

# PEKING REVIEW

37

September 9, 1966

## Chairman Mao Receives Red Guards And Revolutionary Teachers And Students

## People's Revolutionary Strategy Will Triumph Over U.S. Counter-Revolutionary Strategy

In commemoration of the first anniversary of the publication of Comrade  
Lin Piao's essay "Long Live the Victory of People's War!"

## Decision of Ceylon C.P. on Promoting Study of Chairman Mao's Works

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# PEKING REVIEW

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## Chairman Mao Receives Congolese (B) National Assembly Delegation

Chairman Mao Tse-tung on September 3 received Mouyabi Andre Georges, President of the National Assembly of the Congo (Brazzaville), his wife and members of the National Assembly delegation he led. Chairman Mao had a cordial and friendly talk with them.

President Mouyabi Andre Georges and his delegation left Peking on September 4 on a tour of the country. On the eve of their departure, the President gave a farewell banquet. Among those who attended was Chu Teh, Chairman of the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress.

Speaking at the banquet, President Mouyabi Andre Georges praised the great proletarian cultural revolution now being carried out in China. He said that during their stay in Peking, members of the delegation were able to see how wise the leadership given by Chairman Mao Tse-tung and the Chinese Communist Party to the great revolutionary cause in China was. He expressed confidence that, under the guidance of Mao Tse-tung's brilliant thought, the Chinese people would achieve new successes.

Chairman Chu Teh, in his speech, reiterated that the 700 million Chinese people would always stand by the people of the Congo (B) and the people of Asia and Africa and all revolutionary people in the world, and they would support each other and advance shoulder to shoulder. He said that the anti-imperialist struggle of the world's people was an indivisible entity. He added that the Chinese people regarded their support to the just struggle of the world's people against imperialism as their bounden international duty. Chu Teh expressed the deep conviction that so long as the people of Asia, Africa and the rest of the world united and

established the broadest international united front against U.S. imperialism, dared to fight and to win victory, they would definitely be able to completely defeat U.S. imperialism and the reactionaries of all countries.

### 21st Anniversary of Founding Of D.R.V.

September 2 marked the 21st anniversary of the founding of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam. Chinese Party and state leaders Mao Tse-tung, Liu Shao-chi, Chu Teh and Chou En-lai, in a message sent on September 1, extended their warmest congratulations to Vietnamese Party and state leaders Ho Chi Minh, Truong Chinh and Pham Van Dong (see p. 4).

In Peking, more than 1,000 representatives from all walks of life and Red Guards from various departments held a meeting on September 1 to celebrate the anniversary.

Tran Tu Binh, Ambassador of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam to China, gave a reception on September 2. Chinese Party and state leaders Chou En-lai, Tao Chu, Kang Sheng and others attended. Ambassador Tran Tu Binh and Vice-Premier Chen Yi spoke at the reception.

Ambassador Tran Tu Binh said: The myth about the "giant" strength of U.S. imperialism has been burnt to ashes in the flames of the people's war which has been highly developed by the 31 million Vietnamese people. Fight, fight resolutely till final victory. This is the unshakable, iron resolve of the Vietnamese people. Doing their very best in response to President Ho Chi Minh's Appeal issued on July 17, the Vietnamese people, with the greatest determination, engage in production

while taking part in combat; they have made every preparation and are determined to carry on a long struggle to defeat the enemy, whatever his numbers may be.

The Ambassador denounced the various "peace talks" schemes hatched by U.S. imperialism at the same time it is intensifying and expanding its war of aggression. He also pointed out that the U.S.-instigated "Asian conference on Vietnam" proposed by Thailand, the Philippines and "Malaysia" could not deceive the Asian people.

Ambassador Tran Tu Binh said that the Vietnamese people, in their fight against U.S. aggression and for national salvation, had always received strong support and all-round and immense assistance from the fraternal Chinese people. The Vietnamese people, he added, deeply understand that the 700 million Chinese people provide powerful backing for the Vietnamese people and the vast expanse of China's territory is the reliable rear area of the Vietnamese people.

Vice-Premier Chen Yi, in his speech, said that the Vietnamese people, in their struggle against U.S. aggression and for national salvation, had completely exposed the true features of U.S. imperialism as a paper tiger. In their fight, the Vietnamese people had demonstrated the might of the revolutionary people and had once again proved with facts that it was entirely possible to defeat U.S. imperialism, a paper tiger which is outwardly strong but inwardly weak.

Vice-Premier Chen Yi said: The Chinese people's most respected and beloved leader Chairman Mao Tse-tung and the entire Chinese people have at heart, at all times, their Vietnamese brothers who are fighting in the very forefront of the anti-U.S. struggle, regard the Vietnamese people's difficulties as their own difficulties and the Vietnamese people's victories as their own victories. The

## Chinese Party and State Leaders Greet 21st Anniversary Of Founding of D.R.V.

**Comrade Ho Chi Minh, Chairman of the Central Committee of the Vietnam Workers' Party and President of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam,**

**Comrade Truong Chinh, Chairman of the Standing Committee of the National Assembly of the D.R.V.,**

**Comrade Pham Van Dong, Premier of the Government of the D.R.V.:**

On the occasion of the 21st anniversary of the founding of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam, we, on behalf of the Chinese people, the Chinese Communist Party and the Government of the People's Republic of China, extend our warmest greetings to the Vietnamese people, the Vietnam Workers' Party and the Government of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam.

Under the leadership of the Vietnam Workers' Party headed by President Ho Chi Minh, the heroic Vietnamese people have won one resounding victory after another in their great struggle to resist U.S. aggression and save the country. The Chinese people greatly rejoice over these resounding victories won by the fraternal Vietnamese people.

The Vietnamese people's heroic struggle against U.S. imperialist aggression is a tremendous support and inspiration for the Chinese people and the revolutionary peoples of the whole world. Their victories once more eloquently prove that U.S. imperialism is only a paper tiger and can certainly be defeated, and that the awakened people who dare to struggle and persevere in their struggle are invincible.

At present, the U.S. aggressors are engulfed in the flames of the people's war in Vietnam. The brave and battle-seasoned Vietnamese people, with one heart and giving full play to the might of people's war, have been giving the U.S. aggressors a sound thrashing and driving them into a corner. U.S. imperialism vainly hopes to save itself from defeat by expanding its war of aggres-

sion and by its "peace talks" fraud. But the heroic Vietnamese people are not to be intimidated or deceived; the U.S. aggressors can in no way escape their fate which is inevitable defeat.

China and Vietnam are fraternal socialist countries with a relationship like that between the lips and the teeth. The Chinese people have always firmly supported the Vietnamese people's struggle against U.S. aggression and for national salvation. They most resolutely and most warmly support the recent appeal of President Ho Chi Minh, which has once again expressed the firm will of the Vietnamese people to carry their war of resistance through to the end. The Chinese Government has reaffirmed that the 700 million Chinese people provide powerful backing for the Vietnamese people and that the vast expanse of China's territory is the reliable rear area of the Vietnamese people. The Chinese people have made up their minds and have made every preparation to deal, together with the Vietnamese people, at any time and in any place joint blows at the U.S. aggressors till final victory is achieved.

May the militant friendship between the Chinese and Vietnamese peoples flourish for ever!

**Mao Tse-tung, Chairman of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party**

**Liu Shao-chi, Chairman of the People's Republic of China**

**Chu Teh, Chairman of the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress of the People's Republic of China**

**Chou En-lai, Premier of the State Council of the People's Republic of China**

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Chinese Government and the Chinese people will do everything in their power to support and assist the Vietnamese people in every field in their struggle against U.S. aggression and for national salvation, until

all the U.S. aggressor troops are driven out of Vietnamese territory. The Vice-Premier strongly condemned U.S. imperialism for further expanding its war of aggression against Vietnam, frantically bombing

Hanoi and Haiphong, and vigorously pushing its schemes of "forcing peace talks through bombing" and "forcing peace talks through war."

*(Continued on p. 37.)*

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# Chairman Mao Receives Red Guards And Revolutionary Teachers And Students

**I**N the afternoon of August 31, in Peking's magnificent Tien An Men Square, Chairman Mao Tse-tung, the great supreme commander of the great proletarian cultural revolution and our great teacher, great leader and great helmsman, together with other leading comrades of the Party centre, received half a million Red Guards and revolutionary teachers and students from various parts of the country and from the capital.

Chairman Mao, his close comrade-in-arms Comrade Lin Piao, and other leaders of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party: Chou En-lai, Tao Chu, Teng Hsiao-ping, Kang Sheng, Liu Shao-chi, Chu Teh, Li Fu-chun, Chen Yun, Tung Pi-wu, Chen Yi, Ho Lung, Li Hsien-nien, Tan Chen-lin, Nieh Jung-chen, Yeh Chien-ying, Ulanfu, Po I-po, Li Hsueh-feng and Hsieh Fu-chih had their warm meeting with the young revolutionary fighters at a time when China's great proletarian cultural revolution is surging to a new high tide and this tremendously inspired the soaring fighting will of the young people. The Red Guards and revolutionary teachers and students who came to Peking from all corners of the country gave their solemn pledge to the Party's Central Committee and Chairman Mao: We will resolutely follow Chairman Mao's teachings, and we are resolved to follow the example of the People's Liberation Army, do everything according to the 16-point decision adopted by the Party's Central Committee and carry the great proletarian cultural revolution through to the end!

On that day, countless red flags waved in the breeze in Tien An Men Square. Tens of thousands of Red Guards wearing red arm bands and carrying copies of red-covered *Quotations From Chairman Mao Tse-tung* sang with gusto *Sailing the Seas Depends on the Helmsman* and other revolutionary songs. The whole square became a surging ocean of red.

At 5:40 in the afternoon, our most respected and beloved leader Chairman Mao, his close comrade-in-arms Comrade Lin Piao, and Comrade Ho Lung arrived in an open car at the Tien An Men Square and drove slowly into the midst of the masses of Red Guards and revolutionary teachers and students. They were accompanied by Comrades Hsieh Fu-chih and Yang Cheng-wu. A mighty, jubilant wave of cheers

rose up from the square. Everyone turned to Chairman Mao; people cheered and jumped in their excitement. As Chairman Mao's car drove slowly around the square, thousands of pairs of eyes filled with deep feelings were turned on him; thousands of revolutionary red hearts turned to the red sun. Cheers of "Long live Chairman Mao" and "Long live, long live Chairman Mao" shook the skies.

Chairman Mao wore an olive-green army uniform. Radiant with vigour and in buoyant spirits, he kept waving to the Red Guards and revolutionary teachers and students.

Following close behind Chairman Mao's car were Comrades Chou En-lai, Tao Chu, Nieh Jung-chen and Chiang Ching riding in the second car; Comrades Teng Hsiao-ping, Kang Sheng, Liu Shao-chi and Chen Yi in the third car; Comrades Chu Teh, Li Fu-chun, Chen Yun and Tung Pi-wu in the fourth car; and Comrades Yeh Chien-ying, Hsiao Hua, Wang Jen-chung, Liu Chih-chien and Chang Chun-chiao in the fifth car. Comrades Yang Yung, Liao Han-sheng, Fu Chung-pi, Wu Teh, Chou Jung-hsin and Yu Sang rode in the car that served as the guide for Chairman Mao and the other leading comrades of the Party centre.

After driving around the square, Chairman Mao and other leading comrades of the Party centre mounted the Tien An Men rostrum to the sound of a band playing *The East Is Red*. More than 300 young revolutionary fighters from various parts of the country and Peking who had already gathered there by invitation enthusiastically cheered Chairman Mao and wished him long life. They also put a red scarf and a red arm band of the Red Guards on Chairman Mao.

At 6:40 the rally to receive the revolutionary teachers and students from all parts of the country was declared open by Comrade Chiang Ching, first deputy leader of the group in charge of the cultural revolution under the Party's Central Committee. Greeting all present on behalf of the cultural revolution group under the Party's Central Committee, she said: We welcome you warmly and give you revolutionary greetings.

There was prolonged, enthusiastic applause when Comrade Lin Piao began to speak. (Full text of speech see p. 10.)

## CHAIRMAN MAO SAYS:

"You should pay attention to state  
cultural revolution through to the end!"



Chairman Mao Tse-tung, the great teacher, great leader, great supreme commander and great helmsman of the Chinese people, with his close comrade-in-arms Comrade Lin Piao on the Tien An Men rostrum

## affairs and carry the great proletarian

- *Speaking on August 10 to Peking's revolutionary masses celebrating the Party Central Committee's Decision Concerning the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution*



**Chairman Mao Tse-tung, the great teacher, great leader, great supreme commander and great helmsman of the Chinese people, receives Red Guards and revolutionary teachers and students from all parts of the country and the capital**

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Comrade Chou En-lai spoke next. (Full text on p. 11.)

Speaking at the rally, the revolutionary students of Peking extended an enthusiastic welcome to their revolutionary comrades-in-arms from all parts of the country.

Revolutionary students from east, northeast, north, central-south, southwest and northwest China also spoke at the rally. They declared:

"We feel boundlessly happy now that we stand by the side of our respected and beloved leader Chairman Mao. We are here to learn from the Red Guards of the capital. We are here to learn successful experience. We are determined to carry back with us the dauntless revolutionary spirit of Peking's Red Guards, the spirit of daring to think, to speak out, to do, to break through and to make revolution so that all of China will be set ablaze by the revolutionary flame of Mao Tse-tung's thought."

These revolutionary students said:

"With the great helmsman Chairman Mao steering for us and with the brilliant Mao Tse-tung's thought lighting our way of advance, we are dauntless. We are fully confident and resolved to create a completely new world with our own hands. Through this great proletarian cultural revolution, we shall eradicate the roots of revisionism in our country so that our beloved motherland will for ever keep its bright red colour!"

"The banner and arm band of the Red Guard fighters are a bright red, and so are our hearts. Completely loyal, we'll follow the Party and Chairman Mao for ever to make revolution and carry it through to the end!"

"We Red Guards follow Chairman Mao's teachings most faithfully. We'll work hard to learn from the People's Liberation Army. We'll seriously study the 16 Points, know them well and apply them. We'll persist in carrying on the struggle by reasoning and not by coercion or force. And we pledge to carry the great proletarian cultural revolution through to the end."

When night fell, the Tien An Men tower and buildings on all sides of the square were brightly lit by a myriad lights. Chairman Mao walked to the east and then to the west end of the rostrum amid cheers from the crowd and waved to them once again. Shouts of "Long live the great proletarian cultural revolution!" "Long live the Communist Party of China!" "Long live the invincible thought of Mao Tse-tung!" and "Long live Chairman Mao!" shook the night skies over the capital.

Jacques Grippa, Secretary of the Central Committee of the Belgian Communist Party, and his wife Madeleine Grippa, who are currently visiting China, also attended the rally by invitation. Chairman Mao greeted them cordially on the Tien An Men rostrum.

Also present at the rally were leaders of the Party and state and leading members of various departments

and of the Chinese People's Liberation Army including: Liu Ning-i, Tsai Chang, Teng Ying-chao, Liao Cheng-chih, Chang Ting-cheng, Hsiao Ching-kuang, Su Yu, Teng Tzu-hui, Chang Yun-yi, Hu Chiao-mu, Yang Hsiu-feng, Wu Hsiu-chuan, Chien Ying, Hsu Kuang-ta, Wang Chen, Tseng Shan, Lu Cheng-tsao, Wang Shu-sheng, Li Tao, Chen Chi-han, Li Chih-min, Su Chen-hua, Chang Lin-chih, Hsu Ping, Sung Shih-lun, Chung Chikuang, Chen Cheng-jen, Tao Lu-chia, Kung Yuan, Fang Yi, Sun Chih-yuan, Chang Ai-ping, Yao Yi-lin, Li Tien-yu, Wang Hsin-ting, Hsu Li-ching, Yuan Tzu-chin, Chou Shih-ti, Chu Liang-tsai, Chiu Hui-tso, Chang Chih-ming, Wu Fa-hsien, Yu Li-chin, Li Chu-kuei, Chung Chih-ping, Lo Shun-chu, Wu Ke-hua, Chen Jen-chi, Huang Chih-yung, Chen Shih-chu, Tan Fu-jen, Tsui Tien-min, Tsai Shun-li, Kung Shih-chuan, Li Tso-peng, Chiang Wen, Chen Ho-chiao, Wang Shao-nan, Huang Tso-chen, Hsieh Tang-chung, Wang Li, Kuan Feng, Chi Pen-yu, Mu Hsin, Yao Wen-yuan, Kuo Mo-jo, Yang Ming-hsuan, Cheng Chien, Chang Chih-chung, Chou Chien-jen, Yu Chiu-li, Ku Mu, Lu Tung, Tuan Chun-yi, Liu Chieh, Wang Cheng, Fang Chiang, Wang Ping-chang, Li Ssu-kuang, Lai Chi-fa, Chiang Kuang-nai, Sun Ta-kuang, Chu Hsueh-fan, Fu Tso-yi, Yuan Pao-hua, Sha Chien-li, Lin Hai-yun, Hsu Teh-heng, Hsiao Wang-tung, Ho Wei, Chang Hsi-jo, Kang Shih-en, Yang Chi-ching, Wang Tung-hsing, Yung Wen-tao, Hsiung Fu, Tang Ping-chu, Tung Hsiao-peng, Tseng Ti, Hsieh Yu-fa, Wang Ping, Ma Chun-ku, Wang Tao-yi, Kao Chung-min, Tsai Ting-kai, Shen Yen-ping, Hsieh Hsueh-kung, Su Chien-yi and Ma Li.

### **Chairman Mao's Heart Is One With the Hearts Of the Revolutionary Masses**

The good news of Chairman Mao's reception in the capital of the Red Guards and revolutionary teachers and students from all parts of China spread swiftly to every corner of the country. It was greeted enthusiastically by the Red Guards, revolutionary teachers and students and the masses of workers, peasants and soldiers of Canton, Wuhan, Shenyang, Tientsin, Chengtu, Nanking, Urumchi, Kunming and other places. It was greeted as the greatest support and encouragement given by Chairman Mao to the revolutionary masses throughout the country, and giving tremendous fresh impetus to the current great proletarian cultural revolution. They took to the streets and held parades or celebration meetings. With revolutionary fervour, they declared: We will resolutely follow Chairman Mao's teachings, respond to the calls given out in the speeches of Comrades Lin Piao and Chou En-lai, take Mao Tse-tung's thought as our compass, learn with zealous enthusiasm from the People's Liberation Army, and carry out the 16 Points seriously, fully, thoroughly and without reservation. We will persist in carrying on the struggle by reasoning; we will smash those in authority who are taking the capitalist road and all ghosts and monsters, pull them down and completely discredit them. We will win a complete victory for the great proletarian cultural revolution.



**Chairman Mao Tse-tung, the great teacher, great leader, great supreme commander and great helmsman of the Chinese people, with his close comrade-in-arms Comrade Lin Piao, and Comrade Ho Lung, accompanied by Comrades Hsieh Fu-chih and Yang Cheng-wu, greet the revolutionary teachers and students gathered in the Tien An Men Square**

The revolutionary masses everywhere exulted: The situation in the great cultural revolution is excellent! What the young revolutionary fighters are doing is fine! We support the revolutionary actions of the Red Guards most resolutely; we salute them, shall learn from them, and vow to stand four-square behind them. They declared: the 16 Points represent the latest development of Mao Tse-tung's thought. Acting in accordance with this great programme, we shall be able to win complete victory in the great cultural revolution.

Young Red Guard fighters in various parts of the country said: This news has further strengthened our determination to carry the great proletarian cultural revolution through to the end. Chairman Mao is the red sun in our hearts; he is our great supreme com-

mander. We will absolutely follow his teachings, do what the great supreme commander has taught us to do, and temper the Red Guards into a fighting detachment truly armed with Mao Tse-tung's thought, a highly organized and disciplined fighting detachment with a high level of political consciousness. We will successfully fulfil the great and glorious tasks of struggling against and crushing those persons in authority who are taking the capitalist road, criticizing and repudiating reactionary bourgeois academic "authorities" and the ideology of the bourgeoisie and all other exploiting classes, and transforming education, literature and art and all other parts of the superstructure that do not correspond to the socialist economic base. We will sweep away all pests and let Mao Tse-tung's thought illuminate all of China and the whole world!

# Comrade Lin Piao's Speech

— At Peking Rally to Receive Revolutionary Teachers and Students From All Parts of China

## Comrades, Students, Red Guard Fighters:

On behalf of our great teacher, great leader, great supreme commander and great helmsman Chairman Mao, I extend greetings to you students coming from all parts of the country; greetings to you all! On behalf of the Central Committee of the Party, I greet you all!

Students! You have come to Peking and have been exchanging experience in the great cultural revolution with the revolutionary teachers and students of Peking. You have travelled a long way and worked hard! We are confident that after your return, you will work even better, in accordance with Chairman Mao's instructions and the Party Central Committee's 16-point decision, to smash all resistance, overcome all difficulties and develop the great proletarian cultural revolution with even greater vigour and vitality!

The present situation in the great proletarian cultural revolution is very fine!

The Red Guards and other revolutionary organizations of the young people have been springing up like bamboo shoots after the spring rain. They take to the streets to sweep away the "four olds" [old ideas, culture, customs and habits — *Ed.*]. The great cultural revolution has already touched on politics and on economics. The struggle [against and crushing of those persons in authority who are taking the capitalist road], the criticism and repudiation [of the reactionary bourgeois academic "authorities" and the ideology of the bourgeoisie and all other exploiting classes] and the transformation [of education, literature and art and all other parts of the superstructure that do not correspond to the socialist economic base] in the schools have been extended to the whole of society. The revolutionary torrents of the masses are washing away all the sludge and filth left over from the old society, and are transforming the whole face of society in our country.

Young revolutionary fighters! Chairman Mao and the Party's Central Committee warmly acclaim your proletarian revolutionary spirit of daring to think, to speak, to act, to break through and to make revolution. You have done many good things. You have put forward many good proposals. We are

greatly elated, and we warmly support you! Firmly oppose any attempt that is made to suppress you! Your revolutionary actions are very fine! We hail you, and salute you!

Comrades, students!

We must act in accordance with Chairman Mao's teachings; dare to struggle and dare to make revolution and be good at waging struggles and at making revolution. We must take Mao Tse-tung's thought as our compass in the great proletarian cultural revolution and carry out the 16-point decision seriously, fully, thoroughly and without reservation.

We must, in accordance with Chairman Mao's teachings, distinguish who are our enemies and who are our friends. Attention must be paid to uniting with the great majority, and concentrating forces to strike at the handful of bourgeois Rightists. The main target of the attack is those persons in authority who have wormed their way into the Party and are taking the capitalist road. It is essential to hold fast to this main orientation in the struggle.

We must act in accordance with the teachings of Chairman Mao, and carry out the struggle by reasoning and not by coercion or force. Don't hit people. This applies also to the struggle against those persons in authority who are taking the capitalist road as well as to the struggle against landlords, rich peasants, counter-revolutionaries, bad elements and Rightists. Coercion or force in the struggle against them can only touch their skins. Only by reasoning is it possible to touch their souls. Only by reasoning, by exposing them fully and criticizing them profoundly, is it possible to expose their counter-revolutionary features thoroughly, isolate them to the fullest extent, discredit them, pull them down and smash them.

The Red Guards and other revolutionary organizations of the young people in the colleges and middle schools are the shock force fighting in the van in the great cultural revolution and a powerful reserve force of the People's Liberation Army.

Students and Red Guard fighters! Always be loyal to the Party, to the people, to Chairman Mao and to Mao Tse-tung's thought. Work hard to study and apply Chairman Mao's works creatively; make

big efforts to apply what you study. Serve the people wholeheartedly, keep in close contact with the masses, be exemplary in carrying out the Party's policies, safeguard the interests of the people, protect state property, and abide by the Three Main Rules of Discipline and the Eight Points for Attention.

Students! Provided we earnestly study Chairman Mao's works, follow his teachings and act in accordance with his instructions, the great proletarian cultural revolution can certainly achieve great vic-

tories! Let imperialism, modern revisionism and all reactionaries tremble before our victories!

Long live the great proletarian cultural revolution!

Long live the Communist Party of China!

Long live the invincible thought of Mao Tse-tung!

Long live the great leader, Chairman Mao! Long live, long live Chairman Mao!

# Comrade Chou En-lai's Speech

— At Peking Rally to Receive Revolutionary Teachers and Students From All Parts of China

**Comrades! Students!**

Greetings to you!

You have come from all parts of the motherland to Peking, the centre of the great proletarian cultural revolution and the people's capital. We extend a warm welcome to you.

Peking is where Chairman Mao lives. Our great leader, Chairman Mao, is the great supreme commander of the great proletarian cultural revolution. Chairman Mao is our great teacher and great helmsman. He is the red sun that shines in our hearts.

The great proletarian cultural revolution was initiated by Chairman Mao himself. His heart is linked with the hearts of the masses. He has boundless faith in the masses and supports their initiative. The revolutionary people of the whole country have enthusiastically responded to Chairman Mao's call and have brought about a vigorous upsurge in the great cultural revolution.

The Decision Concerning the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, which was drawn up under Chairman Mao's personal guidance, is the programme of the great proletarian cultural revolution. This document tells us that it is imperative to let the masses themselves educate themselves, to let the masses themselves liberate themselves, and to let the masses themselves rise up and make revolution. We must use this decision as our weapon in the fight and take it as the guide for our actions in carrying forward the great proletarian cultural revolution. All revolutionary comrades should earnestly and repeatedly study this decision, know it well, grasp it and apply it.

A new upsurge is now under way in the great proletarian cultural revolution. Young people in all parts of the country have formed Red Guards and other revolutionary organizations. This is a great revolutionary creation. In the great proletarian cultural revolution, our young Red Guards have acted as shock forces in the assault against enemy positions, destroying the "four-olds" [old ideas, culture, customs and habits] and fostering the "four-news" [new ideas, culture, customs and habits]. Your spirit of daring to think, speak, act and break through and daring to make revolution and daring to rebel has the warm support of the worker, peasant and soldier masses and revolutionary cadres throughout the country. We acclaim the heroic Red Guards! Salute to our Red Guards! Salute to the revolutionary young people!

Our Red Guards have been set up with the Liberation Army as their example. It is their militant slogan to make all-out efforts to learn from the Liberation Army. Like the Liberation Army, our Red Guards hold high the great red banner of Mao Tse-tung's thought, study Chairman Mao's works, follow his teachings, act in accordance with his instructions, and study and apply Chairman Mao's works in a creative way; always be the good students and good soldiers of Chairman Mao; always be loyal to the Party, to the people, to Chairman Mao, and to Mao Tse-tung's thought. Like the Liberation Army, they should serve the people wholeheartedly, maintain close ties with the masses, implement the mass line and always be faithful servants of the people. They should learn the "three-eight" working style of the Liberation Army, observe the Three Main Rules of Discipline and the Eight Points for Atten-

tion, protect the interests of the masses, defend state property and create a good new atmosphere of socialism. The Red Guards must be built into a highly organized and disciplined militant army with a high level of political consciousness and become the reliable reserve force of the Liberation Army.

We must have the daring to struggle and we must be good at struggling. Pay attention at all times to using the method of class analysis, developing the progressive forces, winning over the middle, uniting with the great majority and concentrating all forces to strike at the handful of bourgeois Rightists. Use reasoning, not coercion or force in struggle. Only through reasoning, can we educate the masses, can we most effectively crush the enemy. Our Red Guards will surely mature in the struggle and become pathbreakers who display both wisdom and courage.

At present, students in various parts of the country are coming to Peking to exchange experience and students in Peking are going to other places to establish revolutionary ties. We think that this is a very good thing. We support you. The Party's Central Committee has decided that all college students and representatives of middle school students in the other parts of the country should come to Peking group after group at different times. Local students and students from other places should strengthen their revolutionary unity on the basis of the principle of making joint efforts to carry through the great cultural revolution well. Questions and differences of opinion should be solved through in-

vestigation, study and through consultations on an equal footing. Everybody knows that the great cultural revolution in every locality and in every unit must be carried out by relying on the masses themselves in that locality and that unit, for only then can it really be carried out well and thoroughly. We believe that the revolutionary action of building contacts on a nationwide scale will certainly and potentially deepen the great proletarian cultural revolution.

Comrades! Students!

Revolution is no easy matter. To win victory, all resistance and difficulties must be overcome. We are confident that you will surely hold high the great red banner of Mao Tse-tung's thought, grasp and apply the 16-point decision which was formulated under the personal guidance of Chairman Mao, and, together with the worker, peasant and soldier masses, with the broad revolutionary masses while relying on your own efforts, overcome all resistance and difficulties to carry the great proletarian cultural revolution through to the very end.

Long live the great proletarian cultural revolution!

Long live the great proletarian dictatorship!

Long live the great Communist Party of China!

Long live the great, invincible thought of Mao Tse-tung!

Long live our great leader, Chairman Mao! Long live, long live Chairman Mao!

# The People's Revolutionary Strategy Will Surely Triumph Over U.S. Imperialism's Counter-Revolutionary Strategy

— In commemoration of the first anniversary of the publication of Comrade Lin Piao's essay "Long Live the Victory of People's War!"

by TUNG MING

COMRADE LIN PIAO'S famous essay "Long Live the Victory of People's War!" was published a year ago. It is a comprehensive, systematic and profound analysis of Comrade Mao Tse-tung's theory and strategic concept of people's war and provides the revolutionary people of the whole world with a powerful ideological

weapon in the fight against imperialism and modern revisionism. It has dealt a heavy blow to the arrogance of U.S. imperialism and its lackeys and greatly heightened the morale of the peoples striving for freedom and emancipation. Its publication was of extremely great historic and international significance.

The present big battle between the people, who account for more than 90 per cent of the world's population, and U.S. imperialism is a decisive battle between revolution and counter-revolution on which hinges the future of the world. It is also a decisive battle between the two systems, socialism and capitalist-imperialism, between Comrade Mao Tse-tung's revolutionary military strategy based on people's war and imperialism's reactionary military strategy based on the theory that weapons decide everything.

All wars waged by the reactionaries including U.S. imperialism are anti-popular. They cannot depend on people but only on weapons for the conduct of their wars. That is why they are bound to exaggerate one-sidedly and put blind faith in the role of weapons. This theory that weapons decide everything determines their attitude in the practice of war, namely, the doctrine that might is right, and their opportunism and pragmatism. They invariably advance when conditions seem favourable to them and retreat in face of difficulties. They bully the weak-kneed and fear the brave. They grow tough when their opponents show any signs of weakness, and they soften in face of toughness. The greater the fear of them, the more arrogant and aggressive they become; the more the people defy them and fight them unflinchingly, the less they can do about it. Their nature as exploiters often makes them act crazily in pursuit of their selfish interests, and unwilling and unable to correctly appraise the relative strength of objective forces or to understand the laws governing the development of war. They are inevitably subjective-idealistic in determining strategy and conducting war. They always over-estimate their own strength and under-estimate that of the people, commit one irretrievable mistake after another and are never able to correct these mistakes.

The U.S. imperialists, the biggest military imperialists, have manufactured and stockpiled a large number of nuclear weapons during the last 21 years. Making use of their enormous economic power and modern scientific technique, they have done everything they can to develop lethal weapons. At the same time, their military concepts have become a hotchpotch of the theory that weapons decide everything, the doctrine that might is right, as well as pragmatism, opportunism and subjective-idealism. U.S. imperialism, which was the first to produce nuclear weapons, has in its military thinking become an utter slave of such weapons. United States military strategy has undergone several changes since the end of World War II. But the idea of relying on nuclear weapons to conduct nuclear blackmail has remained unchanged and runs through all its military strategies. U.S. imperialism has outdone all reactionaries, past and present, in the absurdity and ridiculousness of its military theory that weapons decide everything.

After it manufactured the first atom bomb 21 years ago, U.S. imperialism thought that "henceforth the use or the threatened use of atomic weapons of

mass destruction would be sufficient to assure" U.S. domination over the world. However, the victory of the Chinese revolution and of the Korean war against U.S. aggression, the victorious development of the current Vietnam war against U.S. aggression and that of the revolutionary struggles in many countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America have shown the bankruptcy of U.S. imperialism's counter-revolutionary military strategy based on nuclear blackmail.

In 1959, fourteen years after the United States exploded its first atomic bomb, General Taylor, a faithful stooge of Wall Street, finally discovered that the conception that "atomic weapons can decide everything" is a "great fallacy" and so he put forward the "flexible response" strategy as a life-saving recipe for U.S. imperialism. Although Taylor sees the fallacy of the "massive retaliation" strategy which mainly relies on strategic nuclear weapons, his new strategy is likewise built on the theory that weapons are everything. It still depends on so-called "naval and air superiority," highly efficient conventional arms and the superiority of other weapons and still falls back on the threat of nuclear war as its mainstay. As a result, this new strategy has become helpless and powerless in face of the revolutionary people who fear neither heaven nor earth, neither hardships nor death.

The "escalation" strategy which has appeared on the scene over the past two years and which serves as a shot-in-the-arm for the strategy of "flexible response" is more closely tied up with nuclear blackmail and nuclear threats. It is nothing but the villainous strategy of a gambler and a rascal, an out-and-out opportunist and pragmatist strategy. The characteristic of the champions of this "escalation" strategy is that while they raise a hue and cry about expanding the war and brandish nuclear weapons to frighten others, they fear that once the war expands they will be in serious trouble and the situation will get out of hand. Their strategy provides for ascending or descending the ladder of "escalation." Once they find that the expansion of the war is disadvantageous to them or that their opponents have no fear of this strategy, they concoct a "face-saving" pretext and come down the ladder, just as a rascal gives way at the first sign of imminent danger. This fully exposes their nature as paper tigers which appear to be strong but are actually weak.

The experience gained by the revolutionary people of China and other countries in their protracted struggle against U.S. imperialism and its lackeys has proved that the revolutionary military strategy of people's war, created by Comrade Mao Tse-tung, is the only correct and victorious strategy for the oppressed people to defeat all enemies.

Comrade Mao Tse-tung's military strategic concept of people's war is built on the foundation of thoroughgoing historical materialism and dialectical materialism. It is a fundamental Marxist principle that the

people are the motive power in the creation of world history. Comrade Mao Tse-tung has creatively applied this theory to war, holding that weapons play an important but not the decisive role in war and that the basic factor that decides the outcome of war is man, not weapons. Revolutionary war is a war of the masses and only by mobilizing the masses and relying on them can the war be conducted and victory won.

Proceeding from this guiding thought, we consider that the best weapon is not such lethal weapons as aircraft, artillery, tanks or atom bombs, but Mao Tse-tung's thought; and that the greatest combat power is not the power of any new weapon but the awakened people armed with Mao Tse-tung's thought.

Proceeding from this guiding thought, we can despise any formidable enemy strategically and take full account of him tactically; we can most correctly assess the relative strength of the enemy and ourselves and make the most ingenious use of all the internal contradictions of the enemy; we can integrate the army with the people to the maximum extent, bring into fullest play the initiative of the masses of the people, strategically using one against ten and tactically pitting ten against one, flexibly avoiding the enemy where he is strong and attacking him where he is weak; we can concentrate superior forces to wipe out the enemy, slicing him up and nibbling him up bit by bit; we can bring into full play the wisdom of the soldiers and of the masses of the people, becoming more resourceful, experienced, wiser and stronger with each battle until the relative strength between the enemy and our-

selves is radically changed and the enemy is wiped out thoroughly, completely and totally.

This revolutionary military strategy, once grasped by the masses of the people and integrated with the masses, becomes an invincible strength which in the end will surely bury U.S. imperialism and all its lackeys and enable the oppressed peoples to win genuine liberation.

Contrary to the expectations of all the reactionaries, the emergence of nuclear weapons cannot save from bankruptcy the theory that weapons decide everything. The greater the imperialist threat of nuclear war, the more does revolutionary people's war shine forth brightly and show its superiority. The war against U.S. aggression now being victoriously waged by the Vietnamese people provides us with a new example of "the weak" defeating "the strong"; it is a potent living example showing that by relying on people's war, the people can defeat any anti-people's war launched by U.S. imperialism.

Just as Comrade Lin Piao has pointed out in "Long Live the Victory of People's War!": "People's war is the most effective weapon against U.S. imperialism and its lackeys. All revolutionary people will learn to wage people's war against U.S. imperialism and its lackeys. They will take up arms, learn to fight battles and become skilled in waging people's war though they have not done so before. U.S. imperialism like a mad bull dashing from place to place, will finally be burnt to ashes in the blazing fires of the people's wars it has provoked by its own actions."

# Rip Up the Paper Tigers and Create A New World

— Foreign friends warmly praise Chairman Mao's brilliant thesis  
that imperialism and all reactionaries are paper tigers

**A**LL reactionaries are paper tigers. In appearance, the reactionaries are terrifying, but in reality they are not so powerful. From a long-term point of view, it is not the reactionaries but the people who are really powerful."

— Mao Tse-tung, *Talk With the American Correspondent Anna Louise Strong*, August 1946

Veli Dedi, Secretary-General of the Albanian Veterans' Association, said: "This talk of Comrade Mao Tse-tung's and the brilliant thesis put forward by him that imperialism and all reactionaries are paper tigers

are an important and immortal contribution to the theory of Marxism-Leninism. It powerfully arms the international communist movement, the national-liberation movement and the people's revolutionary movement, and becomes a guiding thought of the Chinese people, the Asian, African and Latin American peoples and the peoples of Europe and North America in their struggle against imperialism, revisionism and the reactionaries of all countries and for complete liberation."

"Now, imperialism headed by the United States, modern revisionism, with the leadership of the Com-

munist Party of the Soviet Union as its centre, and the reactionaries of all countries are collaborating with each other, and are opposing and vainly attempting to isolate and encircle China and Albania. But it is they themselves who have become more and more isolated and encircled by the people of the world," he stressed. "This proves that U.S. imperialism and Soviet revisionism are also paper tigers."

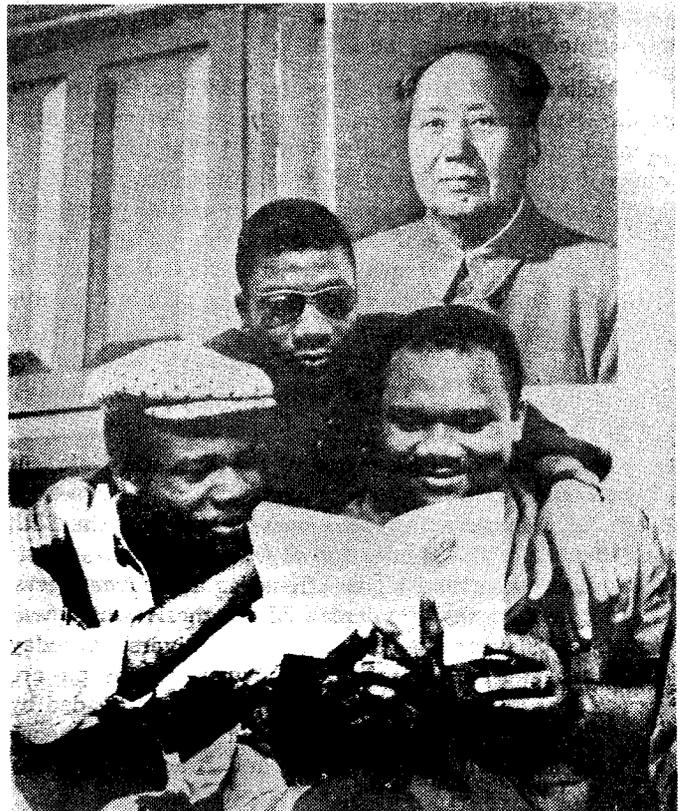
**General Sinkapo, Representative of the Supreme Command of the Laotian People's Liberation Army,** said: "Chairman Mao Tse-tung's brilliant thesis that imperialism and all reactionaries are paper tigers is not only a weapon with which the Chinese people have won victory but it is also a weapon with which the people of Laos and the whole world will seize victory." The general pointed out that the Laotian people had long accepted this brilliant thesis of Chairman Mao's. The road of struggle traversed by the Laotian people proved to the hilt that U.S. imperialism and the Laotian reactionaries, which appear powerful, are nothing to be afraid of.

**Yuichi Kobayashi, Chairman of the Japan Congress of Journalists,** said that Chairman Mao's famous statement "has greatly inspired the Japanese people and the Asian, African and Latin American peoples in their struggle against the U.S. imperialist occupation of Japan, against U.S. imperialist domination and oppression and for genuine independence." He added: "Chairman Mao's words point out to us the direction of historical progress and strengthen the confidence and spiritual force of the people of the world in defeating imperialism."

**Mairaj Mohammad Khan, President of the National Students Federation of Pakistan,** said that this thesis of Chairman Mao's expressed the essence and spirit of Marxism-Leninism and greatly inspired the youth and students of Pakistan. This thesis must be used to "guide all revolutionaries in their struggle for a new world," he said. He pointed out that those who oppose Chairman Mao's thesis are persons "who are opposed to the revolutionary struggle of the oppressed people, who would like to demoralize the fighting spirit of the people and who are in fact collaborating with imperialism, particularly U.S. imperialism. They are none other than the modern revisionists."

**U Aung Zay, Executive Member of the All-Burma Peace Committee,** said that Chairman Mao's famous and brilliant thesis that imperialism and all reactionaries are paper tigers has been proved correct by world events in the last 20 years. This thesis, he said, is correct now and will continue to be correct.

He said: "The Burmese people, together with the great Chinese people, the peoples in Asia, Africa and Latin America and the rest of the world, under the guidance of this thesis, will definitely triumph over all reactionaries, revisionism and imperialism led by the United States — all paper tigers with paper teeth." He



**Members of the No. 15 Branch of the National Revolutionary Movement of the Congo (E) studying Chairman Mao's works**

pointed out: "The [U.S.] paper tiger which was so badly battered by the Korean and Chinese peoples is now showing its teeth again in Vietnam. But the heroic and courageous Vietnamese people know very well that by waging a people's war, this U.S. paper tiger can be torn apart." He added: "In this talk, Chairman Mao said that 'the outcome of a war is decided by the people, not by one or two new types of weapon.' This is a very good idea and it has been proved by many events in the whole world."

**Yusuf Abdel Rahim, Director of the Damascus Office of the Palestine Liberation Organization,** said that Chairman Mao's thesis that imperialism and all reactionaries are paper tigers has greatly inspired the Palestinian people and given them the conviction that they can eliminate imperialism.

**Khalid Jundi, Chairman of the General Federation of Syrian Trade Unions,** said that Chairman Mao's thesis that imperialism and all reactionaries are paper tigers has greatly inspired the people of the world in their anti-imperialist struggle after World War II. Twenty years ago, while the Chinese people were carrying out their arduous struggle, Chairman Mao, with great wisdom, worked out this thesis which is absolutely correct. It has been proved correct by the practice of the Chinese revolution, and its correctness has also been proved by the Vietnamese people's struggle against U.S. imperialism, by the struggles of the peoples of the Congo (L), Algeria and of all other Asian and African

peoples. Chairman Mao is the greatest and the most far-sighted statesman, he said.

**Mohamed el Holani, Deputy Director-General of Radio Sanaa, the Yemen**, said that Chairman Mao pointed out that imperialism and all reactionaries are paper tigers. Every word of Chairman Mao's is truth and easily understood by the masses of the people. In the last 20 years and more after the publication of Chairman Mao's statement, the imperialists' sphere of influence has been shrinking while the people's revolutionary forces have been growing from strength to strength. This shows that imperialism is heading for its doom while the revolutionary forces are steadily advancing.

**The Executive Committee of the National Union of Artists and Writers of the Congo (B)** recently sent a letter to Chinese artists and writers greeting the 20th anniversary of the publication of Chairman Mao's thesis that imperialism and all reactionaries are paper tigers. The letter said that Chairman Mao's thesis which was advanced 20 years ago "still applies universally today to Latin America, Africa and Asia where the people are struggling against the schemes of imperialism headed by the United States." The letter said that "this theory remains and will remain living and practical for any historical period."

**Loumbouele Bouta, First General Secretary of the Lumumbist National Youth of the Congo (L)**, said: Chairman Mao is right when he said that imperialism and all reactionaries are paper tigers. We agree with his views. Because when the struggle in the Congo started the puppet forces under Mobutu equipped with up-to-date war materiel appeared very powerful, but when the patriots really stood up and fought against them we saw that the puppet forces became increasingly powerless. The victories of the revolutions in China, Cuba and Algeria . . . proved this. The revolution in the Congo (L) will certainly prove this too.

**Larbi, a veteran Algerian worker**, said, "U.S. imperialism looks terrifying with its aircraft, tanks and warships. But it is the Vietnamese people who are winning one victory after another and U.S. imperialism is suffering one defeat after another. All this shows that the people are most powerful once they have taken up arms and are mobilized. Imperialism and all reactionaries amount to nothing. The Vietnamese people will certainly win final victory as Algeria did, and it is U.S. imperialism which will suffer defeat."

**J. Mokone, Representative of the Pan-Africanist Congress of Azania (South Africa) in Algiers**, said that the people of Azania who are fighting for independence are admirers of Mao Tse-tung's thought and believe that according to Chairman Mao's thesis they will eventually succeed in crushing the reactionary, fascist Verwoerd regime and its allies headed by U.S. imperialism.

**Ibrahim Adam Farah, President of the Somali Agriculturists' Co-operatives and Community**, said that

Chairman Mao had taught us that the imperialists are paper tigers. "We shall listen to Chairman Mao's teachings and deal severe blows to the imperialists. Mao Tse-tung is the greatest leader the world has ever produced. We shall faithfully follow him and his teachings," he said.

**Elias Seman, Political Secretary of the Communist Vanguard of Argentina**, stated that when the Chinese comrades said that atomic bombs and U.S. imperialism are paper tigers they persisted in the Leninist stand affirming that the proletariat and the oppressed peoples can and must defeat imperialism.

**Colombian journalist Ricardo Samper** said that Mao Tse-tung published his article of genius 20 years ago in August 1946 when the United States hoped to see results from its criminal activities committed the previous year in Hiroshima and Nagasaki, that is, fanning up a reign of terror among the people and frustrating their militancy. Chairman Mao pointed out in his article that imperialism and all reactionaries are merely paper tigers and so are the atomic bombs with which the U.S. reactionaries use to threaten people.

This brilliant article of Mao Tse-tung's, he said, has enabled the Chinese people to be liberated for ever from the U.S. nuclear threat which has counter-revolution as its aim, and has guided the revolution to victory. It has also guaranteed the development of construction in New China, and progress in all fields including nuclear development.

**Esther Chapa, a prominent Mexican social activist**, said that Chairman Mao's thesis on paper tigers is an unparalleled ideological weapon. Once the Latin American peoples master this weapon, they will become fearless, advance steadily and wage a life-and-death struggle against U.S. imperialism until final victory.

**Chilean scientist Danilo Villarroel Silva** said: "I have the greatest trust in Chairman Mao. This is because he has developed Marxism-Leninism in the political, military and other fields and made outstanding contributions to the revolution of the world's people. . . . Chairman Mao's thesis that imperialism and all reactionaries are paper tigers is the most correct point of view both strategically and tactically. Revolutionary people the world over need such a man of genius, such a creative Marxist as Chairman Mao."

**Jacques Jurquet, Secretary of the Secretariat of the French Communist Movement (Marxist-Leninist)**, said: The Vietnamese people will triumph because they are waging a revolutionary people's war. After all, as Comrade Mao Tse-tung teaches and as the Vietnamese comrades headed by the esteemed Comrade Ho Chi Minh have victoriously demonstrated, it is people that are the decisive factor, it is people that will finally triumph over the seemingly powerful material force. "And it is in this sense that we should comprehend the famous phrase of Mao Tse-tung that imperialism and all reactionaries are paper tigers," he said.

# Chinese National Defence Ministry's Strongest Protest Against U.S. Imperialism's War Provocation

U.S. imperialist military planes in the early hours of the morning of August 29 flagrantly attacked small Chinese cargo ships sailing the normal shipping route in the Gulf of Bac Bo. They sank one of them and damaged another, killing nine Chinese seamen and wounding seven others. This is another blood debt owed to the Chinese people by U.S. imperialism. It is a grave incident, another open war provocation against China by U.S. imperialism while it is expanding its war of aggression in Vietnam. The Chinese people express their greatest indignation against this bloody criminal act by U.S. imperialism. A spokesman of the Ministry of National Defence has lodged the strongest protest against this!

At 1:30 hours on August 29, the Chinese small cargo vessels No. 1018 and No. 1019, flying the national flag of China, were sailing the normal shipping route in the western part of the Gulf of Bac Bo when U.S. military planes suddenly bombed and strafed them continually for as long as three hours. Investigations have now confirmed that the Chinese vessel No. 1018 was sunk and vessel No. 1019 was damaged. Nine Chinese seamen were killed and seven others wounded.

A spokesman of the Ministry of National Defence emphasized that this wanton bombing attack by the U.S. imperialists, which caused the sinking and damaging of the small cargo vessels, was by no means an isolated incident. It was another serious step in the frantic war provocations against China by U.S. imperialism. While U.S. imperialism was bombing Hanoi, capital of the Vietnam Democratic Republic, and further extending its bombing of north Vietnam, it has, in disregard of the repeated warnings of the Chinese Government and people, repeatedly menaced and carried out provocations against our fishing boats and merchant ships, bombing and strafing them and inflicting heavy loss of life and property on the Chinese people. Once again we seriously warn the U.S. aggressors: these blood debts will have to be repaid in blood. Armed with Mao Tse-tung's thought, the Chinese people will never let the U.S. imperialists perpetrate their criminal acts at will. We have told you in advance and we mean what we say. If the U.S. imperialists dare to impose war on us, we will ruthlessly break the backs of the U.S. aggressors and wipe them out resolutely, thoroughly, totally and completely.

On September 6, *Renmin Ribao* carried a commentary by its Commentator on this war provocation by U.S. imperialism.

The commentary said: "At the same time it is expanding its war of aggression in Vietnam, U.S. imperial-

ism is making frantic provocations against the Chinese people. This can only serve to strengthen the Chinese people's determination to aid Vietnam in resisting U.S. aggression. It is easier to shake mountains than to shake the determination of the Chinese people. Whatever else the U.S. imperialists are bent on doing and whatever plots they are up to, the Chinese people are determined to support the Vietnamese people resolutely in fighting to the end, until there is not a single U.S. soldier left on Vietnamese soil and until the Vietnamese people win complete victory and achieve national reunification.

"The Chinese people have long seen through the wild ambitions of the U.S. imperialist wolf. Since bombing Hanoi and Haiphong, the Johnson Administration has pretentiously claimed that U.S. 'objectives are limited' and the United States would not 'take any offensive action' against China. This is nothing but a smoke-

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## Recent Criminal Raids on Chinese Ships by U.S. Aggressors

U.S. imperialist military planes have, on many occasions over the recent period, raided Chinese merchant and fishing vessels and damaged China's sea transport and fishing undertakings on the high seas.

On July 30, two U.S. planes dived low over the Chinese merchant vessel *Nanghai No. 155* sailing the high seas in the northern part of the Gulf of Bac Bo. Later, seven more U.S. planes came over, circling and diving at the ship. These nine U.S. planes harassed the Chinese ship for two hours and five minutes. On August 6, a group of three U.S. planes dive-bombed 15 fishing boats from Haikang County, Kwangtung Province, which were fishing on the high seas west of Bach Long Vi Island. They dropped three bombs without hitting any of the ships. On August 12, when the Chinese merchant ship *Nanghai No. 174* was sailing the high seas south of Mong Cai, two U.S. planes circled the ship six times before they left.

The Chinese department concerned has made public a strong protest against the repeated raids on Chinese merchant and fishing vessels by the U.S. air pirates. It sternly warns the U.S. aggressors that the 700 million Chinese people are not to be bullied; the U.S. military planes must immediately stop these shameless provocations. Otherwise, the U.S. Government will be held responsible for all the grave consequences arising therefrom.

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bomb. What is the 'limit' when U.S. planes taking part in the aggressive war in Vietnam openly bomb and strafe Chinese cargo ships flying China's national flag! Isn't this a deliberate attack!— We must tell the U.S. aggressors in the clearest terms that the Chinese people have made every preparation and we are waiting in strict battle array. The communique of the Eleventh Plenary Session of the Eighth Central Committee of the

Chinese Communist Party solemnly declared: 'Should they dare to impose war on us, the 700 million Chinese people under the leadership of Comrade Mao Tse-tung and the Communist Party of China will certainly break the backs of the aggressors and wipe them out resolutely, thoroughly, totally and completely.'

"This blood debt owed by the U.S. aggressors to the Chinese people must be repaid!"

## Struggle by Reasoning, Not by Coercion or Force

COMRADE MAO TSE-TUNG has repeatedly told us that the great proletarian cultural revolution is a great revolution that touches the people to their very souls. He has also said that in carrying out this great revolution, the struggle should be conducted by reasoning and not by coercion or force.

By the "soul" of the people is meant their ideas, their ideology, the culture prevailing in a society, and the various customs and habits associated with the ideas and ideology of the people. All these are things in the minds of the people.

This being the case, the proletariat, in remoulding the world in its own image, must conduct its struggle by reasoning in order to solve these questions that exist in the minds of the people. This is also true for the struggle against those in authority who are taking the capitalist road and for the struggle against landlords, rich peasants, counter-revolutionaries, bad elements and Rightists.

Comrade Mao Tse-tung and the Party's Central Committee have advocated the fullest use of big-character posters and the carrying out of great debates for the purpose of arguing things out in the great cultural revolution. These make necessary the use of either pen or tongue.

When tongue or pen is used, the brain has to be used, and the masses must be allowed to display their initiative, their wisdom and talent.

The simple method of conducting the struggle by coercion or force can only touch the skin but not the soul. It cannot expose to the full before the masses the ugly features of ghosts and monsters and cannot clear out their reactionary poison.

Comrade Mao Tse-tung has said: "All erroneous ideas, all poisonous weeds, all ghosts and monsters, must be subjected to criticism." "However, the criticism should be fully reasoned, analytical and convincing." This means that it is necessary to use one's brains and carry on the struggle by reasoning.

It is extremely important that, in the course of the great proletarian cultural revolution, we should learn to conduct the struggle by reasoning and to use our brains.

Comrade Mao Tse-tung has always told the revolutionary people that they must be good at using their brains. He has pointed out: "We must encourage our comrades to think, to learn the method of analysis and

to cultivate the habit of analysis." This instruction of Comrade Mao Tse-tung's is of equally great importance for our present great proletarian cultural revolution.

We know that our enemies are never lenient with the people. When we advocate struggle by reasoning, it is not to pardon the enemies for their criminal activities, but in fact to hit the enemies of the people hard, pull them down and completely discredit them politically and ideologically, so that shorn of their prestige, they will never rise again.

Struggle by reasoning means a full exposure and searching criticism, bringing the reactionary words and deeds of all ghosts and monsters into the light of day, and using such negative examples as teaching materials for the education of the masses and the younger generation. Only in this way is it possible to bring about a great enhancement of the class consciousness of the broad masses, unite all those who can be united and isolate to the maximum the enemies of the proletariat and of the people. This method of struggle by reasoning is what the enemies of the proletariat and of the people fear most.

The great proletarian cultural revolution is an extremely sharp and complex class struggle. To win victory in this revolution, the vanguards of the proletariat must, in the course of the struggle, creatively study and apply Comrade Mao Tse-tung's works and the 16-point decision concerning the great cultural revolution and must learn how to carry on the class struggle under the dictatorship of the proletariat.

The enemies of the people will not step down from the stage of history of their own accord. We stand for struggle by reasoning, because we rely on the masses and trust the masses and believe that the method of struggling by reasoning is sufficient to conquer the enemy, since truth is with the proletariat. At the same time, the powerful state machine is in the hands of the proletariat, so we are not afraid that the enemies of the people will make trouble. Should they dare to resort to force, thus violating the criminal law under the dictatorship of the proletariat, stern punishment will be meted out in accordance with the law.

Struggle by reasoning instead of by coercion or force is an important policy of the Party in the great proletarian cultural revolution. We must persist in this policy, abide by it and implement it.

("Renmin Ribao" editorial, September 5.)

## What Are Sung Shih, Lu Ping and Peng Pei-yun Up To in the Cultural Revolution?\*

AT present, the people of the whole nation, in a soaring revolutionary spirit which manifests their boundless love for the Party and Chairman Mao and their inveterate hatred for the sinister anti-Party, anti-socialist gang, are making a vigorous and great cultural revolution; they are struggling to thoroughly smash the attacks of the reactionary sinister gang, in defence of the Party's Central Committee and Chairman Mao. But here in Beida [Peking University] the masses are being kept immobilized, the atmosphere is one of indifference and deadness, whereas the strong revolutionary desire of the vast number of the faculty members and students has been suppressed. What is the matter? What is the reason? Something fishy is going on. Let's take a look at what has happened very recently!

It took place after the publication on May 8 of the articles by Ho Ming and Kao Chu and the upsurge in the nationwide struggle to denounce the "Three-Family Village." On May 14, Lu Ping (President of Peking University and Secretary of its Party Committee) hastily transmitted the "directive" issued by Sung Shih (deputy head of the department in charge of university affairs under the Peking Municipal Party Committee) at an emergency meeting of the department. Sung Shih said that at present the movement "badly needs a strengthened leadership and the Party organizations in the colleges are required to strengthen the leadership and stand fast at the posts." "When the masses arise they need to be led onto the correct path." "This ideological struggle is a serious class struggle, and the anti-Party, anti-socialist remarks have to be completely repudiated theoretically. **Persist in reasoning**, use whatever method which proves to be adaptable to repudiating them, and provide good leadership in the study of documents, the holding of small group meetings, and the writing of small-character posters and critical essays. In short, this serious struggle must be conducted in a very careful and penetrating manner. Big meetings can in no way serve to completely discredit the anti-Party, anti-socialist remarks and theoretically repudiate them." "In case the angry masses demand that a big meeting be held, do not suppress them but guide them to hold small group meetings, study documents and write small-character posters."

\*This big-character poster appeared in Peking University on May 25. The Peking Municipal Party Committee referred to in it was later reorganized in accordance with a decision of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party. According to a decision of the new Peking Municipal Party Committee, the Peking University Party Committee was also reorganized and Lu Ping and Peng Pei-yun were dismissed from all their posts. (See *Peking Review*, No. 24, June 10, 1966.)—Ed.

Lu Ping and Peng Pei-yun (a cadre in the department in charge of university affairs under the Peking Municipal Party Committee and Deputy Secretary of the Peking University Party Committee) conducted the movement in Beida entirely in the same vein. They said: "The situation in the cultural revolution in our university is excellent," "more than 100 articles had been written before May 8, the movement is healthy . . . as the movement deepens, active guidance must be given." "Right now, leadership is urgently needed to guide the movement towards a correct orientation in its development." "Only by energetically strengthening the leadership can [the movement] be led to its normal development." "It is not suitable for Beida to stick up big-character posters." "Big-character posters must not be encouraged; if the masses want to post them, actively guide them away," and so forth. Is this the line for the cultural revolution laid down by the Party's Central Committee and Chairman Mao? No, absolutely not! It is an out-and-out revisionist line that runs counter to the Party's Central Committee and to Mao Tse-tung's thought.

"This is an ideological struggle." "The anti-Party, anti-socialist remarks have to be completely repudiated theoretically." "Persist in reasoning." This struggle "must be conducted in a very careful manner." What does all this mean? Can it be considered a theoretical problem? Is it all just remarks? **Whither do you want to "guide" the life-and-death political struggle we are waging to counter-attack the sinister anti-Party, anti-socialist gang? Isn't it one of the main tactics of Teng To and his instigators in resisting the cultural revolution to divert this serious political struggle to "purely academic" discussions? Why are you still doing things this way up to this moment? What kind of people are you actually?**

"The masses, when they arise, need to be led onto the correct path." "Guide the movement towards a correct orientation in its development." "Only by energetically assuming the leadership can [the movement] be led to its normal development." What is meant by "correct path"? What is meant by "correct orientation"? What is meant by "normal development"? You have "guided" the great political class struggle into a "purely theoretical" and "purely academic" trap. Not long ago, was it not you who personally "guided" the comrades of the law faculty to consult 1,500 volumes of books and material running to 14 million characters to study the question concerning the "reversal of wrong verdicts" by Hai Jui? Was it not you who have given great publicity to this as "correct orientation and the right method," asking everybody to learn from this

"good experience"? In actual fact, this is "good experience" which has all been created by you and Teng To and his sinister gang; and this is also the very essence of your talk that "the movement is healthy." The Party's Central Committee and Chairman Mao have long since shown us the correct path for the cultural revolution and its correct orientation. You say nothing about them and work out your own so-called "correct path" and "correct orientation" in the hope of drawing the revolutionary mass movement into your revisionist orbit. Frankly speaking, this is a vain hope!

"Big meetings can in no way serve to theoretically repudiate them." "It is not suitable for Beida to stick up big-character posters," we "must guide them to hold small group meetings and write small-character posters." Why are you so afraid of big-character posters and the holding of big denunciation meetings? To counter-attack the sinister gang which has frantically attacked the Party, socialism and Mao Tse-tung's thought is a life-and-death class struggle. The revolutionary people must be fully aroused to vigorously and angrily denounce them, and to hold big meetings and put up big-character posters is one of the best ways for the masses to do battle. By "guiding" the masses not to hold big meetings, not to put up big-character posters and by creating all kinds of taboos, aren't you suppressing the masses' revolution, not allowing them to make revolution and opposing their revolution? We will never permit you to do this!

You shout about having to "strengthen the leadership and stand fast at the posts." This only exposes who you really are. At a time when the revolutionary masses are vigorously rising up, in response

to the call of the Party's Central Committee and Chairman Mao, to firmly counter-attack the anti-Party, anti-socialist sinister gang, you shout: "strengthen the leadership and stand fast at the posts." Isn't it clear what "posts" you want to hold fast, and for whom, and what kind of people you are and what despicable tricks you are up to? Right up to today you are still desperately resisting. You still want to "stand fast" at your "posts" so as to sabotage the cultural revolution. We must tell you, a mantis cannot stop the wheel of a cart and mayflies cannot topple a giant tree. You are simply day-dreaming!

All revolutionary intellectuals, now is the time to go into battle! Let us unite, holding high the great red banner of Mao Tse-tung's thought, unite round the Party's Central Committee and Chairman Mao and break down all the various controls and plots of the revisionists; resolutely, thoroughly, totally and completely wipe out all ghosts and monsters and all Khrushchovian-type counter-revolutionary revisionists, and carry the socialist revolution through to the end.

Defend the Party's Central Committee!

Defend Mao Tse-tung's thought!

Defend the dictatorship of the proletariat!

Peking University, Department of Philosophy

Nieh Yuan-tzu, Sung I-hsiu, Hsia Chien-chih, Yang Ke-ming, Chao Cheng-yi, Kao Yun-peng, Li Hsing-chen

May 25, 1966

(Originally published in "Renmin Ribao,"

June 2, 1966.)

## Long Live the Revolutionary Rebel Spirit Of the Proletariat

**R**EVOLUTION is rebellion, and rebellion is the soul of Mao Tse-tung's thought. We hold that tremendous attention must be paid to the word "application," that is, mainly to the word "rebellion." Daring to think, to speak, to act, to break through, and to make revolution, in a word, daring to rebel, is the most fundamental and most precious quality of proletarian revolutionaries. This is the fundamental principle of the proletarian Party spirit! Not to rebel is revisionism, pure and simple!

Revisionism has been in control of the school for 17 years. If we do not rise up in rebellion today, when are we going to?

Some bold people who were against rebellion have, today, suddenly turned coy and shy, humming and hawing incessantly about us being too one-sided, too high and mighty, too rude, and going too far.

All this is rank nonsense! If you are against us, then say so. Why be bashful about it?

Since we want rebellion, the matter has been taken out of your hands! We are going to make the air thick with the pungent smell of explosives. Toss them over, grenades and stick bombs together, and start a big fight. "Sympathy," "all-sidedness," out of the way!

You say we are too one-sided? What then is your all-sidedness? Your all-sidedness looks like "two combining into one," eclecticism.

You say we are too high and mighty? We are "high and mighty." Chairman Mao has said: "And those in high positions we counted no more than dust." We are going to strike down not only the reactionaries in our school, but the reactionaries of the whole world too. Revolutionaries consider the transformation of the world is their task. How can we not be "high and mighty"?

You say we are too rude? We should be rude. How can we be soft and clinging towards revisionism

or go in for moderation in a big way? To be moderate towards the enemy is to be cruel to the revolution!

You say we are going too far? To put it bluntly, your "avoid going too far" is reformism; it is "peaceful transition." You are day-dreaming! We are going to strike you down to the dust and keep you there!

And there are some who are scared to death of revolution, scared to death of rebellion. Sticklers for convention, obsequious, curled up inside your revisionist shells, as soon as there is a whiff of rebellion in the air, you get nervous and afraid. Recently, heartless censures have every day been poured into your ears and, daily, your hearts beat with fear. Don't you feel it insufferable? Hasn't life become unbearable?

Revolutionaries are Monkey Kings, their golden rods are powerful, their supernatural powers far-reach-

ing and their magic omnipotent, for they possess Mao Tse-tung's great invincible thought. We wield our golden rods, display our supernatural powers and use our magic to turn the old world upside down, smash it to pieces, pulverize it, create chaos and make a tremendous mess, the bigger the better! We must do this to the present revisionist middle school attached to the Tsinghua University, make rebellion in a big way, rebel to the end! We are bent on creating a tremendous proletarian uproar, and hewing out a proletarian new world!

Long live the revolutionary rebel spirit of the proletariat!

Red Guards

Middle School Attached to  
Tsinghua University

June 24, 1966.

## Hail a Big-Character Poster at Peking University

by "RENMIN RIBAO" COMMENTATOR

**T**HE big-character poster put up by Nieh Yuan-tzu and other comrades (see p. 19) has unveiled a big conspiracy by members of the "Three-Family Village" sinister gang!

Although Teng To, manager of the "Three-Family Village" sinister inn, has been unmasked, this anti-Party clique is not resigned to defeat. With their backs to the wall, they are stubbornly resisting, or to quote Sung Shih, a member of the "Three-Family Village" anti-Party clique, they are "strengthening the leadership and standing fast at the posts."

What "posts" are they "standing fast" at? They are "standing fast" at the bastions of reaction in which they have entrenched themselves over the years. What sort of "leadership" are they strengthening? They are directing their henchmen to make a last stand and to do their utmost to preserve their anti-Party and anti-socialist positions.

Sung Shih's call for "strengthening the leadership" and "standing fast at the posts" is a signal. It is an indication of the activities of all ghosts and monsters in this all-powerful great proletarian cultural revolution. They won't yield an inch, they will fight for every inch and will not go down unless they are knocked down.

The "Three-Family Village" sinister gang is using every cunning trick. Some time ago, they resorted to the tactics of "sacrificing knights to save the queen." Now that the "queen" is down and out, they are trying

to preserve as many knights as possible. They are vainly trying to conserve their strength and strike again when an opportunity presents itself.

Peking University, which has been under the thumb of Lu Ping and Peng Pei-yun and others over the years, is a key point of the "Three-Family Village" sinister gang, a stubborn bastion used by them to oppose the Party and socialism. Even as late as May 14, Lu Ping did not hesitate to relay a so-called urgent directive from Sung Shih, deputy head of the department in charge of university affairs under the Peking Municipal Party Committee. (See footnote on p. 19) In a great hurry and amid confusion he mapped out a plan of action to deceive, dupe and suppress the masses of young students, revolutionary cadres and revolutionary teachers. He forbade them to answer the call of Chairman Mao and the Central Committee of the Party to rise up and make revolution. Peng Pei-yun is someone shrouded in mystery, running clandestine errands up and down the line, pulling strings and making contacts. In this matter she has taken her activities underground, making trips between the Ming Tombs, where the History Department of Peking University has its premises, and Sung Shih and Lu Ping, offering ideas, hatching plots and stealthily running the show.

All this indicates that the branches of the sinister inn of "Three-Family Village," the "knights" of the "Three-Family Village" sinister gang, are putting up stubborn resistance in a guided, organized and planned way.

Using his post of Peking University's "Party committee secretary," (see footnote on p. 19) and in the name of the "organization," Lu Ping threatened and intimidated the students and cadres who had risen up to make revolution, declaring that disobedience of their direction meant violation of discipline and opposing the Party. These are the well-worn tactics of the anti-Party elements of the "Three-Family Village" sinister gang. Let these questions be put to Lu Ping: just what kind of a party do you mean when you say the Party? What sort of organization do you mean? What kind of discipline do you mean? The facts compel us to give the following answers: the "party" you talk about is not a genuine Communist Party but a sham Communist Party, a revisionist "party." The "organization" you talk about is an anti-Party clique. The discipline you talk about is a merciless cracking down on proletarian revolutionaries.

What Lu Ping and company have been up to can fool no one.

In so far as proletarian revolutionaries are concerned, it is the discipline of the Chinese Communist Party that we obey and it is the correct leadership of the Party's Central Committee with Chairman Mao at the head that we accept without reserve. All erroneous leadership that endangers the revolution should not be accepted without qualification: it should be firmly resisted. Mao Tse-tung's thought is the supreme guide for all our work. We must firmly adhere to Chairman Mao's teachings on classes and class struggle in socialist society and his instructions on carrying out the great proletarian cultural revolution in the ideological sphere to foster proletarian ideas and liquidate bourgeois ideas. The people of the whole country will rise up, oppose and knock down all those who oppose Chairman Mao, who oppose Mao Tse-tung's

thought, who oppose the directives of Chairman Mao and the Party's Central Committee, no matter what banner they hoist and how highly they may be placed and how great their seniority may be, for in point of fact they represent the interests of the overthrown exploiting classes. The whole nation will smash their sinister gang, sinister organization and sinister discipline to pieces.

The waves of the great proletarian cultural revolution, which has no parallel in human history, are pounding and battering their way forward; those clowns who vainly try to stop them cannot escape being drowned in the process.

Led by the Party's Central Committee and Chairman Mao, the workers, peasants and soldiers and the cultural warriors of the proletariat, with the power of an avalanche, are storming and taking one cultural position after another from the hands of counter-revolution and crushing the counter-revolutionary cultural citadels. The "Three-Family Village," the "Four-Family Village" and what not are nothing but paper tigers. Their "queen" cannot be saved, nor can their "knights."

The proletarian revolutionaries at Peking University will certainly raise still higher the great red banner of Mao Tse-tung's thought and still more effectively unite the masses for carrying on the struggle. Those who for the time being have not been able to see clearly are certain to enhance their awakening quickly and join the fighting ranks. The revolutionary struggle of the great mass of teachers and students at Peking University opposing the representatives of the bourgeoisie are certain to emerge victorious. A new, flourishing and genuinely socialist Peking University is certain to emerge very soon in the people's capital.

("Renmin Ribao," June 2.)

## Examples of How the Masses Creatively Study And Apply Mao Tse-tung's Thought

Following are two good articles on the creative study and application of Mao Tse-tung's thought. "Armed with Mao Tse-tung's Thought" was written in 1960 and "Philosophy in Selling Watermelons in a Big City," in 1965. Certain "authorities" attacked them as examples of "philistinism" and "pragmatism."

Representing the bourgeoisie, these reactionary "authorities" with a lordly air vilified and cursed the creative study and application of Chairman Mao's works by the workers, peasants and soldiers as "oversimplification," "philistinism" and "pragmatism." They

were in fact against Mao Tse-tung's thought, against imbuing the broad masses of workers, peasants and soldiers with Mao Tse-tung's thought, against the integration of the universal truth of Marxism-Leninism with the concrete practice of the Chinese revolution and construction. They did this with the aim of spreading their revisionist trash in order to prepare public opinion for a capitalist come-back.

"Jiefangjun Bao" and "Guangming Ribao" republished these two essays in mid-May this year and they were subsequently reprinted by the press throughout

the country. The broad masses of workers, peasants and soldiers, revolutionary students, revolutionary cadres and revolutionary intellectuals highly appraise these two essays and, one and all have strongly condemned those reactionary bourgeois "authorities" for

their anti-Party nonsense and exposed their criminal designs.

We here present these two essays to our readers.

— P.R. Ed.

## Armed With Mao Tse-tung's Thought

by CHUANG CHIA-FU

Table Tennis Coach

WHEN a person's thinking does not keep pace with the great all-round developments of our country's life, he is bound to do poor work. My ideological level was low, and I could not understand clearly the development and transformation of things. Because I acted entirely according to my subjective judgment, I met with setbacks and made mistakes. But after I began a serious study of theoretical writings, my work improved.

At first, with no habit of study, I found it difficult to persevere. To overcome this, I found it necessary to develop subjective initiative and make every minute count. I always carried some of Chairman Mao's writings with me and read a passage before and after meals or meetings, and the last thing at night. This proved a good method.

By linking my work and thinking with my studies and comparing my standpoint, viewpoint, and methods of thinking and of work with those expressed in the writings of Chairman Mao, I was able to raise my ideological understanding and improve my work.

Before going to the 25th World Table Tennis Championships [in Dortmund] in 1959, we made a study of Chairman Mao's "Problems of Strategy in China's Revolutionary War." This broadened my outlook and raised my ability to apply the law of dialectics to analysis. Formerly when we played in matches against foreigners, we saw their many strong points but very few weak ones. As regards ourselves, we were well aware of our weaknesses but overlooked our strong points. We were, therefore, unable to make a balanced analysis or estimate, or to size up a situation correctly. As a result we lacked confidence and easily became nervous. Because I looked at things in a mechanical, idealistic and absolute way, I was awed by such players as Berczik and Sido of Hungary and Stipek of Czechoslovakia. I saw in them formidable and hard-to-handle opponents.

After I began to study seriously, my thinking changed. I saw and believed that we could counter their spins, chop returns to the corners and counter-attacks with our fast and powerful pen-holder grip attacks and varied serves. When we tried this, we won. Our understanding and confidence grew and our awe disappeared.

By studying Chairman Mao's teachings for military commanders I came to realize that an athlete or coach, too, must possess both wisdom and courage, both revolu-

tionary drive and a clear head with which to analyse concrete situations. In competitions he must first size up his opponent and then decide on his tactics. To fight wildly is useless. For example, if long drives are ineffective, short ones should be used; if hard smashes fail, the player should change to soft returns. He should use varied tactics, such as an attack mounted with a chop, a drive, a smash after service, and attacks to the sides and centre.

Jung Kuo-tuan's capture of the men's singles title at the 25th World Table Tennis Championships was inseparable from his application of Chairman Mao's thinking of combining courage with wisdom. In one 3:2 victory, Jung began by trailing one game to two, and in the fourth game he was behind 5:10. It looked as though he was about to be eliminated. We made a ringside analysis and realized that Jung's flurry of fierce smashes were either being chopped back from a watertight defence far from the table or being killed by himself on the net. When Jung switched to a steadier attack, varying long drives with short smashes, his opponent was forced to run up and down to the table, dropping point after point to finally lose the match.

The importance of correct thinking became even clearer in the fight for the world singles title between Jung and Sido. In previous matches, the two players had each beaten the other. As Chairman Mao says in "On Contradiction": "In battle, one army is victorious and the other is defeated; both the victory and the defeat are determined by internal causes" and "In war, offence and defence, advance and retreat, victory and defeat are all mutually contradictory phenomena." This is correct. A sports competition is a contradiction in motion. It's the same in table tennis. You try to attack and your opponent returns the ball in a way most difficult for you to counter-attack. To constantly recognize the contradiction and solve it is what leads to victory. And from this comes determination, fearlessness, and the will to press on to the end. Because Jung Kuo-tuan understood this, in his match with Sido he had the wisdom and courage to seek out the main contradiction and to adopt suitable methods to solve it. He won the match.

Though I learnt something while giving guidance and instruction in international competitions, there were still plenty of shortcomings in my work. Back in China, I again studied "Problems of Strategy in

China's Revolutionary War." I was particularly struck by the passage: "Provided he is modest and willing to learn, an experienced military man will be able to familiarize himself with the character of his own forces (commanders, men, arms, supplies, etc., and their sum total), with the character of the enemy forces (likewise, commanders, men, arms, supplies, etc., and their sum total) and with all other conditions related to the war, such as politics, economics, geography and weather; such a military man will have a better grasp in directing a war or an operation and will be more likely to win victories. He will achieve this because, over a long period of time, he has come to know the situation on the enemy side and his own, discovered the laws of action, and resolved the contradictions between the subjective and the objective."

Following this, I paid more attention to the changing state of mind of players before giving advice during competitions. I learnt to make the best use of combat opportunities in a match. I tried to apply the spirit of this teaching of Chairman Mao's to actual table tennis competition. For instance, I tried to see the reason for each changing situation in a competition. While I lost no time in communicating these to the players, I was careful in my approach, stressing a player's strong points in order to encourage his fighting will. In day-to-day associations, I tried to get a thorough knowledge of each player's temperament, noting any undesirable emotions such as fear and lack of determination, and the specific circumstances under which they appeared. Before each competition I went over the guiding tactical thinking with them.

During the Chinese Table Tennis B Team's visit to Hungary [1958], Li Fu-jung played the Yugoslav veteran, Vilim Harangozo, in a hard-fought match. Ranking ninth in the listing of the world's best players this year [1960], Harangozo's chops carried a powerful

spin and he varied his returns with or without spins, combining them with sudden counter-attacks. Li Fu-jung happened to be rather weak at smashing heavily-spinning balls. I didn't mention to Li what a strong player Harangozo was before the match because he would have taken it as a lack of confidence and it would have affected his morale. There was a hard fight right up to the final and fifth game. Li was trailing 20:21. I was not a little nervous because Li had to lose only one more point to be eliminated. I noticed that Harangozo was keeping a close watch on Li's attack to the left. I was on the point of shouting, "Li, don't attack on his left!" but I knew that any excited shout would shake his confidence. Instead I said, "Your opponent is afraid of your attack to the left and is ready with a tight defence. Attack his right and serve from the right corner." Li returned to the table with renewed confidence and followed each of his serves with quick smashes to take the match 23:21. During its tour of Europe, the Chinese B Team stressed the need to learn from playing in contests. They gathered a wealth of experience and were able to work out some effective ways to deal with European players.

From my studies during this period I obtained a deep understanding of the fact that correct theories are good for all time and can be successfully applied to every kind of work and in any circumstances. Chairman Mao's "Problems of Strategy in China's Revolutionary War" was written in 1936, but because its universal truth is materialist and dialectical, it can be applied successfully today in guiding table tennis competitions. The tremendous guiding role of Mao Tse-tung's thought in our work fully proves the great importance and need for a revolutionary to study his works. I am determined hereafter to study more, and to work harder to arm myself with Chairman Mao's thought and to draw inexhaustible strength from it.

## Philosophy in Selling Watermelons in a Big City

by CHOU HSIN-LI

*Manager of the Chapei District Company of the  
Shanghai Municipal Fruit and Foodstuffs Company*

**CHAIRMAN MAO says: The interdependence of the contradictory aspects present in all things and the struggle between these aspects determine the life of all things and push their development forward. There is nothing that does not contain contradiction; without contradiction nothing would exist.**

In carrying out socialist construction and socialist revolution, we must constantly expose and recognize the contradictions in our work, correctly handle and resolve them, and make them develop in a way that will benefit the socialist revolution. This is the duty

of a revolutionary cadre. It is a problem of revolutionizing one's work and a matter of one's attitude to the revolution. In 1963 our Chapei District Company of the Shanghai Municipal Fruit and Foodstuffs Company improved its work in selling watermelons and cut down spoilage as compared with previous years. But compared with other district companies, both our losses from wastage and our expenses remained too high.

Because of the correct policy laid down by the Party, our peasant brothers in the communes in 1964 showed still greater enthusiasm in their work, further

expanded their production, and got a bigger crop of watermelons. Before the harvesting season the municipal company sent us to visit the communes, where we saw the vines growing luxuriantly. They promised a big harvest. We estimated that the quantity to be sold would be at least 50 per cent greater than in 1963.

Faced with such a large increase in the number of watermelons for the market, could we substantially reduce both wastage and expenses? This was a major problem facing our company.

Although we had studied Chairman Mao's "On Contradiction" before, our understanding of it was rather superficial. So we decided to study it again, this time from the standpoint of our problem of how to sell watermelons. We finally realized that if we were to do our work well, we must recognize the contradictions in it, lay them bare, and resolve them. Again, because melons do not keep well and there were so many of them, we turned to the workers to find the contradictions in selling. After investigation and study we concluded that the main ones were: the contradiction between over-supply and smaller demand which was shown in the relatively few retail outlets and lack of sales personnel to cope with the flood of melons during the peak season; and the contradiction between the great quantity of melons and inadequate transport and storage facilities. In addition, there were quite a number of problems in management and work methods.

### **To Let Mao Tse-tung's Thought Take Command and Correctly Handle Different Contradictions Is a Matter Of Revolutionary Practice**

The study of "On Contradiction" helped us to recognize by investigation the contradictions in selling. But recognition does not mean solution. First of all, in order to solve the contradiction between the large numbers of melons and easy spoilage, all comrades of the company must have the confidence that it could be solved. While most of our comrades had this confidence, a few felt the problem was too difficult. One said, "Wouldn't it be better for us to accept fewer?" Another remarked, "The watermelons spoil easily and don't keep for long, yet we must handle a much bigger number. We'll be lucky if we don't lose money or lose little money." This showed us that only by resolving the contradiction between fear of difficulties and confidence could we do a good job. As the study of Chairman Mao's writings had helped us to find the contradictions in selling, we again looked in his writings for help in solving the contradictions in our thinking. We studied "Serve the People" and "The Foolish Old Man Who Removed the Mountains."

In "Serve the People," Chairman Mao says: "These battalions of ours are wholly dedicated to the liberation of the people and work entirely in the people's interests." This tells us that although there is division of labour in revolutionary work, one must wholeheartedly serve the people no matter what one does.

Selling watermelons is also part of the revolutionary work. To do a good job, to satisfy the consumers as well as the producers, we must adopt without reservation the attitude of serving the people and working in their interests. A study of the situation made us see that although there was going to be a bigger supply, there would be more potential buyers because the weather was forecast to be hot. Further, if we did not actively expand sales and supply the public with good melons, we would fail in supporting production and cause a loss to the state as well. How could this be serving the people? To serve the people is not something abstract, it must be shown in what we do. Since our brothers in the countryside had worked so hard to grow more melons for the city people to enjoy, we workers in the trade department must do our best to get them all to the consumers. For us, therefore, the immediate task in serving the people was to make a success of selling watermelons. We must think of supporting the producers, guaranteeing the quality of the produce and satisfying the consumers.

In "The Foolish Old Man Who Removed the Mountains." Chairman Mao says that the two big mountains — imperialism and feudalism — lay like a dead weight on the Chinese people and that "The Chinese Communist Party has long made up its mind to dig them up. We must persevere and work unceasingly. . . ." Indeed, under the leadership of the Central Committee of the Party and Chairman Mao, the Chinese people had risen and together dug up these two big mountains. The Chinese revolution had been victorious. This fully demonstrated that as long as we have confidence and are not afraid of sacrifices, we will conquer difficulties no matter how great. We saw that we must conquer our difficulties in selling watermelons through unwavering determination and untiring efforts. Like the Foolish Old Man in the ancient fable who was determined to dig up the two big mountains standing in front of his home, we too had to be determined to remove the "big mountain" of spoilage.

From Chairman Mao's writings we drew the strength to deal with the contradictions in our thinking and solve them. But in our work there still was the contradiction between our big task and our weak forces. What was the answer to this? Again, we have to find it in Chairman Mao's works. In "Concentrate a Superior Force to Destroy the Enemy Forces One by One," Chairman Mao says: "With regard to the disposition for a campaign, when the enemy employs many brigades (or regiments) and advances against our army from several directions, our army must concentrate an absolutely superior force — six, five, four or at least three times the enemy strength — and pick an opportune moment to encircle and wipe out one enemy brigade (or regiment) first."

Here Chairman Mao is telling us that we can wipe out the enemy and be victorious only when we concentrate an absolutely superior force against the enemy. Can this concept which deals with military tactics be

applied to such an ordinary task as selling watermelons? Facts show that it can be.

Our company's retail shops sell fresh and dried fruits, delicacies from the north and south, cigarettes, wines, cakes and pastries. We would not be able to "wipe out" the "enemy"—high wastage, if we distributed our sales forces evenly among the different lines. To win the battle of "selling watermelons," we must follow Chairman Mao's teachings and concentrate a superior force for it. What we did was to reorganize our sales force, cutting down the staff and space for other goods and allocating more for the selling of watermelons.

In our district's Kuangchao area which is away from the city's main shopping centres, the seven food shops were staffed altogether with some 40 people, only a small number being young and strong, and many of whom being women. To dispose of more than 100 tons of watermelons, the shops, besides their ordinary counter service, assigned staff members to transport and sell watermelons. Again, the Liankang Food Shop does not usually sell fresh fruit but on this occasion it undertook to make a definite volume of sales. In the peak period most of its staff were handling the fruit. To sell 300 tons, the North Station Shop organized 24 people into seven teams. Three did the storing, handling and checking on quality and supplies; four attended to customers, who ate the melons in the shop or bought them whole or in slices to take away, or ran mobile stands at factories. Only two assistants were left to take care of the other counters. These greatly concentrated forces provided favourable conditions for selling the watermelons.

### **Grasp the Principal Contradiction and Resolutely Solve It in Order to Push the Work Forward**

Chairman Mao says, "At certain times in the revolutionary struggle, the difficulties outweigh the favourable conditions and so constitute the principal aspect of the contradiction and the favourable conditions constitute the secondary aspect. But through their efforts the revolutionaries can overcome the difficulties step by step and open up a favourable new situation; thus a difficult situation yields place to a favourable one."

From this we understood that while at the beginning the difficulties were the principal aspect of the contradiction, as long as we did everything we could to create favourable conditions, adopting effective measures to solve the contradiction, the difficult situation could be transformed into a favourable one. In the latter days of July last year, a typhoon hit before several hundred tons of watermelons could be removed from the holds of boats which had brought them. They would soon go bad in the hot summer weather. The only thought in our heads was to serve the people. Everybody went out in the pouring rain, working through the night to take the melons from the riverfront to the shops. To increase sales, we got all those food shops which usually did not handle fresh fruit to sell melons and organize factory and street sales, thus expanding the retail outlets from 29 to 118. To solve

the problem of not enough salespeople, the staff took their days off either before or after the peak period, so that when the rush came we had 10 per cent more people than usual. At this time we put most of the sales force on transporting and selling melons, which meant there were more than 300 people instead of the usual 100 and more working on fresh fruit.

According to our 1963 experience, peak supply had lasted from July 25 to early August and averaged from 250 to 400 tons a day in that year. In anticipation of greatly increased supplies, therefore, we sold shipments as fast as they came and kept nothing in stock so that our shops and storehouses were empty when the real rush came. We then selected a good reserve supply for "Autumn Begins," the day Shanghai residents habitually eat watermelons in great quantities and which falls around August 7 or 8. We took great care of this reserve stock, turning it over and restacking it frequently to cut down wastage. We also had help from other companies and were able to borrow storage space for 450 tons.

We had found that one of the reasons for high spoilage in 1963 was the bruising that occurred when the melons were carried in big trucks. So we inspected and repaired all the company's cars and used the retail shops' own small trucks and pedicabs as much as possible. We were able to carry 87 per cent of the watermelons in them, cutting down both expenses and spoilage.

The leading cadres also improved their work style. We reduced the number of regular office meetings but every night after ten o'clock we met to review the supply and sales situation and make arrangements for the next day, taking into account likely weather changes and points raised by the staff. On the eve of "Autumn Begins," we organized shock forces to rush all the 100 tons of melons arriving at the wharves and the entire reserve supply to the retail shops, thus making sure that most of them were well supplied on the big day.

All these measures created conditions for transforming a difficult situation into a favourable one. Thus in 1964 we sold 79 per cent more watermelons than in 1963, cut the expense rate from 15.8 to 10.65 per cent, reduced spoilage from 4.5 to 1.72 per cent, and increased gross income rate from 17.4 to 23.76 per cent. We earned altogether from melons that year 19,000 yuan as a contribution to capital accumulation for socialist construction.

In selling watermelons we discovered the contradictions in our work and the solutions to them through studying Chairman Mao's "On Contradiction" and were thus able to transform spiritual forces into material ones.

All this has given me a deep understanding that as a revolutionary cadre I must study Chairman Mao's writings seriously, that I should study them with a problem in mind, and look in them for the strength to find the solution. For these writings are powerful ideological weapons with which to transform both the subjective and objective world.

# Giving Prominence to Politics Is Fundamental To Making Our Cultural Team Function Well

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*Following is an abridged translation of an article by the sea-borne cultural team under the Canton Command of the Chinese People's Liberation Army published in "Jiefangjun Bao" (Liberation Army Daily) on May 23 with the accompanying editor's note. — Ed.*

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Twenty-four years ago today, Chairman Mao delivered his *Talks at the Yen-an Forum on Literature and Art* (see *Peking Review*, No. 28). This great work and *On New Democracy*, *On the Correct Handling of Contradictions Among the People* and *Speech at the Chinese Communist Party's National Conference on Propaganda Work* are the most complete, comprehensive and systematic historical summaries of the struggle between the two lines on the cultural front. They are the most recent summaries of the historical experience of the movements for revolutionary ideology and literature and art in China and other countries. They represent a new development of the Marxist-Leninist world outlook and theory on literature and art, as well as the supreme directive for our work in literature and art.

The literary and art work of our People's Liberation Army, under the leadership and attention of the Communist Party's Central Committee and Chairman Mao, has a glorious tradition. Especially since Comrade Lin Piao took charge of the work of the Military Commission of the Party's Central Committee, great attention has been paid to carrying out Chairman Mao's policy on literature and art and many important directives have been given for our literary and art work.

The "Resolution Concerning the Strengthening of Political and Ideological Work in the Armed Forces" adopted at the Enlarged Session of the Military Commission of the Party's Central Committee in 1960, further defined that the literary and art work of our armed forces "should be closely linked with the tasks and the ideological state of the armed forces, serve the purposes of developing proletarian ideology and eliminating bourgeois ideology and of consolidating and enhancing combat strength."

During the past two years, the People's Liberation Army, following Chairman Mao's teachings and the instructions of the Military Commission of the Party's Central Committee and Comrade Lin Piao, has given prominence to politics and persisted in the "four firsts."\* As a result, an excellent situation has emerged in the literary and art work of our armed forces.

A majority of the literary and art workers, creatively studying and applying Chairman Mao's writings, have gone to live and work in company units, villages and factories and to take an active part in the socialist education movement. Developing the fine tradition of the old Red Army, they have organized many cultural teams which are touring the frontiers and off-shore islands to serve basic level army units and workers, peasants and soldiers.

In the course of actual revolutionary struggle, they have identified themselves with the workers, peasants and soldiers, remoulded their ideology, tempered their style of work and brought into play the militant role of literature and art in serving proletarian politics, thus making them powerful weapons in the political work of the armed forces.

In this respect, the sea-borne cultural team of the P.L.A. units under the Canton Command is one of the outstanding literary and art units of the People's Liberation Army.

The article entitled "Giving Prominence to Politics Is Fundamental to Making Our Cultural Team Function Well" carried in our paper today, is a summing up of the experience of this team in working in literature and art along the line pointed out by Chairman Mao and in struggling against all sorts of bourgeois ideas over the past year.

Their experience is new proof that, so long as we hold high the great red banner of Mao Tse-tung's thought, persist in the direction of serving the workers, peasants and soldiers, persist in becoming one with them and revolutionize our thinking, our art and literature will surely go on creating and advancing.

So long as we give prominence to politics and creatively study and apply Chairman Mao's works, we will be able to keep our minds sound and eyes keen so that encroachments by any bourgeois and revisionist ideas can be defeated.

By giving prominence to politics, presenting a clear-cut viewpoint, stressing in the first place the breaking down of the old and, in the course of doing so, building up the new, and writing in a highly militant and incisive style, this article is a stimulating one with strong ideological content and militancy. It is worthwhile for all literary and art workers, cultural cadres and all comrades in our armed forces to read it seriously.

At present, there is a vigorous upsurge in the great socialist cultural revolution. This upsurge is pounding strongly against the decadent ideological and cultural positions still in the hands of the bourgeoisie and feudal remnants.

This struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie is a very acute and complex life-and-death struggle. It is an issue of prime importance which concerns the destiny, future and character of the Party and state as well as the world revolution.

We must hold still higher the great red banner of Mao Tse-tung's thought, use the *Talks at the Yen-an Forum on Literature and Art* and other writings as weapons, and take an active part in the great socialist cultural revolution.

We must resolutely crush the attacks of bourgeois and revisionist ideas on literature and art and the so-called literature and art of the 1930s, and thoroughly eliminate this anti-Party, anti-socialist black line which is diametrically opposed to Mao Tse-tung's thought. We must resolutely defend the great Mao Tse-tung's thought, thoroughly implement the line he pointed out for art and literature, and wholeheartedly serve proletarian politics, the workers, peasants and soldiers, the consolidation and development of the dictatorship of the proletariat and the socialist system, and the consolidation and enhancement of the fighting strength of our armed forces. — *Jiefangjun Bao* editor.

A YEAR has passed since the formation in March 1965 of our sea-borne cultural team under the Canton Command of the P.L.A. During the past year, we have through practice come to the deep realization that to steadfastly give prominence to politics, resolutely put Mao Tse-tung's thought in command over everything and resolutely put political and ideological work first is fundamental if cultural teams are to work well.

The 21 members of our cultural "light cavalry" come from nine units under the Canton Command cultural department. We have performers, cameramen and personnel for repairing cinema projectors and supplying equipment and materials for cultural activities. For most of the past year we have been active on our islands in the South China Sea. While carrying out our tasks of putting on performances, coaching, doing creative work, serving the army units, and making surveys, we have been steeling and remoulding ourselves.

Our sea-borne cultural team has met with success and been welcomed by the broad masses of commanders and fighters in the armed forces because it has seriously followed Chairman Mao's directives, giving prominence to politics, going to the basic units and providing wholehearted service to the great majority of the people.

However, the process of giving prominence to politics is one of repeated practice, repeated cognition, repeated struggle, of continually raising standards and of continually going deeper. In order to raise high the great red banner of Mao Tse-tung's thought and to take part actively in the great socialist cultural revolution,

\*The "four firsts" are: First place must be given to man in handling the relationship between man and weapons; to political work in handling the relationship between political and other work; to ideological work in relation to other aspects of political work; and, in ideological work, to the ideas currently in a person's mind as distinguished from ideas in books. — *Tr.*

we recently used the brilliant works of Chairman Mao on literature and art to examine our year's work and launched a big debate centred on the relationship between politics and work. Below are the main points which we have learnt over the past year.

#### **The Cultural Team Is a Product of Applying Mao Tse-tung's Thinking on Literature and Art And an Important Measure for Cultural Workers To Resolutely Carry Out the Five-Point Principle For Giving Prominence to Politics**

WHY was the cultural team formed? What sort of cultural team was it to be? What must be relied on to form this cultural team? These were questions we often met during the year. To answer them we had to look back over the road our army's literary and art work had travelled. In the years of war, our army's literary and art workers, following the teachings of Chairman Mao, kept to the line of serving the workers, peasants and soldiers, and persevered in the road of integrating with them. In so doing, not only were the weapons of literature and art used directly in the struggle but a great number of revolutionaries were trained.

However, after the nationwide liberation and our writers and artists entered the cities, some were corrupted by bourgeois ideology. They cast aside the militant style of proletarian literature and art, and developed a hankering for comfort and ease, for fame and material gain. Their viewpoint of serving the workers, peasants and soldiers gradually faded and they slowly reached a point relatively some distance away from the army. They forgot the great majority of the people and, apart from specializing in a certain field of work, cared little about other matters, in particular paying little attention to politics. This in fact was a reflection of the sharp class struggle on the cultural front within our army. It was the big question of whether or not to carry out Mao Tse-tung's line on literature and art.

To solve these questions, it was necessary to use Mao Tse-tung's thought to re-educate the cadres engaged in literary and art work and to reorganize the ranks of literary and art workers. First of all, great emphasis had to be placed on giving prominence to politics and clarifying what we were mainly to rely on in establishing an army of literary and art workers. To rely on politics or on professional work? It was necessary to repeatedly solve the question of whom we were to serve and for whom we were to raise standards. In our thinking about creative work, in the organizational line, and in the style of work, it was necessary to adhere firmly to the principle of the proletarian Party spirit and oppose the corrupting influence of bourgeois ideology. The General Political Department of the People's Liberation Army directed that those working in the fields of literature, art and sports in our army should organize cultural teams to go to the companies. It clearly stated that it was not for a few people to go but that all must go; that it was not to be of a here today, gone tomorrow nature but was to be for long terms. This was a revolutionary measure. This type of organizational form itself determined that writers and artists must go to the grass-roots and serve the great majority of people, that they were to be propagators of Mao Tse-tung's thought and servants of the workers, peasants and soldiers.

Considered from the objective reality, with the deep-going development of the socialist revolution, the struggle on the ideological front to promote what is proletarian and eradicate what is bourgeois has become sharper than ever, the needs of the workers, peasants and soldiers in the cultural field have become more urgent, and a movement to popularize culture and art has begun to make its appearance. In the past few years, due to the care and attention of the Military Commission of the Party's Central Committee and Comrade Lin Piao, a very good situation has developed in the cultural work of our army. If our literary and art workers still stayed in the cities and were carried away by staging big dramas and did not, in the first place, put more time and their main energy into going deep among the masses of workers, peasants and soldiers and serving the great majority of the people, they would lag behind in the era of the great socialist cultural revolution and would commit mistakes on matters of orientation.

Therefore, we believe that the cultural team has been produced through the application of Mao Tse-tung's thought in literature and art. It is a product of the deepening of the socialist cultural revolution and of giving prominence to politics. It has developed as a result of adhering to the laws governing the growth of socialist literature and art, and meeting the needs of strengthening preparedness against war. It is an important measure for the literary and art workers to carry out the five-point principle for giving prominence to politics [see *Peking Review*, No. 49, 1965], put the campaign for "four-good" companies on a solid basis, and strengthen preparedness against war.

What is the significance of organizing the cultural team? Our understanding of this is:

**A Good Form for Carrying Out Mao Tse-tung's Line on Literature and Art and Serving the Soldiers on the Broadest Scale.** Chairman Mao taught us that in literature and art the "question of 'for whom?' is fundamental; it is a question of principle." As early as 1942, Chairman Mao clearly pointed out that "all our literature and art are for the masses of the people, and in the first place for the workers, peasants and soldiers; they are created for the workers, peasants and soldiers and are for their use." In the case of the army, the great majority of the people are in the companies and the basic units. Cultural workers in the army must therefore turn to the companies and go deep among the basic units. Only thus can they be said to be catering to the great majority of the cadres and fighters and to have found the main audience they should serve. With its compact size and high mobility, the cultural team can go to the most difficult and most remote places and perform for audiences which have as few as three or five people. It causes little trouble to the army units and brings many benefits to them. It can meet the many-sided cultural needs of the army units and promote the cultural activities of the company units.

**Best Able to Carry On and Develop the Glorious Tradition of Propaganda Teams of the Old Red Army.** The glorious tradition of the propaganda teams of the old Red Army was to give prominence to politics, become revolutionized and militant, act firmly in accordance with Mao Tse-tung's thought, work neither for fame nor material gain, fear neither hardship nor sacrifice, and work wholeheartedly for the revolutionary war. The path of the old Red Army's propaganda teams was the glorious road of developing socialist literature and art. It was a road heading for communism. The cultural team is following in the footsteps of the old Red Army's propaganda teams and is developing and raising standards in the new conditions. Marching forward along this road, it will never become separated from the workers, peasants and soldiers and will never lose its bearings.

**An Important Means for Carrying Out the Five-Point Principle for Giving Prominence to Politics in Cultural Work.** The five-point principle Comrade Lin Piao put forward for giving prominence to politics is a long-term programme for building our army and is good for a hundred, a thousand and even ten thousand years. It is the general principle guiding the work of the whole army and is the army's general tasks. Cultural work is no exception. Comrade Lin Piao has said long ago that "the army's literary and art work is one of the main instruments for strengthening the army's revolutionization, grasping ideas currently in a person's mind and doing ideological work." To grasp well ideas currently in a person's mind, the army's literary and art work must propagandize Mao Tse-tung's thought in a timely, vivid and graphic way; and must, while being closely linked with the tasks of the army units, speedily reflect real

life, produce and present items and performances about good people and good deeds on a large scale, boost morale and strengthen fighting will. In the basic units the cultural team was often writing, rehearsing and staging shows simultaneously and was therefore able to carry out its tasks in good time.

**An Important Measure for Strengthening Preparedness Against War in Cultural Departments.** At present all work in our army is aimed at preparedness against war in order to smash U.S. imperialist aggression. Cultural work, therefore, must, on the one hand, use the weapons of literature and art to propagandize preparedness against war, and it must, on the other, in organizational forms and in the methods of carrying out its activities, adapt to the requirements of a war environment. The cultural team was organized with an eye to the needs of actual war conditions and this is one of the best ways to train the army of cultural workers. The heightening of their understanding of preparedness against war helps them to overcome ideas of seeking ease and comfort, fear of hardships and difficulties, and deterioration of fighting spirit, and enables them to see clearly the forms of class struggle, and prevent a "peaceful evolution." When war comes, they will be able to most effectively throw themselves into the task of serving the needs of war.

**An Important Method for Leading Organizations to Give Direct Guidance to Cultural Work in the Companies.** As the cultural team is able to go deep among the basic units, have broad contacts and establish close ties with the army units, it can discover problems on the spot, mirror and solve them in a timely manner and help overcome bureaucracy and promote the revolutionization of the office work. It can also train large numbers of key literary and art workers in the company units.

**Integration of Literary and Art Workers With Workers, Peasants and Soldiers Remoulds Ideology and Promotes Revolutionization.** Only by integrating with the workers, peasants and soldiers can literary and art workers overcome all sorts of non-proletarian ideas, firmly establish the proletarian world outlook, understand and familiarize themselves with those they serve, and do their work well. The cultural team is able to have wide contacts with the fighters, serve them and at the same time draw "treasures" from them; it is both the fighters' servant and pupil. This helps the literary and art workers to gradually become one with the workers, peasants and soldiers in thought and feeling, promotes their ideological revolutionization, helps them to overcome thirst for fame and material gain, or floating about at the top and being isolated from the masses, and other such bourgeois ideas and styles of work. It also helps to eradicate the roots that engender revisionism.

**A School of Revolution Which Tempers People in an All-Round Way, Raises Their Professional Proficiency, And Trains Red Successors on the Cultural Front.** As the opportunity for practice is greatly increased the ability of all can be brought into full play and the question of raising standards can be solved in the correct direction. What is particularly important is that after

literary and art workers go deep into real life they show more concern for class struggle and have greater love for heroes. Some recent graduates from art institutes have said with deep feeling: On the broad stage of serving the soldiers, one can completely sweep away the negative "foreign, famous and classical" influences and acquire revolutionary, true ability.

**A Good Form for Making Creative Work Flourish.** As the members of the cultural team go deep into life, come into contact with a great number of good people and good deeds, and have a strong urge for creative work, they have only to seriously employ the three-in-one method—the leadership, professional personnel (writers, artists, members of the song and dance troupes, film actors, etc.) and the masses (those taking part in spare-time creative work and other cultural activities) working together—put forward by Comrade Lin Piao to be able to promote a flourishing of creative work. At the same time, as writers and performers live together—sometimes the performer is also the writer—all have the same common feelings. Scripts are more quickly written, rehearsed and performed. Since many mental restrictions can thus be broken and an end be put to the awe the masses had for creative art work, the number of creative art workers can be expanded. This is a way for development of creative art work with greater, faster, better and more economical results and enables creative works in literature and art to develop along a healthy line.

### **To Run the Cultural Team Well Entails Struggle Between Proletarian and Bourgeois World Outlook**

CHAIRMAN MAO has said: "History tells us that correct political and military lines do not emerge and develop spontaneously and tranquilly, but only in the course of struggle." Our practice in the past year similarly confirms this brilliant thesis of Chairman Mao. Using Mao Tse-tung's thought as the weapon, the seaborne cultural team has advanced in continuous struggles against mistaken views both within and outside the team. These views may be summed up in the following three questions.

**First, the Question of Whom We Are Serving.** Our proletarian revolutionary literature and art serves the broad masses of workers, peasants and soldiers. Although some people pay lip-service to the principle, they often forget this most fundamental guide in their actual work. Bourgeois ideas always seek every chance to corrode our literary and art ranks, stubbornly uphold their positions and pit themselves against the proletarian line on literature and art. Certain comrades have often been misled by bourgeois ideas and sometimes they have even lost their bearings and wavered in varying degrees. The questions we frequently come across are:

Some persons said: "Cultural teams are the concern of only a section of literary and art workers, who pave the way for the remainder to develop considerably

their own special lines. It is the latter who are taking the main road."

What is the main road? If going to the grass-roots and serving the majority is not taking the main road, what kind of "main road" is one taking when one floats on the surface and raises one's standards behind closed doors? We "pave the way" to let them develop their "special lines." For whom do these "special lines" serve? We are not against raising the standards of one's special line. However, it must be aimed at implementing better the Party's policy on literature and art and serving better the workers, peasants and soldiers. If one departs from this aim, seeks fame and material gain, is unwilling to go to the grass-roots, and lingers around the city even when one does go down to an army company, one's problem of correct orientation cannot be solved. Some comrades, because they thought they had not achieved anything outstanding in the past few years, were determined to fight a "battle to turn over." But why this need to "turn over"? "Turn" what "over"? How can one "turn over"? All these things are not clear. Unless these people set a correct direction to follow and turn themselves to face the companies, they can never turn over.

Some said: "Though we have been cited, in my mind I always feel we are inferior to the others."

We live on the frontier sea islands for months and years. The soldiers look upon us as the most welcome people and call us "propagators of Mao Tse-tung's thought" and "people who serve the soldiers." What magnificent appraisals! To whom are we inferior? Those harping on this tune are still comparing us with the "specialists" who are divorced from the masses, and what they compare are the skills. This represents a wavering in the orientation. Our work is not "inferior" and what is wrong is that their thinking is incorrect.

Some people said: "To place good actors in the cultural team is a waste of talent."

Then, what should these actors do? This view looks down on the workers, peasants and soldiers as if they can be served in a casual way. The fundamental thing is forgotten. We are not a spiritual aristocracy, but revolutionary fighters of literature and art. When divorced from service to the workers, peasants and soldiers, no matter how excellent are one's "talents," what is the use? When one deviates from the correct political direction, the more skilful one becomes, the worse may be the effects. Chairman Mao has taught us: "If he regards himself as their [the masses] master, as an aristocrat who lords it over the 'lower orders,' then, no matter how talented he may be, he will not be needed by the masses and his work will have no future."

Some considered: "The grass-roots are all right for becoming politically advanced, but not professionally proficient. Standards can be raised faster at home than in the army units."

First, this view fails to see that politics commands all. Second, it does not make it clear that raising standards means first of all raising one's ideology. Only

when one can successfully pass any stiff test in ideology can one do the same in his work. One comrade in our team studied abroad for six years. What she learnt was not Mao Tse-tung's thought on literature and art, but some foreign dogmas. Service to the workers, peasants and soldiers was forgotten. Neither could she sing. During the past year she took active steps to temper herself in the basic army units, seriously studied Chairman Mao's works and learnt from soldiers who had armed themselves with Mao Tse-tung's thought. As a result she regained her artistic vigour. Besides singing songs for the soldiers, which were warmly received, she also took part in dancing, recitation by one or more persons and performed items she wrote herself. She said with deep feeling: In the past years I was in a boat without a rudder, drifting anywhere. I practised every day but it didn't get me anywhere. A three-month tour to the islands was more valuable than studying for ten years. She was quite right. Skill consists of no more than the ability to know and portray life. Therefore, we cannot raise the standards of our work behind closed doors. We must go deep into life, identify ourselves with the workers, peasants and soldiers and raise the standard of our work in the course of serving them. The aim of raising the standard of our work is not to gain fame or become specialists for our own sakes, it is to serve the soldiers better.

Our practice in the past year also fully bears out the following: While we were working at the grass-roots level, our basic skills were consistently maintained. Moreover, owing to the need of giving performances every day and turning everyone into a leading actor, our potential was tapped to the full, all-round tempering was achieved and the level of our specialties generally was raised. A dancer in our team, who had performed dance routines worked out by others for more than a decade, designed dances herself, took up singing songs and wrote words for certain songs. A musician who had never before written a tune, in six months composed five musical items reflecting the reality of life in the army units. Besides, his performance has improved considerably. One actor joined our team immediately after he had graduated from school. Besides reciting poems and doing recitations with others, he took part in singing songs and dancing, learnt how to show films and lantern slides, and wrote words for songs and plays. All these fully prove that it is the cultural team going down deeply to the grass-roots which makes our best art school, and that as long as we establish the thought of wholeheartedly serving the soldiers, we can become politically advanced at the grass-roots level and at the same time quite proficient professionally too.

**Second, the Question of Using What to Serve the Workers, Peasants and Soldiers.** Chairman Mao said: "Popularize what is needed and can be readily accepted by the feudal landlord class? Popularize what is needed and can be readily accepted by the bourgeoisie? Popularize what is needed and can be readily accepted by the petty-bourgeois intellectuals? No, none of these will do. We must popularize only what is needed and can be readily

accepted by the workers, peasants and soldiers themselves."

What is needed most and most readily accepted by the workers, peasants and soldiers? From a thousand letters we got from the army units we know: It is that which propagates Mao Tse-tung's thought and sings the praises of the great Party, the great leader, the great state, the great people and the great army; that which is closely integrated with the tasks of the army units, quickly reflects the reality and firmly grasps the ideas currently existing in men's minds; that which spreads knowledge of good persons and good deeds and praises heroes; that which propagates socialist revolution and socialist construction; that which is short, exquisite and lively; that which possesses the spirit of the army units.

On the question of what to use to serve the workers, peasants and soldiers, there are also constant struggles.

Which comes first, the political or the artistic criterion?

When individual comrades just transferred from the song and dance troupes first see our performances portraying life in the army units, they are inclined to conclude: the level is not high. We should not accept this view without analysis. We consider the political criterion still comes first and the artistic criterion second. We know the level of our performances is not high because we are deeply aware that we are still unable to reflect vividly a life which is rich and colourful and filled with struggle or to portray profoundly the lofty thought and sentiments of heroic fighters. However, some people criticized our level "as not being high," seeing only that our singing was not good, our actions were not uniform and our skills were not so highly developed. They said nothing about the political content. This, in essence, raises doubts about the significance of the road we take—the road of giving prominence to politics. It cannot be lightly regarded. Neither can we appraise an item purely by the hand claps received. What we seek is not simply an effect, but educational value. We should follow Chairman Mao's directive, achieving "the unity of revolutionary political content and the highest possible perfection of artistic form."

In appraising a work or performance, whose words count—the small number of "specialists" or the broad masses of workers, peasants and soldiers? There are some comrades, who, just like those Chairman Mao has criticized, do not in theory or in words regard the masses of workers, peasants and soldiers as less important than the petty-bourgeois intellectuals. However, "in practice, in action, do they regard petty-bourgeois intellectuals as more important than workers, peasants and soldiers? I think they do." Doesn't the same thing happen among our ranks? Why did we feel nervous in performing for the professional organizations? When we were commended by certain "specialists," some comrades thought we had met someone who really "appreciated" us and felt delighted. Upon hearing their criticisms, however, these comrades became discouraged and wavered. Since we serve the workers,

peasants and soldiers, we should seek among them those who appreciate us. Comrade Ho Lung's directive to us should be firmly remembered: "What the soldier masses like is best."

From where to start—our personal interest or the needs of the masses?

All our activities should proceed from "thinking what the company thinks." If what we think does not match what it thinks, this shows our thinking and feelings have still not been identified with those of the workers, peasants and soldiers and our hearts differ from theirs. Why should a person stress that because he is a folk-song singer he should not sing marching songs? Why doesn't the creation proceed from the needs of the army units, but from one's own interest? All this demonstrates that the questions of whom to serve and with what to serve have not been solved. We have learnt similar lessons in our coaching or when we rendered other services. When you teach a soldier to play *Fine Evening*, he does not like it. He likes to play *Singing a Song to the Party*. You want to take a picture of a soldier against a background of the sea, but he prefers to be seen with trees and rocks. The trees were planted by him and rocks symbolize the dauntless spirit of soldiers guarding the islands. Only when we understand the masses and become familiar with them in these respects, can we do a good job.

**Third, the Question of How to Serve.** We have consistently followed the organizational form and working method of "having a small team with picked members who not only specialize in one line but are versed in other skills, keeping performance as the main task while rendering other services." This form is created under the guiding idea of "thinking what the company thinks, giving priority to what it urgently wants and helping it to meet its needs." In order to persist in doing so, the following questions must be made clear.

To start from reality or empty talk?

Some comrades who do not know how our team has been built up feel that our actors are not on a uniform level and there are not many "outstanding" ones. To make such a demand is just empty talk, divorced from reality. Of course, we hope all the 21 members of the team will become "outstanding" in their service to soldiers. But where can they come from? From the sky? Impossible. To train them by ourselves? The time is too short. We should remember that this is the group of comrades who have been welcomed by the army units and commended by the higher organs. Does this cause us to think more deeply? Isn't their revolutionary hard-working spirit worthy of being upheld by us all the time?

Which is better, large items or small items?

Individual comrades arbitrarily said that the soldiers liked big items. These comrades did not have much to support their argument. We can cite large numbers of letters from the soldiers to show what the army units like.

As a matter of fact, things must be divided up as primary and secondary. In the past few years there

were not too few, but too many, big programme items; the occasions when teams went down to the grass-roots, however, were not too many but too few. Then, isn't it very necessary to call in a loud voice for people to go to the grass-roots and serve the majority? Can we reverse the question by asking: As fighters on the literary and art front serving the soldiers, how can they remain unconcerned and undisturbed when the companies cannot see a performance for a long time? Every day we talk about "integrating the big, medium-sized and small items while stressing the medium-sized and small ones." But why can't this be carried out properly? The main reason is the lack of real determination to go down to the basic army units where the performance of medium-sized and small items has to be stressed. If a team really tours the sea islands, the frontiers and all the sentry posts, large items are quite out of the question because there are not only no stages but even no proper places in which to live.

Chairman Mao has taught us: "A thing is good only when it brings real benefit to the masses of the people. Your work may be as good as 'The Spring Snow,' but if for the time being it caters only to the few and the masses are still singing the 'Song of the Rustic Poor,' you will get nowhere by simply scolding them instead of trying to raise their level." Then, if you really want to go to the basic units, it is better to perform the short plays and sing the short songs which the army company needs!

To specialize in one line and be versed in other skills, or to concentrate on one thing?

Why do we advocate the idea of specializing in one line while being versed in other skills? The aim is to give better service to the soldiers. This is also a landmark in ideological revolutionization. Why can't the set ideas about specialization be broken down? To come to

the root cause, it is because one fears the "other skills" will affect the "specialized line" and prevent one from becoming an expert. Judged by our practice, we have not only learnt many new skills which can be used to serve the soldiers, but have raised tremendously the level of the original specialized lines. As different branches of art are mutually linked and can promote each other, a deeper and broader foundation proves of great help in developing one's special line.

The above-mentioned points are some of the problems we have come across in the past year. They prove that the process of persisting in the direction of literature and art serving the workers, peasants and soldiers constitutes a process in which the proletarian world outlook waged prolonged and repeated struggles against the bourgeois world outlook. The cultural team is a new thing. There are two different attitudes towards it—some say "It's fine" and others say "It's terrible." This is a reflection of class struggle. Just as Lenin said in "A Great Beginning": "Jeering at the feebleness of the young shoots of the new order, cheap scepticism of the intellectuals and the like—these are, essentially, methods of class struggle of the bourgeoisie against the proletariat, a defence of capitalism against socialism."

Therefore, we must know that to run the cultural team well is itself an ideological revolution and an artistic revolution. The fundamental things necessary to run it well are to give prominence to politics, take Mao Tse-tung's thought as the weapon, take class struggle as the key link and promote man's revolutionization. We will continue to run the cultural team and we must always give prominence to politics and again and again solve the question of whom to serve and how to serve them.

(To be continued.)

## INTERNATIONAL COMMUNIST MOVEMENT

# Ceylon Communist Party Decides to Actively Promote the Study of Chairman Mao's Works

The decision says: "Our Party must raise still higher and hold still more firmly the invincible banner of Marxism-Leninism and the teachings of Mao Tse-tung."

On August 29 "Kamkaruwa" (Labour) and "Tolilali" (Worker), journals of the Ceylon Communist Party, published the decision of the Central Committee of the Ceylon Communist Party entitled "Promote the Study of the Thought of Mao Tse-tung." Following is the full text of the decision.—Ed.

THE meeting of the Central Committee of the Ceylon Communist Party on August 21, 1966, decided to actively promote among all members of the Party and its supporters the study of the teachings of the great leader of the Communist Party of China and the

leader of the world revolutionary movement, Comrade Mao Tse-tung.

Comrade Mao Tse-tung is not only the greatest living Marxist-Leninist. He is also a creative Marxist-Leninist who had applied the teachings of Marx and Lenin to the specific conditions existing in China. The Chinese revolution owes its success to the genius and guidance of Mao Tse-tung. His teachings and writings during the course of guiding the protracted Chinese revolution have now come to be known as the thought of Mao Tse-tung which is the application of Marxism-

Leninism to the era of the final collapse of world imperialism, the era of the victory of world revolution.

These teachings of Mao Tse-tung are a guide not only to the people of China but to all oppressed peoples struggling for their liberation. They are also a guide to the struggle in Ceylon for the defeat of foreign imperialism, feudalism and the comprador bourgeoisie represented by the United National Party.

The Central Committee, therefore, draws the attention of all its members to the necessity to study more intensively the teachings of Mao Tse-tung. It instructs the Political Bureau to organize special classes on the study of Mao Tse-tung's works for all its leading cadres. It further instructs the Political Bureau to take all necessary steps to translate immediately as many of the important articles of Mao Tse-tung as possible into Sinhalese and Tamil.

With the long-range perspective of translating into Sinhalese and Tamil the *Selected Works of Mao Tse-tung*, the Central Committee decides to set up a special committee to undertake this task.

Finally, the Central Committee warns that it is precisely at the hour when world imperialism headed by U.S. imperialism faces its final doom that it will call up its final reserve from within the working-class movement itself. This final reserve of world imperialism is modern revisionism which is today busy undermining the unity of the world revolutionary movement and attracting wavering elements to its side and away from the revolutionary struggle against world imperialism. That a rotting tree needs a prop is not a sign of its strength but of its weakness. Cutting off the prop is a necessary step to bring the tree down.

Therefore, it is precisely at this hour that we should be resolute in chopping off the props that seek to keep world imperialism alive, as a step towards the destruction of world imperialism itself. We must be vigilant against the attempts of the class enemy to subvert us from within. We must be resolute in our struggle against modern revisionism. Our Party must raise still higher and hold still more firmly the invincible banner of Marxism-Leninism and the teachings of Mao Tse-tung.

## Whom Does the Indonesian Right-Wing Serve?

by OBSERVER

**T**HE Right-wing military regime in Indonesia has recently ganged up openly with the neo-colonialist brain-child "Malaysia" by concluding with it a so-called "agreement to normalize relations between the two countries" and declaring an end to confrontation. This is a big betrayal, on the part of the Indonesian Right-wing military regime, of the Indonesian people's interests; it is big treachery to the Afro-Asian people's cause of unity against imperialism; and it is another glaring exposure of the reactionary features of the Indonesian Right-wing generals' clique which has hired itself out to U.S. imperialism.

Confrontation with "Malaysia" has been a glorious, militant banner of the Indonesian people in their struggle against imperialism and colonialism. This is not only a struggle for the defence of Indonesia's national interests and against the imperialist military encirclement of Indonesia; it is also a powerful support for the national-liberation movement in Southeast Asia, especially the struggle of the people of North Kalimantan for national independence. The British and U.S. imperialists and their accomplices have tried in a thousand and one ways to strangle the Indonesian people's confrontation with "Malaysia." But the Indonesian people have courageously persisted in this struggle and have thus won the praise and sympathy of the people of Asia, Africa and the rest of the world.

Since the clique of Indonesian Right-wing generals launched its counter-revolutionary military coup, it has established military fascist rule at home, and it has set up the most reactionary cabinet since Indonesia's independence. In a few months, it massacred hundreds of thousands of people, threw a still greater number into prison and brutally persecuted numerous patriots. Its bloody rule over the Indonesian people has no parallel in their history. In foreign relations, it has been rabidly carrying out an anti-Chinese and anti-China campaign. At the same time, it has undisguisedly become more and more dependent on U.S. imperialism and, step by step, subordinated Indonesia politically, economically and militarily to U.S. imperialism's strategic designs in Asia.

It has begged "aid" from the United States, Britain, Japan and other countries. In addition to giving it loans directly, U.S. imperialism has also manoeuvred to provide it with tens of millions of dollars of "emergency aid" through the Sato government of Japan. The Sato government also plans to form a "Tokyo club" with the participation of the United States, Britain, West Germany and other countries as an international agency for "aid" to the Indonesian reactionaries. The modern revisionist clique, with the leadership of the C.P.S.U. as its centre, has also lost no time in declaring that it will give "aid" to Indonesia.

## N. Sanmugathan on Indonesian Revolution

- The Indonesian revolution will rise again and ultimately triumph.
- Events in Indonesia show that peaceful transition is a revisionist pipe-dream.

THE Indonesian revolution will rise again and ultimately triumph, says N. Sanmugathan, Member of the Political Bureau and of the Secretariat of the Central Committee of the Ceylon Communist Party, in an article printed in *Kamkaruwa* and *Tolilali*, weeklies of the Party, on August 22.

The article stressed: "Where there is repression there will be revolt. That is a law of nature."

It said that it is a temporary retreat for the Indonesian revolution and that the Indonesian Right-wing military regime's brutality and its resort to fascist dictatorship is a sign, not of its strength, but of its weakness—its inability to continue to govern through the deceit of so-called parliamentary democracy.

The events in Indonesia once again demonstrate the truth that the reactionaries will never permit the working class to come to power by peaceful means. Peaceful transition is a revisionist pipe-dream, it added.

Suharto's power derives solely from the brute force of the army he commands. The so-called "popular" demonstrations organized by the Indonesian army deceived no one, it said. Parliament and parliamentary institutions are only a thin veil that hides the naked dictatorship of capital which rests principally on the armed forces, it stated.

(*Hsinhua News Agency, September 1.*)

Since the Indonesian Right-wing generals' clique usurped power, it has clamoured for "improvement of relations" with the United States and for "return to the United Nations." What warrants particular attention is that in the past few months it has increased its collaboration with the authorities of "Malaysia," Thailand and the Philippines in an effort to organize an anti-communist and anti-Chinese "alliance for co-operation among Southeast Asian countries" and to serve openly U.S. imperialism's policies of aggression and war.

U.S. imperialism has now shifted the weight of its strategic deployment from Europe to Asia. It has tried hard to organize a new anti-communist alliance in Asia with Japanese militarism as the nucleus in order to tighten its cordon around China. While widening its war of aggression against Vietnam, it is also stepping up its military deployment for the suppression of the national-liberation movement in Asia. It is against this background that the Indonesian Right-wing military regime has announced the end of the confrontation struggle with "Malaysia" and is energetically plotting a Southeast Asia anti-communist alliance. Recently, the Indonesian Right-wing ruling clique went so far as to discuss with "Malaysia" and agree to the establishment of a "joint commission to deal with defence and security." Obviously, the spearhead of this so-called "joint defence" is directed against the liberation struggle of the North Kalimantan people. The Indonesian Right-wing military regime is now turning its guns against the Indonesian people's brothers who have

fought side by side with them against imperialism. This is a monstrous crime which the Indonesian people and the revolutionary people of Southeast Asia will never forgive.

In less than a year since its seizure of power, the Indonesian Right-wing military regime has committed many evils in tailing behind U.S. imperialism. But it has the cheek to assert time and again that it remains anti-imperialist and anti-colonialist and is pursuing "an independent and active foreign policy." This is sheer humbug. Actually, this regime has become a new lackey of imperialism for the suppression of the national-liberation movement in Southeast Asia.

The Indonesian people have a glorious revolutionary tradition of anti-imperialism and anti-colonialism. They will never allow a handful of reactionaries to drag their country backwards. They will certainly rise up and resist. Likewise, the revolutionary people of Southeast Asia will never allow the Indonesian Rightists to jeopardize the revolutionary movement in this region. The savage attacks launched against the revolutionary masses by the imperialists and their lackeys can only further promote the revolutionary awakening of the peoples and stir up new, revolutionary, angry waves. U.S. imperialism is already encircled ring upon ring by the world's people and is having a tougher and tougher time. What good end can come to the Indonesian Right-wing military regime which ties itself to the war chariot of U.S. imperialism?

(*"Renmin Ribao," September 6.*)

# Indonesian Reactionaries Put a Noose Around Their Necks

**No good end awaits those who hire themselves out to U.S. imperialism, col-  
lude with Soviet revisionism and oppose communism, China and the people.**

**T**HE Right-wing military regime of Indonesia is openly pursuing a reactionary foreign policy of opposing China by currying favour with the United States and uniting with the Soviet Union and the reactionaries of various countries.

In order to deceive both the people at home and world opinion, the Indonesian Right-wing reactionary military regime has been trying hard, ever since it seized power, to conceal the fact that U.S. imperialism is its boss. Of late, however, the words and deeds of the United States and the Indonesian regime itself have shown up the true relationship between them. U.S. Secretary of State Rusk has repeatedly and publicly praised the anti-communist and anti-China activities of the Indonesian regime and expressed "sympathy" with its serious economic difficulties, promising it more "aid." The Indonesian Vice-Minister of Trade has been sent to Washington to beg for more money.

At the instigation of U.S. imperialism, the reactionary Right-wing regime of Indonesia began by reaching an agreement of reconciliation with "Malaysia," forsaking completely the Indonesian people's banner of confrontation with this product of neo-colonialism. Recently, it took a further step in colluding militarily with the "Malaysian" authorities, offering to train officers for "Malaysia" and indicating its readiness to carry out armed suppression jointly with "Malaysia" against the people of Kalimantan. An Indonesian military delegation arrived in Kuala Lumpur on September 4 to discuss the formation of a joint military commission.

To serve the U.S. scheme of forming an anti-China cordon, Indonesian Foreign Minister Malik went to Bangkok last June to take part in the dirty job of planning an "alliance for co-operation" of Southeast Asian countries. Replying to questions of U.S. newsmen, Suharto, chieftain of the Indonesian Right-wing military clique, indicated recently that the Indonesian regime not only wanted to bring into being the pet U.S. project for a Malaya-Philippines-Indonesia federation; it also wanted to form a bigger federation including other neighbouring countries.

The Right-wing military clique has also served the United States in its "peace talks" fraud on the Vietnam question. In his joint statement with the Foreign Minister of Thailand, Malik has publicly approved the proposal of Thailand, the Philippines and "Malaysia" to convene a so-called Asian "peace" conference.

Kowtowing to the United States, the Indonesian Right-wing military regime has energetically set about trying to re-enter the United Nations. It has recently joined UNESCO (United Nations Educational, Scientific

and Cultural Organization). Malik announced that he himself would go to the United States to attend the U.N. General Assembly in mid-September. Buwono, Indonesian Minister in Charge of Economic Affairs, has already left for the United States for talks.

This reactionary regime and officials of the Soviet modern revisionist leadership have repeatedly declared their desire for "unity and co-operation." The propaganda machines of the two sides have time and again praised each other's policies. Up-to-date Soviet weapons were streaming into Indonesia when the Indonesian Right-wing military clique usurped power and massacred the people in cold blood. In his speech in the Indonesian parliament, Malik praised the Soviet Union and expressed "deep gratitude to the Soviet Union for its aid."

Malik left Indonesia on September 2 to visit Yugoslavia and other countries. His original plan was to go to the Soviet Union and other Eastern European countries also, in order to discuss with the Soviet revisionist leading clique the question of closer collaboration between the two sides.

The Indonesian reactionary regime has also increased its collaboration with the Japanese and Indian reactionary governments—the United States' anti-China storm troopers in Asia.

In addition to promising a \$30 million loan to Indonesia, the Sato government of Japan will hold a so-called "Tokyo club" (debtee countries' consortium) meeting with the United States, Britain, West Germany and six other countries to discuss "aid" to Indonesia. When Malik arrived in India on September 3, an Indian official spokesman said that his visit would help "establish close and friendly relations" between the two sides.

What warrants particular attention is that, while using and abetting the Chiang Kai-shek brigands in carrying out the monstrous crime of brutally persecuting overseas Chinese, the Indonesian Right-wing military regime has increased secret contacts with the Chiang Kai-shek clique for the purpose of establishing "diplomatic relations." A report from Taipei said that, for this purpose, the "ambassador" of the Chiang Kai-shek clique to Thailand recently had "indirect" and "highly useful contacts" with Malik in Bangkok. The Indonesian authorities hoped that the Chiang Kai-shek clique would send its men to assist them in opposing communism and persecuting overseas Chinese. The extremely hostile underhand activities of the Indonesian Right-wing military regime against China have fully revealed it in its true colours as a lackey of U.S. imperialism.

(Continued from p. 4.)

Vice-Premier Chen Yi said: The Vietnamese people's struggle against U.S. aggression and for national salvation is a great event that has a vital bearing on the revolutionary struggle of the people of the whole world against U.S. imperialism. The attitude one adopts towards this struggle is the touchstone for distinguishing real from sham opposition to imperialism and for distinguishing Marxism-Leninism from revisionism. If a socialist country only makes some gestures of opposing U.S. aggression against Vietnam and has never dared to expose and condemn the peace talks fraud of U.S. imperialism, but has instead flirted with U.S. imperialism and acted in co-ordination with it in promoting the criminal activities of "forcing peace talks through bombing," then this can only serve to expose its ugly features of sham support but real betrayal.

The Vice-Premier went on to say: China is a socialist country armed with Marxism-Leninism, Mao Tse-tung's thought. At present, a great proletarian cultural revolution, unprecedented in history, is in progress in China. This great cultural revolution is being led by Chairman Mao Tse-tung himself; it is a great creation in the communist movement and a great creation in socialist revolution. This great proletarian cultural revolution will definitely exert a tremendous and deep influence on the Chinese revolution. Once they grasp Mao Tse-tung's thought, hundreds of millions of people will turn this great spiritual force into a great material force and greatly push forward the socialist revolution and socialist construction in China, thereby making a still greater contribution to the revolutionary struggle of the people of the world.

### **Comrade Grippa Leaves for Shanghai**

Comrade Jacques Grippa, Secretary of the Central Committee of the Belgian Communist Party, and his wife

left Peking on September 4 for a visit to Shanghai and other places before leaving for home. Among those seeing them off at the airport was Kang Sheng, Member of the Political Bureau and of the Secretariat of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party.

On August 27, Comrade Kang Sheng met and had a cordial talk with Comrade Grippa. Later, Comrade Kang Sheng gave a banquet in honour of Comrade Grippa and his wife, Madeleine Grippa.

### **Change in Chinese People's Police Uniform**

With the approval of the State Council, changes in the uniform of China's people's police, to be made between September 1 and 10, have been going on throughout the country. The new uniform consists of an olive green jacket with dark blue trousers. The "Chiehfang" (Liberation) cap with a national flag insignia is already being worn by the police, together with a red badge on each side of the collar.

### **Peking Municipal People's Council Bans Reactionary Franciscaines Missionnaires de Marie**

The Peking Municipal People's Council announced on August 26 the banning of the Franciscaines Missionnaires de Marie and took over the school, Sacre-Coeur, run by the mission. The action was taken in response to the demand of Peking's Red Guards and revolutionary masses and to safeguard China's security and the interests of the people. The Public Security Bureau of Peking announced a deportation order on August 28 and deported Olga Fedorowicz and seven other foreign nuns who had engaged in counter-revolutionary activities. In the custody of public security personnel and the Red Guards, they were deported from China on August 31.

The Franciscaines Missionnaires de Marie was founded in 1915 on the

instructions of its headquarters in Rome, at a time when imperialism was carrying out aggression against the Chinese people. Before liberation, the mission worked in collusion with the reactionary ruling classes abroad and at home, consistently took an antagonistic attitude towards the Chinese people and tried to undermine the cause of the liberation of the Chinese people. After liberation, under the direction of its Rome headquarters and under the cloak of religion, the mission used the school as a cover and secretly collaborated with a number of counter-revolutionaries in the Catholic churches in Peking, Hopei, Shansi, Inner Mongolia and Harbin, spied for information about China, printed reactionary documents, fabricated and spread rumours, instigated counter-revolutionaries to engage in plots to create riots and committed a series of acts of sabotage seriously detrimental to China's sovereignty.

During the present vigorous and great proletarian cultural revolution, which is unprecedented in history, the young Red Guards, armed with Mao Tse-tung's thought and holding aloft the great red banner of Mao Tse-tung's thought, are sweeping away the reactionary forces of imperialism and revisionism with the momentum of an avalanche and the force of a thunderbolt. They no longer would permit the counter-revolutionary mission which served imperialism to commit evil on Chinese territory. On August 24, Red Guards from more than a dozen schools in Peking rose against the counter-revolutionary mission. Their revolutionary action immediately won the most resolute and warmest support from the workers, peasants, soldiers, revolutionary cadres and revolutionary intellectuals.

When the Peking Public Security Bureau announced the deportation of Olga Fedorowicz and seven other foreign nuns engaged in counter-revolutionary activities at a mass rally on the evening of August 28, the people gathered inside and outside the compound where the mission was located expressed warm support for the deportation order.

## **Peking International Table Tennis Tournament**

Amid the thunderous acclaim of 15,000 spectators, the 1966 Peking International Table Tennis Invitational Tournament came to a triumphant close at the Workers' Gymnasium on the evening of September 4. It was an event marked throughout by the spirit of promoting friendship, mutual advancement, common progress and unity against imperialism among the Asian peoples.

The nine-day competition saw the Chinese men and women players, armed with the great thought of Mao Tse-tung, carrying off six of the seven titles, with one going to the Japanese.

### **High Standard of Play**

The team event finals on August 30 and the finals of the individual events on September 4 vividly demonstrated the high standard of play at the tournament.

The four-hour-long duels between the Chinese and Japanese men's and women's teams had spectators in the big gymnasium roaring their approval from start to finish. The women's team event saw China's Corbillon Cup winners Lin Hui-ching and Cheng Min-chih — players using the hand-shake grip — putting up a stonewall defence against Japan's world singles champion Naoko Fukazu and Noriko Yamana-ka, one of the world's hardest hitters. Remarkable will power and skill, stemming from their constant study of Chairman Mao Tse-tung's works, enabled the Chinese women players to take the team title 3:1 from Japan's hard-attacking duo.

The revolutionary "dare-to-fight and dare-to-win" spirit of the Chinese men's team, which was made up of world singles champion Chuang Tse-tung, world runner-up Li Fu-yung (who has changed his name from Li Fu-jung), and Chou Lan-sun, was greatly in evidence in their 5:0 victory over the Japanese

team of Nobuhiko Hasegawa, Manzi Fukushima and Yuzi Aikawa.

The finals in the individual events were also battles of will power and skill. Four of the five events were between Chinese players. The men's singles, in particular, was a display of blazing speed. Chuang Tse-tung and Li Fu-yung, who had thrice contended for the world singles title at the 26th, 27th and 28th World Championships, were at their best as they again competed, with the former finally winning the honours. The women's doubles was the only match in the finals between Chinese and Japanese players. This hotly contested match was won by Naoko Fukazu and Noriko Yamana-ka. The Japanese players' excellent co-ordination and sharply angled shots roused great admiration.

Throughout the tournament, players of the participating teams from 12 Asian countries and regions were at their best in their own varied styles. The high level of play demonstrated new progress resulting from the independent development of sports in the Asian countries of the new emerging forces, to which the present tournament gave added impetus. It reflected the further collapse of U.S. imperialist monopoly and control over international sports.

### **For Friendship and Unity Against Imperialism**

During the tournament, the spirit of friendship and unity against imperialism among the players of the participating countries prevailed. Competing, practising, freely exchanging experiences and learning from each other, the players formed many new friendships and strengthened old ones. World champion Chuang Tse-tung carefully coaching the 14-year-old Yemeni team captain Mohamed Sheraf, and Vietnamese Nguyen Thi Mai and Palestinian Nuha Almadbak, their arms raised

high over their heads and their hands interlocked in a gesture of unity against imperialism, were only two of many memorable scenes during the practice sessions. At a special forum to exchange experiences, many teams expressed the common view that only by opposing imperialism and carrying out national-liberation struggles can the people's sports in their countries really develop.

A distinctive feature of this tournament was the perceptible atmosphere of the great proletarian cultural revolution which gave the Workers' Gymnasium a completely new look. Young students, wearing the bright red arm band with the conspicuous words "Red Guard," were all around helping the regular staff serve the spectators. Shock brigades of the cultural revolution, the Red Guards regarded this as a glorious task of promoting the cause of the anti-imperialist fight of the world's peoples. They put up portraits of Chairman Mao and posters inscribed with quotations from his works all over the gymnasium, helped with the sale of Chairman Mao's works at the gym's bookstalls, read out Chairman Mao's quotations and taught revolutionary songs, all to the great admiration of the spectators. Many people said that the tournament not only gave them the chance to watch top-notch table tennis, but also gave everyone an education in Mao Tse-tung's thought.

### **Victory of Mao Tse-tung's Thought**

Coming from the midst of the great cultural revolution, the Chinese table tennis players brought its revolutionary spirit to the playing tables. Models in China's sports world in creatively studying and applying Chairman Mao's works, they have long made Chairman Mao's teachings on serving the Chinese and the world revolutions their guide to action. "We play table tennis with the interests of the country and the world in our minds" has become their motto. In the cultural revolution, they actively take up the defence of Mao Tse-tung's thought against reactionary bourgeois Rightists who seek to oppose it. They regard their success

in tournament as a victory for Mao Tse-tung's thought, and therefore a blow at the enemy. This accounted for their determination and fine performances.

In the course of the competition, the Chinese players devoted much time to the study of Chairman Mao's works. Before play began, after matches, and even during intermissions, they were often seen with their pocket-sized copies of *Quotations From Chairman Mao Tse-tung*, studying or discussing it in groups. They derived from these studies immeasurable strength and confidence "to surmount every difficulty to win victory."

At the closing ceremony, after receiving their prizes, the Chinese players turned to the spectators in the stands, waving their copies of the bright-red covered *Quotations* high overhead. The entire hall responded with deafening applause. The foreign friends cheered with particular warmth, not only for a highly successful tournament which welded together even more closely the militant friendship of the Asian peoples but also for an occasion which brought them to a deeper understanding of and love for Mao Tse-tung's great thought.

## MUSIC

### 1966 "Harbin Summer" Music Festival

THE great proletarian cultural revolution was surging forward at high tide throughout the land when Harbin's summer music festival was held this year. Its over 160 concerts lasted from August 5-22 and were heard by a total of 300,000 people. More than half the concerts were presented to audiences in the factories and squares, in the rural areas and in army units of this provincial capital of Heilungkiang Province, northeast China. At each concert, singers and audience — workers, peasants, soldiers, revolutionary cadres, revolutionary teachers and students — expressed their bound-

less love for Chairman Mao, the great teacher, great leader, great supreme commander and great helmsman of the Chinese people.

As the curtain rose at the first concert, a radiant red sun appeared on the backdrop. With the opening chorus — *The East Is Red* accompanied with *The Sunflower Dance*, a paean of praise to Chairman Mao and the Communist Party — the audience burst into excited, thunderous applause and cheers of: "Long live Chairman Mao! Long live, long live Chairman Mao!"

Next came a chorus of 180 labour models. Expressing the soaring sentiments of the working people, they sang the popular *Sailing the Seas Depends on the Helmsman* and a song composed by themselves, *Making Revolution Depends on Mao Tse-tung's Thought*. Singing with deep feeling, they brought together audience and artists and the whole theatre thundered its approval.

Song Iun Ho, a demobilized soldier of Korean nationality who lost both hands during the war to resist U.S. aggression and aid Korea, together with his fellow villagers, entertained the audience with *Sunflowers*, a song whose words expressed the deep love for Chairman Mao cherished by the people of all China's many nationalities. In the song *Chairman Mao Is the Red Sun in Our Hearts*, Han Chi-ying, a Khalkhas commune member, sang:

*The pine grows on the mountain peak,*

*The Khalkhas grow under the guidance of Chairman Mao;*

*We follow our leader to make revolution,*

*Chairman Mao is the red sun in our hearts.*

Special programmes arranged under the title of *Liu Ying-chun — Chairman Mao's Good Fighter* and dedicated to Liu Ying-chun, the People's Liberation Army hero who laid down his youthful life for the sake of the people [see *Peking Review*, No. 35, 1966], were performed

with deep class sentiment by an amateur group formed of his former comrades-in-arms.

This year's Harbin Summer music festival was characteristic of its unprecedented extent of mass participation. Some 5,000 workers, peasants, P.L.A. men, revolutionary cadres, revolutionary teachers and students, housewives and children, embracing ten nationalities — Han, Manchu, Mongolian, Hui, Korean, Olunchun, Owenke, Dahur, Khalkhas, Hecheh — took part. More than 90 per cent of them were amateur literary and art activists. Many of them were activists too in the study of Chairman Mao's works, as well as model workers and peasants, outstanding soldiers and students.

During the festival itself, amateur worker, peasant and soldier artists composed many new items on the publication of the 16-point decision of the Party's Central Committee concerning the great proletarian cultural revolution, and the communique of the 11th Plenary Session of the 8th Central Committee of the Party and the exciting news of Chairman Mao's meeting with the revolutionary masses in Peking. With revolutionary enthusiasm, they quickly took to and propagandized among the masses these impromptu pieces eulogizing our great leader Chairman Mao and praising the documents. Not a few festival items were similarly linked closely with current great political tasks and they played an effective and militant role in the service of the workers, peasants and soldiers, in the service of socialism and of proletarian politics.

The success of this festival was eloquent proof of the fact that the worker, peasant and soldier masses, armed with Mao Tse-tung's thought, are critics of the old world and creators of the new. They can work with hammer, hoe or plough. They can fight with guns. They can write with pens. Armed with Mao Tse-tung's thought, they can take to the stage to sing, dance and act, taking over these cultural positions for the proletariat with the militant spirit of the main force of the revolution.

# COMRADE MAO TSE-TUNG ON "IMPERIALISM AND ALL REACTIONARIES ARE PAPER TIGERS"

*(English Edition)*

This pamphlet is a collection of excerpts from articles, speeches and talks by Mao Tse-tung on the thesis that "imperialism and all reactionaries are paper tigers." It answers the question how to correctly assess the forces of revolution and of counter-revolution.

Mao Tse-tung often uses the old saying "A single spark can start a prairie fire" to describe the new-born forces growing up day by day in the course of revolution. He uses the term "paper tiger" to describe imperialism and all the reactionary forces which appear to be powerful but are actually weak. On the basis of this assessment, he points out that the revolutionary people have good reason to despise them, but take them seriously in each and every concrete struggle.

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