

PEKING REVIEW

35

August 25, 1967

Peng Teh-huai and His Behind-the-Scenes Boss Cannot Shirk Responsibility for Their Crimes

Renmin Ribao editorial.

Burmese People's Revolutionary Armed Struggle Is Bound to Triumph

by Thakin Ba Thein Tin, First Vice-Chairman of Central
Committee of Communist Party of Burma, marking 28th
anniversary of the Party.

Indonesian People Have Raised the Torch of Armed Struggle

by *Renmin Ribao* Commentator.

北
京
周
報

QUOTATIONS FROM CHAIRMAN MAO TSE-TUNG

Without a people's army the people have nothing.

On Coalition Government (April 1945)

* * *

They must especially watch out for careerists and conspirators like Khrushchov and prevent such bad elements from usurping the leadership of the Party and the state at any level.

Quoted in *On Khrushchov's Phoney Communism and Its Historical Lessons for the World* ("Renmin Ribao" July 14, 1964)

* * *

The truth of Marxism-Leninism is on our side. So is the international proletariat. So are the oppressed nations and oppressed peoples. And so are the masses of people who constitute over 90 per cent of the world's population. We have friends all over the world. We are not afraid of being isolated and we shall never be isolated.

Message of Greetings to the Fifth Congress of the Albanian Party of Labour (October 1966)



Chairman Mao Tse-tung

Our great teacher, great leader, great supreme commander and great helmsman



Chairman Mao Receives Albanian Comrades



Chairman Mao receives Comrade Vangjel Moisiu (second from the left) and Comrade Myfit Mushi (first from the right). Comrade Yao Wen-yuan is first from the left.

Comrade Mao Tse-tung, the great leader of the Chinese people and Chairman of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party, on the afternoon of August 21 received Comrades Vangjel Moisiu and Myfit Mushi, Albanian experts working in China. Chairman Mao had a most cordial, friendly and sincere conversation with them.

Present on the occasion was Comrade Yao Wen-yuan, member of the Cultural Revolution Group Under the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party and head of

the Chinese Red Guard Delegation of the Albanian Union of Working Youth, which attended the Fifth Congress

U.S. Planes Intrude Into China — Both Shot Down

Two U.S. imperialist A-6 attack planes flagrantly intruded into China's air space over Kwangsi on the afternoon of August 21 in a deliberate act of war provocation. Both were immediately shot down by an air force unit of the heroic

Chinese People's Liberation Army, and one U.S. air pirate was captured.

This is a victory won amid the song of triumph of proletarian revolutionaries and commanders and

(Continued on p. 24.)

Peng Teh-huai and His Behind-the-Scenes Boss Cannot Shirk Responsibility for Their Crimes

THE "Resolution of the Eighth Plenary Session of the Eighth Central Committee of the Communist Party of China Concerning the Anti-Party Clique Headed by Peng Teh-huai" (excerpts) [see our last issue — *P.R. Ed.*] has been made public in the midst of the high tide of the revolutionary mass movement launched by the proletarian revolutionaries throughout the country to criticize and repudiate the handful of top Party persons in authority taking the capitalist road. This is of extremely great significance for the complete overthrow of that inveterate counter-revolutionary revisionist Peng Teh-huai, for the thorough demolition of the bourgeois headquarters headed by China's Khrushchov, and for the advance of the current revolutionary mass movement of all-out criticism and repudiation.

This document was a product of the great victory won at the Eighth Plenary Session of the Eighth Central Committee of the Party in 1959, that is, the Lushan Meeting. That meeting exposed and smashed the criminal scheme of the anti-Party clique headed by Peng Teh-huai to usurp the leadership of the Party, the army and the government and to restore capitalism; it safeguarded the leadership of the Party's Central Committee headed by Chairman Mao, the Party's general line for building socialism, and the socialist cause of the Party and the people.

Chairman Mao pointed out: "This struggle at Lushan is a class struggle, a continuation of the life-and-death struggle between the two major antagonistic classes — the bourgeoisie and the proletariat — which has gone on all through the socialist revolution in the last ten years."

Under the wise leadership of our great leader Chairman Mao, the Chinese people, within a short time after the founding of the People's Republic of China, in the main completed the socialist transformation of the means of production. In 1958, Chairman Mao put forward the general line of **going all out, aiming high and achieving greater, quicker, better and more economical results in building socialism**. This, the only correct Marxist-Leninist line, was put forward by Chairman Mao after summing up international and

domestic experience in the building of socialism. Under the brilliant guidance of this general line, the hundreds of millions of Chinese people, with high morale and firm determination, brought about the great leap forward in the national economy and people's communes were formed throughout the countryside.

The great victories of the general line, the great leap forward and the people's commune movement caused utter panic among all the reactionary forces within the country and abroad, and they put up a desperate resistance. Within the country, landlords, rich peasants, counter-revolutionaries, bad elements, Rightists and all kinds of ghosts and monsters came out into the open in large numbers to stir up trouble. Internationally, there was a big outburst of anti-China hysteria among the imperialists, modern revisionists and reactionaries of various countries. They launched a frantic attack against our Party and the Chinese people. It was precisely at that time that that inveterate Right opportunist Peng Teh-huai mustered his partners like Huang Ke-cheng, Chang Wen-tien and Chou Hsiao-chou and rushed into action. In a planned and organized way and with deliberate intent they viciously attacked the Party, socialism and our great leader Chairman Mao.

The so-called letter setting out his views dished up by Peng Teh-huai, the ringleader of the anti-Party clique at the Lushan Meeting, contained an out-and-out counter-revolutionary revisionist programme. Consumed by ambition and completely revealing his renegade nature, Peng Teh-huai desperately opposed the high-speed development of the national economy, the revolutionary mass movement in socialist construction, the carrying through to the end of the socialist revolution on the economic front, the leadership of the Party and the principle of putting politics in command, and Chairman Mao, the very red sun in the hearts of the Chinese people and the revolutionary people of the world.

The struggle between the proletarian revolutionary line represented by Chairman Mao, and the counter-revolutionary revisionist line of Peng Teh-huai and

his partners in the anti-Party clique at the Lushan Meeting was a life-and-death struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie and between the socialist road and the capitalist road. It was a big struggle of vital concern to the future and destiny of our great motherland.

Peng Teh-huai's anti-Party activity at the Lushan Meeting was by no means accidental, nor was it an isolated incident. It was a wild, desperate onslaught by the dying bourgeoisie against the flourishing socialist cause of the proletariat.

The sinister boss behind this counter-revolutionary attack was none other than the top Party person in authority taking the capitalist road.

It was this person who at the Lushan Meeting put his utmost efforts into a counter-revolutionary double-dealing tactic, and actively backed Peng Teh-huai's anti-Party activities. After Peng Teh-huai's scheme was exposed, he continued surreptitiously to fan up evil winds and fires, and schemed to tamper with the already prepared summary of the meeting and turn it into an anti-"Left" document directed against Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line. After the Lushan Meeting, he came out into the open, slandering the general line as having been put forward blindly, the great leap forward as being "brought about in a rush" causing "disproportions in the economy," alleging that "the people's communes were set up too early," and "there is danger of disintegration." He even made the absurd assertion that "the Lushan Meeting made a mistake," and that "it was wrong to oppose Right opportunism." Moreover, he energetically boosted the spirit of "Hai Jui," whipped up the evil wind of reversing the correct verdict passed on the Right opportunists and made bitter complaints on behalf of the Right opportunists represented by Peng Teh-huai. He vainly tried to help Peng Teh-huai rise again and resume command of the armed forces, so as to realize his counter-revolutionary restorationist plot of usurping the leadership of the Party, the armed forces and the state.

All this fully testifies to the fact that the struggle against Peng Teh-huai's anti-Party clique is in essence a major battle in the long-term test of strength between the proletarian headquarters and the bourgeois headquarters.

Peng Teh-huai's anti-Party activities had not only China's Khrushchov as behind-the-scenes boss, they were also supported and encouraged by the Soviet Union's Khrushchov. After Peng Teh-huai came out into the open at the Lushan Meeting, the Soviet Khrushchov blatantly and shamelessly praised him as "correct," "brave" and as his "best friend." The facts clearly reveal that Peng Teh-huai is a man who maintains illicit relations with a foreign country and who in co-ordination with the Khrushchovian modern

revisionists aims to overthrow the dictatorship of the proletariat in China.

The Resolution of the Eighth Plenary Session of the Eighth Central Committee of the Communist Party of China points out: **"The long-standing anti-Party activities of the Right opportunist anti-Party clique headed by Peng Teh-huai constitute a grave danger to the socialist cause of the Party and the people."**

Peng Teh-huai has never been a Marxist. He is an out-and-out big bourgeois warlord, careerist and conspirator who, with a speculator's mentality of "investing in a share," wormed his way into the Party and the army. Over the past decades, he has consistently taken the bourgeois reactionary stand and opposed Chairman Mao, the great thought of Mao Tse-tung and the proletarian revolutionary line of Chairman Mao. For a long time, he made use of the positions he had usurped in the Party's Central Committee and the People's Liberation Army to carry out a series of conspiratorial activities for usurping the leadership of the army and he became the agent, within the army, of the bourgeois headquarters headed by China's Khrushchov.

The Lushan Meeting dug out this time bomb that had been buried in the Party and in the army. This was a serious blow to the bourgeois headquarters headed by China's Khrushchov. It was a great victory for our Party and our people and a great victory for the invincible thought of Mao Tse-tung.

But, the struggle between the two lines in our Party has not yet been concluded. As Chairman Mao pointed out: **"This kind of struggle, it seems, will continue in China and in our Party for at least 20 years and possibly half a century. In short, the struggle will cease only when classes die out completely."**

In the present revolutionary campaign of mass criticism and repudiation, the dragging out of this inveterate counter-revolutionary revisionist Peng Teh-huai into broad daylight for all-out, penetrating criticism, repudiation and struggle by the masses, is an important part of the thorough repudiation of the handful of top Party persons in authority taking the capitalist road who are headed by China's Khrushchov.

We must develop the thoroughgoing revolutionary spirit of vigorously pursuing the tottering foe and beating the dog in the water, and thoroughly liquidate the towering crimes of the handful of top Party persons in authority taking the capitalist road, including Peng Teh-huai, in opposing the Party, socialism and Mao Tse-tung's thought. We must wipe out their pernicious, revisionist influence in every field, repudiate, overthrow and completely discredit them politically, ideologically and theoretically, and carry the great proletarian cultural revolution through to the end.

("Renmin Ribao" editorial, August 16.)

GREAT CULTURAL REVOLUTION IN PROGRESS

Chairman Mao's Red Guards Pledge New Contributions in Mass Revolutionary Criticism

AUGUST 18 is the first anniversary of that memorable occasion when Chairman Mao, the red sun which shines most brightly in our hearts and our most respected and beloved great supreme commander, received in Peking a million young Red Guards and revolutionary masses from all parts of the country. Following that, on eight occasions altogether, Chairman Mao received more than 11 million Red Guards and revolutionary teachers and students. The result was a mighty upsurge in the great proletarian cultural revolution. Tens of millions of Red Guards performed countless meritorious deeds in that great movement. Today, joyous and militant, they have joined with the worker, peasant and soldier masses in meetings and parades to celebrate this glorious anniversary of Red Guard history.

Looking back over the triumphant course they have traversed in their struggles in the past year, the Red Guards solemnly express this determination: We will always keep in mind our great leader Chairman Mao's teaching that only by liberating the whole of mankind can the proletariat finally liberate itself, hold firm to the general orientation of struggle and carry the great proletarian cultural revolution through to the end. Every one of them has come to understand that compared with last year, the situation in the proletarian cultural revolution today has changed a great deal. Then, there was the need to carry out an extensive exchange of revolutionary experience throughout the country to kindle the flames of the revolution. Now, it is necessary to conduct deep-going mass revolutionary criticism, thoroughly refute the handful of top Party persons in authority taking the capitalist road and, each in his own unit, successfully carry out the task of struggle-criticism-transformation. They have therefore pledged themselves to do still better in the creative study and application of Chairman Mao's works, strengthen their proletarian revolutionary spirit, scientific approach and sense of organization and discipline, strive to become models in mass revolutionary criticism, models in speeding up the formation of a great revolutionary alliance and revolutionary "three-in-one" combination, in taking firm hold of the revolution and promoting production and in resuming school and college studies while carrying on the revolution. Now they work to make new contributions in the struggle to completely demolish the bourgeois head-

quarters and accomplish the great, historic tasks of struggle, criticism and transformation.

In Peking and Shanghai, in Heilungkiang, Shantung, Shansi, Chinghai, Kweichow and other places, young Red Guards, proletarian revolutionaries and P.L.A. commanders and fighters held anniversary celebrations and demonstrations. Leading members of revolutionary committees of various provinces and municipalities and of locally stationed army units came to give warm congratulations to the young Red Guards.

In Peking, birthplace of their movement, young Red Guards gathered in the Great Hall of the People on the evening of August 18 to warmly celebrate the anniversary. They sent a message of greetings to Chairman Mao.

In Shanghai, from early morning that day, young Red Guards with their bright red arm bands, gathered together to celebrate their festival. Marching to the beat of gongs and drums, they carried portraits of the great supreme commander Chairman Mao in their processions. In reviewing how they had closely followed the great strategy of Chairman Mao in the militant course of their activities of the past year, they declared that the thorough carrying out of the campaign of mass revolutionary criticism is a great undertaking that concerns the consolidation of the political power of the proletariat for hundreds of years to come and that this is the glorious and historic task the great supreme commander Chairman Mao has assigned the Red Guards. They expressed their determination to study Chairman Mao's works conscientiously, give more and deeper thought to problems and, taking Mao Tse-tung's thought as their sharpest weapon, unfold mass revolutionary criticism and complete the tasks of struggle, criticism and transformation in their own units.

A year ago today, the "August 18" Red Guard organization of Chinghai Province in northwest China took a militant oath of undying loyalty to Chairman Mao and to follow him in making revolution all their lives. On the morning of August 18 this year, at a grand celebration meeting a responsible member of the Congress of Red Guards of the province's "August 18" organization declared on behalf of its members that they would always follow Chairman Mao, be the hard-hitting vanguard in mass revolutionary criticism and models in speeding the forging of a great revolutionary alliance, in destroying self-interest and fostering devotion to the public good, in resuming studies while carrying on the revolution and in making revolution in their own areas. In Ninghsia, Kansu, Sinkiang, Inner Mongolia, Kiangsi, Honan, Hupeh, Hunan and other places, the young Red Guards and proletarian revolutionaries in similar joyous celebrations, pledged to forge ahead victoriously in the direction charted by Chairman Mao.

Denouncing the Crimes of Peng Teh-huai and His Boss Behind the Scenes

PUBLICATION of the "Resolution of the 8th Plenary Session of the 8th Central Committee of the C.P.C. Concerning the Anti-Party Clique Headed by Peng Teh-huai" was warmly welcomed throughout the country by proletarian revolutionaries, revolutionary masses and commanders and fighters of the People's Liberation Army. In articles, wall newspapers and at criticism meetings, they opened fire on China's Khrushchov and his agents in the P.L.A. — Peng Teh-huai, Lo Jui-ching and company — and exposed and denounced their towering crimes in attempting to usurp leadership in the Party and in the army.

Members of revolutionary mass organizations in Hunan Province angrily exposed facts about how the counter-revolutionary revisionist Peng Teh-huai, in collaboration with Chou Hsiao-chou, leading member of the Hunan Provincial Party Committee, and others, frantically opposed Chairman Mao and plotted to turn Hunan into a base for the restoration of capitalism.

In Heilungkiang Province, 150,000 people — commanders and fighters of P.L.A. units under the Heilungkiang Military Command or stationed in the area and revolutionary masses of the city of Harbin — held a rally at which they indignantly denounced the heinous crimes of China's Khrushchov and Peng Teh-huai and Lo Jui-ching.

All-out exposure-criticism-repudiation meetings were also held recently by the various general departments of the P.L.A., the Commission for National De-

fence Science, and the organizations and schools and institutes of the three services in Peking. Facts of Peng Teh-huai's crimes were revealed by the proletarian revolutionaries at these meetings.

They pointed out that Peng Teh-huai's activities to oppose the Party and usurp power in the army were all carried out with the active support of the top Party person in authority taking the capitalist road and in close co-ordination with his counter-revolutionary restoration scheme. The publication of the resolution concerning the anti-Party clique headed by Peng Teh-huai adopted at the Lushan Meeting is still another mortal blow at the bourgeois headquarters.

Proletarian revolutionaries of the three services stressed that the struggle between Chairman Mao's proletarian military line and Peng Teh-huai's bourgeois-revisionist military line is a major question deciding who should hold the gun and affecting the destiny and future of the Party and the state. We proletarian revolutionaries of the services, they said, will take Vice-Chairman Lin Piao as our example and most steadfastly stand on the side of Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line. We will most loyally, resolutely and thoroughly defend and implement Chairman Mao's proletarian military line, and completely refute and discredit the bourgeois-revisionist military line of Peng Teh-huai and Co., so that our armed forces will always hold high the great red banner of Mao Tse-tung's thought and always remain the most reliable and staunchest pillar of the proletarian dictatorship!

Many national as well as provincial and municipal newspapers have recently published a great many articles denouncing the crimes of Peng Teh-huai in opposing the Party and usurping power in the army.

Hundreds of Millions Grasp Mao Tse-tung's Thought

Basic Assurance for Consolidating the Proletarian Dictatorship

— Criticizing the heinous crimes of China's Khrushchov in his attempt to smother the mass movement for the study of Chairman Mao's works

by **KUANG HSUAN**

THE world today has entered a new era with Mao Tse-tung's thought as its great banner. Responding to the call of Vice-Chairman Lin Piao, the army and the people throughout the country have in recent years launched a mighty mass movement to creatively study and apply Chairman Mao's works. However, the top Party person in authority taking the capitalist road has

frantically opposed Mao Tse-tung's thought and tried desperately to sabotage and smother this mass movement.

Vicious Tricks

The first despicable trick played by this top capitalist roader to achieve his ends was a desperate attempt

to belittle the great significance of Mao Tse-tung's thought. He talked such nonsense as that "every major issue of principle in the world has been solved" by Marx, Engels, Lenin or Stalin. By this device he attempted to deny the fact that Mao Tse-tung's thought represents a new stage in the development of Marxism-Leninism and a great new milestone in the development of Marxism.

Using the trick of waving "red flags" to oppose the red flag, this Chinese Khrushchov opposed the study of Chairman Mao's works under the pretext of encouraging the study of the Marxist-Leninist classics. He also opposed study of the experience of the Chinese revolution under the pretext of learning from foreign experience, from the experience of the Soviet Union, and opposed the call to "be Chairman Mao's good pupils" under the pretext of saying that we should "be good pupils of Marx and Lenin."

In actual fact he does not want people to be good pupils of Marx and Lenin. For in our time, to be a really good pupil of Marx and Lenin, one must be a good pupil of Chairman Mao. Any betrayal of Mao Tse-tung's thought is out-and-out betrayal of Marxism-Leninism.

China's Khrushchov has also attacked Mao Tse-tung's thought by describing it as "dogma" and by babbling that this or that in Chairman Mao's works is "out of date." Meanwhile, he energetically urges that one should "learn from anyone in or outside the Party who possesses the truth."

He wishfully thinks that by this abuse he can destroy the absolute authority of Mao Tse-tung's thought and stuff people's heads with his own sinister revisionist rubbish. But Mao Tse-tung's thought is the most developed science of revolution, the supreme truth of the proletariat which has passed the test of protracted revolutionary struggles, and is the unified programme of action for the whole Party, the entire army and the people of the whole country. It will not fall because of enemy curses. No other thought can be substituted for it.

The third vicious trick employed by China's Khrushchov is opposition to the method of creatively studying and applying Chairman Mao's works. He has slandered such study and application by the masses as "over-simplification," "vulgarization" and "formalism." In its stead, he advocates the academic study of theory behind closed doors.

What China's Khrushchov opposes is not only the method of study, but the mass movement for the study of Chairman Mao's works itself. Mao Tse-tung's thought can be grasped only in struggle, and if his way had been followed, there would have been no such mass movement and the masses would never succeed in mastering Mao Tse-tung's thought.

The top capitalist roader in the Party abused his powers: he took administrative measures to persecute

those who were active in studying Chairman Mao's works and even restricted publication of these works.

All these actions by this top capitalist roader are unscrupulous provocations against the Chinese people. Mao Tse-tung's thought, however, is inseparably linked with the hundreds of millions of the masses. No reactionary force in the world can sever this tie. The more energetically the enemy tries to prevent the spread of Mao Tse-tung's thought, the deeper is the people's devotion to it and the more diligent is their creative study and application of Chairman Mao's works.

Vice-Chairman Lin Piao Unswervingly Defends and Propagates Mao Tse-tung's Thought

Vice-Chairman Lin Piao is Chairman Mao's best student and closest comrade-in-arms. He always puts into practice Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line most faithfully, most resolutely and most thoroughly. He sets the best example of creative study and application of Chairman Mao's works and he always unswervingly defends and propagates Mao Tse-tung's thought.

He has most profoundly, comprehensively and incisively expounded the vital significance of studying Mao Tse-tung's thought. On the eve of the country-wide victory in 1949, he pointed out: "There are many reasons for the victory of the Chinese revolution, but the major and decisive one is that we have mastered Marxism-Leninism, we have Mao Tse-tung's thought."

Since being placed in charge of the work of the Military Commission of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party after the 1959 Lushan Meeting, he has gone further in raising high the great red banner of Mao Tse-tung's thought. He has called on the whole army "to do their utmost to truly grasp Mao Tse-tung's thought."

Vice-Chairman Lin Piao points out: Mao Tse-tung's thought is Marxism-Leninism at its highest level in the present era, "it is the beacon light for mankind, the sharpest weapon for world revolution and the universal truth that holds true for the whole world." He says that the creative study and application of Chairman Mao's works must occupy first place in all work. He stresses that Chairman Mao's words are of the highest level, of the highest authority and are most powerful. Every sentence of Chairman Mao's is truth, and carries more weight than ten thousand other sentences. To meet the new situation in the great proletarian cultural revolution, Vice-Chairman Lin Piao has called on the commanders and fighters of the whole army to raise the mass movement for the creative study and application of Chairman Mao's works to a new stage.

These instructions issued by Vice-Chairman Lin Piao have deepened the masses' understanding of the great significance of Mao Tse-tung's thought, strengthened their already profound class feelings for it and dealt fatal blows at China's Khrushchov who belittled and attacked Mao Tse-tung's thought and sabotaged the mass movement for the study of Chairman Mao's works.

Vice-Chairman Lin Piao has put forward a whole set of principles and methods for the study of Chairman Mao's works. He says that in studying these works, "one should have specific problems in mind, study and apply these works in a creative way, combine study with application, first study what must be urgently applied so as to get quick results, and strive hard to apply what one is studying." Hundreds of millions of the masses have studied and applied Chairman Mao's works in struggle according to these instructions, and through their study have ushered in a new era—an era of direct mastery of Marxism-Leninism, Mao Tse-tung's thought, by the workers, peasants and soldiers.

The mass movement for the creative study and application of Chairman Mao's works is now spreading rapidly from China to the whole world. In face of this mighty mass movement of hundreds of millions of people learning to master Mao Tse-tung's thought, China's Khrushchov has only succeeded in knocking his head against a stone wall.

The Essence of Struggle

Chairman Mao has said: **"All revolutionary struggles in the world are aimed at seizing political power and consolidating it. The desperate struggles waged by counter-revolutionaries against revolutionary forces are likewise solely for the sake of maintaining their political power."**

The aim of China's Khrushchov in attempting to smother the mass movement for the study of Chairman Mao's works was to subvert our dictatorship of the proletariat and restore capitalism in China, and hamper the people's revolutionary struggle throughout the world. In response to the call of Vice-Chairman Lin Piao, hundreds of millions of the masses have launched a tit-for-tat struggle against the top capitalist roader in the Party in order to consolidate the dictatorship of the proletariat in China and prevent the restoration of capitalism. This is an extremely serious and acute class struggle, which has a direct bearing on the destiny of our Party and state as well as on the prospects of world revolution.

The history of class struggle has taught us: Every ruling class has had its own most authoritative dominant ideas. As Marx and Engels said: **"The ruling ideas of each age have ever been the ideas of its ruling class."** The dictatorship of the proletariat must also establish the domination of the proletariat in ideology. Chairman Mao has inherited, defended and developed Marxism-Leninism with genius, creatively and in an all-round way. He has solved a series of major questions of the proletarian revolution in the present era and in both theory and practice solved the problem of making revolution and preventing the restoration of capitalism under the dictatorship of the proletariat. Mao Tse-tung's thought is at this time the concentrated embodiment of the highest interests of the proletariat and other working people. Therefore, we must vigorously establish

the absolute authority of Mao Tse-tung's thought among the hundreds of millions of the masses.

Vice-Chairman Lin Piao says: "China is a great socialist state of the dictatorship of the proletariat and has a population of 700 million. It needs unified thinking, revolutionary thinking, correct thinking. That is Mao Tse-tung's thought." Only by using Mao Tse-tung's thought to unify the thinking of our 700 million people and enabling it to grip the broad masses can the dictatorship of the proletariat be placed in an invincible position.

Throughout the entire historical period of the dictatorship of the proletariat, the class struggle in the ideological sphere is of special significance. Chairman Mao teaches us: **"To overthrow a political power, it is always necessary first of all to create public opinion, to do work in the ideological sphere. This is true for the revolutionary class as well as for the counter-revolutionary class."** **"The class struggle in the ideological field between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie will continue to be long and tortuous and at times will even become very acute."** If the proletariat is unable to defeat the bourgeoisie completely in this field, the danger of losing the dictatorship of the proletariat will arise. Only by using Mao Tse-tung's thought to remould their thinking, and using Mao Tse-tung's thought as a weapon to utterly destroy the ideology of the bourgeoisie and all exploiting classes and to establish the proletarian world outlook, can the hundreds of millions of the masses uproot revisionism thoroughly.

In order to guarantee that our Party and state do not change their colour, we must train and bring up millions of successors who will carry on the cause of proletarian revolution. Only by using Mao Tse-tung's thought to nurture our younger generation and encouraging them to creatively study and apply Chairman Mao's works amidst the storm of the three great revolutionary movements—class struggle, the struggle for production and scientific experiment, can they temper themselves into the new people of communism. These successors are most loyal to Mao Tse-tung's thought and Chairman Mao's revolutionary line. They can ensure the carrying forward of Mao Tse-tung's thought generation after generation and ensure that the proletarian state never change its colour.

Establish the Absolute Authority of Mao Tse-tung's Thought

Chairman Mao has said that **Marxism has developed through struggle.**

Every stage in the development of Marxism-Leninism has been bitterly opposed by its enemies. It is through the struggle against enemies of all kinds that Marxism-Leninism has steadily developed, and is being grasped more and more by the masses with each passing day.

Soon after Marx and Engels initiated the theory of scientific socialism, which sounded the death-knell of capitalism, it met with open opposition from the old

revisionists Bernstein, Kautsky and others like them. When Marxism developed to the stage of Leninism, it was again wantonly attacked by Trotsky, Bukharin and other revisionists. But all these attacks failed to dim the light of Marxism-Leninism.

When Marxism developed to the stage of Mao Tse-tung's thought, the top Party person in authority taking the capitalist road frenziedly opposed Mao Tse-tung's thought and repeated the tricks of his revisionist forerunners. This is an inevitable phenomenon of historical development. Such actions by China's Khrushchov further exposed his reactionary face and inspired us to even greater loyalty to Chairman Mao and to make greater efforts in the study of Mao Tse-tung's thought.

We must resolutely expose, criticize and repudiate the heinous crimes of China's Khrushchov in his opposition to Mao Tse-tung's thought and his attempts to undermine the mass movement for the study of Chairman Mao's works, and further popularize the policies and principles advocated by Vice-Chairman Lin Piao for the creative study and application of Chairman Mao's works. We will bring about further integration of Mao Tse-tung's thought with the hundreds of millions of the revolutionary people throughout the world, and raise the great red banner of Mao Tse-tung's thought still higher until it flies all over the world.

(An abridged translation of an article in "Jiefangjun Bao," July 19.)

INTERNATIONAL COMMUNIST MOVEMENT

Burmese People's Revolutionary Armed Struggle Is Bound to Triumph

—In Commemoration of the 28th Anniversary of the Birth of the Communist Party of Burma

by THAKIN BA THEIN TIN

First Vice-Chairman of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Burma

(1)

AUGUST 15, 1967 is the 28th anniversary of the founding of the Communist Party of Burma.

In these 28 years, our Party has undergone nearly 20 years of revolutionary civil war which will be exactly 20 years old on March 28, 1968.

The history of the Communist Party of Burma is, therefore, in the main, a history of armed struggle, a history of armed revolution struggling against armed counter-revolution.

During the War of Resistance Against Japan, the Burmese people, led by the Communist Party of Burma, unfolded a widespread armed struggle to resist Japan throughout the country. The Southeast Asian Headquarters of the Allied Armed Forces had to admit that 60 per cent of the Japanese casualties on the Burmese battlefield was inflicted by our guerrilla forces.

During these 28 years, the Party was engaged in legal struggles for nearly three years between 1945 and

1948. During this period, though legal struggle was the main form of struggle, our Party had nevertheless simultaneously carried out armed struggle while the whole Party was being taught ideologically that in the event of the enemy's armed attacks, he must be given immediate armed counter-blows.

By 1945 the Communist Party of Burma had already become the biggest political party in the country. Under its leadership, the headquarters of the Anti-Fascist People's Freedom League which was participated in by the broad masses was openly inaugurated.

In August 1946 the Communist Party led the biggest general strike of the post-war years, in which workers, peasants, government employees and policemen all took part.

Thus, in the following month, British imperialism plotted to disintegrate the Anti-Fascist People's Freedom League by allowing it to organize the "governor's advisory government."

The Anti-Fascist People's Freedom League, catering to the needs of imperialism and the reactionaries at

home, went so far as to expel the Communist Party from the united front in October 1946. Thereafter, the League betrayed the people's interests and came to terms with British imperialism with the signing of the Aung San-Attlee and the U Nu-Attlee agreements. According to the latter agreement, Burma obtained independence in form on January 4, 1948, although Britain continued to control its economy. Since then Burma has changed from a colony of British imperialism into a semi-colonial and semi-feudal country.

From the close of World War II in 1945 up to 1948 when the Anti-Fascist People's Freedom League compromised with imperialism and assumed the reins of government, movements of workers, peasants, the urban poor, students and government employees, which vigorously got under way under the leadership of the Party, continued without let-up.

There was a new high tide in the mass movement in 1948. Workers of the Burmese Oil Company went on strike; peasants unfolded an extensive mass struggle against landlords and usurers, and carried out struggles to defend the tenant rights, to boycott rent and tax payments, to abolish old debts, to refuse payments of old agricultural loans and strive for new ones, as well as a hunger march; government employees and workers also made attempts at a general strike.

At that time, the ruling classes in Burma, at the instigation of British imperialism, undertook to suppress the Communist Party of Burma, the national minorities and other democratic forces in the hope of smothering the Burmese people's revolutionary movement. They launched armed attacks on our Party. When its basic interests were menaced, the bourgeoisie in power simply cast aside the mask of bourgeois democracy and unleashed a civil war on March 28, 1948.

We may make use of bourgeois democracy, but we do not have blind faith in it. We have realized that bourgeois democracy is always limited and the bourgeoisie in power bestows bourgeois democracy only in circumstances where its basic interests are not violated. For this reason, while making use of bourgeois democracy, our Party had educated all its members to seize state power by arms. Thus, when the enemy launched its armed attack on our Party, we were able to immediately organize the whole Party to strike back with arms.

The revolutionary armed struggle in Burma which began on March 28, 1948, makes imperialism, feudalism and bureaucrat-capitalism its targets of attack. The Burmese revolution is also a component part of the world proletarian revolution.

A revolution invariably has its ebb and flow: so does ours.

At that time, that is, March 28, 1948, our Party practically had no arms except in one or two counties. But, with the countryside as the base, our Party organized the peasants to capture weapons from enemy

troops and police and in only a year's time, our Party's armed forces had grown to 15,000 men.

Under the impact of the armed struggle waged by our Party, uprisings were staged in succession by the People's Volunteers, three infantry battalions of the Burmese nationality, three infantry battalions of the Karens and one Kachin infantry battalion.

In the years 1949 and 1950, the revolutionary armed forces succeeded in controlling most of the big, medium-sized and small cities and towns, while the Burmese government had only Rangoon and a number of small cities and towns in its hand. The foreign press thus started referring to the Burmese government as the "Rangoon government"; U Nu for one once noted that the government nearly collapsed.

Why had the Party made these tremendous achievements during that period?

Firstly, because our Party's basic programme in 1948 was correct, and we had firmly instituted the principle and policy of opposing the unjust civil war of the ruling classes with a just people's war.

Secondly, our Party had led an agrarian revolution between 1948 and 1951, distributing land to the peasants under the watchword "land to the tillers," thereby winning the support of the peasant masses and forming a worker-peasant alliance.

Thirdly, we had carried out people's war in this period in accordance with the thought of Chairman Mao, combining the three — the militia, the guerrillas and the main armed forces — into an integrated whole, waging mine warfare, blowing up railways and highway communication lines and making use of all kinds of weapons in the hands of the masses, including home-made guns, to strike blows at the enemy.

During that time, British imperialism and the reactionary Nehru government gave large amounts of military aid to the reactionary Burmese Government. The reactionary Nehru government put a detachment of 5,000 men armed to the hilt at the disposal of the Burmese Government.

During that time, our Party also committed some political and military mistakes. Therefore, beginning from mid-1951, the revolution fell to a low ebb. The revolutionary forces temporarily abandoned the big and medium-sized cities, effected a strategic withdrawal and regrouped in rural areas. In the military field, there were fewer battles than before and the number of enemies wiped out decreased.

This happened mainly because of the following reasons:

1. Right deviation appeared in the political line formulated at the time, and a wrong analysis was made of the principal contradiction. In view of the invasion of the northern part of Burma by the Chiang Kai-shek bandit troops, the contradiction between U.S. imperial-

ism and the masses of the people was mistaken for the principal contradiction. The result was that an error of political line was committed.

The pressure exerted by China's Khrushchov's revisionist line played no small part on this question.

2. Because of the effect of the mistaken political line and guided by the idea that in order to oppose U.S. imperialism it was necessary to win over the landlord class, a wrong decision had been made on the land question — that the land which had been distributed to the peasants had to be returned to the landlords. Despite the fact that actually very little land was returned, this wrong decision had a very bad influence in the Party and the army.

3. Militarily, the theory of people's war was neglected, while the bourgeois military theory temporarily gained the upper hand.

Because our Party was able to rectify the mistakes in a very short time, we succeeded in preserving our main strength.

The U Nu government at that time worked out three steps to wipe out our Party and People's Army.

The first step was to openly invade our base areas with its military forces; the second was to consolidate these occupied areas and the third was to set up political power.

In 1956 the U Nu government launched the "Aungmarga Offensive" in accordance with this plan. It was the largest of all enemy offensives during the Burmese civil war. An armed force of close to 15,000 men, including infantry, artillery, navy and air force, was thrown in. Napalm bombs were used. Meticulously-planned attacks were made on where our Party's Central Committee was located.

When the enemy launched this offensive against our Party's Central Committee, our Party and the revolutionary forces throughout the country, under the slogan "defend the Party's Central Committee," mounted counter-offensives. The result was that seven months later the enemy's offensive gradually weakened, and his military plan finally collapsed. The three steps the enemy planned to take against us were frustrated even before the first one had a chance of succeeding. The enemy's boast that our Party and People's Army would be wiped out in two years' time failed completely.

In 1956 we could wipe out the enemy forces by whole companies in certain areas, attack an enemy battalion and a number of cities and were able to storm certain strongholds of the enemy's guerrillas and to expand our own guerrilla areas.

It was under these circumstances that with the appearance of the resolution of the 20th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, Khrushchov revisionism collaborated with the revisionism of China's Khrushchov to jointly undermine our armed struggle, inflicting heavy losses on our Party and armed forces.

This was followed by the emergence within our Party of revisionist statements such as "let's exchange weapons for democracy," "Burma does not need armed struggle," and "Burma can make a peaceful transition to socialism," and so on.

Thus, a very sharp struggle between two lines took place in the Party and the army, that is, whether to carry the armed struggle through to the end so that the proletariat can seize power, or lay down our arms and co-operate with the government and take the road leading to the liquidation of the Party?

In such a struggle, every comrade, every Party member and every fighter must make his attitude clear. Comrades who upheld Marxism-Leninism, Mao Tse-tung's thought, stood firmly on the side of "seizing power by armed force" while those on the opposite side surrendered to the enemy.

Under the influence of modern revisionism, a mass capitulation unknown in the history of Burma's armed struggle took place in 1957-58.

Our Party launched powerful political and ideological attacks against this capitulationist trend. As a result of this struggle, this trend was basically stopped in 1959. And under such difficult conditions, the National-Democratic United Front was established, including the Communist Party of Burma, the Karen National Unity Party, the New Mon State Party, the Kaya Progressive Party and the Chin National Supreme Council. In 1962, our Party passed a resolution on "not a single gun will be surrendered." On this question, Chairman Mao's teachings on how to safeguard the fruits of victory set forth in his *On the Chungking Negotiations* gave us tremendous help.

Ne Win in 1963 went in for a round of fake "peace talks." When he saw that the masses had stood up in struggle, he was mortally afraid and ignominiously and unilaterally undermined the "peace talks."

The result of the "peace talks" made the people throughout the country see clearly that Ne Win is the true ringleader responsible for the civil war and that the position of the Communist Party of Burma and its actions are correct, and so there was another high tide against Ne Win.

The main danger to Burma's armed struggle lies in modern revisionism. Unless this is overcome, our armed struggle cannot succeed. Therefore, our Party decided to oppose the main danger — modern revisionism. In accordance with the Party's decision, all our Party members and commanders and fighters waged a sharp and life-and-death struggle against modern revisionism with an incomparable hatred. This was most correct and was what must be done. If this were not done, armed struggle would be buried.

In September 1964, the Plenary Session of the Party's Central Committee once again stressed the necessity to seize power by armed force. This resolution strengthened the unity of the Party, the army and the people, making it possible for us to score one victory

after another in the military, political and other fields.

Let us now review the progress made in the field of military struggle since the Ne Win government sabotaged the "peace talks" in November 1963.

After the breakdown of the "peace talks" in 1963, the Ne Win military regime in a year's time mounted five "encirclement and suppression" campaigns, one following the other, against our Party Centre. But all these campaigns came to nought. Defeat was also the fate of its "encirclement and suppression" campaigns against the Headquarters of the National Democratic United Front, against the Party's local organizations, the Front's local organizations as well as the Shan and Kachin nationalities.

The Plenary Session of the Party's Central Committee in 1964 analysed the enemy's military contradictions and correctly sized up the latter's military situation. It pointed out that the enemy was beset with three insurmountable military contradictions. First, the contradiction between the "pursuit and suppression" of the revolutionary forces and defence; secondly, the contradiction between the subjective desire to concentrate attacks on the Burmese Communist Party and the pinning down of large forces by the armed forces of the national minorities; and lastly, the contradiction between the need to deploy large forces against the revolutionary forces and the need for a great number of military men to fill jobs in monopoly enterprises.

While these contradictions prevented the enemy from launching simultaneous large-scale attacks against us at various points, we made use of these contradictions to cut off and wipe out enemy units.

In 1964, the Party and the forces friendly to us destroyed more than 2,000 of the enemy forces. In 1965, the revolutionary war won still greater successes with our battles demonstrating greater annihilating power.

In the early part of 1965, our army and the troops of the National Democratic United Front attacked Gwa, Shandoway District, and wiped out the garrison, capturing large amounts of weapons and cash. This was the prelude to a series of heroic battles in 1965.

The strength of our army grew remarkably. Take the battle at Letpangon, Prome District for instance. The enemy was equipped with U.S. G-3 automatics and carbines. In experience and fire-power, we were inferior to a well-armed enemy squad. We pitted against the enemy a force double his strength. The outcome was that we killed and mauled part of the squad and captured all its weapons. In the battle at Sizongon, Tharawady District, we completely annihilated one enemy squad with two squads.

This clearly shows that the theory that man is the decisive factor in the relationship between man and weapons is completely correct as expounded by Marxism-Leninism, Mao Tse-tung's thought. A people's army armed with Marxism-Leninism, Mao Tse-tung's thought, can certainly defeat an enemy that is superior only in

technology, in military training and equipment. This is correct not only from the strategic point of view but is also feasible in tactics and given battles.

During 1964-65 there was a nationwide mass movement which set itself the task of confiscating and distributing supplies held by the government-owned "P.P.C." In addition to our armed forces, the broad masses of the people took part in this movement. This mass movement exceeded the scale of the 1947 movement to seize rice stocks and hit the government directly.

Large numbers of the militia joined in the struggle in 1964-65. This is a new development in the Burmese revolutionary war since 1950.

Fighting resumed all along the stretch of railway between Rangoon and Mandalay in 1965. (We destroyed the rail system at Pyinmana and attacked Kwepwe in Toungoo District and Kyauktaga in Pegu. . . .) This had a great impact on the political situation throughout the country.

What was notable about the 1965 military struggle was the fact that fighting took place round the perimeter of Rangoon (Hlegu, Hpoungyi, Hlaingbawle, Twante, Tawgyidan, and Indagaw, south of Pegu, and Thingangyun). This was something new in the situation compared to the last six years.

The Kachins, Shans, Karens, Kayas and other national minorities are also hitting the military regime hard. The revolutionary struggle of the national minorities not only speaks greatly for this political fact — that the Party of the proletariat has forged an alliance with the national minorities — but also indicates that our revolutionary war is imbued with a widespread guerrilla war nature. It moreover shows that revolutionary guerrilla zones are appearing in all parts of the country and that our revolutionary war is deepening and spreading far and wide.

The period under review saw the expansion of our Party and the people's forces, the latter increasing at the average rate of 50 per cent. According to available figures, our army fought more than 400 engagements in 1966. The armed struggle led by our Party has won new and significant victories from 1966 to the present. For example, our forces attacked and held Gyobingauk, which is 100 miles north of Rangoon, for two hours on the night of May 13, 1967. On July 11, our army put an enemy platoon out of action and captured all its weapons on the Paukhaung-Toungoo highway.

What is the chief meaning of these military successes?

Firstly, our bases are enlarged and consolidated. There are now guerrilla bases in many parts of the country; in other words, our tactics of using widespread guerrilla warfare have brought about a situation in which the enemy finds itself encircled. The Delta, Burma's principal rice-producing area, has become one of these guerrilla bases. The Party and the people's

army exercises control over much of the countryside in these areas.

Secondly, the armed forces under our Party's leadership have grown strong, with an increase of 50 per cent throughout the length and breadth of the country.

Thirdly, on the initiative of our people's army, attacks mounted against enemy strongholds and medium and small cities have increased. The number of forces thrown into battles has gone up.

Fourthly, the area of fighting has been enlarged. Guerrilla units are active in 31 of the more than 50 counties in Burma. This means more than two-thirds of the counties are involved.

Fifthly, the economic struggle waged by the peasants for raising the price of unhusked rice to five kyats

for every maund is closely linked with the people's war and is making giant strides forward.

All these struggles have shaken the Ne Win military regime. The armed struggle led by our Party, which has grown by leaps and bounds, is exacerbating the crisis confronting the regime in the economic, political and military fields. It was in these circumstances that the Ne Win military junta engineered the anti-China campaign and went a step further in throwing in its lot with U.S. imperialism.

In rabidly carrying out a policy of opposing communism, the people, the revolution and China, the Ne Win military regime is only digging its own grave. But this is not all, it will quicken the tempo and development of our armed struggle.

(To be continued in our next issue.)

人民日报
RENMIN RIBAO

The Indonesian People Have Raised the Torch Of Armed Struggle

THE heartening news has spread that, despite a white terror, the Indonesian Communists and other revolutionary people are again gathering their strength and have begun armed struggles against the fascist military regime in some rural areas on Indonesia's key islands. The torch of revolution held aloft by the Indonesian people has burst through the dark clouds hanging over the country of a thousand islands and brought it the light of hope.

Masterminded and supported by U.S. imperialism two years ago, the Suharto-Nasution fascist military clique made a counter-revolutionary surprise attack on the Indonesian Communist Party and the Indonesian revolutionary people and carried out a bloody massacre. Hundreds of thousands of Communists and revolutionary people were slaughtered and several hundred thousand patriotic progressives arrested. The perpetrators of these evil deeds fondly believed that by this one blow the Communists and revolutionary people would be rendered unable to rise again and that by drowning the Indonesian revolution in a bloodbath their puny fascist regime would be permanent and secure. This, however, was only a pipedream. Revolutionary Communists and people can neither be cowed, conquered nor exterminated. The sparks of revolution will never die out. On the contrary, when all is said and done, the savage suppression and the reign of terror enforced by the Indonesian fascist military clique can only result in the development and deepening of the Indonesian revolution and hasten the coming of its own doom.

The Suharto-Nasution fascist military gang is the general representative of the most reactionary comprador bourgeois, bureaucrat-capitalist and landlord classes in Indonesia and a watchdog jointly nurtured by the U.S. imperialists and Soviet revisionists. After seizing power, it stepped up its betrayal of the interests of the nation, and facilitated the further penetration into Indonesia by U.S. imperialist and Soviet revisionist influences, thereby reducing the country to an appendage of U.S.-Soviet neo-colonialism. This has sharpened as never before the contradiction between the Indonesian people on the one hand and U.S. imperialism and the Soviet revisionist clique on the other. By savagely suppressing the Indonesian people and bleeding them white, this fascist military regime has brought the country's economy to the brink of ruin. The broad masses of the people, the workers and peasants in particular, are virtually denied the means of bare subsistence; consequently class contradictions within the country are sharper than ever. Meanwhile, the internal dog-eat-dog strife between Suharto and Nasution and among the different factions of the fascist military clique has intensified and the conflicts within the ruling circles have become more acute. As a result, the situation in Indonesia is critical and the outbreak of revolution is inevitable.

Under the existing barbarous fascist rule, the only way out for all Indonesian people who want to make revolution is to take up arms and wage a life-and-death struggle. Although their armed struggle has only just

begun, its development in Indonesia today is not a mere possibility; it is inevitable.

The Communists and other revolutionary people of Indonesia have gone through bitter trials under the white terror, and although their ranks have been severely depleted, many have risen from the pools of blood and fearlessly persist in fighting their enemies who wildly brandish their butcher-knives. Following this baptism of blood, the Indonesian revolutionary forces are certain to become stronger and stauncher.

History teaches us that the revolutionary struggle of the peoples always advances by twists and turns and has many ups and downs; revolutionary forces invariably grow and expand amid the storms of class struggle; through repeated struggles against ferocious, savage enemies, they finally vanquish them and win victory. This has been borne out by the experience of the Chinese revolution and the revolutions of many other countries. It will also be borne out by the Indonesian revolution.

Our great leader Chairman Mao Tse-tung has always emphasized the importance of teaching by negative example for the development of the revolution. He teaches us that **revolutionary parties and the revolutionary people can temper themselves, reach maturity and gain assurance of victory only through the process of repeated education by positive and negative examples and through the process of comparison and contrast.**

The Communists and other revolutionary people of Indonesia are taking up arms and opposing armed counter-revolution with armed revolution. This is an important beginning. There is no doubt that the Indonesian people, guided by Marxism-Leninism, Mao Tse-tung's thought, will follow the path of the Chinese revolution and that by closely relying on the peasants, establishing rural revolutionary base areas, and encircling the cities from the countryside, they will win final victory through protracted armed struggle.

(by "Renmin Ribao" Commentator, August 18.)

U.S. Imperialism and Soviet Revisionism Are Backstage Managers of Anti-China Farce

A PUNY anti-China campaign is taking place in the world. Ne Win, Suharto, Tsedenbal and their kind have followed one another in staging hysterical anti-China performances. The howling came from these clowns who tried to create disturbances. But the wire-pullers are U.S. imperialism and Soviet revisionism. The U.S. imperialists and their No. 1 accomplice, the Soviet revisionists, worked out and backed all these anti-China designs; in other words, they are the stage-managers.

Chairman Mao Tse-tung has said: ". . . **the present world situation is such that the two major forces, revolution and counter-revolution, are locked in final struggle. Each has hoisted a huge banner: one is the red banner of revolution . . . as the rallying point for all the oppressed classes of the world, the other is the white banner of counter-revolution . . . as the rallying point for all the counter-revolutionaries of the world.**"

The Chinese people today are holding aloft the great red banner of the all-conquering thought of Mao Tse-tung as the rallying point for all the revolutionary forces in the world. The U.S. imperialists and the Soviet revisionists, on the other hand, have unfurled the white banner of counter-revolution as the rallying point for all the counter-revolutionary forces in the world. In this pitched battle between the two major forces of revolution and counter-revolution, the U.S. imperialists and the Soviet revisionists have mustered all the reactionary forces in a frenzied campaign against China. This is the inexorable logic of class struggle.

The U.S. imperialists and the Soviet revisionists are stirring up and fanning the forces of evil and tyranny

everywhere, slandering China and working up anti-China opinion to the best of their ability. They have cheered and applauded and egged on every anti-China act whipped up by the reactionaries. The Ne Win clique was showered with praise by Washington the moment it turned against China in unbridled violence. Moscow, too, did its best to uphold this anti-China violence and even hailed the Ne Win fascist regime as a "revolutionary government." The Indonesian reactionaries who stopped at nothing in their wild anti-China and anti-Chinese campaign have become favourites with U.S. imperialism, and the Soviet revisionists also hastened to acclaim them as following a "line of national independence" and "anti-imperialism." Is this not eloquent proof that U.S. imperialism and Soviet revisionism, which spare no efforts in whipping up and boosting the morale of their flunkies, are the master-minds of all these anti-China outrages?

Furthermore, whoever opposes China is rewarded by U.S. imperialism and Soviet revisionism with cash and weapons. The more virulent their campaign against China, the higher the rewards. India, for instance, has received from U.S. imperialism 7,600 million dollars' worth of economic "aid" and a huge amount of arms and ammunition, most of which were given after the Indian reactionaries' opposition to China became open and undisguised. For similar reasons, the Soviet revisionists have doled out to them more than 1,200 million dollars' worth of economic "aid" and 900 million dollars' worth of military "aid," with a promise of another 2,000 million dollars' worth of "non-military aid."

As for the fascist military regime of Indonesia, U.S. imperialism has earmarked 80 million dollars' worth of "aid," while Soviet revisionism has readily agreed to Djakarta's request for the deferred repayment of its 1,200 million-dollar loan plus a promise of a new loan of 120 million dollars. Aren't these huge bounties lavished by U.S. imperialism and Soviet revisionism on these anti-China buffoons clear proof that they are their backstage managers?

Of Ne Win, Suharto, Tsedenbal and their like, some are running dogs of U.S. imperialism, some are hirelings of Soviet revisionism, while some are in the pay of both. These reactionaries were either brought to power by U.S. imperialism and Soviet revisionism or are today dependent on their handouts in order to exist. This being the case, it is no wonder that they should oppose China so rabidly on the orders of their bosses.

U.S. imperialism and Soviet revisionism have collected together a hodge-podge of reactionaries, public enemies of the people, renegades to the revolution, national scum, dregs of society, political mummies of all

shades and hues and diehards as filthy as dog's dung to perform one mad act after another in the anti-China farce. This is in fact a good thing. It more sharply draws the distinction between the camp of revolution and the camp of counter-revolution and proves that while U.S. imperialism and Soviet revisionism are the headquarters of the world's counter-revolutionary forces, China is a great revolutionary country. For the Chinese people, it is truly a great honour that monsters, freaks and goblins in the world should be so enthusiastic in opposing them.

The anti-China farce of U.S. imperialism, Soviet revisionism and their big and small running dogs cannot harm mighty socialist China in the least. In giant strides, the 700 million Chinese people will propel the wheel of history forward together with the revolutionary people of the world and in the process crush all anti-China, anti-communist, anti-people and counter-revolutionary pests.

(by "Renmin Ribao" Commentator, August 11.)

We Have Friends All Over the World

WE are today in a new era of which Mao Tse-tung's thought is the great banner. The hearts of the revolutionary people of the world have gone out to China, and to the great revolutionary leader Chairman Mao Tse-tung. Hundreds of millions of people are studying and applying Mao Tse-tung's thought and have made up their minds to take the road of the Chinese revolution. It is an irresistible historical current.

The revolutionary people throughout the world are the comrades-in-arms of the Chinese people. We have comrades and friends all over the world.

The more the Chinese people receive the support of the revolutionary people of the world, the more they will incur the violent opposition of the counter-revolutionary forces. These forces stir up foul campaigns against China, now in one country, now in another. For a time they put up quite a show and sound noisy enough; but in reality they are like what Chairman Mao Tse-tung described in one of his poems:

On this tiny globe
A few flies dash themselves against the wall,
Humming without cease,
Sometimes shrilling,
Sometimes moaning.

Who are these people opposing China, and how many of them are there? After a careful scrutiny we find only three groupings: one is the imperialists headed by the United States; one is the modern revisionists with the Soviet revisionist ruling clique at their centre; and the third is the reactionaries of all countries. Every one of these doughty anti-China warriors of all descriptions, in the last analysis, falls into one of these three categories and together they come to a few per cent, say, five per cent, or at most 10 per cent of the 3,000 million people in the world. So the people who really oppose China are nothing but a tiny group in the world as well as in their respective countries.

In the countries where they are in power, the imperialists, modern revisionists and reactionaries are all quite capable when it comes to cranking up their propaganda machines to vilify and abuse China, direct gangs of ruffians to commit outrages against China and produce this or that anti-China farce — all striving to make the anti-China crusade look impressive. Yet they cannot alter the fact that the anti-China warriors are nothing but a tiny group.

This piddling group of counter-revolutionaries have set themselves against the people of their own countries and the other people of the world. They exploit the people, oppress the people and are hostile to the people; they are afraid of the people rising up in revolution. There is nothing strange in the fact that they

whip up such vicious opposition to the Chinese people who are armed with Mao Tse-tung's thought, follow the thoroughly revolutionary line of Marxism-Leninism, Mao Tse-tung's thought, and resolutely support the revolutionary struggle of the people of the world. But, of course, what would we become if they supported, fraternized with and praised us instead of opposing us? Would we not be revisionists betraying Marxism-Leninism and the people? Would we not be wallowing in the mire with the U.S. imperialists, Soviet revisionists and reactionaries of all countries?

In today's world, those who are against us are only a handful, while the great majority of the people support us. The broad masses of the workers, peasants, revolutionary intellectuals and other progressives in all countries, all the oppressed nations and people and all the revolutionaries who are battling the imperialists and their stooges are with the Chinese people, heart and soul. They are all on our side.

Even in places where anti-China activities are rampant, the reactionaries' bayonets and prisons cannot prevent wide sections of the people from expressing their love for the great leader Chairman Mao and their admiration for China by various means.

In the Soviet Union where revisionist tyranny reigns, you can hear the stirring voice of the working people: "Mao Tse-tung is our Lenin!"

From the death cells of Indian prisons, revolutionaries have written letters to the Chinese people using the blood-soaked hems of their clothes to write on, saying how much they wanted to get a copy of Chairman Mao's works.

Thousands of Indonesians in Djakarta joined the funeral processions for patriotic overseas Chinese who were murdered by the Indonesian reactionaries.

At the height of the anti-China wave whipped up by the Ne Win clique, demonstrations in support of China took place in many parts of Burma.

Strangely enough, the more the imperialists, modern revisionists and reactionaries of all countries curse us, the greater the number of people there are who support China, the greater revolutionary influence China exerts and the more widespread the invincible thought of Mao Tse-tung becomes in the world.

Our great leader Chairman Mao has pointed out: **"The truth of Marxism-Leninism is on our side. So is the international proletariat. So are the oppressed nations and oppressed peoples. And so are the masses of people who constitute over 90 per cent of the world's population. We have friends all over the world. We are not afraid of being isolated and we shall never be isolated. We are invincible."**

Those who are really isolated are the small handful of imperialists, modern revisionists and reactionaries of all countries. They have made themselves the enemies of the people of the whole world. Because of their retrogressive actions and the enormous evil they have done, they have long been surrounded by one ring after another of the people of the world. The days of this handful of pests are numbered; their moans are being drowned out by the rumbling wheel of history. All these blustering anti-China warriors are booked for the gallows erected for them by the revolutionary people of the world.

(by "Renmin Ribao" Commentator, August 14, 1967.)

It's A Good Thing for Us That the Enemy Attacks China

WORKING in collusion, the U.S. imperialists and Soviet revisionists have recently instigated the Burmese, Indonesian, Indian and other reactionaries and whipped up a fierce and vociferous anti-China campaign.

But this is merely a tiny adverse current in the excellent revolutionary situation in the world today; there is nothing terrifying about it. Chairman Mao Tse-tung has pointed out: **"Historically, all reactionary forces on the verge of extinction invariably conduct a last desperate struggle against the revolutionary forces."** The fact that China's great proletarian cultural revolution has been a source of tremendous inspiration to the

revolutionary people of all countries and that the great thought of Mao Tse-tung has been spreading throughout the world has made the going tougher and tougher for the reactionaries in all lands. They cannot carry on without attacking China. Their attacks on China are an indication of the growing weakness of all the reactionary forces.

Anti-China campaigns are nothing new. The imperialists headed by the United States and all the reactionaries have been whipping them up with great vigour ever since the very day of the founding of the People's Republic of China. They were later joined by the Soviet revisionist ruling clique. In the past 17

years, whenever China went a step forward in its revolution, it drew hysterical attacks from them. However, all these attacks failed to harm China in the least. Great socialist China has been growing strong amidst the curses and attacks of the enemy.

Chairman Mao has taught us that **"to be attacked by the enemy is not a bad thing but a good thing."** He said: **"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."**

The frenzied anti-China campaign of the U.S. imperialists, Soviet revisionists and reactionaries of all countries proves that the Chinese people are thoroughgoing proletarian revolutionaries who are holding high the great red banner of Mao Tse-tung's thought; it proves that the Chinese people are firmly opposed to imperialism, modern revisionism and reaction of all countries, that they resolutely support the revolutionary struggles of the peoples and firmly adhere to proletarian internationalism; it proves that we have worked correctly and well, that we have made great achievements in our revolution and construction and enjoy the support of the people of the world.

The revolutionaries and counter-revolutionaries are implacably hostile to each other. Revolutionaries can no longer be said to be revolutionaries if they are not opposed to the counter-revolutionaries and vice versa. From the point of view of class struggle, it is both natural and unavoidable that the U.S. imperialists, Soviet revisionists and reactionaries of all countries should unite to attack China.

If they did not attack us but instead praised us and supported us, it would be a very bad thing and, if this were the case, would it not mean that we had become one of their gang? In the past when the Soviet Union was led by Lenin or Stalin, it was wildly attacked by imperialism and the reactionaries of all countries. But after the Khrushchov revisionist clique usurped power, things became just the opposite. The U.S. imperialists have publicly praised the Soviet revisionists for making the Soviet Union "a law-abiding citizen in the world community of nations" and the "best friend" of the West. The good word put in for them by the enemy is the very proof that the Soviet revisionist clique has betrayed Marxism-Leninism, world revolution, the Soviet people and the people of the world.

The U.S. imperialists, Soviet revisionists and reactionaries of all countries are frantic in their opposition to China and feel very pleased with themselves. In point of fact, as far as they themselves are concerned, opposition to China spells disaster for them.

They will uncover their counter-revolutionary features still more to the people of the world once they oppose China. The more they oppose China and attack the great thought of Mao Tse-tung, the more clearly

do the peoples see that China is a great socialist country and understand that Mao Tse-tung's thought is the most powerful ideological weapon for winning victory in the revolution. The reactionaries' unbridled opposition to China will only result in a further enhancing of the political awareness of the peoples so that their revolutionary struggle will develop more rapidly.

All reactionaries live by rumour-mongering. They have concocted countless lies against the Chinese Communists and the Chinese people in an attempt to smear them as much as possible. But the result has turned out to be the opposite from what they expected.

Referring to the anti-Communist lies of the Kuomintang reactionaries, Chairman Mao said on the eve of the victory of the Chinese revolution: **"The Communist Party is the party of the poor and is described in the Kuomintang's widespread, all-pervasive propaganda as a band of people who commit murder and arson, who rape and loot, who reject history and culture, renounce the motherland, have no filial piety or respect for teachers and are impervious to all reason, who practise community of property and of women and employ the military tactics of the 'human sea'—in short, a horde of fiendish monsters who perpetrate every conceivable crime and are unpardonably wicked. But strangely enough, it is this very horde that has won the support of several hundred million people."**

Such is the case now. The U.S. imperialists, Soviet revisionists and reactionaries of all countries have turned their propaganda machines on full blast daily churning out a stream of slander against China in a vain attempt to undermine China's international prestige and isolate us. The actual result is that more and more people in the world support us, the Chinese revolution exerts an ever greater influence and Mao Tse-tung's thought becomes more widespread.

History is merciless. It has proved that all those who put up the most frantic opposition to communism and China are the quickest to fall. Chiang Kai-shek met with disaster as soon as he turned against the Communists. He started all-out attack on the liberated areas in 1946 and in only three and a half years, he was toppled by the people. Khrushchov went all out against China soon after he assumed power and he fell within a few years. All anti-communist, anti-China "heroes" are only hitting their heads against a brick wall and will meet with humiliating defeats.

As our great leader Chairman Mao says in a poem of his, **"Plum blossoms welcome the whirling snow; small wonder flies freeze and perish."** The U.S. imperialists, Soviet revisionists and reactionaries of all countries will freeze to death like flies in the snow-storm of the revolutionary movement of the people of the world, while great socialist China illumined by the great thought of Mao Tse-tung towers between heaven and earth for ever.

(by "Renmin Ribao" Commentator, August 17.)

Hongkong Is Chinese Territory

THE radio station and newspapers of British imperialism in Hongkong have recently come out with the boast that Hongkong is "British territory." They absurdly claimed that our rural people's commune members in Kwangtung Province going to the New Territories to cultivate land was an "encroachment" on "British territory," that the Chinese people's support for their fellow countrymen in Hongkong in the struggle against British imperialism and violence was an "interference in Hongkong's internal affairs," and so on. This is sheer gangster language and a serious provocation against the Chinese people.

Hongkong has been Chinese territory from time immemorial. This is known all over the world. More than a hundred years ago, British imperialists sailed to China in their pirate ships and unleashed the criminal Opium War in which they massacred countless Chinese people and, moreover, forcibly occupied our territory of Hongkong. This was followed by their annexation of our Kowloon and the seizure of our New Territories. This is a heavy debt in blood which British imperialism owes to the Chinese people. The Chinese people will sooner or later completely settle this account with British imperialism.

Exactly because Hongkong has always been Chinese territory, although under the forcible occupation of British imperialism, the custom is that our peasants in Kwangtung Province living in the neighbourhood of the New Territories have for generations been tilling the land there. It is the height of absurdity that British imperialism should call this as an "encroachment" on "British territory"! Can this mean that our people's commune members have gone to the British isles to cultivate land there? No, they have not walked one step off the soil of their motherland. On the contrary,

it is the British imperialists who have travelled all the way — thousands of miles — to occupy our land by force and to slaughter our fellow countrymen. We must tell the British imperialists: while the Chinese peasants have every right, as is customarily established, to cultivate land in the New Territories, the whole of Hongkong's soil will have to be returned to the motherland.

The present is no longer the old days when British colonialism forcibly seized Hongkong. Our fellow countrymen there are now backed by their powerful socialist motherland. Is it conceivable that Hongkong will for ever remain under British imperialism? Of course not, a thousand times no, ten thousands times no! British imperialism has hoped to prevent the great Chinese people from supporting and aiding their fellow countrymen in Hongkong in the latter's struggle against British imperialism and its atrocities — this too is a pipedream. Hongkong is an inalienable part of Chinese territory; our compatriots in Hongkong are the Chinese people's own flesh and blood. The Chinese people definitely cannot ignore the fascist outrages of British imperialism in savagely suppressing our fellow countrymen in Hongkong.

Our great leader Chairman Mao solemnly declared long ago: **"China's affairs must be decided and run by the Chinese people themselves, and no further interference, not even the slightest, will be tolerated from any imperialist country."**

Today, Hongkong's destiny rests in the hands of the Chinese people and their fellow countrymen there. Hongkong's affairs must be decided by the Chinese people and their fellow countrymen there. We brook no British imperialism riding roughshod over Hongkong!

(by "Renmin Ribao" Commentator, August 20.)

Baring British Imperialism's Crafty Features

AT his August 16 press conference in Norway, British Foreign Secretary Brown, while arrogantly shouting about determination to "maintain and defend our [British imperialists'] interests in Hongkong," added that Britain "intends" to "maintain relations" with China and "work to improve them." This is a typical counter-revolutionary dual tactic which wily British imperialism is wont to use.

According to the Brown statement, British imperialism may both brandish its butcher's knife in Hongkong, carry out its blood-thirsty suppression of our patriotic countrymen there, and "maintain relations" with China and "work to improve them." What wishful thinking!

For more than three months, the fascist British authorities in Hongkong have been suppressing our patriotic countrymen so brutally that it shocks anyone who hears of it. They slaughter, arrest and kidnap our patriotic countrymen as they please, they smash up, raid and ransack our patriot-sponsored trade unions and institutions as they please, they illegally detain patriotic news reporters and ban patriotic newspapers, even to the extent of carrying out serious political persecution of our correspondents of the Hsinhua News Agency Hongkong Office. If all these can be tolerated, there is nothing intolerable! When British imperialism bullies our compatriots in Hongkong in such a manner and makes provocations against the Chinese people in such a frenzied way, how can the Chinese people ignore this?

Most Vehement Protest Against Persecution of Patriotic Press by Hongkong British Authorities

IN the past two months or more, the British authorities in Hongkong have illegally kidnapped and unwarrantedly arrested 14 reporters of the Hongkong Office of the Hsinhua News Agency and news publications run by patriots, and illegally arrested five directors or publishers of three newspapers. On August 17, the British authorities went so far as to order the *Hongkong Evening News*, the *Tin Fung Daily News* and the *Afternoon News* to cease publication and brought illegal lawsuits against the *Ta Kung Pao*, the *Ching Po*, and the Nam Cheung Printing Company and the Hongkong Press Enterprise which print the patriotic newspapers. On August 19, they again sent armed police and special agents to assault the offices of the three banned newspapers and illegally arrested 34 of their staff members.

On the evening of August 20, D.C. Hopson, British Charge d'Affaires in China, was summoned to the Chinese Foreign Ministry where he was handed a note by a leading member of the Ministry's West European Affairs Department. The note lodged the most urgent and strongest protest with the British Government.

The note says: It is entirely just for the patriotic Chinese press and journalists in Hongkong and Kowloon to report truthfully and expose the Hongkong British authorities' fascist atrocities of suppressing our fellow countrymen there in blood. It is their

sacred duty to do so. The Hongkong British authorities are carrying out all kinds of brutal political persecution against them under various trumped-up charges. This can only serve to thoroughly reveal the British Government's utterly hideous and ferocious features of fascist imperialism to the people of the world.

The note solemnly states that the British Government and the British authorities in Hongkong must, within 48 hours, cancel the ban on the three newspapers, declare the 19 patriotic Chinese journalists and 34 staff members of these three newspapers innocent and set them free, call off the illegal lawsuits against the two newspapers and two printing firms and make it possible for them to resume normal operations. Otherwise, the British Government must be held responsible for all the consequences arising therefrom.

The Foreign Ministry's protest note received the firm support of the revolutionary journalists in the capital. Two thousands of them and a number of foreign revolutionary journalists in Peking held a demonstration on August 21. They read a letter of protest to British diplomatic officials outside the Office of British Charges d'Affaires.

The All-China Journalists' Association also issued a statement supporting the Foreign Ministry protest note.

While suppressing our fellow countrymen in Hongkong, British imperialism continuously commits armed provocations and creates incidents along the border. This inevitably invites counter-blows from our people. The Sha Tau Kok incident and heavy blows dealt to the Hongkong British aggressor troops by workers of Man Kam To and peasants of Lo Fang are just some small lessons the Chinese people have taught British imperialism in Hongkong.

The Chinese Government has again and again sent notes to the British Government, making most vehement protests and serving most serious warnings to it on what had happened in Hongkong. Yesterday, the Chinese Foreign Ministry again officially handed the British Government a note, giving the British Government and the British authorities in Hongkong 48 hours to cancel the ban on three of our patriotic newspapers there, release the arrested journalists and call off the illegal lawsuits against patriotic newspapers and printing firms and make it possible for the papers and firms being persecuted to resume their normal operations. The Chinese people once again seriously warn British imperialism: you must do so accordingly; otherwise, you will be held responsible for all the serious consequences arising therefrom.

We want to tell Brown and his like: Hongkong is China's territory on which our fellow countrymen live; it is a daydream and definitely will not do for you to try to separate the towering crimes you have com-

mitted in Hongkong from the question of Sino-British relations.

Because the British Government consistently toes the U.S. imperialist line, plays double-faced tactics in a big way and wildly opposes China, relations between the two countries to date still remain in a stage of semi-establishment of diplomatic relations, although China and Britain have exchanged diplomatic envoys for more than a decade. Now British imperialism is wantonly suppressing our fellow countrymen in Hongkong, is this not a deliberate intent to completely wreck relations between the two countries?

Our great leader Chairman Mao has pointed out: ". . . the governments of the imperialist countries, though they engaged in counter-revolutionary activities every day, had never told the truth in their statements or official documents but had filled or at least flavoured them with professions of humanity, justice and virtue. This is still true of British imperialism, an old hand at trickery and deception, as well as of several other smaller imperialist countries." Hitting the nail on the head, this has laid bare the hypocritical and crafty features of British imperialism.

We must tell the British Government very explicitly: the great Chinese people are determined to support their fellow countrymen in Hongkong struggling against British imperialism and its atrocities. British imperialism in Hongkong, however wild and cunning it may be, will in no way escape its ultimate doom!

(by "Renmin Ribao" Commentator, August 21.)



Mao Tse-tung's Thought

Lights the Whole World

Fascist Violence Can Never Prevent The Spreading of Mao Tse-tung's Thought

The London police authorities on August 6 arbitrarily arrested and "tried" three people for selling the *Quotations From Chairman Mao Tse-tung* and other Chinese publications in front of Hyde Park, long labelled a "show-case of democracy" by British imperialism. The three arrested were: G. Bijur, an Indian progressive; Martin Darling, a young British school teacher; and Paul Pawlowski, a worker of Polish descent. The "crime" they were charged with was violating the first article of the 121st section of the British Traffic Laws, that is, of "wilfully obstructing the passage of the gateway."

When the three progressives who were illegally arrested were unjustifiably "tried" on August 14, they waged a tit-for-tat struggle against the British police authorities.

Martin Darling cited a host of facts to prove that the charge against him was groundless. He said that there were five or six persons selling other publications close to the same place when he was arrested. Why did the police only arrest him and not the others? The police who made the charge against him were unable to answer the question and were greatly embarrassed. Facts showed, Darling stressed, that the reason the police arrested him was not because of his "obstructing the passage," but his selling of the *Quotations From Chairman Mao Tse-tung*. Terrified of the thought of Mao Tse-tung, the police authorities tried by fascist violence to prevent its being spread. Shocked by Darling's stern refutation, the magistrate repeatedly interrupted his speech and tried to stop him from speaking particularly when he referred to Mao Tse-tung's thought.

Despite the convincing facts put forth by Darling which refuted the unjustifiable charge against him by the police authorities, the court summarily found him "guilty." Darling immediately and sharply protested against this and pointed out that the British police attempt to bar by fascist violence the spreading of Mao Tse-tung's thought could be of no avail. But the court did not allow him to speak in his own defence. When several policemen forcibly removed him from the court room, Darling shouted "Long live Chairman Mao!"

Pawlowski shouted "Long live Chairman Mao!" soon after entering the court for his "trial." He read out a written protest statement: "I protest against fascist violence on the part of the police to interfere with the spreading of the thought of Mao Tse-tung! I protest at being illegally arrested and sent to Brixton Prison without trial."

At the end of the "trial," the court had to concede that the charge against Bijur could not stand and he was acquitted. Darling was "conditionally discharged" for one year. Pawlowski was sentenced to three months' imprisonment on a trumped-up charge.

The preposterous verdict of the London authorities once again exposes the sinister features of British imperialism and its feeble nature. It also exposes the essence of so-called democracy in Britain. For all its blockade and suppression, British imperialism can never prevent the spreading of the invincible thought of Mao Tse-tung in Britain.

Truth Cannot Be Banned

More than fifty persons who took part in the June 5 demonstration against Israeli aggression against the Arab countries, committed with the support of U.S. and British imperialism, were recently unjustifiably sentenced to two to twenty years' imprisonment by a special military tribunal in Tunisia. This was done after the tribunal had sentenced more than fifty other demonstrators to prison terms ranging from two months to four years. Ben Renai, a Tunisian university student, was sentenced to twenty years' imprisonment. He was charged with the "crime" of "inciting the demonstrators to create disturbances, set fire to the British Embassy and storm the American Embassy." He was also charged with having in his home Chairman Mao Tse-tung's works, which are banned in Tunisia as "dangerous materials."

Ben Renai sternly refuted the absurd charges at the "trial." When the tribunal persistently demanded an answer to the question of from whom had he got Chairman Mao's works, he replied straightforwardly that he had taken them from the bookstand in a Paris cinema where a film show was given by the Chinese Embassy.

(Continued from p. 5.)

fighters of the P.L.A. all over the country who, holding high Chairman Mao's great banner of revolutionary criticism, have been winning smashing victories over the bourgeois headquarters headed by China's Khrushchov. It is a new, major victory won by the heroic air force unit which has by its action responded to the great call of the great leader Chairman Mao to take firm hold of the revolution and promote war preparedness and to Vice-Chairman Lin Piao's militant call to hold aloft the great red banner of Mao Tse-tung's thought and win new merits in the great proletarian cultural revolution movement. It is a new, major victory in defence of the great proletarian cultural revolution and the motherland.

The Military Commission of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party issued an order on August 21 commending the air force unit concerned. The order said that in the battle the unit had resolutely applied our great leader Chairman Mao's concept of fighting a war of annihilation and had fought a battle of quick decision. It had displayed the P.L.A.'s style of fighting — daring to wipe out the enemy in close combat — and had smashed the U.S. imperialist air bandits, making it impossible for them to return. The order extended the warmest congratulations to all the commanders and fighters who took part in the battle.

The order pointed out that the air force unit's success in wiping out all the invaders at a time when the revolutionary people were hailing the world's entry into the new era of the great thought of Mao Tse-tung and when China's great proletarian cultural revolution was steadily gaining new victories, was a great inspiration to China's proletarian revolutionaries and the people of the whole country. It was a powerful support to the Vietnamese people in their struggle against U.S. aggression and for national salvation and a heavy blow to U.S. imperialist war provocation.

The order said: "Your victory is a victory for the great and all-conquering thought of Mao Tse-tung. It is the result of your loyalty to the great leader Chairman Mao, to the great thought of Mao Tse-tung and to the proletarian revolutionary line represented by Chairman Mao. It is your enthusiastic response to Vice-Chairman Lin Piao's militant call to hold high the great red banner of Mao Tse-tung's thought and to win new merits in the great proletarian cultural revolution movement."

The order added: "Imperialism headed by the United States and modern revisionism with the leading clique of the Soviet Communist Party as its centre and all reactionaries deeply fear and hate the great victories achieved in China's great proletarian cultural revolution. They always resort to various kinds of sabotage and trouble-making. We must be highly vigilant and strengthen our preparedness against war. If the enemy should dare to invade again, you should resolutely act according to the great supreme commander Chairman Mao's order to **'wipe them out completely'** and win great new merits for the people in defending the great proletarian cultural revolution."

Renmin Ribao published the editorial "We Will Resolutely, Thoroughly, Wholly and Completely Wipe Out All Invaders" to celebrate the victory.

Fourth Anniversary of the August Revolution of the Congo (B)

Apollinaire Bazinga, Congolese (Brazzaville) Ambassador to China, gave a reception on August 15 in Peking to celebrate the fourth anniversary of the August Revolution of the Congo (B). Vice-Chairman of the People's Republic of China Tung Piu-wu, Vice-Premier Li Hsien-nien and others attended.

In his speech at the reception, the Ambassador gave an account of the Congolese (B) people's struggle to win and safeguard national independence, and he warmly praised the development and strengthening of

friendly relations between China and the Congo (B). He said that the 700 million Chinese people, inspired by the noble thought of Chairman Mao Tse-tung, liberator of the oppressed peoples and great friend of the Congolese people, had contributed to the economic and social development of the Congo (B).

Ambassador Bazinga strongly condemned U.S. imperialism's wild aggression against Vietnam. He expressed the Congolese people's unremitting support for the heroic Vietnamese people.

The Congolese Ambassador paid tribute to the great achievements of the Chinese people over the last 17 years. These achievements, he said, have filled the imperialists with terror, and China owes this great merit to a genius, Chairman Mao Tse-tung, who serves the people wholeheartedly. The revolutionary people of the Congo (B), he added, regard as their own the immense victories won by the brave Chinese people in the great proletarian cultural revolution, initiated and led personally by Chairman Mao.

Vice-Premier Li Hsien-nien, in his speech, enthusiastically praised the Congolese (B) people, who have a tradition of struggle against imperialism, for their victories in the unremitting struggle over the last four years to safeguard their national independence and state sovereignty against U.S.-led imperialism and its lackeys. He said: "Our great leader Chairman Mao has pointed out, 'When we say "imperialism is ferocious," we mean that its nature will never change, that the imperialists will never lay down their butcher knives, that they will never become Buddhas, till their doom.' Accordingly, the newly independent countries of Asia and Africa must keep their vigilance at all times, wage a tit-for-tat struggle against imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism and liquidate imperialist and colonialist forces in all aspects of the nation's life. The most imperative common task of the Afro-Asian peoples at the present time is to further carry on the anti-imperialist and anti-colonialist struggles." The Vice-Premier added that the

Chinese people had always regarded it as their bounden internationalist duty to render support and assistance to other peoples in their just struggles. As in the past, the Chinese people would give firm support to the Congolese (B) people in their struggle to oppose imperialism and to consolidate national independence and safeguard state sovereignty.

Vice-Premier Li Hsien-nien said that the Chinese people were extremely glad to see that the Congolese (B) people enthusiastically acclaimed and supported China's great cultural revolution and regarded the Chinese people's victories in it as their own. "The Congolese people," he added, "love our great leader Chairman Mao and the all-conquering thought of Mao Tse-tung. Many Congolese friends study Chairman Mao's works hard and express their deep love for him through poems, songs, paintings and sculptures. This is a vivid manifestation and eloquent proof of the militant friendship between the people of our countries."

Cambodian Foreign Minister Visits China

Cambodian Foreign Minister Phurissara arrived in Peking on August 15 on a friendly visit. He was enthusiastically greeted at the airport by responsible persons of departments concerned and Peking residents.

Vice-Premier and Foreign Minister Chen Yi gave a banquet for the distinguished guest that evening. Speaking at the banquet, Vice-Premier Chen Yi reiterated the firm support of the Chinese Government and Chinese people for the Cambodian people in their just struggle against aggression by U.S. imperialism and its flunkies. He spoke of the excellent international situation today. He sternly denounced U.S. imperialism for further expanding its war of aggression against Vietnam and for trying to spread the flames of war to Laos and Cambodia, and even to China. The Vice-Premier strongly condemned the Soviet revisionist leading clique for actively offering its services in peddling the U.S. imperialist "peace talks" scheme on the Vietnam question. He pointed out that to oppose imperialism it was

imperative to oppose revisionism. Like U.S. imperialism, the Soviet revisionist leading clique would surely meet with final defeat.

Vice-Premier Chen Yi also denounced the handful of reactionaries in India, Indonesia, Burma and other countries who, afraid of China's great proletarian cultural revolution and fearing that the people of their own countries would rise and rebel against them, had acted as eager pawns in opposing China at the instigation of U.S. imperialism and Soviet revisionism. He said that, in opposing China, they would surely arouse firm opposition from the people at home and abroad, thus hastening their doom.

Foreign Minister Phurissara, in his speech, thanked China for the disinterested and unconditional aid it had given to Cambodia in its national construction and defence of its independence and sovereignty. The successful explosion of China's hydrogen bomb, he said, was a great victory for the cultural revolution. It was most forceful proof of the magnificent success achieved in all fields by the great and friendly Chinese people under the remarkable leadership of their great leader Chairman Mao Tse-tung. He added that China's every success was a success for the Asian, African and Latin American peoples. Faced as they were with the arrogance and contempt of the U.S. imperialists and racists, they took pride in China's successes which were also a source of encouragement to the Cambodian people in the uncompromising common struggle against imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism.

Premier Chou En-lai received and gave a banquet in honour of Foreign Minister Phurissara and the other Cambodian guests on August 17.

Agreements on Economic Aid To Mali Signed

Agreements on China's economic aid to Mali were signed on August 14 between the Chinese and Malian Governments. Premier Chou En-lai and Vice-Premier Chen Yi attended the signing ceremony. Fang Yi, Minister of the Commission for Economic Relations with Foreign Coun-

tries, and Seydou Badian Kouyate, head of the Malian Government Delegation, signed the agreements on behalf of the Chinese and Malian Governments respectively.

The Malian Government Delegation arrived in Peking on August 3. It received a warm welcome from Vice-Premier Chen Yi and other responsible persons of departments concerned as well as from over 1,000 revolutionary people in the capital. Vice-Premier Chen Yi gave a banquet in honour of the Malian guests on the evening of August 4. Premier Chou En-lai received all the members of the delegation on August 9 and had a cordial and friendly talk with them. The delegation left Peking for home on August 15.

Chinese Foreign Ministry Refutes Mongolian Government's Anti-China Statement

A responsible member of the Second Asian Affairs Department of the Chinese Foreign Ministry on August 18 summoned Mongolian Ambassador to China D. Tsevegmid and lodged the most resolute and strongest protest with the Mongolian Government against its August 10 anti-China statement, in which it most viciously attacked Chairman Mao, the great leader of the Chinese people and the people throughout the world. The Chinese official also solemnly refuted the anti-China platitudes in the Mongolian Government's statement.

He pointed out that the Mongolian Government would never succeed in denying the August 9 crime of insulting the portrait of Chairman Mao committed by Dashonolt, a staff member of the Mongolian Embassy in China. The culprit himself had pleaded guilty in the face of iron-clad facts, written his confession and received due punishment. That the Mongolian revisionist leading clique had in these circumstances hastily stepped forth to quibble in defence of the culprit and viciously attack Chairman Mao fully showed that the Mongolian embassy staff member's crime was deliberately plotted and instigated by the Mongolian revisionist authorities.

The official said that the Mongolian revisionist leading clique's wild opposition to China had a long history. Consistently trailing after the Soviet revisionist leading clique, the Tsedenbal clique had taken a series of grave measures to worsen relations between the two countries. In its August 10 statement, it had now gone further to slander China for sabotaging the friendly relations between the Chinese and Mongolian peoples and to brazenly smear the Chinese Government for following a "policy of big-nation chauvinism and expansionism." The Chinese official stressed that there really were people who adopted a policy of big-nation chauvinism and expansionism towards Mongolia, and they were Khrushchev and his followers Brezhnev and Kosygin and their like. For a long time the Soviet revisionist leading clique, working through a handful of revisionists headed by Tsedenbal, had seized all power in Mongolia, controlled Mongolia's economic arteries and sent tens of thousands of Soviet troops to directly occupy Mongolia militarily. Countless facts showed that it was precisely the handful of revisionists headed by Tsedenbal, who are fostered by the Soviet revisionists, who had betrayed the interests of the Mongolian people, sold out Mongolia's state sovereignty and national independence, and turned the Mongolian People's Republic into a military base for Soviet revisionism in opposing China. The responsible official warned the Mongolian revisionist leading clique that it would come to no good end in tailing after its master, Soviet revisionism, to oppose China.

Protest Against Sato Government for Denying Chinese Delegation Entry Into Japan

Following U.S. imperialism's reactionary policy and persisting in its hostility towards the Chinese people, the reactionary Sato government of Japan on August 11 brazenly denied entry of a delegation of the China-Japan Friendship Association into Japan on no grounds whatsoever. Invited by the headquarters of the Japan-China Friendship Association

(Orthodox) to attend the 16th National Congress called by it, the delegation was scheduled to go to Japan in late June and to make friendly visits to various parts of Japan for two months. But the reactionary Sato government delayed granting entry permits to the delegation while the revisionist Miyamoto clique of the Japanese Communist Party manoeuvred behind the scenes with the Japanese reactionaries. As a result, the reactionary Japanese Government finally announced its decision to refuse entry to the delegation.

The China-Japan Friendship Association issued a statement on August 17 strongly protesting against the Sato government. It pointed out that the latter's obstruction of the Chinese delegation's visit to Japan was a new, big exposure of its wild opposition to China. It said that the Japanese revisionist Miyamoto clique had actively worked together with the Sato government in the big anti-China chorus to sabotage the visit, and had thus served as a pawn for U.S. imperialism, Soviet revisionism and the Sato government in opposing China. The Miyamoto clique's wild opposition to China had completely violated the will and aspirations of the masses of the Japanese people and completely betrayed their revolutionary cause. The statement stressed that Sino-Japanese friendship was the common desire of the people of the two countries and an irresistible, great trend of history. No ghosts and monsters, the Sato government or the Miyamoto clique, could do the slightest damage to the friendship of the Chinese and Japanese peoples by carrying out anti-China activities. The statement said that the 700 million Chinese people, armed with Mao Tse-tung's thought, firmly supported the Japanese people in their unswerving struggle to oppose all enemies sabotaging Sino-Japanese friendship and to completely smash the Sato government's schemes of undermining that friendship.

Ceylon Must Stop Anti-China Provocations

S.S. *Ioannis*, a chartered ship sent by the China National Chartering

Corporation, arrived at the port of Colombo on August 2 with Chinese exports for Ceylon and supplies for the Chinese Embassy there. During the unloading from August 3 to 5, a large number of ruffians continually looted the goods and supplies on the ship, creating a very serious situation. The captain of the ship demanded protection from the Colombo port police. When policemen were sent to the ship, however, these ruffians did not stop their robbery, but became even more rampant. Especially serious was the fact that they went so far as to tear up and destroy many copies of the works of Chairman Mao, the great leader of the Chinese people, as well as quotations from his works and his portraits.

The Chinese Embassy in Ceylon, in a note to the Ceylonese Ministry of Defence and External Affairs on August 15, strongly protested against this incident. The note stressed: "Obviously, such acts of robbery and sabotage were perpetrated with the connivance and at the instruction of the Ceylon Government. This is a serious provocation against the Chinese people and is absolutely intolerable." The note said that this open robbery was a grave incident seldom known in the history of China-Ceylon trade and international trade. It added that it would be impossible in these circumstances to ensure normal trade between China and Ceylon, and the Ceylon Government must be held responsible for all the consequences arising therefrom.

The note firmly demanded that the Ceylon Government immediately take effective measures to stop provocative acts undermining relations and disrupting trade between China and Ceylon, put an immediate end to all sorts of extremely evil practices violating principles guiding international relations and discriminating against the Chinese Embassy, severely punish the culprits who had robbed the Chinese chartered ship and their instigators, and guarantee against the recurrence of similar incidents in the future.

ACROSS THE LAND

Revolution Boosts Production In Chinghai

REVOLUTIONARY industrial and transport workers and staff in multi-national Chinghai Province, northwest China, have won new successes in production during the mass criticism and repudiation of the handful of top Party persons in authority taking the capitalist road and their agents in the province.

In the first half of this year, the value of gross industrial output in Chinghai Province was 7.37 per cent higher than in the first half of last year. With the second quarter, when the proletarian revolutionaries gained the upper hand in the revolution, the workers have worked with ever greater enthusiasm, increasing output, improving quality and lowering production costs. Communications and transport operatives also turned in fairly good results.

In the first quarter of this year, some factories and mines failed to fulfil their production quotas because a handful of capitalist roaders inside the provincial Party committee had stirred up dissension among the workers and even instigated some to leave their jobs. But since May, Chinghai's proletarian revolutionaries have raised high the banner of revolutionary criticism and repudiation and carried through a massive campaign to criticize, repudiate and struggle against the handful of top Party persons in authority taking the capitalist road and their agents in the province. In the course of this mass campaign, the revolutionary workers and staff did away with the capitalist and revisionist regulations and systems of management which reigned in the enterprises. They established in their place the absolute authority of Mao Tse-tung's thought, put politics in command of production and developed the workers' initiative. As a result, the value of gross industrial

output in May reached the highest level since last August. In June it surpassed the May record by 21.74 per cent, making it the highest in the province's history.

In the course of the mass campaign of criticism and repudiation, Chinghai's proletarian revolutionaries on the industrial and transport front firmly followed Chairman Mao's great strategic directives and held firm to the main direction for the struggle. They worked on those among the masses who had been hoodwinked and won them over and united with them. They "liberated" the cadres who had made mistakes but were willing to return to the proletarian revolutionary line of Chairman Mao. Simultaneously, on the basis of Mao Tse-tung's thought, they triumphantly brought about a great revolutionary alliance in industry and transport throughout the province. Now more than 70 per cent of the workers and staff in industry and transport have joined revolutionary organizations and 96 per cent of the province's enterprises have established a new, revolutionary order and effective system of management.

Peking Makes New Seismograph

PEKING has produced a new seismograph specifically adapted to Chinese conditions. It is easy to adjust, has an automatic triggering and recording control system, multiple measuring points and great sensitivity and precision in measuring earth tremors. Until recently, seismographs used in China had to be imported.

Numbers of the new instrument are already being produced to develop seismological research and help solve problems in designing shock-proof installations and buildings in earthquake zones. It has been de-

signed and made by revolutionary workers and staff of the Peking Geological Instruments Works and the Institute of Mechanical Engineering of the Chinese Academy of Sciences. In making this instrument as their contribution to socialist construction, the workers and staff armed themselves with Mao Tse-tung's thought and gave full play to the spirit of daring to think, to do and to create. Going to the nation's earthquake zones, they made detailed on-the-spot investigations. Breaking with old, foreign conventions, their first Chinese-made seismograph is a brilliant success.

Excellent Early-Rice Harvest

CHINA'S major early-rice growing areas are bringing in an excellent harvest. Most areas report better harvests than in 1966.

Kwangtung returns show big increases over the 1966 early-rice crop. Many parts of the province harvested their best crop in years. In Hupeh, both yields per-unit area and total output are the highest in that province's history. Yunnan Province also reports bumper harvests: Chinghung and Mengla Counties in its Hsishuangpanna Tai Autonomous Chou harvested twice as much as in 1966. Yuankiang County in the Red River basin brought in a 20 per cent bigger harvest. Funing County in the Wenshan Chuang and Miao Nationalities Autonomous Chou bordering the Democratic Republic of Vietnam substantially raised its per-unit area yields and nearly doubled its 1966 early-rice acreage.

Fukien, Hunan and Chekiang Provinces, the Kwangsi Chuang Autonomous Region and suburban Shanghai farms also raised considerably larger crops of early rice.

This year's increase in early-rice output is a great victory for the invincible thought of Mao Tse-tung and the great proletarian cultural revolution. From sowing to harvesting, the poor and lower-middle peasants of the various nationalities armed themselves with Mao Tse-tung's thought. Repudiating the

"On the Docks"—A Revolutionary Peking Opera

Born in the midst of the fierce struggle between the two roads of socialism and capitalism on the literary and art front, *On the Docks* is the first Peking opera to reflect the militant life of the Chinese working class in the 1960s, and the class struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie in the socialist society and to laud the lofty spirit of internationalism of the Chinese working class. Its successful production opens bright prospects for Peking opera in presenting contemporary socialist reality. It marks the advance of this ancient art along the road of service to the workers, peasants and soldiers.

Produced by the Peking Opera Theatre of Shanghai, *On the Docks* was adapted from *huai ju* opera (Kiangsu opera) *Morning on the Docks* in the spring of 1964 under the personal guidance of Comrade Chiang Ching.

The events it relates take place in the summer of 1963: A rain storm is brewing. Dockers in Shanghai's port are busy loading rice for export at the same time that they are rushing to get a consignment of wheat under cover in a warehouse.

Han Hsiao-chiang, son of a dock-er, is a simple and, at the start, enthusiastic young dock hand, but influenced by bourgeois thinking, he gets to look down on his job as a dead end and thinks of giving it

up. His heedlessness leads to an accident. He drops a sack of wheat; some of its contents are spilled and, to add to the trouble, he ends by mixing it up with some sacks of export rice.

At the end of the shift, the brigade leader finds wheat scattered on the ground and reports this to Fang Hai-chen, secretary of the Party branch. It happens that Han Hsiao-chiang also comes in then to ask for a transfer to other work. Faced with this complicated situation, Fang Hai-chen turns to Chairman Mao's works for help. After studying his teachings on classes and class struggle, she decides to make a thorough investigation and get to the bottom of things. Further inspection shows dirt mixed with the scattered wheat, suggesting that the wheat in the broken sack may not be clean. To ensure that all grain for export is up to standard, Secretary Fang supports the brigade leader's proposal to examine every wheat sack in the warehouse immediately bag by bag and unearth the faulty sack. In a revolutionary spirit of internationalism, the dockers respond to the call and throw themselves into the battle throughout the night.

But the faulty sack is nowhere to be found. Time is pressing. The wheat is to be shipped out early next morning. Secretary Fang, bearing in mind the instructions of

the Party, gets the workers together to study the matter over and over again. Finally they come to the conclusion that the faulty sack of wheat has been mistaken for rice and which is being transported to the foreign freighter by barge. Braving the storm, brigade leader Kao Chih-yang sets out immediately in pursuit of the barges and the situation is saved.

With the help of the Party Secretary and a veteran worker who give him serious and sincere advice and inspired by Kao Chih-yang's selfless dedication to the common cause, young Han Hsiao-chiang realizes that every sack of goods has a close bearing on the interests of socialist construction and of the world revolution. He is filled with remorse for the trouble he has caused and determines to correct his mistakes.

The entire course of the production of *On the Docks* centred around a fierce struggle on how to portray socialist China's workers on the stage. On one side were ranged Comrade Chiang Ching and the revolutionary artists, while on the other were a handful of revisionists in the old Propaganda Department of the Party Central Committee, the old Ministry of Culture and the old Shanghai Municipal Party Committee, with the top Party person in authority taking the capitalist road pulling strings behind the scenes. The point at issue in this struggle was whether the main theme should be the eulogizing of the patriotism and internationalism of the Chinese working class or the bringing up of Khrushchov-type successors to the revolution in China; whether the heroic characters of advanced workers or "middle characters" with a complex psychology should be taken as the central characters.

"four freedoms" and other revisionist nonsense* of the top Party person in authority taking the capitalist road, they raised their level of socialist consciousness still higher, and put even more firmly in command the idea of farming for the revolu-

tion. This ensured good sowing, transplanting and tending of the early rice and quick and clean harvesting to bring in a bumper crop.

*The "four freedoms" are, freedom to engage in usury, to hire labour, sell land and run private enterprises. The

commune peasants also angrily rejected his "thesis" that there is "merit in exploitation" and his proposals for "an extension of plots for private use and of free markets, an increase in the number of small enterprises with sole responsibility for their own profits and losses, the fixing of output quotas based on the individual household."



In the old society, the dockers were cruelly oppressed and exploited and had no security of employment. But they had a glorious history of struggle. Today, they have become masters of their socialist motherland. With their personal experience of how their place in society has changed, it is only natural that they should closely link their work on the docks with the fate of the oppressed peoples of the world. In order to reflect this on the stage, Comrade Chiang Ching stressed the importance of creating two heroic characters typical of the working class — the woman Party Secretary Fang Hai-chen, who shoveled coal on the docks when a child and who today leads her fellow workers in building socialism, and the brigade leader Kao Chih-yang, a staunch communist fighter of docker origin.

After seeing a performance of the Kiangsu opera *Morning on the Docks* in 1964, the top Party person in authority taking the capitalist road gave a long talk about the "stupidity and selfishness" of the dockers. In order to distort and block the portrayal of heroes of working class, he pointedly suggested that the spot light be put on the "middle characters."

The first version of *On the Docks* in Peking opera style was staged in accordance with this directive. The central character in this version was the backward young stevedore who, influenced by bourgeois thinking,

looked down on dockers and his job. The opera highlighted his "inner suffering and conflict." It pictured this son of a docker as a man "going through an ordeal." Even the techniques used in the presentation of ghosts in the traditional operas were pressed into service to intensify the "drama" of his "mental conflict."

Comrade Chiang Ching saw the performance, and pointed out that this was "middle character" propaganda, and not revolutionary modern Peking opera. The theatre, she said, should never be dominated by "middle characters."

The group working on the opera was reorganized. But the revisionists again wormed their way into the new team and the script writing remained under their control. Instead of discarding the stress on "middle characters," the second version intensified it. It presented the position in this part of New China as foul and chaotic. The Party Secretary was portrayed as a weak character, the brigade leader was presented as rash and irresponsible, while the young docker was featured making love to the ideologically backward daughter of a bourgeois family.

The revised version was immediately criticized by the revolutionary members of the team. The script itself told them that the revisionists were using every means to harp on "middle characters" in order

to mold public opinion for a capitalist come-back. The key question was clear: who should wield the pen? Thoroughly criticizing the reactionary nature of this second version, they seized power over the writing from the revisionists, and themselves wrote a third version.

Following Chairman Mao's line in creative art, the whole opera group went down among the dockers, shared their life and work, listened to their opinions on the script and sought their help in the whole work of artistic creation. The third version was staged and it was an immediate success.

In creating the new, the old must be boldly destroyed. In this connection, it is instructive to examine in the two versions what is the source of the strength that helps the young docker change his attitude. The original script has a scene in which his mother and uncle condemn the old society and so touch his heart. The dramatic effect is good, but the audience feels that they are here seeing the misfortunes of just a single family. The new opera brings the young man out beyond the narrow confines of a family relationship and surrounds him with the warm comradeship and class relations of socialist society. He is nourished by Mao Tse-tung's thought and awakened to class consciousness by the glorious revolutionary history of his own class. Thus inspired, he plunges himself wholeheartedly into the revolutionary struggle on the docks.

The new opera introduces innovations in Peking opera music and singing. In the songs for the new-type woman Party Secretary Fang Hai-chen, it discards the soft and delicate tones of the traditional *ching yi* (woman's role) and creates a new musical language by combining the characteristics of the singing of *hsiao sheng* (young man's role), *lao sheng* (old man's role) and *hua lien* (mainly robust male role). This new type of Peking opera singing is well able to express the sentiments of a woman who embodies the open and vigorous character of our new society.

ROUND THE WORLD

INDONESIA

Beginnings of Armed Struggle

Even the scanty news which has appeared in the reactionary Indonesian press shows that, despite the white terror of the Suharto-Nasution fascist regime, the Indonesian Communist Party and the Indonesian revolutionary people are now overcoming their difficulties, and are regrouping and putting up a new fight in the rural areas where the reactionary rule is weak.

News about the activities of the people's armed forces first came from the **Central Java** countryside which has a long revolutionary tradition. When the Suharto-Nasution fascist military clique staged its counter-revolutionary coup d'état in October 1965 and massacred revolutionary people, the latter put up armed resistance in some parts of Central Java. Since then the gathering revolutionary storm there has made the fascist regime panicky. The Right-wing Jogjakarta paper, *Pelopor Jogja*, said with alarm on September 15 last year that in Central Java, "a force lurked beneath the calm surface." *Sinar Harapan* revealed at the end of September last year that in July "a new armed force [the people's armed force] came into being in Kendeng Village between Madjenang and Wangkang" in Central Java's Purwokerto area.

The mouthpieces of the reactionary Indonesian army also reveal that a unit of the people's armed forces fought a fierce battle against the reactionary army in Ninggil village, near the city of Blora, Central Java, on March 5 this year. Prior to the engagement, this unit held "a heavily-guarded review" at Ninggil, executed a number of the local reactionary officials and removed material to the nearby mountains and forests. The Right-wing papers revealed that the unit has some first-rate "sharpshooters." The Indonesian fascist regime sent about

five battalions of its crack army commandos to "encircle and annihilate" it. They were trounced and suffered heavy casualties.

Berita Judha disclosed on June 3 that the local reactionary police had never dared to approach a forest area between Muntilan and Bojolali, Central Java, where the revolutionary people engaged in armed resistance more than a year ago.

According to a report in the *Indonesian Daily News* of September 19 last year, Dharsono, commander of the West Java military district, had disclosed that revolutionaries in **West Java** "are trying to establish guerrilla bases" and "are collecting arms and engaging in other activities."

It was recently reported that groups of armed people were active in **Kalimantan**. The paper, *The Armed Forces*, said that on July 15 this year an armed unit raided the air base of the fascist regime at Singkawang, West Kalimantan, and killed four officers and men of the reactionary troops guarding it. Alarmed, the Suharto-Nasution gang the next day rushed reinforcements by helicopter from Pontianak, the seat of the West Kalimantan government. Later, it sent a company and two platoons of army commandos from Djakarta on a "search and destroy" mission in the neighbourhood of Singkawang. Antara quoted the West Kalimantan army commander as saying that a unit of the Indonesian people's revolutionary armed forces is at present active in the border areas of Indonesia and "Malaysia."

The people's forces have been active also in **Sulawesi**, another key island. Antara revealed on May 16 that a people's guerrilla unit fought the reactionary troops in an encounter in the jungle near Manado,

North Sulawesi. Another Antara report disclosed that an armed unit of the people attacked an outpost of the 723rd battalion, in North Mambasa, Boniboni region in South Sulawesi, before dawn on June 9. They wounded three of the reactionary troops and captured 10 rifles from the local reactionary police.

In his brilliant work *On Coalition Government*, our great leader Chairman Mao, after recalling how Chiang Kai-shek betrayed the revolution in 1927 and launched a surprise attack on the Chinese Communist Party and the Chinese people, wrote: "But the **Chinese Communist Party and the Chinese people were neither cowed nor conquered nor exterminated. They picked themselves up, wiped off the blood, buried their fallen comrades and went into battle again.**" So have the Indonesian Communists and revolutionary people. They are opposing armed counter-revolution with armed revolution. There is no doubt that they will hold high the great banner of Marxism-Leninism, Mao Tse-tung's thought, rely on and mobilize the peasant masses, develop revolutionary armed struggle, establish revolutionary base areas in the countryside and step by step carry the revolution forward to final victory.

A Shattered Economy

The Indonesian nation has been plunged into unparalleled misery by the Suharto-Nasution fascist regime. Living under a white terror of wholesale slaughter and arrests in all parts of the country, the people have been subjected to merciless economic plunder by the regime.

Today, this richly endowed country of a thousand islands presents a picture of unrelieved misery with factories closed, fields untilled, skyrocketing prices and large numbers of people forced to leave their homes and land to roam the country, only to find starvation awaiting them everywhere.

According to *Pelopor Baru*, all the plants of Indonesia's basic industries apart from an electric bulb factory, have suspended pro-

duction. Light industry is operating at 30 to 50 per cent of capacity, and 80 per cent of the textile mills have closed down with half a million textile workers thrown out of their jobs.

The output of rubber, petroleum, tin, copra and sugar, the country's staple products, has slumped. The paper *Gotong Rojong* recently reported that Indonesia, once the world's second largest producer of sugar, has now become a sugar importer.

The production of food crops, and rice in particular, has also dropped sharply. According to *Duta Masjara-kat*, the output of paddy in West Java, Indonesia's granary, was 4.5 million tons last year, 400,000 tons lower than in 1965. The paper added that the output of tapioca, sweet potatoes and soy beans, as well as cucumbers and other vegetables has also dropped.

The Indonesian Minister of Agriculture, Sutjipto, admitted late last April that the country's acreage under paddy had again shrunk. Tea and other technical crop growers are reported to be in dire straits. Five privately owned tea plantations have closed down and the others are "facing the same fate."

While the country's national income has declined considerably, the Suharto-Nasution fascist military gang has boosted government spending drastically and increased the people's already heavy burdens. Apart from swelling their personal fortunes by graft and stealing, the fascist military gang have expanded their bureaucratic military organs in order to maintain their counter-revolutionary rule. As a result, non-productive expenditures have increased sharply. The Indonesian armed forces have grown from 400,000 to more than 600,000 men, and the number of public functionaries has risen from 809,000 in 1961 to the present 2 million.

In the 1967 budget, military and administrative spending accounts for 80 per cent of the total. The paper *Suluh Marhaen* reported that bank borrowing by the fascist military regime has increased sharply. Such

bank loans totalled 233,552,500,000 rupiah during the first quarter of this year, a 70-fold increase compared with the corresponding period last year.

The Suharto-Nasution fascist military regime has had to resort to issuing bank notes to cover the deficit, thus bringing about runaway inflation. Suharto admitted in mid-May that Indonesia's currency inflation last year set the "world's worst record" for the past 15 years. The paper *Suluh Marhaen* quoting official figures reported that currency in circulation in the first quarter of this year was 203,314 million rupiah, 50 times higher than in the corresponding period last year.

The Suharto-Nasution fascist military regime has wantonly raised prices. After the official decision to increase petroleum prices and transportation, electricity, and postage rates was announced on February 10, petroleum prices shot up eightfold overnight, electricity rates fourfold, bus fares threefold, and domestic postage nearly 17-fold.

According to Japanese bourgeois press reports, the consumer's price index rose from 100 in 1957 to 150,000 in July 1966. The Right-wing Indonesian press also reported that an army corporal who had four children could only buy three bottles of sauce with his monthly salary of 34 rupiah. A Western news agency reported that the monthly salary of a university professor is 260 rupiah and that of a taxi driver is 150 rupiah, while a small bottle of whisky in a hotel bar costs 110 rupiah.

As a result of the economic crisis, great numbers of workers in the cities are out of jobs. Furthermore, large numbers of peasants who have lost their land and livelihood are also flooding into the towns. Crowds of destitute people roam and beg in the cities throughout the country. *Djakarta* papers have reported that in ten months beginning from November 1965, 50,000 people out of a million-odd population starved to death in Lombok Island east of Bali. In one village of 2,000 people, 600 died of hunger.

Our great leader Chairman Mao has said, "Lifting a rock only to drop it on one's own feet" is a Chinese folk saying to describe the behaviour of certain fools. The reactionaries in all countries are fools of this kind. In the final analysis, their persecution of the revolutionary people only serves to accelerate the people's revolutions on a broader and more intense scale." The Suharto-Nasution fascist military group are such fools, too. The vicious course they are following, and their cruel persecution of the Indonesian people, will certainly speed up the movement of the Indonesian masses to make revolution on a broader and more intense scale.

The Suharto-Nasution Rift

A dog-fight between the U.S. imperialist running dogs Suharto and Nasution and the two Right-wing forces they represent has broken out into the open. This is when Indonesia's economy is on the brink of total collapse, when both U.S. imperialism and Soviet revisionism are stepping up their penetration and when the internal class contradictions are sharpening as never before.

In March when Suharto became "Acting President," Nasution, a dyed-in-the-wool warlord who has himself wanted the post for more than ten years, had the effrontery to pick up the banner of "anti-militarism" and "democracy" and launch repeated attacks on the Suharto faction. He called for the "separation of military and state power," declaring that "the two cannot be wielded by one man." In April, Suharto was compelled to give up his post as commander of the army while Panggabean, one of Nasution's men, was appointed acting army commander. Seeking the post of president for himself, Nasution made out that he wanted to "uphold the 1945 constitution" and he censured Suharto for postponing the "general elections." He also instigated "the Provisional People's Consultative Congress" and "the Co-operation Parliament," which are his willing tools, and Right-wing student organizations and political

parties to issue statements and hold demonstrations to attack Suharto for opposing "parliamentary democracy." On June 12, Nasution, through the mouth of Supolo, a spokesman for the "Provisional People's Consultative Congress," threatened Suharto with the statement that "without the authorization of the Provisional People's Consultative Congress, the [Suharto] government cannot postpone the 1968 general elections."

In the name of "fighting corruption and smuggling," Nasution egged on the Right-wing student organizations to put pressure on Suharto, asking him to arrest 22 corrupt officers with whom he had close relations. Nasution also attacked the Suharto military regime for the prevalence of corruption, smuggling, armed holdups, house-breaking and other crimes. On May 20 more than three thousand members of the "Indonesian Students' Action Front," nurtured by Nasution and financed by the U.S. Central Intelligence Agency, forced their way into a place

in Bandung, where Suharto was watching a military parade, to stage a demonstration "against corruption." Their demonstration put Suharto in a tight spot.

Suharto, however, did not yield an inch. In order to maintain his power, he in his turn refused to hold the "general elections" in 1968 under the pretext of "technical difficulties" and of the country "being unable to afford the expense." He stressed the necessity for the armed forces which are under his control to have 25% of the total seats in parliament. Suharto also took over the "anti-corruption" slogan to shift the attack on to Nasution. He made out a list of corrupt officers in the Nasution faction, and then subpoenaed and discharged some of these officers from the army and government. He openly accused the Nasution clique of "attempting to create confusion in the country" and warned that "any effort by any group to wreck the cabinet will not be tolerated." In July Suharto sent out a "special directive" to his own Army Strategic

Reserve Command for the elimination of hostile elements.

Both Suharto and Nasution are U.S. imperialism's faithful lackeys. They are jackals from the same lair as regards their opposition to communism, China and the Indonesian people, yet in their scramble for counter-revolutionary power and position, their contradictions have become irreconcilable. Just as our great leader Chairman Mao has pointed out in his article *On Tactics Against Japanese Imperialism*, when referring to dog-fights within the Chiang Kai-shek clique: "It is . . . merely a particularly interesting example of a fight between large and small dogs, between well-fed and ill-fed dogs. It is not a big rift, but neither is it small; it is at once an irritating and painful contradiction. But such fights, such rifts, such contradictions are of use to the revolutionary people." The dog-fight within the Suharto-Nasution fascist clique will grow still fiercer. This internal strife will isolate it still more and hasten its downfall.

PEKING REVIEW

Vol. 10, No. 35
August 25, 1967

Published in English, French, Spanish,
Japanese and German editions

IN THIS ISSUE

THE WEEK

Chairman Mao Receives Albanian Comrades

ARTICLES AND DOCUMENTS

Peng Teh-huai and His Behind-the-Scenes Boss Cannot Shirk Responsibility for Their Crimes — *Renmin Ribao* editorial

Great Cultural Revolution in Progress:

Chairman Mao's Red Guards Pledge New Contributions in Mass Revolutionary Criticism

Denouncing the Crimes of Peng Teh-huai and His Boss Behind the Scenes

Basic Assurance for Consolidating the Proletarian Dictatorship — Kuang Hsuan

Burmese People's Revolutionary Armed Struggle Is Bound to Triumph — Thakin Ba Thein Tin

5

Renmin Ribao Commentaries:

The Indonesian People Have Raised the Torch of Armed Struggle

U.S. Imperialism and Soviet Revisionism Are Backstage Managers of Anti-China Farce

We Have Friends All Over the World

It's A Good Thing for Us That the Enemy Attacks China

Hongkong Is Chinese Territory

Baring British Imperialism's Crafty Features

Most Vehement Protest Against Persecution of Patriotic Press by Hongkong British Authorities

Mao Tse-tung's Thought Lights the Whole World

ACROSS THE LAND

THEATRE "On the Docks" — A Revolutionary Peking Opera

ROUND THE WORLD

12

16

17

18

19

21

21

22

23

27

28

30