

# PEKING REVIEW

51

December 16, 1966

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## SEIZE NEW VICTORIES

*Hongqi editorial.*

### **Forty-One Red Hearts Are With Chairman Mao For Ever**

Heroic struggle by young overseas Chinese against Indonesian reaction.

### **The Chinese People Armed With Mao Tse-tung's Thought Are Not to Be Trifled With**

Strongest protest against massacre of Chinese compatriots in  
Macao by Portuguese authorities.

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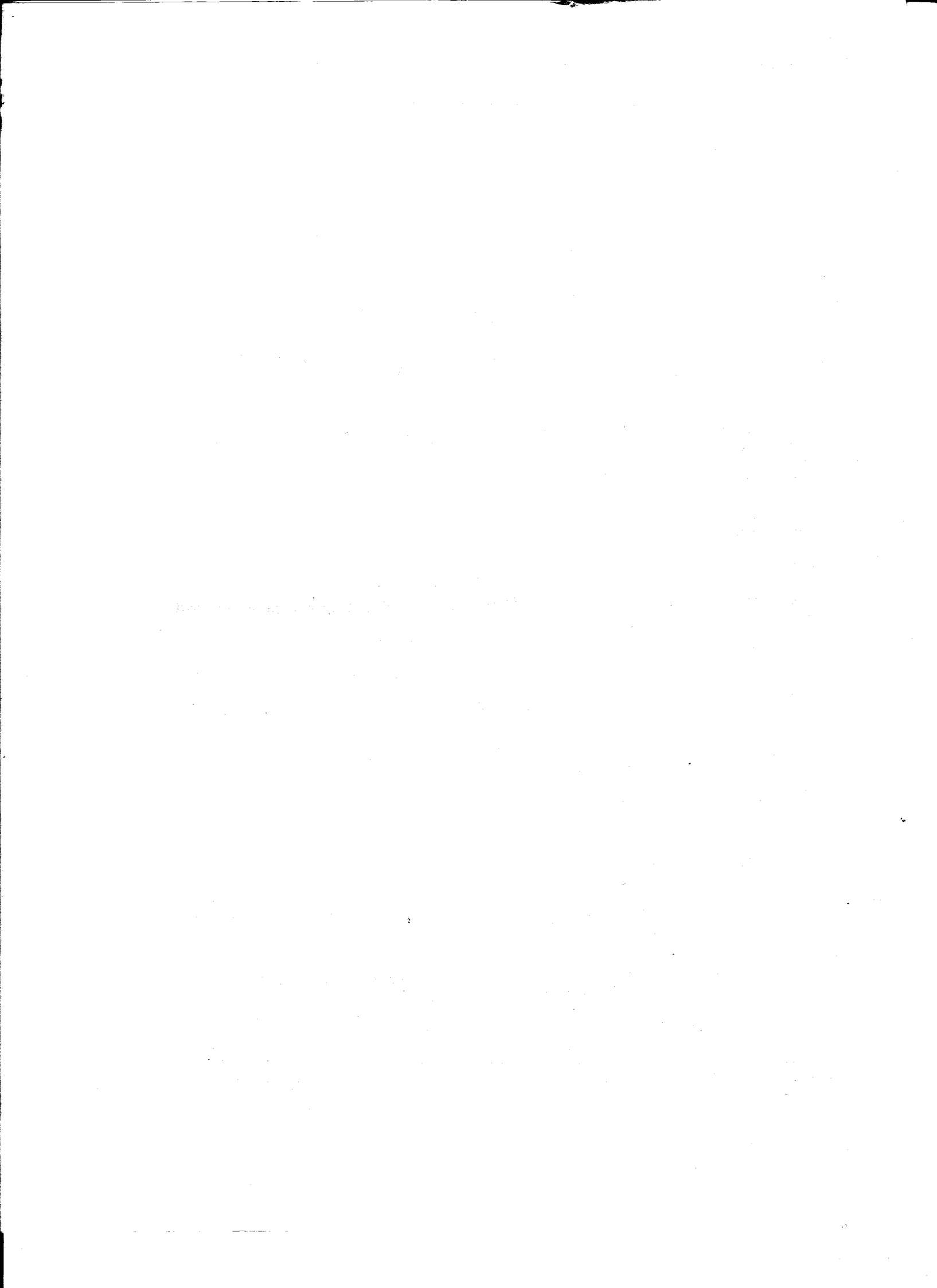
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**Chairman Mao Tse-tung, our great teacher, great leader, great supreme commander and great helmsman, on the Tien An Men rostrum reviewing revolutionary students and teachers and young Red Guard fighters**



## A Quotation From Chairman Mao Tse-tung

You should put politics in command, go to the masses and be one with them and carry on the great proletarian cultural revolution even better.

红旗  
HONGQI

# SEIZE NEW VICTORIES

**G**UIDED by the proletarian revolutionary line represented by Chairman Mao Tse-tung, the massive movement of the great proletarian cultural revolution has smashed through the obstacles put up by the bourgeois reactionary line, is going deeper and developing on an even broader scale. An important feature of the current situation is that the broad masses of revolutionary workers have risen to throw themselves into the movement of the great proletarian cultural revolution and a new stage in the integration of revolutionary students and the masses of workers is now starting.

The revolutionary masses have seen through the bourgeois reactionary line which aims to oppose the proletarian revolutionary line of the Central Committee of the Party headed by Chairman Mao. Some comrades who implemented the wrong line are correcting their mistakes and returning to the correct line. The very small number of persons who stubbornly cling to the bourgeois reactionary line are becoming more and more isolated. The ranks of the revolutionary Left have grown and developed greatly and reached a much higher level of understanding.

The revolutionary masses are sweeping away all sorts of obstacles in their path and striding forward along the road of the great proletarian cultural revolution opened by Chairman Mao himself.

The handful of persons in the Party who are in power and are taking the capitalist road and the extremely small number of persons who stubbornly cling to the bourgeois reactionary line are not reconciled to defeat. They have made a wrong assessment of the situation. They are playing new tricks and trying in new ways to deceive the masses and continue to oppose the proletarian revolutionary line represented by Chairman Mao. Because the revolutionary masses are firmly opposed to the bourgeois reactionary line, certain persons with ulterior motives make use of the slogan of "opposing the bourgeois

reactionary line" to deceive and confuse the people; they are in fact attacking the revolutionary Left and bombarding the proletarian headquarters. Because the revolutionary masses resolutely oppose the bombardment of the proletarian headquarters, some persons with ulterior motives make use of the slogan of "opposing the bombardment of the proletarian headquarters" to oppose and suppress the revolutionary masses, and prevent the masses from criticizing and repudiating the bourgeois reactionary line.

Whether they are genuinely criticizing and repudiating the bourgeois reactionary line or just pretending to do so should be judged by their deeds. Some people who have committed errors of line have not made sincere and public self-criticisms and are unwilling to reverse the verdicts passed on those of the revolutionary masses whom they branded "counter-revolutionaries" and "anti-Party elements" in the course of the cultural revolution. Using both threats and deception against the masses, they continue to organize those of the masses whom they have hoodwinked to attack the revolutionary Left. They turn right into wrong and vainly try to saddle proletarian revolutionaries with the crime of taking the bourgeois reactionary line, so as to protect themselves and protect persons in authority who are taking the capitalist road. These are people who, as Lu Hsun said, "use the great banner as a tiger-skin to cover themselves and intimidate other people."

Our Party will never permit anyone to attack the revolutionary masses and bombard the proletarian headquarters under the pretext of "opposing the bourgeois reactionary line."

What is meant by the proletarian headquarters? It means those that resolutely support Chairman Mao and Mao Tse-tung's thought, resolutely carry out the correct line in the great proletarian cultural revolution represented by Chairman Mao, resolutely support the 16-point decision concerning the great proletarian

cultural revolution, and resolutely oppose counter-revolutionary revisionism and the bourgeois reactionary line.

Against what target the spearhead of struggle is directed is a cardinal matter of right and wrong. It is a principled question of Marxism-Leninism, of Mao Tse-tung's thought. To direct the spearhead of struggle against the revolutionary Left instead of the handful of persons in the Party who are in authority and taking the capitalist road, to deceive and hoodwink part of the masses to protect oneself, and to incite the masses to struggle against each other — this is a typical manifestation of the bourgeois reactionary line. No matter under what form it is done — whether work-teams were sent or not or whether they were sent and later withdrawn — adopting this reactionary line and reactionary policy means committing the error of the bourgeois reactionary line. It is not a matter of the form of the work-team, but of what line and policy are taken. In some units, work-teams were not sent, and the original leading personnel remained in charge, but nevertheless they committed this error, whereas some of the work-teams, who followed the correct line and policy of Chairman Mao, did not.

How can we call those headquarters which oppress the masses headquarters of the proletariat? Why can't we "bombard" such headquarters?

Our Party can never allow anyone to make the revolutionary masses the target of attack or suppress the revolution under the pretext of "opposing bombardment of the proletarian headquarters."

At the present time one of the characteristics of the handful of persons within the Party who are in authority and are taking the capitalist road as well as the very few persons who stubbornly cling to the bourgeois reactionary line, is that they act behind the scenes — manipulating those mass organizations of the students and workers hoodwinked by them, sowing discord, creating factions, provoking conflicts in which force or coercion is used and even resorting to various kinds of illegal means against the revolutionary masses. They themselves "sit on top of the mountain to watch the tigers fight." They vainly attempt to use these means to destroy the great proletarian cultural revolution.

In doing these things, they think they are wise, but in fact they are most stupid. There is no doubt that they are lifting a rock to crush their own toes. In the course of the great proletarian cultural revolution, those of the masses who have been for a time hoodwinked by them are sure to awaken and expose and oppose them. The vast majority of the masses are always fine and they always support the Party and Chairman Mao. Once those of the masses who have been temporarily hoodwinked recognize the true face of the handful of the persons who intrigue and scheme and who oppose the great proletarian cultural revolution, they will immediately discard them and move

over to the side of the correct line of the Party's Central Committee headed by Chairman Mao.

Chairman Mao has taught us that the struggle should be conducted by reasoning, not by coercion or force. We must follow Chairman Mao's teachings and act resolutely according to this instruction. It is one of the most important policies in the great proletarian cultural revolution that the struggle should be conducted by reasoning and not by coercion or force. This policy is in the interests of the proletariat and the revolutionary masses. Only by insisting on struggle by reasoning, on resolutely opposing those bad people who provoke conflicts in which force or coercion is used among the masses, can extensive democracy under the proletarian dictatorship be carried surely into effect. Only so can there be an assurance of normal progress of the free airing of views, big-character posters and great debates; only so can the democratic rights of the masses of the people be protected.

A handful of persons in the Party who are in authority and are taking the capitalist road and a very small number of persons who stubbornly cling to the bourgeois reactionary line deliberately create incidents and stir up conflicts in which force or coercion is used. In doing this, they aim to undermine the democratic rights of the masses in a vain attempt to sabotage the dictatorship of the proletariat and torpedo the great proletarian cultural revolution. The revolutionary masses and revolutionary organizations must all heighten their vigilance to avoid falling into these traps. When opinions differ, they should discuss matters by presenting the facts and reasoning things out and, under the great banner of Mao Tse-tung's thought, and on the basis of the 16-point decision concerning the cultural revolution, unite in a concerted effort to carry the great proletarian cultural revolution through to the end.

Those comrades who committed errors of line in the previous stage of the revolution must conscientiously correct their mistakes, draw a sharp line of distinction between themselves and the erroneous line and return to the proletarian revolutionary line represented by Chairman Mao.

To correct their mistakes conscientiously, they must do the following:

Firstly, make a sincere and honest self-criticism before the masses;

Secondly, truly reverse the verdicts passed on those of the revolutionary masses who have been branded "counter-revolutionaries," "anti-Party elements," "pseudo-Leftists but genuine Rightists," "self-seeking careerists," etc., because of their criticism of the leadership, and rehabilitate them;

Thirdly, do political and ideological work among those of the masses and cadres who have been hoodwinked by the erroneous line, shoulder the responsibility themselves and not shift the blame on to the masses or their subordinates, help them enhance their understanding with their personal account of how they

made the mistakes, and unite with the broad masses;

Fourthly, go to the masses, learn from them, be their pupils and join them in criticizing and repudiating the bourgeois reactionary line and eradicating the evil effects left by that line;

Fifthly, implement in deeds and not just in words the proletarian revolutionary line represented by Chairman Mao, firmly support the revolutionary Left, rely on the broad masses and strike resolute blows against the handful of persons in the Party who are in authority and are taking the capitalist road.

We believe the broad revolutionary masses are reasonable and will give due consideration to the facts. If only those comrades who committed errors of line in the past do the things mentioned above, they will be exonerated by the revolutionary masses and regain the confidence of the masses. Once they do so, they will regain the initiative and do their work in the great proletarian cultural revolution, as well as their other work, well.

Should they fail to do so and continue along the erroneous line, their downfall is inevitable.

Six months have elapsed since the large-scale unfolding of the proletarian cultural revolution in our country. Tremendous successes have been achieved and rich experience has been gained in those six months, and every revolutionary can learn a lot from this. Lenin has said: "During a revolution,

millions and tens of millions of people learn in a week more than they do in a year of ordinary, somnolent life. For at the time of a sharp turn in the life of an entire people it becomes particularly clear what aims the various classes of the people are pursuing, what strength they possess, and what methods they use." We must take Chairman Mao's correct line as our guide, and class struggle as the key link, and apply the method of class analysis to study phenomena of all kinds, analyse the tendencies of the various classes in the current great cultural revolution, and see what methods they use.

Proletarian revolutionaries should do still better in their creative study and application of Chairman Mao's writings, strengthen and improve the nucleus of leadership, and further improve their art of struggle. They should investigate and study more, grasp policies, pay attention to methods of work, be good at bringing out the facts and reasoning, and consulting those people who hold different views, discussing problems with them, and uniting with the broad masses. They should welcome the correction of their errors by those comrades who have committed errors of line. Only in this way will we be able to expose and isolate to the maximum the handful of people in authority who are taking the capitalist road, organize the mighty army of the proletarian cultural revolution, seize new victories and fulfil the great historic task entrusted to us by Chairman Mao.

(*"Hongqi"* editorial, No. 15, 1966.)

# China's Literary and Art Workers Advance Firmly And Triumphantly Along the Road Pointed Out by Chairman Mao

Response to the Militant Call of the Literary and Art Circles' Rally  
For the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution

THE new and militant call from the literary and art circles' rally for the great proletarian cultural revolution recently held in Peking has given tremendous inspiration and strength to the broad masses of literary and art workers in the capital and provinces and in the Chinese People's Liberation Army. They have said: The speeches made by Comrades Chou En-lai, Chen Po-ta and Chiang Ching at the rally fully expressed Chairman Mao's deep concern for us and expectations of us, and the great strength and victory of the invincible thought of Mao Tse-tung on literature and art. We are determined to forge ahead victoriously along the road pointed out by Chairman Mao.

The rally in the Great Hall of the People on the evening of November 28 was held in the excellent situation brought about by the great victory won by the proletarian revolutionary line represented by Chairman Mao. Leading members of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party and various fields with more than 20,000 literary and art workers from Peking and other places took part (see *Peking Review*, No. 50, 1966, p. 5).

Peking's revolutionary literary and art workers and revolutionary teachers and students of art institutions have excitedly discussed it. Hailing its militant revolutionary spirit, they have said: This rally has ordered

us to mobilize for a general offensive against those in authority in literary and art circles who were taking the capitalist road, and against the counter-revolutionary revisionist line in literature and art which they represented. Reviewing the sharp struggle between the two classes — the proletariat and the bourgeoisie — and the two lines on the literary and art front in the past decade and more, they angrily denounced the former Peking Municipal Committee of the Chinese Communist Party, the former Propaganda Department of the Party's Central Committee and the former Ministry of Culture which dominated literary and art circles and pursued a counter-revolutionary revisionist line in literature and art in opposition to Chairman Mao's line on literature and art. Hoisting "red flags" in opposition to the red flag, they resorted to double dealing and all kinds of sinister and vicious tricks, they did their utmost to resist and oppose the orientation given by Chairman Mao — that literature and art should serve the workers, peasants and soldiers — and to prevent by all means the staging of plays on contemporary revolutionary themes so that emperors and kings, generals and ministers, scholars and beauties, ancients and foreigners should continue to dominate the stage, with the aim of preparing public opinion for a bourgeois restoration.

Many revolutionary fighters from various literary and art organizations spoke from personal experience about the epoch-making new achievements in the past few years in the reform of Peking opera, the ballet and symphonic music. Revolutionary dancers of the Ballet Troupe of the Central Opera and Dance Drama Theatre, describing the birth of the ballet *Red Detachment of Women*, told of how Comrade Chiang Ching led them in carrying out Chairman Mao's instruction to "make foreign things serve China" and reforming the ballet, smashing all kinds of underhand obstruction on the part of leaders of the former Propaganda Department of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party and the former Ministry of Culture. Young fighters in the operatic world declared that the exemplary Peking operas *Red Lantern*, *Shachiapang*, *Taking the Bandits' Stronghold* and *Raid on the White Tiger Regiment* were all successfully completed under the personal guidance of Comrade Chiang Ching, who shared weal and woe with the masses. Each of these operas bears the marks of her care and interest. The revolutionary musicians of the Central Philharmonic Society characterized the symphonic work *Shachiapang* as a young shoot of the new, proletarian music nurtured by Mao Tse-tung's thought. For the first time in the history of music, symphonic music has successfully reflected and extolled the great thought of Mao Tse-tung. They called the work an important result of the revolution in symphonic music.

The masses of revolutionary fighters on the literary and art front and amateur worker and peasant activists in literature and art throughout the country have given a unanimous and resolute response to the call of the rally. Members of the Amateur Troupe of Hopei Peasants who were at the time performing for those working on the Haiho River project said: In the past

Chou Yang, chief of the pernicious counter-revolutionary revisionist line in literature and art, and the reactionary bourgeois "authorities" were contemptuous of items performed by us poor and lower-middle peasants; they opposed our portraying the revolutionary heroism displayed by the poor and lower-middle peasants in battling the forces of nature. But Chairman Mao gives us the staunchest support; he had us take part in the National Day performances in Peking this year. This is indeed a new era in which we workers, peasants and soldiers are occupying a position of honour. We shall always sing the praises of Chairman Mao, who has led us to liberation, the Communist Party and the invincible thought of Mao Tse-tung. Amateur worker activists in literature and art who took part in the "Harbin Summer" music festival declared: We workers and peasants are the creators of spiritual as well as material wealth, and we are the main force disseminating and defending Mao Tse-tung's thought. In the great proletarian cultural revolution, we are determined to wield the powerful weapon that is Mao Tse-tung's thought and completely smash the pernicious counter-revolutionary revisionist line in literature and art.

The important speeches at the rally were carefully studied on the following days by the broad masses of professional and spare-time literary and art workers of the Chinese People's Liberation Army. Everyone speaking in the discussions said that these speeches give a most penetrating exposition of the literary and art line and orientation laid down by Chairman Mao, and most timely guidance to the mighty army of revolutionary literary and art workers of the whole nation in their victorious march along the road pointed out by Chairman Mao. The field of literature and art is an important battle front in the class struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie. If the proletariat is to carry the socialist revolution through to the end and root out revisionism, a great revolution in the sphere of literature and art must be carried out, the old literature and art must be thoroughly reformed, and a new socialist literature and art of the proletariat must be created by weeding through the old to let the new emerge. All this is to enable culture to better serve the economic base of socialism. Members of the team that made the film *Great Wall Along the Southern Sea*, an August First Film Studio production, declared that the bourgeois ladies and gentlemen, scholars and beauties must be swept clean off the stage and screen to let the workers, peasants and soldiers take over these socialist positions and become the real masters of the new, proletarian culture. We are firmly convinced that with the invincible thought of Mao Tse-tung to guide us we will sweep away the old literature and art of the exploiting classes, shoot good films which the broad masses of workers, peasants and soldiers will like to see and make Mao Tse-tung's thought prevail in socialist film art.

The decision of the Military Commission of the Party's Central Committee appointing Comrade Chiang Ching adviser on cultural work to the Chinese People's Liberation Army was enthusiastically supported



by all the literary and art workers in the army. They paid tribute to Comrade Chiang Ching's special contributions in resolutely persisting in the literary and art line of Chairman Mao, in personally taking part in the struggle against the pernicious counter-revolutionary revisionist line in literature and art and in the practical struggle to create a new, proletarian literature and art. This decision of the Military Commission appointing her as adviser on cultural work to the P.L.A. will greatly strengthen leadership in the cultural work of the P.L.A.

and greatly speed up the revolutionization of cultural work in the P.L.A.

As they cheered the great Peking rally, revolutionary literary and art workers expressed resolute determination to further study and apply Chairman Mao's writings creatively, to take the "three constantly read articles" as their maxims, to diligently remould their world outlook, and never cease to be revolutionary, to stage revolutionary plays and be propagators of Mao Tse-tung's thought throughout their lives.

# A Letter to Our Most Respected and Beloved Leader Chairman Mao

—Written by 41 young overseas Chinese during their imprisonment in Indonesia

**To Our Dear Motherland, Our Dear Party Central Committee and Our Most Respected and Beloved Leader Chairman Mao:**

Our best greetings to you! We, 41 young overseas Chinese, who are unreasonably imprisoned in the Medan base headquarters in Indonesia, are writing a letter to you. We were unwarrantedly arrested by Indonesian Right-wing armymen for upholding the dignity and honour of our motherland and for defending the legal rights and interests of the overseas Chinese. As we struggle against the enemy, you represent the red sun in our hearts. Your works have given us inexhaustible strength, the daring to wage a face-to-face struggle against all monsters and ghosts till we completely defeat them! The enemy's torture, intimidation and enticement have not for a moment made any of us waver in our patriotic stand and militant determination, because we have seen through the very essence of the enemy. **Chairman Mao has taught us that: "All reactionaries are paper tigers. In appearance, the reactionaries are terrifying, but in reality they are not so powerful,"** and in the course of our struggle we have come to a thorough understanding of the great wisdom and absolute correctness of this thesis. We went on a hunger strike for six days in defence of the dignity of the motherland and in protest against the fascist outrages of the Indonesian Right-wing militarymen. **During this time, whenever we felt faint from lack of food and ached in every limb, it seemed to us as though Chairman Mao was at our side gently encouraging us: "Be resolute, fear no sacrifice and surmount every difficulty to win victory."** These words inspire us and give us boundless strength. We braced ourselves, fully determined to carry the struggle to the very end!

Let the enemy beat and injure us and bloody our bodies all over, but they cannot shake our faith and our warm love for our motherland and Chairman Mao. Our motherland is our strongest support and Chairman Mao is the reddest sun in our hearts. When the struggle is most arduous, the thought of them fills us with confidence and helps us to go forward valiantly.

From the moment we were arrested, we have used Chairman Mao's teachings to encourage each other. **And through our struggles we have felt the matchless power of Mao Tse-tung's thought. In the dark prison cells with the enemy patrolling outside, we have recited from memory quotations from Chairman Mao again and again. Although we are dungeoned in these terrible, bleak cells, the brilliant radiance of Mao Tse-tung's thought illuminates our hearts.**

We thank you, the people of the motherland, the Party Central Committee and Chairman Mao, for your care and solicitude. Without fail, we shall put still greater effort into our study of Chairman Mao's works, and will imprint Mao Tse-tung's thought in our minds, infuse it in our blood and express it in our actions. Without fail, we shall emulate the proletarian revolutionary rebel spirit of the Red Guards — the vanguards of China's great proletarian cultural revolution — their daring to think, to speak out, to act and to break through. Our struggle against the enemy is still going on. **We pledge to Chairman Mao: We are determined to continue to take Mao Tse-tung's thought as the weapon to win final victory in this international class struggle!**

41 young overseas Chinese in Indonesia  
in prison at the Medan base headquarters, Indonesia

November 16, 1966

December 16, 1966

# Paean to Mao Tse-tung's Thought From Overseas

**S**TIRRING is the news which has reached us from overseas. A valiant, fighting collective armed with the thought of Mao Tse-tung has come to the fore in the storm and stress of the international class struggle.

Forty-one overseas Chinese youths who were locked in a severe struggle with the reactionaries in Indonesia have won a resounding victory. Their heroic feats in battle have spread far and wide among the people of the homeland and Chinese residing abroad. This is another paean to the great thought of Mao Tse-tung.

Chairman Mao has always taught us: Revolutionary fighters of the proletariat must have an indomitable spirit, determined to vanquish all enemies and never to yield. These 41 overseas Chinese youths are such revolutionary fighters with an indomitable spirit.

Behind the prison walls of the Indonesian reactionaries they faced the guns and bayonets of the fascist military and police, fearing neither death nor repression, neither ogres nor brutes. Steadfast, staunch and unafraid, they preserved intact the honour of the Chinese nation and safeguarded the dignity of the great motherland. Before them, the blustering Indonesian reactionaries were mere paper tigers.

These youngsters drew a sharp line between love and hate. For the enemy, they showed a strong hate; for their comrades, they cherished profound class feeling. They encouraged each other, cared for each other and supported each other in the struggle, and united as one man.

Loyal to Chairman Mao, to Mao Tse-tung's thought and the motherland, these overseas Chinese youths deserve to be called Chairman Mao's worthy fighters and fine sons and daughters of the Chinese people.

Where did the fighting courage, conviction and strength of these 41 overseas Chinese youths in the face of the threats and white terror of the Indonesian fascists come from?

It all came from the great and invincible thought of Mao Tse-tung. Mao Tse-tung's thought is the most powerful and the sharpest ideological weapon for fighting and defeating all enemies. Armed with Mao Tse-tung's thought, one will have a firm, correct political orientation, one will be full of fight and one will become courageous, intelligent and revolutionary to the highest degree. Whether in black Marias, behind prison bars or in one round of struggle after another with the enemy, these 41 overseas Chinese youths at all times persevered in studying and applying Chairman Mao's works in a creative way and took Chairman Mao's words as the guide for all action. For them the thought of Mao

Tse-tung is an inexhaustible source of strength which led them forward in conquering every difficulty and triumphing over the enemy.

Chairman Mao is the red sun in the hearts of the people of our country; he is also the red sun in the hearts of all patriotic Chinese residing abroad. With boundless veneration, respect and love for the great leader Chairman Mao, one of these heroic Chinese youths wrote with his blood five big Chinese characters — **Long live Chairman Mao** — on the wall of the Indonesian reactionaries' prison. Inscribed in blood, these words symbolize not only the ardent love for Chairman Mao in 41 hearts but also the ardent love in the hearts of millions of patriotic overseas Chinese in Indonesia. At critical moments when they were being subjected to wild torture by the Indonesian reactionaries the words of their respected and beloved leader Chairman Mao became audible in their ears and tingled in their hearts. This gave them infinite warmth and strength and inspired them to fight on until victory.

Under the radiance of Mao Tse-tung's thought China has become a great and strong socialist country. Socialist revolution and socialist construction have scored magnificent achievements in our country. The great proletarian cultural revolution personally initiated and led by Chairman Mao is profoundly changing the spiritual make-up of the people and the face of society. A generation of new people are growing up and there is no end to the miracles being performed in this great land of ours. All this has tremendously inspired our countrymen abroad and evoked in them a still deeper love for our great leader Chairman Mao, for the great Chinese Communist Party and for the great motherland. Their hearts are linked closely with those of the 700 million people at home.

The heroic feats of the 41 overseas Chinese youths have set a glorious example for all Chinese abroad and for the whole nation. We should learn from these heroes and heroines of the Mao Tse-tung era.

The 41 overseas Chinese youths and some of the patriotic overseas Chinese who went through those days of persecution with them have triumphantly returned to the fold of the motherland. We extend to them our lofty greetings and warm regards.

Let us hold higher and higher the great red banner of Mao Tse-tung's thought and fight together for the great cause of socialist revolution and socialist construction in our motherland!

(“Renmin Ribao” editorial, Dec. 9.)

# 41 Red Hearts Are With Chairman Mao For Ever

— Young Overseas Chinese' Heroic Struggle Against Indonesian Reaction

FROM the barbed-wired window of the prison-house at the Medan base headquarters in north Sumatra, Indonesia, where dark clouds hung overhead, now and then came a militant song of revolutionary heroism:

*We the Chinese nation's sons and daughters  
living overseas*

*Are youth of the era of Mao Tse-tung.*

*Fighting shoulder to shoulder*

*with the people of Indonesia,*

*We now carry on the fight in jail  
never to give in.*

*Chairman Mao! You are the red sun in our hearts;  
Your teachings we follow*

*And solemnly we vow:*

*Uphold the honour of our motherland,*

*Uphold the dignity of our motherland,*

*We will with our blood and young life so beautiful!*

This was the song of 41 militant young overseas Chinese, whose age averaged 19. As a fighting collective which holds high the great red banner of Mao Tse-tung's thought, they had engaged in a forty-day heroic struggle in a jail against the Indonesian fascist military. By relying on Mao Tse-tung's thought, which is the most powerful ideological weapon, they had stood up to brutal enemy torture and secret interrogation, frustrated the Indonesian reactionaries' political persecution plot, and, with their blood, upheld the honour of the motherland and the national dignity of the Chinese people.

## Singing on Their Way to Struggle

It began on October 10, 1966, when the Indonesian reactionaries started a still bigger wave of anti-China, anti-Chinese hysteria and gun shots again rang out in Medan, as the suppression of patriotic Chinese nationals was further intensified.

At around two o'clock in the afternoon, a group of Indonesian reactionary officers and plain-clothesmen sent by the Medan Army authorities, under the pretext of "inspecting sanitary conditions," came to the Medan Overseas Chinese Middle School, which had been turned into a "reception centre" for the victimized Chinese nationals. Their real purpose, however, was to take photographs meant to insult the Chinese nationals, which was part of their plan to sabotage the Chinese Government's efforts to return by ship those persecuted nationals wishing to return to their motherland; to stifle the raging struggle of the victims against persecution and to collect deceptive propaganda material for their American masters. Prior to this, some Americans had come there five times to try to

take these photographs but had all been kicked out and failed.

But no overseas Chinese in the era of Mao Tse-tung is to be bullied by imperialists and their lackeys. Hand in hand, arm in arm, the victims formed a circle around the "visitors" who had come "to inspect sanitary conditions" — two Indonesian army captains, Datuk Ahton Bay and Ramli Markan, and two plain-clothesmen. They roared in anger: "No photographs!" "Leave the films!" "Lackeys of U.S. imperialism, get out!"

Trembling all over, Captain Datuk pulled out his pistol and yelled in a hoarse voice: "Disperse, or I'll fire!" Shots rang out. The reactionary armymen guarding the place actually started firing.

But no patriotic overseas Chinese armed with Mao Tse-tung's thought is to be intimidated by gunshot. It was drowned in the still louder angry shouts of "Down with Indonesian reaction" and the singing of *Unity Is Strength*. Braving the whistling bullets flying overhead, the victimized Chinese nationals tightened their circle around the four reactionary officers and plain coat agents who fled in a sweat with the help of the reactionary armymen who cleared the way with their rifle butts.

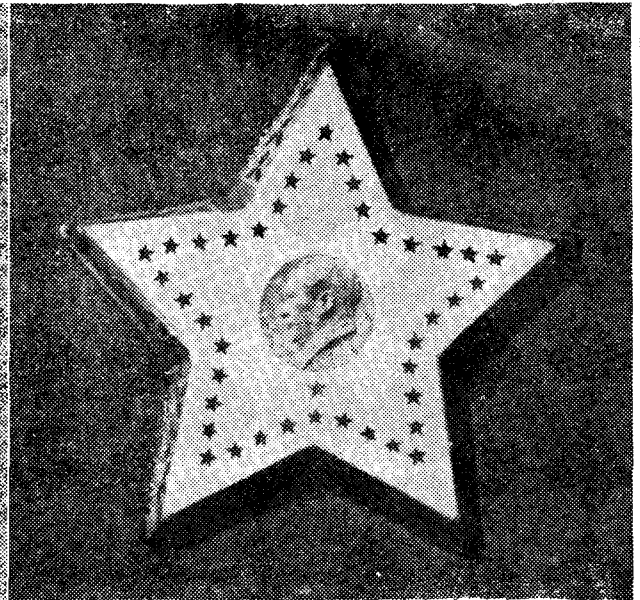
An hour later, two car-loads of armed and helmeted soldiers and police in blue or camouflaged colour uniforms rushed to the scene and forcibly dragged away eight Chinese young men. Another was beaten black and blue by a group of thugs and then handed over to the soldiers. Before these fascist bandits spirited them off and left, they threatened to take away all who did not let them take photographs.

Knowing that they were in for renewed attacks, a group of young overseas Chinese, with great presence of mind, sat down and read together two quotations from Chairman Mao:

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

**"To die for the people is heavier than Mount Tai, but to work for the fascists and die for the exploiters and oppressors is lighter than a feather."**

Then as a bunch of armed soldiers and police arrived at the "reception centre," these young Chinese walked over to them one by one and told them defiantly: "We are the ones who protested against your taking photographs! We protest your insult to us overseas Chinese. We are doing what is just and you have no reason whatsoever to arrest us!"



**Left:** The red flag with the characters "Long Live Chairman Mao" which these overseas Chinese youths embroidered while detained in an Indonesian prison. It symbolizes the boundless love they have for their great leader Chairman Mao.

**Right:** The overseas Chinese youths also made a star with a portrait of Chairman Mao in the centre. The 41 small red stars signify 41 red hearts.

Waving their rifle butts and doubling their fists, these brutal fascist armymen broke into the crowd, yelling, and pulling out 32 young people and throwing them into a prison car. The youngest of those arrested was only 13.

All the way to the Medan base headquarters, the 32 youths, like the other nine taken away previously, recited in unison another quotation from Chairman Mao: "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." They followed this up by singing *Sailing the Seas Depends on the Helmsman* and *We are Marching Along the Broad Road* and other Chinese revolutionary songs. These young overseas Chinese, as a reactionary Medan newspaper had to admit later, were taken to the headquarters actually "like victors, singing marches on and on and shouting the name of Mao Tse-tung again and again."

### Standing Firm

The Medan base headquarters spelt murder. Machine-guns bristled on all sides. These dauntless youngsters, their heads high and their backs straight, shouted at the top of their lungs: "Long live Chairman Mao! Long live Chairman Mao!"

The Indonesian reactionaries who had slaughtered countless Indonesian people now tried to bring these young overseas Chinese to their knees by fascist atrocities. A number of armed soldiers fell on them and, in turn, began pounding the skulls of the young victims with their helmets, hitting their knees with rifle butts, slashing their cheeks with cartridge belts and kicking them in the stomach and waist with their boots. After

beating 18-year-old Li Chin-hsin senseless, they trampled on his loins with their boots while blood streamed down his face. Others were slashed, beaten or kicked just as viciously.

"Spit it out! Who tried to kill Captain Datuk?" The 41 youngsters were tortured and questioned in turn with such absurd questions.

The indomitable youths clenched their teeth and their fists in protest: "You shameless liars!" "Your beatings are against the law. We strongly protest!"

Finding that vicious beatings had failed, one enemy chief named Samin Tarigan pulled out his revolver, pointed it at one of the victims, Yu Ya-chou, and bawled: "Don't tell me that you don't mind being killed!" All the soldiers with him cocked their rifles.

Twenty-year-old Yu Ya-chou was a middle school student who was born of poor parents and had become an orphan when he was very young and had worked in his spare time to support himself. He had entered in his diary only the day before his arrest the following passage: "Chairman Mao has said, if you don't hit reactionary things, they won't fall. . . . To bully the soft and be afraid of the tough is the nature of all reactionaries. Provided we keep our backs erect, throw out our chests and look determined and 'coolly defy a thousand pointing fingers' of the enemy and have the courage to wage a tit-for-tat struggle against him and persist in it, these reactionaries can be completely overpowered."

Now he tore open his shirt, pushed his chest out against the muzzle of the enemy's gun and shouted: "Go ahead and shoot, if you got the guts!" Others locked their arms, similarly threw their chests out and dared the enemy: "You rotten hoodlums! Go ahead and shoot!"

And there were the paper tigers who showed their true colours! Samin Tarigan staggered back and some cartridges dropped from his belt. Others also lowered their rifles one by one.

But the enemy would not leave the matter there. The interrogation and torture went on after dark and the prison cells were shrouded in horror.

At midnight, a Rightist armyman named Samosir burst into the cell where Yu Ya-chou was being kept in solitary confinement. He swung his rifle butt murderously against Yu Ya-chou's head. Yu Ya-chou, who had already been seriously injured in the daytime, now found blood spurting from a new gash about two inches long. But the young man did not flinch. Standing there upright, he denounced the enemy.

Later in the night, Yu Ya-chou who was in great pain, could not sleep. He thought of Chairman Mao and his motherland and this filled him with strength. Despite the pain, he dipped his right hand in the blood that was still trickling down from his head and wrote "LONG LIVE CHAIRMAN MAO!" on the wall.

### Fortress of Militant Unity

On the morning of October 11, the second day after the arrest of the 41 youths, armed military men forced 11 young overseas Chinese girls out of their cells. A tough-looking Indonesian plain-clothesman, clicking his camera, was ready to take pictures.

The girls immediately saw through this. Cheng Hsien-tsai shouted: "Schoolmates! Drive the U.S. running dogs away! Don't let them take pictures!" The girls covered their faces, and some turned away. They were determined not to let the enemy take pictures.

One Right-wing officer rushed forward and slapped Cheng Hsien-tsai. Her comrades instantly formed a ring to shield her, refusing to budge an inch despite the Right-wing thugs striking out with leather belts and rifle butts and kicking them with heavy boots.

"Stop beating the girls! Down with fascist atrocities!" cried the overseas Chinese boys from the windows of their cells.

The enemy shoved the girls back into their cells and turned to the men's cells. They beat up the boys, but the savage attacks made no impression on the angry youths who denounced the U.S. imperialist running dogs with shouts that rocked the jail.

Once again, the enemy's provocation was smashed! The girls wrote in their diary that day, "A storm has just passed, bigger storms may follow. Come on if you like, you reactionaries, the more of you the better. We will swallow you up one by one."

The next morning, the 41 moved on to the offensive against the Indonesian reactionaries. The girls composed a song, based on the music of the popular Chinese song *We Are Marching Along the Broad Road*, with the stress on militant unity.

As they were practising their new song, the representatives of the victimized Chinese nationals came to the Medan base headquarters to negotiate. The 11 girls rushed out of their cells, singing in high spirits *Sailing the Seas Depends on the Helmsman* and the militant song that they had just composed.

They shouted to the overseas Chinese representatives:

"Uphold our national honour!"

"We will not tolerate any insults to the motherland's dignity!"

"Truth is on our side!"

"The support of our great motherland is behind us!"

"The support of the 700 million people of our motherland is behind us!"

"Victory will be ours!"

From their cells, the young men joined in singing and shouting slogans. This turned into a powerful demonstration against the Indonesian reactionaries. The representatives of the overseas Chinese nationals, impressed by the militant spirit of the young people, gave the thumbs up sign.

The commander of the Medan base headquarters took fright. He ordered more than 50 heavily armed men to surround the 11 girls and demanded that they hand over Cheng Hsien-tsai.

Fists and whips rained on the girls. But no matter how much the girls were beaten, they hovered around Cheng Hsien-tsai to protect her. When she saw how her comrades were being beaten, Cheng Hsien-tsai stepped out of the circle and shouted to the enemy: "Stop, here I am. What do you want?"

The enemy condemned Cheng Hsien-tsai to solitary confinement. The girls kept up their struggle. In the end, they succeeded in driving the U.S. running dogs away and rescued their comrade-in-arms from her cell.

### Six-Day Hunger Strike

On the day of their arrest, the 41 overseas Chinese made up their minds to wage a life-and-death struggle, in accordance with Chairman Mao's teachings, against the cruel and barbarous Indonesian reactionaries. The next morning, through an ingenious device for establishing contact, they simultaneously started a fast. They sternly demanded that the Indonesian military authorities immediately stop all torturing and beatings, promptly transfer their wounded comrades to hospitals and declare all the arrested innocent and set them free.

The young people who had been manhandled and tortured beyond description were getting weaker with each passing day. Yet, this militant collective, armed with Mao Tse-tung's thought, became still more determined to fight it out with their assailants. From memory they repeatedly recited aloud quotations from Chairman Mao:



The overseas Chinese youths with a bust of Chairman Mao, their 5-pointed star, and copies of *Quotations From Chairman Mao Tse-tung* arrive at Chankiang port after a courageous and successful struggle against the Indonesian reactionaries.

They sang this repeatedly in the struggle, to express their infinite love for their most respected and beloved great leader Chairman Mao and the great motherland, and their boundless loyalty to the great thought of Mao Tse-tung.

Time and again, the Indonesian reactionaries sent officers and special agents to the jail to intimidate the young people and tempt them with enticements in an attempt to break their fast. Every time they were answered with angry shouts: "You shameless running dogs, go away!"

On October 16, after these Chinese boys and girls had been fasting for six days, the Medan military authorities had to promise to give medical treatment to the injured and sick and stop the torturing and beatings. Seeing that they had won a decisive victory, the young heroes and heroines ended their fast on October 17, in preparation for a new struggle.

**"In times of difficulty we must not lose sight of our achievements, must see the bright future and must pluck up our courage."**

**"We hail from all corners of the country and have joined together for a common revolutionary objective. . . . Our cadres must show concern for every soldier, and all people in the revolutionary ranks must care for each other, must love and help each other."**

Tsai Chiang-lin, who comes from a poor family, wrote on a jail wall Chairman Mao's militant call: **"Be resolute, fear no sacrifice and surmount every difficulty to win victory."**

Quotations from Chairman Mao Tse-tung enlivened the inmates in the dungeon and guided this group of heroic sons and daughters abroad in fighting through the black night to bright day.

Although physically the Chinese youths were weakening on the fourth day of the fast, their revolutionary fervour remained unimpaired. They composed collectively a militant poem and set it to music. The poem, entitled *Our Vow*, reads:

*"Oh, motherland! You are our mighty anchor,  
 "In defence of your dignity, we are staging a hunger strike.  
 "Whenever hunger torments us,  
 "We think of you,  
 "And all distress fades.  
 "Oh, Chairman Mao! You are the red sun shining in our hearts.  
 "Following your teachings, we are waging a face-to-face struggle with the enemy.  
 "Whenever we suffer from beastly beatings,  
 "We think of you,  
 "And all bodily pain gives way!"*

### Debate With Fascist Bandits

The strong protest lodged by the Chinese Government against the detention of the 41 Chinese threw the Indonesian reactionaries into panic and confusion. The *S.S. Kuang Hua*, the ship sent for the second time by the Chinese Government to bring back the persecuted Chinese nationals in Indonesia, was about to arrive in the port of Belawan. The army chieftains in Medan fumed and fidgeted. They held meetings day after day, in the vain hope of finding a way out.

The enemy began to interrogate the 41 one by one, trying a fascist "war of nerves" to force them into submission.

This enemy scheme, too, fell flat. These young people **drew strength and method from Chairman Mao's works as to how to cope with the enemy: Strategically, despise the enemy and tactically, take him seriously.**

Yu Ya-chou was brought before an officer. Swollen with self-importance, the tormentor banged his fist on the table and shouted: "You are the ringleader! We'll sentence you to life imprisonment if you don't talk up!"

Yu Ya-chou responded: "You have no right to try us! The Indonesian people will never tolerate this! What evidence do you have to prove that I am the 'ringleader'?"

Taken aback and annoyed, the officer was at a loss how to go on. He tried soft tactics, offering Yu tea and cigarettes. Then he ran into another room to consult his superiors.

He came back with a "clever" question: "Tell me, are you here of your own accord or under arrest?"

Yu Ya-chou told him flatly: "You illegally arrested me and you have tortured me!"

This sharp retort silenced the officer.

When 20-year-old Chiu Yueh-hao was questioned, the enemy resorted to deception and blackmail, the usual practice of fascists. An officer said to him: "Your friends have told us that you are the ringleader."

Chiu Yueh-hao was just as steadfast as the others of this close-knit fighting collective. He bellowed out at the enemy: "Let anyone who says so testify in my presence!" The officer was left speechless.

Chiu Yueh-hao launched a counter-attack, saying: "You carried out provocations against our people by taking pictures without our permission. This is an insult to our motherland and the persecuted Chinese nationals. It is a political plot. We will never tolerate this!"

Nonplussed, the officer made a complete turnabout, lamely asking Chiu if he had any requests to make.

"Set us free immediately; compensate us for all our losses!" Chiu Yueh-hao demanded, dealing a still harder blow at the enemy.

The enemy then questioned four other young people, but got nothing out of them. In the course of an interrogation, an officer, finding the youths too hard a nut to crack, said in dismay: "You are really hard to deal with. China has Red Guards. Maybe there are Red Guards in Indonesia, even in Medan. Are you all Red Guards?"

Proudly, Cheng Hsien-tsai told the man to his face: "You are so afraid of the Red Guards! This shows that what our Red Guards have done is fine! I should be very, very happy if I could become a Red Guard some day."

The illegal interrogations ended ignominiously.

### The Source of Victory

What was the motive force that made it possible for the young overseas Chinese, unarmed and far from their motherland, to dare wage unremitting struggles against the barbarous fascist enemy? What was the motive force that encouraged them to fear no sacrifice in winning victory? The 41 Chinese youths gave a firm answer by their heroic struggle: it is the great invincible thought of Mao Tse-tung.

On November 16, 1966, two days before they were released from jail, these young heroes and heroines together penned a letter to our great leader Chairman Mao with feelings deeper than the ocean:

"From the moment we were arrested, we have used Chairman Mao's teachings to encourage each other. And through our struggles we have felt the matchless power of Mao Tse-tung's thought. In the dark prison cells with the enemy patrolling outside, we have recited from memory quotations from Chairman Mao again and again. Although we are dungeoned in these terrible, bleak cells, the brilliant radiance of Mao Tse-tung's thought illuminates our hearts.

"We pledge to Chairman Mao: We are determined to continue to take Mao Tse-tung's thought as the weapon to win final victory in this international class struggle!"

One day a slip of paper was passed in from other victimized Chinese outside. This was at noon following the day of their winning out in the fast. On it in minute script was the text of Chairman Mao's brilliant article *Serve the People*. The jailed young people regarded this as a priceless gift.

Every word of Chairman Mao's teachings was like sunlight and timely rain; every word was food for the spirit. To prevent this gift from being confiscated by the enemy, and above that, to imprint Chairman Mao's teachings on their minds, Yu Ya-chou, Wang Chin-ming, Chiu Yueh-hao, Tsai Chiang-lin and Hsieh Chieh-fang divided *Serve the People* into five parts and each memorized one section.

After that, they destroyed the paper and related the full text part by part to the girls. Imprinting Chairman Mao's teachings on their minds, they felt as if they were beside Chairman Mao. With their minds clear and eyes sharp, they felt that they had enough energy and strength to vanquish the enemy.

### Red Hearts Long for Chairman Mao

In early November, the Chinese Consul in Medan returned to Medan from Djakarta and the S.S. *Kuang Hua* arrived at Belawan near Medan.

The young people discussed what gift they could send to their most respected and beloved leader Chairman Mao if they were released. They decided that they would write a letter to him and prepare two gifts: the boys would make a 5-point star with Chairman Mao's portrait in the middle and 41 small red stars around it, and the girls would make a red flag embroidered with "Long live Chairman Mao."

Once decided, they immediately set to work. They made the 5-point star out of the cardboard boxes and coloured wrapping paper of the sweets sent in by relatives outside. They found a portrait of Chairman Mao in a book and carefully put it in the centre of the star. Then they cut out 41 small red stars and put them around the portrait.

The girls did their part. Some stood guard at night while the others stitch by stitch embroidered the flag, a symbol of the feelings of the 41 heroic young overseas fighters, the red flag which led them to victory.

Thanks to the repeated representations made by the Chinese Government and the courageous struggle waged by the 41 young fighters and thanks to the support by the Indonesian masses and Chinese nationals in Indonesia, the plot for political persecution by the Indonesian reactionaries utterly failed and the Medan base headquarters was forced to release the 41 young overseas Chinese unconditionally on November 18, the day after the girls had finished embroidering the red flag.

On that day, the 41 young heroes and heroines and other victimized Chinese nationals were reunited. They embraced again and again, shouting "Long live Chairman Mao, long, long life to Chairman Mao!" "We've won!" and singing the song *Sailing the Seas Depends on the Helmsman*. The Right-wing reactionary army men, who once ran wild, stood by dejected and helpless.

The next evening just before the 41 young fighters left for the motherland, more than 1,000 overseas Chi-

nese, men and women, old and young, gathered at the square of the Overseas Chinese Middle School in Medan to celebrate the victory and give the young fighters a warm send-off. The youngsters told their compatriots: "We have the invincible thought of Mao Tse-tung to guide us and the great socialist motherland and the 700 million Chinese people behind us, so final victory must be ours."

— *Hsinhua Correspondent*

# Chinese People Armed With Mao Tse-tung's Thought Are Not to Be Trifled With

## Strongest Protest Against Portuguese Authorities' Massacre of Chinese Compatriots in Macao

**M**ORE than 100,000 people from all walks of life, including Red Guards, in Kwangchow and from other parts of Kwangtung Province held a rally in Kwangchow on December 11 to angrily condemn and strongly protest the bloody fascist atrocities by Portuguese imperialism in massacring Chinese compatriots in Macao, and to express resolute support for the latter in their just struggle against persecution. (See *Peking Review*, No. 50, 1966. — *Ed.*)

Showing great indignation, Lin Li-ming, Member of the Secretariat of the Kwangtung Provincial Committee of the Chinese Communist Party and Acting Governor of Kwangtung Province, and representatives of the Red Guards, workers, peasants and women addressed the rally. They sternly warned the Portuguese authorities in Macao that they must unconditionally accept and fully comply with the four-point proposition in the authorized statement by the Director of the Foreign Affairs Bureau of the Kwangtung Provincial People's Council and immediately and unconditionally accept all the just demands of the Chinese compatriots in Macao. Otherwise, the Portuguese authorities in Macao must be held fully responsible for all the grave consequences arising therefrom.

The rally was presided over by Tseng Sheng, Vice-Governor of Kwangtung Province and Mayor of Kwangchow. In his opening address, he said that for Portuguese imperialism, with the energetic support of the Chiang Kai-shek gang and U.S.-British imperialism, to have repeatedly engineered bloody fascist atrocities is a grave provocation to the Chinese people. The Chinese people absolutely cannot tolerate the unscrupulous bullying and persecution of Chinese compatriots in Macao.

In his speech, Lin Li-ming said: We sternly warn the Portuguese authorities in Macao that we can never remain indifferent to your heinous crime against our compatriots. If you stubbornly continue to bully our compatriots in Macao and slaughter Chinese residents there and if you continue to use the Chiang Kai-shek gang and U.S.-British imperialism to interfere in Macao's affairs, we can never tolerate it. You will certainly knock your head against a stone wall.

He warmly praised the patriotic compatriots and teachers and students in Macao who had shown that they followed Chairman Mao's teachings by their great heroism in facing the shocking fascist atrocities of the Portuguese authorities. He said: Reciting aloud quotations from Chairman Mao in the face of fascist hooligans, patriotic compatriots and teachers and students have demonstrated the fearlessness of the people armed with the great thought of Mao Tse-tung. We express our most resolute support for the just actions of our compatriots in Macao.

A representative of the Red Guards, Wu Shih-hsing, protested in the strongest terms against the Portuguese authorities in Macao and gave them a most serious warning. He said: We are the Red Guards led personally by Chairman Mao and also the powerful reserves of the Chinese People's Liberation Army. We are the revolutionary rebels armed with Mao Tse-tung's thought who dare to scale a mountain of swords and brave a sea of fire. We want to rebel in a big way against imperialism and against modern revisionism and the reactionaries of all countries. If, instead of reining in on the brink of a precipice and acknowledging your guilt, you, the Portuguese authorities in Macao, obstinately insist on being hostile to the Chinese



people, we **Red Guards** will take all necessary revolutionary actions to rebel against you. We mean what we say.

Hsiang Shu, a representative of the workers of Kwangchow, said: We warn the Portuguese authorities in Macao: The Chinese people armed with Mao Tse-tung's thought are not to be trifled with and you will never be allowed to bully our compatriots in Macao. Your provocation will certainly end up by lifting a rock only to drop it on your own feet.

Liao Mei, representing the peasants on the outskirts of Kwangchow, said: Our broad masses of poor and lower-middle peasants, peasants armed with Mao Tse-tung's thought, fear nothing. We pledge to provide powerful backing to our patriotic compatriots in Macao. If Portuguese imperialism persists in being hostile to the Chinese people, we are determined to break its back.

On December 3, the patriotic teachers and students in Macao sent their delegates to lodge a serious protest with the Portuguese authorities against their brutal massacre of Chinese residents on November 15, and to reaffirm that the five demands made by the Taipa residents on November 18 must be accepted: 1. the culprits who engineered the sanguinary incident must be severely punished; 2. the Portuguese authorities on Taipa Island must not obstruct the repair of school buildings and must not violate the proper rights and interests of the residents; 3. the Portuguese authorities on Taipa Island and the Portuguese police in Macao must compensate the injured for all their medical expenses as well as for all their losses resulting from this incident; 4. the unreasonable sentence given to their delegates by the Portuguese office of the judicial police in Macao should be annulled; 5. the Portuguese authorities in Macao must guarantee against any recurrence of similar incidents of residents being beaten. Employing the most despicable means, the Portuguese authorities in Macao induced the delegates to enter the "Governor's Office" where they were shut in and savagely beaten. At the same time, large numbers of troops and policemen, armoured vehicles and tanks were sent to open fire on Chinese shops, homes and residents, thus precipitating an unprecedented tragic incident in which Chinese residents were massacred. Shooting at Chinese residents was still taking place on December 5. According to incomplete statistics, there was a total of more than one hundred casualties on December 3 and 4, including eight killed. White terror reigned over all Macao. The lives and property of Chinese compatriots there were under grave threat.

In the course of the sanguinary massacre, the Chiang Kai-shek gang and the U.S. and British imperialists wilfully slandered the just actions of the Chinese residents and strongly supported the Portuguese authorities in Macao in their atrocities.

In the face of the fascist atrocities by the Portuguese authorities in Macao, the patriotic Chinese compatriots have waged a heroic and unrelenting struggle.

They have repeatedly held meetings angrily denouncing the atrocious crimes of Portuguese imperialism. In the struggle against the Portuguese fascist armed police, many rose immediately after being knocked down. Locking arms and shouting slogans, they fought on. Some students courageously picked up tear gas bombs and threw them back at the police. One intrepid youth fought bare-handed until his last breath against several fully armed bestial troops surrounding him. Remembering Chairman Mao's teachings, a patriotic compatriot, though severely wounded by torture, expressed his determination to defy sacrifices and surmount every difficulty to win victory.

A statement by the Director of the Foreign Affairs Bureau of the Kwangtung Provincial People's Council on December 9 protested in the strongest terms against the fascist atrocities of the Portuguese authorities in Macao.

"Taking up the minor issue to avoid the major one," the statement said, "the Portuguese authorities in Macao have now feigned acceptance of the demands of the Chinese residents on Taipa Island in an attempt to evade their grave responsibility for the criminal massacre of Chinese residents on a big scale since December 3. This is a fraud which will never succeed. The Foreign Affairs Bureau of the Kwangtung Provincial People's Council is instructed to lodge the strongest protest against the fascist atrocities of the Portuguese authorities in Macao. The Chinese people firmly support the just actions of the patriotic compatriots in Macao. The Portuguese authorities in Macao must

"1. Immediately and unconditionally accept the five demands put forward on November 18 by the Chinese residents on Taipa Island, Macao;

"2. Immediately and unconditionally accept the five demands put forward on December 5 by the Chinese Students' Union in Macao; [1. Fully accept and comply with the five demands put forward by the Taipa residents; 2. punish Octavio Figueiredo, the chief culprit who directed the suppression of the patriotic teachers and students; 3. immediately stop the criminal shooting of Chinese compatriots in Macao; 4. undertake to compensate the victimized persons for all their losses; 5. guarantee against any recurrence of the atrocities in suppressing Chinese compatriots in Macao. — *Ed.*]

"3. Immediately apologize to the Chinese residents and severely punish the chief culprits: Army commander Carlos Armando da Mota Cerveira, police commandant Octavio Figueiredo, deputy police commandant Antonio Vaz Antunes, and acting Island administrator Rui de Andrade;

"4. Effectively guarantee that no agents of the Chiang Kai-shek gang will ever be permitted to operate in Macao in any manner; immediately return for disposition by the Chinese Government the seven

agents of the Chiang Kai-shek gang whom the Portuguese authorities in Macao took off in June 1963 by intruding into Chinese waters.

"We must solemnly warn the Portuguese authorities in Macao that the Chinese people, armed with the great thought of Mao Tse-tung, are not to be trifled with and that the Chinese residents in Macao must in no way be bullied. The Portuguese authorities in Macao must immediately accept and fully comply with all the just demands put forward by the Chinese side. Should you try to seek the intervention of the Chiang Kai-shek

gang and U.S. and British imperialism in Macao's affairs, the Chinese people absolutely will not tolerate it."

On December 11, *Renmin Ribao* carried an article by its Commentator which sternly warned the Portuguese authorities in Macao. The article said that the four-point proposition in the above statement expressed the firm stand of the 700 million Chinese people. "The Portuguese authorities in Macao must immediately accept and fully comply with the just demands of the Chinese side. Otherwise, you will eat the fruits of your action," the article concluded.

## Study "Report on an Investigation of the Peasant Movement in Hunan"

*This is an abridged translation of material which appeared in "Jiefangjun Bao," (the "Liberation Army Daily") on October 6 as a guide to P.L.A. company cadres and fighters in their study of this work of Chairman Mao. — Ed.*

### Historical Background

Published in March 1927, the *Report on an Investigation of the Peasant Movement in Hunan* was written by Chairman Mao at a critical moment in the Chinese revolution. It was a reply to the carping criticism, then being levelled both inside and outside the Party against the peasants' revolutionary struggle; it firmly supported the peasants' rising revolutionary movement. It is a brilliant, Marxist-Leninist classic.

At the time, the First Revolutionary Civil War (1924-27) fought under the leadership of our Party was developing victoriously. The Northern Expeditionary Army, which started its expedition from Kwangtung in south China, had marched into the Yangtse valley occupying half of the country. The workers' and peasants' mass movement developed vigorously. The earth-shaking peasants' revolutionary struggle was advancing with a vengeance over the length and breadth of the country, especially in Hunan, the centre of the nation's peasant movement, where it rose like a mighty storm, like a swift and violent hurricane. Millions of peasant masses, overwhelming in force and momentum, had shattered the reactionary rule of the feudal landlord class, a marvellous feat never before achieved in thousands of years.

Confronted by this excellent situation of fast-moving revolutionary development, the forces of counter-revolution were seized with great panic. Frenziedly,

they opposed the Chinese Communist Party, opposed and undermined the peasant movement, and suppressed the peasants' revolutionary struggle. While ready to openly strangle the Chinese revolution by force, imperialism was working overtime to back the Right-wing Kuomintang headed by Chiang Kai-shek who were hiding themselves in the camp of the revolution. Chiang Kai-shek himself was even worse, baring his teeth and in alliance with all forces of reaction to attack the masses of workers and peasants while plotting to start a great counter-revolutionary massacre and smother the revolution.

The Right opportunists in the Party, headed by Chen Tu-hsiu, failing to understand the importance of the peasant question and most fearful of and hostile to the peasants' revolutionary struggle, opposed Chairman Mao's correct line; they practised capitulationism to the landlord and capitalist classes. Frightened by the counter-revolutionary adverse current of the Kuomintang reactionaries, they dared not support the great peasant movement, but, instead, scurried after the landlord and capitalist classes and loudly attacked the peasant movement as "going too far" and being "terrible." In order to appease the Kuomintang reactionaries, they insisted that the peasants should hand over the rural revolutionary political power and the armed forces of the peasants to the landlord class, they preferred to desert the peasantry, the chief ally in the revolution, and thus left the working class and the Communist Party isolated and without help and led the revolution on to the road of defeat.

In these circumstances and with a view to leading and promoting the peasant movement, saving the revolution and defeating the enemy, Chairman Mao spent

32 days personally investigating the situation of the peasant movement in the five counties of Hsiangtan, Hsianghsiang, Hengshan, Liling and Changsha and summed up the experiences of the peasant movement and wrote this Report. Solving a series of basic problems of the Chinese revolution, the Report thoroughly repudiated the landlord and capitalist classes as well as the Right opportunists inside the Party who attacked and slandered the peasant movement; this greatly inspired and supported the Chinese peasants' revolutionary struggle which was on the rise, thus laying a solid ideological foundation for the victorious development of the Chinese revolution.

## Great Significance

Chairman Mao's *Report on an Investigation of the Peasant Movement in Hunan* is a brilliant document, a guide for the proletarian revolutionary movement. Starting from the most firm and most thoroughgoing revolutionary stand of the proletariat, Chairman Mao in this Report scientifically summed up the experience of the peasants' revolutionary struggle led by the proletariat, clearly pointed out the extremely serious nature of the peasant problem, completely solved the central question concerning proletarian leadership—the question of the peasants as an ally in the revolution—laid down the Party's class line in the countryside, advanced for the first time the great strategic thought about the establishment of peasants' armed forces and peasants' political power led by the proletariat, enriched and developed in an all-round and creative way the Marxist-Leninist theory about the peasant question, and thus made great contributions to the theoretical treasure house of Marxism-Leninism.

The theory advanced by Chairman Mao in this work—the theory of the proletarian leadership over the peasants' revolutionary struggle, the great theory of establishing peasants' armed forces and rural revolutionary political power, which was later developed into establishing revolutionary bases in the countryside, using the countryside to encircle the city and finally seizing the city—is the most precious common treasure of the Chinese people and the revolutionary people of the world. Like a bright beacon, it guided the Chinese revolution to great victory and points out to the revolutionary people of the world, especially the oppressed nations and peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America, the realistic way to liberation. With more and more revolutionary people grasping and applying this great theory, the development of the revolutionary cause of the people of the world will surely be given a powerful impetus while the revolutionary people are sure to bury imperialism, its accomplices and its hangers-on once and for all.

Chairman Mao in this great work warmly praised the revolutionary mass movement with the most intense class sentiment and in the most vivid language, thus greatly enhancing the militant will of the revolutionary masses while deflating the arrogance of the land-

lord and capitalist classes. The Report penetratingly expounded the revolutionary viewpoint: to have faith in the masses, rely on them, boldly mobilize them and respect their initiative, thereby laying down the theoretical groundwork for the Party's mass line. Chairman Mao's theory concerning revolutionary mass movements for ever remains the most fundamental guiding thought for us to promote large-scale revolutionary mass movements and push forward the proletarian revolution and further the cause of construction; it for ever remains the source from which stems the strength of the revolutionary people of the world in their fight for liberation.

The brilliant ideas in Chairman Mao's Report are the guide to China's great proletarian cultural revolution, the powerful ideological weapon of us revolutionaries for examining questions, distinguishing right from wrong, smashing all forces of resistance and for promoting the victorious development of the revolutionary mass movement. A serious study of this Report by Chairman Mao and the use of the great thought which it embodies as a guide to our thought and action are of especially great significance if we are to win complete victory for the great proletarian cultural revolution.

## Main Points for Study

As we study this great work during the current great proletarian cultural revolution, we should pay special attention to grasping the following questions:

**1. The revolutionary cause of the proletariat is the cause of the masses of the people themselves. Without a great mass movement, there can be no proletarian revolution.**

Chairman Mao has said: "A revolution is an insurrection, an act of violence by which one class overthrows another." Class struggle is a fierce, life-and-death struggle. All exploiting classes alike will not quit the stage of history of their own accord. Only by relying on a great mass movement with the conscious participation of the broad masses can the proletariat overthrow the reactionary rule of the exploiting classes, set up and consolidate political power under the proletarian dictatorship and win complete victory for the proletarian revolution.

Chairman Mao has pointed out in the Report: "The patriarchal-feudal class of local tyrants, evil gentry and lawless landlords has formed the basis of autocratic government for thousands of years and is the cornerstone of imperialism, warlordism and corrupt officialdom." "Without using the greatest force, the peasants cannot possibly overthrow the deep-rooted authority of the landlords which has lasted for thousands of years. The rural areas need a mighty revolutionary upsurge, for it alone can rouse the people in their millions to become a powerful force." It was precisely amid a surging revolutionary tide that the peasants of Hunan had grown into a mighty irresistible force, crashing heavily against the power of the feudal land-

lords to shake the very foundation of feudal rule and thus performed a marvellous feat never before achieved in thousands of years. Today, in the high tide of the great proletarian cultural revolution, the valiant revolutionary Red Guards and revolutionary students and teachers, with the enthusiastic support of the broad masses of workers, peasants and soldiers, have stricken forward like a thunderbolt, making charges and storming fortresses; in a very short time they have created utter consternation among those inside the Party who are in power and who are taking the capitalist road, as well as the bourgeois reactionary academic "authorities"; one by one, they have dragged out those old parasites, bloodsuckers and enemies of the people who have hidden in the dark corners. They have unearthed and put on exhibition these scoundrels' concealed gold, silver, valuables and other lucre, various kinds of secret accounts hidden to await the hoped-for restoration, and murderous weapons. They have swept away the old customs and habits of all the exploiting classes, like rubbish out the door. They have done innumerable good deeds, scored brilliant achievements in the battle and done a great service. This fully shows that any great revolutionary movement must be a seething mass movement. Revolution always represents the conscious aspirations of the broad masses, and therein lies an inexhaustible enthusiasm for revolution. Only by mobilizing the masses by the millions, giving play to their revolutionary initiative of daring to think, to speak out, to act and to blaze a new trail can a tremendous force be formed to break through the obstructions of all the old forces and win complete victory for the revolution.

A vigorous mass movement born of a revolutionary upsurge is bound to upset the outdated regulations, rules and the old ways of doing things of all the exploiting classes; thus, all class enemies will invariably grumble and talk about "going too far" and being "abnormal." Chairman Mao gave a powerful rebuff in the Report to these slanders by the class enemies. He said: ". . . a revolution is not a dinner party, or writing an essay, or painting a picture, or doing embroidery; it cannot be so refined, so leisurely and gentle, so temperate, kind, courteous, restrained and magnanimous." In point of fact, what the class enemies described as "going too far" and being "abnormal" is exactly the necessary action to be taken in the course of revolution, a phenomenon that is a matter of course. Without such a revolutionary action on the part of the broad masses, without a great mass movement, there can be no proletarian revolution. During the current great proletarian cultural revolution, the broad revolutionary masses, putting "destruction" above everything else, are vigorously destroying the old ideas, old culture, old customs and old habits of the exploiting classes and vigorously establishing the new ideas, new culture, new customs and new habits of the proletariat. As we revolutionaries see it, this is normal and a very good thing.

**Chairman Mao has said: "The people, and the people alone, are the motive force in the making of world**

**history." (On Coalition Government)** Only by relying on the broad masses of people can we overcome all difficulties, defeat all enemies and do all work well. Divorced from the masses, we would be like water without a source and a tree without roots and would achieve nothing. It is Chairman Mao's consistent great thought and the basic policy of our Party that leads a mass movement to have faith in the masses, to rely on them, to boldly mobilize them and respect their initiative. In the past, acting in accordance with this great thought of Chairman Mao's and implementing this basic Party policy, we had won great victories in the democratic and socialist revolutions. The present great proletarian cultural revolution has caused China's socialist revolution to develop into a new stage, deeper and more extensive than ever; it is an exceedingly fierce, exceedingly sharp and exceedingly profound class struggle. Thus, the complete victory of the great proletarian cultural revolution, the real solution in the ideological field of the question of who is to win, the proletariat or the bourgeoisie, is possible only by having full faith in the masses, relying on them and respecting their initiative, boldly mobilizing them and launching a revolutionary mass movement in a big way.

## **2. The attitude towards a revolutionary mass movement is the important watershed between revolutionaries and counter-revolutionaries, genuine and sham revolutionaries, and Marxists and revisionists.**

What kind of attitude to take towards a revolutionary mass movement is the important watershed distinguishing revolutionaries from counter-revolutionaries, genuine revolutionaries from sham revolutionaries, and Marxists from revisionists. Everyone will have to reveal his stand, viewpoint and political outlook on this question.

Chairman Mao has said: "Where there are two opposite approaches to things and people, two opposite views emerge. 'It's terrible!' and 'It's fine!', 'riffraff' and 'vanguards of the revolution'—here are apt examples." In 1927, the peasants in Hunan, with a force like a tempest and a hurricane, smashed the feudal landlords' thousands-year old special privileges to smithereens. The broad peasant masses, and revolutionaries were pleased by this and applauded it without exception. Whereas the landlord class and other reactionaries, panic-stricken and extremely hostile to this, levelled all kinds of vicious slanders and attacks against the peasants' revolutionary actions. The same is true of the nation's current great proletarian cultural revolution. The broad masses of workers, peasants and soldiers, particularly the Red Guards—who have been the shock forces in the revolution—and the revolutionary students and teachers, opened heavy fire on a handful of persons inside the Party who are in power and who are taking the capitalist road, on the ghosts and monsters in society, on the entrenched strongholds of the bourgeoisie. They have washed away all the slime and filth left over from the old society and swept

out the rubbish and garbage of the exploiting classes. Their revolutionary action has won the warm praise and plaudits of both the Chinese people and revolutionary people the world over, whereas the class enemies at home and abroad are greatly vexed and angry. They heaped calumny on the Red Guards, calling them "young fanatics" and attacked their revolutionary action as "destroying social traditions." These two different approaches and attitudes towards a revolutionary mass movement, diametrically opposed to each other, are determined by the different interests of two completely antagonistic classes and are a reflection of two entirely antagonistic stands and world outlooks. All exploiting classes are antagonistic to the broad masses. As the masses rise in making revolution, this means that the exploiting classes are all the nearer, approaching their graves. Therefore, those who take the stand of an exploiting class are bound to be afraid of the masses and oppose revolutionary mass movements. The proletariat is the thoroughly revolutionary class; in revolutionary struggles, the more widely the masses are mobilized, the greater the scale of the mass movement, the faster the revolution develops and the greater it is to the benefit of the complete liberation of the revolutionary class. Only by resolutely taking the proletarian stand is one able to share the same lot with the masses, breathe the same breath, and actively support revolutionary mass movements.

Dialectical materialism teaches us that the development of things is determined by the essence and main current of things. Thus, we must look into the essence and the main current in our approach to a question. Eleven years ago, criticizing certain comrades for their Right opportunist mistakes on the question of agricultural co-operation, Chairman Mao said: "**The way these comrades look at problems is wrong. They do not look at the essential or main aspects but emphasize the non-essential or minor ones. It should be pointed out that these non-essential or minor aspects must not be overlooked and must be dealt with one by one. But they should not be taken as the essential or main aspects, or we will lose our bearings.**" (*On the Question of Agricultural Co-operation*) The revolutionary mass movement led by the proletariat is always in accord with the objective law of social development. The revolutionary masses are clear-sighted, fully capable of understanding the Party's policies, distinguishing the enemy from ourselves, what is wrong from what is right, what is false from what is true, **they have never been wrong on the general direction of the revolution.** In a revolutionary mass movement, it is inevitable that there may be some shortcomings that are partial and transient in nature, but these are after all secondary, an unavoidable phenomenon in the course of advance. The masses learn to make revolution in revolution just as people learn to swim in swimming. They will educate themselves in revolutionary movements, discerning what is right, what is wrong, which ways of doing things are correct and which ways are not. They will heighten their consciousness, enhance their ability and rectify these shortcomings in no time. During the great

proletarian cultural revolution, the vast number of workers, peasants and soldiers, Red Guards, revolutionary students and teachers, revolutionary cadres in our country all along have forged ahead courageously in the correct direction shown by Chairman Mao — this is the essence and main current of the movement. If one fails to see the principal revolutionary orientation of a mass movement, the essence and main current, and if one mistakes the tributaries as the main current and superficial things as the essence, he will lose his bearings or even play into the hands of the class enemy.

**Chairman Mao thus raised the question: What is the attitude that should be taken towards the revolutionary mass movements? To march at their head and lead them? To trail behind them, gesticulating and criticizing? Or to stand in their way and oppose them? This is a very severe test for each and every revolutionary.** Chairman Mao is the greatest paragon of correct approach to revolutionary mass movements, the most outstanding exemplar of our Party in leading mass movements. Chairman Mao has the greatest faith in the masses, he shows his greatest concern for them, gives his fullest support to their revolutionary movement and is heart to heart with the revolutionary masses. In the present great proletarian cultural revolution, we must study in real earnest Chairman Mao's great thought and practice in dealing with revolutionary mass movements; we must oppose all wrong attitudes antagonistic to revolutionary mass movements and support the revolutionary mass movements heart and soul.

### **3. Follow Chairman Mao's teachings, always be a thorough revolutionary and a promoter of revolutionary mass movements.**

Chairman Mao in this great work has taught us: "Every revolutionary comrade should know that the national revolution requires a great change in the countryside. The Revolution of 1911 did not bring about this change, hence its failure. This change is now taking place, and it is an important factor for the completion of the revolution. Every revolutionary comrade must support it, or he will be taking the stand of counter-revolution." The very purpose of our studying this great writing by Chairman Mao is to follow his teachings, consciously remould our ideology, firmly establish the proletarian world outlook, correctly approach revolutionary mass movements and always be a thorough revolutionary and a promoter of revolutionary mass movements.

The present great proletarian cultural revolution is an extremely acute and complicated class struggle. It is bound to meet with all kinds of resistance and the movement too will have its reversals and twists. This is because the enemy we face is very sly, tricky and vicious. A handful of persons in the Party who are in power and who are taking the capitalist road are waving "red flags" to oppose the red flag, leaving no stone unturned to suppress the mass movement and sabotage the great proletarian cultural revolution. A handful of

reactionary bourgeois elements, those in the five categories — landlords, rich peasants, counter-revolutionaries, bad elements and Rightists — who have not turned over a new leaf are trying to bombard our headquarters of the proletarian revolution. In addition, the forces of habit of the old society too offer a kind of resistance to the movement. In this complicated class struggle, we must do better to study and apply Chairman Mao's works in a creative way, make Mao Tse-tung's thought command our thought and action and revolutionize our minds. Only when one has acquired this sharpest weapon which is Mao Tse-tung's thought, can one clearly see the essence of things through the superficial phenomenon, see everything clearly, see through the enemy's schemes and tricks, smash resistance from all quarters and win victory in the struggle.

**Chairman Mao has said: Policy and tactics are the life of the Party.** If we want to be promoters of revolutionary mass movements, we must unswervingly follow Chairman Mao's teachings and act in accordance with his instructions and Party policies. The Decision of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party Concerning the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, that is, the 16 Points, was laid down under Chairman Mao's personal guidance; it is the programmatic document for the nation's great proletarian cultural revolution. To resolutely implement and carry out the 16 Points is the key to winning complete victory for the great proletarian cultural revolution. We must seriously study the 16 Points, become familiar with them and master and apply them; we must use the 16 Points as our weapon, persist in struggle by reasoning, not by coercion or force, heartily support the Left, deal

severe blows to the Rightists and all ghosts and monsters and be resolved to carry the great proletarian cultural revolution through to the end.

**Comrade Lin Piao has said: "The Chinese People's Liberation Army, which was born and grew up in the midst of the people's revolutionary struggles, has always regarded the revolutionary mass movement as its own affair. When the masses rise to destroy the old system and wage hard, bitter struggles for the transformation of society and nature, the People's Liberation Army always stands as one with the people and gives them wholehearted, powerful support. . . . And whenever hostile forces attempt to obstruct and undermine the revolutionary mass movements, the People's Liberation Army always stands behind the masses. At the same time, the vast, surging mass movements, in turn, always inspire and educate the army greatly, serving as a revolutionary crucible in which the political consciousness of the army is tempered and raised."** (*Take Giant Strides, Holding High the Red Flag of the Party's General Line and the Military Thinking of Mao Tse-tung.*) We must follow these instructions of Comrade Lin Piao and resolutely support the revolutionary mass movements. Our army is the mainstay of the proletarian dictatorship and defender of the socialist system. In the great proletarian cultural revolution, one important task for us in supporting the revolutionary mass movement is to heighten our revolutionary vigilance, stand fast at our posts, make good preparations in the event of war and be ready at any time to smash the sudden attacks of U.S. imperialism and its accomplices and see to it that the great proletarian cultural revolution in our country wins complete victory.

## First Revolutionize One's Mind, Then Revolutionize Sculpture

by the Team Which Made the "Rent Collection Courtyard"

*The "Rent Collection Courtyard," created in the midst of the great proletarian cultural revolution, is a great and unprecedented achievement in the history of Chinese sculpture. Endorsed by the worker, peasant and soldier masses, praised by those who have come to see it from every part of the country and from abroad, the creation of these sculptured figures is another brilliant victory for Mao Tse-tung's thinking on literature and art.*

*The minds of those who created the "Rent Collection Courtyard" were armed with Mao Tse-tung's thought which guided them in their ideological remoulding and in their creative activity. Chairman Mao has said that if writers and artists "want their works to be well received by the masses, they must change*

*and remould their thinking and their feelings." Following this directive the sculptors first of all determinedly got to grips with the basic problem of transforming their world outlook; they creatively and in real earnest studied and applied Chairman Mao's works, learnt modestly from the masses, the workers, peasants and soldiers, and fused themselves in thought and sentiment with them. This explains their success in creating a work of art which the broad masses enthusiastically acclaim.*

*It was thanks to the fact that they were mentally armed with Mao Tse-tung's thought that they dared to think, act, blaze a new trail and to make revolution in their creative work. Daring to overturn the conventions canonized by bourgeois academic "authorities," up-*

holding the socialist new and proletarian originality, they have opened a new era for proletarian sculpture in China.

The 114 life-size, life-like sculptured clay figures which comprise the "Rent Collection Courtyard" are now on display in the actual rent collection courtyard which forms part of the exhibition of a typical old manorial estate in Anjen township, Taiyi County, Szechuan. The estate formerly belonged to the landlord-despot Liu Wen-tsai. The figures are arranged in six sections: the delivery of rent in kind; checking the quality of the deliveries; measuring the grain; settling accounts; exacting rent from the peasants and the peasants' resistance. They form a sculptured denunciation of the brutal exploitation and ruthless oppression practised by the landlord class in the old society. They are a graphic depiction of the acute class struggle in old rural China and a vivid expression of the surging revolutionary feelings of the peasant masses. (See "Peking Review," No. 49, 1965.) In addition to the original set of sculptures, a new set has been made and is now on display in the capital's Palace Museum. The sculptors have also introduced new touches to the figures, made important changes or remodelled them, incorporating many of the ideas and suggestions made by workers, peasants, soldiers and young Red Guards. The great and invincible thought of Mao Tse-tung is thus given bolder expression, and the whole work has been carried to a still higher ideological and artistic level. The original 114 figures have been increased to 119, sixteen of which are actually entirely new works.—Ed.

### Sculpture and Revolution

**"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."** These are the directives which Chairman Mao gave in his *Talks at the Yen-an Forum on Literature and Art* to revolutionary artists and writers. But, for many years, because of the dominance and influence of the pernicious bourgeois line in literature and art, which was represented by Chou Yang, and was opposed to the Party, to socialism and to Mao Tse-tung's thought, Chairman Mao's line on literature and art was not put into practice and was resisted and opposed by Chou Yang and his company. In sculpture, for instance. A handful of the so-called bourgeois "experts" and "authorities" held on to their old ideas like grim death. They said, "revolution has deprived sculpture of its vitality"; "politics cannot create art"; "politics has turned art into stereotypes." They went to extreme lengths to counter the revolution in sculpture. The great majority of comrades, who are revolutionary, were, however, of the opinion that "politics must take command of art." "With the vigorous development of the socialist revolution," they said, "the art of sculpture must keep pace with events and undergo a great revolution."

When we first undertook to create the sculptures for the *Rent Collection Courtyard*, some of us comrades

thought: "there's nothing to it," "it's just like working out a graph . . . making moulds . . . nothing to do with art," "no one will appreciate it here in the countryside even if we do this job well." What sort of question was this? It was a question of whether art should serve proletarian politics, socialism, the workers, peasants and soldiers, or whether it was a matter of personal interest and fame, according to the practice of the bourgeoisie. Faced with these ideological problems, the leadership suggested that we should seriously study Chairman Mao's *Talks at the Yen-an Forum on Literature and Art*. We have read the *Talks* no one knows how many times, but every time we study them, we learn something new. This was all the more so now that we were studying them right there in the rent collection courtyard with concrete problems in mind which we wished to solve. We grew conscious that in the past, we had not made sculptures for the workers, peasants and soldiers, still less had we created things that were of use to them. But now we had here a golden opportunity to serve them. We realized that we had to rid ourselves of all selfish ideas, follow Chairman Mao's teachings wholeheartedly, and put our art at the service of the workers, peasants and soldiers, particularly bringing our art to the peasants for their appreciation.

But, in undertaking such a big project we faced many problems for the first time: it was the first time that we were consciously using Chairman Mao's thinking on literature and art to guide our creative work. It was the first time that we were working directly on such an important theme of the class struggle; it was the first time that we were modelling figures in such numbers on a single subject and in such a dramatic sequence; it was the first time that we were making sculptures by combining "indigenous" methods with "foreign" methods; it was the first time that so many people with different experiences were working together collectively. . . .

"The first time"—this means lack of experience and great difficulties ahead. What should we do? **Chairman Mao has told us: We are now engaged in a cause, never before attempted by our forefathers. We realized that we should follow Chairman Mao's teachings resolutely and dare to think, dare to break through, dare to act, to pioneer our own path, to work for the entirely new cause of the proletariat. A revolutionary invariably defies difficulties he faces. He who hesitates to advance in the face of difficulties is a shameful coward.**

Every revolution demands painstaking effort; no revolution lacks difficulties. Our leadership put it well: "Don't be afraid of failure if you want to revolutionize sculpture. If you fail, the worst you face is simply a pile of clay. Then just sum up your experience and try again!" At the same time, they told us to rely closely on three precious things, namely, Chairman Mao's works, the Party leadership and the help of the peasant masses. With these three valuable things, there is no difficulty that could not be overcome.

When one looks into the history of Chinese sculpture, it is replete with the Buddhist figures of ancient times; and when one looks into the history of Western sculpture, it is replete with figures of foreign gods. Some people when they think of sculpture see in their mind's eye only certain works of Greece, Rome, the Northern Wei and Tang Dynasties, figures of Jesus Christs, Madonnas, Davids, Venuses, Buddhas and Buddhissatvas. They have worshipped and lauded to the skies foreign and ancient emperors and kings, generals and ministers, scholars and beauties as the world's finest and the most remarkable.

**Chairman Mao has said: "Uncritical transplantation or copying from the ancients and the foreigners is the most sterile and harmful dogmatism in literature and art."** These "foreign and ancient idols" cannot be done away with easily. To make only some reforms on the basis of these old "foreign" and "ancient" things would clearly not do. So we decided to make a sweeping change, from content to form, to make a thorough revolution.

**Mao Tse-tung's thought is the summit of Marxism-Leninism of our time. By arming ourselves with Mao Tse-tung's thought, we will be bold enough to despise the world's so-called best in art.** Be it the "Renaissance" of the West or the "golden age" of the Tang Dynasty in China, no matter how high these attainments are said to be, they are either feudal or bourgeois in nature, not proletarian. They are not so wonderful as they are said to be, and still less things that are beyond reach. It is our firm belief that as long as we advance in the direction indicated by Chairman Mao in his *Talks at the Yen-an Forum on Literature and Art*, we will be able to conquer world's new peaks.

### **A Change in One's Feelings**

**Chairman Mao has said: "If our writers and artists who come from the intelligentsia want their works to be well received by the masses, they must change and remould their thinking and their feelings. Without such a change, without such remoulding, they can do nothing well and will be misfits."** While we were engaged in making the sculptures for the *Rent Collection Courtyard*, we were deeply conscious that it was only after we had gone deep among the masses with a strong desire to remould our ideology, only when we were learning from the masses of the workers, peasants and soldiers and effecting a change in our sentiments, that is, learning to like what they like and hate what they hate, that we could create sculptures imbued with the sentiments of the proletariat, sculptures which could give the masses a class education.

Our work on the *Rent Collection Courtyard* began in June 1965 and ended in October of the same year. We saw peasants transplanting rice seedlings, harvesting and delivering grain to the state right outside the rent collection courtyard where we were working. Smiling and happy, group after group of commune members would drop in to see us working on the sculptures. They invariably went out later much moved and with tears

in their eyes. Here was Paradise and Hell—to us young artists whose age averages under 30, it was difficult to conceive or imagine this glaring contrast of the days before and after liberation!

The peasants told us: "Nowadays we feel fine when we hear the winnower starting up. But before liberation, the sound of the winnower meant that tens of thousands of ounces of gold were being added to the wealth of the landlords while we peasants were weeping our lives away."

"Today, we cut a bumper harvest with our sickles. Before liberation, we started begging the moment we laid down our sickles."

Leng Yueh-ying, a local peasant, cried her heart out as she told us how she was once thrown into a water-filled cell when she failed to pay her rent in full. Another woman peasant wept as she described how her husband was pressganged and she and her children had to go begging. An old peasant told us how the peasants once started a riot in the court and then went into the mountains to wage a guerrilla struggle. . . . So we were helped to visualize the contrast between the past and present. We learnt that they love just as strongly as they hate. They not only gave us rich reference material on their life, but, even more important, to help us change our feelings and ideology, gave us a good lesson on the concept of the class struggle. From start to finish, they educated us ideologically; they also gave us material assistance; they acted as our supervisors, tutors and advisers; they themselves stood for us when we modelled these figures. All this stirred us deeply and made us feel truly ashamed of ourselves when we compared them with ourselves, with our earlier crazing for fame and fortune. All this made us understand why our sculptures before were devoid of feeling, and why even when they had feeling, it was not the feeling of the working people.

In the past, we often put on the airs of "artists." We were "observers" of life, "educators" of the masses; in actual fact we had reversed the order of what should be first and what should be second. Summing up past experience and lessons and acting in accordance with Chairman Mao's teachings, it is necessary to seek for a correct orientation and take a correct attitude. This first of all demands that we study Chairman Mao's works first and then undertake vocational studies; revolutionize our minds first and then revolutionize our sculpture; be educated first and then educate others; first pay attention to remoulding our ideology and then experience life . . . in short, to put Mao Tse-tung's thought in command of work and everything else. So, the moment we arrived at the landlord's manorial estate exhibition in Tayi, Szechuan, the first thing we did was to study Chairman Mao's works. Instead of making inquiries into things in the capacity of "artists," we first studied the manorial exhibition as "visitors" to get some education in the facts. When meeting the peasants, we sought not just to get material but first of all to get some class education and some class feeling from them. When making



designs and modelling the figures, we tried first of all to think in the way of the masses who would be seeing our work and then thought as artists.

The process of creating the *Rent Collection Courtyard* was to us a process of ideological remoulding. It was a class in the study of Chairman Mao's works, as well as a class in sculpture. It brought us to a deeper understanding of the great significance of studying Chairman Mao's works and learning from the workers, peasants and soldiers. It also brought us to an understanding of the meaning of giving prominence to politics — the key to success in every field of endeavour.

### Class Struggle, Class Viewpoint and Class Feelings

One Key. Chairman Mao said: "When we look at a thing, we must examine its essence and treat its appearance merely as an usher at the threshold, and once we cross the threshold, we must grasp the essence of the thing; this is the only reliable and scientific method of analysis." When we arrived at the rent collection courtyard, we had not examined the essence of the courtyard. We only knew that it was a place where the peasants paid and the landlord collected their rents, we thought that it was not much different from a market-place or bazaar. So, even though we lived there, we had not "crossed the threshold." It was only later, after studying Chairman Mao's works and enhancing our understanding and meeting hundreds of peasants that we gradually came to understand and feel that this place was indeed soaked with the blood and sweat of countless peasants. Then we saw that the carved beams and painted rafters of the rooms where the landlord had lived were raised on piles of white bones; that the delicacies from the hills and seas which he had consumed were prepared with blood and tears; that the compound was indeed an important place where the landlord exploited the peasants. The peasants said: "The landlord's rent collection courtyard is the poor folks' gateway to death." At one end of the courtyard was a place of shameless dissipation and gaudy riches; the other was a place of heart-rending separations, broken homes and death. In this courtyard the brutality of the landlord and his agents and their vicious laughter stood in sharp conflict with the misery and hatred of the peasants. They were as incompatible as fire and water! This courtyard was no market-place. The peasants coming here were not coming to a bazaar.



New figures in *Rent Collection Courtyard*: The awakened peasants in organized and well-led resistance seize arms from the landlords' guards

The compound was an arena of class struggle. It was a focal point of confrontation of the exploiter and the exploited, the oppressor and the oppressed. It was a gateway of life and death. The process of collecting rent in the courtyard was no simple business transaction. It was a process of the landlord class economically exploiting and politically oppressing the peasants. Class struggle was the very essence while paying and collecting rent was only a phenomenon. This was the "key."

One Thread. Having grasped this "key" of class struggle, we next had to decide what "thread" should be used to link up this 96-metre-long group of 114 figures and elucidate the order in this complicated phenomenon. The obvious thread would be: delivery of rent in kind, checking the quality of the deliveries, winnowing the grain, measuring the grain and settling accounts. But this would be merely a thread of a routine business transaction. We, in contrast, learnt to apply the viewpoint expounded in *On Contradiction* and used a dialectical method to understand and arrange the sequence of actions. We showed the process of collecting rent as a process of class struggle, a process of the development of contradictions. At the start, the poverty-stricken peasants, starved and hungry, are forced to bring the fruits of their year's labour to the landlord and are subjected to the scrutiny of his lackeys. Their hearts are aflame with anger. The contradiction is still hidden. After the several processes of examining the grain, winnowing and measuring the grain, the landlord's sinister means of exploitation sparks the

accumulated wrath of the peasants. The contradiction gradually develops. When it comes to the time for settling accounts the contradiction becomes white hot, with the peasant masses on one side and the big landlord-despot Liu Wen-tsai and his agents on the other, in sharp confrontation. But, oppressed by the reactionaries who hold the arms and seal of authority, the peasants are brutally persecuted. This is the situation depicted in "exacting the rent." The contradiction has not been resolved; instead a new contradiction is simmering: the peasants are going to take the path of struggle and revolution. The undulating development gradually moving to a climax and from there to a still higher point is not only for artistic effect. It, at the same time, mirrors the inevitable law governing the development of things. Arranging the sequence of events with this ideological guide, from cause to effect, reflects the dialectical relationship between things; the sequence of events in the story is not only clearly depicted but the red thread running through that sequence of events is also clearly brought out. Facts teach us that unity in variety, wave-like development and other such artistic forms are necessary, but more important is the ideology guiding such development. **Without Mao Tse-tung's thought as a guide, the more than a hundred people in this composition could not be arranged in good order, it would have certainly been just a disordered agglomeration of figures. Having Chairman Mao's works to guide us, was like having a key to unlock a thousand problems.**

One Rent Collection Courtyard Mirroring the Whole of the Old Society. The mechanical way we originally looked at things: that "Liu Wen-tsai was Liu Wen-tsai" and the "rent collection courtyard was simply a rent collection courtyard," was only overcome after we studied *On Contradiction* and *Analysis of the Classes in Chinese Society*. Then we saw that Liu Wen-tsai was not an isolated figure there. His class relations and social relations were complex. He was a warlord, a bureaucrat, a landlord and a reactionary secret society member—a "four-in-one" big despot—who colluded with imperialism and was also a capitalist. In one hand he held a gun and in the other, the seal of authority. He was indeed a typical product of old semi-feudal and semi-colonial China. To depict this was of the utmost importance. In fact, this one rent collection courtyard was a microcosm of the whole of the old society. In designing the evil characters for the section "Exacting the Rent," we originally showed only two of the landlord's thugs. However, after coming to understand class and social relations in the old society, we brought in various other types of characters. The two thugs grew to a gang of eleven kinds of evil characters including a reactionary army officer, a bandit chief, a secret society agent and the landlord's bailiff. These various types of evil characters reflected more profoundly the essence of the classes and society depicted and deepened the treatment of the characters. Collecting rent was a typical affair, the courtyard where rent was collected was a typical setting and Liu Wen-tsai was a typical character. By seizing and presenting the

typical to expose the essence of this phenomenon and using its specific features to depict the general, the whole of the old society could be mirrored in this single rent collection courtyard.

Standing in the Present and Recalling the Past for the Sake of the Future. At first some comrades thought only of the word "tears" as the effect to be got from the spectators after seeing the *Rent Collection Courtyard*. They thought that it would be quite a feat to move the spectators to tears. True, there are not many sculptures that can move spectators to tears but was this the effect we were trying to induce? No. Aren't there a number of bad works which use bourgeois humanism as a trick tear-jerker? We ourselves have seen a deviation in art which one-sidedly overplays grief and terror to win the spectators' sympathy and tears. At one time in our creative work too there was such a deviation. Our original project included a scene where peasants plead with the landlord; this lacked the spirit of resistance and struggle and had the aim of moving spectators to tears. Such one-sidedness and superficiality in chasing after emotional stimuli fails to fully expose the class struggle, economic exploitation and political oppression and will naturally fall into the rut of naturalism, old realism and the bourgeois "theory of human nature." **Chairman Mao has said: "In class society there is only human nature of a class character."** The spectators of today are spectators of the socialist era. They come to see the *Rent Collection Courtyard* to get class education and not just for the sake of shedding tears. They are the revolutionary masses who live in a socialist society, and who recall the bitterness of the old society so that they can struggle the better for the socialist revolution and socialist construction and for the complete liberation of mankind. In other words, these spectators are standing in the present and recalling the past for the sake of the future. It is essential to be clear on the relations between the "present," "past" and "future." After study and debates, our level of understanding rose and the single word "tears" developed into the three words: "tears, hatred, and strength": meaning to recall the bitterness of the old society, to hate the reactionaries and love the Party and Chairman Mao, and to fight with all one's strength for the Chinese revolution and the world revolution. In short, besides depicting the brutality and ferocity of the landlord class it was necessary to show their weakness and fears; besides portraying the peasants' grief and sorrow it was necessary to show their hatred and resistance; besides showing the grim realities of those days it was necessary to point out the bright future. In other words, spectators seeing this one rent collection courtyard should be able to relate it to the whole of the old society and so to the revolutionary struggles throughout the world today.

The Internal Determines the External and External Reflects the Internal. **Chairman Mao has said: "In class society everyone lives as a member of a particular class, and every kind of thinking, without exception, is stamped with the brand of a class."** This was our

guiding thought in analysing, understanding and modeling the characters in the *Rent Collection Courtyard*. This class brand was stamped internally—in the thoughts and feelings expressed; it was also stamped externally in the gestures and movement of the figures. For example, the old blind peasant in the composition is a blind, poverty-stricken toiler; he has to have the characteristics of a labouring man. Because he is unable to pay the required rent he is forced to sell his little grand-daughter. His heart is filled with grief, bitterness and hatred. His expression and the movement of his body from head to toe, must show grief, bitterness and hatred. Another example is the sentry; he is quite callous, utterly unconcerned for those who are being dragged in past him living and carried out dead. His heavy eyelids droop and he looks vacantly at the scene before him, a picture of a complete scoundrel. A further example is that of the able-bodied peasant at the end of the line of figures. He is afire with class hatred and has become politically aware that only through revolution is there a way out. His right hand is clenched so tightly that it seems sweat will be squeezed out. His left hand holds a carrying pole as if it were already a gun. His angry eyes are turned to the place where accounts are settled and he seems to be saying from the depths of his heart: "Just wait

and see! The time will come when we'll settle accounts with you!"

### **The Highest Prize — Approval by the Workers, Peasants and Soldiers**

Word of our work on the *Rent Collection Courtyard*, spread far and wide. Crowds of peasants came, some from hundreds of *li* away, to watch us at work. They watched with intense class feeling and carried intense class feeling away with them. They said: "There is no need for explanations to see what it is all about and to understand it"; "you are portraying us"; "you are accusing our enemies and speaking on our behalf."

When workers saw it, they said: "**Workers and peasants are of one family. The peasants' sorrow is our sorrow. Never forget this class sorrow! Remember our hatred; the blood and tears we shed! Carry the revolution through to the end!**"

When fighters of the Liberation Army saw it, they said: "**Because they held the arms and the seal of authority the landlords and reactionaries oppressed and**

*(Continued on p. 33.)*

## **INTERNATIONAL COMMUNIST MOVEMENT**

# **Political Resolution of the 6th National Conference Of the Communist Party of Brazil**

- **Calls on the Brazilian people to prepare for people's war.**
- **Declares that there can be no reconciliation or half-way position in the struggle between Marxism-Leninism and revisionism.**

**A**T its Sixth National Conference held in June this year, the Communist Party of Brazil adopted a political resolution entitled "Brazilians, Unite to Liberate Our Country From Crisis, Dictatorship and the Menace of Neo-Colonialism," states a report from Rio de Janeiro.

### **The Unprecedented Growth of the Struggle of the People of Various Countries for Freedom, Independence and Against Neo-Colonialism Is Dealing Telling Blows Against U.S. Imperialism**

Analysing international developments, the resolution in its first part points out that the struggle between the people of the various countries and U.S. imperialism is intensifying. It says: "Today, a struggle which will spread to all of mankind is being waged. This is the struggle between U.S. imperialism, which seeks to estab-

lish its world hegemony, and the people of the various countries who aspire to national liberation, democracy and socialism."

The resolution points out that U.S. imperialism is the most ferocious enemy of mankind. Following the defeat of the Nazis and Japanese militarists in 1945, U.S. imperialism has worked out and tried to implement a wild plan for the domination of vast regions of the world. This plan, however, has come up against determined resistance. The victory of the Chinese revolution in 1949 dealt these criminal schemes a shattering blow. An event of the greatest historical importance in the world after the October Revolution, the victory of the Chinese revolution has had strong repercussions among the oppressed nations. The people of the colonial world and the dependent countries have eagerly risen to struggle for their own liberation. The national-

liberation movement has developed to a high level particularly in Asia and Africa. The struggle against imperialism in Latin America has also reached a new stage.

The resolution points out that the ruling circles in Washington have taken new steps to expand their war and have also engaged in other acts of aggression to carry out their rabid policies. The resolution condemns the U.S. Government for carrying out its policy of so-called "escalation" of the war of aggression against Vietnam and denounces the Johnson Administration for actively preparing for war against China. It points out that the main aim of U.S. aggression is to isolate and attack China.

The resolution notes that the struggles of the people of the various countries against the U.S. oppressors are expanding and that the unprecedented growth of their struggle for freedom and independence and against neo-colonialism is repeatedly dealing telling blows against U.S. imperialism.

It describes the people's war being waged by the south Vietnamese people against the U.S. aggressors and their lackeys as the highest expression of the struggle of the oppressed nations. It hails the heroic Vietnamese people standing in the front line of the world's great struggle against the brutalities of the U.S. monopoly capitalists. It says: Although the Pentagon has set its mammoth war machine in motion and U.S. troops are using the most barbaric means of murder and destruction, the glorious fighters of south Vietnam are meting out defeat after defeat to the biggest power in the capitalist world.

The resolution points out that in their struggle against U.S. imperialism the people of the world have the firm and resolute support of such socialist countries as China, Albania and the Democratic Republic of Vietnam. It says: "China is the most powerful base of the world revolutionary movement. It accepts courageously the challenge of the White House and never shrinks before the latter's threats and acts of aggression. It stands dauntlessly on the side of all those who dare to confront the U.S. monopolists. The Chinese people's aid to the valiant Vietnamese fighters has been an important factor in resisting the aggressors. Because of the revolutionary and internationalist position of People's China, the U.S. imperialists take it as their principal enemy and are concentrating their forces against it. But, with its 700 million people and its socialist system and with its glorious People's Liberation Army, China, under the leadership of its long-tested Communist Party and Mao Tse-tung, is prepared to defeat the U.S. bandits. China's successful atomic tests have strengthened the defence of the country and benefited the cause of peace. By drawing against itself vast military resources of the United States, China gives inestimable help to the peoples struggling for liberation."

The resolution points out that the policy followed by the Soviet revisionist leading group has had a disruptive effect on the revolutionary struggle of the people

of the world. It says: "The peoples confronting U.S. imperialism cannot count in any way on real support and assistance from the Soviet Union."

The Soviet revisionist leading group has adopted a policy which goes against the interests of the people of the various countries, a policy which has evil effects on the entire international situation. The Soviet Government pursues a policy of collaborating with the United States, with a view to dividing the world into their spheres of influence, the resolution points out.

"Pitting themselves against the aspirations of the peoples and betraying the socialist cause, the Soviet leaders are bringing ever more discredit on the Soviet Union. But the peoples of the Soviet Union, who have in the past done so much for the revolution, will not tolerate for long the treacherous acts of the revisionists," the resolution says.

In its analysis of the principal contradictions of the present-day world, the resolution says: "In Asia, Africa and Latin America, great conflicts are taking place which are seriously weakening U.S. imperialism and will eventually bring it to defeat. The predominant contradiction of the present-day world is the contradiction between imperialism headed by the United States on the one hand and the oppressed people of the three continents on the other."

The resolution points out that in the great struggle being waged by the people of various countries in the world against U.S. imperialism and its lackeys, Asia, Africa and Latin America are the scene of the fiercest battles and are the most favourable places for defeating the bellicose elements of the United States. With the oppressed nations rising in rebellion, imperialism will find itself facing increasing difficulties and will slide nearer and nearer to final collapse. The sharpening of the main contradiction in the present-day world stimulates the anti-imperialist struggle everywhere.

The resolution calls on the people in all countries to unite and defeat U.S. imperialism. It says: "The U.S. imperialists will not quit the stage of history of their own accord. They will resist to the end. They must be destroyed on the battlefield. In order to defeat them, it is necessary for the people in all countries to unite and form a world front against U.S. imperialism."

Here, the resolution quotes the following call of Chairman Mao Tse-tung's: "**People of the world, unite and defeat the U.S. aggressors and all their running dogs! People of the world, be courageous, dare to fight, defy difficulties and advance wave upon wave. Then the whole world will belong to the people.**"

The resolution sets out the tasks of the Communist Party of Brazil in the present international situation. The main points are: actively support the Vietnamese people who are bearing the brunt of U.S. aggression; protest against the sending of grain and medicine to the Saigon puppets by the Brazilian Government; support those in Latin America who are waging armed struggles against the reactionaries and imperialism;

expose U.S. imperialism's policy of aggression and war expansion in Asia, its hypocritical peace plots, its crimes in fostering reactionaries and tyrannical rule everywhere; support the efforts of People's China to unite the peoples of the world to defeat U.S. imperialism's plans for world domination; expose the real content of Soviet-U.S. co-operation which aims at dividing the world into spheres of influence; promote the unity of the people of Latin American countries in their struggle against the U.S. monopolies; and energetically oppose the setting up of a so-called pan-American peace force.

### **The Intensifying Fundamental Contradictions in Brazil Are Irreconcilable and Can Be Resolved Only by Revolution**

The second part of the resolution analyses the situation in Brazil under the military dictatorship. It says: "The domestic political situation presents a picture in which the deepening of all contradictions in Brazilian society is strikingly manifest. A regrouping of political forces has taken place at home. This is true of the ruling classes and of the various people's forces. Power has passed into the hands of the most reactionary and most pro-American elements, who have introduced serious anti-democratic changes in the political and judicial superstructures of the nation. Discontent is growing against the anti-popular and anti-democratic policies of the dictatorial regime, and the idea of revolution is ripening."

The resolution enumerates the series of reactionary measures adopted by the dictatorial regime to carry out its foreign and domestic policies. It points out: In the past two years or more, the Castelo Branco government is characterized by utterly bare-faced betrayal of the country and by base acts which obstruct national development, make the people go hungry and abolish democratic freedoms. It pursues a foreign policy of total submission to the United States. The establishment of the dictatorial regime in Brazil has enabled the U.S. imperialists to accelerate the process of recolonizing the country.

The resolution notes the disastrous results produced by the policies of the Castelo Branco government. These policies have done great harm to the people and to the national interests of Brazil, plunged the national economy into crisis and made Brazil more dependent than ever on the United States.

But, the resolution points out, the people do not take a passive attitude towards the policies of the dictatorial regime which have caused harm to the country and brought suffering to the people. Popular discontent which already manifested itself in the early days of the coup d'etat has now become widespread and open. The government is hated by patriots and democrats.

Listing the facts, the resolution says: Throughout the country various social strata have taken powerful action which has helped expose and isolate the dictatorial regime. The students have courageously staged

demonstrations for freedom. They hold parades and more than once have clashed with the troops sent to suppress them. The intellectuals condemn the cultural terrorism, protest against the persecution of professors and scientists and demand an atmosphere of freedom. Scorning those in power, the workers oppose the attempt to deprive them of their rights. In certain parts of the country the peasants oppose those who, in an attempt to drive them off their land, make forged contracts to seize it by force. Housewives also come on to the streets in protest against rising living costs. Some democratic groups express their disagreement with the status quo and attack the violent and unlawful acts of the dictatorial regime.

Protest is mounting against the acts of the government in selling out the country. Anti-U.S. sentiment has never been so strong in Brazil.

The resolution also points out that two years after the April coup, the forces which staged it have become divided. The majority of them have now taken an attitude of opposing the dictatorial regime which has even lost the support of a considerable part of the troops. The Castelo Branco clique has the backing of U.S. imperialism and the ultra-reactionary generals and politicians.

The resolution says: All this shows that Brazil is heading towards serious political conflicts, social upheavals and struggles on a bigger scale. The fundamental contradictions which are sharpening with each passing day are irreconcilable and can be resolved only through revolution.

### **The Brazilian People Must Unite and Organize a Broad United Front to Carry Out the National, Democratic and Anti-Imperialist Revolution**

The third part of the resolution deals with the struggle of the Brazilian people for democracy and national independence. It says: "The development of Brazil calls for an end to U.S. imperialist plundering and the evil latifundia. It also demands that the existing systems be replaced by certain systems which conform to the national interests."

"Revolution is the only means to resolve the deep crisis in which Brazil finds itself. Only revolution can provide our country with a new economic structure, put an end to the hateful monopoly in land and plundering by foreigners, bring freedom, culture and happiness to the people and abolish the disequilibrium between the different parts of our country. Only revolution can prevent Brazil from being used as an instrument of the U.S. imperialists in carrying out their plan of world hegemony. Revolution will give birth to a true people's government and a democratic and progressive system of government."

The resolution restates the programme adopted by the representative conference of the Communist Party of Brazil in February 1962, which pointed out the road of the national, democratic, agrarian and anti-imperialist

revolution. It declares that Brazilian Communists must be guided by this programme, an objective to be achieved in the present, first stage of the revolution.

The resolution calls upon the Brazilian people to unite and struggle to free Brazil from the threat of being turned back again into a colony, from the serious crisis it faces and from the ultra-reactionary political system imposed on it by the dictatorial regime.

The resolution states: The Communist Party of Brazil will exert its every effort to realize in concrete form the united front of patriots. As the situation stands today in Brazil, the question of the united front is of primary importance. In striving to form the united front Communists should carry on intensive activities, especially among the working class and the broad masses of the peasants, and pay constant attention to the formation of an alliance of these two social classes. This will contribute to ensuring the leadership of the proletariat in the revolution.

The resolution calls for the unfolding of a powerful mass movement in Brazil by relying on the patriotic unity of the people and for concentrating all efforts on attacking the Castelo Branco government which represents the interests of the U.S. imperialists and of the most sinister forces at home. In this respect, the resolution emphatically points out that full attention must be paid to mobilizing the peasant masses as a powerful force so as to struggle for the realization of national and democratic aims. The resolution notes: Most favourable conditions exist in the countryside for the Brazilian people to carry on their struggle. The peasants who suffer most from oppression and exploitation are an inexhaustible source of revolutionary strength. Once mobilized and given determined leadership, they will change the course of events and transform the political, economic and social features of Brazil.

Referring to the forms of struggle, the resolution says: While it is necessary to engage in political activities and organize large-scale, joint actions by patriots, it is also imperative to make preparations for armed struggle, the highest form of mass struggle. "The idea that it is necessary to take up arms to liberate our country from backwardness and oppression is gaining momentum."

The resolution stresses: "The revolutionary struggle of our country will assume the form of people's war. This thesis is based on international experience and on the study of actual situation in Brazil. At a time when U.S. imperialism is everywhere engaged in armed intervention and the reactionary forces are also expanding their apparatus of violence, complete success can be achieved only through a struggle which embraces all the people."

"The Brazilian people must make preparations for a people's war. In all parts of the country, and especially in the countryside, discussions must be held on the question of armed struggle, and practical measures for

the preparations of armed struggle must be taken in accordance with the principles of secret work. By uniting their own force to form a broad united front, unfolding energetic political activities and using different forms of struggle, the Brazilian people will certainly be able to achieve victory."

### **The Modern Revisionists Are Renegades From the Revolution. Marxist-Leninists Must Continue Their Struggle and Defeat Revisionism so as to Push Forward the Revolution**

The fourth part of the resolution calls on Marxist-Leninists to continue their struggle and defeat revisionism so as to carry the revolution forward. It says: "To defeat the deadly enemies of the Brazilian people and lead them to victory, no respite must be given to modern revisionism or to any tendency hostile to Marxism-Leninism. Ideological struggle now occupies a prominent place in the activities of Communists. To struggle against ideas alien to the interests of the proletariat and to defend unremittingly the theories of Marx, Engels and Lenin is the most important task of the world working-class movement. The revisionists must be unmasked, isolated and struck down. If this is not done it will be impossible to defeat U.S. imperialism and carry the revolution forward."

The resolution points out that the modern revisionists are renegades from the revolution. It says: "The struggles of the peoples of various countries against U.S. imperialism are inseparable from the relentless struggle against modern revisionism. This counter-current against Marxism-Leninism occupies a dominating position in the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and once prevailed in the international communist movement. Its aim is to divert the oppressed nations from the struggle for national liberation, and the proletariat of the capitalist countries from the struggle for socialism and make the socialist countries retrogress to capitalism. It represents the influence of the bourgeoisie in the working-class movement and signifies capitulation to imperialism."

The resolution points out that the principal mentor of modern revisionism is Nikita Khrushchov. In his reports to the 20th and 22nd Congresses of the C.P.S.U. this renegade elaborated and systematized a complete set of ideas which is diametrically opposed to the theories of the proletariat.

The resolution says: The policy of the revisionists did not change after the downfall of Khrushchov; his successors are upholding the same erroneous ideas and are even more dangerous because of their hypocrisy. They are leading the C.P.S.U. and the Soviet Government; they talk glibly about opposing U.S. imperialism, but in reality, what they are doing is to step up collaboration with U.S. imperialism. On innumerable occasions they have reiterated: "The Soviet policy of establishing all-round co-operation with the United States remains unchanged." As regards the communist movement they talk glibly about their desire for unity,

but actually they are engaged in the most shameless divisive activities. They have repeatedly proclaimed their support for the national-liberation struggle, but they have tried by every possible means to strangle the anti-imperialist armed movements which are breaking out in all parts of the world. In Vietnam, instead of contributing effectively to help the Vietnamese people drive out the aggressors, they try to save the U.S. imperialists from defeat through peace negotiations favourable to the United States. Sinking deeper into the quagmire of the restoration of capitalism, the C.P.S.U. leaders popularize the profit-incentive system in enterprises, adopt non-socialist methods of factory administration and increase the private property of members of collective farms.

The resolution says: "The modern revisionists who have provoked the split in the world communist movement have also brought division to the socialist camp. In these circumstances, in so far as the socialist camp as a whole is concerned, it can no longer be regarded as a base for the revolutionary struggles of the peoples of various countries. Only that part of the camp headed by People's China is playing such a role.

"Thus, the C.P.S.U. revisionists and their followers in all parts of the world are traitors to the revolution and to socialism. Objectively, they are the allies of the U.S. imperialists and obstacles to the peoples' struggles."

The resolution points out that the revisionists in Brazil are also traitors to the revolution. The Brazilian Communist Party headed by Prestes has abandoned Marxism-Leninism, accepted the opportunist theses of the C.P.S.U. and caused tremendous damage to the democratic, anti-imperialist struggle.

The resolution points out that Marxism-Leninism is winning important victories in the struggle against modern revisionism. Modern revisionism is being defeated, and has sunk into a deep crisis. Resistance to revisionism is steadily increasing. The Marxist-Leninist revolutionary movement is a vigorous and ascending force today. Nobody can stand in its way.

The resolution says: "The great theory of the proletariat is growing stronger in the struggle against opportunist theses and in the course of relentlessly exposing the revisionist leaders' treacherous activities. In this struggle, Marxism-Leninism is being enriched by new theses and has elucidated a series of major problems of our time, fully expressing its own essence of revolution and transformation. In this respect the Chinese Communists have made notable contributions."

The resolution stresses the truth that unity between Marxists and revisionists is impossible. It says: "The struggle against revisionism will be carried on until revisionism is completely defeated. Confronting each other are two diametrically opposed and antagonistic points of view: whether to make revolution or not, whether to oppose imperialism or not, and whether to carry the socialist revolution through to the end or not. There is no middle path and no room for recon-

ciliation. It is in essence a class struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie. Any union between the Marxist-Leninist Parties and the revisionist parties is impossible."

The resolution says: "At present, the communist ranks are experiencing a period of division and struggle in which a new unity is being formed on a still higher plane. The foundation for such a unity in the world communist movement already exists. This basis is formed by those Communist Parties in the socialist countries which remain faithful to Marxism-Leninism, those Communist and Workers' Parties in the capitalist world which have not been dragged on to the road of revisionism and those Parties in certain countries which have split away from the revisionists. The Communist Party of Brazil is precisely the basis for unity in the communist movement in Brazil."

The resolution points out: "It is equally impracticable for the Marxist-Leninist Parties to form any united front with the revisionist parties. The world united front of the peoples is basically directed against U.S. imperialism. Although the revisionists are talking a lot about their intention to oppose the U.S. monopoly capitalists, they actually refrain from struggling against them. On the contrary the revisionists co-operate or compromise with them."

The resolution says: "There is no room for any intermediate position in the struggle between Marxism-Leninism and modern revisionism. It is wrong to take a middle-of-the-road position between the C.P.S.U., which is at the head of the revisionists, and the Chinese Communist Party, which stands at the forefront of the Marxist-Leninists. One should not ignore the differences in principle between the two conflicting lines." The resolution continues: "To refrain from expressing a clear-cut attitude towards the differences within the world communist movement is an act of irresolution and compromise. A middle-of-the-road position characterizes those people who are trying to find the revolutionary road, but who are still under the influence of bourgeois ideas and are therefore wavering. In Brazil it is necessary to help them by patient and brotherly criticism to advance to the proletarian position. What is more, it is simply impossible for them to maintain a middle-of-the-road position for long: either they make an evolution towards the Marxist-Leninist point of view or they eventually become a stumbling block to the revolutionary movement. What has happened to the Cuban leaders is very illustrative. In the polemics between the Marxist-Leninists and the modern revisionists, Fidel Castro for a certain period of time tried to refrain from defining his attitude, arguing that this could better safeguard the unity of the communist movement. But this attempt to take a middle-of-the-road position completely failed. Fidel swung into open and unjustifiable attacks on the Chinese Communist Party and all Marxist-Leninists of the world. Although he proclaims his intention to combat U.S. imperialism, he in fact already stands on the side of the C.P.S.U. and other revisionist parties."

The resolution then deals with the question of the leadership of the proletariat in the revolution. It repudiates the proposition advanced by certain people that only the national bourgeoisie can lead the revolution. It points out that the national bourgeoisie may play a role of some importance in the struggle against U.S. imperialism and for land reform. It is a component part of the democratic, anti-imperialist united front. However, because of its bourgeois dual character, it vacillates and conciliates. Facts have shown that bourgeois leadership can never lead the revolutionary movement to victory. Only a class like the proletariat can successfully lead the revolution. The proletariat is the implacable enemy of imperialism and latifundia. It is, therefore, best qualified to unite the peasants and form a firm alliance with them, co-operate with the petty-bourgeoisie and progressive intellectuals, and win over the national bourgeoisie. The resolution says: "The question of leadership in the first stage of the revolution is a fundamental problem for the working class. Since the working class is the most advanced force in society and is opposed to any kind of exploitation, it will not confine its aims to bourgeois democracy. Socialism is its aspiration. Its aim is to pass on to the socialist stage once the tasks of democracy and na-

tional liberation are completed and this it can achieve only by seizing the leadership of the movement."

### **The Communist Party of Brazil Holds the Vanguard Position in the Brazilian People's Struggle for National And Social Liberation**

The last part of the resolution recounts how the Brazilian Marxist-Leninists broke with the revisionists and reorganized themselves into the Communist Party of Brazil, and what the Party has achieved in developing and safeguarding its organizations and in carrying on the revolutionary struggle.

It concludes: "The participants of the Sixth National Conference of the Communist Party of Brazil view with optimism the prospects unfolding before the Brazilian people. The reactionaries and U.S. imperialism are beset with insoluble contradictions. No matter how unscrupulously they may resort to violence, they cannot escape their final defeat. The revolution is not a remote problem. Sooner or later the people will take up arms to shake off the foreign yoke and build a really free fatherland. The Communist Party of Brazil will hold with honour its vanguard position in the Brazilian people's struggle for national and social liberation."

## **The Powerful Voice of Mao Tse-tung's Thought Resounds Throughout the World**

— The World's Revolutionary People Love to Listen to Radio Peking

**L**ISTEN! This is Radio Peking broadcasting. It is the voice of Mao Tse-tung's thought!" Every day in every part of the world, on all the five continents, countless numbers of revolutionary people excitedly stay by their radios to listen attentively to the voice of Mao Tse-tung's thought being broadcast from Peking. They say that they love listening to the Peking broadcasts and that they regard this as being as important as eating.

In this high tide of China's great proletarian cultural revolution, a stream of letters from overseas listeners has come to China from many parts of the world, from people in many occupations and on many fronts of struggle. Warm in their acclaim of our great leader Chairman Mao, they say how even far from China they listen to the Peking broadcasts to study Marxism-Leninism at its highest level in the present-day world — Mao Tse-tung's thought, which has linked them firmly to the revolutionary people of China.

### **Mao Tse-tung's Thought — A Spiritual Atom Bomb**

An old French listener, Madame Avon, after hearing Peking broadcasts penned a poem with deep affection. Entitled *Oh, Chairman Mao! You Are the Flame of Hope!* it reads:

*We, the French people are thinking of you!  
Your radio brings your thought to us,  
Your communist thought shines forth.  
And when we think of your greatness,  
Your great brilliance lights up our hearts.  
In fair weather or foul,  
Your thought shines out, a radiant sun.*

A Pakistani listener, Ahmed Nawaz, writes with deep admiration: "I maintain that Chairman Mao Tse-tung is a great and respected leader of a kind rarely seen in the history of any people. The reason the Chinese people have achieved such outstandingly brilliant successes, successes of world significance, is that they follow Chairman Mao Tse-tung and put his principles into practice. Our enemies are like ants compared to China. A long, long life to Chairman Mao!"

A Japanese listener named Kwamura in his letter writes: "Radio Peking presents a spiritual atom bomb to the world, the long-range nuclear missile of Mao Tse-tung's thought, the most powerful and irresistible weapon on earth!"

Do Huu Nghi, a fighter of the South Vietnam Liberation Army, writes from the front line of struggle against U.S. aggression: "While we fight, rifle in



hand, to defend our fatherland, we listen attentively to the sincere voice coming from great China. This voice, with its brotherly warmth, is a most deeply appreciated encouragement to us and adds to our strength as we charge the enemy positions."

N'Diaye of Senegal says after listening to a broadcast from Peking: "We need such radio programmes. They awaken the unawakened. Let us shout once more: Long live Mao Tse-tung! Long live those who oppose U.S. imperialism both in their statements and in their actions!"

A letter from Madame Dolores, a Uruguayan listener on the other side of the Pacific Ocean, says: "Peking radio broadcasts have become my spiritual food and I shall go on listening in to Radio Peking till the day I die." She tells her Chinese friends that she was moved to tears when she heard the on-the-spot report of China's National Day celebrations and wanted to join the Chinese people in cheering: Long live the People's Republic of China! Long live Chairman Mao! She adds: "You don't know how deeply moved I am when I hear your voice. It is impossible to describe my happiness. We are far apart in space, but are close at heart! I am ever the Chinese people's friend."

### China's Great Cultural Revolution Shakes the World

The news of China's successful launching of the great proletarian cultural revolution shook the whole world and was warmly acclaimed by all the revolutionary people. A Belgian youth named Sermon after hearing the broadcast on the great proletarian cultural revolution wrote an elated letter: "The great proletarian cultural revolution now going on in China, a revolution led by Chairman Mao, the great helmsman, is an outstanding landmark of the correct Marxist-Leninist line. Though China and Belgium are far apart geographically, the revolutionary spirit brings the Belgian people close to China. I wish Chairman Mao a

(Continued from p. 27.)

**exploited the peasants. Now the arms and seal of authority are in our hands; we will keep a tight grip on our guns to safeguard the people's rivers and mountains."**

Some who saw it wrote in the visitors' book in bold characters: "Long live the Communist Party!" "Long live Chairman Mao!"

These opinions are not expressed in the phrases of professional critics. What they lack in adjectives they make up for in class feeling. They go straight to the point and they are down-to-earth. We think that they are the highest praise we could receive and are more valuable than any prize.

Life has taught us that the revolution badly needs revolutionary sculptures and that the workers, peasants and soldiers greatly need revolutionary sculptures which can serve them. We must make a revolution in sculpture before we can create revolutionary sculptural

long life! Please give my fraternal regards to the Red Guards. I cherish a deep love for them."

A letter from Sanulli Nello, an Italian friend, says: "We know that China's cultural revolution is a great historic event which will contribute to the revolutionary cause of the oppressed people throughout the world and deal mortal blows against the bourgeoisie and revisionism. . . . Because the Chinese people are led by Comrade Mao Tse-tung, revisionism cannot get a foothold in China. The Soviet revisionist clique and its followers will meet with ignominious defeats."

An Australian listener, Czingell, in his letter praises China's young Red Guards for the magnificent job they are doing. Egen, a New Zealand listener, says in his letter: "You don't know what pleasure your broadcast on the Red Guards of China gave me! I believe the Soviet Union in the past had not trained their youth in class struggle as People's China is doing. No words of mine can express my feelings for your children, youths and Red Guards as they sweep away for ever all ghosts and monsters in this great movement."

### Revolutionary People of the World Share the Chinese People's Happiness

In their letters to Radio Peking many listeners thank China for its broadcasts of news of China's great successes in socialist construction, broadcasts which enable them to share this happiness and draw encouragement from it. In his letter Nguyen Dung Truong, a listener in Vietnam, says: "When we heard the news of China's successful guided missile nuclear weapon test, we were all greatly excited. As soon as Radio Peking finished broadcasting the glad news, we hugged each other and shouted for joy; we sang in Chinese the songs *Sailing the Seas Depends on the Helmsman* and *The East Is Red*, and cheered: Long live the Communist Party of China! Long live Chairman Mao! Those are our slogans for ever!"

works and make the art of sculpture "become an integral part of the revolutionary machine and a powerful weapon for uniting the people, teaching the people, striking the enemy and wiping out the enemy."

The success of our creative work on the *Rent Collection Courtyard* is a victory for Mao Tse-tung's thought; it is the fruit of the great proletarian cultural revolution; it is a product of close co-operation between leaders, masses and artists; it is the crystallization of the collective efforts of professional and spare-time workers. Through this creative project we have come to understand that **only art works done in accord with the instructions of Chairman Mao are revolutionary proletarian art. Only works endorsed by the workers, peasants and soldiers are good revolutionary works. The life of the workers, peasants and soldiers are the source of our creative efforts; the workers, peasants and soldiers are those whom we serve, and the workers, peasants and soldiers are the best judges of our art.**

# Revolutionary Hungarian People Love Chairman Mao

**T**HE five Chinese students who were unjustifiably ordered home by the Hungarian Government in late November, in an interview with Hsinhua in Peking, said that they had often heard Hungarians praise Chairman Mao and his thought in spite of the fact that the Hungarian Government closely followed the leading clique of Soviet revisionists in their frantic opposition to China.

## We Love Mao Tse-tung

The Chinese students gave instances when Chairman Mao Tse-tung was described as "the Lenin of our era," and "the greatest leader of the people of the whole world" by various Hungarian people. Many of them often said: "We Hungarians are most proud and happy that the people of the world have such a great leader as Chairman Mao!"

The five students added that on many occasions when they were walking along the street or in a park or shopping, workers, peasants or students whom they did not know would come over and greet them with great warmth, shake hands with them and often give the thumbs up sign, saying "Mao Tse-tung is good!" or "Mao Tse-tung is truly great!" or "we love Mao Tse-tung!" or "we pay tribute to Mao Tse-tung!"

Once in a Budapest shop, a customer came over, opened his wallet and with great pride showed them a glittering red badge of Chairman Mao. An old worker asked for a picture of Chairman Mao. When he was given one, he put it away carefully. There were tears in his eyes as he said: "I've wanted a picture of him for years. I love Mao Tse-tung!"

## The Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution Is Good

The revolutionary people of Hungary have acclaimed China's great proletarian cultural revolution despite all the unscrupulous efforts by the Hungarian ruling clique to vilify it.

When the film *Chairman Mao With a Million Members of the Cultural Revolutionary Army* was shown, many people saw it over again. The photos of the great proletarian cultural revolution, displayed in front of the Chinese Embassy in Hungary, drew many people every day.

A Hungarian architect said: "As I understand it, this is a very profound revolution. Though it is now taking place in China, I am sure it will have to be carried out throughout the world."

A 73-year-old woman living in Budapest tapped a Chinese comrade on the shoulder and said, with great

excitement: "What you are doing is absolutely right. A transformation has taken place in the Soviet Union since Stalin died. Chairman Mao has found the solution to problems that the Soviet Union did not solve. This is marvellous!"

An old technician said admiringly: "Your great cultural revolution is good! It's the only way to safeguard the socialist road and guard against revisionism." He added, "China is genuinely enjoying extensive democracy while we Hungarians hardly dare voice any opinion. The road our leaders are travelling is the road of revisionism."

A Hungarian engineer remarked with feeling after he had seen the film of Chairman Mao's review of the million-strong cultural revolutionary contingent: "I believe Mao Tse-tung's thought represents the peak of Marxism-Leninism in our times. Our hopes are on the Chinese Communist Party armed with Mao Tse-tung's thought."

## Always Stand Together With the Chinese People

Many Hungarian friends told the Chinese students while they were studying in Hungary: "No force on earth can destroy our friendship and unity based on Marxism-Leninism. The people of Hungary and China will always stand together!"

Anti-China activities are very unpopular in Hungary. A worker once told one of the Chinese students excitedly: "No amount of barking can drown out the roar of the lion. China remains China, and Mao Tse-tung remains Mao Tse-tung! The enemy's curses can only add to the glory of Comrade Mao Tse-tung."

Many Hungarians were angry at their Government and said they did not agree with it when they learnt about the unwarranted expulsion of the five Chinese students. Hungarian friends were sad at parting and told the five to convey their best regards and good wishes to the great leader Chairman Mao, to the Chinese people and to the Red Guards.

A Hungarian college student, to show his deep love for Chairman Mao, hid several pamphlets of Chairman Mao's works in his clothing and went to see the Chinese students off. He seemed quite agitated as he walked over to say good-bye to them. He said: "You're leaving soon. Please give our best regards to the Chinese people and the Red Guards and tell them we will always stand with them!"

# A New Page in Asian Sports History

**T**HE First Asian Games of the New Emerging Forces (GANEF0), which ended on December 6 in Phnom Penh, capital of Cambodia, were a tremendous success. They promoted friendship between sportsmen from various Asian countries and contributed greatly to the Asian peoples' cause of solidarity against imperialism. Competition was keen but friendly; sportsmen turned in splendid accounts of themselves and filled in a new page in the history of sports in Asia.

Over 2,000 sportsmen from 17 Asian countries and regions participated in the Games after overcoming obstructions and sabotage by the International Olympic Committee and other reactionary international sports organizations. These sportsmen, fired with the firm will with which they fight against imperialism and in the spirit of promoting unity and friendship, smashed two world records in weightlifting, chalked up the world's highest mark in the high jump for the last three years, and broke 59 records set in the First GANEFO (1963) as well as a large number of national records. All this forcefully proves that the people of the new emerging countries in Asia are not only able to free themselves from imperialist control and independently develop their own sports, but are also capable of scaling world heights. This sports meet, as the communique of the 1st General Meeting of the Asian Continental Committee of the Games of the New Emerging Forces said, "is a great demonstration of the peoples and sportsmen of Asia against imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism headed by the United States of America, and a great epoch-making event in the history of sports in

Asia and the whole world. It will further promote the development of the Asian peoples' sports."

## Sportsmen of the Era of Mao Tse-tung

China's sportsmen took part in the Asian GANEFO with the revolutionary spirit generated in the unprecedented great proletarian cultural revolution and with the Chinese people's deep friendship for the people of other Asian countries. They succeeded in carrying off 113 titles and smashing two world records, 51 First GANEFO records and 18 national records. These successes stem from their creative study and application of Chairman Mao's works. They understand that Mao Tse-tung's thought is the great motive power for realizing the revolutionization in men's thinking and the source of success in all work and struggle. They study Chairman Mao's works before and during competition, and they also study when they come up against difficulties or win victories in contests.

On the first day of competition, China's bantam-weight Chen Man-lin pressed 118.5 kg. to break his own world record of 118 kg. The next day, feather-weight Hsiao Ming-hsiang jerked 158 kg. to better by 0.5 kg. the world record he had set for this event in May this year. Before he succeeded in jerking 158 kg., Hsiao Ming-hsiang had hurt his back in the press event, and he felt somewhat tired when it was time for the jerk event. But he immediately recalled **the teaching of the most respected and beloved leader Chairman Mao: "Give full play to our style of fighting — courage in battle, no fear of sacrifice, no fear of fatigue, and continuous fighting (that is, fighting successive battles in a short time without rest)."** Determined to win honours for the people of the motherland and other Asian countries, he succeeded in creating a new world record.

Phnom Penh is a tropical city, and the temperature is often above 30 degrees Centigrade. Immediately after competition started, there were heavy downpours for several nights in succession, making the track and grounds soft. Defying these difficulties, Chinese athletes gave a good account of themselves and broke many First GANEFO records. Well-known sprinter Chen Chia-chuan clocked 10.5 sec. to win the men's 100 metres, while Tsui Lin returned 13.9 sec. to take the title in the 110-metre hurdles. Huang Chih-wu and Ku Ke-yen won the broad jump and the hop, step and jump with marks of 7.63 m. and 16.22 m. respectively. Chinese women athletes also took first place in many events and shattered many First GANEFO records. These include Chung Hsiu-yun's 16.43 m. in the shot put, Liu Teh-tsui's 54.56 m. in the discus throw, Hsiao Chieh-ping's 6.12 m. in the broad jump,



Ni Chih-chin clears the bar at 2.27 metres on November 30 in Phnom Penh

Ho Tsu-fen's 11.9 sec. in the 100 metres and Li Shu-nu's 11.2 sec. in the 80-metre hurdles.

On November 30, China's famous high jumper Ni Chih-chin succeeded in clearing 2.27 m., adding lustre to the Asian GANEFO. This bettered the national record of 2.26 m. which he set in May this year, and is the world's best performance since 1963, only 0.01 m. short of the world record.

At a little over three in the afternoon, when high jump contestants from different countries were limbering up, Ni Chih-chin was engrossed in reading *Quotations From Chairman Mao Tse-tung*. He read over and over again Chairman Mao's teaching: **"We should rid our ranks of all impotent thinking. All views that overestimate the strength of the enemy and underestimate the strength of the people are wrong."** He had studied this quotation countless times before, and he used it again to encourage himself to win victory for the revolutionary people of China and the other new emerging Asian countries.

Ni Chih-chin started when the bar was at 1.90 m., which he cleared without effort. He successively sailed over the bar at 1.95 m., 2 m., 2.10 m., 2.14 m., 2.18 m. and 2.23 m., all in his first attempt. When the bar was raised to 2.27 m., he read out another quotation from Chairman Mao: **"The commanders and fighters of the entire Chinese People's Liberation Army absolutely must not relax in the least their will to fight; any thinking that relaxes the will to fight and belittles the enemy is wrong."** Then, with well-coordinated steps, he made for the bar and smoothly cleared it. Instantly, the stands burst into thunderous applause.

Dusk was falling. At Ni Chih-chin's request, the umpires raised the bar to 2.29 m. On his first attempt to break the world record, he strained his knee. In spite of this, he braced himself and made two more attempts. Though it was to no avail, Ni's perseverance won the applause of the crowd. His success in clearing 2.27 m. fully showed the great might of Mao Tse-tung's thought. The continuous improvement he has shown in his technique in the past few years is the result of the constant raising of the level of his ideology and political consciousness. As he put it himself: "Only by raising one's ideological level can one clear greater heights, and one relies entirely on Mao Tse-tung's thought to raise his ideological level."

Ni Chih-chin has expressed the true sentiments of China's sportsmen. Armed with Mao Tse-tung's thought, they are confidently doing their best to scale world heights in all kinds of sports. Apart from the successes mentioned above, Chinese contestants at the Asian GANEFO carried off the titles in both the men's and women's basketball, the men's and women's team events and the five individual events in both table tennis and badminton. Particular mention should be made of the successes scored by the Chinese badminton players. They gave full play to their strong points — speed, power, accuracy and great variety of tactics — winning hearty approval from both spectators and contestants. Though badminton is a comparatively young

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## 2nd GANEFO to Be Held in Peking

The Executive Board of the GANEFO Federation, which met on December 8 & 9 in Phnom Penh, has decided to hold the 2nd GANEFO in Peking in September 1967, after hearing the official declaration of the U.A.R. representative, A.D. Touny, that due to certain difficulties the 2nd GANEFO could not be held in Cairo in 1967.

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sport in China, great progress has been made over the past few years. In 1963, Chinese men and women players defeated the former world champions, the Indonesian men's and women's badminton teams. Later, the Chinese players trounced the Danish men's and women's teams, who formerly ranked second and third in the world.

### Boundless Love for Chairman Mao

During the Games, participants from the various countries displayed the new spirit of learning from one another for mutual advance and of treasuring friendship. Making use of time off, Chinese sportsmen got together with other sportsmen. An atmosphere of friendship prevailed during these meetings where foreign friends expressed their boundless respect and love for the great leader Chairman Mao.

At the get-together between Chinese sportsmen and sportsmen from Palestine, Syria, Iraq, Yemen and Lebanon, an Iraqi friend said: "Mao Tse-tung is a great revolutionary leader, loved by the people of the whole world." A Palestinian friend said: "Chairman Mao Tse-tung is a great revolutionary teacher. His writings have given inestimable strength to the fighting Palestinian people who all respect Mao Tse-tung and love the Chinese people!" A Syrian friend warmly praised the greatness of Mao Tse-tung's thought, and together with the Chinese sportsmen studied passages from *Quotations From Chairman Mao Tse-tung*.

On meeting Chinese sportsmen, participants from many countries expressed their hope of getting copies of Chairman Mao's works, badges with Chairman Mao's portrait on them or photographs of Chairman Mao. That they cherished such great love for Chairman Mao was because they had learnt from their struggles that Chairman Mao always stood on the side of the oppressed peoples and that Chairman Mao most firmly supported the Asian peoples' just struggles against imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism. They understood that Chairman Mao's works were books treasured by the world's people and used for guiding their revolutionary struggles for liberation.

The deep love which sportsmen from various Asian countries hold for Chairman Mao abundantly demonstrates that our great teacher, great leader, great supreme commander and great helmsman Chairman Mao enjoys the boundless respect and love of the world's people. It also fully shows that the great, invincible thought of Mao Tse-tung shines in its full glory throughout the world.

## Firmest Support for Indonesian Patriots

The principle of the reactionary forces in dealing with the democratic forces of the people is definitely to destroy all they can and to prepare to destroy later whatever they cannot destroy now. Face to face with this situation, the democratic forces of the people should likewise apply the same principle to the reactionary forces.

— Mao Tse-tung

The Chinese Committee for Afro-Asian Solidarity, in a statement issued on December 11, gives firm support to the Indonesian Organization for Asian-African People's Solidarity's appeal to save more than 300,000 Indonesian patriots languishing behind prison bars.

The Indonesian Right-wing military clique headed by Suharto and Nasution, the Chinese statement says, with the connivance and support of U.S. imperialism, has launched a frenzied campaign to persecute democrats, progressives, Communists and patriots of all strata. White terror reeking with blood prevails in Indonesia.

While Indonesian patriots and revolutionaries are being hounded to death and butchered by the Suharto-Nasution fascist clique, the statement continues, the Soviet revisionist leading clique has the audacity to furnish it with large quantities of military equipment. In doing so, they are openly helping the Indonesian reactionary forces kill revolutionaries. Countless facts show that wherever imperialism commits aggression and wherever reactionaries cut down revolutionaries, there the Soviet revisionists are invariably found in the role of accomplices.

Indonesia's revolutionary people, says the statement, will never be cowed; they cannot be exterminated. **As the great leader Chairman Mao points out: "All reactionaries try to stamp out revolution by mass murder, thinking that the greater the massacre, the weaker the revolution. But contrary to this reactionary wishful thinking, the fact is that the**

**more the reactionaries resort to massacre, the greater the strength of the revolution and the nearer the reactionaries approach their doom. This is an inexorable law."** The great Indonesian people will fight the enemy, tooth for tooth and blood for blood and with the support of the world's revolutionary people, they are sure to win in the end.

The Chinese people who hold aloft the great red banner of Mao Tse-tung's thought, the statement concludes, resolutely support the Indonesian patriots and the Indonesian people's sacred cause of opposing imperialism, colonialism and the domestic reactionaries and of winning independence, freedom, democracy and liberation for their motherland.

In the name of the Chinese people, the China Peace Committee, All-China Federation of Trade Unions, National Women's Federation, All-China Federation of Youth and the Political Science and Law Association of China issued a joint statement on December 13. The statement strongly protested and severely condemned the Indonesian Right-wing military regime for its towering crimes of savagely killing Indonesian patriots on a big scale and voiced the firmest support for the appeal to save the lives of the 300,000 persecuted Indonesian patriots.

## Soviet Revisionists Again Play the Traitor at W.F.T.U. Meeting

**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.**

— Mao Tse-tung

The Chinese Trade Union Delegation to the 16th General Council meeting of the World Federation of Trade Unions (W.F.T.U.) returned to Peking from Sofia on December 12.

A rally was held at the airport by Peking workers to give the delegation a rousing welcome-home. The

rally voiced, in the strongest terms, its support to the delegation for waging a stern struggle in Sofia, its protest against the W.F.T.U. which arbitrarily deprived the Chinese delegation of its rights to attend the meeting, and its condemnation of the anti-China crimes committed by the Soviet revisionists.

Ma Chun-ku, Vice-President of the All-China Federation of Trade Unions, spoke at the rally. He twice quoted Chairman Mao: **"To be attacked by the enemy is not a bad thing but a good thing,"** and **"It is still better if the enemy attacks us wildly and paints us as utterly black and without a single virtue; it demonstrates that we have not only drawn a clear line of demarcation between the enemy and ourselves but achieved a great deal in our work."**

Ma Chun-ku denounced the Soviet revisionists and a handful of their flunkies who clamoured for the "purifying" of the atmosphere of the W.F.T.U. and urged the adoption of "organizational measures" against China's trade unions. We are convinced, he said, that the international working class will "purify" their own ranks and throw this handful of renegades and scabs into the dustbin of history.

Han Hsi-ya, the leader of the Chinese delegation, pointed out in his speech: "The Soviet revisionists' manipulation of the meeting and their concoction of an arbitrary decision to exclude the Chinese delegation were prompted by their fear that the Chinese delegation would expose to the world their true features as renegades and scabs, which are characterized by their collusion with U.S. imperialism to suppress the revolutionary struggles of the world's people and their sell-out of the fundamental interests of the international working class. Herein lie the roots of their impotence and panic."

Han Hsi-ya said: "The leading clique of the Soviet revisionists is now heading for a complete debacle and utter bankruptcy."

# ROUND THE WORLD

## JAPAN

### New Political Developments

Two developments in the Japanese political situation earlier this month are worthy of attention. On December 3, the Sato cabinet was reorganized, for the third time in over two years. Then, the Socialist Party held its national convention during which the Left-wing delegates roundly refuted the fallacious anti-China statements of the Right-wingers.

**Cabinet Reshuffle.** All posts are in the hands of the Liberal-Democratic Party. Of the 19 ministers in Sato's new cabinet, 12 belong to the Right-wing Sato, Kishi and Ishii groups, and the Miki group which toes the Sato line. The remaining posts were filled by people from other groups that support Sato. No one from the Fujiyama and Matsumura groups, which supported Aichihiro Fujiyama in the election to choose the President of the Liberal-Democratic Party on December 1, entered the new cabinet.

This composition shows that in foreign affairs the new cabinet will further serve U.S. imperialism's war policy of aggression against Vietnam and Asia, while in domestic affairs it will become more reactionary and step up the exploitation of the working people.

**Socialist National Convention.** The national convention in Tokyo between Dec. 6 and 9 picked the Socialist Party's new leadership. Kozo Sasaki was re-elected Chairman. Tomomi Narita continued as General Secretary. Koichi Yamamoto, Mitsu Kono and Seiichi Katsumata were elected Vice-Chairmen. Among the 19 members of the central executive committee, 15 are from the Sasaki and Left-wing groups.

During the discussion of the 1967 working programme, heated debate raged between the Left and the Right-wing factions. Some Right-wing delegates maliciously attacked the joint statement signed in Peking by the delegations of the Japan-China Friendship Association and the China-Japan Friendship As-

sociation, alleging that the document should not have denounced the Soviet revisionists. They further attacked those Socialist Party members who had visited China and praised her great proletarian cultural revolution. The Left-wing delegates, particularly many representatives from local organizations, refuted these attacks point by point. They criticized the treacherous line and the anti-China policy of the Soviet revisionists and their new followers, highly appraised China's great proletarian cultural revolution and stressed the necessity of studying Mao Tse-tung's thought. The Right-wingers, who found themselves short on arguments, could only resort to hooting. The actions of the Left-wingers at the convention mirrored the recent growth of the progressive forces within the party.

The working programme which was adopted reflected the demands of the Left-wingers, although the views of the Right-wing were also included as a compromise.

## BIG SOVIET LOAN TO INDIA

### Propping Up the Reactionaries

The Congress government which lives on handouts from both the U.S. imperialists and the Soviet revisionists has been given another shot in the arm by Moscow. During the Soviet-Indian talks in New Delhi on November 30, it was announced that the Soviet Union would provide India with a loan of 970 million rubles (about 8,300 million rupees) during the latter's 4th five-year plan (1966-1970).

This loan more than doubles the total sum of Soviet "economic assistance" to India during its 3rd five-year plan and exceeds by far Soviet "economic assistance" granted during the 10 years of Khrushchov's rule.

In an agreement signed in Moscow on December 3, it was decided that the volume of trade between the Soviet Union and India in 1967, which would break all records, would amount to 2,550 million rupees.

On November 21, Indian Defence Minister Singh confirmed that the Soviet Union had supplied three TU-124s to the Indian air force. One of the three plants built in India with Soviet help for the production of MIG-21 supersonic fighters began operation in mid-October. Soviet-made guided missiles, submarines, warships and tanks have continued to pour into India while Soviet specialists help train Indian military personnel.

The pace of Soviet "aid" to India has been accelerated as the Indian reactionaries have stepped up their expansionist activities and anti-China campaign. This serves worldwide U.S.-Soviet collusion and is part of the counter-revolutionary "Holy Alliance" of all reactionaries which is against China, the peoples and Communism. However, with the Congress government on the verge of political and economic bankruptcy and becoming more and more shaky, how much good all this "aid" will do the Indian reactionaries is highly doubtful.

## A.A.T.U.F. CONGRESS

### U.S. Imperialist Aggression Condemned

An Extraordinary Congress of the All-African Trade Union Federation was held in Dar-es-Salaam from December 2 to 6. It was attended by trade unionists from some 30 African countries.

Because of the Ghana coup brought about by U.S. imperialism, the congress decided to transfer the federation's headquarters from Accra to Dar-es-Salaam and elected Mamadou Famady Sissoko of Mali as A.A.T.U.F. General Secretary to replace John Tettegah of Ghana.

The general resolution adopted by the congress condemned the imperialists headed by the United States for their attacks on the people of the world — particularly the Asian, African and Latin American peoples — by means of intensified exploitation, mass arrests, assassination of leaders of political and trade union organizations and by keeping their puppets in power. It called upon progressive forces throughout the world to

strengthen their anti-imperialist and anti-colonialist front. The general resolution urged the workers of the independent countries "to remain vigilant at all times to defend their revolutionary gains by opposing, through revolutionary violence, acts of subversion, counter-revolutionary attempts and imperialist coups d'etat."

The resolution also paid tribute to "the workers and other valiant people of Vietnam who are struggling unswervingly to throw the American aggressors out of their country."

At a press conference on December 8, Sissoko declared that the A.A.T.U.F. would stand firm in the struggle against imperialism and colonialism and would give unstinted support to all revolutionary forces in order to speed up the African revolution.

#### U.S.-SOVIET DRAFT TREATY ON OUTER SPACE

### Another Dirty Deal

Described by Johnson as "the most important arms control development" since the tripartite partial nuclear test ban treaty in August 1963, the draft treaty on "the peaceful use of outer space," which he announced on December 8, is in fact another U.S.-Soviet attempt to hoodwink the world's people and a step to create the right atmosphere for more and bigger bargains in the interests of joint U.S.-Soviet world domination.

It was Johnson who first proposed the treaty last May. Negotiations proceeded swiftly because of the "eagerness of the negotiators." (U.S.I.S.) After the Soviet Union had openly responded on May 30, and both sides had submitted their respective drafts to the U.N. Outer Space Committee for discussion, they entered into secret negotiations in September. Agreement was reached thanks to repeated Soviet concessions. The day after Johnson's Dec. 8 announcement, the U.S. delegation distributed the U.S.-Soviet treaty draft in the U.N. to solicit support for adoption by the General Assembly.

The draft treaty is nothing but a fraud. True, it stipulates that states which are a party to it undertake

not to place in orbit around the earth, on the moon or other celestial bodies any objects carrying nuclear weapons or any other weapons of mass destruction, or to station such weapons in outer space in any other manner; that the establishment of military bases and installations, the testing of any type of weapons and the conduct of military manoeuvres on celestial bodies shall be forbidden, etc. But in fact, as a statement by U.S. "Defence Department sources" made clear, such a treaty "will have little impact on present U.S. military plans," and cannot be expected to stop either the United States or the Soviet Union from continuing to launch military payloads, such as the "spy-in-the sky" photo reconnaissance satellites, into space (AP, December 8). As the U.S.I.S. admitted, from the military angle, "placing nuclear weapons in orbiting satellites is . . . less efficient than ground-based inter-continental missiles."

Coming at a time when the Johnson Administration is out to enlarge its aggressive war in Vietnam, the draft treaty on outer space serves U.S. imperialist needs by creating an illusion of "disarmament" and helping to benumb people.

#### WEST GERMANY

### The Crisis Unsolved

The appointment of a new coalition headed by ex-Nazi Kiesinger on December 1 temporarily papered over a government crisis which had been raging in Bonn for several months.

The fall of Erhard was the culmination of the gravest political crisis ever to hit the Bonn government since the founding of the West German state. After Erhard took over from Adenauer in 1963, his government had tailed after the United States in the hope of securing the latter's support for its annexation of the G.D.R. and possession of nuclear weapons. However, this demand could not be fully satisfied because the United States, while supporting the Erhard government, is out for political deals with the Soviet revisionist clique; its prime interest is to "relax tension" in Europe and

shift the weight of its strategic deployment to the East. This became quite clear during Erhard's visit to Washington in September. Also, with Franco-American contradictions getting worse and worse, Erhard's pro-U.S. policy brought West Germany's relations with France to a state where the two countries' Treaty of Co-operation and Alliance had virtually become a piece of scrap paper. All this had caused great dissatisfaction and squabbling inside West German ruling circles.

The bickering is not limited to foreign policy alone. At home, the Erhard government has had a tough time. West Germany's economy has deteriorated, with this year's budget deficit reaching 5,000 million marks and industrial output since August lower than the corresponding months in 1965 — an ominous sign not seen for many years — which have caused serious inflation, sharp price rises and increasing unemployment. This, together with government measures to make the working people pay for the financial and economic difficulties, has incurred strong resentment from the masses and sharpened contradictions inside the ruling circles.

The new government is the outcome of temporary compromises among different factions within the ruling circles, a deal between the Christian Democratic Union-Christian Social Union, which had dominated all post-war coalition governments, and the Social Democratic Party, an opposition party for the last dozen years or more. Kiesinger has been made Chancellor with the all-out support of the pro-French faction headed by Chairman of the C.S.U. and former Defence Minister Strauss and former Chancellor Adenauer. Willy Brandt, ex-Mayor of West Berlin and Chairman of the Social Democrats — a pro-American as well as an "alliance with France" advocate — is Vice-Chancellor and Foreign Minister. Strauss is Minister of Finance, while Schroeder and Kai-Uwe von Hassel, former ministers and representatives of the pro-U.S. faction, are Defence Minister and Minister for Refugee Problems respectively. This unusual composition makes it clear that more bitter than ever in-fighting is inevitable.

Just Off the Press

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MAO TSE-TUNG

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