed.

THE so-called Vientiane "consultations," of which the United States was the instigator and in which representatives of Britain, Canada, Thailand, India and the puppet clique of south Viet Nam took part, ended on June 29 after lasting four weeks. From the "consultations" emerged a communique and an ostensible "call for ceasefire and withdrawal" which wilfully distorted the truth of the Laotian situation and sought to cover up the U.S. scheme to enlarge its aggression in Laos.

The two documents slandered the Neo Lao Haksat as having launched a "general offensive" against the Laotian Right-wing and falsely accused the Viet Nam Democratic Republic of "involvement in the offensive." They brazenly demanded the "withdrawal" of the Pathet Lao Fighting Units, and made a hypocritical "ceasefire" appeal. They asked that the two Co-Chairmen of the Geneva Conference and the International Commission in Laos should help the United States to carry out this plan of aggression. These are clearly genuine American-made wares, the same that the Johnson Administration has of late been peddling. Only this time, they have stuck a new label on them, that of the Vientiane "consultations." The Neo Lao Haksat and the Government of the Viet Nam Democratic Republic have both issued solemn statements on this question. The Chinese people and Government unreservedly support their just stand.

U.S. Responsible for Tense Situation

As the whole world can see, the sole reason why the Laotian situation has taken such a dangerous turn is because U.S. imperialism has sabotaged the Geneva agreements and made a number of moves to intensify its aggression and intervention.

For the last two years, the United States has ceaselessly directed the Laotian Right-wing in attempts to encircle and attack the patriotic forces, nibble away large tracts of the liberated areas and slaughter patriotic army-men and people. Even now, the military conflicts started by the Right-wing are being carried on in territories that belonged to the liberated areas at the

time of the signing of the 1962 Geneva agreements. U.S. imperialism and its followers, by turning on the Pathet Lao Fighting Units and accusing it of having started a so-called "general offensive" in early February this year, have completely distorted the facts, making black white.

On April 19, U.S. imperialism staged the Right-wing coup in Vientiane, in an attempt to overthrow the Laotian Government of National Union and gobble up the middle-of-the-road forces. This forced the genuine middle-of-the-roaders to rise up on May 16 in opposition. Now U.S. imperialism and its followers have turned around and slanderously accused the Pathet Lao Fighting Units of having attacked the Plain of Jars. This again is a distortion of the facts, completely turning things upside down.

U.S. imperialism has never stopped equipping and training the Right-wing troops and directing them in their military operations. Recently, it has gone to the length of direct armed intervention in Laos, openly sending military aircraft to reconnoitre over and bomb the liberated areas. These outrages have aroused the deepest indignation of the entire Laotian people and the strong condemnation of the whole world. Now U.S. imperialism and its followers are serving up nonsense to the effect that the Viet Nam Democratic Republic is carrying out "aggression" and "intervention" in Laos. This is a monstrous lie.

In order to substantiate its wild charges and slanders, the United States has fabricated a number of absurd arguments. It asserts that the genuine middle-of-the-road forces could not have coped with the reactionary Laotian forces, "well equipped" as the latter were with American guns, tanks and aircraft. Therefore, it must have been the Pathet Lao Fighting Units which did so. It contends that the Pathet Lao Fighting Units are incapable of "producing" "sophisticated weapons" and training soldiers to "handle these weapons." Therefore, the Viet Nam Democratic Republic must have had a hand in it. What does all this mean? It means that the U.S. imperialists, faced with the crushing defeat administered by the genuine middle-of-the-road forces to their "well-equipped" reactionary Laotian forces, reasoned that this must be a "proof" of an "offensive" started by the Pathet Lao Fighting

Units and a "proof" of the "intervention" of the Viet Nam Democratic Republic. What a strange logic!

U.S. imperialism and the reactionaries of various countries have always blindly believed in weapons and scorned the strength of the people. It is impossible for them to understand that armed forces of the people, poorly equipped as they are, can defeat imperialism and the reactionaries. Nor can they understand that the strength of the revolutionary people will always grow in the course of struggle against imperialism. This only goes to show their deplorable stupidity.

The participants in the Vientiane "consultations," basing themselves on the propositions fabricated by the U.S. imperialists, have put forth their proposal for removing the present tension in Laos. They insist that the Co-Chairmen of the Geneva Conference should appeal for a "ceasefire," that the Pathet Lao Fighting Units should "withdraw" and that the alleged "north Vietnamese forces" should get out of Laos, demanding that the International Commission "exercise its authority" to put through this U.S. plan of aggression. This is a case of the criminal becoming the accuser, of the thief crying "Stop thief!"

Is it not crystal clear who is actually fanning the flames of war in Laos? U.S. imperialism has not only carried out direct armed intervention in that country, but, pouring oil on the fire, is attempting to spread it throughout Indo-China. Those who should "cease fire" immediately are precisely the U.S. imperialists themselves. The participants in the Vientiane "consultations," while allowing U.S. imperialism to continue to spread the flames of war, ostentatiously call for a "ceasefire." This clearly shows whom they are serving.

Is it not also crystal clear who it is that should withdraw from the liberated areas on the Plain of Jars, and from Laos itself? The armed forces of U.S. imperialism have illegally intruded into Laos; the Right-wing forces have occupied large areas of the liberated territories. It is they that should immediately withdraw their forces. The participants in the Vientiane "consultations" pretend not to see these glaring crimes, but wilfully slander the Pathet Lao Fighting Units and the Viet Nam Democratic Republic. This proves that they are deliberately shielding the real culprit.

It is the obstructions from the U.S. imperialists and the Laotian Right-wing which alone prevent the International Commission from carrying out its normal functions. In order to ensure the execution and fulfilment of the international agreements on Laos, what the commission should now do is to demolish these U.S. obstructions and shoulder the responsibility given to it by the Geneva agreements.

Obstructing the Calling of a 14-Nation Conference

According to the communique from the Vientiane "consultations," the participants discussed the so-called prerequisites for the convocation of a new international conference on Laos. This amply demonstrates that the

"consultations" were U.S. imperialist manoeuvres to oppose and obstruct the convocation of a 14-nation conference.

All this proves that the Vientiane "consultations" were a trick played by the U.S. imperialists to serve their aggressive plans.

As the Radio of the Pathet Lao Fighting Units declared on July 1, even if they held a hundred such "consultations" and published a hundred such communiques and calls, they could not turn black white, nor could they cow the Laotian people; it could only further expose the despicable features of the aggressors. This is quite correct. Since the Vientiane "consultations" are completely illegal, all their decisions are null and void. Even the Indian representative held that they were not the kind of consultations stipulated by the Geneva declaration. Obviously, any "consultations" or conference held by only some of the participants in the Geneva Conference are contrary to the Geneva agreements and are therefore illegal and null and void.

Britain Takes an Active Part in U.S.-Designed Illegal Activities

What warrants attention is the fact that the British Government, as a Co-Chairman of the Geneva Conference, has been taking an active part in the U.S.-designed illegal activities aimed at further aggravating the Laotian situation. This is wholly incompatible with its position as a Co-Chairman. It is known to all that the deterioration of the Laotian situation is the result of the military coup d'etat staged by the Right-wing in Vientiane at the dictates of the United States on April 19. The Geneva Conference Co-Chairmen, in their message of May 1, condemned the coup as a violation of the Geneva agreements. Now, though Vientiane remains under the control of the Right-wing coupists, not a single reference to this basic issue was contained in the communique of the Vientiane "consultations." One cannot help asking, where does Britain, as one of the Co-Chairmen of the Geneva Conference, place itself? Do those words which it has pronounced together with the other Co-Chairman count? The British Government should understand that, as a Co-Chairman, it has the duty to be impartial, even if only a little bit so.

The effective way to relax the present tension in Laos and to solve the Laotian question is to convene a conference of the 14 participants in the Geneva Conference to discuss the question of checking U.S. aggression and intervention in Laos. There is no other way. If U.S. imperialism does not rein up at the brink of the precipice but is bent on obstructing the convocation of a 14-nation conference and continuing to expand its aggression and intervention in Laos, it will only end up with a bloody nose.

Serious Advice for Prince Phouma

Following is an article by "Renmin Ribao's" Commentator published on July 6, 1964. Subheads are ours.—Ed.

OF late, Prince Souvanna Phouma has vilified China in one speech after another. This shows that he is drawing farther and farther away from the road to peace and neutrality. We must tell Prince Souvanna Phouma in all seriousness: it is very dangerous to continue along this way.

It will be recalled that when he visited China in early April this year, Prince Phouma indicated that he would strictly observe and implement the Geneva agreements and thoroughly carry out the political programme of the Government of National Union. He highly praised then the friendly relations between China and Laos and held that the friendship expressed by the Chinese Government is a "support for the Laotian people in their struggle for freedom, independence and neutrality." Prior to this, during his visit to the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam, he also had declared his determination to fully implement the Geneva agreements and realize national harmony so as to lead the Kingdom of Laos on to the road of genuine peace and neutrality. This correct stand of Prince Souvanna Phouma's was welcomed and supported by China and the Viet Nam Democratic Republic.

After Prince Phouma's return to Laos, the leaders of the three Laotian sides met on the Plain of Jars and discussed the neutralization of Luang Prabang with a view to restoring the normal functioning of the Government of National Union, realizing the political programme, and easing tension in Laos. At these discussions, Prince Phouma and Prince Souphanouvong were agreed in their views, and it was only because of the obstruction of Phoumi Nosavan that the three sides failed to reach agreement.

At that time, Prince Phouma was also preparing to visit France together with the King of Laos to seek support for the peace and neutrality of Laos.

Three Sinister U.S. Steps

U.S. imperialism was extremely uneasy over this trend in Laos and immediately stepped up its intervention. On April 19, it instigated the Laotian Right-wing to launch a reactionary coup d'etat in Vientiane, which was aimed at preventing the Laotian situation from developing in favour of the national interests of Laos and was directed first of all against Prince Phouma and the middle-of-the-road forces that he led.

As a first step, the United States and the Laotian Right-wing ousted Prince Phouma from power by force, put him under house arrest, announced his "removal" from the premiership, and "the abolition of the power

and function of the Government of National Union to run the state."

This move taken by the United States and the Laotian Right-wing met with strong opposition both from the patriotic Laotian forces and internationally. So, as a second step, they entrapped Prince Phouma through coercion and cajolery and placed him under their control. By the crafty trick of integrating the middle-of-the-road and the Right-wing forces, they disintegrated and swallowed up the former. In the name of reorganizing the Right-wing government, they caused the Laotian Government of National Union to degenerate into a pro-U.S. Right-wing government.

Their third step was to trot out Prince Phouma to serve as their tool for opposing the Neo Lao Haksat and the genuine neutralist forces. Taking advantage of Prince Phouma's request for U.S. "aid," they sent aircraft to reconnoitre over and bomb the Laotian liberated areas, thus making it possible for the United States to carry out open and direct armed intervention in Laos.

Wrecking Sino-Laotian Relations

The whole process in which U.S. imperialism and the Laotian Right-wing first attacked Prince Phouma and then coerced and utilized him throws light on his real present position. However, he has repeatedly claimed himself that he is not a "prisoner" of the Laotian Right-wing but holds full control of all military and administrative organs of the Vientiane government. This is nothing but self-deception and the deception of others. Now U.S. imperialism and the Laotian Right-wing have pushed him on to a still more dangerous road. Besides using him as a tool for opposing the patriotic Laotian forces, they are making him serve as an instrument for wrecking Sino-Laotian relations.

On June 24, Pheng Phongsavan, "Foreign Minister" of the Vientiane government, on the instructions of Prince Phouma told the press that the Chinese Economic and Cultural Mission in Laos was "illegal."

On June 27, Prince Phouma himself came forth to sling mud at China. He told Western pressmen that China "has always followed a policy of annexation" towards its neighbours. His reason was that China was building "a second road linking the southern Chinese province of Yunnan to northern Laos," and that "no agreement was made" between Laos and China "for the construction of the second road." He added that "two communist Chinese prisoners" "captured" by the Laotians gave evidence about the building of the second road.

These fantastic tales will certainly not be taken seriously by anybody who knows the truth. But they warrant our attention because they were told by Prince Phouma and by Pheng Phongsavan who is under him.

Nobody knows better than Prince Phouma himself how the Chinese Economic and Cultural Mission came to be established in the Kingdom of Laos. It was he who suggested in February 1961 in his capacity as Premier of the Royal Laotian Government that China and Laos should exchange economic and cultural missions. On March 7 of the same year, Quinim Pholsena, Acting Foreign Minister of the Royal Laotian Government, sent a note to Ho Wei, Ambassador of the People's Republic of China to the Viet Nam Democratic Republic, formally putting forward this proposal on behalf of his government. On March 8, Ambassador Ho Wei replied, expressing complete agreement with this proposal on behalf of the Government of the People's Republic of China. The joint statement issued by Premier Chou En-lai and Premier Souvanna Phouma on April 25 said that "the two parties noted with satisfaction that the two Governments already exchanged notes in March 1961 on the question of exchanging economic and cultural missions." On November 14, Prince Phouma, Premier of the Royal Laotian Government, and Prince Souphanouvong, Chairman of the Neo Lao Haksat, received in the liberated areas Ho Wei, Head of the Chinese Economic and Cultural Mission, who personally handed to Premier Phouma the letter of credence of the Government of the People's Republic of China. Pheng Phongsavan was present on this occasion.

In the past few years, the Chinese Economic and Cultural Mission has been carrying on normal diplomatic activities and has contributed much towards developing friendly relations between the two countries. On behalf of the Chinese Government, it signed an agreement with the Royal Laotian Government concerning air transport between China and Laos and an agreement on the construction of a highway. Since the founding of the Laotian Government of National Union in 1962, the mission has maintained constant contact with the leaders of this Government. The leaders of the Royal Laotian Government have never questioned the legality of that mission. Now, after being bombed by aircraft sent by U.S. imperialism, the mission is suddenly described as "illegal." Such lack of good faith is rarely seen in international relations and absurd and incredible. Can there be any explanation for this other than to clear U.S. imperialism of its crimes?

As for the allegation that China is building a second highway from Yunnan Province to Laos, it is utterly groundless. As requested by Prince Phouma during his visit to China in April 1961 and in accordance with the agreement signed by the Chinese and Laotian Governments on January 13, 1962, on the building of a highway, China built one from Meng La in China's Yunnan Province to Phongsaly in Phongsaly Province in Laos as economic aid to Laos without compensation and without strings attached. Aside from this, China has not built any other highway in Laos. The two Chinese whom Prince Phouma used as the basis for his assertion that China is building a second highway are in fact civilian road builders in China's Yunnan Province. For China to build a road in its own territory naturally has

nothing to do with Laos — the question of reaching an agreement with the Laotian Government simply does not arise. As to the two Chinese civilian workers who ran into Laos, this was merely a case of illegal border crossing by individual residents. It was nothing serious and could be handled according to international practice. How could one draw the conclusion from these facts that China wanted to "annex" her neighbours?

The Laotian Right-wing is now raising a cloud of dust with its allegation that Chinese troops have entered Laos. Taking the two Chinese civilian workers who fled to Laos as a godsend, it intimidated and cajoled them and put words into their mouths as evidence to incriminate China. The Chinese Government has already explained to Prince Phouma through diplomatic channels the facts of the case and exposed the Laotian Right-wing's intrigue. That, regardless of this, Prince Phouma should persist in distorting the facts and attacking China cannot but make one think that he is deliberately sabotaging relations between China and Laos.

Nothing good will come to Prince Phouma if he chooses to follow in the footsteps of U.S. imperialism and the Laotian Right-wing faction, opposing the patriotic forces at home and China and the Viet Nam Democratic Republic abroad. He should know that U.S. imperialism is playing a malicious trick to make him burn all his bridges behind him, estrange him from all forces which had once supported him and drive him into a blind alley.

Whither Prince Phouma?

What has taken place in Laos in the last few years is proof that Prince Phouma can hold his political status and be the leader of the middle-of-the-road forces and Premier of the Government of National Union only when he maintains unity with the Neo Lao Haksat and seeks to co-operate with the Right-wing forces on the basis of patriotism, and follows a foreign policy of peace and neutrality. Once he abandons this position, turns to rely on the Right-wing, opposes all patriotic forces and even enlarges the civil war and invites direct U.S. intervention in the country, then he will become the prisoner of the Right-wing, and forfeit the support of the Laotian people. The middle-of-the-road forces he has led will split and the genuine middle-of-the-roaders will discard him, and consequently he will no longer be able to head the tripartite Government of National Union as leader of the middle-of-the-road forces.

At the same time, he will lose the confidence and support of the peace-loving countries, and will thus completely become a puppet of U.S. imperialism. Once U.S. imperialism succeeds in overthrowing the Government of National Union and tearing up the Geneva agreements, Prince Phouma will also have outlived his usefulness as a tool and will be thrown on to the garbage heap.

Two different roads lead to two different results. Prince Phouma would do well to think twice before making his choice.

The Voice of Justice

by "Renmin Ribao" Commentator

Following is an abridged translation of a July 5 "Renmin Ribao" commentary hailing Prince Norodom Sihanouk's recent speech at the University of Paris. Subheads are ours. — Ed.

PRINCE Norodom Sihanouk, Head of State of Cambodia, in a speech at the University of Paris on June 29, expounded his government's foreign policy and once again condemned the U.S. crime of hostility towards Cambodia. This speech has fully expressed the dauntless spirit of the Cambodian people and explained their just stand on the defence of their independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity.

Major Line of Cambodia's Foreign Policy

Prince Sihanouk pointed out that the major line of the foreign policy pursued by the Kingdom of Cambodia is: to defend its independence and territorial integrity; to maintain peace and solidarity; to preserve the country's unity and to struggle for its continuous development and progress. Thanks to this foreign policy of independence, peace and neutrality, Cambodia is playing an increasingly important role in international affairs and has earned for itself the respect and acclaim of all other peace-loving nations and peoples of the world.

However, this foreign policy has incurred the bitter hatred of U.S. imperialism which does not allow the governments and peoples of other countries to follow an independent foreign policy and does everything in its power to intervene in those countries and subvert those governments which refuse to be its satellites or serve as tools of its aggression. It tries to stifle the independence of sovereign states and foster puppet regimes in order to build up its own new type of colonial domination.

Since the signing of the Geneva agreements, the United States has not once stopped its subversive activities and intervention in Cambodia. Examples listed by Prince Sihanouk include the U.S. decision to put an

end to Cambodia's state power and neutrality; U.S. support for the subversive intrigues of the Cambodian traitors through contacts with the Saigon and Bangkok governments and their territorial claims on Cambodia; the active participation of U.S. military personnel in south Viet Nam's invasions of Cambodian territory and military provocations. These criminal activities by U.S. imperialism and its satellites have greatly incensed the Cambodian people and encountered their stiff resistance.

Because of this, Washington has let loose many vituperative attacks on Prince Sihanouk who leads his people in the struggle. In an open letter to *Time* magazine in May, Prince Sihanouk asked the United States: "What do you reproach me with exactly? Not to have abased myself before the dollar? To have succeeded, where so many others in this troubled region have failed? With providing my enslaved Asian brethren with a 'bad example' by my pride, patriotism and independence? With placing the interests of Washington after those of my country?" These stern and justified questions put to the United States by Prince Sihanouk have shown the righteous determination of the Cambodian people to uphold independence and dignity.

U.S. Hypocrisy Exposed

Prince Sihanouk also exposed the hypocritical professions made by U.S. imperialism to cover up its aggression in south Viet Nam and thus unfolded to the world the truth about the south Viet Nam question. By pursuing its policies of aggression and war in Indo-China, U.S. imperialism has brought untold sufferings to the people there and has aroused their resolute opposition. Prince Sihanouk once again stated that the only means of restoring peace in Indo-China is to call a conference of all the nations concerned. In view of the utmost gravity of the situation there, all peace-loving countries must make concerted efforts to halt U.S. imperialist aggression and intervention and uphold peace in Indo-China.

THE WEEK

(Continued from p. 4)

The statement also drew attention to the fact that the nature of imperialism would never change. The lifting of the unwarranted suspension, it pointed out, did not mean any change in that body's imperialist, reactionary stand. "Being still

under imperialist control," it stressed, "the I.O.C. will continue with its political intrigues and remain hostile to the new emerging forces and the Games of the New Emerging Forces (GANEFO)."

The Sports Federation official expressed support for the July 1 statement by Indonesian Minister of Sports Maladi who said that Indone-

sia, together with the other new emerging forces, would continue to uphold the motto "Onward, No Retreat," oppose imperialist domination and monopoly in international sports, and further promote the GANEFO as an instrument for the free development of sports based on a democratic spirit and mutual cooperation.

ROUND THE WORLD

South Viet Nam

Guerrilla War Spreads

As the tenth anniversary of the signing of the 1954 Geneva agreements on Indo-China falls on July 20, the South Viet Nam National Liberation Front has issued an appeal to the people. It calls on all patriots and the armed forces to take the offensive against the enemy in every sphere of the struggle to smash the intrigues of U.S. imperialism which is clamouring for expansion of the war.

The patriotic war waged by the people of south Viet Nam since 1954, the appeal points out, has entered a new stage with the balance of forces tipping heavily in their favour. The past ten years have been years of failures and setbacks for U.S. imperialism and its stooges but years of rapid growth and brilliant successes for the 14 million enraged people of south Viet Nam who have taken up arms to fight the aggressor from across the Pacific.

The appeal says that for all the "superior" military hardware and men and money lately poured into south Viet Nam the United States has failed to stem the tide of battle. The people's forces have gone from strength to strength. They have knocked the bottom out of the once much-vaunted "Staley-Taylor plan," demolishing two-thirds of the "strategic hamlets," or to call them by their right name, the concentration camps, first set up under that plan. The liberated areas have been enlarged and the struggle that has stirred all sections of the population to action is today spreading from the mountain areas to the Mekong delta, from the countryside to towns and the big cities. As the liberation struggle surges powerfully forward, the U.S. imperialists and their stooges, demoralized and isolated, are reaching a dead end.

In these circumstances the National Liberation Front calls on the

patriotic forces to storm the remaining "strategic hamlets" and build "fighting hamlets" of the people to carry the war into the enemy's midst. It stresses development of widespread guerrilla fighting to seize still greater victories. It says that whatever weapons, tactics and stooges the United States may employ they can be of no avail. The United States cannot resolve the situation in which it finds itself if it continues its present policy of aggression.

But there is a way — and only one way — for the United States to get out of its dilemma in south Viet Nam. This was pointed out by President Ho Chi Minh in his speech at the closing session of the Third National Assembly of the Viet Nam Democratic Republic held in Hanoi on July 3.

The United States, he said, must strictly implement the 1954 Geneva agreements on Viet Nam, withdraw all its troops and weapons and let the south Vietnamese people settle their affairs by themselves. The threats made by the U.S. imperialists had served only to enrage the Vietnamese people in the north who stood ready to crush all U.S. provocations and subversive activities. He added, "The successes won by our compatriots in the south show that the U.S. imperialists, whatever modern weapons they may have, are not to be feared. A people, united closely and struggling persistently, can completely defeat them."

Bonn Revanchism

Danger Signal in Europe

The latest West German move of staging presidential elections in West Berlin (July 1) and a whole series of other revanchist provocations warrant the attention of all concerned with European peace.

West Berlin is not part of West Germany. It never has been. And yet, as Bonn made it quite clear, the members of the Federal Assembly were taken to West Berlin to cast

their votes in order to lend credence to the claim that the city is part of West Germany. This manoeuvre is in line with the recent, increasingly loud outcries of the West German authorities about "annexing" the German Democratic Republic, "recovering" the Sudetenland, "restoring" the 1937 boundary, etc.

To make Bonn a handy cat's-paw for aggression, Washington has worked for many years to revive the West German militarist forces and backed up their aspirations. For their part, the Ruhr magnates lean heavily on the U.S. imperialists in their schemes to make a comeback. All this is well known. Recently, this collaboration has been increasing in scope — witness the U.S. plan to give West Germany atomic arms through the "multilateral nuclear force," its supply of destroyers equipped with guided missiles and its scheme to place at Bonn's disposal the know-how for the manufacture of nuclear weapons. This is because Washington feels that West German aggravation of tension in Europe serves the interest of its own global strategy for war and aggression. The dirty deal made by Chancellor Erhard during his recent visit to Washington and his subsequent public support for the U.S. colonial war in south Viet Nam show that Bonn thinks itself already full-fledged and capable of acting as a bully-boy for Washington in South-east Asia.

Bonn's revanchist ambitions menace the security of both the socialist and the West European states. It is quite unrealistic to rely, as some people do, on Washington for restraining the West German militarists. To combat the danger of Bonn revanchism and safeguard peace in Europe, the people of that continent know they must first of all — as must people everywhere — fight the U.S. imperialist plan of making West Germany a hotbed of aggression and war. The Chinese people, as was reiterated in a recent *Renmin Ribao* commentary, will continue to support the people of the G.D.R., Poland, Czechoslovakia and other countries, in their fight against West German revanchism.

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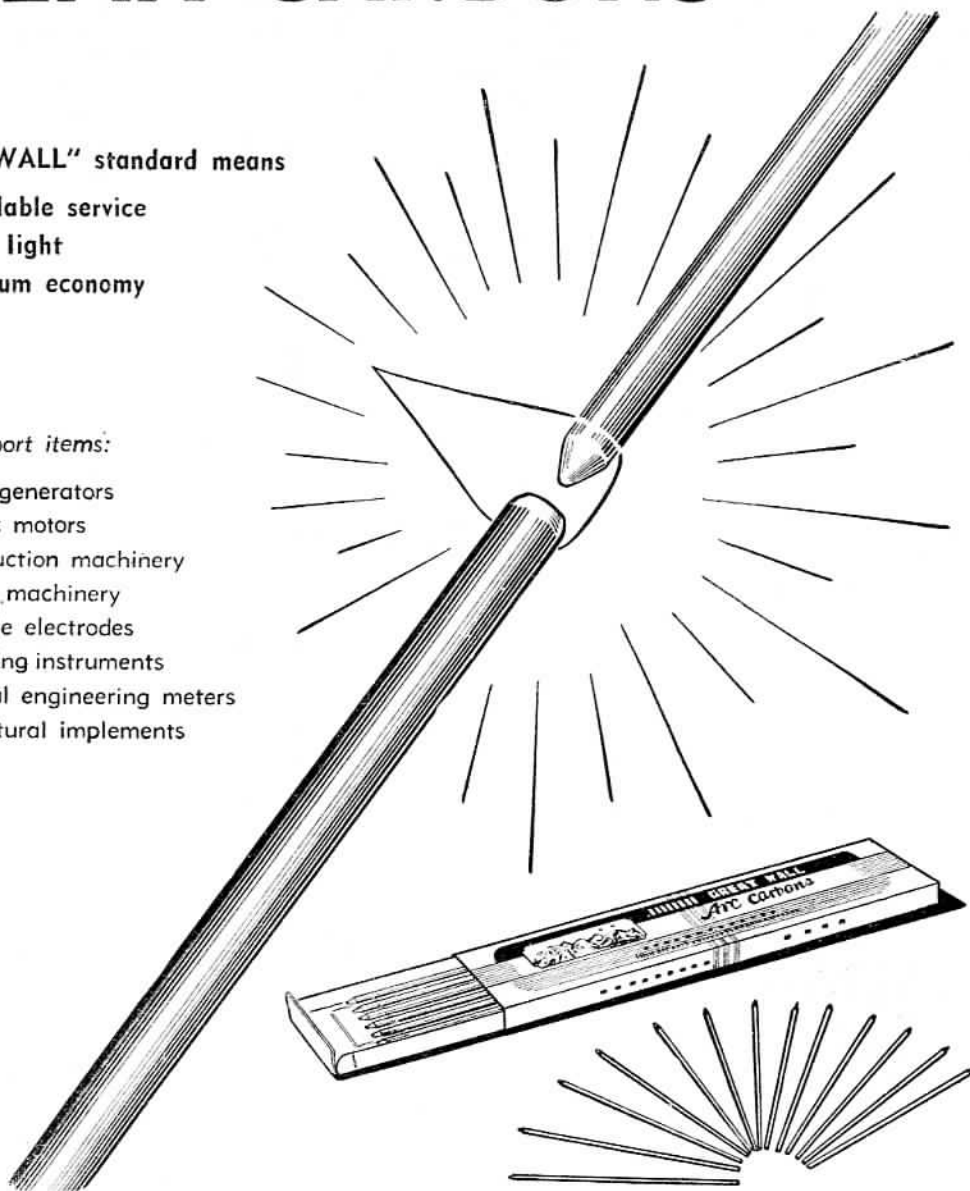
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