

PEKING REVIEW

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September 20, 1968

Chairman Mao's Important Inscription For Japanese Worker Friends

and *Renmin Ribao's* editorial: "Compass for the Victory
of the Revolutionary People of All Countries."

Chairman Mao, Vice-Chairman Lin And Premier Chou Send Message To Comrades Hoxha and Shehu

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ment of revolutionary committees throughout China.

On the Re-Education of Intellectuals

by *Renmin Ribao* and *Hongqi* Commentators,

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Chairman Mao's Important Inscription for Japanese Worker Friends

"The Japanese revolution will undoubtedly be victorious, provided the universal truth of Marxism-Leninism is really integrated with the concrete practice of the Japanese revolution.

"Written for our friends the Japanese workers, in compliance with the request of the friends on the Japanese Delegation to China of Worker Activists in Study.

MAO TSE-TUNG

September 18, 1962"

Chairman Mao, Vice-Chairman Lin And Premier Chou Send Message To Comrades Enver Hoxha and Mehmet Shehu

Expressing Sincere Thanks for Their Ardent Congratulations on the
Establishment of Revolutionary Committees Throughout China

- Firmly supporting the People's Republic of Albania and the fraternal Albanian people in their revolutionary action to withdraw from the Warsaw Treaty, firmly supporting the East European peoples in their just struggle against the Warsaw Treaty Organization which is controlled by Soviet revisionism, firmly supporting the peoples of West Europe and the rest of the world in their just struggle against NATO and other aggressive treaty organizations which are controlled by U.S. imperialism, and firmly supporting the revolutionary struggles of the people of all countries who have been subjected to aggression, control, enslavement or intimidation by U.S. imperialism and Soviet revisionism.
- The 700 million Chinese people, who have grown stronger through the tempering of the great proletarian cultural revolution, will at all times and under any circumstances unswervingly stand on the side of the fraternal Albanian people. If the U.S. imperialists, the Soviet modern revisionists and their lackeys dare touch Albania in the slightest, nothing but a thorough, ignominious and irrevocable defeat awaits them.

Comrade Mao Tse-tung, the great leader of the Chinese people and Chairman of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party, his close comrade-in-arms Comrade Lin Piao, Vice-Chairman of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party, and Comrade Chou En-lai, Premier of the State Council of the People's Republic of China, on September 17 sent a message to Comrade Enver Hoxha, the great leader of the Albanian people and First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Albanian Party of Labour, and Comrade Mehmet Shehu, Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the People's Republic of Albania, expressing sincere thanks and paying the highest tribute to them for their most ardent congratulations on the establishment of revolutionary committees in 29 provinces, municipalities and autonomous regions, that is, throughout the country except the province of Taiwan. The message also expressed firm support for the People's Republic of Albania and the fraternal Albanian people in their revolutionary action to withdraw from the Warsaw Treaty.

The message reads in full as follows:

Comrade Enver Hoxha, First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Albanian Party of Labour,

Comrade Mehmet Shehu, Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the People's Republic of Albania, Tirana

At a time when revolutionary committees have been established in 29 provinces, municipalities and autonomous regions, that is, throughout the country except the province of Taiwan, we have received your extremely warm message of congratulations. This is an immense inspiration and support to the Chinese people who are seizing all-round victory in the great proletarian cultural revolution. We hereby express sincere thanks and pay the highest tribute to you.

Under the wise leadership of the Albanian Party of Labour headed by great Marxist-Leninist Comrade Enver Hoxha, the heroic Albanian people are unfolding a movement for revolutionization, which is of profound significance in socialist revolution, and have won one great victory after another. The educational revolution and working-class supervision initiated by Comrade Enver Hoxha this year have enriched this movement and propelled its progress. We most warmly congratulate the fraternal Albanian people on the increasingly brilliant victories they have scored along the road of revolutionization. These victories enable Albania, the great beacon of socialism in Europe, to shine forth with increasing radiance.

A few days ago, the People's Republic of Albania solemnly announced its decision to withdraw from the Warsaw Treaty and issued a decree to that effect. This is another heavy blow to the Soviet revisionist renegade clique as well as an immense encouragement to the East European peoples in their struggle against this clique. The Warsaw Treaty has long become the tool of the Khrushchov revisionist clique for practising great-power chauvinism and national egoism and for controlling and plundering the East European peoples. It has long become the tool of the Soviet revisionist renegade clique for making deals with the North Atlantic Treaty Organization, which is controlled by U.S. imperialism, and for effecting U.S.-Soviet collaboration for world domination. Recently, the Soviet revisionist renegade clique has mustered its revisionist partners Poland, East Germany, Hungary and Bulgaria, and brazenly using the Warsaw Treaty as a signboard, has committed armed aggression against Czechoslovakia, thus perpetrating towering crimes against the Czechoslovak people. This has thoroughly revealed the aggressive and reactionary nature of the treaty before the people of the world. The Czechoslovak revisionist clique has shamelessly betrayed the Czechoslovak people by its policy of selling out the country and capitulating to the aggressors. Under the leadership of the Albanian Party of Labour headed by their outstanding leader Comrade Enver Hoxha, the Albanian people have long been waging resolute struggles against the various criminal activities conducted by the Soviet revisionist renegade clique through the instrumentality of the Warsaw Treaty. The Chinese Communist Party and the Chinese people greatly admire the highly principled stand of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism demonstrated by the Albanian Party of Labour and the Albanian people in this struggle.

We firmly support the People's Republic of Albania and the fraternal Albanian people in their

revolutionary action to withdraw from the Warsaw Treaty, firmly support the East European peoples in their just struggle against the Warsaw Treaty Organization which is controlled by Soviet revisionism, firmly support the peoples of West Europe and the rest of the world in their just struggle against NATO and other aggressive treaty organizations which are controlled by U.S. imperialism, and firmly support the revolutionary struggles of the people of all countries who have been subjected to aggression, control, enslavement or intimidation by U.S. imperialism and Soviet revisionism.

The great militant proletarian friendship between the peoples of China and Albania, which has been forged in revolutionary storms, can stand severe tests. The 700 million Chinese people, who have grown stronger through the tempering of the great proletarian cultural revolution, will at all times and under any circumstances unswervingly stand on the side of the fraternal Albanian people. If the U.S. imperialists, the Soviet modern revisionists and their lackeys dare touch Albania in the slightest, nothing but a thorough, ignominious and irrevocable defeat awaits them.

Dear comrades! Working in collusion with each other, the Soviet revisionists and the U.S. imperialists have done so many evil and ugly things that the revolutionary people of the world will not let them go free. The people of all countries are rising. A new historic stage of opposing U.S. imperialism and Soviet revisionism has begun. Let us hold still higher the revolutionary red banner of Marxism-Leninism and march forward hand in hand in the great struggle against the imperialists headed by U.S. imperialism, the modern revisionists headed by Soviet revisionism and all the reactionaries who closely tail after U.S. imperialism and Soviet revisionism!

Long live the great and unbreakable militant friendship between the peoples of China and Albania!

Long live the heroic Albanian people!

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

Lin Piao, Vice-Chairman of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party

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

Peking, September 17, 1968

Peking Review, No. 38

Chairman Mao's Important Inscription for Japanese Worker Friends

Chairman Mao Tse-tung wrote an important inscription for Japanese worker friends on September 18, 1962 when he received the Japanese Delegation to China of Worker Activists in Study. Tomorrow being the sixth anniversary of Chairman Mao's inscription, we hereby release it.

The full text of Chairman Mao's inscription follows:

"The Japanese revolution will undoubtedly be victorious, provided the universal truth of Marxism-

Leninism is really integrated with the concrete practice of the Japanese revolution.

"Written for our friends the Japanese workers, in compliance with the request of the friends on the Japanese Delegation to China of Worker Activists in Study.

MAO TSE-TUNG

September 18, 1962"

(Hsinhua report, September 17)

人民日报
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Compass for the Victory of the Revolutionary People of All Countries

ON September 18, 1962, Chairman Mao Tse-tung wrote an inscription for Japanese worker friends as follows: **"The Japanese revolution will undoubtedly be victorious, provided the universal truth of Marxism-Leninism is really integrated with the concrete practice of the Japanese revolution."** Today is the sixth anniversary of this glorious inscription. It is made public in Chairman Mao's handwriting on the front page of this paper. This inscription of Chairman Mao's is of extremely important and far-reaching significance not only for the revolutionary cause of the

Japanese people but also for the revolutionary cause of the people of all other countries.

Without revolutionary theory, there can be no revolutionary movement. Marxism-Leninism is the crystallization of the most correct and revolutionary scientific theory of the world's proletariat, and is the universal truth applicable everywhere. Once Marxism-Leninism is grasped by the proletariat and the broad masses of revolutionary people of all countries, it will generate unlimited wisdom and strength to push forward the victorious development of the revolutionary

cause. Integration of Marxism-Leninism with the concrete practice of the revolution in all countries is the most fundamental guarantee for the peoples to triumph in their revolutionary cause.

In the course of leading the Chinese revolution, Chairman Mao has taught us over and over again: Chinese Communists **"must fully and properly integrate the universal truth of Marxism with the concrete practice of the Chinese revolution."** **"Close integration of Marxist-Leninist theory with the practice of the Chinese revolution is the ideological principle consistently followed by our Party."** This is exactly what the Chinese Communist Party has been doing. Once the universal truth of Marxism-Leninism is integrated with the practice of the revolutionary struggle of the proletariat and broad masses of people of China, it becomes an invincible weapon of the Chinese people.

Comrade Mao Tse-tung vividly compares integration of theory with practice to **"shooting the arrow at the target."** By shooting the "arrow" of Marxism-Leninism at the "target" of the Chinese revolution, Comrade Mao Tse-tung has solved a whole number of questions of theory, line, principle, policy and tactics during the Chinese democratic revolution and socialist revolution and concerning the continuation of the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat, thus leading the Chinese revolution from victory to victory.

The integration of Marxism-Leninism with the concrete practice of the revolution in one's own country is a principle applicable to the Chinese revolution and similarly to the revolution in Japan as well as all other countries. That is to say, the party of the proletariat in all countries must firmly adhere to the universal truth of Marxism-Leninism and at the same time, proceeding from life itself, maintain close contact with the masses, constantly sum up the experience of mass struggles and independently formulate and carry out policies and tactics suited to the conditions of each country. The Khrushchovite revisionist clique has abandoned the universal truth of Marxism-Leninism under the pretext of "creatively developing Marxism-Leninism." This is out-and-out opportunism, i.e., modern revisionism!

The Miyamoto revisionist renegade clique in the Japanese Communist Party uses the pretext of different

"internal and external conditions" in Japan to advertise its so-called "independence." This is complete nonsense. While paying lip-service to Marxism-Leninism, it vehemently attacks and opposes what is most fundamental in Marxism-Leninism. Trying desperately to distort and emasculate Marxism-Leninism, it opposes violent revolution and the seizure of political power by armed force. It plumps for so-called "peaceful revolution" and takes "the parliamentary road." This actually means that it does not want to make revolution, it betrays the revolution, and is against revolution. The Miyamoto revisionist clique is a rank bunch of shameless traitors to Marxism-Leninism, shameless traitors to the Japanese revolutionary cause.

Today, the revolutionary struggle of the Japanese people is going forward with verve and vigour. The revolutionary consciousness of the Japanese people is rising all the time, and the ranks of the genuine Marxist-Leninist Left are growing and gathering strength with each passing day. In rebelling against the Miyamoto revisionist clique in a big way, Japan's proletarian revolutionaries and the great mass of revolutionary people wield the powerful weapon of genuine Marxism-Leninism in their fight against U.S. imperialism, Japan's monopoly capitalist class and modern revisionism. The situation of the Japanese revolution is becoming better and better. Japan's proletarian revolutionaries realize that the glorious and solemn task confronting them is to make a further conscientious effort to concretely apply genuine Marxism-Leninism to the actual practice of the revolutionary struggle of the Japanese people, proceed from the conditions obtaining in Japan and find solutions to a series of questions regarding the strategy and tactics of the Japanese revolution and constantly push the Japanese revolution forward. The process of winning victory in the Japanese revolution is inevitably the process of an increasingly close integration of Marxism-Leninism with the actual practice of the Japanese revolution.

It is our firm conviction that a truly revolutionary Japanese party armed with Marxism-Leninism is sure to come into being in the flames of revolutionary struggle. After going through a protracted and tortuous struggle and overcoming all difficulties and perils, this party will lead the Japanese proletariat and broad masses of people to final victory in the revolution.

("Renmin Ribao" editorial, September 18)

Albanian People's Assembly Passes Law Denouncing Warsaw Treaty, Announces Albania's Withdrawal From It

THE Sixth People's Assembly of the Albanian People's Republic held its sixth session in Tirana on September 12 and 13. The session passed a law denouncing the Warsaw Treaty and announced the withdrawal of the Albanian People's Republic from the treaty.

Enver Hoxha, the great leader of the Albanian people and First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Albanian Party of Labour; Haxhi Lleshi, President of the Presidium of the Albanian People's Assembly; Mehmet Shehu, Chairman of the Albanian Council of Ministers; and other Albanian Party and state leaders attended the session.

The session was convened at the request of the Albanian Government and in accordance with the decision of the Fifth Plenary Session of the Central Committee of the Albanian Party of Labour on September 5. Mehmet Shehu, Member of the Political Bureau of the Party's Central Committee and Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Albanian People's Republic, delivered a speech at the session on the denunciation of the Warsaw Treaty and the withdrawal of the Albanian People's Republic from this treaty.

The session discussed Comrade Shehu's speech and approved it fully. The session passed a law on September 13. The law points out: The conclusion of the Warsaw Treaty was aimed at guaranteeing with joint forces the security of the participating states from any imperialist aggression, especially from the North

Atlantic bloc headed by U.S. imperialism, as well as at strengthening all-round co-operation among the socialist states on the basis of the lofty principles of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism. However, the Soviet Government and the governments of some other member states of the Warsaw Treaty, in opposition to the fundamental provisions of the treaty, have thoroughly distorted by their actions the aims for which the treaty was created. All their activities proceed from the imperialist aims of the Soviet-U.S. collaboration for the domination of the world to the detriment of the fundamental interests of the peoples. The law says: The aggression against Czechoslovakia perpetrated by the Soviet Union, Poland, the German Democratic Republic, Hungary and Bulgaria, showed that the Warsaw Treaty was most brutally trampled upon and was turned from a means of defence against imperialist aggression into a means of attack on its own participants.

The law announces that the Albanian People's Republic is liberated from all obligation deriving from this treaty.

In addition to the People's Assembly deputies, the session was attended by the working people in Albania's factories and other production centres and cultural and educational institutions as well as representatives of mass organizations.

Diplomatic envoys of various countries in Albania were present at the session on invitation.

Warsaw Treaty Has Become Instrument for Soviet Revisionists' Aggression Against and Enslavement of the People of Member States

— Speech by Comrade Shehu at session of Albanian People's Assembly

COMRADE MEHMET SHEHU, Member of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Albanian Party of Labour and Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Albanian People's Republic, delivered a speech at the session of the Albanian People's Assembly on September 12 on the denunciation of the Warsaw Treaty and the withdrawal of the People's Republic of Albania from it.

Comrade Shehu said: The Council of Ministers decided to present to the People's Assembly the proposal on the denunciation of the Warsaw Treaty and the withdrawal of the People's Republic of Albania from this treaty, following a careful and responsible examination of the situation created in the Warsaw Treaty Organization and following the approval by the Party Central Committee.

The Soviet revisionist leadership and the revisionist leadership of the other countries participating in the Warsaw Treaty have long excluded de facto the People's Republic of Albania from the Warsaw Treaty.

The time has come for the People's Republic of Albania to withdraw from the Warsaw Treaty de jure as well, and this action will be carried out by us, the representatives of the Albanian people, being fully aware that this is a revolutionary action which fully complies with the supreme class interests of our socialist homeland and of revolution in general in the present-day conditions.

Comrade Shehu said: The Warsaw Treaty was concluded in May 1955, while at the beginning of 1956 there was held the 20th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, where the arch revisionist Nikita Khrushchov overturned the previous correct Marxist-Leninist line of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union of Lenin-Stalin and replaced it with the Khrushchovite counter-revolutionary revisionist line. The 20th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union marked the beginning of counter-revolution

in the Soviet Union, as well as in many other socialist countries, it marked a disastrous counter-revolutionary turning point for the Soviet Union and created tremendous difficulties for the entire international communist movement.

In the course of events, with the implementation of the revisionist and counter-revolutionary line of the 20th Congress on the part of the Khrushchovite leadership of the Soviet Union, the Albanian Party of Labour under the leadership of its Central Committee headed by Comrade Enver Hoxha, as a result of its revolutionary class clear-sightedness that characterizes it, perceived the real aims of the 20th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and, remaining faithful to Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism, started its resistance to the aims of the Soviet revisionist leadership, still within the framework of the Warsaw Treaty. This resistance has gone through the process of its development, passing from simple remarks and initial resistance, up to the active and open action against the revisionist line of the Soviet Khrushchovite leadership and its servitors. We opposed, at the very outset, in various forms, to the extent we were allowed by the circumstances of that time, the conclusions of the 20th Congress, so that this initial resistance by our Party was quickly perceived by Nikita Khrushchov. We have opposed the pressures of the Khrushchovite leadership of the Soviet Union to weaken the defensive might of our country, we have striven for the implementation of the principle of equality in the context of the direction of the activity of the Warsaw Treaty, we have insisted on the defence of the interests of socialism and of the socialist camp against the very first manifestations of violation of these interests by Nikita Khrushchov and his crew, and so on and so forth.

But the frictions between our Party and Government, and the Soviet revisionist leadership, were transformed into an explosion at the Bucharest Conference and especially at the Moscow Conference of the Communist and Workers' Parties, in 1960. There, our Party

openly attacked the whole undermining activity of the Soviet revisionist leadership headed by Nikita Khrushchov, and this heroic and revolutionary action of our Party will remain one of the most brilliant pages not only in the history of our Party, but also in the history of the entire international communist and workers' movement. The speech delivered by Comrade Enver Hoxha at the Moscow Conference in November 1960 will remain an everlasting glorious monument in the history of the international communist and workers' movement, it constitutes an exceptional contribution by our Party and Comrade Enver Hoxha to the exposure of the Khrushchovite revisionist clique and to the defence of the purity of Marxism-Leninism on a world scale.

This revolutionary, consistent and courageous stand by our Party infuriated the revisionist leadership of the Soviet Union and its vassals. Beginning from that time, Nikita Khrushchov and his collaborators intensified in an unprecedented way their counter-revolutionary and chauvinist activity against our Party, our Government and our people.

Comrade Shehu went on to denounce the Soviet revisionist clique for using the Warsaw Treaty Consultative Political Committee, from 1961 onward, to savagely attack the People's Republic of Albania, unscrupulously violating the provisions of this treaty as to the rights of the People's Republic of Albania concerning the united command of the treaty armed forces and the other questions of a military character, and scheming to carry out military intervention against Albania by utilizing the Vlora naval base.

Comrade Shehu said: The Soviet Government, extending the ideological differences also to state relations with Albania, violated and wrecked unilaterally all the agreements which had been concluded. It cancelled all the credits extended to the People's Republic of Albania by regular agreements for the 1959-65 period, it cancelled all the agreements duly concluded between the two countries, it withdrew all the Soviet specialists from Albania, it suspended completely all co-operation and economic, trade, technical-scientific and cultural relations, and it organized an economic, political and military blockade against socialist Albania.

On the other hand, the arch renegade Nikita Khrushchov made great promises to the Greek chauvinists for the fulfilment of their aspirations against the territorial integrity of the People's Republic of Albania.

Pursuing this hostile road, the Soviet revisionists went so far as to make an open call to the Albanian people, from the rostrum of their 22nd Congress, for counter-revolution, to overthrow the Marxist-Leninist leadership of our Party and state and to replace it with a revisionist leadership that would be a servant of the Khrushchovite leadership of the Soviet Union. The Soviet revisionist leadership plotted actively several

times, indeed in close collaboration with the external enemies of our country, to upset the situation in Albania in favour of revisionism and counter-revolution. But all these plots failed shamefully owing to the revolutionary vigilance, to the steel-like unity and determination of our Party and our people.

Comrade Shehu said: The Soviet Government, beginning from 1961, following with consistency and great zeal the course of the alliance with the United States of America, has made numerous deals with U.S. imperialism to the detriment of the interests of the socialist countries and of the peoples of the world; it has concluded a series of agreements which are entirely detrimental to the interests of socialism and revolution and which are to the advantage of U.S. imperialism.

In 1963, the Soviet revisionist leadership concluded with the United States of America and Britain the ill-famed tripartite Moscow treaty on the partial prohibition of nuclear weapons tests, and a few months ago the Soviet revisionists also concluded with the American imperialists the "treaty on non-proliferation of nuclear weapons." **The Government of the People's Republic of Albania has not been consulted at all about these agreements, as provided for by Article 7 of the Warsaw Treaty, and it is opposed to these agreements between the reactionaries and the imperialists.**

Comrade Shehu pointed out: Our Government has condemned these two treaties as a new U.S.-Soviet counter-revolutionary plot against the interests of the peoples, and in flagrant contradiction to the spirit and provisions of the Warsaw Treaty.

These two imperialist-revisionist treaties are directed, in the first place, against the People's Republic of China, to "contain" People's China, so that she should not have nuclear weapons. But this plot of the U.S.-Soviet counter-revolutionary alliance has long since failed too. Great People's China, which accounts for one-fourth of the world's population, resolutely advancing on the road illuminated by the Marxist-Leninist teachings and ideas of Comrade Mao Tse-tung, has long since finally broken the imperialist-revisionist nuclear monopoly, and there is no treaty, plot or force in the world capable of curbing or preventing her from marching steadily forward on the road of revolution, socialism and communism.

The real strength of a nation and a people does not consist in arms but in men, in their consciousness, because in the last analysis the outcome of a war is not decided by weapons, but by man. And the new man, genuinely revolutionary, of socialist China, or of socialist Albania, is much stronger than any imperialist or revisionist nuclear arsenal in the world. We wish that the nuclear potential of the People's Republic of China will become ever stronger because nuclear weapons in the hands of the 700-million-strong revolutionary people of China, nurtured with the teachings and ideas of the great Marxist-Leninist, Comrade Mao Tse-tung, are

entirely in the service of real peace in Asia and in the world, in the service of the defence of the sovereignty of the People's Republic of China, of the defence of the interests of the freedom of the peoples and of revolution.

The Soviet revisionist leadership has made deals with the U.S. imperialists on questions relating to "European security" as well as on the conclusion of an agreement for a "non-aggression pact" between the Warsaw Treaty and NATO, etc. All this has been done without consulting the Albanian Government and contrary to the Warsaw Treaty provisions. By these actions, the Soviet revisionist leadership has channelled the Warsaw Treaty into the service of the interests of U.S. imperialism, against the interests of socialism, of the freedom of the peoples and of peace in the world.

The use of the Warsaw Treaty by the Soviet revisionists as a tool against the revolutionary and liberation struggles of the peoples is mirrored also in the demagogic attitude and in the plots hatched within the framework of this treaty concerning the struggle of the Vietnamese people against the American aggressors. The Soviet revisionists and their servitors in the Warsaw Treaty make a big fuss about the "aid" which they give to the Vietnamese people in their struggle against the U.S. aggressors, and on the other hand, they leave no stone unturned to help the U.S. imperialists to subdue the heroic struggle of the Vietnamese people through the so-called "peace talks" which are nothing but a big plot of open betrayal against the heroic struggle of the Vietnamese people and in the service of U.S. imperialism.

Under the mask of the Warsaw Treaty, the Soviet revisionist leadership and its lackeys pose themselves in this treaty as "the most zealous defenders" of the Arab people in their just struggle against the Israeli-imperialist aggression. On the other hand, they do everything in their power to undermine the struggle of the Arab people and to back up what U.S. imperialism aims at achieving through the Israeli aggressive action.

All these actions not only have discredited the Warsaw Treaty before all the peoples of the world, but they have turned it into a tool in the hands of the chauvinist Moscow revisionists for the attainment of their aims, using it as an important lever to further and deepen Soviet-U.S. collaboration for the domination of the world by these two great powers.

Comrade Shehu said: From the beginning of 1961, the Government of the People's Republic of Albania has not been consulted and has never been invited to attend the numerous meetings that have been held within the framework of the Warsaw Treaty, and it has never been informed by the participants of the decisions that have been adopted in these meetings. The People's Republic of Albania bears no responsibility whatsoever for all these decisions and actions, which in general are contradictory to the interests of

the People's Republic of Albania, of socialism and peace.

The Soviet Government and the governments of the other member states of the Warsaw Treaty denied our country its lawful rights under the treaty. They placed it in a position of inequality and discrimination and sought to humiliate it by all sorts of intrigues, attacks and conspiracies. But the People's Republic of Albania, by its correct and heroic attitude, caused all the attempts and hostile actions of these renegades to fail. It patiently and seriously made repeated approaches to the Warsaw Treaty organs and to the governments of the member states, calling on them to reflect on the situation created in the framework of the treaty and to repair without delay the great damage caused to the supreme interests of the member states and to the whole of the socialist camp.

In its official notes and letters to other Warsaw Treaty member governments, our Government warned them of the serious dangers that were threatening the Warsaw Treaty due to their anti-Albania and anti-socialist actions.

All the official documents addressed to the Warsaw Treaty members by our Government clearly mirror the entirely correct, Marxist-Leninist and internationalist attitude of our Party and Government towards the situation created in the treaty as a result of the harmful actions of the Soviet Government and the governments of the other member countries.

Comrade Enver Hoxha said at the 5th Congress of our Party: "Our Party and Government have waged and are waging a resolute struggle against the criminal attempts of the Khrushchovite revisionists and their followers to use the Warsaw Treaty and the Council for Mutual Economic Aid as an instrument of pressure, intervention and aggression against our country. We shall defend our rights through to the end and we shall insistently expose the betrayal and conspiracies of the new tsars of the Kremlin, not only as regards the interests and rights of Albania, but also as regards the rights and interests of socialism and of peace in general."

Comrade Shehu said: Our Party and Government have long ago warned the Warsaw Treaty member countries that the Soviet revisionist clique is seeking to use this treaty as "an instrument of its big-power chauvinist policy" and that "it is placing the Warsaw Treaty in the service of the policy of Soviet-American collaboration."

These objective forecasts made by our Party and Government were confirmed by life itself. The recent barbarous aggression on the part of the Soviet revisionists and their servitors, members of the Warsaw Treaty, against the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic and the Czechoslovak people and the military occupation of the whole territory of Czechoslovakia by their armed forces have most clearly confirmed these forecasts before the whole world.

The military aggression against Czechoslovakia is aggression against a country which is a member of the Warsaw Treaty, as is the case of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic, on the part of five other countries, also members of the Warsaw Treaty—the Soviet Union, the German Democratic Republic, the People's Republic of Poland, the People's Republic of Hungary and the People's Republic of Bulgaria. The aggression was carried out in the name of the Warsaw Treaty and in the most perfidious manner. It is a fascist-type aggression.

Comrade Shehu said: Both the Novotny revisionist group and the Dubcek revisionist group in Czechoslovakia are products of the extension to Czechoslovakia of the implementation of the revisionist line of the 20th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. The difference between these two Czechoslovak revisionist groups consists only in the extent of their submission to the Moscow revisionist clique: the Novotny group stood for the complete submission of Czechoslovakia to the Brezhnev-Kosygin clique, whereas the Dubcek group was seeking to detach itself from this Khrushchovite clique of the Soviet Union.

When the occupation armies of the Soviet revisionists and their satellites suddenly and perfidiously attacked the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic and the Czechoslovak people, the Dubcek and Svoboda revisionist clique called on the Czechoslovak people, and ordered the army, not to resist the aggression. This was a shameful capitulation of the Czechoslovak revisionist clique before the foreign invaders, and the worst betrayal of the interests of the Czechoslovak people.

During the humiliating negotiations that were held under duress in the Kremlin, the head of Czechoslovak revisionism Alexander Dubcek and his closest collaborators Cernik, Smrkovsky, etc., were brought into the negotiations hall by the Soviet revisionists, humiliated and browbeaten into submission, while Soviet tanks were carrying out the occupation of all Czechoslovakia by violence and were crushing under their treads the Czechoslovak people. In these conditions of fascist-type dictate, the latest Moscow agreement between the Czechoslovak revisionist leaders and the Soviet revisionist leaders was signed. The Dubcek-Svoboda clique, to save their skins, capitulated still further. They accepted the conditions of the Soviet occupation of Czechoslovakia and thereby turned themselves into a clique of collaborationists and quislings carrying out blindly and humbly the orders of the savage invaders to suppress the freedom of the Czechoslovak people.

Comrade Shehu said: Our Party, Government and people denounce and condemn with the greatest determination both the brutal aggression of the Soviet revisionists and their servants against Czechoslovakia and the fraternal Czechoslovak people, as well as the high treason of the Czechoslovak revisionist leadership headed by Dubcek, who, placing themselves in the full

service of the invader, are performing the functions of a collaborationist and quisling government and carrying out the orders dictated by the occupier for the enslavement of the Czechoslovak revolutionary people.

Our Party, Government and people congratulate the fraternal Czechoslovak people on the fact that, despite the repeated calls of the Czechoslovak revisionist chieftains to unconditionally submit to foreign occupation and not to put up any resistance whatsoever in defence of the homeland, they met the occupation of their homeland with organized resistance, though on a rudimentary scale, and are manifesting opposition also to the Dubcek-Svoboda collaborationist clique.

Our Party, Government and people have faith in the revolutionary spirit of the fraternal Czechoslovak people. We are confident that the Czechoslovak people will not reconcile themselves to the occupation of their homeland, but they will fight this occupation by a war of liberation and people's war in various forms. We are confident that the Czechoslovak people will not reconcile themselves to the collaborationist Dubcek leadership or to anyone else who would submit to the dictate of the occupier. We are confident that the Czechoslovak people will fight against the fiendish schemes of the imperialists and revanchists. Under the leadership of genuine Marxist-Leninist Communists and of the revolutionary working class, the Czechoslovak people will for sure develop their struggle for freedom, leading it towards higher forms, including that of armed struggle, until the complete liberation of their homeland from the foreign invaders and the restoration of the dictatorship of the proletariat in Czechoslovakia. They must not allow themselves to be deceived by illusions and compromises, by the promises of the occupier, by the demagogy of internal revisionists and collaborationists, by the flattery of the imperialists and by the "sympathy" of sham friends.

The Czechoslovak people's struggle for freedom will be a protracted and difficult one. But it will without fail lead to the victory of the Czechoslovak people. In their sacred struggle for freedom and socialism, the Czechoslovak people are not alone; they enjoy the sympathy of all the freedom-loving people of the world, including among them the people of the Soviet Union, Poland, the German Democratic Republic, Hungary and Bulgaria who are suffering under the heel of the same revisionist cliques of their respective countries that engineered and carried out the aggression against Czechoslovakia and her occupation. On the side of the Czechoslovak people are all the real revolutionaries of the world. The Albanian people will always stand on the side of the Czechoslovak people in their just struggle for freedom and socialism.

Comrade Shehu pointed out that the aggression by the Soviet revisionists and their servants against Czechoslovakia and the Czechoslovak people has severely stained the reputation and honour of the Soviet Union,

of the Soviet people, of the Soviet soldier. But we have faith in the Soviet people and in the genuine revolutionary Communists of the Soviet Union. We are confident that they will not tolerate for long this humiliation brought on them by the revisionist renegade clique which is ruling today in the Kremlin. We are confident that they will rise one day just as they rose during the Great October Revolution and overthrow the revisionist traitorous leadership and bring the Soviet Union back to the correct road of Lenin and Stalin.

Comrade Shehu said: The Soviet revisionist leadership has degenerated so far that it has lost all feeling and reason of human morality. Its morality is perfidy itself. This clique of renegades has behaved perfidiously with regard to the Albanian people, it behaves perfidiously towards the Vietnamese people, it behaves perfidiously with regard to the Arab people, it behaves perfidiously towards the Czechoslovak people, it behaves perfidiously with regard to anyone. And who can trust any more the Soviet revisionist clique? Nobody in the world, not only their enemies, but also their friends do not trust the perfidious present-day Kremlin rulers.

All the tactical actions of the Soviet revisionist leadership, including here its actions within the framework of the Warsaw Treaty, are subject to the ultimate aims of its global strategy which is based on the Soviet-American alliance for the domination of the world.

Why do the U.S. imperialists accept the occupation of Czechoslovakia by the armies of the five Warsaw Treaty countries? Because the spheres of influence have long been divided: Czechoslovakia comes under Soviet revisionist domination. Tomorrow, should the working class, let us say in Spain, rise in revolution for the overthrow of the Franco dictatorship and the establishment of people's power, the United States of America will certainly interfere to quell the revolution under the treads of its tanks, and the Soviet revisionists, if they are still in power at that time, will accept this interference of U.S. imperialism because Spain is within the American sphere of influence.

U.S. imperialism today accepts the occupation of Czechoslovakia by the five Warsaw Treaty countries in exchange for the active collaboration of the Soviet revisionist leadership to organize the capitulation and the quelling of the struggle of the Vietnamese people against U.S. aggression.

Today, the freedom and sovereignty of the peoples and the peace of the world are seriously endangered. This danger stems from American-Soviet collaboration. This counter-revolutionary collaboration has as its ultimate aim the domination of the world by these two big powers. The NATO aggressive bloc which is an enslaving tool in the hands of the United States of America on the one hand, and the Warsaw Treaty which has been turned into an enslaving tool in the hands of the Soviet revisionist leaders on the other, are

the foundation of the aggressive force on which the counter-revolutionary action of the American-Soviet collaboration is based for the realization of their enslaving aims — domination of the world by the means of the club, fire and the sword.

Today, it is the historic duty of all the peoples of the world to rise up, to unite and fight without compromise and through to the end against the U.S.-Soviet alliance for the domination of the world, to frustrate the aggressive plans of this alliance, to save the freedom of the peoples and the sovereignty of the nations from the danger threatening them on the part of the two worst enemies, U.S. imperialism and Soviet revisionism, and big-power chauvinism.

“Peace” in Europe — war in Asia — this is the main pivot of the global strategy of the American-Soviet alliance. All and every action of these two imperialist powers, in the last analysis, is aimed at this.

Why are all the spears, both those of the U.S. imperialists and those of the Soviet revisionists, directed towards Asia? Because there stands great People's China, which has become the most powerful and insurmountable obstacle in the way of the U.S.-Soviet imperialist and revisionist plans for the domination of the world.

Great People's China, Comrade Shehu said, has become the most powerful bulwark of socialism and communism in the world. The genuine revolutionaries and the freedom-loving peoples see in the People's Republic of China their powerful and invincible ally, the unyielding and consistent defender of the freedom of the peoples, that holds high and pure the banner of Marxism-Leninism, while for U.S. imperialism and Soviet revisionism the 700-million-strong great China, tempered with the Marxist-Leninist ideas of Mao Tse-tung, is their worst enemy. Without overcoming the Chinese obstacle, the U.S. imperialists and the Soviet revisionists cannot attain their ultimate strategic aim for the domination of the world. Therefore, they have directed their main spearheads against the People's Republic of China. They had had great hopes to “take the fortress from within” in China. But these hopes of theirs were smashed to smithereens by the great proletarian cultural revolution which was initiated and is being led by the great Marxist-Leninist, Comrade Mao Tse-tung. The great Chinese proletarian cultural revolution, with Marxism-Leninism, swept away all the garbage from the present-day Chinese society, it purified the Chinese people's revolutionary ranks of the revisionists headed by China's Khrushchov, of the agents and the enemies of revolution and socialism. The great proletarian cultural revolution has multiplied the force and revolutionary vitality of the Chinese people, and frustrated the counter-revolutionary hopes of the imperialists and revisionists for the liquidation of socialism in China. Should the U.S. imperialists and Soviet revisionists engage one day in a military adventure against great

People's China, by this action they will dig their own graves, for then nothing will save them and a sure death lies in store for them.

We learnt with great joy about the completion, in these recent days, of the establishment of revolutionary committees in all the provinces, cities and autonomous regions of the People's Republic of China, with the exception of the province of Taiwan. This is a brilliant victory of the great proletarian cultural revolution, of Comrade Mao Tse-tung's teachings and ideas. We wholeheartedly congratulate the glorious Communist Party of China, the heroic Chinese working class, the fraternal Chinese people and their great leader, Comrade Mao Tse-tung, on this historic victory of the great proletarian cultural revolution, we wish them further and continuous victories on the road of socialism and communism, for the good of the great Chinese people, for the good of the international proletariat and of all the peoples of the world.

The U.S.-Soviet plans will fail shamefully. Standing together with great People's China and with the People's Republic of Albania, who are giving tit-for-tat to the U.S. imperialists and the Soviet revisionists, are all the freedom-loving peoples of the world, all the genuine revolutionaries in the world. The general historical course of events is inevitably leading to the burial of capitalism and revisionism which is its offspring, it is leading to the triumph of socialism and communism.

Comrade Shehu said: By withdrawing from the Warsaw Treaty, the People's Republic of Albania is taking a revolutionary step. The Warsaw Treaty no longer serves socialism and peace, it no longer serves the cause of the working class and proletarian internationalism, it has lost the ideological and class basis on which it was created, it now serves the revisionist bourgeoisie, it serves the big-power chauvinistic narrow interests of the Soviet revisionist leadership, as well as the U.S.-Soviet counter-revolutionary alliance for the domination of the world. This treaty has been turned into an instrument of aggression against the peoples in the same way as the North Atlantic Treaty which is led by the United States of America.

By withdrawing from the Warsaw Treaty, we show to the whole world that the Albanian people do not recognize zones of influence of the big imperialist and revisionist powers and refuse to be a member of an aggressive coalition.

We performed our duty as revolutionaries: We strove in every way so that the Warsaw Treaty should serve the just aims for which it was created. This was impossible to achieve due to the anti-socialist activity of the Soviet revisionist leadership, and the Warsaw Treaty lost its original character, it turned from a treaty of defence of the socialist countries against imperialist and revanchist aggression into a treaty of aggression and into a tool in the hands of the Soviet revisionists

to liquidate the freedom of the peoples of the countries participating in this treaty. Socialist Albania cannot allow its revolutionary banner to be stained by further continuing to be a member of the aggressive Warsaw Treaty. It will hold high and unblemished the banner of revolution against all enemies and against all hostile treaties, both against the imperialist NATO and against the revisionist Warsaw Treaty.

Comrade Shehu said: We know that the Soviet revisionists and their followers will propagandize with much fuss that, by withdrawing from the Warsaw Treaty, the People's Republic of Albania "will remain defenceless and at the mercy of aggression by the NATO military bloc or other external enemies of Albania." We do not need "pity" from our enemies. We answer them with Comrade Enver Hoxha's words at the 4th Congress of the Democratic Front: ". . . there were not born yet, either yesterday or today, those brave men that can intimidate the Albanians," and "Albania's borders are defended by a people and a Party that fire bullets into the mouths of all those who would dare to touch them."

We have never lived under the umbrella of the Warsaw Treaty. We have always based the defence of our country on our own forces, on the steel-like revolutionary bone of the Albanian people and of their heroic Party of Labour, and on the internationalist solidarity of the peoples and of the numerous friends of socialist Albania.

If the U.S. imperialists and their allies of the aggressive NATO bloc should think that the People's Republic of Albania, now that it is withdrawing from the Warsaw Treaty, become "a bit that can be easily swallowed," and should they undertake a military aggression to occupy Albania, we will respond to them with similar words of Comrade Enver Hoxha: "**Not only Albania's borders are insurmountable, inasmuch as they are defended by a brave people and an eagle-like Party which will smash you, but Albania is not alone, nor isolated. If you touch our borders, you must know that to defend Albania the aid which will come to socialist Albania will not recognize state boundaries.**"

If the Soviet revisionists and their servants of the aggressive Warsaw Treaty should think that, with the withdrawal of the People's Republic of Albania from the Warsaw Treaty, they can arrogate to themselves the right to resort to their brute force and undertake a military aggression against the People's Republic of Albania, "to keep" Albania tied to their enslaving treaty, we will answer them likewise with Comrade Enver Hoxha's words: ". . . **in case you raise your knife against us, masked with demagogy, you may rest assured that we shall point our rifle at you, and the cracking of our rifle will be heard in the Soviet Union and in the other countries, where there will rise as a tempest over your heads the terrible fist of the Leninists, of the heroic Stalinists, of the brave and fraternal Soviet people. Then your doom will also be sealed.**"

We, the deputies to the People's Assembly of the People's Republic of Albania, in adopting this decision, are honourably discharging our duty as representatives of the people's will, we are justifying before the people the confidence they have in us, and we assume full responsibility before our people and our Party, as well as before the entire international communist movement. We are aware that our decision is just and fully corresponds to the supreme interests of our people and our socialist homeland, to the supreme interests of socialism, it serves the strengthening of peace in Europe and in the world.

By withdrawing from the Warsaw Treaty, we deal a heavy blow to the anti-socialist and big-power chauvinist policy which is being passionately pursued by the present-day Soviet leadership, we deal a heavy blow to the U.S.-Soviet collaboration.

We are confident that the peoples of the Warsaw Treaty countries will understand and will welcome the withdrawal of our country from the Warsaw Treaty, they will consider it as an external aid being given to them in the struggle they are waging against the ruling revisionist cliques of their countries.

Comrade Shehu said: By withdrawing from the Warsaw Treaty, the defensive power of the People's Republic of Albania becomes still stronger. The Party and the Government have adopted and will adopt all the measures for the strengthening of the defensive power of our country. The Republic's Defence Council, under the leadership of the general commander of our armed forces, Comrade Enver Hoxha, on the basis of the directives of the Party Central Committee, has considered all eventualities and has taken all the necessary measures for the strengthening of the country's defensive might. We are in a position today to cope with any aggression, of whatever power and size it may be. The defence of our socialist homeland includes not only the armed forces, but also the whole armed people, men and women, old and young. The fighting preparedness of the People's Republic of Albania has reached the necessary degree that makes it possible for us to defeat any aggression in the most difficult circumstances.

Comrade Shehu said: The borders of the People's Republic of Albania are inviolable. In case of aggression against our socialist homeland by external enemies, be they members of the imperialist military NATO bloc or members of the revisionist military Warsaw Treaty bloc, whoever they may be, then the Albanian people, united as one around the Party and its Central Committee headed by Comrade Enver Hoxha, will show to the whole world the full magnificence of their revolutionary vitality: the entire people, even the children, will fight for the defence of the homeland, the war will assume a complicated, lethal character for the aggressors, and it will be boundless, it will be waged in all its forms according to the principles of people's war, the front and the rear lines will be merged into a single

entity and without distinction between them, army and people will make up a single fighting whole.

Comrade Shehu said: The Albanian people are not alone — they have numerous faithful friends. In the first place, the best and the most faithful friend of the Albanian people is great People's China with a population of over 700 million people, which is the main force in the world against imperialism and revisionism. The great leader of the Chinese people and the closest friend of the Albanian people, Comrade Mao Tse-tung, in his message addressed to the 5th Congress of the Albanian Party of Labour in 1966, said: **"Comrades, please rest assured that come what may, our two Parties and our two peoples will always be united, will always fight together and be victorious together."** And the real force of the great Albanian-Chinese friendship must not be forgotten by the external enemies of socialist Albania.

Standing on the side of the cause of the Albanian people are also all the freedom-loving peoples of the world, all the genuine revolutionaries in the world, including here also the peoples and genuine revolutionaries of the Soviet Union and the other countries where the revisionists are in power.

Comrade Shehu concluded by saying: It is our duty to accompany the decision which we will adopt at this assembly for the withdrawal from the Warsaw Treaty, with a further upsurge of the revolutionary vigour of our Party, the people, the state organs and the mass organizations, with the all-out strengthening of the country's defence and with a still better fulfilment of the state plan targets. We must raise the militant slogan "the pick in one hand and the rifle in the other" to the highest level while implementing it, so that still greater victories will be achieved in the building of socialism and the defence system of our socialist homeland will become insurmountable to any military force of any possible aggressor.

Political clarity and proletarian ideological education, the placing of politics in the forefront, the consistent implementation of the mass line, the strengthening of the steel-like unity of our ranks, tireless work and reliance on our own efforts, the sharpening of revolutionary vigilance and the strengthening of proletarian discipline, the increase of fighting preparedness for the defence of the homeland, revolutionary determination in the implementation of the Party line — such are the permanent fundamental duties which the Party has long laid down for us, and on which more stress must be laid today than ever before.

There is no force in the world that can prevent our people from forging steadily forward victoriously on the glorious road of socialism and communism.

Glory to our heroic Party, to our heroic people and to our heroic army.

Glory to Marxism-Leninism.

CHAIRMAN MAO TSE-TUNG'S

LATEST DIRECTIVE

The majority or the vast majority of the students trained in the old schools and colleges can integrate themselves with the workers, peasants and soldiers, and some have made inventions or innovations; they must, however, be re-educated by the workers, peasants and soldiers under the guidance of the correct line, and thoroughly change their old ideology. Such intellectuals will be welcomed by the workers, peasants and soldiers.

On the Re-Education of Intellectuals

by "RENMIN RIBAO" AND "HONGQI" COMMENTATORS

THE establishment of revolutionary committees in 29 provinces, municipalities and autonomous regions, that is, throughout the country except Taiwan Province, indicates that the whole movement of the great cultural revolution has entered the stage of struggle-criticism-transformation on a nationwide scale. Under the guidance of Chairman Mao's latest instructions, mighty contingents of industrial workers, under leadership and step by step, have either entered or are in the process of entering the schools and colleges, various areas of the superstructure, and all units where struggle-criticism-transformation has not been carried out well, so as to promote struggle-criticism-transformation in these places. This has not only ushered in a completely new situation in the proletarian revolution in education, but will inevitably accelerate the remoulding of the ranks of intellectuals by China's working class in accordance with its own outlook.

When the working class enters cultural and educational institutions, its work is primarily directed towards the intellectuals. Correct grasp of the Party's policy towards intellectuals is therefore an important guarantee for victory in the struggle.

The extremely important editor's note of the journal *Hongqi* (Red Flag) published in the press on September 5 [see *Peking Review*, No. 37, p. 13] relays the voice of our great leader Chairman Mao. This editor's note raised a very important question, namely, giving attention to the re-education of the large number of intellectuals — college and secondary school graduates who started work quite some time ago as well as those who have just begun to work. The editor's note set forth the various proletarian policies towards intellectuals and further pointed out the only correct direction for intellectuals — integrating themselves with the workers and peasants.

The great leader Chairman Mao teaches us that **throughout the whole course of the socialist revolution and socialist construction, the remoulding of the intellectuals is a question of major significance.** After seizing political power, the proletariat should remould the intellectuals in accordance with its own outlook and train a contingent of proletarian intellectuals which serves it. This is essential for consolidating and developing the dictatorship of the proletariat and prevent-

ing the restoration of capitalism; it is essential for establishing the proletariat in the position of absolute domination in all spheres of ideology and culture. To build up such a contingent of proletarian intellectuals, it is necessary to carry out a thoroughgoing proletarian revolution in education, to take the revolutionary road of training technical personnel and other intellectuals from among the workers, peasants and soldiers, and to select students from among the workers and peasants with practical experience in production and from among the Liberation Army fighters; at the same time, it is necessary to re-educate the large number of intellectuals who graduated from the old schools in the past and to win over and unite with vast numbers of intellectuals. As the great proletarian cultural revolution deepens and reaches the stage of struggle-criticism-transformation, people can appreciate with growing clarity the great significance of solving this question.

The editor's note raised the question of **"paying attention to re-educating the large numbers of college and secondary school graduates who started work quite some time ago as well as those who have just begun to work."** This involves not only the schools, but also the vast number of intellectuals on our cultural and educational front and in the ranks of our cadres. Why is it called re-education? Because what they received in the past was bourgeois education and the education they are receiving now is proletarian. This is one meaning. Another is that in the past, under the pernicious influence of the revisionist line of China's Khrushchov, they received education from bourgeois intellectuals whereas now, under the guidance of Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line, **they are being re-educated by the workers, peasants and soldiers.** The remoulding of one's world outlook is something fundamental. We should educate the intellectuals according to the proletarian world outlook so that they can change the bourgeois ideas they formerly received from bourgeois education. Such is the content of this re-education. The fundamental road in this re-education is for them to take the road of integrating themselves with the workers, peasants and soldiers and serving them.

In conducting re-education, it is necessary to bring the positive factors into full play. The question of line is the fundamental issue. The line that is followed

produces the kind of people that are trained. We should concentrate our hatred on the handful of top capitalist roaders in the Party and their agents since it is their counter-revolutionary revisionist line in education that poisoned the youth. The thorough repudiation of this reactionary line will impel people to make further efforts to carry out Chairman Mao's proletarian educational line. In socialist new China, the majority or the vast majority of the students trained in the old schools will, when educated in Mao Tse-tung's thought, be able gradually to integrate themselves with the workers, peasants and soldiers. In the course of this, there will inevitably be wavering and reversals. But provided these people do follow and advance along Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line and accept re-education by the workers, peasants and soldiers, and thoroughly repudiate and continuously change the old bourgeois ideas they brought along from home and school, they will be able to contribute their share in serving the workers, peasants and soldiers. The workers, peasants and soldiers welcome such intellectuals. While there are indeed counter-revolutionaries and die-hards, they are very few in number. The vast number of intellectuals are willing to remould themselves under working-class leadership and willing to integrate themselves with the workers, peasants and soldiers, and they have bright prospects under the socialist system. The editor's note pointed out: **"Some of them are sure to make a success of this integration and achieve something in regard to inventions and innovations. Mention should be made of these people as encouragement."** This means to encourage and in a positive way urge the great number of intellectuals to take firmly the road of integrating themselves with the workers, peasants and soldiers. People who have made a success of this integration and have made inventions and innovations are to be found everywhere. Their example should be cited to educate those intellectuals who have already gone to working posts, or are going.

The great proletarian cultural revolution has opened a broader road for the intellectuals to integrate themselves with the workers, peasants and soldiers, to remould their world outlook and to serve the people better. The masses of intellectuals have undergone considerable tempering and testing in the great cultural revolution. They feel their shortcomings acutely — their wavering and lack of thoroughness in revolution — and they urgently want to integrate themselves with the workers, peasants and soldiers. This is most inspiring. The revolutionary committees in all parts of the country and the workers' Mao Tse-tung's thought propaganda teams stationed in the units concerned should be good at discovering instances of such initiative by intellectuals, support them in integrating themselves with the workers, peasants and soldiers, and

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guide them in taking an active part in struggle-criticism-transformation in their own units. From now on, in places where intellectuals are in concentrated groups, struggle-criticism-transformation must be carried to success under working-class leadership and all types of Mao Tse-tung's thought study classes must be run well. It is also necessary to organize the intellectuals to go group by group among the workers, peasants and soldiers to be re-educated by them.

People should be given a way out. **"To do otherwise is not the policy of the proletariat."** Only by emancipating all mankind can the proletariat achieve its own final emancipation. Proletarian policy must indicate a way out for the masses of people of various classes and strata led by the proletariat, and turn negative factors into positive ones as far as possible. Such a policy will help more in assisting those who have committed serious mistakes to own up to and correct their mistakes. As for the very few diehard capitalist roaders and bourgeois technical authorities who have incurred the wrath of the masses and must be overthrown, they should also be given a way out, after they have been adequately repudiated. This is a question to which attention should be drawn in the final stage of the movement of the great proletarian cultural revolution.

We must resolutely carry out every proletarian policy on intellectuals set forth by our great leader Chairman Mao. It is essential to distinguish between the two different kinds of contradictions. The contradictions among the people must be handled by the method of **unity — criticism and self-criticism — unity**. The way to settle questions of an ideological nature is by setting forth facts and reasoning things out and by painstaking and meticulous ideological-political work.

The excellent situation in the great proletarian cultural revolution as it approaches all-round victory opens up magnificent prospects to the revolutionary masses. We are convinced that, guided by the brilliant light of the great thought of Mao Tse-tung and led by the working class, China's vast number of revolutionary intellectuals and intellectuals who can be remoulded will advance faster along the road of revolutionizing themselves and integrating themselves with the working people. **"We hope that they [China's intellectuals] will continue to make progress and that, in the course of work and study, they will gradually acquire the communist world outlook, get a better grasp of Marxism-Leninism and become integrated with the workers and peasants. We hope they will not stop halfway, or, what is worse, slip back, for there will be no future for them in going backwards."** (*On the Correct Handling of Contradictions Among the People*)

(*"Renmin Ribao," September 12*)

The majority or the vast majority of the students trained in the old schools and colleges can integrate themselves with the workers, peasants and soldiers, and some have made inventions or innovations; they must, however, be re-educated by the workers, peasants and soldiers under the guidance of the correct line, and thoroughly change their old ideology. Such intellectuals will be welcomed by the workers, peasants and soldiers.

— MAO TSE-TUNG

The Orientation of the Revolution in Medical Education as Seen in the Growth of "Barefoot Doctors"

(Report of an Investigation From Shanghai)

Foreword

"Barefoot doctors" is the affectionate name Shanghai's suburban poor and lower-middle peasants have given to health workers who divide their time between farming and medical work.

In 1958, under the guidance of Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line, the poor and lower-middle peasant masses on the outskirts of Shanghai held high the great red banner of Mao Tse-tung's thought and advanced courageously. The publication of Chairman Mao's two poems entitled *Farewell to the God of Plague** was an immense stimulus to their revolutionary enthusiasm in finding ways to prevent and wipe out disease. In response to Chairman Mao's great call, medical circles in Shanghai organized a 10,000-strong contingent to go to the rural areas, where, in co-operation with the clinics of the people's communes, they trained, in short-term classes and through practice, large numbers of health workers who did not divorce themselves from production. Figures for June 1960 show that there were over 3,900 such health workers in the more than 2,500 production brigades of the

ten counties under the Shanghai municipality. Giving medical treatment and vigorously carrying out preventive measures and doing propaganda work, they achieved outstanding successes in transforming public health and medical conditions in the rural areas.

In August 1961, the agents of China's Khrushchov in the field of public health in Shanghai, unscrupulously pushing a counter-revolutionary revisionist line in medical and public health work, made a malicious report viciously slandering the health workers in the production brigades and ordering them to drop their medical work. The new-type public health force created in the period of the great leap forward in the rural areas was thus destroyed; the number of health workers, originally over 3,900, was slashed to just over 300.

In the great socialist education movement in the rural areas in 1963-64, the health protection network

* Our great leader Chairman Mao wrote this in a gratified mood on July 1, 1958, after reading a newspaper report on the wiping out of schistosoma in Yuchiang County, Kiangsi Province.

on the outskirts of Shanghai was gradually reinstated and rebuilt. The number of health workers in the production brigades again increased from just over 300 to more than 2,300. On June 26, 1965, Chairman Mao issued his brilliant instruction: **"In medical and health work, put the stress on the rural areas."** In cooperation with mobile medical teams, the counties on the city's outskirts carried out a comprehensive job of reorganizing and training "barefoot doctors" who both farm and give medical service to bring the number up to more than 4,500; on the average, this gave every brigade 1.8 "barefoot doctors." These "barefoot doctors" in turn trained more than 29,000 health workers for the production teams. The health protection network was thus developed all round.

Many more "barefoot doctors" have emerged in the great proletarian cultural revolution. Tempered in the storms of class struggle and the struggle between the two lines, this force has expanded and been consolidated and made much progress.

A number of "barefoot doctors" have matured in struggle in the Jiangzhen Commune in Chuansha County. This commune has more than 28,000 people, and is located on the East China seacoast. In the great leap forward in 1958, it trained 19 health workers, and each production brigade set up its own health station. The commune selected six activists in health work to go to a county-run school of public health, where they studied for ten months and then returned to work in the commune. However, they were all removed from their jobs as health workers in around 1961. When the Party Central Committee directive of 1963 on wiping out a certain infectious disease on the outskirts of Shanghai reached Jiangzhen Commune, it re-established its health network and all the production brigades and teams selected their own spare-time health workers. They started to train "barefoot doctors" in 1965. Tempered in the great cultural revolution, this force is developing and growing.

The Poor and Lower-Middle Peasants Want Such a New-Type Medical and Health Force

"Barefoot doctors" generally spend half their time doing farm work, so the production brigades need only give them for their medical service a small subsidy which is no burden to the poor and lower-middle peasants. The income of these "barefoot doctors" is kept on the same level as peasants having similar labour power. Take last year for example. The "barefoot doctor" of the Dongbin Brigade, which is well off,

earned 300 yuan. Of this, 100 yuan came from doing farm work, the rest was paid him by the brigade for his medical services. Actually, however, 125 yuan of this remaining amount was made up by what he himself turned over to the brigade in the way of fees for making home calls, giving injections (5 fen each) and delivering babies (3 yuan each). Thus, what the brigade actually paid out was only 75 yuan.

In the Minli Brigade, a less well-off one, the "barefoot doctor's" income last year was something over 200 yuan. Of this, 54 yuan was remuneration for his farm work. Of the remainder, which was paid him by the brigade for his medical services, 92 yuan was made up for by the fees the doctor himself collected for the brigade in making home calls and giving injections, and the brigade actually only had to pay out 61 yuan.

Both these production brigades have a population of over 1,300, so each poor or lower-middle peasant, on the average, contributed only four to five fen a year to the "barefoot doctor's" subsidy.

The "barefoot doctors" are in the vanguard in the transformation of medical and health conditions in the rural areas. The poor and lower-middle peasants want them. A child of a poor peasant in the Xinlong Production Brigade was taken ill and was first "attended" by a bad egg who had come from outside. An ampoule of analgin should cost less than a yuan, but this crook charged over ten yuan for it. The child's high fever did not abate. A "barefoot doctor" came voluntarily and carefully tended and cured the child. All that the child's family spent was a little over three yuan.

Examples like this are legion. This makes the poor and lower-middle peasants understand that power over medical and health work must be in their own hands. The counter-revolutionary revisionist line in medicine and health pushed by China's Khrushchov and his agents in this field led to hospitals being set up in cities and towns far from the villages. This made it inconvenient for the peasants to see the doctors. As the peasants put it: "When the ambulance sounds its alarm, be ready to pay the expenses with a pig."

A child of a poor peasant in the Chenhu Production Brigade caught Japanese B encephalitis in 1963. Because there was no hospital near by, the child got steadily worse. Finally, rushed to Shanghai, he stayed a month in hospital there, but was disabled by the disease. His family had spent over 300 yuan.

During the great cultural revolution, another child of a poor peasant in the same production brigade caught the same disease. A "barefoot doctor" promptly diag-

nessed it and giving him drugs immediately, checked the disease. He then sent the child to a county hospital. The child was well again in a week, and his family spent only 20 yuan in all.

The "barefoot doctors" have played a tremendous role in carrying out the policy of "prevention first." In one production brigade, a "barefoot doctor," under brigade leadership, joined the poor and lower-middle peasants in disposing of the night-soil and purifying the drinking water. As a result, there was a big reduction in the number of mosquitoes and flies and endemic diseases were effectively prevented. Take epidemic encephalitis and Japanese B encephalitis for example. There were 200 cases in 1966, but scarcely any this year. The way the work of disposing of the night-soil and purifying the drinking water was done was praised by people who went there to inspect mass health work.

At the same time, now that they have the "barefoot doctors," the poor and lower-middle peasants have a bigger say in matters of medicine and health. A "barefoot doctor" rushed a poor peasant patient to a county people's hospital for treatment. A medical worker there, who had not sufficiently remoulded his bourgeois world outlook, put a clinical thermometer into the patient's mouth and left it there for one hour and three minutes. Backed up by the "barefoot doctor," the poor peasant sharply criticized this scandalous style of work reflecting the medical worker's attitude of discrimination against workers and peasants.

The Way to Train "Barefoot Doctors"

Jiangzhen Commune now has 28 "barefoot doctors," whose average age is 23. They serve the 21 production brigades of the commune. The great majority of them are sons and daughters of poor and lower-middle peasants and have had only a primary or junior middle school education. Some have had only two and a half years of schooling.

This commune has trained its "barefoot doctors" in two ways. One was by giving them short-term training in the commune clinic. There was an acute struggle between the two lines in this. One such training course, held on the eve of the great cultural revolution, was carried out in a way that was completely divorced from proletarian politics, divorced from the worker and peasant masses, and from practice. It copied the old-line medical schools, giving eight lessons a day, undertaking "regularization" and "systematization," and requiring the trainees to bury themselves in books all day long. Although the training given thus behind closed doors was of some use, the trainees were, however, infected with bourgeois ideas of fame and gain. Some purchased a thick volume costing 9 yuan

and showed off by carrying it round with them in the village. Some of the "barefoot doctors" became unwilling to go barefoot any longer, but were keen to become city doctors in white smocks. During the great cultural revolution, another training class was held under the direct management of the poor and lower-middle peasants in co-ordination with the commune clinic and helped by the mobile medical teams. It was modelled on the Chinese People's Anti-Japanese Military and Political College.* "Barefoot doctors" were also included in the leading group in charge of the two-month training class. Basic teaching material was the "three constantly read articles" by Chairman Mao [*Serve the People, In Memory of Norman Bethune* and *The Foolish Old Man Who Removed the Mountains*]. Class education was given them by the poor and lower-middle peasants, and instruction in medical skills was carried out in close connection with problems met with in practice. When the course ended, every trainee expressed his wish to become a "barefoot doctor" wholeheartedly serving the poor and lower-middle peasants.

Another way was training through practical work. This is an important method of training "barefoot doctors." Our great leader Chairman Mao teaches us that "a revolutionary war is a mass undertaking; it is often not a matter of first learning and then doing, but of doing and then learning, for doing is itself learning." The poor and lower-middle peasants give wide scope for medical practice to "barefoot doctors" when they return to their respective production brigades. The peasants declare: "We will make it possible for a chicken feather to fly to the sky." In some brigades, all the patients, however grave their illness, go to the "barefoot doctors" for treatment. Each of the latter handles some 1,500 sick-calls annually, while a full-time commune doctor who studied five years at a medical school treated only several hundred cases. At the same time, the "barefoot doctors" have rapidly improved their skill thanks to help given in practical work by doctors of the commune clinic who live, eat and work with the poor and lower-middle peasants, or those responsible for medical work in two or three production brigades at a time, as well as members of the mobile medical teams. One "barefoot doctor," for instance, after having been coached in practical work this way, is now able to diagnose heart diseases and handle them with satisfactory results.

The question of which class holds the leadership also arises in the training of "barefoot doctors." If the

* This was a school of a new type founded in 1933 under the direct leadership of the Party's Central Committee and Chairman Mao. It was called "Kangta" for short. It trained and brought up large numbers of revolutionaries for the cause of liberation of the Chinese people. Chairman Mao was himself chairman of its educational committee, and gave lectures and delivered reports there. He also appointed Comrade Lin Piao as its president and political commissar.

working class and the poor and lower-middle peasants do not grasp the leadership, the "barefoot doctors" cannot be trained or developed. First of all, the persons to be trained should be selected well. In the Dagou Production Brigade, some commune members once thought that a nurse who had come from the city several years earlier was suitable for training. But from the very beginning, this nurse only showed concern for work-points and rewards. So, instead of selecting this person, the poor and lower-middle peasants later chose the daughter of a poor peasant, who was the brigade bookkeeper and store-room keeper. She had only a primary school education, but was often praised for her scrupulous attitude in handling public matters and making a strict distinction between these and her private affairs.

Grasping ideological educational work is also very important. As a result of relaxing such education, in one production brigade a "barefoot doctor" who had been corrupted by bourgeois ideas married a rich peasant's son and degenerated. In a neighbouring brigade, however, a "barefoot doctor" constantly received class education from members of her family who recalled their bitter life of the past and encouraged her to study and apply Mao Tse-tung's thought in a creative way. The brigade also enrolled her in a Mao Tse-tung's thought study class and accepted her in a central study group. She later became a Communist Party member.

Before the great cultural revolution, when medical and health work was dominated by the counter-revolutionary revisionist line, a handful of capitalist roads and bourgeois doctors discriminated against the "barefoot doctors" in every possible way and prevented them from gaining experience. They were not allowed to use medicines they already knew how to use, or to write out prescriptions they had long been qualified to do. During the great cultural revolution, proletarian revolutionaries seized back the leadership of the commune clinic and broke through all such restrictions and thus created favourable conditions for the growth of "barefoot doctors."

In Jiangzhen Commune, the medical training of 28 "barefoot doctors" was undertaken by a doctor at the commune clinic, who had graduated from a city medical school. In the last few years, he has established warm class bonds with the masses of poor and lower-middle peasants. He understood that in carrying out Chairman Mao's brilliant instruction, "In medical and health work, put the stress on the rural areas," he should not only act as a rural doctor himself but also regard the training of "barefoot doctors" as an important task. He wrote a great deal of simplified teaching material for medical work and public health in the countryside, recommended some excellent popular medical works suitable for villages, organized the "barefoot doctors" to engage widely in activities in which they teach each other, with special emphasis on fostering their ability to study on their own so that they can quickly "cross the threshold" through practice. Facts show that it is not difficult to "cross the threshold." For instance, there is one "barefoot doctor" who did

not undergo group training at the commune clinic, but his medical skill improved rapidly through self-study and mutual help. He has succeeded in independently curing a pleurisy patient. Later he joined a short-term training course and made faster progress even than the other "barefoot doctors." **The example of this doctor who came to the countryside from the city has proved that the majority or the vast majority of the students trained in the old schools and colleges can integrate themselves with the workers, peasants and soldiers, and some have made inventions or innovations; they must, however, be re-educated by the workers, peasants and soldiers under the guidance of the correct line, and thoroughly change their old ideology. Such intellectuals will be welcomed by the workers, peasants and soldiers. If you doubt this, think of that doctor in Jiangzhen Commune, Chuansha County, Shanghai.**

Educated and trained by the poor and lower-middle peasants, the "barefoot doctors" come from the poor and lower-middle peasants and go back to them. They come from practice in the rural areas and go back to practice there. That is the road they are taking.

After more than two years of practice, the "barefoot doctors" have made remarkable progress in medical skill. All of them can prescribe around a hundred medicinal preparations and diagnose and cure around a hundred common ailments of frequent occurrence in the countryside. They can perform acupuncture on more than one hundred points on the human body. They can cure such common but serious illnesses in the rural areas as measles, pneumonia and pleurisy. Some of them have shown greater ability in practical work than some of the doctors in the commune clinic, who are graduates of medical schools but lack practical experience. For instance, there was one doctor, who claimed to have studied for some 20 years in school, but he once mistook appendicitis for ordinary enterogastritis. The disease became worse and peritonitis resulted because treatment was delayed. A "barefoot doctor" was then sent for, who immediately made the correct diagnosis and saved the patient's life.

This can also be seen in the comparison between two doctors in the commune clinic who are about the same age but have travelled different paths.

One is a graduate from a medical school where he specialized in surgery and internal medicine. He spent five years like a book-worm, and his short-sightedness increased from 300 to 625. He has been working for four years, but his skill is poor. He was unable to diagnose meningitis and pleurisy. Once when he was going to deliver a premature, still-born baby, he could only recite what he had read in medical school and was at a loss what to do. **Towards such people, educational work should be carried out to help them remould themselves step by step.**

The other is a doctor from a poor peasant family who had studied only two years in junior middle school. An activist in the public health campaign to eliminate pests and prevent diseases during the great leap forward in 1958, he was sent by the commune to study for

ten months at a public health school run by the county. He then worked in the commune clinic for several years, and later attended a seven-month course in surgery. Today, he is able to perform herniorrhaphies, sterilizations and other operations even with simple medical apparatus. Tempered in the great cultural revolution, he is now a responsible member of the revolutionary committee of the commune clinic.

This sharp contrast has exposed the abuses of the old system of medical education (the whole educational system), which was seriously divorced from politics and from practice. It has shown the tremendous vitality of this new-type public health and medical force, the "barefoot doctors," in its development.

The most fundamental reason for the rapid progress the "barefoot doctors" make in skill is their ardent love for Chairman Mao, for the new socialist countryside and for the poor and lower-middle peasants. One "barefoot doctor" has not left her production brigade for nearly two years, though most of her relatives are living in Shanghai proper. In this production brigade is an old poor-peasant woman of over 70 years who is paralysed and incontinent. This "barefoot doctor" gives her injections and changes and washes her clothes every day. The old woman, much moved, says: "Our dear Chairman Mao is very good indeed! But for him, nobody would know even if I died of old age. This girl is better than a daughter of my own!"

The Educational Revolution in Medical Schools and Colleges as Seen From The Maturing of "Barefoot Doctors"

By studying the road along which the "barefoot doctors" have advanced, one can understand a number of problems concerning the educational revolution in medical schools and colleges. The poor and lower-middle peasants in the Jiangzhen Commune have learnt from their own experience that to carry out Chairman Mao's brilliant instruction, "In medical and health work, put the stress on the rural areas," it is essential to make a success of the educational revolution in medical schools and colleges. Having studied Chairman Mao's latest series of instructions on the revolution in education, they hold:

One. Medical education must serve proletarian politics. The poor and lower-middle peasants cite two young people in the commune who began as "barefoot doctors" at the same time. Later on, one of them was recommended to study in a part-farming and part-study medical college in Chiating County (only senior middle school graduates were qualified to enter this college). This college was a key school under the personal charge of the counter-revolutionary revisionist Yang Hsi-kuang, where he instilled a great amount of revisionist poison into the students. After three years this "barefoot doctor" became a pasty-faced pedant who, when she came home, rarely talked to the poor and lower-middle peasants. She was not willing to go back to work in the commune, and even more unwilling to be

a "barefoot doctor" in her production brigade. Another girl with only two and a half years of schooling heightened her political consciousness after tempering herself in struggles for three years, and her love for the poor and lower-middle peasants and rural medical work increased. She said: "When my medical kit is running low on medicines, I am more uneasy than when rice is running out at home." The latter has also surpassed the former in medical skill. Deeply impressed, the poor and lower-middle peasants say: "If the revolution is not carried out in education, revisionism will emerge even among the children we send to school!" They maintain that proletarian politics must be put in command in medical education and that the "three constantly read articles" and *On Practice* and *On Contradiction* must be required courses. The principle of linking theory with practice must be carried out and students should study in the course of the three great revolutionary movements of class struggle, the struggle for production and scientific experiment.

Two. Medical schools and colleges should mainly enroll "barefoot doctors" and public health workers. Chairman Mao has recently pointed out: "Students should be selected from among workers and peasants with practical experience and they should return to production after a few years' study." The poor and lower-middle peasants hold that it is good to let the "barefoot doctors" temper themselves in the countryside for two or three years and then study in medical schools and colleges. The poor and lower-middle peasants say joyfully: "In the future, when the medical schools and colleges enroll students, we will send 'barefoot doctors' who will come back to serve us after a few years' study." The Jiangzhen Commune selected 144 health workers from different production teams, who continue to do farm work, to be trained mainly by "barefoot doctors." More "barefoot doctors" will thus emerge from such training and a number of them can be sent to study in medical schools and colleges for a year or two or two to three years.

Three. Keep to the policy of raising standards on the basis of popularization. The poor and lower-middle peasants are of the opinion that at present the most essential thing in medical science is popularization, while raising standards is also necessary. But the raising of standards must be done in the direction required by the workers, peasants and soldiers. "The raising of standards" which serves only an extremely small number of city gentry must be thoroughly criticized and repudiated. The poor and lower-middle peasants also maintain that apart from those who go to school to study, the overwhelming majority of the "barefoot doctors" should persevere in striking roots in the rural areas. The method of regularly alternating the doctors in the commune clinics with the "barefoot doctors" can be used to raise their standards. This would be conducive both to remoulding the present medical and public health workers and to raising the standards of the "barefoot doctors" through practice.

("Hongqi," No. 3, 1968)

Peking Review, No. 38

The Victory of the People's Communes Is a Great Victory of Chairman Mao's Revolutionary Line

IN the excellent situation of the great proletarian cultural revolution forging swiftly ahead to the great goal of all-round victory, hundreds of millions of the revolutionary people, revolutionary cadres and commanders and fighters of the People's Liberation Army throughout the nation are enthusiastically celebrating the tenth anniversary of Chairman Mao's great directive, "people's communes are fine," and of the publication of the Resolution on the Establishment of People's Communes in the Rural Areas Adopted by the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party. They hail with elation the brilliant successes achieved in various fields by the people's communes since they were founded ten years ago, and the great victory of Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line.

The masses of poor and lower-middle peasants are determined to rally still more closely around the proletarian headquarters headed by Chairman Mao and with Vice-Chairman Lin Biao as its deputy leader, firmly carry out Chairman Mao's latest series of instructions, and forge ahead to carry the great proletarian cultural revolution through to the end and turn the people's communes into great red schools of Mao Tse-tung's thought.

Places in the provinces of Honan, Shantung and Anhwei and in Peking and Tientsin which Chairman Mao inspected ten years ago and Kwangtung and Kweichow Provinces held celebration rallies attended by tens of thousands to hundreds of thousands of people. Other provinces, municipalities and autonomous regions also held meetings, forums and exhibitions to celebrate the tenth anniversary of the founding of people's communes.

In these celebration activities armymen and civilians reviewed the militant course of the successful growth of the people's communes, this newborn organization nurtured by the great leader Chairman Mao himself, and the earth-shaking changes they have brought about during the past ten years. Poor and lower-middle peasants and revolutionary cadres said: In these ten years the people's communes have matured successfully in the struggle between the two classes, between the two roads and between the two lines, the dictatorship of the proletariat has been steadily strengthened and the socialist positions in the rural areas have been daily consolidated and expanded. During these ten years the collective economy of the people's communes has been vigorously developed and the rural areas have rapidly transformed the former "poor and blank" state of affairs. In these ten years

the masses of revolutionary people and revolutionary cadres have gone through a rigorous tempering in sharp class struggle, their socialist consciousness has been greatly enhanced, and many new people and new things have emerged.

Discussing this series of changes, the nation's armymen and civilians declared: All the victories gained by the people's communes in every field over the past ten years are, in the final analysis, great victories of the invincible thought of Mao Tse-tung and of Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line.

While hailing the great successes achieved by the people's communes over the past ten years, armymen and civilians throughout the nation stepped up their vigorous exposure and denunciation of China's Khrushchov and the handful of other top capitalist roaders in the Party and their local agents. The poor and lower-middle peasants of the Tachai People's Commune in Hsiyang County, Shansi Province, and the Qiliying People's Commune in Hsinhsiang County, Honan Province, angrily pointed out: China's Khrushchov and his local agents frenziedly opposed the people's communes, clamouring that they were set up "too early" and were "in a mess" and that the "advantages of the people's communes were not evident." All this is nonsense and a travesty of the facts. From our own personal experience we poor and lower-middle peasants deeply understand the great superiority of the people's communes. It is entirely correct to set up people's communes. They were set up in a fine way. They are fine indeed!

Many poor and lower-middle peasants and Liberation Army fighters in Kiangsu and Kwangtung Provinces and Peking said: China's Khrushchov and company did their utmost to advertise such out-and-out revisionist measures as "san zi yi bao" (the extension of plots for private use and of free markets, the increase of small enterprises with sole responsibility for their own profits or losses, and the fixing of output quotas based on the household) and "material incentives." They peddled the completely reactionary theory of the "dying out of class struggle" everywhere. Their criminal aim is to bring about the collapse of the people's communes which are nurtured by Chairman Mao himself, to restore capitalism in the countryside and make us poor and lower-middle peasants suffer again. However, from our personal experience we deeply understand that "only socialism can save China," the thesis which Chairman Mao long ago propounded, is a great

Stride Ahead Along the Broad Road of People?



Chairman Mao in 1964 issued the call to the nation: "In agriculture, learn from Tachai." Tachai is a nationally known brigade of Tachai People's Commune, Hsiyang County, Shansi Province. Chen Yung-kuei (third from left), Vice-Chairman of the Shansi Provincial Revolutionary Committee and secretary of the Tachai brigade Party branch, discusses with other Party branch committee members problems in grasping revolution and promoting production.

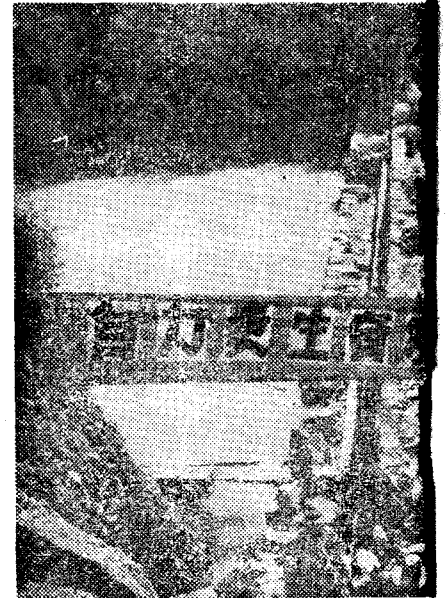


People's communes everywhere classes to creatively study and implement his latest series of instructions study class run by herders

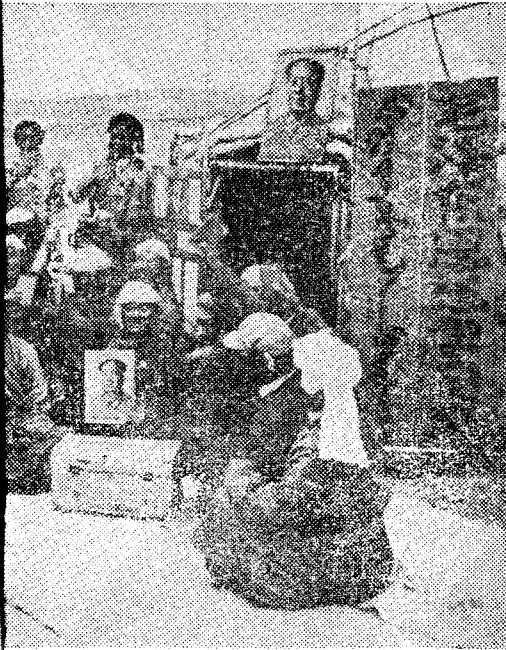


Using new, Chinese-made insecticide and sprayers on cotton fields. Qiliying People's Commune, Honan Province.

Emulating Tachai brigade's spirit people's Commune, Chekiang Province to solve its



Communes Pointed Out by Chairman Mao!

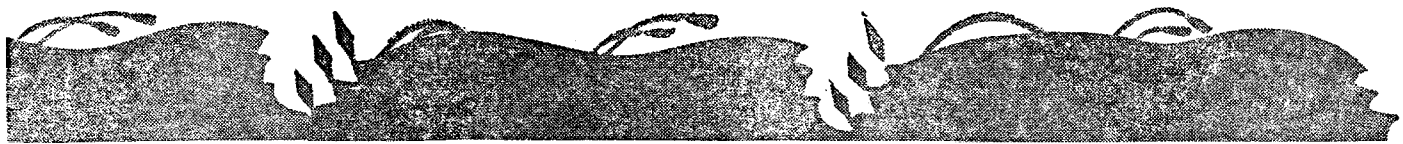
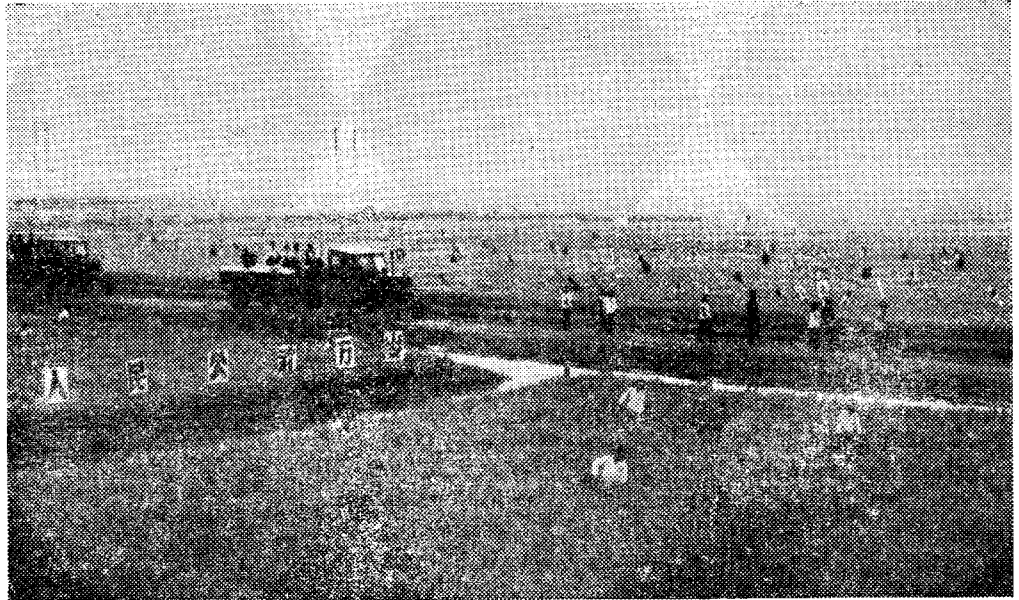


have set up Mao Tse-tung's thought study groups to study Chairman Mao's works and to implement them in an all-round way. This is a Narenbaolige People's Commune, Inner Mongolia.

The people's communes all over China have launched revolutionary mass criticism and repudiation to wipe out the pernicious influence of revisionism pushed by China's Khrushchov in the countryside. Poor and lower-middle peasants of Cangyou People's Commune in Shensi Province meet to denounce him for advocating "putting work points in command."

spirit of self-reliance. Mayidao People's Commune, is building a small reservoir to solve its water problem.

Formerly waterlogged and low-lying land, now fertile paddyfields. Beiyuan People's Commune, Shantung Province.



truth. China's Khrushchov and company can never succeed in realizing their plot to restore capitalism!

Many poor and lower-middle peasants in Hupeh and Hopei Provinces and Shanghai declared with deep feeling that the road of establishing people's communes pointed out by Chairman Mao is the road to speed up socialist construction, the road to communism. Their determination to take this road cannot be shaken. They will use the weapon of Mao Tse-tung's thought to strike down anyone who attempts to prevent them from taking this road, and strike him so hard that he will never be able to rise again.

The people's commune, a completely new social organization of great vitality, has grown up sturdily through severe tempering in the class struggles of the past ten years, especially tempering in the storm of the great proletarian cultural revolution. It shines increasingly brightly with Mao Tse-tung's thought. In the

course of the great proletarian cultural revolution, China's Khrushchov and the handful of other top capitalist roaders in the Party and their local agents have been pulled out and their criminal attempts to restore capitalism in the countryside repudiated. The poor and lower-middle peasants and other commune members have enormously enhanced their consciousness in the class struggle and the struggle between the two lines. The people's communes have been further consolidated and the socialist collective economy has made big progress.

On the happy occasion of celebrating the tenth anniversary of the people's communes, the hundreds of millions of army-men and civilians are determined to hold still higher the red flag emblazoned with "**people's communes are fine,**" raised by Chairman Mao himself, and let it fly for ever over their vast motherland.

People's Communes Are Fine!

Tremendous Changes in Beiyuan

When people's communes, a new social organization, emerged ten years ago like a rising sun on the eastern horizon, our great leader Chairman Mao pointed out with deep wisdom: "People's communes are fine!" This gave the socialist enthusiasm of the hundreds of millions of peasants the greatest support and inspiration. Over the past ten years, this great directive of Chairman Mao's has always inspired the masses of commune members to march forward courageously. Under the guidance of Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line, people's communes have withstood all kinds of severe tests and fully displayed their unparalleled superiority and great vitality. The growth in the strength of the people's communes has given the class enemies at home and abroad one slap in the face after another.

The following report eloquently proves the unequalled superiority of the people's communes and the tremendous changes they have brought about in the last decade.—Ed.

THE Beiyuan People's Commune in Licheng County, Shantung Province, is on the southern bank of the Yellow River. Mainly a producer of vegetables, lotus seeds and roots and rice, it is an important vegetable supplier for Tsinan, the provincial capital.

Our great leader Chairman Mao personally inspected this area (then Peiyuan Township) on August 9, 1958. Beaming and in high spirits, he went with firm steps among the poor and lower-middle peasants in the fields and warmly shook each one's earth-stained hand. When Chairman Mao heard the poor and lower-middle peasants and cadres reporting on their work and learnt that they were planning to merge their agricultural producers' co-operatives into a big farm, he showed great far-sightedness when he said: "**It is good to set up people's communes. Their advantage is that they combine industry, agriculture, commerce, education and military affairs, thus making the task of leadership easier.**"

This great call of Chairman Mao's expressed the aspirations of the country's 500 million peasants and pointed out the road forward to communism. It won the enthusiastic response of the hundreds of millions of peasants and sparked the rapid and vigorous development of the movement to set up people's communes. Filled with immense happiness and deep emotion, the poor and lower-middle peasants of Beiyuan time and again studied Chairman Mao's directive: "**It is good to set up people's communes.**" Taking the direction pointed out by Chairman Mao, they soon set up the Beiyuan People's Commune, the first of its kind in Shantung Province.

Since their inception, the new social organizations of people's communes have displayed great vitality. Forging ahead along the road pointed out by Chairman Mao over the past ten years, the Beiyuan commune has given full play to the superiority of the people's communes, grown ever more rapidly and stronger in the

three great revolutionary movements of class struggle, the struggle for production and scientific experiment, and thus brought tremendous changes in the outlook of people and in natural conditions.

Coloured portraits of Chairman Mao have been put up by every family in the commune and placards inscribed with quotations from Chairman Mao mark the walls along the streets. From time to time, loud-speakers relay Chairman Mao's latest instructions. During work breaks in the fields, some commune members hold meetings to expose and denounce the enormous crimes of China's Khrushchov in his attempt to undermine the people's communes and restore capitalism, others study *Quotations From Chairman Mao Tse-tung* and sing songs of quotations from Chairman Mao set to music. A vigorous and prosperous atmosphere prevails everywhere.

Firmly bearing in mind Chairman Mao's teaching that **"It is good to set up people's communes,"** the poor and lower-middle peasants and revolutionary cadres of the commune have made great efforts to develop the collective economy in the past ten years. Thanks to the building of water conservancy projects, capital construction on the farmlands and rural electrification, natural conditions there have been completely changed and output has increased remarkably. Compared with 1957, per-*mu* output of vegetables in 1967 rose by more than 70 per cent and grain was nearly doubled. According to the state's policy of suburban areas serving the livelihood of the urban people, this commune has expanded the acreage under vegetables and increased their variety. It formerly had two major vegetable harvests a year; now, as a result of increasing cold-protection devices for the growing vegetables, it can supply city people with vegetables all the year round.

With the development of the commune's industry and agriculture, its public accumulation fund has been rising steadily. In the past ten years, the commune and its production brigades have accumulated an aggregate total of more than 3.5 million yuan. Commune members' real income has gone up by more than 50 per cent.

Before the commune was set up, irrigated land accounted for only 20-30 per cent of the cultivated land in the Beiyuan area, the rest consisting mostly of low-lying land and water-logged, saline land along the Yellow River.

The first winter following the founding of the commune saw members, in accordance with Chairman Mao's great teaching to **"transform China in the spirit of the Foolish Old Man who removed the mountains,"** battling on a 4,000 *mu* tract of low-lying land which he had inspected. Under the unified leadership of the commune, 1,000 members deep-ploughed and levelled the land, dug irrigation and drainage canals and ditches and turned the small, irregular farm plots into neat rice fields or lotus ponds. In the past, the small section of arable land there gave a per-*mu* yield of only 200 to 300 *jin* of grain. The whole tract of land now yields

two crops a year of rice and wheat and gives a high and steady yield of more than 1,000 *jin* per *mu* every year.

The Beiyuan commune has 12,000 *mu* of formerly water-logged, saline land along the Yellow River. In the past, it yielded nothing in nine years out of ten, and at best what was gathered could be measured in scores of *jin* of grain when the weather was favourable. After the commune was set up, especially after the unfolding of the mass movement to creatively study and apply Chairman Mao's works in 1964, the poor and lower-middle peasants started a large-scale campaign to transform saline land and plant rice. By 1965, they had in the main turned all this water-logged, saline land into paddyfields. Contrasting the present with the past, the poor and lower-middle peasants love the great leader Chairman Mao and the people's commune still more deeply. They say: "People's communes have shown their strength and the rice plants sway on large tracts of former saline land. So long as we march along the road indicated by Chairman Mao, our life will be happy for generations to come."

The establishment of the people's commune has brought the extensive use of electricity to its members, both in irrigation and lighting. The commune has now extended high-tension power transmission lines over all its territory, and big and small electric pumping stations can be found in all production teams. Many of the teams use electricity to drive their rice and flour mills. This was something never dreamt of by the older people in the past. Even for the young people, this was a goal which they imagined could be reached only after a long period of hard work.

Before the people's commune came into being, there were only five diesel and petrol engines in the Beiyuan area. The several thousand *mu* of vegetable gardens were mostly irrigated by water from hand-operated wells. Efficiency was low and the work tiring. Now the whole commune has built eight big electric pumping stations equipped with more than 550 electric motors and over 200 pumps. As a result, more than 90 per cent of the farmland is now irrigated by electricity and 95 per cent of the peasant households have electric lighting.

All these achievements are the fruits of ten years of hard work by the commune members who follow Chairman Mao's teachings and bring into play the superiority of the people's communes which are larger in size and have a higher degree of public ownership.

During the three years (1959-61) of temporary economic difficulties caused by natural calamities, China's Khrushchov fanned up the evil wind of *"san zi yi bao,"* i.e., the extension of plots for private use and of free markets, the increase of small enterprises with sole responsibility for their own profits or losses and the fixing of output quotas based on the household. His agents in Shantung Province also attempted to wreck the Beiyuan commune, the first people's com-

mune set up in the province. The handful of capitalist roaders in the county and commune Party committees chose the Yangzhuang Production Brigade of the commune as a centre to push their policy of fixing vegetable output quotas based on the household. This act of backsliding from the road of collectivization met with strong opposition from the poor and lower-middle peasants and cadres of the Yangzhuang brigade.

These capitalist roaders later plotted to divide up the orchards which were collectively managed by the Yangzhuang and three other brigades. This was again strongly opposed by the poor and lower-middle peasants and cadres. The capitalist roaders in the commune tried to force Chang Hung-yun, leader of the Yangzhuang brigade, to give in. But he said angrily: "What you are carrying out is not the policy of Chairman Mao. You do not represent the interests of the poor and lower-middle peasants. If you dare to divide up the orchards, I will fight to the end!" From that time, the handful of capitalist roaders in the commune Party committee, who had a guilty conscience, dared not mention this matter any more.

The mass movement for the creative study and application of Mao Tse-tung's thought started in the Beiyuan commune in 1964. It was raised to a higher level during the great proletarian cultural revolution. The broad masses of poor and lower-middle peasants in the commune have come to understand more deeply that Mao Tse-tung's thought is the very life-blood of the commune members, and that they can hold fast to the socialist orientation and ensure that the socialist state will never change its political colour only by

turning the people's communes into great red schools of Mao Tse-tung's thought.

Mao Tse-tung's thought study classes are being run at the commune and production brigade levels. Many households of poor and lower-middle peasants also set up such study classes. As a result of the commune members conscientiously studying the "three constantly read articles" (*Serve the People, In Memory of Norman Bethune and The Foolish Old Man Who Removed the Mountains*) and Chairman Mao's latest series of instructions, and fighting self-interest and repudiating revisionism, Mao Tse-tung's thought has been popularized on a wider scale and gone deeper into the hearts of the people.

Marking the 10th anniversary of the great leader Chairman Mao's inspection of Beiyuan, the poor and lower-middle peasants and revolutionary cadres there, acting in accordance with Chairman Mao's great teaching "**grasp revolution and promote production,**" are striving to win a twin victory in both revolution and production. With boundless love and esteem for, boundless faith in and boundless loyalty to Chairman Mao, at the site of Chairman Mao's inspection they have built a big arch inscribed with the quotation from Chairman Mao — "**It is good to set up people's communes.**"

The poor and lower-middle peasants of the Beiyuan commune say: "We must always bear in mind Chairman Mao's great teaching: '**It is good to set up people's communes,**' never forget class struggle and the struggle between the two lines and always advance along the road pointed out by Chairman Mao."

Creating the Socialist New, Fostering Proletarian Originality

—Review of the Piano Music *The Red Lantern*
With Peking Opera Singing

PRAISING the piano music *The Red Lantern* with Peking opera singing — a new, recently created form of proletarian revolutionary art, Chinese workers, peasants and soldiers say proudly: This is ours, our proletarian revolutionary art, the militant marching song of our era!

Coming into being under the personal care and guidance of Comrade Chiang Ching, this new form of revolutionary art creates what is new, in the sense that it is socialist, and fosters what is original, in the sense that it is proletarian. It has opened a new road both for the revolution in Western musical instruments and symphonic music and for musical accompaniment to Chinese opera. This is a great pioneering achievement in the history of world art. This is a new

victory for Chairman Mao's revolutionary line in literature and art! The success of this new work foretells that the storm of the revolution in Western musical instruments and symphonic music is beginning to spread wide, that the torrent of the revolution in musical accompaniment to Chinese opera is going to sweep forward on a broad front.

A Revolution in the Art of the Piano

For hundreds of years, piano music was dominated by the feudal landlord class and the bourgeoisie.

Even a glimpse through the names of the "heroes" to whom the bourgeois "masters" of piano music dedicated their work is revealing: devils, nymphs, em-

perors, countesses, . . . figure there. Countless compositions for the piano, but how few were made for the working people! The sounds spun out on the piano say that the exploiters are noble and the labourers are insignificant, sentiments which can only be termed criminal, and that "oppression is justified" and "resistance is a crime," which can only be termed reactionary.

Listen to those themes in piano music which the bourgeoisie boastfully proclaim "eternal": life, death, love, hate, . . . Among those innumerable pieces, how few were intended for the working people! The piano was used to express the decadent sentiments of the exploiting classes. It was used by the bourgeoisie to benumb and poison the minds of the working people.

More than 20 years ago, our great leader Chairman Mao put forward the principle that literature and art must serve the workers, peasants and soldiers. The reversal of history must be reversed again. But China's Khrushchov and his agents in the field of literature and art such as Chou Yang and others did their utmost to oppose Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line and stubbornly pushed a counter-revolutionary revisionist line in this field. China's Khrushchov said: "Give entertainment and rest — this encourages socialist enthusiasm." Is this their real intention? No! As a matter of fact, they made use of the weapon of literature and art to serve their aim of capitalist restoration, to "encourage" enthusiasm for capitalism among the people and to make socialist China "evolve peacefully" on to the capitalist road.

In accordance with Chairman Mao's concepts that literature and art should serve the workers, peasants and soldiers, that we should "make the past serve the present and foreign things serve China" and "let a hundred flowers blossom and weed through the old to bring forth the new," Comrade Chiang Ching gave the instruction as early as in 1964 that piano works should be composed for the singing of Peking opera on contemporary revolutionary themes in order to smash the vicious intrigues of China's Khrushchov and company to use piano music to help restore capitalism. Yet the handful of counter-revolutionary revisionists in the field of literature and art did their best to keep this important instruction from the revolutionary artists.

This handful of class enemies was overthrown in the great proletarian cultural revolution. Guided in person by Comrade Chiang Ching, the revolutionary artists displayed revolutionary initiative. After repeated experiments, they finally succeeded in composing the piano work *The Red Lantern* with Peking opera singing. This success puts the piano, a Western musical instrument formerly facing a dead end and isolated from the people of China, into the hands of the proletariat and other working people and makes it a militant weapon for the use of the proletariat.

Now, for the first time in the history of piano music, with powerful and militant melodies this piano work portrays proletarian heroes and expresses their lofty ideals and sentiments.

The piano has different prospects depending on which class uses it. In contrast to the deterioration of piano music in the bourgeois West, where a chimpanzee was asked on to a stage to smash the piano to win the cheers of the audience, the art of the piano in socialist New China has taken a glorious road: it is being created for the workers, peasants and soldiers and is for their use.

Ode to Proletarian Heroes

With the force of thunder and majestic and beautiful melodies, the piano music *The Red Lantern* with Peking opera singing unfolds in a deeply penetrating way the noble spiritual world of revolutionary heroes.

"My Spirit Storms the Sky" is a leading passage portraying the heroic image of Li Yu-ho, the hero. On the execution ground face to face with death, Li Yu-ho is fearless. Visualizing in his mind's eye the whole motherland, he looks far forward into the future of the revolution and his fighting will is strengthened. In the piano introduction, Li Yu-ho's confident steps as he strides sternly out from his cell are embodied in the deep, steady bass, while alternately grating and dull tones depict Hatoyama's cruelty and weakness. With the gradual crescendo of the music, Li Yu-ho's lofty image towers before us more and more clearly. When he sings, "They cannot fetter my spirit that storms the sky," a bright, swiftly moving melody emerges from the low notes with irresistible force, its militant strength vividly portraying Li Yu-ho's heroic revolutionary spirit of determination to "vanquish all enemies and never to yield." Immediately following the lyrical "head high, and militant, I walk to the execution ground. Gazing afar, I see. . .," the pianist performs an excellent solo passage, developing the original interpolation of the Peking opera. Here, a musical phrase symbolizing the revolutionary red lantern first appears clearly and rousing in the upper register. It swiftly develops into a strong and vigorous melody that encompasses the whole range of the piano and that gives rich and incisive expression to Li Yu-ho's lofty revolutionary ideals and broad revolutionary outlook: What he sees is not the enemy's bombast or cruelty, but that the Japanese imperialists are sinking into the sea of fire of the people's war against them. What he is conscious of is not the heavy chains on his hands and feet, but that after the storm, "a New China will rise and shine like the morning sun." Then, the music becomes splendidly colourful, painting a magnificent and vivid picture of "red flags fluttering over the whole land." Its artistic impact on the audience is very strong. In the piano *cadenza*, with the momentum of an avalanche, the racing melody makes the audience feel that Li Yu-ho is not going to the execution ground, but is welcoming a bright, militant tomorrow with confidence in victory and the smile of a victor.

The music also portrays the rapid maturing of Li Tieh-mei trained by the great Communist Party and her revolutionary forbears in the storm of class struggle. From the song "All Have a Bright Red Heart"

Synopsis of the Peking Opera "The Red Lantern"

The action of the opera takes place in northeast China, under occupation by the Japanese invaders during the War of Resistance Against Japan.

Li Yu-ho, an underground Party member, is a railway switchman in a small city in the northeast. His mother, Granny Li, is over sixty. She, too, is an underground Communist who has seen many revolutionary storms. His 17-year-old daughter Li Tieh-mei is growing up in the grim struggle against the enemy. These three generations, though living together, are not really of the same family. Seventeen years ago in the sanguinary struggles of a big strike, they were brought together to form a revolutionary family. Li Yu-ho was then an apprentice of Granny Li's husband, who was killed, as was another apprentice who was Tieh-mei's father. The martyrs left behind them a railwayman's red lantern, which became the family heirloom, a signal for battle and a symbol of victory in the revolution.

One day, Li Yu-ho receives from a higher Party organization a secret code which he is to deliver through Party channels to the guerrillas in the Peishan Hills. Betrayed by Wang Lien-

chu, a traitor, Li is arrested before he fulfils his mission. Revolutionary Granny Li reveals to Tieh-mei the true history of their three generations so as to inspire her to carry on the fight. Her revolutionary fervour kindled by class and national hatred, Tieh-mei takes over the red lantern, symbol of the revolutionary cause.

The crafty, venomous captain of Japanese gendarmes, Hatoyama, arrests Granny Li and Tieh-mei too. In his attempt to get hold of the secret code, he uses both cajolery and torture against Li Yu-ho and his mother and finally kills them in frenzy. He also tries to intimidate Tieh-mei by threatening to separate her from her loved ones and later by brutally executing them before her very eyes. All his efforts fail ignominiously. The three generations of revolutionaries stand firm. They display the lofty revolutionary spirit and dauntless heroism of the working class.

After the death of Li Yu-ho and Granny Li, Hatoyama releases Tieh-mei, vainly hoping that sooner or later, she will unwittingly reveal where the secret code is hidden. Tieh-mei, however, with the help of her neighbours, escapes to find the underground Party organization and safely delivers the secret code to the Peishan guerrillas.

which describes Tieh-mei's still childish, somewhat naive, character to "Hatred in My Heart Grows a Hundredfold" which expresses her firm revolutionary determination, the musical portrayal develops step by step, and her image becomes more and more fully realized and noble.

In the latter song, the militant and tumultuous piano accompaniment outstandingly expresses Tieh-mei's deep hatred for the enemies of her class and of the nation. At the end of the passage, she sings: "Arrest me, release me, I'm well prepared. I fear neither whip nor lash; I fear neither locks nor chains. I won't give you the code even if you crush me to powder." The firm, powerful rhythm and sturdy, spirited tones of the piano vividly characterize Tieh-mei's staunch revolutionary will tempered in the severe test of the class struggle. The audience is presented with the image of

a mature revolutionary successor holding aloft the red lantern of the revolution.

Combining revolutionary realism with revolutionary romanticism, this new piano work possesses the distinctive characteristics both of our era and of our nation; it achieves "the unity of revolutionary political content and the highest possible perfection of artistic form." It is another sparkling gem of art shining with Mao Tse-tung's thought.

What is praised or opposed in a work of art concerns the fundamental issue of whom it serves. The bourgeoisie wants to portray its own heroes, to propagate its ideals, demands and wishes, to transform the world according to its outlook. The proletariat also wants to portray its own heroes, to propagate its ideals, demands and wishes, to transform the world according to

its outlook. This entails an acute and fierce class struggle. The birth of the piano music *The Red Lantern* with Peking opera singing **opens a new life** for the art of the piano which for hundreds of years eulogized the bourgeoisie. It opens a new epoch in the history of the piano for it to eulogize the workers, peasants and soldiers. This is another tremendous victory won by the proletariat over the bourgeoisie in the field of literature and art, won by Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line in literature and art over China's Khrushchov's counter-revolutionary revisionist line in this field.

**Blazing Our Own Trail — Making Foreign Things
Serve China and Weeding Through the Old
To Bring Forth the New**

In the wake of the revolutionary symphonic work *Shachiapang* and the revolutionary ballets *The Red Detachment of Women* and *The White-Haired Girl*, the piano music *The Red Lantern* with Peking opera singing provides yet another fine example of **"making the past serve the present and foreign things serve China"** and **"letting a hundred flowers blossom and weeding through the old to bring forth the new."**

This work has successfully assimilated the fine elements of foreign piano music, critically used the traditional means of expression of the piano and swept away all the decadent, demoralizing, formalistic or corrupting elements of bourgeois piano music. In accordance with the revolutionary political content of the Peking opera *The Red Lantern*, it has also created a number of new ways of expression and playing techniques. It has organically integrated Peking opera, a traditional Chinese art, with the music of the piano, a traditional foreign art. They add to each other and complement each other. This new composition has both retained the basic characteristics of Peking opera singing and percussion music and brought into full play the wide range, great power and varied means of expression of the piano.

It is a new form of proletarian revolutionary literature and art. While differing from both foreign and Chinese traditional arts, it exhibits both our national characteristics and the characteristics of our era.

It successfully manifests the immeasurable power of Chairman Mao's great policy of **"making the past serve the present and foreign things serve China"** and **"letting a hundred flowers blossom and weeding through the old to bring forth the new."**

To **"make foreign things serve China"** means critically assimilating fine elements of foreign art in the service of socialist China. To **"weed through the old to bring forth the new"** means "weeding" through what is "old" in the sense that it is feudalistic or capitalist, and "bringing forth" what is "new" in the sense that it is socialist — the new, socialist content and the national form loved by the common people of China.

September 20, 1968

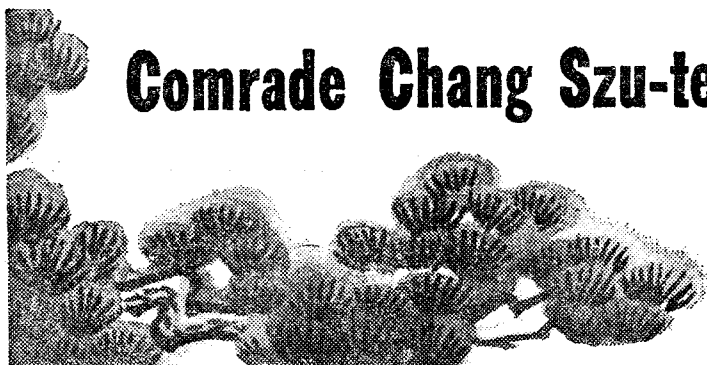
Words of the Aria
"My Spirit Storms the Sky"

At the gaolers' blood-thirsty cry
I stride forth from my cell.
Heavy chains shackle my hands and feet,
But they cannot fetter my spirit that storms the sky.
Hatoyama, to get the code,
Has tried every brutal torture,
My bones are broken, my flesh torn,
But my will is firmer than ever.
Head high, and militant, I walk
To the execution ground.
Gazing afar, I see
The red flag of revolution raised on high,
Flames of resistance blaze across the plains.
Japanese brigands!
Your ruthless days are numbered.
The storm will pass, flowers will bloom.
A New China will rise and shine like the morning sun.
Red flags will flutter over the whole land.
This thought heightens my confidence
And strengthens my resolve.
For the Party I've done little; I'm worried
That the code has not reached the Peishan Hills.
But since I was renegade Wang's only contact,
He can betray no one else.
My mother and daughter are staunch as steel.
Hatoyama, though you search heaven and earth,
You'll never get the code!

Foreign traditional art, as far as content goes, mostly propagates traditional feudal and bourgeois concepts. With such content, it is impossible to weed through the old and bring forth the new. As for fine foreign artistic forms, however, they have their good points, and with them, it is possible for us to weed through the old and bring forth the new and so use them today. In order to develop a new socialist literature and art in China, we must critically assimilate and inherit fine foreign artistic forms. It is entirely wrong to reject indiscriminately all foreign artistic forms and adopt a nihilistic attitude. At the same time, foreign artistic forms must undergo a transformation if they are to express our new socialist content and become well liked by the common people of China. Blind worship of Western artistic forms, the view that all things "foreign" are fine, not carrying out reforms in them, not weeding through the old to bring forth the new, adopting an attitude of wholesale approval towards them — this is also entirely wrong. We oppose both a nihilistic attitude and an attitude of wholesale approval towards foreign artistic forms.

"There is no construction without destruction, no flowing without damming and no motion without rest." We must thoroughly criticize and repudiate the sinister, counter-revolutionary revisionist line in literature and art, utterly reject a superstitious belief in feudal and capitalist literature and art, and carry out a revolution in the realm of literature and art that is unprecedented in extent and depth. Only by revolution can we create what is new — in the sense that it is socialist, only by revolution can we foster what is original — in the sense that it is proletarian, only by revolution can we blaze new trails.

The birth of the piano music *The Red Lantern* with Peking opera singing once again proclaims to the world: the Chinese people armed with Mao Tse-tung's thought are great pioneers and creators of literature and art. We can not only transform all those parts of the superstructure which do not conform to the socialist economic base, but can also open up new paths for socialist literature and art, and build up a brilliant new literature and art.



Comrade Chang Szu-teh As I Remember Him

by CHEN YAO

We published the first two instalments of this article in "Peking Review," Nos. 36 and 37. Following is the third instalment. — "P.R." Ed.

Picking the Heavy Tasks

Chang and I were then working in the messenger squad. Since we had no modern means of communication, we delivered messages or relayed orders on foot. If the message was urgent we ran.

Chang always picked the heavy tasks and accomplished each one without fail. It was pouring with rain one night when our commander told us to send an urgent message to Chiaerhkou. Since Chang was just back from a mission, it was only right that someone else should take it. But Chang decided to go himself as speed was essential and the path was muddy and slippery. Taking the letter and his gun he set off at once. It was about sixteen *li* from our barracks to Chiaerhkou. And he had to make his way down a slope and then climb up one pebbly track after another. Braving

the rain, he hurried along as fast as he could in the darkness. By now the rain was fairly pelting down. What if the letter got wet? When this question came into his mind, Chang immediately put the letter inside one of the shoes he was carrying under his armpit and clamped both shoes together to keep it dry. He delivered the letter in good time. We were all filled with great admiration when we heard the comrades from Chiaerhkou describe how Chang had protected the letter.

Another time, just at daybreak on a winter's morning, when heavy snow was falling and a cold northwest wind howling, the leadership ordered us to send an urgent letter to the First Platoon of our Fourth Company in Hsiaopienkou. Wearing an old padded tunic, a tattered felt hat and cotton-padded shoes already three years old, Chang set off in the teeth of the storm. He came back encrusted with a thin layer of ice. There was even ice on his eyebrows, while his felt cap had frozen as hard as a steel helmet and his hands were numb with cold. "It's very cold?" the comrades asked

him with concern. "What's cold to us revolutionary fighters?" he answered with a smile.

While we were reclaiming wasteland at Nanniwan we still carried out our regular duties. To fulfil this twofold task, Chang often went without food and sleep. I remember one midnight the leadership wanted an urgent order relayed to all companies. As we had been digging caves that day we were all tired out. Seeing that all the other comrades were sound asleep, Chang took up his gun and set off.

Once, our commanders asked Chang and me to deliver a letter to Nanniwan late at night. As we set off I told him, "I heard the villagers say there are many leopards..." Chang replied calmly, "Don't be afraid. It is nothing compared with crossing the marshlands during the Long March." His fearlessness filled me with fresh courage. It was only twenty *li* to Nanniwan, but we had to cross more than ten streams. If these were wide Chang would not let me wade across but carried me over on his back. By the time we returned to base it was broad day and the other comrades were all out working in the fields. Chang told me to take a good rest. He waited until I was asleep and then slipped out to work. When I woke up I discovered that he had disappeared and I hurried off to join him.

One summer our quartermaster bought five pigs at Lohochuan so that we could have some pork. Chang and I were assigned to bring them home to Yen-an, an eighty-*li* trip. We set off with dry rations and got to Lohochuan at dusk. That night, we started driving the pigs back. At first they were obedient and went straight ahead. But after a score of *li* we came to a stream. The pigs were afraid to go up the bridge but ran to the stream. Chang measured the depth of the water, and found it was shallow. Then he said, "All right, let's take a dip with the pigs." We rolled up our trouser legs. With him leading the way and me bringing up the rear, the pigs trotted cheerfully into the stream. Once there, however, they began to play and swam downstream for several *li*. Hard as we tried, we could not drive them ashore. We were getting very anxious. Then Chang hit on a plan. He whipped off his trousers, tied up the legs and filled them with water to make a water-monster. The pigs panicked and rushed up the bank, while I split my sides laughing. When we got ashore, I told him, "You always know how to do the trick." He answered casually, "You need a few tricks up your sleeve to get things done. If we'd let the pigs get washed away we'd have fallen down on a political task. If that really happened, we'd be criticized; but the more important thing is that the comrades would have no pork. And if we don't eat properly, how can we do a good job defending Chairman Mao and the Party Central Committee?"

A Faithful Servant of the People

Wherever he went Chang integrated himself with the local masses, getting very close to them. Once,

while burning charcoal, we stayed with a peasant named Ma. Every day Chang would sweep the courtyard, fetch water and feed the ox. Sometimes he also played with Ma's young son so as to give the grown-ups more time for household chores. One day we each had a little pork with our meal. Chang gave half his share to the child. On Sundays he took the lead in working for the peasants in the fields. He hoed quickly and carefully, and while reaping left not a single ear of millet on the ground. "Your squad leader is really fine," Ma used to say. "Charcoal burning fags you out yet he's always lending us a hand. He's really a good fighter taught by Chairman Mao." When we finished our task and were ready to leave for Yen-an, the peasants saw us off at the entrance to the village. "You must come again, Comrade Chang!" they urged, reluctant to part with us. "Be sure to come back again, comrades!" "When you come to Yen-an, do look us up," Chang replied earnestly. Later Ma did call on Chang when he came to Yen-an, and Chang gave him a warm welcome. He assured Chang, "The whole village misses you. My boy often says, 'I want to play with Uncle Chang!'"

The fundamental thing about Chang's close links with the masses was that he always put their interests first and paid more attention to them than to himself. One day in the late autumn of 1940 we were busy carrying charcoal downhill at Tuhuangkou. The big black bundle on Chang's back startled a heavily loaded donkey which was coming in the opposite direction.



Fearing that the donkey might bolt and cause damage, Chang hurriedly retreated out of sight. When the donkey had passed by, the driver came back to thank Chang. "I only did what I should," was Chang's reply.

Another time, the rope round someone's load broke and the charcoal fell, crushing some maize. Chang protested at once, "Why can't you be more careful? Think of the hard work that's gone into growing that maize! Hasn't Chairman Mao taught us to take good care of every single blade of grass and tree belonging to the peasants?" Chang went to apologize to the peasants in person. That same evening he called a squad meeting to go into the cause of the accident and draw a lesson from it. After that we always checked each other's bundles to make sure they were properly tied before starting downhill.

One day, during the land reclamation at Nanniwan, Chang and I went to borrow a hoe from a villager. We found the old man and his wife chopping up fodder in the courtyard. Chang urged them to rest and took over the chopper while I fetched fodder for him. The old woman beamed at us and asked, "Have you seen Chairman Mao in Yen-an?" "Yes, we have," we replied. "Chairman Mao is our great saviour," she exclaimed. "If the Eighth Route Army led by Chairman Mao weren't in Yen-an, we could never enjoy such peace here. Why, Nanniwan used to be overrun by Kuomintang troops and bandits. But since Chairman Mao came, we've had a peaceful life." Chang said at once, "That's true. Now we have come at Chairman Mao's order to reclaim the wasteland. We shall make Nanniwan blossom like those places south of the Yangtse. We shall defeat Japanese imperialism and thoroughly smash the blockade of the Kuomintang reactionaries. Guided by Chairman Mao, we shall completely liberate the people of our whole country, so that they will be free from exploitation and oppression like our people in the Shensi-Kansu-Ningsia Border Region." "How good that will be!" cried the old woman happily. In this way Chang always seized every opportunity to tell the masses in plain language about the Party's policy and the victories won at the front. Back in the squad Chang told the comrades what the old woman had said. "We are the people's soldiers," he said. "We must integrate ourselves thoroughly with the people. When we carry guns we are soldiers. When we put down our guns we are peasants. We must bear in mind Chairman Mao's teaching: the people's army is as inseparable from the people as fish from the water."

One day in Nanniwan, the battalion commander sent for Chang and gave him a message to be delivered to the general political department in Yen-an. Chang waded streams and pushed through forests and climbed twenty *li* over the Jentai Mountain Range. As he started down towards the village of Jentai, he saw an old woman carrying a bundle of brushwood she had cut for fuel. She was descending haltingly and with difficulty. Chang hurried over and put the bundle on his own back. He felt it was too light, so he cut some

more brushwood and added it to the original bundle. Then he escorted the old woman down the slope and saw her home. She pleaded that he stay and have a meal, but Chang refused with thanks.

"You Eighth Route Army men are too good to us peasants," she said gratefully. "You're really good soldiers educated by Chairman Mao."

"We're sons of the people, old mother," Chang replied. "We ought to serve them. I don't do nearly enough."

He showed his wholehearted devotion to the people in all his acts, and he developed this noble character by honestly following the teachings of Chairman Mao. The example of our great leader Chairman Mao's own behaviour was a constant influence upon him.

Once, Chang was asked to send a letter to Tingpien and Yenchih, about 800 *li* from Yen-an. It was late one night when he returned to Yen-an. He hadn't eaten any supper. The squad was all asleep, so he entered our quarters softly. A few of the comrades had kicked their quilts off and he quickly covered them again. Only then did he pour himself a bowl of water and sit down.

It happened that I myself returned from a mission too. When I entered the cave, I found him sitting there. Before I could ask him a word about his trip, he stood up, grasped my hand, and said:

"Where have you been? You must be tired. Have you eaten yet?"

"I'm not tired," I replied. "I ate before leaving here. I've only gone a short distance of 30 *li* with an urgent message. But you must be very tired, squad leader. Have you had your supper?"

He shook his head and said softly: "What have I got to be tired about? Compared with Chairman Mao, we hardly do anything. I passed the Date Garden and Yangchialing on my way back, and the lights there were burning bright. In the middle of the night Chairman Mao is still up, working out the liberation of the Chinese people. I was feeling a bit weary, originally, but when I saw those lights, my heart warmed and I felt fine. I said to myself: Because we have Chairman Mao, the suffering Chinese people will surely win complete liberation. The more I thought, the better I felt. Before I knew it, I was here."

Chang was stirred to the verge of tears. "Whenever I think of the Party and Chairman Mao," he said, "whenever I think that the people of the whole country are going to be completely liberated, tiredness and hunger fly away, difficulties and danger vanish."

Hearing him, I had trouble suppressing my own emotions.

(To be continued.)

Soviet Revisionists' Fascist Crime of Armed Aggression Against Czechoslovakia Strongly Condemned

Statement by the Central Committee of the Malayan Communist Party

- The modern revisionist bloc is fast approaching doom.
- The U.S. imperialists and Soviet revisionists are intensifying their collaboration in their vain attempt to redivide the world. Only by resolutely opposing Soviet revisionism can the world's people carry the struggle against U.S. imperialism through to the end.

THE Central Committee of the Communist Party of Malaya, in a statement issued on August 24, strongly condemned the Soviet revisionist renegade clique for its fascist crime of armed aggression against Czechoslovakia. The statement reads in full as follows:

The Malayan Communist Party strongly condemns the Soviet revisionist renegade clique and its satellites for the fascist crime of their military occupation of Czechoslovakia.

The Soviet revisionist renegade clique and its satellites, the Gomulka clique, the Ulbricht clique, the Kadar clique and the Zhivkov clique have enforced their military occupation upon Czechoslovakia and have stepped on to the old road of aggression against Czechoslovakia taken by the Hitlerite brigands in the 30s. This is a wholesale exposure of the fascist-imperialist features of the Soviet revisionist renegade clique and a thorough exposure of its paper-tiger nature.

The modern revisionist bloc with the Soviet revisionist renegade clique as its centre is disintegrating; its internal contradictions are daily aggravating. In order to maintain its tottering hegemony, the Soviet revisionist renegade clique, like a dog leaping over a wall in desperation, has brazenly launched the armed aggression. This marks the total bankruptcy of Soviet modern revisionism and the rapidly approaching doom of the modern revisionist bloc.

The events in Czechoslovakia have proved once again that the revisionist ruling cliques of Czechoslovakia — the Novotny and Dubcek cliques — are gangs

of scabs and national traitors through and through. It is precisely because of their prolonged practice of bourgeois dictatorship and because of the policy of surrender adopted by the Dubcek clique in face of armed aggression that the Czechoslovak people have been caught unprepared by the surprise attack, thus enabling the aggressors to make an easy job of swiftly occupying the entire territory of Czechoslovakia.

The events in Czechoslovakia have once again shown that the U.S. imperialists and the Soviet revisionists are intensifying their collaboration in their vain attempt to redivide the world. In contending for spheres of influence, they have contradictions, but in counter-revolutionary activities, both of them are at one. They are jackals of the same lair. Therefore, to oppose imperialism, it is imperative to oppose revisionism. Only by resolutely opposing Soviet revisionism can the struggle against U.S. imperialism be carried through to the end.

The Malayan Communists and people firmly support the people of Czechoslovakia in their revolutionary struggle against the armies of occupation and against their own revisionist renegade clique. The Malayan Communist Party is fully convinced that, under the guidance of invincible Marxism-Leninism, Mao Tse-tung's thought and the powerful impetus of China's great proletarian cultural revolution, the people of Czechoslovakia will surely overthrow the reactionary rule of the domestic and foreign revisionists, re-establish the proletarian dictatorship and march forward along the road of socialism.

Statement by N. Sanmugathan, General Secretary Of the Communist Party of Ceylon

Expressing the hope that the revolutionary forces of Czechoslovakia will rise to beat back the aggression by the Soviet revisionists, overthrow the revisionist ruling clique in their own country and return to the path of socialism.

N. SANMUGATHASAN, General Secretary of the Communist Party of Ceylon, in a recent statement to the press, condemned the Soviet revisionists' aggression against Czechoslovakia. He pointed out that both the Soviet revisionists and the Czechoslovak revisionists are traitors and are well on the path to capitalist restoration and thus have no right whatsoever to be called Communists.

The statement says: "We condemn the aggression carried out by the Soviet revisionist ruling clique, along with their fellow revisionist ruling cliques of Poland, East Germany, Hungary and Bulgaria against Czechoslovakia.

"The world's reactionaries and their press are using this situation as a stick to beat all Communists and Marxist-Leninists. They do this by the simple expedient of identifying the modern revisionist ruling clique as Communists — completely forgetting and ignoring the notorious fact that these regimes have, for over a decade, become traitors to Marxism-Leninism and are well on the path to capitalist restoration and thus have no right whatsoever to be called Communists."

The statement continues: "Economically, the modern revisionist ruling cliques adopted policies which gradually led to the restoration of capitalism and the liquidation of the dictatorship of the proletariat and its replacement by the dictatorship by the privileged stratum of the new bourgeoisie bent on the path of capitalist restoration. They encouraged the growth of capitalism in the countryside by doubling the extent of the private plots of collective farmers. They introduced capitalist profit incentive in industry. Dislocation of their economies and even strikes took place. They allowed international monopoly capitalists to set up factories in their countries and to exploit their labour.

"Culturally, they opened the floodgates to everything that was decadent in Western culture. Night clubs, prostitution, the system of tipping, latest crazy dances from the West, beauty-queen competitions, mini-skirts, beetle hair styles — all these had become the order of the day in all countries ruled by the revisionists, including Czechoslovakia, even before the emergence of Dubcek to power."

The statement points out: "Thus, neither the Soviet Union nor Czechoslovakia is a socialist country. Both

countries are advancing on the path of capitalist restoration. The only difference between Novotny and Dubcek is that while the former was willing to advance on the path of capitalist restoration under the tutelage of the Soviet revisionist ruling clique, the latter wanted to proceed independently and quicker into the lap of American imperialism.

"Therein lay the seeds of conflict — whether Czechoslovakia wants to advance to capitalism while remaining within the Soviet orbit or whether it could make its independent deals with U.S. imperialism and West Germany as the Soviet Union itself was doing. This also represented the contradiction between Soviet revisionism and U.S. imperialism. Along with collaboration, there is also struggle between these two forces. Each wants to be the dominating partner and, in true gangster style, is busy building up respective spheres of influence."

The statement says: "Thus it is the height of mockery and hypocrisy for the Soviet revisionists to claim that they invaded Czechoslovakia to preserve its 'socialist gains' and 'socialist unity.' There is neither socialism nor socialist unity to be preserved."

It goes on, "Dubcek's so-called liberalization programme is really an attempt to give more freedom to the bourgeois and other reactionary forces in order to facilitate a quick restoration of capitalism. The abolition of press censorship only means that the bourgeoisie and other reactionary forces will be given freedom to propagate their views.

"What Dubcek is trying to introduce in Czechoslovakia is bourgeois democracy which is the antithesis of socialist democracy. Socialist democracy can exist only under conditions of the dictatorship of the proletariat. But it is fuller democracy because it is democracy for the working class and all toiling people who form the majority in any country. Equally, socialist democracy cannot co-exist with bourgeois democracy. Democracy for the working people and dictatorship over the exploiting classes — that is socialist democracy. There can be no other form."

In conclusion, the statement expresses the hope that the revolutionary forces of Czechoslovakia will rise to beat back the aggression of the Soviet revisionists, overthrow the revisionist ruling clique in their own country and return to the path of socialism.

Statement by the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Poland

- Soviet and Polish revisionists are renegades to the cause of the proletariat.
- Calling on all real revolutionaries and all soldiers and officers of the people's army of Poland to unite in a struggle for the dictatorship of the proletariat.

IN a declaration issued in Warsaw on August 24, the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Poland strongly condemned the Soviet revisionists and their followers for their brutal aggression against Czechoslovakia and its people.

The declaration says that a few days after the revisionist plotters signed the Bratislava declaration, which proclaimed the observance of the principles of equality and non-interference in the internal affairs of another country, the whole of Czechoslovakia was occupied. The hypocrisy and perfidy, the cynicism and brutality of the plotters went beyond all limits. The armed attack launched on Czechoslovakia has the features of a barbarous aggression of the fascist type.

On behalf of the working class and all the working people of Poland, the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Poland condemns this shameful, perfidious and bandit-like attack by the troops of the Soviet Union and its satellites, including Poland, against the fraternal Czechoslovak people. The declaration adds that although the aggression by the Soviet revisionists and their satellites, including Poland, against Czechoslovakia is being carried out with the use of phrases about the so-called defence of socialism, nobody can be deceived because in fact this is nothing more than a continuation of the hypocritical policy of betraying the interests of revolution and the principles of proletarian internationalism with the help of tanks and guns. This is a manifestation of relations between bourgeois states. Thus, it was decided to use barbarous armed attack to achieve what cannot be achieved through Warsaw Treaty letters and conferences. Over the past few months, "fraternal" negotiations were conducted around the table but what was done at night was just like a pack of gangsters. This is the real face of the modern revisionists after they have been unmasked, of the traitors to the cause of the proletariat, and of the lackeys of the bourgeoisie.

The declaration says that the aggression by the Soviet revisionists and their satellites, including Poland, against Czechoslovakia also exposes Soviet-U.S. collaboration. Johnson merely made a gesture to express regret. Thus, we see the perfectly harmonious collaboration between the two big powers, the United States and the Soviet Union, in their redivision of the

world. Every imperialist gangster safeguards his right to establish order in his sphere of influence in accordance with his needs. Czechoslovakia is in the sphere of influence of Soviet revisionism, while south Vietnam is in the U.S. sphere of influence.

The declaration points out that the Polish working class and the Communist Party of Poland are confident that the heroic working class of Czechoslovakia will create its revolutionary political organization and will lead the working masses to victory. The working class of Czechoslovakia must put its questions into its own hands. To place confidence in the counter-revolutionary and capitulationist Dubcek clique means submitting to the orders of the overt enemies of revolution and socialism.

After severely condemning the revisionist Gomulka clique, the declaration says that in sending Polish troops to Czechoslovakia, this clique followed in the footsteps of the prewar Polish reactionary bourgeoisie.

The declaration points out that the political adventurers and the enemies of the people must be severely punished and overthrown because they bring only sacrifice and suffering to the people. They bring shame to the good name of Poland, for which its finest sons and daughters fought on all fronts for freedom. The Polish army, together with the armies of the other revisionist countries, are occupying Czechoslovakia under the leadership of the Soviet revisionist generals. In a word, they are playing the role of an aggressor and occupier in the interests of reaction and counter-revolution at home and abroad. No Polish worker, no honest Pole, no Polish soldier can agree to such a thing. Soldiers of the people's army of Poland, you are deceived by the Gomulka clique. Come back to your country because the class enemy of the dictatorship of the proletariat is in your own country.

The declaration emphatically points out that modern revisionism with the Soviet revisionist ruling clique as its centre is leading the so-called socialist countries to calamities for the people and society, and has obsequiously handed over political power to the big bourgeoisie. To live and develop like a genuine socialist country, People's Poland must break away from the Moscow renegades to communism; first and

foremost, it must liberate itself from the Gomulka renegade clique, and its own actions must be supported by its own inexhaustible strength.

The declaration concludes by saying: The Communist Party of Poland today is the only Marxist-Leninist Party in Poland which represents the heroic traditions of the Polish proletariat and constitutes the real vanguard of the working class of Poland. The Central Committee of the Communist Party of Poland calls

upon all real revolutionaries and all soldiers and officers of the people's army of Poland to unite in a struggle for the dictatorship of the proletariat. Great danger now threatens Poland and socialism as well as the people's political power. Today, an attack has been launched on Czechoslovakia and tomorrow, another attack will threaten Poland. Instead of relying on the bayonets of the Soviet Union, we should rely on our revolutionary forces and material resources to build socialism in Poland.

Communique of the Political Bureau of the Italian Communist Party (Marxist-Leninist)

The working class and the peoples of the Soviet Union, Czechoslovakia and other countries under revisionist rule are struggling resolutely to sweep away all modern revisionist cliques.

THE Political Bureau of the Italian Communist Party (Marxist-Leninist) in a communique published in the August 24 issue of the Party organ, *Nuova Unità*, denounced the flagrant armed occupation of Czechoslovakia by the Soviet revisionist renegade clique.

It pointed out that the root cause of all this is: "The Khrushchovite leading clique, the chief culprit, which usurped the power of the Soviet state, used the past prestige of the Bolshevik Party and the resources of the Soviet state to promote the degeneration into revisionism and to establish the revisionist-bourgeois system in the East European countries which had previously been people's democracies. The Soviet revisionist clique uses every means to help the line of restoration by the bourgeoisie prevail. It has thrown mud at the achievements of socialism, played dirty tricks in an attempt to lead the world's communist fighters astray, negated the universal significance of Marxism-Leninism and spread the peaceful road and the parliamentary road illusion. At the 20th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, Khrushchov attacked the image of the great revolutionary Stalin. It (the Soviet revisionist clique) has carried out the policy of big-power chauvinism, blackmailed and exerted pressure on other countries politically, economically and militarily, and it has collaborated with U.S. imperialism more and more closely for the purpose of dividing the world into spheres of influence and checking the development of the revolutionary struggles of the peoples.

"In a series of countries where the proletariat has devoted itself to the class struggle for the building of socialism, revisionist cliques have usurped leadership and restored the revisionist-bourgeois system in all spheres. The economies there have been transformed

on the basis of capitalism. Strata of exploiters have come into being. The way of life, habits and culture have been progressively tainted with the colour of the bourgeois system. Foreign policies there have been put into the framework of the Soviet-U.S. alliance."

The communique declared that the Soviet revisionist renegade clique's pretext of "defending socialism in Czechoslovakia" was a vain attempt to cover up its crime of naked aggression. It said, "Is it not precisely the 22nd Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union that confirmed the state of the whole people, that is to say, there are no longer classes and class struggle in a socialist country? This means that by means of this theory, it (the Soviet revisionist leading clique) is abolishing the dictatorship of the proletariat.

"Is it not precisely the 22nd Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union that confirmed the theory of the party of the whole people? Is this not precisely an attempt to deny the correctness of the Party of Lenin and Stalin? This means the abolition of the Bolshevik Party. Therefore, one should look for the cause of revisionist degeneration in Czechoslovakia in the revisionist degeneration in the Soviet Union."

The communique pointed out that all the acts of the modern revisionist bloc with Soviet revisionism as its centre can only reproduce the typical contradictions inherent in the capitalist system within the revisionist countries and in the sphere of their relationships. In the specific case of Czechoslovakia, the groups competing with each other all claim that they want to defend socialism; in fact, they are competing within the framework of their common revisionist-bourgeois line.

The communique stressed: "Today, the banner of defending the cause of socialism and communism, the banner of the heritage of proletarian internationalism and the banner of Marxism-Leninism, are held high by People's China, the bulwark of world revolution, which is under the leadership of the Chinese Communist Party headed by Comrade Mao Tse-tung, and which is carrying out the great proletarian cultural revolution; these banners are held high by Albania, the beacon of socialism in Europe, which is under the leadership of the Albanian Party of Labour headed by Comrade Enver Hoxha, and which is pushing ahead revolutionary development in the ideological and cultural fields and the socialist construction with great success; these banners are held high by the Marxist-Leninist Parties and organizations which are developing throughout the world."

The communique added that at present all of revisionism and the revisionist-imperialist policies are in the throes of a profound crisis. This has created new possibilities for the Marxist-Leninists throughout the world to carry forward more effectively the struggle against the imperialists, the bourgeoisie and the modern revisionists. The working class and the peoples of the Soviet Union, Czechoslovakia and the

other countries ruled by the revisionists should prepare and unfold ever more determined struggles against modern revisionism so as to sweep away all the revisionist cliques and re-establish the dictatorship of the proletariat. "All the Marxist-Leninist Parties of the world should constantly close their ranks more tightly and march forward by holding high the banner of Marxism-Leninism, the banner of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin, the banner of Mao Tse-tung's thought, the highest creative expression of Marxism-Leninism of our time," the communique stressed.

It also said that the capitulationist line followed by the Khrushchov revisionist clique of the Soviet Union towards the U.S. imperialists has given the labouring people an ever deeper understanding of revisionism and the harm which it has done to the revolutionary movement. The working class, peasantry and the revolutionary youth will not be taken in. All the members and organizations of our Party have been mobilized and have plunged into work and struggle so as to forge ever closer links with the masses, expose the manoeuvres of all the revisionists in Italy, defeat all the plots of the reactionaries and the imperialists, and win over the broadest masses of the people to the glorious and invincible cause of Marxism-Leninism.

Presidential Elections Farce Exposes U.S. Imperialism's Predicament at Home and Abroad

The awakening American people have come to see more and more clearly the hypocrisy of bourgeois elections and the reactionary nature of the "bipartisan system."

THE quadrennial presidential elections farce being played out with much fanfare by the U.S. monopoly capitalist class reflects the U.S. ruling clique's predicament at home and abroad and the paper-tiger nature of U.S. imperialism which looks strong but is hollow inside. It also makes it plain that the closer U.S. imperialism is to its doom, the more rabidly will it in its death-bed struggle carry out its reactionary policy against communism, against the people and against revolution.

The elections are being held at a time when U.S. imperialism is in unprecedentedly dire straits at home and abroad. The revolutionary armed struggles of the Asian, African and Latin American peoples are now vigorously surging forward and dealing heavy blows to U.S. imperialism and its accomplices. The great struggle of the Vietnamese people against U.S. aggression and for national salvation has sorely battered U.S. imperialism which is at the end of its rope. In the capitalist countries of Europe, America and other

continents, the workers and students have launched waves of struggles against U.S. imperialism and domestic reaction. These are fiercely pounding the whole capitalist world. A financial crisis unprecedented in the capitalist world in the past 40 years has seriously shaken the "dominant position" of the U.S. dollar. The great storm of struggles launched by Afro-Americans in more than 100 American cities has rocked the reactionary rule of U.S. monopoly capital. All these events are like nooses around the neck of U.S. imperialism which are becoming tighter and tighter and of which it can never rid itself.

As part of the presidential elections farce, the recent national conventions and other activities of the Democratic and Republican Parties — instruments of the U.S. monopoly capitalist class — provide further proof of the difficult position of U.S. imperialism. Although both parties have been playing all kinds of tricks in a vain attempt to fool the American people and to get into the White House, they have had to admit that the U.S.

policy on Vietnam has "failed — militarily, politically, diplomatically. . ." and that "serious errors have been committed." In the domestic field, they have in the face of the upsurge of the American people's struggles lamented that the United States is now a country "torn by dissension." Yet the two parties cannot produce in their platforms a prescription for getting the crisis-riddled U.S. domestic and foreign policies out of the impasse. It is precisely under these conditions that the two bourgeois parties are more and more shedding the pretence of "differences" between them and have gone all-out to advocate counter-revolutionary dual tactics at home and abroad.

This elections farce being played by the U.S. monopoly capitalist class shows that, in the sphere of foreign policy, the quarrel between the two parties is centred on the increasingly heavy defeat suffered by the United States in its war of aggression in Vietnam. On this question, the brain-trusters, politicians and bosses of both parties have sometimes echoed, sometimes attacked, each other, all the time trying to find a way to get the U.S. ruling clique out of its predicament. However, both the "honourable and lasting settlement" advocated by the Democratic Party and the "fair and equitable settlement" clamoured for by the Republican Party are, in the final analysis, only the counter-revolutionary dual tactics of war and "peace talks" which aim at coercing and cajoling the heroic Vietnamese people into laying down their arms and surrendering to U.S. imperialism. There is nothing new in these dual tactics. With the close collaboration of the Soviet revisionist renegade clique, U.S. imperialism has been using these tactics to deal with the Vietnamese people, trying vainly to get at the conference table what it cannot win on the battlefield, while carrying out more frenziedly its war of aggression in Vietnam under the smokescreen of "peace talks." But such tactics can on no account save U.S. imperialism from its defeat; on the contrary, they can only drag it more and more deeply into the morass of the war. The fact that both the Democratic and Republican Parties are now clinging to these shopworn tactics as to a life-preserver precisely reflects that U.S. imperialism, which looks a colossus, is at its wit's end.

On the domestic front, the surging struggle of the Afro-Americans for freedom and equal rights has thrown the U.S. monopoly capitalist class into a panic. The Republican Party has raised a hue and cry about defending "law and order," i.e., the interests of the monopoly capitalists, and about not tolerating "violence." The Democratic Party, for its part, has pledged a "vigorous and sustained campaign against lawlessness." On the other hand, both parties have made a lot of false promises, such as eliminating racial discrimination, rebuilding slums and offering more jobs, in a vain attempt to deceive the people politically. But neither ferocious suppression nor honeyed deception can put out the flames of the Afro-Americans' struggle for emancipation. On the contrary, these can only

further raise their political consciousness and cause the struggle to develop.

The present elections farce further indicates that the awakening American people are more and more seeing through the hypocrisy of bourgeois elections and the reactionary nature of the U.S. "bipartisan system." They realize that such an elections farce directed by the U.S. ruling circles is nothing but a political fraud imposed upon the people to safeguard their reactionary rule. Both Humphrey, the Democratic presidential candidate, and Nixon, the Republican presidential candidate, are agents of the monopoly capitalist class. The American people have not only shown coolness and dissatisfaction towards the "electioneering" campaigns of both parties, but have also taken vigorous actions to protest against their reactionary policies. Despite the heavy police guard, an Afro-American struggle against violent repression and demonstrations against the war of aggression in Vietnam broke out in Miami while the Republican national convention was being held there. When the Democratic national convention took place in Chicago, barbed-wire fences were set up around the convention site and more than 26,000 fascist police and National Guardsmen were called out to suppress the people. Nevertheless, large numbers demonstrated against the U.S. policy of aggression in Vietnam for successive days and nights. The biggest demonstration came when more than 10,000 people stormed the hotel housing the convention headquarters and fought fiercely with the police.

While the elections farce is being staged by U.S. bourgeois politicians, the Soviet revisionist renegade clique, the No. 1 accomplice of U.S. imperialism, has repeatedly ogled the U.S. ruling clique to prepare the way for further U.S.-Soviet collusion. It has flirted with the leaders of both parties, aiding and abetting the U.S. monopoly capitalist class to reap political capital and hoodwink the masses. On their part, both the Democratic and Republican Parties also attach great importance to further collusion with the Soviet revisionists during the elections farce. On the eve of the Republican national convention, Republican Party boss Nixon expressed his intention to visit the Soviet Union. Not to be outdone, Democratic Party boss Johnson announced his intention to do likewise. The two resorted to every conceivable trick to woo Soviet revisionism, their biggest accomplice and lackey.

Our great leader Chairman Mao has said: "If the U.S. monopoly capitalist groups persist in pushing their policies of aggression and war, the day is bound to come when they will be hanged by the people of the whole world. The same fate awaits the accomplices of the United States." U.S. imperialism is like the setting sun, while the revolutionary struggle of the world's people is rolling on in a mighty tide. No matter which party or person the U.S. monopoly capitalist class sends to the White House, it can in no way avert U.S. imperialism's ultimate destruction.

Soviet Military Aircraft Intrusion Into China's Air Space Protested

A responsible member of the Chinese Foreign Ministry's Department of Soviet Union and East European Affairs on September 16 summoned Y. N. Razdukhov, Charge d'Affaires ad interim of the Soviet Embassy in China, and addressed a note to the Soviet Embassy in protest over the grave incidents in which Soviet military aircraft intruded into China's air space. The text of the note follows:

The Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the People's Republic of China addresses the present note to the Soviet Embassy in regard to the grave incidents in which Soviet military aircraft intruded into China's air space.

Between August 9 and 29, 1968, Soviet military aircraft of various types flew a succession of 29 sorties, intruding into China's air space over the Tunghua area, Heilungkiang Province, for reconnaissance, harassment and provocation. Ten sorties were flown on August 9, five on August 10, five on August 12, one on August 15, one on August 20, three on August 24 and four on August 29. These Soviet military aircraft all flew at low altitudes within China's air space, the lowest being 30 metres. They penetrated 3 kilometres at the farthest, and the longest distance covered was 5 kilometres.

It should be pointed out that in recent years the Soviet side has been persistent in despatching military aircraft to intrude into China's air space. In the past year alone, there were 119 cases of intrusion (a total of 131 sorties). However, it is rare that within a short space of 21 days, the Soviet side should have committed such concentrated, frequent, barefaced and flagrant military provocations over China's air space in one area. In particular, it should be pointed out that these intrusions by the

Soviet military aircraft took place around August 20 when the Soviet Union sent its troops for aggression against Czechoslovakia. And this is in no way accidental.

The recent incessant intrusions into China's air space over the Tunghua area by different types of Soviet military aircraft to aggravate border tension constitute a flagrant encroachment on and violation of the territorial integrity and sovereignty of the People's Republic of China and a fresh military provocation against her. These intrusions were wholly engineered by the Soviet Government in an organized and planned way in support of its atrocities of aggression against Czechoslovakia and in pursuance of its global strategy of allying with the United States against China and attempting to dominate the world in collusion with the United States.

Against this the Chinese Government lodges a strong protest with the Soviet Government. The Chinese Government hereby serves a stern warning on the Soviet Government: The 700 million Chinese people armed with Marxism, Leninism, Mao Tse-tung's thought are not to be bullied and China's territorial integrity and sovereignty absolutely brook no violation. Your present practice will definitely not succeed in face of the Chinese people. The Soviet Government must take immediate and effective measures against the occurrence of similar incidents, otherwise the Soviet Government must be held fully responsible for all the grave consequences arising therefrom.

Protest Over Soviet Occupation Troops' Provocations Against Chinese Embassy in Prague

A responsible member of the Department of Soviet Union and East European Affairs of the Chinese

Foreign Ministry summoned Y.N. Razdukhov, Charge d'Affaires ad interim of the Soviet Embassy in China, on September 5. The Chinese official again lodged a strong protest with the Soviet Government and seriously warned it over the continued intensification of provocations since August 27 by Soviet troops, which had invaded and occupied Czechoslovakia, against the Chinese Embassy there, their intensified encirclement and surveillance of the Embassy, interrogation and obstruction of those entering it, and their serious interference in its normal activities and threat to its safety.

The responsible member pointed out: "On August 27, the Soviet occupation troops greatly increased the number of sentries surrounding and keeping watch on the Chinese Embassy in Czechoslovakia. A captain of the Soviet occupation troops shamelessly told the staff members of the Embassy that they were there to 'defend' it. The next day, personnel going to work in the Embassy were unwarrantedly interrogated by the Soviet troops who, on August 29, tried to obstruct Czechoslovak workers from entering the Embassy for house repairs. Beginning on August 30, the Soviet occupation troops illegally distributed anti-Chinese propaganda material in front of the Embassy to people visiting it. On August 31, they went so far as to hang out to dry on the embassy gate and its railings along the street several dozen articles of clothing they had washed. During this period, the Soviet troops many times intercepted foreigners going to the Chinese Embassy on business. They also crudely interfered with the normal activities of the embassy personnel and threatened them."

The responsible member sternly pointed out in conclusion: "The above-mentioned serious provocations by the Soviet occupation troops

occurred after the Chinese Government had lodged on August 26 a serious protest and raised just demands with the Soviet Government over incidents of a similar nature. This fully proves that the Soviet occupation troops' provocations were no accident; they were deliberate anti-China actions by the Soviet side. This can only arouse great indignation among the Chinese people. I have been authorized to lodge once again a strong protest and issue a serious warning to the Soviet Government. We resolutely demand that the Soviet Government immediately withdraw the Soviet occupation troops encircling and keeping watch on the Chinese Embassy and stop all provocative acts. Otherwise, the Soviet Government must bear full responsibility for all the consequences arising therefrom."

Second Congress of Representatives of "Four-Good" Companies of Chinese Navy Closes In Triumph

In the midst of winning all-round victory in the great proletarian cultural revolution, the Second Congress of Representatives of "Four-Good" Companies of the P.L.A. Navy victoriously concluded in Peking recently. The main topic on the agenda was to carry out still further Chairman Mao's proletarian line on army building and strengthening work in the basic units.

Our great leader Chairman Mao and his close comrade-in-arms Vice-Chairman Lin Piao, together with leading comrades of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party and the Cultural Revolution Group Under the Central Committee, received all the representatives during the congress.

Taking firm hold of the struggle between the two lines on army building as the key, the representatives, by hearing reports and studying the history of our army building and the exemplary deeds of "four-good" companies, reached a deeper understanding of Chairman Mao's line on

army building and Vice-Chairman Lin Piao's instructions concerning the "four-good" company movement. Those attending the congress got to know more clearly the great strategic significance of continuing to unfold the "four-good" company movement in depth in the light of the new situation in the great cultural revolution.

In accordance with Chairman Mao's great teaching: **Politics is the commander, the soul in everything**, the representatives earnestly discussed, in terms of the new situation, the correct handling of relations between the "good" in political and ideological work and the three other "goods" — good in "three-eight" working style, good in military training and good in arranging their everyday life. They recognized that the relationship between good political and ideological work and the three other "goods" must be that between the commander and the commanded, between the whole and the parts and between the main and the subordinate. Political and ideological work must not be squeezed out by military affairs, nor must it be put on a par with the three other "goods." It is necessary to make a success of the ideological revolutionization of people by giving prominence to proletarian politics — the central link, that is, putting Mao Tse-tung's thought in command. Good political and ideological work impels advance in the three other "goods." But the whole is necessary and so are the parts. Politics is in command, but the three other "goods" must not be neglected. It is essential to use good political and ideological work to command, promote and carry forward the three other "goods."

Exhibition Reflects Fruits of Great Cultural Revolution

Hailing the establishment of revolutionary committees in all the provinces, municipalities and autonomous regions throughout the country with the exception of Taiwan Province, patriotic Chinese of

all circles in Hongkong, who are filled with great joy, have been flocking to the "Chinese Machinery and Instruments Exports Exhibition" there. Enthusiastically, they cheer the solid fruits gained in the great proletarian cultural revolution on the motherland's industrial front, and they cheer the resounding victory of the invincible thought of Mao Tse-tung.

On display are more than 1,500 exhibits, mostly products manufactured during the great proletarian cultural revolution. From these exhibits the patriotic Chinese have seen the tremendous industrial achievements made during the great proletarian cultural revolution and the great victory of Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line. They have come to a better understanding of the enormous significance of the strategic policy advanced by the great leader Chairman Mao: **"Grasp revolution and promote production and other work and preparedness against war."** When the glad tidings that revolutionary committees had been set up in all the provinces, municipalities and autonomous regions with the exception of Taiwan Province reached Hongkong, the exhibition premises became alive with excitement. Visitors, looking at the exhibits with keen interest, enthusiastically cheered the grand victory of the great proletarian cultural revolution. They shouted: "Long live Chairman Mao! A long, long life to him!"

In the two weeks since the exhibition opened on August 28, 100,000 people have visited it. They include workers, peasants, fishermen, students, patriotic Chinese from industrial and commercial circles and of all strata, as well as overseas Chinese from Southeast Asia, Australia, America and Europe and foreign friends and businessmen from more than 20 countries.

The *Hongqi* automobile, a super sedan with jump seats, and a new-type open command car, which are on exhibit for the first time in Hongkong, have attracted great attention. Thousands of visitors loving-

ly touch these cars which are designed and made in the motherland. Both cars are covered with fingerprints, an expression of the deep sentiments of patriotic Chinese in Hongkong and overseas Chinese for the great leader Chairman Mao and the socialist motherland. Young students visiting the exhibition immediately discovered that the olive-green open command car was the kind in which the great leader Chairman Mao and his close comrade-in-arms Vice-Chairman Lin Piao rode in when they received the Red Guards and the revolutionary people in Peking in 1966. They gathered around the car and shouted again and again: "Long live Chairman Mao! A long, long life to him!" They queued up and waited their turn to go up to it for a while. They were greatly inspired when they recalled the tremendous victories achieved over the past two years and more in the great proletarian cultural revolution, initiated and led by the great leader Chairman Mao himself.

The patriotic Chinese in Hongkong use the exhibition as a living textbook for studying the great proletarian cultural revolution. After visiting the exhibition, many workers said that it gave them a vivid and concrete lesson in the great proletarian cultural revolution. They said that they would creatively study and apply Chairman Mao's works in a still better way, take the working class of the motherland as their example and play their role as the main force in the patriotic anti-imperialist struggle in Hongkong. Writing in the visitors' book, one worker said: "All the achievements of the motherland have been made under the guidance of the invincible thought of Mao Tse-tung. I can't find better words to express my feelings than to shout: 'Long live Chairman Mao! A long, long life to him!'" With boundless love for the great leader Chairman Mao, many workers lovingly touch all the exhibits and linger in front of them, unwilling to depart.

Students from many patriotic schools regard visiting the exhibition as their first lesson in the new school year. After seeing the exhibition, more than 100 representatives of teachers and students of the Chung Wah Middle School, who are being brutally persecuted by the Hongkong British authorities, said with deep feeling: "We have seen with our own eyes our motherland's industrial achievements in the great proletarian cultural revolution. We can hardly find words to express our joy. This is a great victory for Mao Tse-tung's thought. The splendid achievements in our motherland's socialist revolution and socialist construction have greatly encouraged the patriotic Chinese in Hongkong and Kowloon who are struggling against British violence. Together with our compatriots of all circles in Hongkong and Kowloon, we are determined to carry the struggle against British violence through to the end."

Overseas Chinese from Asia, Europe, America and Australia said enthusiastically after visiting the exhibition: "Before liberation, old China depended heavily on imports. But now our motherland is able to produce many kinds of precision machines and instruments. This is the result of Chairman Mao's wise leadership. As Chinese, we are extremely proud and honoured." Having seen so many vivid and concrete examples, they vigorously refuted the rumours, slanders and attacks by the imperialists, revisionists and reactionaries against the great proletarian cultural revolution, and said that the enemy's attack could not harm a single hair of the motherland. One overseas Chinese said: "Facts before our eyes prove that the great proletarian cultural revolution is excellent!"

Hongkong Chinese Seamen Win Struggle Against Political Provocation by Norwegian Ship's Officers

According to the Toho News Agency, the 14 patriotic Chinese

seamen from Hongkong on the Norwegian freighter *Japana* anchored in the harbour of Yokohama triumphed in their struggle against political provocation by the ship's Norwegian officers who had also beaten them.

The 14 seamen had gone on strike since September 7 in protest against the barbarous acts on the ship of the Norwegian second mate who had thrown a copy of the red-covered treasured book *Quotations From Chairman Mao Tse-tung* overboard and beaten Chinese seamen. Patriotic overseas Chinese in Yokohama and Tokyo and members of the Japan-China Friendship Association (Orthodox) in Kanagawa Prefecture firmly supported the seamen and joined them in the struggle.

Confronted by the resolute struggle of the patriotic Chinese seamen, who were armed with Mao Tse-tung's thought, the captain of the *Japana* and the Norwegian consul in Yokohama were compelled to accept most of their demands.

On September 12, the Norwegian captain handed a letter signed by the Norwegian consul to the Chinese seamen, apologizing for the Norwegian second mate's behaviour of insulting the *Quotations*, agreeing to order the two Norwegians who had assaulted Chinese seamen to leave the ship, and promising to pay the seamen, through the Norwegian Shipping Company, their wages and expenses incurred during the strike.

That evening, together with patriotic overseas Chinese in Yokohama and members of the Japan-China Friendship Association (Orthodox) in Kanagawa Prefecture, the Chinese seamen held a meeting in Yokohama to celebrate their victory. Speaking at the meeting, a representative of the Chinese seamen said: "Our victory in this struggle has been won under the guidance of Mao Tse-tung's thought. It proves that imperialism and all reactionaries are paper tigers. After our return to Hongkong, we will hold high the great red banner of Mao Tse-tung's thought and carry on our struggle against imperialism and colonialism."

ROUND THE WORLD

AFRO-AMERICAN STRUGGLE

Wave Upon Wave

Throughout the summer the Afro-American masses have continued their heroic struggle against racial oppression in scores of U.S. cities and towns, including Cleveland, Chicago, Detroit, Miami and Los Angeles. They have dealt the reactionary U.S. ruling class a heavy blow.

This struggle developed at a time when the reactionary ruling class had greatly stepped up its counter-revolutionary dual tactics. Since April, when the Black people's armed resistance against violent repression erupted in well over 100 cities and towns, the U.S. administration has greatly expanded its police forces. "Anti-riot" training was given to the National Guards and regular troops. A special command centre was set up in the Pentagon to co-ordinate activities. At the same time, it has stepped up its use of deceptive tactics, and tried to beguile the Black masses with sweet words and inconsequential concessions. It has increased its efforts to woo and bribe certain Black "prominent figures" through whom it tries to undermine the Afro-American struggle. The *U.S. News & World Report*, mouthpiece of the American monopoly capitalist class, has hopefully declared that "future riots will not be as big or as widespread as those in the past." The forward surge of the Afro-American struggle has, however, given it a slap in the face.

More and more Afro-Americans have taken up arms to pit revolutionary violence against counter-revolutionary violence. This has been particularly noticeable this summer. In many places, the Afro-Americans carried out a resolute tit-for-tat struggle against the reactionary authorities' increasing suppression. On July 23, for example, the Black people used pistols, automatic rifles and machine-guns in Cleveland to give the fascist police a sharp rebuff. They killed three policemen and wounded a dozen others. On August

11, Afro-Americans in Watts, Los Angeles, besieged the district police sub-station during a gun battle. The station was hit by more than 1,000 rounds of ammunition and the police were finally compelled to abandon it in great confusion.

The armed struggle against violent repression has the support and sympathy of the Afro-American masses. To help their friends and relatives fight the fascist police, many Black soldiers serving the U.S. army of aggression in south Vietnam have succeeded in sending weapons home by devious means. Many Afro-American veterans have taken a direct hand in the armed resistance. Recently, the mother of Sidney Taylor, a Black youth who died a hero's death in Cleveland, said that she was proud of her son because he died for the Black man's emancipation. Taylor's wife said that she would teach her daughter to live and fight like her father.

This summer's Afro-American armed resistance against racial oppression also shows that the reactionary U.S. ruling clique may bribe and buy over some traitors but it cannot fool the Afro-American masses. When the armed struggle broke out in Cleveland, Negro Mayor Carl Stokes repeatedly called on the Afro-Americans to "co-operate with the police" and "stay inside and keep the doors locked." He even organized Black "community leaders" to patrol the Afro-American quarters for the police. But, despite all his frantic efforts on behalf of the reactionary ruling class, the Black masses ignored him, rushing into the streets and taking an active part in the armed resistance.

The experience this summer shows that the Afro-Americans cannot be suppressed or deceived. Surely and steadily they are maturing politically in the crucible of struggle. Their struggle is bound to merge with the American workers' movement, and it

will eventually end the criminal rule of the U.S. monopoly capitalist class.

FRENCH STUDENT MOVEMENT

Struggle Rolls On

On September 5, the Paris students who kindled the flames of France's mass struggle in May and June set off a new wave of struggle against the country's rotten educational system. To show their opposition to the irrational examination system and to protest against government suppression of the student movement and persecution of those who took an active part in the May-June revolutionary movement, they marched in angry protest through the streets, the scene of fierce battles with the reactionary gendarme and police more than two months ago. Once again, the Latin Quarter was filled with a militant atmosphere.

September started a new term. On September 5, after staging a demonstration in the university quarter, 5,000 students massed at the Medical Faculty of the University of Paris for a protest meeting. On the following day, several thousand medical students voted to boycott the term-end examination which had been postponed as a result of the revolutionary storm in May and June, and called for immediate reforms in the decadent educational system. French ruling circles took great alarm at the students' decision. On September 8, large numbers of police were sent to close the headquarters of the Paris Medical Students Action Committee which initiated the boycott campaign. On September 9 and 10, a big force of police in civilian clothes was ordered to the examination halls to break up the boycott struggle. The government and college authorities also threatened those who boycotted the examinations with the penalty of losing a school year or outright expulsion.

At the Faculty of Law a mass meeting was scheduled for the evening of September 10 to support more than 100 journalists who had been unjustifiably dismissed because of their opposition to the distorted propaganda by government-controlled radio and television stations in May and June. The authorities attacked

the students. Police sealed off the area, forcibly closed the faculty building and locked up 150 students inside. This at once brought over 1,000 protesting students to the scene. Finally the police had to release the 150 students unconditionally.

The greater the oppression, the stronger the resistance. The students in Paris were not cowed. They organized propaganda teams 100 to 200 strong calling on fellow students inside and outside the examination halls to boycott the examinations. They shouted anti-fascist slogans in the face of the plain-clothesmen who swarmed into the examination centres. The Medical Students Action Committee issued a communique on September 10 in which it stressed the firm opposition of the students to the sending of police into the colleges. Several students were beaten up by the police, who were acting on the instructions of the

French authorities. Enraged students in the examination halls shouted slogans in protest. The examination at the Medical Faculty could not go on and was suspended on the afternoon of September 10.

Students in the provinces rose in response to the struggle of the Paris students. The medical students in Toulouse decided on September 7 to boycott the examinations. In Grenoble, the students of the Economics Faculty did the same on September 10.

The students' renewed struggle has thrown France's ruling circles into a panic. The unprecedented upsurge of the student and workers' movement of last May and June dealt a severe blow to the French monopoly capitalist class. The French rulers have since been on perpetual tenterhooks, for fear a fresh rebellion spearheaded by the students would lead to a widespread conflagration.

The revolutionary war is a war of the masses; it can be waged only by mobilizing the masses and relying on them.

— MAO TSE-TUNG

LAOS PATRIOTIC ARMY AND PEOPLE

New Monsoon Victories

Employing the strategy and tactics of people's war, the Laotian patriotic armed forces and people dealt successive blows at the enemy and achieved notable battle results during June, July and August, the first three months of the current rainy season. In the wake of the brilliant dry-season victory in which 16,000 enemy troops were annihilated, these fresh successes further consolidated and enlarged the liberated areas.

Our great leader Chairman Mao has pointed out that the people's army is powerful **"because of its division into two parts, the main forces and the regional forces, with the former available for operations in any region whenever necessary and the latter concentrating on defending their own localities and attacking the enemy there in co-operation with the local militia and the self-defence corps."**

During these first three months of the rainy season, the Laotian regional

armed forces and guerrillas, displaying immense strength, wiped out more than 1,000 enemy troops. While fighting in co-ordination with the main forces, they also operated independently and launched many surprise attacks on the enemy. In Sam Neua Province, they assaulted on July 29 the headquarters of the 26th battalion of the Rightist troops, killing 39 of the enemy. On July 25, during a fierce engagement in the Nam Hang area, Phong Saly Province, the regional armed forces and people annihilated 109 enemy troops and finally liberated the area. The enemy forces who tried to invade the liberated areas also suffered heavy casualties because of the many cleverly laid booby traps and minefields. On July 12, the guerrillas in the Pa Nam area of Phong Saly used booby traps to capture 30 of these bandits, who are trained and supported by the United States, and a quantity of weapons.

During the period, the regional armed forces and guerrillas, showing their contempt for the up-to-date American aircraft, brought down or

damaged many U.S. planes with light weapons. Three American aircraft were shot down over Sam Neua Province in July alone and five others were downed over Sayaboury Province from May to July. All these facts have once again borne out Chairman Mao's brilliant thesis: **"Weapons are an important factor in war, but not the decisive factor; it is people, not things, that are decisive."**

Simultaneously with their extensive attacks against the enemy at the front, the Laotian patriotic armed forces have vigorously unfolded a movement to wipe out bandits in the rear. This has further consolidated and enlarged the liberated areas. In Phong Saly, Sam Neua and Udomsay Provinces alone, more than 500 bandits were put out of action in June and July. Hand-reared by U.S. imperialism, the so-called "special forces" are counter-revolutionary armed gangs. They are often air-dropped into the liberated areas by U.S. helicopters to carry out harassing and looting activities, committing monstrous crimes against the people.

To disintegrate the bandits, the Laotian patriotic armed forces also strengthened political and propaganda work among them. As a result, one group after another has deserted. In June, more than 110 of the U.S.-trained bandits crossed over to the people's side in Phong Saly Province alone.

Under the heavy blows from the patriotic armed forces and people, the U.S. imperialists and their Laotian henchmen were thrown into great confusion. They desperately intensified their barbarous suppression of the people in the enemy-occupied areas and made frantic efforts to round up more cannon-fodder, even forcing government functionaries to join the army. However, this death-bed struggle of the U.S. imperialists and their lackeys has aroused still stronger resistance from the people and further demoralized the Rightist troops. More and more of the latter have come to realize that going over to the Laotian patriotic armed forces is their only way out. In July alone, 207 Rightist troops crossed over to the people's side in Savannakhet Province to join

the struggle against U.S. aggression and for national salvation.

"PORTUGUESE" AFRICA

Patriotic Forces Grow

Persevering in armed struggle, the patriotic forces of "Portuguese" Africa have reduced to impotence the 120,000 Portuguese colonial troops who are backed by the U.S.-headed NATO aggressive bloc, and have made life ever more difficult for them.

Guinea (Bissau): The patriotic armed forces have liberated significant areas in the south and north. They are pushing towards the enemy-held eastern and western parts. In recent months, they have assaulted a number of important enemy strongholds in the eastern part of the country. In mid June, they captured Beli, an enemy strongpoint and capital of Boe region. On June 19, they mounted a powerful attack against Camp Mansoa, another

enemy strongpoint. They destroyed part of this command post and nearly all the barracks which comprise the defence network. More than 30 enemy troops were killed.

Enemy vessels along the rivers in the north and south came under increasingly strong attacks. This operation has cut off and further isolated major enemy camps in the area which rely mainly on water transport for their supplies.

Mozambique: After four years' fighting, the patriotic forces now control vast areas in the north and northeastern part of the country. They have intensified operations against the Portuguese colonial troops and are now spreading out to the west. In June and July, the patriotic forces launched ten attacks and wiped out over 100 enemy troops in the northern provinces of Cabo Delgado and Niassa. On August 10, they bombed the Portuguese air base at

Mueda in Cabo Delgado Province and destroyed 12 enemy aircraft, a fuel dump and many military vehicles.

Angola: The patriotic forces have been active in north, east and central Angola. They have kept up their frequent attacks and won many successes in wiping out enemy effectives. From March to June, more than 600 Portuguese colonial troops were killed or wounded. The Angolan guerrillas alone, from August 10 to 15, killed more than 30.

The patriotic forces stress the need to arouse the masses and strengthen political education among the guerrilla fighters. They maintain that a correct political orientation is decisive in winning military victories. They also attach great importance to work among the people in enemy-occupied areas so as to mobilize them to rise in struggle against forced labour regulations and exorbitant taxes.

PEKING REVIEW

Vol. 11, No. 38
September 20, 1968

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

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Published every Friday by PEKING REVIEW, Peking (37), China
Post Office Registration No. 2-922 Cable Address: Peking 2910
Printed in the People's Republic of China

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the people of China and the world.**

— MAO TSE-TUNG

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