

PEKING REVIEW

36

September 2, 1966

Chairman Mao Writes Inscriptions For Two Journals

Nation elated by the great leader Chairman Mao's
Inscriptions for the new Peking University Journal
And "Women of China."

Great Strategic Concept

In commemoration of the 20th anniversary of the
publication of Comrade Mao Tse-tung's brilliant thesis
that imperialism and all reactionaries are paper tigers.

Red Guards Destroy the Old And Establish the New

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A WEEKLY MAGAZINE OF CHINESE NEWS AND VIEWS

PEKING REVIEW

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Chairman Mao Receives Tanzanian Goodwill Mission

Chairman Mao Tse-tung on August 25 received all the members of the Tanzanian Goodwill Mission led by Colonel Yusuf Hemedi.

Chairman Mao had a cordial and friendly talk with the Tanzanian guests.

Agreement on China's Economic And Technical Assistance To Vietnam Signed

An agreement on China's economic and technical assistance to Vietnam was signed in Peking on August 29 between the Governments of the People's Republic of China and the Democratic Republic of Vietnam.

Premier Chou En-lai and Vice-Premier Chen Yi attended the signing ceremony. Vice-Premier Li Hsien-nien and Vice-Premier Le Thanh Nghi, who headed the Vietnamese government economic delegation to China, signed the agreement on behalf of their Governments.

The Vietnamese government economic delegation arrived in Peking on August 19. Premier Chou En-lai received all the members of the delegation on August 29 and had a cordial and friendly talk with them.

On the evening of August 29, Vice-Premier Li Hsien-nien gave a farewell banquet for the Vietnamese delegation. Vice-Premier Chen Yi attended.

Vice-Premier Li Hsien-nien and Vice-Premier Le Thanh Nghi warmly hailed the successful conclusion of the talks between the two countries. Both pointed out that the agreement was another vivid expression of the militant friendship between the two peoples.

Vice-Premier Le Thanh Nghi said that the Vietnamese people were happy to have such a great, fraternal country as China as their reliable rear area. He added that the solidarity and militant friendship between Vietnam and China showed that relations between the two countries

were those between the front and rear area and between the lips and teeth. He said that the Vietnamese people were determined to fight U.S. imperialism through to the end until final victory was won.

Vice-Premier Chen Yi and Ton Quang Phiet, head of the Vietnam-China Friendship Association delegation, recited impromptu poems, warmly acclaiming the militant friendship between the people of both countries. Vice-Premier Chen Yi's poem reads: "Vietnam is the front, China is the rear area. The front protects the rear area which supports the front. Our common glory is to defeat U.S. imperialism. Glory, glory to us both. May President Ho Chi Minh and Chairman Mao Tse-tung live ten thousand years!"

Kang Sheng Fetes "l'Humanite Nouvelle" Delegation

Kang Sheng, Member of the Political Bureau and of the Secretariat of the Chinese Communist Party's Central Committee, on August 23 received a delegation of *l'Humanite nouvelle*, led by Marc Tiberat, Member of the Political Bureau and of the Secretariat of the French Communist Movement (Marxist-Leninist), and gave a banquet in their honour. The host and guests had a warm and friendly conversation.

The delegation arrived in Peking on August 6. During their stay in China, the members visited Yanan, Shanghai, Wuhan, Chengchow, Lonyang and other cities. They were warmly welcomed by workers and commune members at the factories and people's communes they visited.

Congolese (B) National Assembly Delegation In Peking

Mouyabi Andre Georges, President of the National Assembly of the Congo (Brazzaville), his wife and the National Assembly delegation he led, arrived in Peking on August 28 on a friendly visit to China at the invitation of Chu Teh, Chairman of the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress.

That evening, Chairman Chu Teh and his wife met the Congolese guests and had a cordial and friendly talk with them.

Later, Chairman Chu Teh gave a banquet in their honour. In his speech, Chairman Chu Teh praised the people of the Congo (B) for the achievements they had made under the leadership of President Alphonse Massamba-Debat in opposing imperialism, suppressing the reactionary forces and safeguarding national independence. He also praised them for their recent success in once again defeating the plot of subversion and sabotage by U.S. imperialism and its lackeys.

Chairman Chu Teh paid tribute to the Vietnamese people who, by their struggle against U.S. aggression and for national salvation, had made important contributions to the anti-imperialist struggle of the people of Asia, Africa and the rest of the world. He said that the 700 million Chinese people were determined and fully prepared, at any time and in any place, to take any action which the Chinese and Vietnamese peoples deem necessary and jointly deal blows at the U.S. aggressors till final victory.

Chairman Chu Teh stressed: As Chairman Mao Tse-tung has pointed out, "It is the task of the people of the whole world to put an end to the aggression and oppression perpetrated by imperialism, and especially by U.S. imperialism." He called on the people of Asia, Africa and the whole world to unite and carry the

struggle against imperialism and old and new colonialism headed by the United States through to the end.

Chairman Chu Teh went on to say that in China today the situation of a new all-round leap forward was emerging. He added: Under the guidance of Mao Tse-tung's great thought, a great proletarian cultural revolution unprecedented in history is taking place throughout China. This revolution is of extremely profound and far-reaching significance for the consolidation of the dictatorship of the proletariat and the socialist system in China and for speeding the development and victory of China's socialist cause.

Chairman Chu Teh warmly praised the new development of the deep friendship between the Chinese and Congolese (B) peoples. He said that the visit of the Congolese (B) parliamentary delegation would make a positive contribution to the further consolidation and development of the friendly relations between the two countries and of the militant friendship between the two peoples.

President Mouyabi Andre Georges also spoke at the banquet. He said that the delegation had come to China in the hope of strengthening the friendship and co-operation between the two countries, and that it had come especially to formally refute allegations in the Western press that relations between China and the Congo (B) had deteriorated. The President said that, in coming to China, he and his delegation wished to see the successes accomplished by the heroic Chinese people, united around their great and wise leader Chairman Mao Tse-tung, in the short span of 16 years. In this respect, he said, the Chinese people had set the most brilliant example for the Congolese people.

The President said that the people of the Congo (B) approved without reservation the position taken by the Chinese people in regard to U.S. aggression in Vietnam. He added that the Congolese people were confident that the heroic Vietnamese people would win final victory, because the cause defended by the progressive forces in Vietnam was a just one. He expressed heartfelt

thanks to the Chinese people for their consistent support to the revolution in the Congo (B).

Peking International Table Tennis Invitational Tournament

The 1966 Peking International Table Tennis Invitational Tournament opened on August 27 at the Peking Workers' Gymnasium.

Premier Chou En-lai and Vice-Premiers Ho Lung and Chen Yi, who received the leaders of the participating teams from 12 countries and regions that evening, attended the opening ceremony. When the Chinese state leaders mounted the rostrum in the gymnasium, the 15,000 spectators broke into stormy applause and loudly cheered "Long live Chairman Mao!" for several minutes.

The present tournament is taking place at a time when an excellent situation prevails in the great proletarian cultural revolution that is being personally led by Chairman Mao and when Mao Tse-tung's great thought is daily gaining a deeper hold over the people.

On the opening night, the Workers' Gymnasium had an entirely new look and a very lively atmosphere prevailed. High above the rostrum hung a huge portrait of Chairman Mao—the great teacher, great leader, great supreme commander and great helmsman of the Chinese people. Flanking the rostrum, and across from it, hung large inscriptions in Chinese and English of Chairman Mao's statements that U.S. imperialism and all reactionaries are paper tigers, that people of the world should unite and defeat the U.S. aggressors and all its accomplices, and that the Chinese people firmly support the just struggle of the south Vietnamese people.

Workers, people's commune members, revolutionary intellectuals and young Red Guards—shock troops in the cultural revolution—packed the stands. The hall was alive with the spectators' boundless love, respect and veneration for their great leader Chairman Mao and for Mao Tse-tung's invincible thought. Many people had a copy of *Extracts From*

Chairman Mao's Works. Before the opening ceremony started, Red Guards everywhere were seen leading spectators in reading parts of the *Extracts* aloud.

The entrance of the participating teams was greeted with thunderous applause. Particularly big ovations were given to the appearance of the Vietnamese players, who came from the forefront of the anti-U.S. struggle, and the Palestinian, Yemeni and Lebanese players, who were participating in the tournament for the first time. The Chinese team brought up the rear. Nurtured in Mao Tse-tung's great thought, the Chinese players marched in with spirited and vigorous steps, each carrying a red-covered copy of the *Extracts* in their hands to show their determination to always study Chairman Mao's works, follow his teachings, and act in accordance with his instructions.

Chen Hsien, Chairman of the tournament's Organizing Committee and President of the Chinese Table Tennis Federation, made the opening speech. He recalled the big success of the two previous tournaments which have played an important role in promoting table tennis throughout the world. He also expressed his conviction that, guided by the spirit of promoting friendship, mutual advancement, common progress and unity against imperialism, the present tournament will certainly once again be crowned with success and make new contributions to the advancement of world table tennis.

This year's tournament is on a bigger scale than the two preceding ones. Ninety-eight men and women players from Cambodia, Ceylon, China, Japan, the Korean Democratic People's Republic, the Lebanon, Nepal, Pakistan, Palestine, Syria, the Vietnam Democratic Republic and the Yemen are taking part.

After four days of friendly and hard-fought competition, the Chinese men's and women's teams carried off the team titles, while Japan and Korea came second and third respectively in both the men's and women's team events. Matches are now going on in the singles and doubles events.

FROM CHAIRMAN MAO'S WORKS

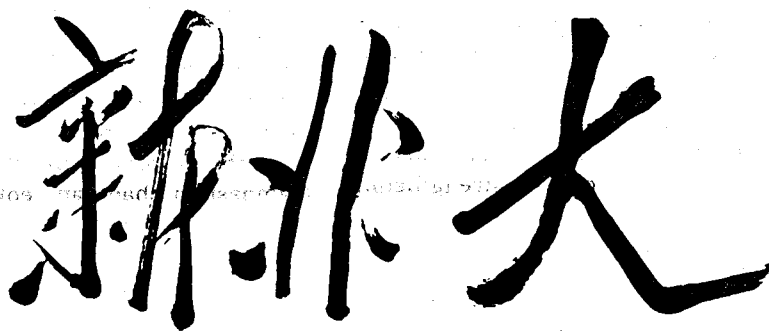
Everything reactionary is the same; if you don't hit it, it won't fall. This is also like sweeping the floor; as a rule, where the broom does not reach, the dust will not vanish of itself.

"The Situation and Our Policy After the Victory in the War of Resistance Against Japan"

Chairman Mao Writes Inscriptions for New Journal of Peking University And for "Women of China"

CHAIRMAN MAO, our great teacher, leader, supreme commander and helmsman, has recently written the three-character inscription "Xin Bei Da" (New Peking University) for the university's new journal, and he has also written the title for the magazine *Women of China*. This represents the greatest concern for and encouragement and support to our country's broad revolutionary masses by Chairman Mao, our most respected and beloved leader.

The revolutionary students, teachers and staff and other workers of the university, highly pleased, gathered for a celebration on August 22 when they received the first issue of the journal, on the front page of which the three large characters, written with powerful, flowing strokes, were printed in red ink. In a joyous mood, they held aloft portraits of Chairman Mao, waved garlands and carried huge streamers as they marched to the meeting to welcome the birth of the university's new journal. They jumped for joy when they saw that the name of the journal was in Chairman Mao's handwriting and that the first issue also contained a picture of Chairman Mao. The whole campus resounded with the beating of drums and gongs and cheers of "Long live Chairman Mao! Long live, long live Chairman Mao!" and "Long live the great proletarian cultural revolution!" mingled with the singing of *Sailing the Seas Depends on the Helmsman* and other revolutionary songs. Enthusiastic speeches were made by many revolutionary students and teachers. All of them deemed



"Xin Bei Da" (New Peking University) as written by Chairman Mao

it a glorious honour that Chairman Mao himself had written the name of their journal. They said that this showed how Chairman Mao concerned himself with and encouraged all the revolutionary students, teachers and staff and other workers of Peking University. The speakers pointed out that the old journal of Peking University *Beijing Daxue* (Peking University) was a tool of the sinister anti-Party, anti-socialist gang of Lu Ping, Peng Pei-yun and company which was employed to carry out the counter-revolutionary, revisionist line of the former Peking Municipal Party Committee and to commit monstrous crimes against the Party and the people. They declared that the great proletarian cultural revolution, which was being carried on under the personal guidance of our great leader Chairman Mao, had brought a new birth to Peking University as well as to its journal. The speakers pledged their determination to hold high the great red banner of Mao Tse-tung's thought, to carry the great proletarian cultural



"Zhong Guo Fu Nu" (Women of China) in Chairman Mao's handwriting

revolution through to the end, and to make the new journal *Xinbeida* into a disseminator and a guardian of Mao Tse-tung's thought.

The introductory article in this first issue of *Xinbeida* reads: *Xinbeida* was born in the storms of the great proletarian cultural revolution. It represents a new victory in Peking University of the great and ever-triumphant thought of Mao Tse-tung, and a new victory of the great proletarian cultural revolution in Peking University. The great and invincible thought of Mao Tse-tung is the guiding principle for all the work of the whole Party and the whole country and the guide for running *Xinbeida* well. *Xinbeida* must be run as a red stronghold for propagating and defending Mao Tse-tung's thought, for propagating and carrying out the policies of the Party, and for promoting proletarian ideology and eradicating bourgeois ideology. *Xinbeida* must hold high the great red banner of Mao Tse-tung's thought, must resolutely adhere to and give full scope to the spirit of the Communiqué of the Eleventh Plenary Session of the Party's Eighth Central Committee and its 16-point decision concerning the great proletarian cultural revolution, and it must play its proper combat role in the torrential course of the great proletarian cultural revolution.

The first issue of *Xinbeida* also carries contributions by many revolutionary students and teachers hailing Chairman Mao's inscription. One reads: "The inscription by Chairman Mao is a call and an order for mobilization. It calls on us to smash the old Peking University and create the new. We resolutely respond to Chairman Mao's great call to clear away all obstacles in our path, to march forward boldly, carry the great proletarian cultural revolution through to the end, and take the Chinese People's Anti-Japanese Military and Political College [during the anti-Japanese war. See *Peking Review* No. 32, 1966.—Tr.] as our model for the building of a new, thriving and socialist Peking University."

Another reads: "Chairman Mao, you are our wisest helmsman and the supreme commander of the people of the whole country. In the war years, you took up your pen to write four volumes of great writings that guided the Chinese people over high mountains and through deep waters to found the new China, and at every crucial stage of the socialist revolution you have used your pen to issue battle calls to the hundreds of millions of people, leading them in sweeping aside all difficulties and marching forward dauntlessly. Today you have used that great pen steeped in proletarian revolutionary heroism and have found time to write the inscription for our new journal. By doing so you have given us tremendous encouragement and infinite strength. The forceful strokes of your writing will always raise our spirits and heighten our militancy and will inspire us always to make revolution and to march forward, to bury the old world and to create the new."

The Greatest Concern for and Support to Revolutionary Women

Chairman Mao also wrote out the name for the magazine *Women of China* on August 20.

In the current great proletarian cultural revolution, the revolutionary comrades of the National Women's Federation had dragged out Tung Pien who was a member of the sinister gang opposing the Party, socialism and Mao Tse-tung's thought. They dismissed her as director and concurrent editor-in-chief of the journal, and put the magazine back into the hands of the people. All of them eagerly hoped that Chairman Mao might write an inscription for this new-born *Women of China*. Comrade Tsai Chang transferred this request to Chairman Mao on August 18. Our great leader Chairman Mao who knows the revolutionary women the best, has the most concern for them, and supports them most strongly, wrote the four big characters "*Zhong Guo Fu Nu*" two days later with the brush with which he had completed volumes of brilliant works. When the revolutionary comrades of the National Women's Federation received Chairman Mao's inscription, they kept shouting with deep feeling: "Long live Chairman Mao! Long live Chairman Mao! Long live, long live Chairman Mao!"

On the morning of August 22, Tsai Chang, Kang Ke-ching and other leading comrades of the National Women's Federation, together with the revolutionary comrades of the Federation and the staff members of the magazine, holding the framed inscription by Chairman Mao which was set against a red background, went to the reception centre of the Party's Central Committee in high spirits, accompanied by the beating of drums and gongs. On behalf of China's revolutionary women, they swore their determination to Chairman Mao. As they came along, the broad avenue in front of the reception centre was immediately enveloped in thunderous cheers. Shouts of "Long live Chairman Mao!" "Long live the Chinese Communist Party!" rang out in the sky overhead. People joyfully danced the *yangge* to the beat of drums and gongs.

Comrade Wu Chien, director and concurrent editor-in-chief of the journal, representing the revolutionary comrades of the National Women's Federation and staff members of *Women of China*, walked on to the platform of the reception centre and gave Chairman Mao their pledge: We will always study Chairman Mao's works, follow his teachings, act in accordance with his instructions and always follow him to make revolution. Holding high the great red banner of Mao Tse-tung's

thought, we will make the National Women's Federation a great school of Mao Tse-tung's thought and run *Women of China* as a red magazine disseminating Mao Tse-tung's thought, serving proletarian politics, helping the revolutionizing of the ideology of women workers and commune members, P.L.A. women, revolutionary girl students, revolutionary women cadres and revolutionary women intellectuals.

人民日報
RENMIN RIBAO

Hail "New Peking University" — Born in Struggle

OUR most respected and beloved leader Chairman Mao has written a three-character inscription "*Xin Bei Da*" (New Peking University) for that university's new school journal.

This shows his infinite concern for the revolutionary teachers and students of Peking University and is an enormous encouragement to them. It also shows his infinite concern for the nation's great army of the proletarian cultural revolution of hundreds of millions and is likewise an enormous encouragement to them.

Over two months ago, Nieh Yuan-tzu and six other comrades of the Philosophy Department of Peking University put up the first big-character poster which opened fire on the stubborn bulwark of reaction in the educational circles. This first volley made a big breach in the positions of counter-revolutionary revisionism.

With utmost revolutionary enthusiasm, Chairman Mao gave his support to this poster, praising it as the first Marxist-Leninist poster in the whole country.

A commentary in *Renmin Ribao* on June 2, "Hail a Big-Character Poster at Peking University," said that the revolutionary struggle waged by the masses of teachers and students at Peking University against the representatives of the bourgeoisie would certainly be victorious. A truly socialist, flourishing new Peking University will surely appear very soon in the people's capital.

A new Peking University is now being born in the raging fires of the great proletarian cultural revolution.

The fact that Chairman Mao has written the inscription for *Xinbeida* has aroused soaring revolutionary feeling among the revolutionary teachers and students of the university.

They take Chairman Mao's inscription as a mobilization order and a call to smash the old Peking University and create a new one.

Chairman Mao says: "The birth of a new social system is always accompanied by a great uproar and outcry, proclaiming the superiority of the new system and criticizing the backwardness of the old." He also says: "Before a brand-new social system can be built on the site of the old, the site must first be swept clean."

To destroy the old and establish the new means that the new cannot be established without the old being destroyed. Without smashing up and overthrowing the bourgeois reactionary forces in the old Peking University, a proletarian, revolutionary new Peking University cannot be born and be established.

We must make a great uproar and outcry about the birth of all new things belonging to the new socialist system. We must thoroughly clean up all the mud, filth and rubble at the site of the old system in the course of mighty struggles, mighty criticisms and mighty transformations, and, on this cleaned up site, build up every school and every unit into a militant bulwark of proletarian revolution.

The militant task of the newly founded *Xinbeida* is to make a great uproar and outcry for the destruction of the old and the establishing of the new; this is also the militant task of every revolutionary newspaper and periodical of the proletariat.

Our revolutionary newspapers and periodicals must warmly support Chairman Mao, enthusiastically support the Left, deal heavy blows at the Rightists and at all ghosts and monsters, and for ever fly a bright red banner. They must propagate and mobilize the broad masses to carry the great proletarian cultural revolution through to the end, to carry the socialist revolution through to the end.

("Renmin Ribao" editorial, August 24.)

Great Strategic Concept

— In commemoration of the 20th anniversary of the publication of
Comrade Mao Tse-tung's brilliant thesis that imperialism and
all reactionaries are paper tigers

COMRADE MAO TSE-TUNG put forward the brilliant thesis that imperialism and all reactionaries are paper tigers when he received the American correspondent Anna Louise Strong in Yen-an 20 years ago. This great strategic concept has immensely boosted the people's morale and shattered the arrogance of imperialism and all reactionaries.

In the past 20 years, this brilliant thought of Comrade Mao Tse-tung has not only illuminated the course of the Chinese revolution and ensured the great victory of the Chinese people's revolutionary war, but it has become well known to and been grasped by the masses of revolutionary people of the world as their mighty ideological weapon to defeat imperialism, headed by the United States, and its stooges.

Whether one fears imperialism and the reactionaries or not is essentially a question of whether one wants and dares to make revolution or not. Revolution is incompatible with fear. Fearlessness in the face of imperialism and reaction, daring to struggle and daring to win victory — these are the primary mental conditions for making revolution.

Strange as it may seem, it so happens in the world that it is always "the weak" which defeats "the strong" and it is always the oppressed nations and oppressed people which triumph over imperialism and the reactionaries. This is precisely the law of historical development, the law of class struggle. However, when the oppressed nations and oppressed people who have no arms begin to wage the struggle, they are invariably, and sometimes incomparably, weaker than imperialism and reaction in the relationship of forces. In such circumstances, to fight against imperialism requires enormous courage, invincible determination and such revolutionary and rebellious spirit as is characterized by the saying, "he who is not afraid of death by a thousand cuts dares to unhorse the emperor." One who fears that there might be wolves ahead and tigers behind and that a falling leaf might crush him to death is fit only to be a slave. For him, there can be no talk of revolution, much less of victory.

U.S. imperialism which is about to meet its end is the biggest reactionary force in human history.

Brandishing the atom bomb over the last 20 years, it has made frenzied counter-attacks against the people's revolutionary forces in various countries. In the face of nuclear war blackmail by U.S. imperialism, some people are apt to be misled by appearances for a time, because they fail to grasp the essential fact that the enemy is nearing extinction while the people are approaching victory. They still have a certain feeling of awe of U.S. imperialism. Actually, U.S. imperialism is nothing to be feared, nor should it be. The more you fear it, the more ferocious it becomes. If you stop fearing it, it is not terrible any more. The truth of the matter is that the more you are afraid of ghosts, the more they haunt you and once you stop fearing them, they cease to exist.

The Chinese people, who are not afraid of U.S. imperialism or the atom bomb, wiped out, with millet plus rifles, the 8 million reactionary Kuomintang troops which had the all-out support of U.S. imperialism and possessed planes plus tanks, and the Chinese people finally won nationwide victory. The Korean people together with the Chinese People's Volunteers wiped out nearly 400,000 U.S. aggressor troops in three years and a month of the war of resistance to U.S. aggression, and completely exploded the myth of U.S. invincibility. Today, U.S. imperialism has concentrated one-third of its overseas forces in Vietnam. It has used all modern weapons except the atom bomb. It has spent much more money and dropped lots more explosives on Vietnam than it did during its aggressive war in Korea. But the heroic Vietnamese people are not in the least afraid of all this. Daring to fight and daring to take on the enemy, they have pommelled and trounced U.S. imperialism, thereby eloquently proving that it is nothing more than a paper tiger.

As Comrade Mao Tse-tung said: There is nothing to fear about bigness. Isn't U.S. imperialism very big? It turned out to be nothing when we rebuffed it once. So, there are actually some big things in the world that are not to be feared.

To be or not to be afraid — the determining factor is whether one believes in the masses of the people as creators of history. Imperialism looks powerful but is actually weak because it is cut off from the people.

Comrade Mao Tse-tung has taught us that strength lies in the people and that the people are the majority. Once the people are awakened, organized and armed, and fight a shooting war against the enemy, then imperialism will no longer be so "powerful" and so arrogant. When the people stand up, the enemy will fall down.

Of course, this does not mean that one can treat the enemy lightly and carelessly. Comrade Mao Tse-tung always teaches us: Strategically, with regard to the whole, revolutionaries must despise the enemy, treat him as a paper tiger, dare to struggle against him and dare to seize victory; at the same time, tactically, with regard to each part, revolutionaries must take the enemy seriously, treat him as a real tiger, be prudent, and carefully study and perfect the art of struggle, in order to isolate and wipe him out bit by bit. Historical experience has taught us that imperialism can be defeated, but only through a prolonged, arduous and stubborn struggle. It is wrong to entertain any hope of winning victory by chance. It is wrong, too, to lose heart and become pessimistic after suffering some set-backs. It is better for the revolutionary people to anticipate more difficulties and prepare for a longer period of struggle and estimate the various possibilities more comprehensively. This approach will enable the revolutionaries to handle adequately any complicated situation and cope with the maximum resistance and

struggle by the enemy. It is the correct policy which leads to victory in revolution.

To despise the enemy strategically and to take full account of him tactically is a unity of opposites. But the primary, fundamental thing that plays the determining role in the whole situation is daring to struggle and to seize victory. Such revolutionary spirit alone leads to revolutionary action and thence to victory in revolution.

Ours is an era in which imperialism is heading for total collapse and socialism is advancing to worldwide victory. In such an era, who is more afraid of whom? Who is more powerful? Countless facts have shown us that it is precisely imperialism, the reactionaries of all countries and modern revisionism that are terribly weak and it is precisely they who are afraid of us and definitely not the other way round. The task of the Marxist-Leninists and all revolutionaries is to arm the minds of millions upon millions of people with this great strategic concept that imperialism and all reactionaries are paper tigers and reinforce the revolutionary confidence and determination of the people to enable them to launch revolutionary attacks on a still bigger scale against U.S. imperialism and its lackeys. People of the whole world, unite, defy difficulties, advance wave upon wave, dare to fight and dare to win victory. Then the whole world will belong to the people.

(*"Renmin Ribao" editorial, August 25.*)

Study the "Talk With the American Correspondent Anna Louise Strong"

The following is a slightly abridged reference material published by "Jiefangjun Bao" (Liberation Army Daily) on August 23 as a guide to help cadres and fighters study the Talk. — Ed.

Historical Background

PUBLISHED in August 1946, the "Talk With the American Correspondent Anna Louise Strong" was an extremely important statement on the international and domestic situation made by Chairman Mao soon after the conclusion of World War II, at a time when the revolutionary and counter-revolutionary forces in China had begun to engage in a decisive battle. It is a brilliant document of great historic significance.

Great changes in the international and domestic situation took place after the end of World War II.

Internationally: the victory of the anti-fascist war provided a greater possibility and paved a still more realistic road for the liberation cause of the proletariat

and oppressed nations of the whole world; the people's democratic and national democratic movements in various countries entered a new phase of development and new revolutionary storms arose in Asia, Africa and Latin America. After the war, U.S. imperialism replaced the German, Italian and Japanese fascists and attempted to establish an unprecedented huge empire. The U.S. strategic objective was first to seize the vast intermediate zone between the United States and the socialist countries, to stamp out the revolutions of the oppressed people and oppressed nations, and then to wipe out the socialist countries and place all the peoples and countries of the whole world, including its own allied countries, under the slavery and control of U.S. monopoly capital. Using its monopoly of the atom bomb, U.S. imperialism carried out war blackmail everywhere, built military bases everywhere, and did its utmost to push its policies of aggression and war, plunder the wealth of the peoples of various countries and step up preparations for a new war. To maintain their tottering rule, the reactionaries in all countries also vigorously worked hand in hand with U.S. imperialism, frightening the

people with the "formidable strength" of U.S. imperialism in a vain attempt to extinguish the revolutionary flames of the people of all countries by relying on the strength of U.S. imperialism.

At home: after eight years of the War of Resistance Against Japan, the people's revolutionary forces led by the Chinese Communist Party had grown immensely; our Party enjoyed the highest prestige among the whole population and had absolute political superiority. After the victory of the War of Resistance Against Japan, U.S. imperialism replaced Japanese imperialism and adopted a policy of making China an American colony. The Kuomintang reactionaries, represented by Chiang Kai-shek, started an overall attack on the Liberated Areas in July 1946 with the all-out support of his U.S. masters. The Chiang Kai-shek gang believed that they had already completed their preparations for the attack in view of the fact that they had more than 4 million reactionary troops and a vast region embracing more than 300 million people, they were in control of all the big cities and most of the railway lines in the country, they had taken over all the equipment of the one million Japanese troops who had invaded China, and especially since they had received large amounts of arms and equipment and economic aid from U.S. imperialism. They also believed that the Chinese People's Liberation Army had become battle weary in the eight years of the War of Resistance Against Japan, and moreover, that it was far inferior to the Kuomintang troops in number and equipment, that the Liberated Areas had only a population of over 100 million and in most places the reactionary and feudal forces had not yet been cleared out and land reform had not been carried out generally and thoroughly, and that the rear of the People's Liberation Army was not yet consolidated. Therefore, they believed that only three to six months were needed to defeat the People's Liberation Army. Proceeding from this wrong estimation, the Chiang Kai-shek gang, disregarding the Chinese people's aspirations for peace, started an unprecedentedly large-scale counter-revolutionary civil war.

Under these international and domestic circumstances, there were people, at home and abroad, who appraised the situation pessimistically. They over-estimated the strength of imperialism and the reactionaries and under-estimated that of the people, they were deluded by the phenomenon of the enemy being outwardly strong and inwardly weak, they failed to grasp the essential fact that the enemy was nearing extinction while the people themselves were approaching victory, they were afraid of U.S. imperialism and the outbreak of a new world war. They dared not wage tit-for-tat struggles against U.S. imperialism and its lackeys and firmly oppose the counter-revolutionary war with a revolutionary war. Thus, how to estimate the forces of revolution and counter-revolution, whether one dares to struggle in the face of the seemingly formidable enemy and make rev-

olution and win victory, had become the most important question affecting the Chinese and world revolutions and the destiny of both the Chinese people and the people of the whole world. It was at this crucial moment that Chairman Mao made public this illustrious article in which he put forth his brilliant thesis that imperialism and all reactionaries are paper tigers.

Great Significance

CHAIRMAN MAO'S "Talk With the American Correspondent Anna Louise Strong" is a great Marxist-Leninist work of genius. In it, by applying thoroughgoing dialectical materialism and historical materialism, Chairman Mao penetratingly analysed the domestic and international situation that prevailed at the time, profoundly exposed the rottenness of imperialism and all reactionaries, scientifically summed up the historical experience of the revolutionary struggles of our people and other peoples, and creatively developed Marxism-Leninism, thus adding a new powerful weapon to the armoury of Marxist-Leninist theory. This brilliant work is not only the invaluable assets of the Chinese people but also the common invaluable assets of the people of the world. It is of extremely important, profound and far-reaching strategic significance in guiding the Chinese revolution and the world revolution.

Chairman Mao's brilliant thesis that imperialism and all reactionaries are paper tigers is an incontrovertible objective truth, the fundamental strategic idea of the revolutionary people, and the powerful ideological weapon of the Chinese people and the people of the whole world for opposing imperialism, modern revisionism and all reactionaries. This glowing idea greatly raises the people's morale, smashes the enemy's arrogance, and greatly strengthens the determination and confidence of the broad revolutionary masses to defeat any formidable enemy.

In the last 20 years, this brilliant idea of Chairman Mao's has not only illuminated the progress of the Chinese revolution, given incomparable inspiration and strength to the Chinese people, and guaranteed the great victory of the Chinese people's revolutionary war, but it has also been well-understood and grasped by the broad revolutionary people of the world, and it has inspired all the oppressed nations and people in their struggle against imperialism and its lackeys and greatly promoted the development of the revolutionary cause of the people of the world. As this brilliant idea of Chairman Mao's is spreading to the whole world on an increasingly wide scale, and as it is grasped and applied by more and more revolutionary people, it will inevitably bring about new and tremendous changes in the spiritual outlook of the world's people and will be turned into a huge material force. This force will surely, with the momentum of an avalanche and the power of a thunderbolt, smash the old world to pieces and com-

pletely bury imperialism, modern revisionism and the reactionaries of all countries.

The revolutionary people of the whole world and the revolutionary people in Asia, Africa and Latin America who are taking the road of armed struggle regard Chairman Mao's theory that imperialism and all reactionaries are paper tigers as the beacon on their road to win liberation; they enthusiastically praise it, energetically study it and use it to guide their own revolutionary struggles. But imperialism headed by the United States, modern revisionism, with the leadership of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union as its centre, and the reactionaries of all countries, fear and hate this theory tremendously, and are doing their utmost to oppose it and attack it wildly. This proves more fully that this theory of Chairman Mao's has a strong revolutionary might and is a shining scientific truth.

At present, the revolutionary people of the whole world are engaging in a fierce and large-scale struggle against U.S. imperialism and its lackeys. U.S. imperialism, co-ordinating with its No. 1 accomplice, the Soviet revisionist leading clique, is frantically expanding its war of aggression against Vietnam and more and more obviously is directing the spearhead of its aggression against China. In our country, a great proletarian cultural revolution is vigorously unfolding, and our people, under the direction of our great commander Chairman Mao, are mounting a general offensive against the ideologies of the bourgeoisie and all other exploiting classes. In these circumstances, it all the more is of great practical significance that we should further arm our minds with Chairman Mao's brilliant idea that imperialism and all reactionaries are paper tigers, resolutely foster a thoroughgoing revolutionary spirit of absolute fearlessness, wage tit-for-tat struggles against U.S. imperialism, modern revisionism and all the ghosts and monsters at home and abroad, and firmly carry the revolution in our country and the world revolution through to the end.

These Points Must Be Taken to Heart

I. Imperialism and All Reactionaries Are Paper Tigers.

Chairman Mao says: "All reactionaries are paper tigers. In appearance, the reactionaries are terrifying, but in reality they are not so powerful. From a long-term point of view, it is not the reactionaries but the people who are really powerful."

This brilliant thesis of Chairman Mao's is based on boundless faith in the strength of the masses of the people. As Chairman Mao puts it, "The people, and the people alone, are the motive force of world history." The people are always in the majority, the people always have the upper hand, the people always will want to make revolution. The forces of the new invariably triumph over the forces of the old and decadent, and the strength of the people's revolution

invariably triumphs over the strength of counter-revolution. Imperialism and all reactionaries are rotten and reactionary, divorced from the people and hostile to the people. They are bound to be opposed and overthrown by the people. This is a universal truth of Marxism-Leninism, a universal truth of class struggle.

The victorious advance of the people's revolutionary movement is the main current of the times; it cannot be stopped by any force. The march of events in China and throughout the world over the last 20 years has fully borne out Chairman Mao's brilliant thesis that imperialism and all reactionaries are paper tigers. The great victory of the Chinese people's revolution, the great victory of the Chinese and Korean people in the war against U.S. aggression, the great victories won by the Vietnamese people in their war against U.S. aggression and for national salvation, and the great victories won by the people of various countries in their revolutionary struggles eloquently attest to the fact that the people's strength is invincible, while U.S. imperialism and all reactionaries hardly matter at all and can be defeated, one and all.

Chairman Mao teaches us: **Just as there is not a single thing in the world without a dual nature, so imperialism and all reactionaries have a dual nature — they are real tigers and paper tigers at the same time. On the one hand, they are real tigers; they eat people, eat people by the millions and tens of millions. But they will change into paper tigers, dead tigers, beancurd tigers in the increasingly fierce struggles waged by the revolutionary people. Hence, imperialism and all reactionaries, looked at in essence, from a long-term point of view, and from a strategic point of view, must be seen for what they are — paper tigers. We should build our strategic thinking on this. On the other hand, they are also living tigers, iron tigers, real tigers which can eat people. We should build our tactical thinking on this.**

Here Chairman Mao tells us that in our struggles with the enemy we must strategically despise all enemies and must tactically take all enemies seriously. In other words, we must despise the enemy with regard to the whole and must take the enemy seriously with regard to each and every specific question. To despise the enemy strategically, we must possess firm determination and confidence in defeating the enemy completely, great courage to overcome all difficulties and carry the struggle through to the end, and a thoroughly revolutionary spirit of daring to fight and win. To take the enemy seriously tactically, we must, with regard to each part and to each and every specific question, be prudent, carefully study and perfect the art of struggle, adopt suitable forms of struggle and concentrate all our forces for the battle so that step by step we can defeat the enemy.

Whether one dares or dares not wage a tit-for-tat struggle against imperialism and its running dogs, which

are only outwardly strong, is the touchstone for determining true or sham revolutionaries, Marxist-Leninists or revisionists. The modern revisionists with the leadership of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union as their centre, who tremble before the imperialists, rancorously hate Chairman Mao's brilliant thesis that imperialism and all reactionaries are paper tigers and rabidly malign it. They spread fear of imperialism among the masses of the people, pursue an outright capitulationist policy, oppose and sabotage the revolutionary struggles of the people. They have completely degenerated, becoming the chief accomplices of U.S. imperialism and shameless traitors to the proletariat.

Imperialism, modern revisionism and the reactionaries of all lands are all paper tigers. In our country, the handful of anti-Party, anti-socialist representatives of the bourgeoisie who oppose Mao Tse-tung's thought are also paper tigers. No matter how cleverly they may try to masquerade themselves, what intrigues they may carry on and how they may obstruct and suppress the revolutionary movement of the masses, all their bastions of counter-revolution, battered and pounded by the stormy and stirring revolutionary waves of the revolutionary masses, will crumble and they will be surrounded ring upon ring by the broad masses of the people.

Armed with the great and invincible thought of Mao Tse-tung, the Chinese people are the most revolutionary, the most courageous, the most fearless. We will thoroughly topple and smash all counter-revolutionary revisionists, bourgeois Rightists and reactionary pundits of the bourgeoisie. We will thoroughly discredit them and never allow them to rise again. Standing unswervingly with the people the world over, we will destroy U.S. imperialism and all reactionary forces resolutely, thoroughly, completely and totally.

II. The Outcome of a War Is Decided by the People, Not by One or Two New Types of Weapon.

Chairman Mao says: "The atom bomb is a paper tiger which the U.S. reactionaries use to scare people. It looks terrible, but in fact it isn't. Of course, the atom bomb is a weapon of mass slaughter, but the outcome of a war is decided by the people, not by one or two new types of weapon." This brilliant, scientific thesis put forward by Chairman Mao thoroughly exploded the U.S. imperialist myth about the atom bomb and armed the revolutionary peoples of the whole world.

U.S. imperialism brandishes the atom bomb to frighten people everywhere. In actual fact, the atom bomb and hydrogen bomb in the hands of imperialism can in no way frighten all those who refuse to submit to be slaves. Chairman Mao pointed out long ago: "Without the struggles waged by the people, atom bombs by themselves would be of no avail." Although the atom bomb has very great destructive power, it

absolutely cannot change the laws of war, prevent the revolutionary struggle of the peoples of various countries, decide the outcome of a war, still less result in what is said to be the destruction of mankind. It is man who manufactures the weapons, it is man too who uses them. In the development of history, it can only be the destruction of nuclear weapons by mankind not vice versa. Imperialists and modern revisionists rely on nuclear weapons to carry out nuclear blackmail; this is no manifestation of their strength, but can only be a manifestation of their vulnerability. Any class, any political force, as long as it opposes the masses and goes counter to the historical current, no matter how formidable the new types of weapon they possess, are mere paper tigers which are outwardly strong and inwardly weak. Its nuclear weapon monopoly having been broken long ago, U.S. imperialism now is placing its own country under the threat of nuclear weapons when it tries to threaten other countries with nuclear arms. If U.S. imperialism brazenly employs nuclear weapons, it will inevitably fall into still greater isolation and hasten its own doom.

Chairman Mao teaches us: "**Weapons are an important factor in war, but not the decisive factor; it is people, not things, that are decisive.**" Nuclear weapons are after all only one kind of weapon which cannot replace conventional weapons, still less replace ground forces in decisive engagements. The final victory in war cannot be determined by launching nuclear rockets several thousand kilometres away, but, in the last analysis, by close-quarter fighting on the battlefield within an area of 200 metres and by complete annihilation of the enemy effectives after sustained fighting of ground forces using conventional weapons. As fire power develops with the use of nuclear arms, there is all the more need to rely on close combat and night-operations to win battles, and there is also all the more need to rely on man's courage and spirit of sacrifice and to bring the human factor into play.

To bring the human factor into play means to bring proletarian politics to the fore and bring into play the factor of political ideology. Comrade Lin Piao pointed out: "**To our troops, the best weapon is neither aeroplanes nor artillery, neither tanks nor atom bombs, but Mao Tse-tung's thought. The greatest combat power is man armed with the thought of Mao Tse-tung, bravery and not being afraid of death.**" The moral atom bomb of the revolutionary people is much more powerful than the material atom bomb and much more useful. It is on Mao Tse-tung's thought which our armed forces relies in defeating all enemies at home and abroad. Mao Tse-tung's thought, which is invincible and all-conquering, is eternally the source of strength of the people of our country and all revolutionary peoples.

China's mastery of the atom bomb is a major victory in augmenting the power of our national defence, an important contribution of the Chinese people to the defence of the cause of world peace. When we

had no atom bomb, we were not afraid of it; when we have the atom bomb, we will never depend on it. We depend on people's war in defeating the enemy. This was so in the past and is so when we are in possession of atom bombs, and remains so for all time, even when we are in possession of weapons which are greater in number and more formidable.

Chairman Mao's thought on people's war is the most effective weapon for defeating U.S. imperialism and its flunkys. Revolutionary people the world over who have learnt and mastered Chairman Mao's thought on people's war, using the arena of people's war, fully displaying their revolutionary spirit and making use of all their advantages and superiority, will inevitably stage a still more militant and imposing drama, in which this mad bull which is U.S. imperialism and which is running amuck everywhere, will be burnt to ashes in the roaring flames of people's war.

III. People of the World, Unite and Defeat U.S. Imperialism and All Its Running Dogs, Carry The World Revolution Through to the End.

Chairman Mao in this work made an incisive analysis of the aggressive nature of U.S. imperialism and pointed out that U.S. imperialism wanted to seize the intermediate zone before destroying the socialist countries and realizing its lunatic ambition of world domination. Developments in the international situation over the past 20 years have fully proved this brilliant thesis of Chairman Mao's to be incomparably correct. In riding roughshod everywhere, U.S. imperialism has made itself the enemy of the people of the whole world. It is the most ferocious enemy of the people of the world.

In order to unite all forces that can be united and to isolate U.S. imperialism to the maximum and deal it blows, Chairman Mao issued the great call to form the broadest international united front to oppose U.S. imperialism and its lackeys.

In this work, Chairman Mao said: **"The American people and the peoples of all countries menaced by U.S. aggression should unite and struggle against the attacks of the U.S. reactionaries and their running dogs in these countries."**

In 1964, Chairman Mao in the "Statement Expressing the Chinese People's Firm Support for the Panamanian People's Just Patriotic Struggle" said: **"The people of the countries in the socialist camp should unite, the people of the countries in Asia, Africa and Latin America should unite, the people of all the continents should unite, all peace-loving countries should unite, and all countries subjected to U.S. aggression, control, intervention or bullying should unite, and so form the broadest united front to oppose the U.S. imperialist policies of aggression and war and to defend world peace."**

In his "Statement in Support of the Congolese (Leopoldville) People Against U.S. Imperialism" in the same year, Chairman Mao said: **"People of the whole world, unite and defeat the U.S. aggressors and all their running dogs! People all over the world, be courageous, dare to fight, defy difficulties and advance wave upon wave. Then the whole world will belong to the people. Monsters of all kinds shall be destroyed."**

Chairman Mao's great call immensely encouraged the common revolutionary will of the people all over the world to unite and oppose imperialism. Today the struggle of the people of the world against U.S. imperialism is surging forward, the revolutionary struggle of the people in Asia, Africa and Latin America especially is developing by leaps and bounds to become the most important force directly dealing blows at U.S. imperialism at present. Despite the inevitable zigzags and reversals in the development of the international situation, the general trend of imperialism heading for total collapse and socialism advancing to worldwide victory is unalterable.

The international united front of the people of the whole world to oppose U.S. imperialism must definitely not include the running dogs, accomplices and collaborators of U.S. imperialism. The Soviet revisionist leading clique—which is in the active service of U.S. imperialism—is pursuing a policy of Soviet-U.S. collaboration for world domination, conducting splittist, disruptive and subversive activities within the international communist movement and the national-liberation movement, and carrying out a counter-revolutionary two-faced policy of sham support but real betrayal on the question of Vietnam's resistance to U.S. aggression. They cannot of course be included in this united front. To oppose imperialism one must oppose modern revisionism.

While the present international and domestic situation is excellent, every cadre and fighter in our People's Liberation Army must raise even higher the great red banner of Mao Tse-tung's thought, creatively study and apply Chairman Mao's works better, arm us ideologically with Chairman Mao's great thinking that imperialism and all reactionaries are paper tigers and his great thinking on despising the enemy strategically and seriously taking account of him tactically, fully develop our army's heroic revolutionary spirit of advancing bravely, daring to fight, daring to struggle, daring to battle and daring to crush all enemies, take part actively in the great proletarian cultural revolution, and make full and concrete preparations in case of war. We must carry the great proletarian cultural revolution through to the end. We must firmly unite with the people of the whole world, resolutely carry the struggle to oppose U.S.-led imperialism through to the end, carry the struggle against modern revisionism—which has the leadership of the Soviet Communist Party as its centre—through to the end, and struggle for complete victory in the world proletarian revolution.

Three Years of Great Victories of People's War in South Vietnam

THREE years have elapsed since Chairman Mao Tse-tung issued on August 29, 1963 the "Statement Opposing Aggression Against Southern Vietnam and Slaughter of Its People by the U.S.-Ngo Dinh Diem Clique."

These have been three years in which the people of south Vietnam, led by the National Front for Liberation, uniting closely and persevering in struggle, have won tremendous military and political victories while U.S. imperialism in south Vietnam has suffered serious defeats and is heading for complete fiasco. The development of the situation vividly proves that the brilliant thesis put forth by Chairman Mao in the statement is entirely correct.

Referring to the undermining of the Geneva agreements by U.S. imperialism and its open armed aggression against south Vietnam, Chairman Mao said in the statement: **"Apart from those who are deliberately deceiving the people and those who are utterly naive, no one will assert that a treaty can make U.S. imperialism lay down its butcher's knife and suddenly become a Buddha, or for that matter behave itself even a little better."** Events have proved this. U.S. imperialism was a participant in the Geneva conference where it publicly declared that it would not disrupt the agreements by force. But soon after the agreements were signed, U.S. imperialism introduced large numbers of military personnel, weapons and military supplies into south Vietnam, set up military bases everywhere there and slaughtered the south Vietnamese people ruthlessly. In 1961, it flagrantly launched an undeclared "special war." After this was completely smashed by the south Vietnamese people, it began in 1965 to send massive numbers of reinforcements to south Vietnam and madly launched a large-scale "local war." Recently, it has recklessly bombed Hanoi, the capital of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam, escalating its war of aggression to an extremely serious stage. U.S. imperialism has thus completely broken the boundaries of the war and thoroughly buried the Geneva agreements.

However, the wider U.S. imperialism expands the war, the heavier are the defeats it will suffer. In these circumstances, it is stepping up its war escalation while vigorously resorting to "peace talks" schemes and is crying out for the reconvening of the Geneva conference. From their own experience, the south Vietnamese people have come to understand fully that U.S. imperialism is the most ferocious international gendarme and that its aggressive nature will never change. Therefore, the south Vietnamese people have on many occasions

solemnly declared that their reply to the "peace talks" schemes of U.S. imperialism is to fight and hit the enemy severely, until there is not a single U.S. aggressor on Vietnamese soil.

To realize its renegade line of "U.S.-Soviet collaboration for the domination of the world," the Soviet revisionist clique tries its utmost to prettify the U.S. ruling circles and shamelessly describes the murderer Johnson as "sensible" and so on. This is sheer nonsense, designed to deceive people. Chairman Mao has pointed out in the statement: **"The oppressed peoples and nations must not pin their hopes for liberation on the 'sensibleness' of imperialism and its lackeys. They will only triumph by strengthening their unity and persevering in their struggle."** This is what the heroic south Vietnamese people are doing. Closely rallying round the National Front for Liberation and united as one, they have developed the spirit of revolutionary heroism, smashed one U.S. imperialist attack after another and won brilliant victories with the magic weapon — people's war. According to published figures, in the 12 months between July last year when U.S. imperialism sent massive reinforcements to south Vietnam and June of this year, the army and people of south Vietnam have wiped out more than 63,000 U.S. and accomplice troops. The liberated areas in south Vietnam have been constantly expanding. At present they account for four-fifths of the area of south Vietnam, with a population of over 10 million. The spectacular victory of the south Vietnamese people proves that the above-mentioned thesis of Chairman Mao is of great and commanding significance. Only by casting away illusions about imperialism and its lackeys, strengthening unity and persevering in struggle will the revolutionary people triumph.

U.S. imperialism has used all kinds of tricks and vicious schemes to save itself from defeat in south Vietnam, even to the extent of killing or replacing the lackeys it had nurtured. Just as Chairman Mao pointed out in his statement: **"A flunkey who allows himself to be led by the nose by U.S. imperialism will only end up in the same grave as his master."** In the past three years, the Saigon lackeys have, one after another, met their end as sacrifices to the defeats which the U.S. imperialist policy of aggression has suffered. From the end of 1963 to the first half of 1965, 13 coups took place and there were nine changes of puppet regimes. At present, Nguyen Cao Ky's puppet regime is in grave crisis and finds it difficult to maintain its rule even with its fascist military dictatorship. Therefore, U.S. imperialism is putting on a farce of a "constituent assembly"

election with a view to draping a cloak of "popular election" and "legality" over its tool of aggression. Events will show that, however hard U.S. imperialism may try, it will not be able to maintain a stable puppet regime in south Vietnam.

The situation in south Vietnam at present is excellent: U.S. imperialism is sinking deeper and deeper into the quagmire of its aggressive war while the south Vietnamese people have been scoring victory after victory. At the same time, the struggle in support of

the Vietnamese people's cause of resisting U.S. aggression and for national salvation is being unfolded broadly by the working class, revolutionary people and progressives throughout the world. U.S. imperialism is now like a wounded beast completely encircled by the people of the world. Chairman Mao expressed the conviction in his statement three years ago that "through this struggle they [the south Vietnamese people] will attain the goal of liberating the southern part of Vietnam and contribute to the peaceful reunification of their fatherland." This great prediction will also be realized.

人民日报
RENMIN RIBAO

Salute to Our Red Guards!

ANY great revolutionary movement must of necessity be a mass revolutionary movement. No great revolution is possible unless the masses rise up and dare to speak, dare to act and dare to break through. This certainly applies also to the great proletarian cultural revolution.

The great cultural revolution is precisely to utterly destroy the old ideas, old culture, old customs and old habits of the bourgeoisie and all other exploiting classes and vigorously foster the new ideas, new culture, new customs and new habits of the proletariat and socialism. Unless the broad masses of the people are drawn into this movement, it will be impossible to destroy, or to foster, on a big scale.

History in general shows that cultural revolution always heralds political and economic revolution. It would be impossible for the development of China's great proletarian cultural revolution not to touch politics and economics; in fact it has already touched on them.

The great cultural revolution cannot be an affair of just a small number of people. It cannot concern itself simply with criticizing a few bourgeois academic "authorities" and a few representatives of the bourgeoisie. The law of the great cultural revolution has broken right through these limitations.

The great proletarian cultural revolution has become a revolutionary movement of the broad masses. This is a new and important indication that it has begun to win victories.

In this mass movement of the cultural revolution the Red Guards have taken on the role of a shock force that makes bold frontal attacks. We raise a cheer for the heroic Red Guards! We salute our Red Guards!

It is not long since the Red Guards took the field, yet they have indeed shaken the whole of society and the old world. The sharp blade of their struggle is

mowing down all resistance. The old customs and habits of all the exploiting classes are being swept out by the Red Guards like rubbish. None of the old parasites hidden in dark corners can escape the sharp eyes of the Red Guards.

The Red Guards are pulling out these bloodsuckers, these enemies of the people one by one. Their concealed gold, silver, valuables and other treasures are being taken out and put on exhibition, and their secret accounts, hidden to await the hoped-for restoration, and their various kinds of murderous weapons are being put on public show by the Red Guards. All these are meritorious deeds performed by our Red Guards.

The actions of the Red Guards are indeed fine!

As early as the eve of the nationwide victory, Chairman Mao pointed out: "The Chinese people will see that, once China's destiny is in the hands of the people, China, like the sun rising in the east, will illuminate every corner of the land with a brilliant flame, swiftly clean up the mire left by the reactionary government, heal the wounds of war and build a new, powerful and prosperous people's republic worthy of the name." The great proletarian cultural revolution we are now undertaking is yet another proof of the great foresight shown by Chairman Mao.

With Mao Tse-tung's thought as its great banner and the Red Guards as its shock force, the current great proletarian cultural revolution will not only fundamentally change the mental outlook of our whole society, but also greatly improve and consolidate our proletarian dictatorship and eliminate the host of remnant traces from the old society and the force of old habits which now still exist and which are incompatible with the proletarian dictatorship. It will inevitably bring about a big change in our socialist system, sweep the society clean of the remaining arrogance of the bourgeoisie and further eradicate the capitalist system of exploitation.

Of course, the Red Guards must constantly study in the course of the struggle. They must learn to conduct the struggle by reasoning and to think things through.

The most fundamental question is that, in the course of struggle, we must study still better the thought of Mao Tse-tung, master it and apply it, so as to temper ourselves as dauntless proletarian revolutionaries who

are well-versed in the art of revolution, and to become good pupils and fighters of Chairman Mao.

Long live the heroic Red Guards!

Long live Chairman Mao, our great teacher, leader, supreme commander and helmsman!

(*"Renmin Ribao" editorial, August 29.*)

Revolutionary Youth Should Learn From The People's Liberation Army

LEARN from the People's Liberation Army — this is the great call given by Chairman Mao Tse-tung to the people throughout the country.

Our revolutionary young people, nurtured by the Party and Chairman Mao, have always warmly loved the People's Liberation Army and learnt from it. They make up their minds at an early age to become honourable fighters of the P.L.A.

In the current great proletarian cultural revolution, our revolutionary young people in colleges and middle schools, taking the P.L.A. as their example, have established Red Guards and other revolutionary organizations. We warmly support their revolutionary actions.

The broad masses of revolutionary young people are determined, in the course of this struggle, to learn still better from the P.L.A., and temper themselves into staunch proletarian revolutionary fighters.

Like the P.L.A., revolutionary young people should always be loyal to the Party, to Chairman Mao, to Mao Tse-tung's thought and to the people's revolutionary cause. Everyone should "study Chairman Mao's works, follow his teachings, act in accordance with his instructions and be a good soldier of Chairman Mao." Everyone should creatively study and apply Chairman Mao's works, and make great efforts to apply what is studied. At the present time, special attention should be paid to serious study of Chairman Mao's theses on classes and class struggle and on the great proletarian cultural revolution, and to serious study of the 16-point decision [the decision concerning the great proletarian cultural revolution adopted by the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party on August 8, 1966. — *Tr.*] drawn up under the personal direction of Chairman Mao Tse-tung. It is imperative to take Chairman Mao's directives as the guide for all our actions and firmly implement them. We will resolutely carry out everything that conforms to Chairman Mao's directives and resolutely oppose everything that runs counter to them.

Revolutionary young people should learn from the heroes and models of the P.L.A. In the storms of revolutionary war and class struggle, many heroes and

models have come to the fore in the P.L.A., men such as Tung Tsun-jui, Huang Chi-kuang, Lei Feng, Ouyang Hai, Wang Chieh, Mai Hsien-teh and Liu Ying-chun. Using Mao Tse-tung's thought as their weapon in revolutionary practice, they all ceaselessly raised their level of proletarian consciousness, remoulded their thinking and established a proletarian world outlook of complete dedication to the people and the revolution. Like these heroes and models, we should follow Chairman Mao and, to make ourselves more mature, temper ourselves in big storms and waves. Wang Chieh said: "I will do as Chairman Mao says." Liu Ying-chun said: "I am determined to act in accordance with what Chairman Mao says, and train myself into a staunch proletarian revolutionary fighter." This should be the common goal towards which all our young people should strive.

Revolutionary young people should be like the P.L.A. and serve the people wholeheartedly, keep in close contact with the masses, humbly learn from them, carry out the mass line of "from the masses and to the masses" in their work, and always be loyal servants of the people. The Red Guards and all other revolutionary organizations of the young people should take the P.L.A. as their example, resolutely carry out the "Three Main Rules of Discipline and Eight Points for Attention" laid down by Chairman Mao, adhere to mass discipline, defend the people's interests and defend state property.

Revolutionary young people should be like the P.L.A. in daring to struggle and make revolution and being good at waging struggles and making revolution. They should pay attention to the method of struggle and resolutely carry out the policies worked out by Chairman Mao and the Central Committee of the Party. In the struggle, resolutely rely on the revolutionary Left, unite with the great majority and concentrate all forces to strike at the small handful of ultra-reactionary bourgeois Rightists.

The 16-point decision points out that the struggle should be conducted by reasoning, not by coercion or force. This is applicable not only to the handling of contradictions among the people, but also to the struggle

against those in authority who are taking the capitalist road. Truth is with the proletariat and state power is in the hands of the proletariat. By using the method of reasoning we can pull down those in authority who are taking the capitalist road. "By reasoning" means to expose fully and to criticize sharply and deeply. Only by reasoning can the ugly counter-revolutionary features of those ghosts and monsters be thoroughly exposed, only so can the roots of revisionism be thoroughly removed and can they be hit hard, pulled down and completely discredited. Only by reasoning can we, through these teachers by negative example, educate ourselves, educate the masses and thoroughly eliminate the poison they spread among the masses.

Revolutionary young people should learn to swim by swimming, learn to make revolution by making revolution. We should be good at constantly summing

up our experience. What is right should be persisted in and continued without wavering. If, owing to lack of experience, some things are not done properly or not completely properly, then they should be corrected in good time. Only by acting in this way can one be a good pupil of Chairman Mao.

Revolutionary young people should be like the P.L.A., study Mao Tse-tung's thought hard, carry it out resolutely, propagate it actively and defend it courageously and use Mao Tse-tung's thought to guide all one's actions. We must follow Chairman Mao to make revolution throughout our lives, to study Mao Tse-tung's thought throughout our lives and remould our thinking throughout our lives.

(*"Renmin Ribao" editorial, August 28.*)

Guided by Mao Tse-tung's Thought

Red Guards Destroy the Old and Establish the New

SINCE August 20, the young Red Guards of Peking, detachments of students, have taken to the streets. With the revolutionary rebel spirit of the proletariat, they have launched a furious offensive to sweep away reactionary, decadent bourgeois and feudal influences, and all old ideas, culture, customs and habits. This mounting revolutionary storm is sweeping the cities of the entire nation. "Let Mao Tse-tung's thought occupy all positions; use it to transform the mental outlook of the whole of society; sweep away all ghosts and monsters; brush aside all stumbling-blocks and resolutely carry the great proletarian cultural revolution through to the end!" This is the militant aim of the young revolutionary fighters. Their revolutionary actions have everywhere received the enthusiastic support of the revolutionary masses.

In Peking. During the past week and more Red Guards have scored victory after victory as they pressed home their attack against the decadent customs and habits of the exploiting classes. Beating drums and singing revolutionary songs detachments of Red Guards are out in the streets doing propaganda work, holding aloft big portraits of Chairman Mao, extracts from Chairman Mao's works, and great banners with the words: We are the critics of the old world; we are the builders of the new world. They have held street meetings, put up big-character posters and distributed leaflets in their

attack against all the old ideas and habits of the exploiting classes. As a result of the proposals of the Red Guards and with the support of the revolutionary masses, shop signs which spread odious feudal and bourgeois ideas have been removed, and the names of many streets, lanes, parks, buildings and schools tainted with feudalism, capitalism or revisionism or which had no revolutionary significance have been replaced by revolutionary names. The service trades have thrown out obsolete rules and regulations.

Support for the revolutionary actions of the Red Guards has been expressed in countless big-character posters which the masses of revolutionary workers and staff have put up in the newly renamed major thoroughfares of the capital. They have also expressed their support with street demonstrations.

Draping the many-storied front of the newly renamed Peking Department Store are gigantic banners with the words: "Resolute support for the revolutionary students' revolutionary actions!" and "Salute to the young revolutionary fighters!" Workers of the Peking Steel Plant, encouraged by the actions of the revolutionary students, have launched vigorous attacks on old ideas, styles of work, methods and systems that hamper the revolution and production in their plant. They have put forward many revolutionary proposals and already

begun reforms. Workers at the Peking No. 2 Cotton Textile Mill are emulating the revolutionary rebel spirit of the Red Guards and are attacking all old influences. The workers hold that everyone has the right to sweep away the influences of the old, not only outside, in the streets, but also in the factories and all other enterprises and in government offices. In this way, by sweeping together, the great proletarian cultural revolution will be carried through to complete victory.

Commanders and fighters of the People's Liberation Army in the capital have unanimously expressed support for the revolutionary students' revolutionary actions, and the carrying of the great proletarian cultural revolution through to the end. They say that the great revolutionary actions of the revolutionary students in attacking bourgeois ideology, customs and habits is another instance of the great material strength that is generated by Mao Tse-tung's thought once it grips the revolutionary masses. Speaking at a discussion meeting of the 12th company of a garrison unit in Peking commanders and fighters said that the revolutionary actions of the young fighters are smashing the old world and building a new world. Pao Hsi-ming, of a P.L.A. Navy Air Force unit who won a combat citation, second class, for shooting down a U.S.-made plane of the Chiang gang, told a Hsinhua correspondent that the revolutionary actions of the Red Guards were thoroughgoing revolutionary actions as the result of their following the teachings of Chairman Mao and acting according to his instructions. "They are doing right and doing fine," he said.

In Shanghai. In this huge city which has the largest concentration of capitalists in the country and which, until the liberation, had long been under the rule of the imperialists and domestic reactionaries, the revolutionary students and the broad masses of workers and staff have taken up their iron brooms to sweep away all old habits and customs. The show windows of the Wing On Co., one of the biggest department stores in the city, are plastered with big-character posters put up by the Red Guards and workers and staff of the store, proposing that "Wing On" (Eternal Peace) should be changed into "Yong Hong" (Red For Ever) or "Yong Dou" (Struggle For Ever). The posters point out that in the old society the boss of the store chose the name "Wing On" because he wanted to be left in peace for ever to exploit the working people. "For a long time now the store has been in the hands of the people and we are certainly not going to tolerate this odious name a day longer," say the posters.

In "The Great World," the biggest amusement centre of Shanghai, workers and staff together with the



A poster put up on a street sign by Peking's Red Guards proposing a new name for the street

Red Guards took down the old name sign which was several metres long. When the last character of the sign was brought down, thousands of revolutionary people in the streets and in the windows of neighbouring buildings applauded and cheered: "Long live Chairman Mao!" and "Long live the great proletarian cultural revolution!"

The waterfront of the Whangpoo River in Shanghai was, until the liberation, the centre of imperialist plunder of the Chinese people. The buildings here have still carried many reminders of the imperialists and here the Red Guards and revolutionary workers and staff have gone in for revolutionizing in a big way. They have taken down all the imperialist signs from walls and removed the bronze lions outside one of the big buildings.

The revolutionary workers and staff of Shanghai barber shops have adopted revolutionary measures in response to the proposals of the Red Guards: they no longer cut and set hair in the grotesque fashions indulged in by a small minority of people; they cut out those services specially worked out for the bourgeoisie such as manicuring, beauty treatments and so on. In those shops which sold only goods catering to the needs of a small minority of people, workers and staff have taken the revolutionary decision to start supplying the people at large with good popular commodities at low prices.

In Tientsin. For the past several days there has been a new revolutionary atmosphere in the streets. Drums and gongs have been sounding around Binjiang Street, the business centre, and firecrackers have crackled all day long; many shops have discarded their old shop

signs, and replaced them with new revolutionary ones. Inspired by the revolutionary spirit of the Red Guards, the revolutionary workers and staff members of "Quanyechang," one of the biggest markets in the city, smashed the name sign inlaid in its wall for the past 38 years and hung up a new sign, the "People's Market." The "Beiyang Textile Mill" which was established in the time of the Northern warlords 45 years ago is now renamed "Four-New Textile Mill," meaning a mill with new ideas, new culture, new customs and new habits. The "Golden Tripod," the factory's old trademark, has been changed for a new trademark, "Worker and Peasant."

In Hangchow. The Tungpo Theatre, Tungpo Road, and the Su Ti (Su Dike) on Hangchow's West Lake named after Su Tung-po, a feudal man of letters of eight centuries ago, have been given new names with revolutionary meanings. The scissors shops which used the former shop owner's name — Chang Hsiao-chuan — as their shop sign for the past three centuries, have now taken the new name: "Hangchow Scissors Shop."

In Sining. In the capital of Chinghai Province, western China, the broad masses of revolutionary workers and staff, revolutionary cadres and poor and lower-middle peasants are giving resolute support to the young revolutionary fighters for their revolutionary rebel spirit of defying heaven or earth. Some shops, cinemas and theatres have been given new revolutionary names. Carrying large portraits of Chairman Mao and beating drums and gongs, the workers of the Sining Transport Vehicle Plant, a model enterprise, paraded the streets, pledging their support to the young fighters. Backing up the young revolutionary fighters, the poor and lower-

middle peasants of the Mafang People's Commune have changed their commune's name into the "Workers, Peasants and Soldiers Commune."

In Lhasa. This city's streets have been bubbling with excitement throughout the past few days. Carrying big portraits of Chairman Mao, displaying declarations of war on the old world, and beating drums and gongs, hundreds of Red Guards and revolutionary students and teachers of the Tibetan Normal School and the Lhasa Middle School took to the streets in a vigorous offensive to destroy the "four olds" — old ideas, old culture, old customs and old habits. In their declaration, the Red Guards and revolutionary students and teachers of Lhasa Middle School proclaimed: A decade and more has rolled by since Lhasa was liberated. It was the great Communist Party of China and our great leader Chairman Mao who led us in winning our emancipation and thus we were brought to a happy life. However, the spiritual shackles put upon us by the three kinds of serf-owners were still tight around our necks. This can no longer be tolerated. It is high time for us to settle accounts with them.

Red Guards and revolutionary students and teachers in Lhasa have proposed to change the names of places, streets and houses which are tainted with feudal serfdom and superstition. They also propose that literary and art groups forbid the performance of operas and plays which reek of imperialism and feudalism. The broad masses of workers and peasants in Lhasa have unanimously pledged themselves to give strong backing to the young Red Guard fighters and battle shoulder to shoulder with them to transform the city of Lhasa into a new, highly proletarianized and revolutionized city.

Chinese People Resolved to Make Every Undertaking A Great School of Mao Tse-tung's Thought

THE people throughout China acclaim the great directive of their most respected and beloved great leader, Chairman Mao Tse-tung, to make every undertaking a great school of revolution where people take part in both industry and agriculture, and in military as well as civilian affairs. They declare: Chairman Mao has drawn up the blueprint for our great cause of building communism. We are determined to make the whole country a great school of Mao Tse-tung's thought, a great school of communism, and we shall do all we can to fulfil the great historic task put forward by the Party and Chairman Mao.

When Chairman Mao's Directive Reached P.L.A. Units

Chairman Mao's great directive is a mighty inspiration to all cadres and fighters of the People's Liberation

Army. To a man they responded to it enthusiastically, studied it deeply and propagated it extensively. They promptly went into action, determined to run the P.L.A., that great school of Mao Tse-tung's thought, well.

Having studied it deeply over and over again, commanders and fighters felt that new vistas had been opened before them and their horizon had been broadened. They arrived at a profound understanding of Chairman Mao's directive as an extremely important one, a directive of historic significance, an epoch-making new development of Marxism-Leninism, and a creation of genius; a basic measure for opposing and preventing the growth of revisionism, step-by-step narrowing the gap between workers and peasants, town and countryside and mental and manual labour, guiding our country forward to communism, and for hastening the process of making our army extremely pro-

Comrade Mao Tse-tung recently pointed out: The People's Liberation Army should be a great school. In this great school, our armymen should learn politics, military affairs and culture. They can also engage in agricultural production and side occupations, run some medium-sized or small factories and manufacture a number of products to meet their own needs or for exchange with the state at equal values. They can also do mass work and take part in the socialist education movement in the factories and villages. After the socialist education movement is over, they can always find mass work to do, so that the army will for ever be at one with the masses. They should also participate in the struggles of the cultural revolution to criticize the bourgeoisie whenever they occur. In this way, the army can concurrently study, engage in agriculture, run factories and do mass work. Of course, these tasks should be properly co-ordinated, and a distinction should be made between the primary and secondary tasks. Each army unit should engage in one or two of the three fields of activity — agriculture, industry and mass work, but not in all three at the same time. In this way, our army of several million will be able to play a very great role indeed.

Comrade Mao Tse-tung has pointed out:

While the main activity of the workers is in industry, they should at the same time also study military affairs, politics and culture. They, too, should take part in the socialist education movement and in criticizing the bourgeoisie. Where conditions permit, they should also engage in agricultural production and side occupations, as is done at the Taching Oilfield.

While the main activity of the peasants in the communes is in agriculture (including forestry, animal husbandry, side occupations and fisheries), they, too, should at the same time study military affairs, politics and culture. Where conditions permit, they should also collectively run some small factories. They should also criticize the bourgeoisie.

This holds good for students too. While their main task is to study, they should, in addition to their studies, learn other things, that is, industrial work, farming and military affairs. They should also criticize the bourgeoisie. The period of schooling should be shortened, education should be revolutionized, and the domination of our schools by bourgeois intellectuals should by no means be allowed to continue.

Where conditions permit, those working in commerce, in the service trades and in Party and government organizations should also do the same.

— From "The Whole Country Should Become a Great School of Mao Tse-tung's Thought," "Renmin Ribao" August 1 editorial. (For full text in English see "Peking Review," No. 32, 1966.)

letarianized and militant; it is a most practical and effective basic measure for strengthening our war preparedness.

Comrades attending an enlarged meeting of the Communist Party Committee called by the Nanking Command expressed the unanimous view that acting in accordance with Chairman Mao's directive, we would be able to live up to the expectations of the world's people and still more successfully build our great country of 700 million into "the Yenan of world revolution." Cadres of divisional level and above who attended a study meeting called by the Tsinan Command elatedly described Chairman Mao's great call as a sentence passed on imperialism, modern revisionism and all reactionaries and a crushing blow against all ghosts and monsters who are against the Party, socialism and Mao Tse-tung's thought. Many comrades belonging to a unit of the Railway Corps declared: Chairman Mao stands on a high vantage point, sees far and thinks deep. What he visualizes is the great triumph of

communism throughout the world; what is in his mind is a matter of fundamental importance to many generations for a hundred, a thousand, and ten thousand years. Comrades at the leading organs of a unit under the Kunming Command recalled the glorious traditions of the P.L.A. and came to understand that by making the army a great school of Mao Tse-tung's thought, a single army serves several purposes: it is the main force for defending China's socialist revolution and socialist construction and for supporting the world revolution; it is a propaganda corps for disseminating Mao Tse-tung's thought and the fine traditions of our Party and army; and it is also a shock force in the three great revolutionary movements of class struggle, the struggle for production and scientific experiment.

By making the P.L.A. a great school of Mao Tse-tung's thought, we shall be able the better to carry through Chairman Mao's line on army building and thoroughly eradicate the influence of the bourgeois military line. Many comrades reviewed the history of

the struggles of our army over the past decades and were able to appreciate more profoundly than ever the fact that it has been Chairman Mao's consistent thinking on army building that the army should be run as a great school. At an early stage in the creation of our army, Chairman Mao pointed out that it was an armed body for carrying out the political tasks of the revolution. He set our army three great tasks, namely: fighting, mass work and fund raising. Later on, in the light of the development of the situation, he clearly laid it down that our army should always at the same time be a fighting force, a working force and a production force. Over the past 39 years, the P.L.A. has resolutely carried out Chairman Mao's line on army building and built a people's army of a new type armed with Mao Tse-tung's thought. Chairman Mao has now again issued a great call that "The People's Liberation Army should be a great school." Summing up the experience of the building of our army and the experience of struggles of the world revolution in the new period of socialist revolution and socialist construction, this represents a great development of the theory of the dictatorship of the proletariat and of army building.

By making the P.L.A. a great school of Mao Tse-tung's thought, we shall be able the better to promote the revolutionization of the ideologies of our cadres and fighters and foster millions of successors to the revolutionary cause of the proletariat, successors with a high degree of political consciousness and an all-round development. Chang Shao-li, a regimental commander of a unit under the Chengtu Command said: "In this great school of Mao Tse-tung's thought, I want to read Chairman Mao's works, follow his teachings, act on his instructions and be his good fighter. While serving here on the plateau, I'll keep the interests of the world in mind, wholeheartedly serve the people of China and the whole world and firmly preserve to the end of my life the political integrity of a proletarian revolutionary." Having studied Chairman Mao's directive, young, educated soldiers of a certain unit became deeply conscious of the great happiness of being able to study, live and fight in such a great school as the P.L.A. They gave their pledge to the Party that they will improve their ideology so as to become truly red, steel their will, strengthen their arms to change the face of the earth, and toughen their shoulders to carry the burden of the world revolution. Many cadres and fighters of the P.L.A. pledged that they would do still better in creatively studying and applying Chairman Mao's works, promote the revolutionization of their ideologies in a big way, strive to become combat heroes in fighting, model peasants in farming, outstanding workers in industry, and proletarian revolutionaries who hit the hardest and most accurately in criticizing the bourgeoisie. They said they would see to it that the guns were in the hands of the successors to the revolutionary cause trained in our great school, so that the Central Committee of the Party, Chairman Mao

and the masses of workers, poor and lower-middle peasants could rest absolutely assured.

By making the P.L.A. a great school of Mao Tse-tung's thought, we shall be able the better to put Chairman Mao's thinking on the people's war into practice and strengthen our war preparedness in a fundamental way. Cadres and fighters of the "Model Company of Joint Army-Civilian Defence" of a certain island garrison, following Chairman Mao's teachings, have identified themselves with the island people and, like fish in the water, established close, flesh-and-blood ties with them. With a profound understanding of the wisdom of Chairman Mao's directive, they declared that provided they firmly relied on the people and closely united with them, the whole island would become a stout bulwark that no enemy could destroy. The cadres and fighters of a naval unit and the third company of a certain unit on the Fukien front expressed the unanimous opinion that by carrying out Chairman Mao's directive, the whole people would become at the same time builders and defenders — "700 million people will become 700 million fighters, and all the ten thousand-li of rivers and mountains will be turned into military camps," as the saying goes. Should any enemy dare to invade, our 700 million people will take up arms, and with every person and every village fighting independently, the enemy will certainly be drowned in the great ocean of the people's war. The broad masses of cadres and fighters cited the heroic deeds of Comrades Tung Tsun-jui, Huang Chi-kuang, Lei Feng, Ouyang Hai, Wang Chieh, Mai Hsien-teh and Liu Ying-chun to show that the greatest fighting power is man armed with Mao Tse-tung's thought, and that by making the P.L.A. a great school of Mao Tse-tung's thought, we would be able to train up millions of communist fighters and become invincible.

Chairman Mao's works are the most fundamental required course in this great school of ours which is the P.L.A., and the three great revolutionary movements of class struggle, the struggle for production and scientific experiment are the living classrooms of our great school. Carrying out Chairman Mao's directive, a new upsurge is shaping up throughout the P.L.A. to study and apply Chairman Mao's works creatively. The various units of the P.L.A. regard their participation in the great proletarian cultural revolution as an important current militant task. In this sharp and complicated class struggle, the masses of cadres and fighters are still more consciously studying and applying Chairman Mao's works in a creative way. They are studying and applying them in the course of struggle. Using Mao Tse-tung's thought as their weapon, they are indignantly denouncing the sinister, anti-Party and anti-socialist gang for their crimes and thoroughly criticizing all ghosts and monsters. They are also thoroughly studying Chairman Mao's writings on the nature of imperialism in conjunction with the current international situation. They are further strengthening their concept of war preparedness, closely watching U.S. imperialist aggression in Vietnam and around

China, and are ready at any time to accept any fighting task the Party and people may assign them.

In the Industrial Enterprises

When this great call of Chairman Mao reached the Taching Oilfield, the workers and their families shouted in unison: "Long live Chairman Mao!" "Long live Mao Tse-tung's thought!" Unanimously they expressed the thought: "Chairman Mao's citation of Taching is his latest instruction to us; it shows his great care and concern for us; it gives us the greatest inspiration, the greatest encouragement!" Chang Shih-lin, team leader of the 1202 drilling crew, a "five-good" unit, said: "The Taching Oilfield was developed by relying on Mao Tse-tung's thought. Each victory scored in building up this oilfield is a glorious victory for Mao Tse-tung's thought. In the early stages of opening up this oilfield, we used Chairman Mao's two philosophical articles "On Practice" and "On Contradiction" to triumph over one difficulty after another. In the current great cultural revolution we are using Chairman Mao's theory of class struggle to sweep away all ghosts and monsters. Similarly, in production we regard the battle for production as a political one and, unafraid of sacrifice, we will surmount every difficulty to win victory. In the past, a crew could drill an average of 1,000 metres a month and no more than 10,000 metres in a year, but in July last alone we broke through the 10,000-metre mark. Tsai Sheng, Party branch secretary of the No. 1 department of the Oilfield Designing Institute and a "five-good" pace-setter of the Ministry of Petroleum Industry, said: In line with Chairman Mao's teachings that intellectuals must integrate themselves with the workers, peasants and soldiers, we persisted in going down deep into the basic levels, eating, living and working with the workers and doing our designing together with them. In this way, we were able to produce quite a bit of excellent work. In the future we shall continue to follow the great directive of Chairman Mao and become new communist people with a high degree of political consciousness and all-round development.

Families of workers on the Taching Oilfield have declared: In the years we have spent here we have been doing as Chairman Mao instructed us: we have been getting out oil, doing farming, and have set up some small workshops. Instead of just being consumers, family members have become producers. Following the policy for building up mining areas of combining industry with agriculture and town with countryside and benefiting production and making life more convenient, industrial villages have sprung up one after the other. In these industrial villages of ours there are part-work and part-study schools, and part-farm work and part-study schools, and the gap between workers and peasants, and between town and countryside is being gradually narrowed. The sentiments and mental outlook of the families of workers are undergoing a change and so are relationships between people. A new ideology, a new style and a new generation of people are coming into being.

Since November last, the Tsinan Meat Processing Plant in Shantung Province, east China, has been co-operating with surrounding farm production brigades to put into practice the labour system whereby people are engaged in both factory work and farm work. This is very much welcomed by the commune farm brigades and is also a guarantee of the smooth fulfilment of the plant's industrial production plans. When the great call of Chairman Mao reached the workers here they declared that they would certainly act in accordance with Chairman Mao's directive and turn their plant into a great school of revolution where people are engaged in both industry and agriculture, and in military as well as civilian affairs. Chang Fu-yin, a veteran worker in the meat-fat workshop of this plant, said: "We have commune members working with every team in our workshop. They diligently study Chairman Mao's writings and do their work very well. We will certainly follow Chairman Mao's directive and gradually narrow the gap between workers and peasants." Yeh Hsi-chih, a "five-good" rural commune member of the Zhudian Production Brigade of the Zhudian People's Commune, who is working in the plant, said: "The several dozen members of our production brigade who are working here have all mastered some skill. We take part in militia drill, cultural activities and propaganda work organized by the plant, and in the great cultural revolution we take up our writing brushes and write big-character posters to open fire on the ghosts and monsters. Since we came to work in this plant we have strengthened our sense of organization and discipline, rapidly raised our level of political consciousness, and have become peasants of a new type. All this came about because Chairman Mao pointed the bright road out to us. We will certainly follow that road and go forward steadily towards communism."

When the workers of the Lhasa Cement Plant heard of Chairman Mao's directive they immediately held meetings to discuss it. In the past few years the Tibetan and Han workers of this plant have built it up by their own efforts from scratch. As they built they went ahead with production and took part in military training, in farming and in studies to acquire general knowledge. They set up more than 30 groups for studying Chairman Mao's works. Every worker in the plant took part. In the great cultural revolution all the workers took up their pens and criticized the bourgeoisie. Thubtan Nyima, a "five-good" Tibetan worker and an activist in the study of Chairman Mao's works, said: "Chairman Mao is the red sun for us emancipated serfs. I like best to follow his teachings. I am resolved to give the lead in carrying out this directive of his, and turn our plant into a great school of revolution!"

In the Rural People's Communes

Commune members who are poor or lower-middle peasants throughout the country enthusiastically hailed Chairman Mao's great directive pointing out to them the road to revolutionization. Jao Hsing-li, Vice-Chairman of the Hupeh Provincial Association of Poor

and Lower-Middle Peasants, who is a deputy to the National People's Congress and a national model peasant, said: We poor and lower-middle peasants will take this great call of Chairman Mao's as our steering wheel and our compass, and turn our association into a great school of Mao Tse-tung's thought. To this end, we will take agriculture (including forestry, animal husbandry, side-occupations and fisheries) as our main job while studying military affairs, politics and culture. Where conditions permit, the collective will run small factories. We peasants will also criticize the bourgeoisie. This is the road to revolutionization for us poor and lower-middle peasants. To run this great school well, the association should first of all take the creative study and application of Chairman Mao's works as its most important task. Secondly, in the work of the association, prominence must be given to politics and Mao Tse-tung's thought must be in command. Consistently taking class struggle and the struggle between the two roads of capitalism and socialism as the key link in all work, the association must constantly criticize the bourgeoisie, remould the world outlook of the small producers, eradicate selfish individualism and foster collectivism, destroy the old and build the new, so as to transform the poor and lower-middle peasants into a thoroughly proletarianized and militant class detachment. We will also run military affairs. Since 1958, the rural areas of our province have organized militia divisions in a big way. Militia work is done well in many people's communes and production brigades. Militiamen engage in production and get military training at the same time. They can farm as well as fight. The idea of "turning all the people into soldiers" is being realized. Naturally, we should sum up experience, and do this work even better. We will also run small factories to turn ourselves into peasants who are at the same time workers. The association should help the collective run these factories well, gradually eliminating the differences between workers and peasants and between town and country. At the same time, we will learn culture, wipe out our illiteracy and undertake scientific experiments, gradually eliminating the difference between manual and mental labour.

Chairman Mao visited the October People's Commune in Nanking ten years ago. When they heard about his newest directive, the members of that commune's Taipingtsun Production Brigade felt as if he were once again among them. They took the directive to heart and felt especially elated. Ten years ago, Chairman Mao had advised them to learn culture diligently. Today, the great majority of school-age children in this brigade are in school. Eighty per cent of the peasants who were completely illiterate at that time can now read and write. Yu Fu-chen, chairman of the brigade's women's association, said with great feeling: "From time immemorial, we poor peasants were never able to read or write. It is only the Communist Party and Chairman Mao that have shown such great concern for us and want us to become peasants of a new kind, good both in work and culture, so that the gap between

manual and mental labour will be gradually eliminated. I will follow Chairman Mao's newest instructions and continue to study hard, and try to achieve even better results than before."

Tsering Dondrub, a former slave who is now the Communist Party Secretary of Dungkar township in the suburbs of Lhasa, said: "We firmly support this wise directive of Chairman Mao's. New peasants of the communist type are not people who only know how to till the land. They must be revolutionaries with a high level of political consciousness and all-round development. Since the democratic reforms, the thousand and more emancipated peasants in Dungkar have, under the leadership of the Party, constantly studied politics and culture. We also set up militia units this spring and began to study military affairs. The socialist education movement has gone ahead here; the political consciousness of our people has continued to grow, and so has our soaring revolutionary spirit. This great new directive of Chairman Mao's makes us even clearer about the direction which we must take."

In Schools

Revolutionary teachers and students of higher and secondary educational institutions throughout the country, borne on the high tide of the great proletarian cultural revolution, keenly studied Chairman Mao's directive. They pledge their determination to reform thoroughly the old educational system and overthrow the domination of reactionary bourgeois "authorities" over the schools. Students coming from poor or lower-middle peasant families studying at the Peking Agricultural Labour University gave a spirited pledge to the Party and Chairman Mao that they will persevere with the part-work (part-farm work), part-study educational system, take Chairman Mao's works as their basic study material, diligently learn and grasp Mao Tse-tung's thought, never become divorced from labour and the labouring people and will be worthy successors to the cause of the proletarian revolution. After reading Chairman Mao's directive, revolutionary youth in many Canton middle schools shouted the slogan: "Long live our great leader Chairman Mao! Long live, long live Chairman Mao!" Revolutionary youngsters of the 2nd class of the senior 2nd grade in the city's No. 3 Middle School in a letter to the Municipal Party Committee of Canton pledged themselves to carry out this great directive of Chairman Mao's with the utmost resolution and zeal. They raised the demand that the schools be moved to the mountain areas, to the villages and the factories, and to places where conditions are the hardest.

These revolutionary teachers and students of schools all over the country see Chairman Mao's directive as a directive for smashing the old educational system, setting up a new educational system and calling on the schools to train more effectively millions of successors for the cause of the proletarian revolution.

The revolutionary teachers and students, administrative and other workers of the Kiangsi Communist

Labour University said: The eight years since our school was founded are eight years of learning from the P.L.A., eight years of taking over and developing the glorious traditions of the Chinese People's Anti-Japanese Military and Political College (see *Peking Review*, No. 32, 1966, pp. 12-14.). Throughout these eight years, we have taken Chairman Mao's works as our basic study material, put political and ideological education in the forefront, set up our own farms, forest plantations, factories, vegetable gardens and shops. We have trained large numbers of people who can engage in both industry and agriculture, in military as well as civilian affairs, and sent them out to different fronts of construction where they have been enthusiastically welcomed by the masses. Henceforward, they said, they will go even further in learning from the P.L.A., act resolutely in accordance with Chairman Mao's instructions, and turn their Communist Labour University into a great school of revolution.

Li Kuo-ping, a teacher of the Mathematics Department of Wuhan University, said: Chairman Mao has instructed us that the period of schooling should be shortened, education should be revolutionized, and domination of our schools by bourgeois intellectuals should by no means be allowed to continue. The revolutionary teachers and students of our department have realized through practical struggle over a long period that education must be run resolutely in accordance with Mao Tse-tung's thought. In the past few years, our department has carried out a great revolution in education in accordance with Mao Tse-tung's thought, and we achieved glorious successes. Under the great banner of Mao Tse-tung's thought, we are determined to reform the bourgeois educational system thoroughly, smash the old world and build a boundlessly bright and beautiful new, communist world.

In Other Fields

The masses of staff members and workers in other fields responded with like enthusiasm to Chairman

Mao's great call. They are all determined to turn their departments into great schools of revolution. Since learning from the P.L.A. in a big way in 1964, the offices of the Party Committee of Yoyang County, Hunan Province, have achieved notable results in revolutionizing their organization. This time, they have pledged that they will continue to take the P.L.A. as their model and resolutely go on revolutionizing themselves ideologically, in their method of leadership and style of work, and in their organizational system, so as to become thoroughgoing revolutionaries of the proletariat. Of the 130-odd cadres in these offices, only 25 were left at headquarters to carry on routine office work. The rest, taking with them Chairman Mao's works, all went to the villages to spend a period of time among the masses, taking part in physical labour, making investigations, tackling problems on the spot and getting advanced experience in various types of work to be popularized. They are thus both cadres and peasants and they actively lead the masses in studying Chairman Mao's works, pushing forward the three great revolutionary movements of class struggle, the struggle for production and scientific experiment. They are resolved to turn their county into a great school of Mao Tse-tung's thought.

Li Su-wen, deputy political instructor of the Heping Food Shop of Shenyang, expressed what is in the hearts of all the Chinese people when she said: This newest directive of Chairman Mao's has sketched out for us a magnificent blueprint for realizing communism. When we turn every field of work into a great school of revolution, where people take part both in industry and agriculture, in military as well as civilian affairs, we can train up hundreds of millions of new communist people who have a high level of political consciousness and all-round development. Thus, the 700 million Chinese people, united firm as a rock, will become a bastion of iron and we will be "invincible under the heavens." No matter what the conditions, we will triumph over both the real bullets and "sugar-coated bullets" of the class enemy.

Learn to Swim by Swimming

COMRADE MAO TSE-TUNG has often told us that every revolutionary and every revolutionary youth should go out to face the world and brave the storm. A revolutionary cannot grow up like a hot-house plant. He must toughen himself braving great storms and waves.

When we learn to swim, we do not learn to swim first and then go into the water. We learn to swim by swimming.

When we make revolution it is also not a matter of learning first and then doing, but of learning in the course of doing, or rather, of doing and so learning. Doing is itself learning.

Every revolutionary, every revolutionary youth must take an active part in the great proletarian cultural revolution, and in this struggle acquire the ability to wage the class struggle, so as to make himself a truly

good pupil of Chairman Mao and a worthy successor to the cause of the proletarian revolution.

Marx said: "In learning to walk, one learns also to tumble, and, only by tumbling, does one learn to walk."

Lu Hsun also said: "To adult eyes, a toddler's first step is certainly childish, dangerous, awkward or positively ridiculous. But however foolish a woman may be, she looks forward eagerly to her baby's first step."

Revolution is no easy affair. To carry the revolution to victory, all resistance has to be overcome, every difficulty has to be conquered. Revolutionary young people must go out among the masses, live and work with them, and get covered with muck and grease again and again, so that they will be able to stand countless tests in the struggle and every kind of unexpected setback.

Comrade Mao Tse-tung has told us that we should never divorce ourselves from the masses. In this way we shall be able to know the masses, to understand them, and be with them, and so be able to serve the people well.

We must never forget that we are all sons and daughters of the people, and that the working people have nurtured us with their sweat and blood. We must

never forget this. We must bear in mind that the working people are our fathers and mothers, and that we, as sons and pupils of the people, must have the greatest respect for them. We must always be with the masses of the people and at all times bear them in mind.

In the course of the great proletarian cultural revolution, we must make a good study of Comrade Mao Tse-tung's works and the 16-Point Decision [of the Party's Central Committee concerning the great proletarian cultural revolution]. Only by mastering Mao Tse-tung's thought, this great ideological weapon, can we carry forward this struggle successfully. And it is only in the course of struggle that we can really learn to master Mao Tse-tung's thought.

We must continually remould ourselves in the course of struggle. As long as we live, we shall continue to work, study, and remould ourselves. Only in this way can we possibly make our necessary contribution to our country and to the cause of the proletarian revolution.

Guided by the sunlight of Mao Tse-tung's thought, let us fight forward bravely in the mighty current of the great cultural revolution which is surging forward so powerfully.

("Renmin Ribao" editorial, August 17.)

人民日报
RENMIN RIBAO

Be a Pupil of the Masses Before You Become a Teacher of the Masses

COMRADE Mao Tse-tung has said: "It is my wish to go on being a pupil, learning from the masses, together with all other Party comrades." This attitude of our great leader Chairman Mao of learning modestly from the masses is an example to all of us Communist Party members.

All those whose work is to provide leadership for the proletarian cultural revolutionary movement must look up to the masses as their teachers, seek their advice and be their pupils. All those who act accordingly will find the situation clear, their determination strong, their method correct, and the masses more fully aroused and the movement more soundly developed.

Failure to be first of all a pupil of the masses and setting oneself up as an "imperial envoy," noisily

spouting opinions, subjectively setting the keynote and deciding on taboos "the moment he alights from the official carriage," will only bind the masses hand and foot and be harmful to their enthusiasm.

Failure to be first of all a pupil of the masses and shutting oneself up in a small room, issuing orders right and left, will only blur one's sight and make it impossible for one to tell right from wrong, to distinguish between the enemy and ourselves, and to take a firm hold of vital questions.

If such is the case, then one cannot correctly lead the movement and instead will hinder it. Therefore, every member of the Communist Party must follow Comrade Mao Tse-tung's teaching, "shedding the ugly

mantle of pretentiousness and becoming a willing pupil."

To be a pupil of the masses, one must be full of revolutionary zeal, direct one's eyes downwards and respectfully seek their advice. We must do as Comrade Mao Tse-tung has often said: We should never pretend to know what we don't know, and we should "not feel ashamed to ask and learn from people below." One must be first of all a pupil of the masses before one becomes a teacher of the masses. Whether one is able to do this is not just a matter of an ordinary method of work but is a question of basic class stand and basic attitude, a question of the world outlook of a revolutionary.

In the course of this great cultural revolutionary movement, we must first and foremost learn from Comrade Mao Tse-tung's mass standpoint. There are many comrades who, in words, recognize the masses of the people as the makers of history, but they forget about this and do not acknowledge this when it comes to practical work. To grasp Comrade Mao Tse-tung's idea on this point involves a complete change in one's own thinking. This in itself represents a great revolution in the mind.

To be a pupil of the masses and to learn modestly from the masses means not just listening to the views of some people; it means listening to views from all quarters and of all sorts. It means listening to the views of the majority and those of the minority as well.

To be a pupil of the masses and to learn modestly from the masses means not just listening to the views that approve of yours; it means also listening to those

views that oppose yours. Generally speaking, for the ear, it is easy to hear assenting views and rather difficult to hear dissenting views. In fact, it is often essential to hear contrary views in order to form an overall judgment of a situation.

To learn from the masses, one needs not only to listen and look around more but also to think and exercise the mind more. In other words, we must take Mao Tse-tung's thought as the guide to analyse the diversified data and views provided by the masses, discarding the dross and selecting the essential, eliminating the false and retaining the true, proceeding from the one to the other and from the outside to the inside, and reconstruct, sort out and improve on such data and views in order to discover problems and come to grips with the essence of things. In doing so, we can concentrate the hitherto scattered views of the masses and turn them into well-thought-out, systematic and correct views of the leadership before taking them back to the masses for translation into action.

We must realize that the practice of the masses provides the only basis on which our Party formulates its policies and the only criterion by which such policies can be assessed. Divorce ourselves from the masses, and we can achieve nothing.

New problems and new things constantly arise during the great proletarian cultural revolution. Only if the Party organizations and the leadership at all levels become pupils of the masses from first to last can they at all times stand in the forefront of the mass movement and lead it forward in the direction pointed out by Comrade Mao Tse-tung.

(*"Renmin Ribao"* editorial, July 29.)

Making Lamps for the Revolution

by TSAI TSU-CHUAN

Following is the text of a paper delivered at the 1966 Summer Physics Colloquium of the Peking Symposium by Tsai Tsu-chuan, a deputy leader of the Chinese Scientists' Delegation, worker-specialist in electric light sources, and head of the Electric Light Sources Laboratory of the Physics Department, Fudan University, Shanghai. — Ed.

I AM an ordinary worker. Before liberation I entered a pharmaceutical factory as an apprentice at the age of 14. My work was blowing glass ampoules, which I continued doing for 8 or 9 years, grinding away my young life for the capitalists and leading the miserable existence of the exploited and oppressed. The Chinese

Communist Party and Chairman Mao have liberated us labouring people and made us masters of the country. Educated and fostered by the Communist Party, we workers are continually raising our class consciousness and are increasing our command of science and culture. The contingent of scientists and technicians of the working class is daily expanding. I am merely an ordinary member in its ranks. In recent years, under the leadership of the Party and with the wholehearted co-operation of the units concerned, the Electric Light Sources Laboratory of the Physics Department, Fudan University, Shanghai, has succeeded in trial-producing more than ten types of new electric light sources, thus taking the first step in this field of study.

Why do we make lamps? On what do we rely in making them? We are making lamps for the revolution, and it is on Mao Tse-tung's thought that we rely in the making of lamps. Mao Tse-tung's thought fortifies our revolutionary will, and illuminates our path of progress. Mao Tse-tung's thought is the most powerful weapon we have in carrying out our revolution and construction. With it, we have boundless courage and a surging fighting spirit. With it, we fear neither heaven nor earth; we shall dare to combat the imperialists, the modern revisionists and the reactionaries of all countries, as well as our backwardness in science. We are able to surmount all difficulties and win victories. It is under the brilliant illumination of Mao Tse-tung's thought that our electric light sources laboratory has been able to mobilize all positive forces, to surmount all difficulties, to turn unfavourable conditions into favourable ones, to transform ignorance into wisdom and, starting from scratch, to grow step by step. Our experimental group for making electric lamps began with only three or four workers in 1961 and has developed into a laboratory with more than thirty members.

Our group consists of workers and educated young people armed with Mao Tse-tung's thought. We are fearless of either hardship or death, and think of neither personal fame nor profit. We cherish the interests of the country in our hearts and at the same time never lose sight of those of the world. We bear firmly in mind the instructions of Chairman Mao that we must despise the enemy strategically and take full account of him tactically. We must dare to fight, and know how to fight well. We workers and young people had never studied the new-type electric light sources in the past. But to meet the needs of the socialist construction of our motherland, we made up our minds and exerted our utmost to force open the door to the scientific technology of the electric light sources. We thoroughly rid ourselves of our blind faith in Western scientific technology and filled ourselves with the noble aspiration of making lamps for the revolution. Under the leadership of the Party and following the principle of self-reliance, we adopted indigenous methods, working industriously and in an economical way. Since our initial success in trial-producing a quartz high-pressure mercury lamp, we have, with nationwide support, succeeded in making, after three or four years' work, more than ten types of new electric light sources.

Some of the lamps have been put into mass production. Up to now, the electric lamps that we have successfully made are of the following types: those used in different instruments such as quartz high-pressure mercury lamps, low-pressure mercury lamps, super-high-pressure mercury lamps, iodide-super-high-pressure mercury lamps, amalgam lamps, cadmium lamps, zinc lamps, hydrogen arc lamps, deuterium arc lamps, thallium lamps, krypton lamps and hollow-cathode lamps of various elements; quartz iodine lamps,

long-arc xenon lamps, short-arc xenon lamps, flash xenon lamps, sodium lamps, etc. Some of the lamps reach the highest world standards. All the lamps are made of native raw materials. In making them, we have overcome untold technical difficulties such as mastering the vacuum technique, the technique of quartz work, the techniques of quartz-glass, quartz molybdenum and glass-metal seals, the preparation of cathodes, the treatment of refractory metals such as tungsten and molybdenum, purification of gases and metals, quantity controls of iodine and mercury, the technique of sealing lamps under high pressure, etc. We also set up the power supply for the ignition and other equipment used for measuring. Up to now, most of our lamps have been put into production by various factories and are playing important roles in our socialist construction. Many sea ports, roads, recreation grounds and airports in our country have been illuminated by the China-made new light sources. Instead of using clumsy incandescent bulbs, news photographers are now equipped with our portable high colour temperature iodine lamps. We no longer have to import chemical elements for the light sources for optical instruments.

Now, how did we go about all this in the past few years? The following is a brief account.

Be Up and At It and Take the Road of Practice

Chairman Mao's brilliant essay "On Practice" has developed the Marxist theory of knowledge in a most systematic and profound way. It is a powerful weapon for knowing and changing the objective world. The brilliant thought in this essay has given us infinite courage and strength, enabling us ordinary workers to exert our utmost, to dare to practice, to go at it and make a bold approach to modern science and technology.

Revolutionary practice means changing and transforming the world. The road of practice is the only road for the Chinese people to take, under the guidance of Mao Tse-tung's thought, in changing the poverty and backwardness of our country by relying on our own efforts.

In China, no attempt had ever been made to explore and manufacture new-type electric light sources in the past. Before liberation even the production of ordinary incandescent lamps was controlled by the monopoly capitalists of the U.S.-owned "General Electric Co." For years we had only been able to produce tungsten lamps and fluorescent lamps. During the years when our country was hit by severe natural disasters, the imperialists, the modern revisionists and the reactionaries of all countries raised a hue and cry against China, thinking that they could profit from our difficulties. They tried to "corner" us in every possible way and in all fields, not even excepting electric light sources, hop-

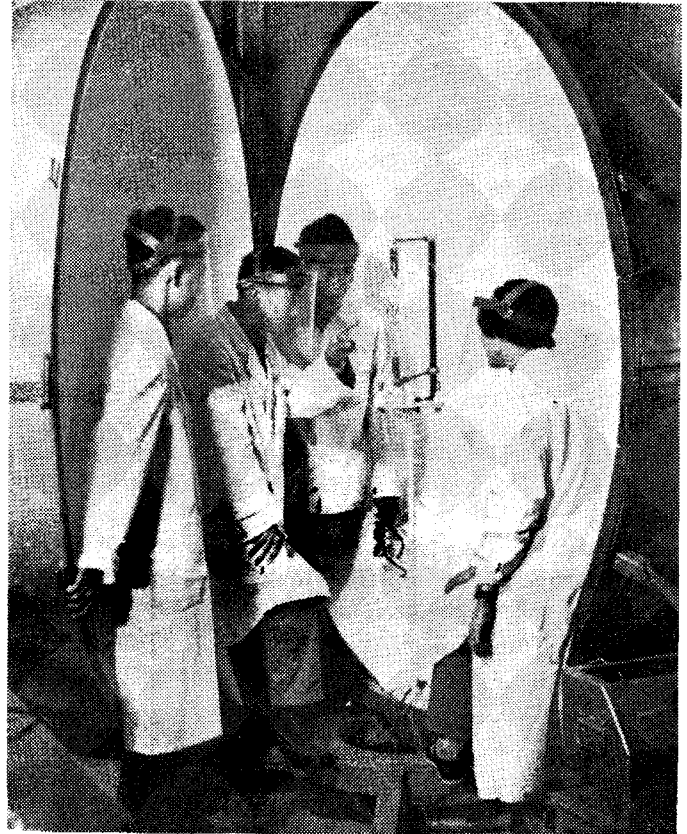
ing to hold back the advance of the Chinese people. But these lords entirely miscalculated. Chairman Mao has taught us over and again to rely on our own efforts and work hard. The more they try to "corner" us, the harder will we fight and the faster will we forge ahead.

The same is true of research on electric light sources. Our first attempt was to make a quartz high-pressure mercury lamp. At the time, we had neither technical data, nor any of the necessary apparatus and equipment. What was to be done? Chairman Mao teaches us that we must "use our own hands and overcome difficulties."¹ These words are deeply imprinted in our minds.

We set to work with indigenous methods and, adapting ourselves to our inadequate facilities, manufactured different kinds of apparatus and equipment with our own hands. Thus we embarked, through our own efforts, on a quest for knowledge of new light sources. After repeated practice we mastered the principles and the techniques of the sealing of quartz-metal, of the cathode activation and of degassing, and finally in a comparatively short period of time, succeeded in making the first quartz high-pressure mercury lamp needed for an instrument.

Knowledge arises from practice. This is a truth. Chairman Mao teaches us: ". . . only through personal participation in the practical struggle to change reality can you uncover the essence of that thing or class of things and comprehend them."² He adds: "If you want knowledge, you must take part in the practice of changing reality. If you want to know the taste of a pear, you must change the pear by eating it yourself. If you want to know the structure and properties of the atom, you must make physical and chemical experiments to change the state of the atom."³ These teachings of Chairman Mao make us realize that only by taking part in the practice of changing electric light sources can we come to understand the laws governing them. In this way a green-hand lacking experience and knowledge can be turned gradually into a veteran equipped with knowledge and experience, a layman finally become an expert.

Is it necessary to read a great number of books before making a start in scientific research? Can reading books and looking up data alone solve problems? No! Chairman Mao pointed out long ago: "Reading is learning, but applying is also learning and the more important kind of learning at that. Our chief method is to learn warfare through warfare. . . . A revolutionary war is a mass undertaking; it is often not a matter of first learning and then doing, but of doing and then learning, for doing is itself learning."⁴ Our knowledge of electric light sources was accumulated by learning while doing. In the making of super-high-pressure xenon lamps, for example, the key problem lay in how to fill in the gas and seal it hermetically. What methods were to be used to fill in the right amount of xenon? It was only through repeated practice that we worked out the method of filling in the gas



Tsai Tsu-chuan (second, left) and his assistants testing a xenon lamp

by freezing. With the problem properly solved, we succeeded in making super-high-pressure xenon lamps of different powers. Therefore, so long as a man works under the correct orientation and persists in practice, even without university training in science, he is capable of conducting scientific experiments and doing a good job of it.

We give special emphasis to practice, but this does not mean that we belittle the importance of theory. Only those engaged in practice can properly understand the importance of scientific theory. We always attach importance to the study of scientific theories. However, theory comes from practice, and book knowledge, though abstractions conforming to science, is after all the experience of others or our predecessors. For us it is indirect experience which must undergo a process of verification in practice. Only then are we in a position to make a correct judgement of it, comprehend it, develop it and make it our own knowledge. Any blind faith in the West will only make our minds inhibited and inactive. Therefore, we must thoroughly break down blind faith in the West. The world is ever in the process of developing. We should and certainly can advance faster and better than our predecessors along the road of science. And this is how matters actually stand at present. When we first decided to do research on a new light source and trial-produce it, one of the professors who blindly believed in the West and regarded himself as an "authority," despised us, the

workers, and was dead certain that we would never succeed. In spite of all this, we brought into full play the dauntless revolutionary spirit of the working class, daring to think, daring to speak, daring to act, daring to break through, daring to make revolution and daring to "kick the tiger in the backside." For instance, when a long-arc xenon lamp of high power is turned on, a strong current of hundreds of amperes passes through. According to foreign scientific literature, some countries have adopted the method of cylindrical shape sealing, but it involves highly complicated techniques. Instead of copying this method blindly, we summed up and applied our own experience in vacuum techniques. As a result, a special structure for sealing was devised, which greatly simplified the technical process. The successful trial-production of the long-arc xenon lamp has boosted our morale.

We hold that present-day scientific and technological achievements are by no means something absolute and static. We must not be mere echoes of others and tail after them step by step; on the contrary, we should resolutely advance along the road of revolutionary practice, freeing ourselves from all bounds of metaphysics, doing away with all kinds of superstitions and ridding ourselves of all viewpoints which are those of inertia.

II

Applying Dialectics to Lamp-Making

Chairman Mao's celebrated philosophical essay "On Contradiction" has grasped the kernel of dialectics — the law of the unity of opposites — and has developed Marxist dialectics in a comprehensive, systematic and deep-going way. True, "On Contradiction" contains nothing about making lamps and even does not mention such a term as electric light sources, but it tells us about the basic laws governing the development of things, which will lead us to the correct cognition of their essence. This in turn leads us to a better mastery of the inner laws governing the development of the electric light sources.

Chairman Mao teaches us that every thing can be divided in two. Every thing consists of contradictions. Every object is itself an interconnection of the universality (the general character) and the particularity (the individual character) of contradiction. Consequently, man's cognition is also the interconnection of two processes. Chairman Mao says: "These are the two processes of cognition: one, from the particular to the general, and the other, from the general to the particular. Thus cognition always moves in cycles and (so long as scientific method is strictly adhered to) each cycle advances human knowledge a step higher and so makes it more and more profound."⁵

Chairman Mao's penetrating statement has greatly enlightened us and it has always been a guide in sum-

ming up our experience in making lamps and in further exploring new light sources. We find that different lamps have particular laws of their own, but there are general laws governing all of them; that is, they have individual characters as well as general characters. For instance, there are some general laws for the various new type of light sources today: the tubes are made mostly of quartz, giving off their light either by discharging electricity in gas or by heating a tungsten filament; the sealing is made between the refractory metals and quartz, etc. All these represent the general character of modern electric light sources. But as they serve different purposes, various lamps differ in inner structure, in the gas filled, in gas pressure, in electric voltage and power, etc. Because of these differences the various lamps have particular laws and hence individual characters of their own.

Through the trial-making of several lamps we discovered some of the general laws of electric light sources. The knowledge of the individual is thus raised to be the knowledge of the general, and with our knowledge about these general laws as a guide, we can proceed in turn "from the general to the particular" and concentrate our efforts on uncovering the particular character of new light sources.

Consciously following this process of cognition "from the particular to the general and from the general to the particular," we can always maintain clarity of thought and keep the main target clearly in view in our scientific experiments. Whenever we attempt to trial-produce a new kind of lamp, we do our best to get hold of the principal contradiction and strive to solve it.

Take for example our trial-making of the iodine lamp (popularly known as "the sun gun"). This is a new light source, small in size, but yielding intense brightness. At first, we thought that it might be difficult to make lamps of this kind. But after concrete analysis, we found there was nothing mysterious about it. It is just like an ordinary incandescent lamp. The only difference is that the tube is filled with the right amount of iodine vapour so that through a chemical cyclic reaction of iodine and tungsten, evaporated tungsten can be returned to the filament, thus preventing the blackening of the quartz, raising the emission efficiency and prolonging the life of the lamp. Once we got hold of this particular character, we realized that the problem of filling in iodine vapour was the principal contradiction facing us in making the lamp. So we concentrated our efforts on tackling this problem. Through repeated experiments, we finally worked out the method of filling in iodine vapour by making use of the difference in temperature between the lamp and the iodine container. Thus the problem was solved. The resolving of this principal contradiction led to a smooth and speedy solution of other problems, and very quickly the quartz iodine lamp was produced.

Following this process of cognition "from the particular to the general and from the general to the

particular," we can grasp the inner connection of things and find a clue to the solution of general problems by solving particular ones. The successful making of one type of lamps paves the way for the making of other types. Take our making of the hollow-cathode lamps for example. After the successful making of the anti-mony hollow-cathode lamp, we were able to see the general character of the various types of hollow-cathode lamps. We came to realize that they were quite alike in geometrical design and they all have a hollow cathode discharging electricity. The difference between various types of hollow-cathode lamps is chiefly determined by the different elements employed and by their different inner structures. With this in our minds, we went on with our experiments and research and won one victory after another. Within a year or so we succeeded in making thirty types of hollow-cathode lamps, including several kinds employing alkali metal elements.

Having grasped the relationship between the individual character and the general character, we are able to make different lamps for different purposes out of the same category of electric light sources. For instance, our success in making the high-pressure mercury lamp has led to the super-high pressure mercury lamp, the sodium iodide-high pressure mercury lamp, etc. Success in making the super-high-pressure xenon lamp has brought about the xenon flash lamp, the long-arc xenon lamp, etc.

Dialectics makes lamps and dialectics must be applied in making lamps. This is a basic experience we have gained in the making of lamps. The methodology expounded by Chairman Mao in his essay "On Contradiction" is the most effective ideological weapon, with which we can surmount one obstacle after another in scientific experiments and scale any peaks of science however precipitous.

III

Let Everyone Have His Say in Scientific Work

Chairman Mao says, "The people, and the people alone, are the motive force of world history."⁶

Chairman Mao also says, "The masses are the real heroes, while we ourselves are often childish and ignorant, and without this understanding it is impossible to acquire even the most rudimentary knowledge."⁷

Following Chairman Mao's teachings, we resolutely rely on the masses and bring into full play their wisdom and creativeness. This is the way for us to achieve more, faster, better and more economical results in scientific research work.

In our laboratory there are more than thirty comrades who hail from all parts of the country. In matter of educational level, they differ from primary school up to university. Occupationally, before they came,

some had been workers; others, peasants; and still others, soldiers. They came together for a common objective—the cause of socialist revolution and socialist construction, to which they devote all their wisdom and talent. This is a manifestation of the extremely precious revolutionary zeal and the great potential strength of the masses. With this zeal and strength, we are sure to take fortresses and win victories in the three great revolutionary movements of the class struggle, the struggle for production, and scientific experiment.

In our scientific research, we firmly rely on the masses. Those who are more capable are regarded as teachers. Masters and apprentices learn from and help each other. We learn from those who can best grasp Mao Tse-tung's thought. Apprentices learn from their masters, but masters also learn from their apprentices. Whenever any study is undertaken, it is not for the "authorities" to say the last word; instead, we draw on everybody's wisdom and experience by conducting a full discussion in which everybody has his say.

Before starting to work, we always call a "meeting of Chuke Liangs"⁸ at which we put our heads together to study and work out a programme. Everyone has the right to air his views, be he worker, university teacher or research worker. When a complicated case arises, everybody is called upon to offer opinions and make suggestions, in order to find a way out. Sometimes teachers and workers of our university who specialize in the subjects concerned are asked to join us in consultation. For instance, in trial-making iodine lamps, we consulted those comrades specializing in chemical analysis and spectrum-analysis, when we met with difficulties in analysing the iodine content. In the trial-production of the long-arc xenon lamps, the high voltage power supply and the ignition device went out of order, and teachers of electricity and electricians were invited in for consultation.

Popular scientific seminars are often held in our laboratory, mainly to sum up our own research work and at the same time to give an account of the development of the scientific technology of electric light sources both at home and abroad. Teachers and research workers make reports at these seminars, and so do ordinary technical workers and apprentices. In 1965, at a Scientific Seminar of Fudan University, Shanghai, a report on "The Welding Technique of Quartz and Gradient Glass" was made by a young glass worker of our laboratory, who had only had a junior middle school education.

These "Chuke Liang meetings," "consultations," "scientific seminars," and so on have brought the wisdom and initiative of the masses into full play. Therefore, every new type of lamp that we have trial-produced is invariably the fruit of collective creation and the crystallization of the wisdom of the masses.

We also make correct evaluation of the role played by individuals. Every individual can contribute his bit

to scientific experiment, but those who are boundlessly loyal to the cause of the people and are willing to dedicate themselves wholeheartedly to the cause of socialism will play a greater role. Scientific truths are discovered by the masses of the people in their collective struggles. This is why scientific workers must learn from the masses and regard the masses as their teachers.

IV

Scientific Experiment Must Be Closely Integrated With the Struggle for Production

Ever since we began to study electric light sources, we have always closely linked scientific study with production. This is mainly shown in two respects: the development of production has greatly promoted the development of science; and the achievements in scientific research, when immediately applied in production, have promoted the development of production.

The socialist system of our country established in accordance with Mao Tse-tung's thought has unparalleled superiority. It is this system that has created the most excellent conditions for our scientific research. Many factories, enterprises and research institutions have offered us warm support. Quartz, rare gases and refractory metals needed in the manufacture of new light sources were all imported in the past and were very expensive. Since the great leap forward in 1958 the workers and the scientific and technological personnel of our country, by relying on their own efforts, have carried out bold research work on these materials and trial-produced them. As a result, they can all now be produced in China. In trial-producing the high-power sodium lamp, we were in need of anti-sodium glass. As soon as a glass factory in Shanghai heard about this, they sent veteran workers, cadres and technicians to our laboratory to discuss the matter. They invited us to their factory to watch the process of trial-making anti-sodium glass and asked our opinions about it. After making repeated improvements in technique and in the composition of the ingredients, they at last produced a number of anti-sodium glass tubes, which enabled us to start our research work promptly. Therefore, whenever I am asked why such a small laboratory as ours can produce so many things, my answer is: "Our laboratory, small in appearance, is actually very large. Many factories in the country produce materials for us, provide us with equipment and help us with processed parts. Many research institutions exchange information and experience with us. They all co-operate with us." Without such large-scale communist co-operation, we would have come across much greater difficulties in our work. There are, in the main, three forms of co-operation:

(1) "Mixed doubles." We invite workers and technical staff from a factory to come to our laboratory, or we send our personnel to the factory, to discuss and decide on the subject of research according to the needs

of our country, to jointly work out the research programme, and to carry on research and trial production together. Throughout the entire process, we learn from each other, help each other, supply the needs of each other, and give full play to our respective specialities. When a new product first comes out of the laboratory, we again organize together with workers and technicians the necessary working force to start the intermediate-production immediately.

(2) Inviting factory workers to our laboratory. When we have succeeded in trial-producing a new type of light source, we immediately sum up our experience and invite factory workers and technical staff to come to our laboratory. We explain to them in full the technical specifications of the design and the manufacturing technology of the lamp, and give them short-term training, so that they may grasp the technique of trial-production as soon as possible. And since the comrades from the factory have rich experience in production, they often make many valuable suggestions so as to make the technical process conform with the requirements of industrial production. Thus, although it appears to be a process of transferring our achievement to the factory, actually it provides us with a good opportunity to learn from our comrades from the factory.

(3) Presenting our gains to the factory. After we have trial-produced a new type of light source, we send a small group of our staff to a factory. They take with them a complete set of technical data, and the necessary equipment for trial-producing and testing, to transfer unconditionally our achievement in scientific research to the factory. During their stay in the factory, our staff serve as apprentices to the workers, learning from them the superior qualities of the working class. Thus, they not only exchange technical experience with the workers, but are also imbued with the ideas and feelings of the labouring people. This greatly promotes the ideological revolutionization of the scientific research workers.

How is it that we can link ourselves so closely with the factory? Chiefly because we are guided by Mao Tse-tung's thought. Chairman Mao teaches us that we should serve the people wholeheartedly, with utter devotion to others and without any thought of ourselves, leaving the easy things to others and keeping the difficulties for ourselves. Whenever a factory needs our co-operation in trial-producing a new light source, though we might have some difficulties, we always endeavour to provide the personnel and equipment it requires. Thus, the factory looks upon ours as its own laboratory, while we look upon the factory as our own trial-production plant. The two sides are as close to each other as members of one family. The success we gained is actually the result of the joint efforts exerted by us and the factory workers. It is a product of our co-operation. I myself only played a minor role.

Our own experience proves that close integration of scientific research with industrial production is an

essential path for achieving more, faster, better and more economical results in the development of scientific research work.

Chairman Mao teaches us: "Of all things in the world, people are the most precious."⁹ People armed with Mao Tse-tung's thought are the greatest fighting force. We are making lamps and dealing with vacuums every day, but our minds are not a vacuum; instead, they are filled with all kinds of ideas. For instance, for whom are we doing our research work — for the revolution, or for the individual? And how should we do our research work? To follow the path from practice to theory and back again to practice, or the other path from data to data which is completely divorced from reality? All these are problems which must be solved. In order to solve them correctly, we remould ourselves and raise our class consciousness by creatively learning and applying Chairman Mao's works in scientific research work. Only thus can we achieve more, faster, better and more economical results for the cause of the revolution. When some college graduates first came to our laboratory, they felt that it was unfair that they should have to do scientific research work with ordinary workers. After we organized them to study Chairman Mao's article on "The Orientation of the Youth Movement," they gradually made up their minds to integrate themselves with the workers and peasants and to make themselves revolutionaries and labourers at the same time. When some students and pupils from middle schools and primary schools came to work in our laboratory, they thought that their educational level was too low for the work, that they could only play subordinate roles. Many times we got them together to study Chairman Mao's articles on "Serve the People" and "In Memory of Norman Bethune." After repeated study, they came to understand that a man's ability may be great or small, but if he has a heart devoted to the revolution, he can become a man of great value to the people. As a result, their initiative in work was brought into full play. From this, we realize that while we must make lamps, even more important, we must temper people, for only with revolutionized people can we have new lamps. By tempering people we mean changing our stand, viewpoint and method of work in accordance with Mao Tse-tung's thought. In recent years, we have persisted in studying Chairman Mao's works. In arranging our work, we also make arrangements for the study of Chairman Mao's works; in examining our work, we also examine how we are studying Chairman Mao's works; and in summing up our work, we also sum up our experience in the study of Chairman Mao's works.

At present, a great socialist cultural revolution, unprecedented in scale, is going on in our country. This is a great revolutionary movement to consolidate the dictatorship of the proletariat and to promote the cause of socialism in our country. The masses of our workers, peasants and soldiers, taking Mao Tse-tung's thought as their weapon, are liquidating old ideology, old culture, old customs, and old habits and establishing

new ideology, new culture, new customs, and new habits. They are uprooting the ideology of the exploiting classes which has monopolized and dominated our society for thousands of years. A new historical epoch in which the masses of our workers, peasants and soldiers directly master science and culture has dawned!

Relying on Mao Tse-tung's thought, we fear no difficulty. China's sons and daughters have high-aspiring minds and dare to make the sun and moon shine in new skies. Now we have just got our foot inside the door to the scientific technology of electric light sources. Precisely as Chairman Mao once said, this is just the first step on our Long March. Chairman Mao said, "The history of mankind is one of continuous development from the realm of necessity to the realm of freedom. This process is never-ending. The class struggle will never end in any society in which classes exist. In a classless society the struggle between the new and the old and between truth and falsehood will never end. In the fields of the struggle for production and scientific experiment, mankind makes constant progress and nature undergoes constant change; they never remain at the same level. Therefore, man has constantly to sum up experience, make new discoveries and inventions, and go on creating and advancing."¹⁰ We must for ever keep in mind Chairman Mao's teachings, carry on the revolution uninterruptedly, advance continually without stopping and forge ahead with courage and determination along the road brilliantly illuminated by the shining light of Mao Tse-tung's thought!

NOTES

¹ "Get Organized," *Selected Works of Mao Tse-tung*, Foreign Languages Press, Peking, Vol. III, p. 155.

² "On Practice," *Selected Works of Mao Tse-tung*, Vol. I, p. 300.

³ *ibid.*, p. 300.

⁴ "Problems of Strategy in China's Revolutionary War," *Selected Works of Mao Tse-tung*, Vol. I, p. 189.

⁵ "On Contradiction," *Selected Works of Mao Tse-tung*, Vol. I, p. 321.

⁶ "On Coalition Government," *Selected Works of Mao Tse-tung*, Vol. III, p. 257.

⁷ "Preface and Postscript to 'Rural Surveys,'" *Selected Works of Mao Tse-tung*, Vol. III, p. 12.

⁸ Chuke Liang was a well-known statesman and strategist in the period of the Three Kingdoms (221-265 A.D.), who became a legendary symbol of resourcefulness and wisdom in Chinese folklore.

⁹ "Bankruptcy of Idealist Conception of History," *Selected Works of Mao Tse-tung*, Vol. IV, p. 454.

¹⁰ From "Premier Chou En-lai's Report on the Work of the Government to the First Session of the Third National People's Congress."

Soviet People Acclaim: "We Ardently Love Mao Tse-tung!"

THE Peking Song and Dance Ensemble of China was warmly welcomed by the Soviet people on its 25-day tour during which it performed in the Soviet Union. Disregarding the obstructions and restrictions imposed by the Soviet quarters concerned, the Soviet people expressed their immense love for Comrade Mao Tse-tung, the greatest Marxist-Leninist of our times, and asked the ensemble to convey their respects to him.

The ensemble's tour covered performances in Lugansk in the Ukrainian S.S.R., Kadiyevka in the Donbas, Donetsk, Moscow, Leningrad and Petrozavodsk, a port on Lake Onega in the Karelo-Finnish S.S.R.

The Soviet people, with deep feeling, enthusiastically praised the performances extolling Chairman Mao Tse-tung, the great leader of the Chinese people, and giving expression to Mao Tse-tung's thought.

During performances, when the curtain for the dance *The Great Festival* went up and the picture of Chairman Mao appeared on the stage, the audience burst into excitement and greeted it with hearty applause. The Soviet audience was deeply moved by *Sailing the Seas Depends on the Helmsman*, a song eulogizing the great thought of Mao Tse-tung, and by the Long March suite *The Red Army Fears Not Trials of a Distant March* which reflects the brilliant 25,000-li Long March by the Chinese Workers' and Peasants' Red Army under the leadership of Chairman Mao. In Lugansk, a spectator was moved to tears by the song *Sailing the Seas Depends on the Helmsman*. He raised his arm and shouted, "Bravo! Bravo!" A stage worker, after seeing the Long March suite, said, "Mao Tse-tung is truly great!" A worker of a mining machinery plant in Lugansk said after seeing this, "Mao Tse-tung is our friend. We ardently love Mao Tse-tung!" A woman spectator in Leningrad said with deep emotion, "You are carrying on the revolution. Mao Tse-tung is leading you. Mao Tse-tung is most correct and he is the staunchest in struggle." In Petrozavodsk, some of the audience, in the midst of warm applause, shouted, "Long live the great friendship between the Soviet and Chinese peoples! Long live Mao Tse-tung, the great leader of the Chinese people!"

After watching the performance in Moscow of *Militia Women of the Grasslands*, a dance embodying Chairman Mao's thought concerning the call for everybody to be a soldier, a 70-year-old spectator who took part in armed struggles for years said: "Mao

Tse-tung is correct. One should take up arms because imperialism still exists. The girls should be armed." *Destroy the "Strategic Hamlet," Ode to the Storm* and other songs and dances reflecting the revolutionary struggles of the Asian, African and Latin American peoples drew tremendous praise from many spectators. A woman in Leningrad voiced her warm support for Chairman Mao's thesis that imperialism and all reactionaries are paper tigers. She said: "It is very true to say that imperialism is a paper tiger. Just look, the Vietnamese people have already won very great victories in a few years' fighting. You are right in not being afraid of imperialism." She indicated more than once that she was not only speaking her own mind, and that this was the view of many others.

The ensemble was praised wholeheartedly by the Soviet people for having embodied in its performances Chairman Mao's policy on literature and art, namely that they should serve the workers, peasants and soldiers. The programmes printed and distributed free of charge by the ensemble carried a quotation from Chairman Mao's works: "**All our literature and art are for the masses of the people, and in the first place for the workers, peasants and soldiers; they are created for the workers, peasants and soldiers and are for their use.**" The quotation met with universal approval among the audiences. Many people said that they were greatly heartened by the images of workers, peasants and soldiers presented in the performances. They called the performances "especially rich in thought" and "highly revolutionary." They said that the programmes "reflected the militant spirit of the people" and "were really revolutionary."

The singing of such Soviet revolutionary songs as *Hymn to the Bright Future*, *Song of the Young Communist Leaguers* and *The Sacred War* reminded the Soviet audiences of the revolutionary tradition of the Soviet people now thrown overboard by the revisionist leading clique of the C.P.S.U. These songs always had to be sung over again at the warm request of the audience. Some among the audience hummed in tune with the singers. A Muscovite who had seen the performance said, "These revolutionary songs cannot be heard in Moscow now. They are forgotten. But you still sing them. That is very good." A woman teacher in Leningrad said, "Your singing reminds us of the years that have gone by. It gives us spiritual satisfaction and enormous encouragement. Several people who sat near me and myself were moved to tears."

Soviet citizens always took advantage of every opportunity to talk with the Chinese comrades outside the performance halls. They expressed their respect for Chairman Mao in various ways.

Sight-seeing on the first day of their arrival in Leningrad, members of the ensemble were surrounded by friendly people in a square. It turned out to be a spontaneous friendship get-together of the two peoples. An old carpenter said, "We are of the working class. We believe Mao Tse-tung is correct. Mao Tse-tung is the same as our Lenin!" Once, a white-haired old worker waited outside the theatre for the Chinese comrades. He shouted in Chinese: "Long live Mao Tse-tung!" when the Chinese artists came out.

Some workers in Donetsk in the coal-mining region of the Donets basin went up to warmly greet the members of the ensemble who were taking a walk in the park. One miner said: "We send our best regards to the Chinese people and their great leader Comrade Mao Tse-tung." He added, "The friendship between the Soviet and Chinese peoples is great and indestructible. Please tell Comrade Mao Tse-tung that the Soviet people desire eternal co-operation with the Chinese people." A driver, about 50 years old, told the Chinese artists: "On behalf of the Soviet working class, I pay my respects to Mao Tse-tung! Mao Tse-tung is a true Marxist-Leninist."

Upon meeting some comrades in the ensemble, a Moscow worker said: "Mao Tse-tung — Lenin!" and "Mao Tse-tung is in my heart!" An artist said that "Mao Tse-tung always does good things for the people; he always cares for the people." He asked the ensemble "to convey to Mao Tse-tung the respects of the Soviet people."

In Petrozavodsk, an old man told the Chinese comrades that the portraits of Lenin, Stalin and Mao Tse-tung were always hung on the walls of his house. "They are our esteemed and beloved leaders and will always be in our minds," he said.

Some in the audiences asked the ensemble artists to write on their programmes "Mao Tse-tung" and "Long live Chairman Mao!" in Chinese as a permanent souvenir.

The ensemble brought with it the badges with Chairman Mao Tse-tung's likeness on them and they became the most sought after gift for the Soviet people. Having received one of these badges, a spectator in Moscow shouted, "Long live the Chinese Communist Party! Long live Mao Tse-tung!" When given a badge of this kind, a Donetsk coal-miner shouted with emotion: "Mao Tse-tung, Mao Tse-tung! We respect Comrade Mao Tse-tung, we uphold Mao Tse-tung's thought!" An aged driver in the same city carefully pinned the badge on his lapel and, pressing his chest,



Audiences in the Soviet Union gave members of the Peking Song and Dance Ensemble a warm welcome after their performances

said proudly: "I've pinned the Mao Tse-tung badge prominently on my chest so that people can see it."

Like the bat afraid to see the sunshine, the Soviet authorities did everything they could to obstruct the ensemble's normal performances and tried to limit the big influence which its tour had in the Soviet Union. Before each performance, the Soviet quarters concerned only supplied a small number of copies of the programme. Greatly dissatisfied when they failed to get a programme, many in the audiences asked for it directly from the ensemble. After the ensemble complied with this legitimate request of some of the audiences, the Soviet quarters concerned lodged an unjustified "protest" with it. Before a performance in Kadiyevka, one of the Soviet personnel actually tried to prevent the ensemble's announcer from greeting the audience and expressing the wish that the friendship between the Chinese and Soviet peoples would develop and be consolidated. In addition, Soviet personnel tried their utmost to prevent the audiences from talking with members of the ensemble. Some were forcibly pulled away in the midst of a conversation with Chinese artists. During the first performance in Donetsk, Soviet reception personnel and a political scoundrel wantonly and openly insulted Comrade Mao Tse-tung, the great leader of the Chinese people. In protest against the insult, the ensemble cut short its performance schedule in that city. The sordid obstruction on the part of the Soviet revisionists only served to throw additional light on their foul features; it could not affect the Soviet people's respect for Comrade Mao Tse-tung, the greatest Marxist-Leninist of the present era, and their profound feelings for the Chinese people.

The ensemble left Moscow for home by train in two groups on August 25 and 26.

ROUND THE WORLD

SINO-PAKISTAN FRIENDSHIP

Slap in Face for Sower Of Discord

AT THE L.A. STUDENTS' CONGRESS

Sweeping Away Soviet Revisionist Trash

At the Fourth Latin American Students' Congress in Havana from July 29 to August 11, many representatives of revolutionary Latin American students held high the banner against U.S. imperialism and modern revisionism and dealt a heavy blow at the Soviet revisionists and their followers.

Nearly 100 representatives of 22 student organizations in Latin American countries and regions and some 50 guests and observers from other countries were present. A Chinese students' delegation attended as guests.

Speaking at the congress, the leader of the delegation of the Federation of Students of San Marcos University in Peru said: "We believe in one road alone, the road of violent revolution. It is the universal law of proletarian revolution. Armed struggle is the central task and highest form of class struggle." He declared that the fallacies about the "peaceful road" and "parliamentary road" "can only serve to produce illusions, or can only prove that those who spread them are serving imperialism most shamelessly. These people are the representatives of modern revisionism, who have ganged up with the U.S. imperialists and are trying desperately to arrest the progress of our revolution." He said that it was impossible to form a real united front with the revisionists because they are not revolutionaries, but lackeys of imperialism.

The leader of the Ecuadorian delegation roundly denounced the modern revisionists for "preaching all over the world capitulation to imperialism and submission to the U.S. nuclear blackmail, and for spreading illusions about the possibility of 'peaceful reform,' 'peaceful evolution,' and 'peaceful coexistence' with imperialism so as to prevent struggle by the exploited peoples."

The Haitian delegation's statement said that there was no country in Latin America where power could

be seized by peaceful means. "People's revolutionary war is the only way which will lead the masses to national liberation and which will meet the basic demands of the students," it said.

The leader of the delegation of the Dominican Republic declared: "Because of our own costly and bitter experience, we Dominican university students entertain no illusions about winning national and social emancipation for the Latin American peoples by peaceful means."

These speeches were warmly acclaimed by the majority of delegates.

The address of the leader of the Chinese delegation which held high the great red banner of Mao Tse-tung's thought, stressed that to fight U.S. imperialism it is necessary at the same time to fight revisionism, and pointed out that people's war is the sole correct road to the complete liberation of the Latin American people from U.S. imperialist domination and enslavement, was also greeted with warm applause.

The Soviet representative in his speech noisily peddled "united action" and made a pretence of opposing imperialism and supporting the struggle of the Vietnamese people. The leader of the Cuban delegation likewise advocated this kind of "unity" and "united action."

During the discussion of the "resolution on armed struggle," a bitter battle took place between the revolutionary delegates and the revisionists. At a commission meeting, the Peruvian delegate proposed a motion to support armed struggle and condemn "peaceful transition" and other Soviet revisionist absurdities, but the motion was negated by a procedural trick pulled by the Cuban and other delegates. Then the Haitian delegate placed another motion before the plenary session to condemn the "electoral or parliamentary road." After a sharp struggle, this motion was adopted by a majority vote. The Soviet revisionists' favourite theory of "peaceful transition" was repudiated then and there.

Pakistan political observers and papers recently sharply rebuffed U.S. Ambassador to India Bowles for his anti-China outcry in New Delhi on August 17. They have made it clear that Pakistan will maintain amicable relations with China.

Bowles stridently advocated that Pakistan should ally itself with Japan, Indonesia and India against China. What he really wants is to drag Pakistan into an anti-China alliance. But this is only a day-dream. Pakistan political observers hit the nail on the head when they pointed out that the U.S. design is to make Asians fight Asians and that the trick U.S. imperialism is using is a clumsy, threadbare one. This was a resounding slap in the face for the U.S. imperialists.

Bowles showed his fox's tail when he said that to oppose China was "primarily an Asian's job" and that the United States was in Asia to "fill the vacuum" left by Asian countries. In reality, opposition to China is a U.S. cover for committing aggression against Asian countries. Any country which follows the United States in opposing China places itself in danger of becoming a U.S. colony. India serves as a vivid example. The Asian people and all far-sighted persons will never be taken in by U.S. imperialism.

Chairman Mao Tse-tung has pointed out that the colonialists wish to see the Asian, African and Latin American peoples who cherish freedom and independence, disunited, un-co-operative and unfriendly to each other. He said: "We must answer them by further strengthening our solidarity and friendly co-operation. We must force the colonialists' scheme to fall into complete bankruptcy." The Chinese people will follow Chairman Mao's instructions and smash U.S. imperialism's aggressive schemes by continuously strengthening the friendship and solidarity between the peoples of China and Pakistan and other Asian countries.

RADIO PEKING's

English language transmissions
begin with quotations from
Chairman Mao Tse-tung.

Daily English Language Transmissions

EAST AND SOUTH AFRICA			AUSTRALIA AND NEW ZEALAND		
Peking Time	Local Standard Time	Metre Bands	Peking Time	Local Standard Time	Metre Bands
00:00-01:00	18:00-19:00 (Cape Town, Salisbury) 19:00-20:00 (Dar-es-Salaam)	30,25,24	16:30-17:30	18:30-19:30 (Aust.S.T.) 20:30-21:30 (N.Z.S.T.)	25,19,16
01:00-02:00	19:00-20:00 (Cape Town, Salisbury) 20:00-21:00 (Dar-es-Salaam)	30,25,24	17:30-18:30	19:30-20:30 (Aust.S.T.) 21:30-22:30 (N.Z.S.T.)	25,19,16
			EUROPE		
			Peking Time	Local Standard Time	Metre Bands
			04:30-05:30	20:30-21:30 (G.M.T.) 21:30-22:30 (Stockholm, Paris)	45,42,31
			05:30-06:30	21:30-22:30 (G.M.T.) 22:30-23:30 (Stockholm, Paris)	45,42,31
WEST AND NORTH AFRICA			NORTH AMERICA (EAST COAST)		
Peking Time	Local Standard Time	Metre Bands	Peking Time	Local Standard Time	Metre Bands
03:30-04:30	18:45-19:45 (Monrovia) 19:30-20:30 (Accra, Freetown) 20:30-21:30 (Lagos) 21:30-22:30 (Cairo)	43,31,25	08:00-09:00	19:00-20:00 (E.S.T.)	19,16
04:30-05:30	19:45-20:45 (Monrovia) 20:30-21:30 (Accra, Freetown) 21:30-22:30 (Lagos)	43,31,25	09:00-10:00	20:00-21:00 (E.S.T.)	25,19,16
			10:00-11:00	21:00-22:00 (E.S.T.)	25,19,16
SOUTHEAST ASIA			NORTH AMERICA (WEST COAST)		
Peking Time	Local Standard Time	Metre Bands	Peking Time	Local Standard Time	Metre Bands
20:00-21:00	19:00-20:00 (Western Indonesia, Bangkok) 19:30-20:30 (Singapore) 20:00-21:00 (Saigon, Manila) 18:30-19:30 (Rangoon)	252,224 32,31,25,24,19	11:00-12:00	19:00-20:00 (P.S.T.)	31,25,19
21:00-22:00	20:00-21:00 (Western Indonesia, Bangkok) 20:30-21:30 (Singapore) 21:00-22:00 (Saigon, Manila) 19:30-20:30 (Rangoon)	224,32 31,25,24,19	12:00-13:00	20:00-21:00 (P.S.T.)	31,25,19
SOUTH ASIA					
Peking Time	Local Standard Time	Metre Bands			
22:00-23:00	19:30-20:30 (Delhi, Colombo) 19:00-20:00 (West Pakistan) 20:00-21:00 (East Pakistan) 19:40-20:40 (Kathmandu)	41,30,25			