

PEKING REVIEW

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Peking Opera "The Red Lantern" Sung With Piano Accompaniment

— A New Form of Proletarian Revolutionary Art

Study Chairman Mao's New Contribution on Dialectics

by Comrade V. G. Wilcox

Growing Up in the Storm of Class Struggle

15 girl students of Luta Municipality make their home
in a mountain village.

QUOTATIONS FROM CHAIRMAN MAO TSE-TUNG

In the world today all culture, all literature and art belong to definite classes and are geared to definite political lines. There is in fact no such thing as art for art's sake, art that stands above classes, art that is detached from or independent of politics.

Talks at the Yen-an Forum on Literature and Art (May 1942)

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Our principle is that the Party commands the gun, and the gun must never be allowed to command the Party.

Problems of War and Strategy
(November 1938)

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The Red Army fights not merely for the sake of fighting but in order to conduct propaganda among the masses, organize them, arm them, and help them to establish revolutionary political power. Without these objectives, fighting loses its meaning and the Red Army loses the reason for its existence.

On Correcting Mistaken Ideas in the Party (December 1929)

Vice-Premier Chen Yi Receives Vietnamese Ambassador

Vice-Premier Chen Yi received Ngo Minh Loan, Ambassador of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam to China, on the afternoon of July 20. The Ambassador presented the Vice-Premier with a copy of the appeal issued by President Ho Chi Minh on the occasion of the 14th anniversary of the signing of the Geneva agreements. The appeal calls on all the Vietnamese people to unite as one and fight resolutely to defeat the U.S. aggressors. Vice-Premier Chen Yi had a cordial and friendly talk with Ambassador Ngo Minh Loan.

National Conference of Japan-China Friendship Association (Orthodox) Greeted

The China-Japan Friendship Association and the Chinese People's Association for Cultural Relations and Friendship with Foreign Countries on July 16 jointly cabled the headquarters of the Japan-China Friendship Association (Orthodox), warmly greeting the latter's 17th national conference (July 19). The cable congratulated the Japanese people on their great victories in the struggles against U.S. imperialist aggression in Vietnam and against U.S. military bases, and in the struggles to smash the Japan-U.S. "security treaty" and oppose the anti-China crimes of the Soviet and Japanese revisionists.

The message said: These victories on the part of the Japanese people have dealt U.S. imperialism and its accomplices heavy blows, and are a great support and encouragement to the Chinese people and the revolutionary people of the world.

At present, it continued, the world revolution has entered a great new era. China's great proletarian cultural revolution, which has no parallel in history, is winning all-round victory. The heroic Vietnamese people have won magnificent victories

in their war against U.S. imperialist aggression and for national salvation. The national-democratic revolutionary struggles in Asia, Africa and Latin America are surging forward with great vigour. The great storms of the revolutionary mass movements in Europe and North America are fiercely pounding the entire capitalist system. Imperialism, revisionism and all reaction are finding the going tougher and tougher. The international situation is extremely favourable to the revolutionary people of all countries throughout the world.

The message stressed: In this excellent situation, however, the enemies will not take their defeat lying down. The U.S.-Japanese reactionaries are actively scheming to "maintain" the Japan-U.S. "security treaty." They are working frenziedly to revive Japanese militarism in a vain attempt to tie the Japanese people to the U.S. war chariot and turn Japan into a base for U.S. imperialist aggression against China and other parts of Asia. The Soviet revisionist renegade clique and the Miyamoto revisionist clique are doing their utmost to oppose China in the service of the U.S.-Japanese reactionaries. But, the death-bed struggle by the U.S.-Japanese reactionaries and a handful of traitors to the people will not save them from their inevitable doom.

In conclusion, the message said: Armed with Mao Tse-tung's thought and tempered in the great proletarian cultural revolution, the Chinese people are determined to fight shoulder to shoulder with the militant Japanese people, and unite with all the forces that can be united in forming the broadest united front against U.S. imperialism and its accomplices to smash the Japan-U.S. "security treaty" and the U.S. imperialist policies of aggression and war, defeat U.S. imperialism and its accomplices and safeguard peace in Asia and the world.

The Chinese Committee for Afro-Asian Solidarity, the China Peace Committee, the China Council for the

Promotion of International Trade, the Chinese People's Institute of Foreign Affairs, the Red Cross Society of China and the People's Relief Administration of China also sent cables or letters of warm greetings to the headquarters of the Japan-China Friendship Association (Orthodox) on the occasion.

Fourth Anniversary of Chinese Freighters' Calling at Japanese Ports Celebrated

The Japan International Trade Promotion Association and Japanese friends in shipping circles held a reception in Tokyo on the afternoon of July 18, warmly celebrating the 4th anniversary of China Ocean Shipping Company ships calling at Japanese ports. Captain Lin Tsu-yi and crew members of the Chinese freighter the *Dongfeng*, which was anchored in the port of Yokohama, had been invited to attend the reception. Hosts and guests repeatedly toasted a long, long life to the great leader Chairman Mao.

Speaking at the reception, executive director of the Japan International Trade Promotion Association Teiji Hagiwara said that the calling at Japanese ports by vessels of the China Ocean Shipping Company was made possible by the persistent struggles of the Japanese and Chinese peoples against the U.S.-Japanese reactionaries. He added: U.S. imperialism, the Sato government of Japan, Soviet modern revisionism and the Miyamoto revisionist clique have been obstructing and sabotaging friendship and trade between Japan and China. Under such circumstances, Chinese seamen have surmounted every difficulty and made tremendous contributions to the cause of strengthening friendship and trade between the Japanese and Chinese peoples.

Hagiwara paid warm tribute to China's great proletarian cultural revolution which was initiated and is being led personally by the great

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Peking Opera "The Red Lantern" Sung With Piano Accompaniment

—A New Form of Proletarian Revolutionary Art

GOOD news has come from Peking's literary and art front at a time when the proletarian revolutionaries throughout the country are winning all-round victory in the great cultural revolution: Peking opera, *The Red Lantern*, sung with piano accompaniment, a new form of proletarian art, has been created. It came into being under the brilliant guidance of our great leader Chairman Mao's concept of "making the past serve the present and foreign things serve China," and under the personal care and leadership of Comrade Chiang Ching. Audiences of the broad masses of workers, peasants and soldiers and revolutionary artists give high praise to this blossom shining with the light of Mao Tse-tung's thought. They say that this successful creation of piano accompaniment to the singing of Peking opera *The Red Lantern* has given the piano, a Western musical instrument, a new life in serving proletarian politics. This has not only opened a new road for Western musical instruments

and symphonic music, but also for musical accompaniment to Chinese opera. It is of great significance for the revolutionization of piano music and plays an important role in accelerating the revolutionization of Peking opera music.

During the weeks since its first performance on the evening of July 1, the 47th anniversary of the founding of the Chinese Communist Party, Peking's broad worker, peasant and soldier masses and revolutionary artists have gathered by their radios or television sets to listen to recordings or hear and see transmissions of the July 1st performance of chief arias from the Peking opera *The Red Lantern* sung to piano accompaniment. Many of them have listened several times. Not a few organizations have made tape-recordings of the broadcasts so that they or others could listen to it at any time. Although the radio stations broadcast recordings many times a day, they still received letters demanding more. Many listeners in letters and articles to the press tell of the education and inspiration they have received from these performances. Praise comes from urban and rural areas, offices and schools, shops and P.L.A. barracks: "It is fine!" They say: The singing of the Peking opera *The Red Lantern* with piano accompaniment is an outstanding pioneering achievement of the great proletarian cultural revolution. Like those gems of art, the eight model revolutionary theatrical works, it is a splendid revolutionary work of art of a kind never known before. Of all the fine things characterizing the piano accompaniment for *The Red Lantern* the most fundamental is that it effec-



Chien Hao-liang in the part of Li Yu-ho in *The Red Lantern* sung to piano accompaniment. Yin Cheng-tsung at the piano.

tively displays the great power of Mao Tse-tung's thought, of Chairman Mao's revolutionary line in literature and art.

The revolutionary modern Peking opera *The Red Lantern* tells of the three generations of the family of Li Yu-ho, a railway worker and underground Party member, in the struggle against the Japanese invaders in the 1940s. (See *Peking Review*, No. 48, 1967.) Sung to piano accompaniment, its chief arias while retaining the basic characteristics of Peking opera singing are at the same time enriched by the characteristics of the piano — its wide range of sound, its great power and varied means of expression. Thus the heroic images of Li Yu-ho, the hero, and Li Tieh-mei, the young heroine, appear to even greater effect.

Born in the Struggle Between the Two Lines

For hundreds of years, the piano, regarded by the bourgeoisie as one of the crowning glories of Western music, was used to treat such themes as life and death, love and hate, ghosts, spirits, the graveyard and other reactionary themes, expressing decadent bourgeois ideas and sentiments. Even after the founding of New China, China's Khrushchov and his agents in the field of literature and art peddled foreign, ancient, feudal, bourgeois and revisionist culture and permitted the bourgeoisie to continue to dominate the art of the piano. They tried to use the piano as an instrument for preparing public opinion for the restoration of capitalism.

The successful revolutionization of Peking opera gave revolutionary musicians courage and inspiration in revolutionizing piano music. Beginning in 1964, Yin Cheng-tsung, the pianist who is the composer of and plays the piano accompaniment to chief arias from *The Red Lantern*, together with the comrades in the Central Philharmonic Society, began to experiment and arranged some revolutionary songs and popular folk songs for the piano. But even these attempts were obstructed and sabotaged by the handful of counter-revolutionary revisionists in the field of literature and art. One of them told Yin Cheng-tsung: "Now your piano playing is too tense and

vigorous. You should go in for more lyrical pieces." Another reactionary "authority" chided him, saying: "Stop messing about! Be more serious about your piano playing."

On January 27, 1965, Comrade Chiang Ching paid the Central Philharmonic Society a visit. She encouraged them, saying: "I think it's quite possible to use these musical instruments to serve the people and the revolution." She urged them: You must not follow what is foreign up a blind alley. You must take your own road.

Guided by Mao Tse-tung's thought and directed by Comrade Chiang Ching, the revolutionary literary and art workers of the Society overcame many obstacles and gave the first public performance of the revolutionary symphonic composition *Shachiapang* on National Day, 1965. (See *Peking Review*, No. 28, 1967.) Its success gave great inspiration to the revolutionary musicians and made Yin think of introducing the piano into Peking opera. He set to work on this.

It was only in April last year that they heard Comrade Chiang Ching's instruction that the piano should accompany Peking operas on contemporary revolutionary themes. This instruction was withheld from them for two and a half years by the handful of counter-revolutionary revisionists. That instruction



Liu Chang-yu in the part of Li Tieh-mei in *The Red Lantern* sung to piano accompaniment. Yin Cheng-tsung at the piano.

gave revolutionary musicians the correct bearings for advance and inspired them tremendously.

In May 1967, the Central Philharmonic Society organized a Mao Tse-tung's thought propaganda team and sent it to perform in Tien An Men Square. They put on a new item — an aria from the Peking opera *Shachiapang* sung to piano accompaniment. Thus the piano made its debut in the streets. The audience of workers, peasants and soldiers greeted this performance with enthusiasm.

But the counter-revolutionary revisionists did not take their defeat lying down. Pretending to be more "Left" than the Left, they put about such twaddle as "the piano is a criminal, and the pianist is even more of a criminal." "The piano must be smashed." They tried to shake the comrades' determination to revolutionize piano playing.

Armed with the invincible thought of Mao Tse-tung and supported by Comrade Chiang Ching, the Society's revolutionary comrades remained firm in their determination. Abuse and sabotage by the class enemy were of no avail. With the enthusiastic cooperation of the revolutionary comrades of the China Peking Opera Troupe, in May this year, Yin Cheng-tsung completed the piano accompaniment for the chief arias of Li Yu-ho and Li Tieh-mei from *The Red Lantern*. On the eve of July 1, Comrade Chiang Ching and other leaders of the Cultural Revolution Group Under the Party Central Committee received the pianist, Yin Cheng-tsung, and Chien Hao-liang and Liu Chang-yu (singers respectively of the parts of Li Yu-ho and Li Tieh-mei) and highly appraised this introduction of the piano into Peking opera.

The birth of this new form of proletarian art is a telling act of repudiation and a heavy blow dealt against the counter-revolutionary revisionist line in literature and art pushed by China's Khrushchov and his agents.

Some Artistic Characteristics

The singing of the Peking opera *The Red Lantern* to piano accompaniment unites revolutionary political content with a high level of artistic form. It successfully combines Peking opera singing and traditional percussion instruments into a single unified whole with the piano. The piano not only accompanies but provides more vivid background and atmosphere. The artistic treatment of this accompaniment is in many respects unique.

In the aria in which Tieh-mei sings: "Granny has just told me about the revolutionary struggle — its heroism and sacrifices! Now I know that I was born and grew up in a time of storm and stress," the pianist gives the melody lightly with his right hand and a rolling flood of notes with his left, vividly suggesting Tieh-mei's leaping imagination as she thinks of the revolutionary struggle waged by her grandmother and father in earlier days. When she sings "I Hold the Shining Red Lantern," the piano accompaniment uses swiftly running chords from low to high, drawing in the beat of gong and drum. In musical terms it forcefully conveys Tieh-mei's strong determination and noble ideals — to carry on the revolutionary cause of the older generations and carry the revolution through to the end.

Take the passage sung by Li Yu-ho in prison: "Lofty Ideals Soar to the Heavens." Introducing it, the pianist uses a succession of contrasting high and low chords, chord against chord, and a militant, racing melody to describe the dedicated spirit and noble qualities of this revolutionary fighter who, though imprisoned, keeps the whole of China in his mind. In the piano *cadenza* which concludes the aria, the pianist uses a grand base of chords along with a swift flight of notes to create a magnificent atmosphere powerfully expressing the ideas inspiring Li Yu-ho — firm confidence in the enemy's defeat and the revolution's triumph. The reverberating notes of the *cadenza* are profoundly evocative.

In the aria "All Have a Bright Red Heart," the pianist uses light and lively runs to depict Tieh-mei's bright and animated character and revolutionary optimism. Audiences find this music close to their hearts. In addition to the passages mentioned, many of the piano interludes are well composed, retaining the characteristics of Peking opera as well as developing certain new qualities. It can be said that this artistic treatment of *The Red Lantern* with piano accompaniment gives a penetrating and excellent exposition of the theme, story and characters of this Peking opera. As a means of artistic expression, this new, proletarian art form has demonstrated its robust vitality.

The eight model revolutionary theatrical works and the birth of this new art form all confirm this truth: As long as they arm themselves with Mao Tse-tung's thought and resolutely implement Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line, revolutionary artists will enhance their ability to reform and utilize more forms of art to serve the workers, peasants and soldiers.

Study Chairman Mao's New Contribution On Dialectics

— Article by Comrade V.G. Wilcox, General Secretary of the
Communist Party of New Zealand

COMRADE V.G. WILCOX wrote an article entitled "Study Chairman Mao's New Contribution on Dialectics" in the June issue of the *N.Z. Communist Review*. Excerpts from the article follow:

It is commonly accepted in Marxist-Leninist circles today that Mao Tse-tung is the great leader of our world movement and that his thought and practice has not only Chinese but universal value. He is the Lenin of the period of final defeat of imperialism on a world scale and the world victory of socialism. That victory has yet to come, but it is on the agenda right now, and Mao Tse-tung's theory and practice, built on the vast heritage of earlier Marxism, is the guiding light to that victory.

Mao Tse-tung has developed and enriched Marxist-Leninist theory on many aspects and, because of this, the study of his works — the newer aspects of Marxist-Leninist theory that he has developed — is a primary duty for all communist revolutionaries. Without such study, followed by application to the local conditions of one's own country, there will be no advance, no victory, but, instead, the slimy road to revisionism will be the path taken.

Today we can say that the test of a Marxist-Leninist revolutionary is the way he appraises the theory and practice of Mao Tse-tung. There should be no holding back when study of the thoughts of Mao Tse-tung is suggested, no saying that we have to wait. We have to study to grasp the essential core of the new developments of Marxist theory in order to apply them to New Zealand conditions. Study will make us realize that Mao Tse-tung has advanced theory to a new stage compatible with the era in which we live, the era of the approaching defeat of world imperialism, headed by the U.S.A.

The article points out: Of course, we must not throw away the past heritage of Marxism-Leninism. Nobody suggests that, least of all Mao Tse-tung; but we must go on and study the new theory, for without that we cannot build on the great work of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin.

This is why the endorsed political report of our Party last November stressed the immediate need to develop Party study of various aspects of Mao Tse-tung's most important theoretical works, and we are now, with the necessary introductory preparation, proceeding to a study right through our Party at all levels of Mao Tse-tung's great works of theory — *On Contradiction* and *On Practice*.

This study will show the immense new development of Mao Tse-tung's understanding of Marxist dialectical materialism. This is the beginning, from which he has developed new concepts and new tactics, covering a very wide field.

Lenin once said: "Dialectics in the proper sense is the study of contradiction in the very essence of objects" (*Philosophical Notebooks*).

It is here that Mao Tse-tung has made a major contribution in cutting through the schematic treatment of dialectical materialism that has led many good people into intellectual backwaters.

Mao Tse-tung has stated that there is one fundamental law in Marxist-Leninist dialectics, and that is the law of contradiction, of the unity of opposites. He developed the concept of the distinction between antagonistic and non-antagonistic contradictions, and this led to the superb work, *On the Correct Handling of Contradictions Among the People*.

Comrade Wilcox's article repudiates Soviet modern revisionism and points out that capitalism has been restored in the Soviet Union. It says: In China, under Mao Tse-tung's leadership, the opposite is the case. Firmly based on the basic Marxist dialectical law of the unity of opposites, of contradiction, the fact was early recognized that in a socialist society class struggle still existed. The great proletarian cultural revolution arose from this understanding.

After expounding Chairman Mao's great contribution to the Marxist-Leninist materialist dialectics, the article states: I think that special attention should be paid to Mao Tse-tung's insistence on different forms of struggle, the distinction between antagonistic and non-antagonistic contradictions.

When we in New Zealand have fully grasped this, we will really be on the road to success in our general political line, an all-out struggle for a socialist New Zealand.

Only through our understanding of dialectical materialism, in particular of the functioning of the basic law of contradiction, can we make a proper assessment of the world situation, of New Zealand conditions and class relations, and of our Party and its problems. With this understanding, we will have no illusions about peaceful transition, peaceful imperialism, the parliamentary road and all the rest of the catch-cries from the revisionist camp.

It becomes clear that the test of a Marxist-Leninist in the Western countries, with their long experience of bourgeois democracy and limited legal freedom, is how he approaches the question of the inevitable day when the ruling class repression in its dying desperation moves to suppress all liberal freedoms and legality.

If he is a revolutionary and not just a talker using Marxist phrases, he is working now to prepare for victory over the class enemy, for socialist victory.

The new developments of Marxist-Leninist theory, so simply but profoundly elaborated by Mao Tse-tung, give all who understand them greater confidence and show us how to fight now and how to prepare for greater battles ahead.

One can make no better start than a study of Mao Tse-tung's great work, *On Contradiction*.

In its conclusion, the article says: It was the use of the main law of Marxist dialectical materialism, contradiction, that enabled Mao Tse-tung to develop the theory of people's war in practice and especially to deal with the question of an army under the leadership of the Party. Before Mao Tse-tung, none of the great Marxist-Leninists had systematically studied this, but he came to the conclusion that, without an army, the people enter battle with their hands tied, and he insisted that how to build such an army is today a burning ques-

tion for the world's Marxist-Leninists. And what was the reaction? Watch our revisionists, those who mouth Marxist phrases, run for cover when the slogan, "political power grows out of the barrel of a gun," is advanced. They are timid little people who fear imperialism, who regard it as so strong that it is essential to compromise with it and, in fact, enter its camp, who do not believe that all imperialists are "paper tigers."

The article says that Chairman Mao's theories on people's war are being put into practice with growing success. These theories are Marxist-Leninist world theories, not just something applicable to Chinese conditions.

During the period of the new-democratic revolution, the article says, Mao Tse-tung was in China insisting upon the independence and initiative of the Communist Parties within the united front. It was he who was right. This was because Mao Tse-tung's concepts were based on the correct handling of contradictions.

Finally the article states: Many more examples could be given of the newness and the correctness of the thoughts of Mao Tse-tung, but space precludes. Let me remind you only of Mao Tse-tung's approach which is based on the concept that from practice develops theory and from theory develops a higher level of practice. This is the way forward.

Comrade Mao Tse-tung's Teachings on People's War Are Indonesian People's Powerful Weapon for Smashing Suharto-Nasution Fascist Military Regime and Establishing People's Democratic Power in Indonesia

— Hailing the publication of the Indonesian version of the
Selected Military Writings of Mao Tse-tung

by the Delegation of the Central Committee of the
Communist Party of Indonesia

THE Indonesian versions of various works by Comrade Mao Tse-tung which are extremely valuable to the Indonesian people's revolutionary struggle were published in 1967. They include the red booklet *Quotations From Chairman Mao Tse-tung*, *Chairman Mao Tse-tung on People's War* and the first volume of the *Selected Works of Mao Tse-tung*. Another extremely important collection, the Indonesian version of the *Selected Military Writings of Mao Tse-tung*, was published at the beginning of 1968. The Indonesian Communists and the revolutionary people of Indonesia warmly hail the publication of this work much needed in our struggle. The publication of this book is really a tremendous internationalist aid from the great Chinese people and the glorious Chinese Communist

Party, under the leadership of Chairman Mao Tse-tung, to the armed struggle now being developed by the Indonesian people under the leadership of the Indonesian Communist Party for smashing the Suharto-Nasution fascist military regime and for setting up the people's democratic power in Indonesia.

Having learnt a profound lesson through the experiences gained in blood by the Indonesian people in past struggles, the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Indonesian Communist Party in a "self-criticism" document published in September 1966, stressed: "To achieve its complete victory, the Indonesian revolution must also follow the road of the Chinese revolution." The Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Indonesian Communist Party

in a statement published on May 23, 1967 entitled "Holding High the Banner of Marxism-Leninism, Mao Tse-tung's Thought, Advance Further Along the Road of the Revolution!", further pointed out: "The Indonesian Marxist-Leninists unhesitatingly recognize Mao Tse-tung's thought as the peak of Marxism-Leninism in the present era, and are determined to study and use it as an effective weapon in the struggle for the liberation of Indonesia, which inevitably will have to follow the road of people's war as shown by Comrade Mao Tse-tung."

Comrade Mao Tse-tung's theory on people's war is of great universal significance. It points out the only road that the oppressed people of the world, particularly the Asian, African and Latin American people, must traverse in their struggle for emancipation. This theory is an extremely important part of Comrade Mao Tse-tung's teachings which develop Marxism-Leninism. This theory is an important component part of Mao Tse-tung's thought and also all-round, systematic and most complete Marxist-Leninist military science. This theory not only gives the oppressed peoples and oppressed nations confidence and courage to dare to wage a people's war, but also solves the question of how to wage a people's war and how to win victory. Chairman Mao Tse-tung's theory on people's war enables us to realize deeply that **"political power grows out of the barrel of a gun."** The only way to bring our revolutionary armed struggle to victory is: under the leadership of the political Party of the proletariat, to arouse the peasant masses in the countryside to wage guerrilla war, unfold an agrarian revolution, build rural base areas, use the countryside to encircle the cities and finally capture the cities and liberate the whole country. This theory comprises a whole series of comprehensive theses on the founding of a people's army which serves wholeheartedly the cause of the proletariat, and it teaches us to adopt the strategy and tactics of complete reliance on the people and bringing into full play the superiority of people's war. This theory is also a thesis on the building and role of the Communist Party, the force at the core leading the cause of the people's liberation.

At present, the study of the military writings of Comrade Mao Tse-tung is the most urgent task of the Communists and revolutionary people of Indonesia, so that they can really master Chairman Mao's teachings on people's war and apply them creatively under the specific conditions of the Indonesian revolution, thoroughly liquidate the various errors of the Right opportunist and revisionist old line, and overcome various "Left" and Right erroneous tendencies which may possibly crop up in the protracted struggle to seize victory. Therefore, the publication of the Indonesian version of the *Selected Military Writings of Mao Tse-tung* has indeed met the urgent needs of the Indonesian people's struggle.

The Communist Party and revolutionary people of Indonesia through their experiences in struggle in the past decades have come to realize deeply

the correctness of Chairman Mao Tse-tung's teaching. This teaching is: **"Experience in the class struggle in the era of imperialism teaches us that it is only by the power of the gun that the working class and the labouring masses can defeat the armed bourgeoisie and landlords."** Particularly the experiences and lessons of the Indonesian Communist Party in the period from 1951 to 1965 and the sacrifice of hundreds of thousands of Communists and progressive people since the third white terror perpetrated since October 1965 by the Suharto-Nasution fascist military dictatorial rule have proved most clearly the complete bankruptcy of all revisionist illusions such as "peaceful transition," "the parliamentary road" or the "lawful road." Since it began to abandon armed struggle in 1950 in exchange for a legal status and a place in the parliament, the Indonesian Communist Party had sunk deeper and deeper into the quagmire of "peaceful road" and of Right opportunism and revisionism. As a result the people were caught completely unprepared in face of the barbarous attacks of the reactionaries who had been sharpening their swords for a long time. In accordance with this experience and lesson gained in blood, the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Indonesian Communist Party summed up in its "Self-Criticism" as follows: "The Indonesian revolution must inevitably adopt this main form of struggle, namely, the people's armed struggle against the armed counter-revolution, which, in essence, is the armed agrarian revolution of the peasants under the leadership of the proletariat."

In taking the road of armed struggle according to the teachings of Comrade Mao Tse-tung, the question of setting up revolutionary base areas is a very important question. Chairman Mao teaches us: **"As a rule, revolution starts, grows and triumphs first in those places in which the counter-revolutionary forces are comparatively weak. . . ."** Revolution starts and triumphs first in places where the enemy's forces are weak — this is a great guiding strategic thought of Chairman Mao. By following this guiding strategic thought, a solution can be found to the question of the establishment of revolutionary rural base areas, namely, the establishment of **"an armed independent regime of workers and peasants"** under the condition of encirclement by reactionary state power. This will enable the revolutionary force which is weak in the beginning to hold out under the encirclement by counter-revolutionary forces, to temper and develop itself and finally to completely smash the enemy. The establishment of revolutionary base areas means the establishment of the prototype of a state. Therefore, a base area cannot be established through peaceful means but in the course of smashing and defeating the enemy through fierce and unintermittent armed struggle. Success of this struggle can be achieved only by fully arousing the masses, particularly the peasant masses, and by unfolding an agrarian revolution. Therefore, armed struggle as the main form, agrarian revolution as the main content and the establishment of base areas as the mainstay are the three integral

aspects in Chairman Mao's thought on "an armed independent regime of workers and peasants."

To master and apply Comrade Mao Tse-tung's thesis on the establishment of revolutionary rural base areas is the urgent task of the Communists and revolutionary people of Indonesia. The establishment of base areas is of important strategic significance to the revolution. It is the way along which revolution proceeds from seizing political power in a region to seizing political power in the whole country. Therefore, it is the only way to achieve victory in revolution. It is just as Comrade Mao Tse-tung has stressed in his brilliant writing *A Single Spark Can Start a Prairie Fire* (January, 1930): "Only thus is it possible to build the confidence of the revolutionary masses throughout the country, as the Soviet Union has built it throughout the world. Only thus is it possible to create tremendous difficulties for the reactionary ruling classes, shake their foundations and hasten their internal disintegration. Only thus is it really possible to create a Red army which will become the chief weapon for the great revolution of the future. In short, only thus is it possible to hasten the revolutionary high tide." In the past, the revisionist "theory of the method of combining the three forms of struggle" spread the point of view, which held that Indonesia does not possess all the conditions required for the unfolding of guerrilla war, which dreamt of the coming of a nationwide revolutionary crisis, and of achieving victory in the whole country simultaneously and easily through the method of combining "peasants' struggle in the countryside," "workers' struggle in the cities" with "work within the armed forces of the enemy."

However, without the revolutionary rural base areas, the work in the cities and other fields will have no backing and will be fruitless. The "theory of the method of combining the three forms of struggle," in essence, negated the necessity and possibility of the setting up of revolutionary rural base areas in Indonesia, thus liquidating revolutionary armed struggle. The "theory of the method of combining the three forms of struggle" also spread the illusion of relying on enemy troops. This actually denied the necessity of building up a people's army under the absolute leadership of the Indonesian Communist Party. At present, a small handful of renegades from the Indonesian Communist Party who have the support of the Soviet revisionists are doing everything they can to persist and continue in carrying into effect the idea of "combining the three forms of struggle" in an attempt to sabotage the Indonesian revolutionary people's armed struggle. The Communists and revolutionary people of Indonesia must resolutely eliminate all remnant influence of the "method of combining the three forms of struggle" and take the road of people's war as shown by Mao Tse-tung, rely on the peasants in setting up rural base areas, use the countryside to encircle the cities and finally seize the cities and the state power. The "Self-Criticism" of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Indonesian

Communist Party stressed: "The Indonesian Marxist-Leninists must firmly reject the revisionist 'peaceful road,' reject the 'theory of the method of combining the three forms of struggle,' and hold aloft the banner of armed people's revolution. Following the example of the great Chinese people's revolution, the Indonesian Marxist-Leninists must establish revolutionary base areas; they must 'turn the backward villages into advanced, consolidated base areas, into great military, political, economic and cultural bastions of the revolution.'"

The people's war is the most effective weapon in opposing the imperialists and all reactionaries. The brilliant history of the struggle waged by the Chinese people under the leadership of the Chinese Communist Party and Chairman Mao Tse-tung has proved this point. The people's war now developing in Vietnam, Laos, Burma, Thailand and other countries has also clearly proved this point. In south Vietnam, the U.S. imperialist aggressors, armed with all the latest types of weapons, are suffering one defeat after another and are being driven into a passive position under the pressure of the people's armed forces led by the South Vietnam National Front for Liberation. Comrade Mao Tse-tung has pointed out incisively that the victory of the Vietnamese people's war against U.S. aggression and for national salvation "once again demonstrates that a nation, big or small, can defeat any enemy, however powerful, so long as it fully arouses its people, firmly relies on them and wages a people's war."

At present, the Indonesian revolutionary people, under the leadership of the Indonesian Communist Party, have already taken up arms and declared war upon the Suharto-Nasution fascist military regime. The fire of armed struggle is already burning in Kalimantan, Java, Sumatra and Sulawesi and other major islands. Certainly, there are still many difficulties confronting the Indonesian people and their armed struggle is a protracted one. However, just as Comrade Mao Tse-tung has taught us: "All reactionaries are paper tigers. In appearance, the reactionaries are terrifying, but in reality they are not so powerful. From a long-term point of view, it is not the reactionaries but the people who are really powerful."

At the present stage of the Indonesian people's struggle, the publication of the Indonesian version of the *Selected Military Writings of Mao Tse-tung* comes as invaluable internationalist aid from the Chinese Communist Party and the Chinese people to the Indonesian Communist Party and the Indonesian revolutionary people; the Indonesian Communists and the Indonesian people will firmly grasp Chairman Mao Tse-tung's teachings on people's war, the powerful weapon with which to smash the Suharto-Nasution fascist military regime and to set up the people's democratic power in Indonesia.

Chairman Mao has taught us: "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 armed counter-revolution staged by the Suharto-Nasution fascist military regime which is stained by the blood of hundreds of thousands of patriots has roused the Indonesian people to wage an armed revolutionary struggle under the leadership of the Indonesian Communist Party. Through grasping Comrade Mao Tse-tung's teachings on people's war, the Indonesian people will "learn warfare through warfare," kindle the flames of people's war throughout the country,

burn up all the reactionaries on Indonesian soil and build a free and democratic new Indonesia.

Smash the Suharto-Nasution fascist military regime with people's war!

Long live the great thought of Mao Tse-tung!

Long live Chairman Mao Tse-tung—the greatest Marxist-Leninist of the present era, the most respected and beloved leader of the revolutionary people of the whole world!

Marxism-Leninism, Mao Tse-tung's Thought, Is Universal Truth

—Organ of Marxist-Leninist Communist Party of France denounces
fallacies of Regis Debray, author of *Revolution in the Revolution?*

L'HUMANITE NOUVELLE, organ of the Marxist-Leninist Communist Party of France, published an article criticizing the book *Revolution in the Revolution?* written by the Frenchman Regis Debray on the question of the road of people's revolution in Latin America. The article points out that the book is a big counter-revolutionary mystification and is in essence an attack on Marxism-Leninism, Mao Tse-tung's thought. The "theories" Debray preaches actually serve the interests of the international bourgeoisie.

"Regis Debray's book is the manifesto of a political line which is anti-revisionist in appearance . . . but anti-Marxist-Leninist in reality. It leads all honest people disgusted with revisionism to a side track, down the drain, to a blind alley," the article says.

Repudiating Debray's argument denying the leading role of the proletarian Party in the national-democratic revolution, the article says, "the essence of his argument evolves around the problem of the role of the Marxist-Leninist Party in the struggle for national liberation. This problem of prime importance has been fully elucidated by Lenin and Mao Tse-tung. In his most celebrated writings, such as *The Chinese Revolution and the Chinese Communist Party, On New Democracy*, etc. . . . Mao Tse-tung has in fact pointed out the role of the Party in national revolution.

"If there is to be revolution, there must be a revolutionary party. Without a revolutionary party, without a party built on the Marxist-Leninist revolutionary theory and in the Marxist-Leninist revolutionary style, it is impossible to lead the working class and the broad masses of the people in defeating imperialism and its running dogs."

"A well-disciplined Party armed with the theory of Marxism-Leninism, using the method of self-criticism and linked with the masses of the people; an army under the leadership of such a Party; a united front of all revolutionary classes and all revolutionary groups under the leadership of such a Party—these are the

three main weapons with which we have defeated the enemy."

The article notes that Debray preposterously opposes these correct theses of Chairman Mao Tse-tung's, alleging that this viewpoint is valid in China, but not in Latin America.

It goes on to criticize the purely military viewpoint spread by Debray. It says, "The immediate corollary of Debray's position on the problem of the Party is 'the purely military viewpoint.' For him, the gun commands politics."

The article also criticizes Debray's viewpoint that the military organizations of the revolutionary armed forces in Latin America should be "set up from the top: first the standing regular forces—the nucleus; then the semi-regular forces; finally the militia." The article says, "According to Debray, the people's army should not come from the masses, but should be imposed on the masses from outside."

The article points out that the following passage from Chairman Mao Tse-tung should be deeply pondered: "The Chinese Red Army is an armed body for carrying out the political tasks of the revolution. Especially at present, the Red Army should certainly not confine itself to fighting; besides fighting to destroy the enemy's military strength, it should shoulder such important tasks as doing propaganda among the masses, organizing the masses, arming them, helping them to establish revolutionary political power and setting up Party organizations. . . . Without these objectives, fighting loses its meaning and the Red Army loses the reason for its existence."

The article says, "After these considerations, one can see the essence of Debray's book. This is not easy because what is important in it was said in a vague manner, by allusions. Thus one comes to realize that the role of this book is to attack Marxism-Leninism, Mao Tse-tung's thought, and to deny the universal significance of Mao Tse-tung's theories."

It continues, "One can cite many other falsehoods in Debray's book: this is because his 'analysis' was made in an anti-dialectical manner. He examined each point in isolation, out of the general context. He studied the situation in Latin America without linking it to the world situation; he spoke of the revisionist parties in Latin America by glossing over the situation in the international communist movement and deny-

ing the necessity of political and ideological struggles within a revolutionary organization."

In conclusion, the article says, "Debray's disciples' lack of amplitude of their views will lead them to failure." It adds, "All those who believe in this theory will have to choose one day between revolution and capitulation, between Marxism-Leninism and revisionism: there cannot be a third road."

President Ho Chi Minh Calls On Armed Forces And People Throughout Vietnam to Defeat U.S. Aggressors

PRESIDENT HO CHI MINH issued an appeal on July 20 to the armed forces and people throughout Vietnam calling on them to fight, millions as one, with determination to defeat the U.S. aggressors.

The appeal reads in part as follows:

Fourteen years ago, following the great Dien Bien Phu victory, the Geneva agreements were signed, recognizing the independence, sovereignty, unity and territorial integrity of the Vietnamese people. In July 1956, our people should have had general elections, and from that date our country should have been completely independent, free, peaceful and reunified, and the north and the south should have been reunited within the same family.

However, the bellicose U.S. imperialists, violating their own commitments, have brazenly sabotaged the Geneva agreements. They rigged up the traitorous puppet administration and launched a war of aggression in the southern part of our country. But they have met with extremely heroic resistance from our compatriots and fighters in the south and have sustained heavy defeats. In an attempt to get out of their passive position and their quagmire in south Vietnam, they have been frenziedly bombing and shelling north Vietnam for more than three years now. They have sabotaged the independence, peace and neutrality of Laos and continually threatened and provoked the Kingdom of Cambodia.

The war of aggression being conducted by the United States in our country is one of the most brutal in human history. The U.S. aggressors fancy they can subdue our people with an army more than one million strong, including over 500,000 U.S. troops, and with the power of modern weapons. The reality is quite the contrary. Our valiant compatriots and fighters in the south, the heroic people of Vietnam as a whole, have resolutely stood up and, millions like one, fought with supreme heroism, smashing all military and political schemes of the enemy, and winning greater and greater victories.

Since early spring 1968, the war of resistance in south Vietnam has advanced into a new period: Our compatriots and fighters in the south have launched a general offensive and simultaneous uprisings in the towns and cities, recording many glorious exploits, shaking the United States and thrilling the five continents. The founding of the Alliance of National, Democratic and Peace Forces is a great success of the policy of nationwide unity to resist U.S. aggression and save the country, exposing the U.S. and its lackeys still more clearly as the aggressors and traitors, and further increasing their isolation. In north Vietnam, more than 3,000 aircraft of the U.S. aggressors have been shot down. Thus: "Both the south and the north are fighting well." The U.S. imperialists are suffering ever bigger defeats and will inevitably meet with complete failure.

However, the inveterate U.S. aggressors remain very stubborn. In south Vietnam, they continue to intensify the war, launching utterly savage attacks on the towns and cities, and devastating many rural areas, while at the same time they frantically bomb and shell the southern provinces of north Vietnam.

The U.S. imperialists are still unwilling to renounce their criminal war of aggression, and still want to hold on to the southern part of our country, in an attempt to prolong the partition of our fatherland.

In face of this grave situation, the people throughout our country should all the more persevere in and step up their war of resistance against U.S. aggression and for national salvation. For independence and freedom, our 31 million compatriots are resolved to overcome all difficulties and fear no sacrifice, resolved to fight and to win. The U.S. aggressors are being driven into an increasingly passive position, are sustaining ever heavier defeats, and are at the end of their tether. The armed forces and people throughout our country hold the initiative and are on the offensive, and the harder they fight, the bigger their victories.

Our compatriots and fighters in the south, closely and broadly united under the glorious banner of the

National Front for Liberation, will certainly fight still harder and win still greater victories.

Our compatriots and fighters in the north should unceasingly heighten their vigilance, fight heroically, step up their emulation in production, defeat the enemy's war of destruction, stand ready to smash all his new schemes of war escalation, and give wholehearted assistance to the south, flesh of our flesh, thus fulfilling the obligations of the great rear towards the great front.

With the south and the north being of one mind, our entire people are resolved to fight, resolved to defeat the U.S. aggressors, liberate the south, defend the north, and proceed towards the peaceful reunification of the country.

Our people cherish peace, but only when real independence and freedom have been achieved can genuine peace be established. Our stand is very just and clear: When the U.S. imperialists put an end to their war of aggression against our country, cease their bombing and

shelling of north Vietnam, withdraw all the U.S. and satellite troops from south Vietnam, and leave our people free to settle their internal affairs, peace will be restored immediately. That is the aspiration of our people, and also the desire of progressive people in the United States and the peace- and justice-loving peoples in the world. The only way to restore peace is for all the troops of the United States and its satellites to be returned home! Vietnam to the Vietnamese!

We Vietnamese people are waging the greatest war of resistance in our history. Justice is on our side. We have a staunch will, we are resolved to fight and to win. We have the invincible might of nationwide unity and enjoy the sympathy and support of entire progressive mankind.

U.S. imperialism will surely be defeated!

Our people will surely be victorious!

Compatriots and fighters throughout the country, march forward valiantly!

Enlarged Session of Presidium of Central Committee Of South Vietnam N.F.L. Calls Upon P.L.A.F. and People to Win Greater Victories

THE Presidium of the Central Committee of the South Vietnam National Front for Liberation held its enlarged session from July 11 to 13 under the chairmanship of President Nguyen Huu Tho, the south Vietnam "Giai Phong" press agency reports. The session analysed the situation in south Vietnam since the Tet offensive and set forth the tasks to be carried out and the stand to be taken by the Front at the present time. It called upon the South Vietnamese People's Liberation Armed Forces and people to march valiantly forward and win final victory in their struggle against U.S. aggression and for national salvation.

During the session, President Nguyen Huu Tho delivered a report entitled "The General Situation and Our Immediate Tasks." Tran Nam Trung, Vice-President of the Presidium and head of the Military Committee of the Front's Central Committee, reviewed the military situation in various sectors of the south Vietnam battlefield since the Tet offensive. Phung Van Cung, Vice-President of the Presidium, analysed the political situation as a whole in south Vietnam.

The session unanimously held that since early spring, the South Vietnamese P.L.A.F. and people have won all-round strategic victories. They have dealt the U.S.-puppet clique thunderous blows. They have extended the liberation war right to the enemy's nerve centres, destroying or disintegrating a large part of his

effective strength, destroying large quantities of his means of war and seriously damaging his material and technical basis. They have liberated vast areas. Under the heavy blows of the P.L.A.F., the puppet army is disintegrating in large numbers, the puppet administration is being shattered at various levels, and the enemy's internal contradictions are sharpening daily.

The military and political strength of the South Vietnamese P.L.A.F. and people is expanding rapidly. The people's revolutionary power has been set up in many places in the liberated areas. The N.F.L.'s political programme and policy of national union against U.S. aggression and for national salvation have exerted and are exerting a greater and deeper influence daily.

The all-round, strategic victories have created a very favourable new strategic situation for the south Vietnamese people and various categories of the P.L.A.F. and landed the U.S. aggressors and their lackeys in a hopeless passive and defensive position—weakened daily, they are suffering more and more defeats and are bound to meet with total failure. On their part, the south Vietnamese people and their armed forces, whose position is more and more solid and whose strength is growing, now have sufficient power and conditions for a more vigorous advance to still bigger successes and, further, to final victory.

The session held that U.S. imperialism, despite its heavy defeats and the insurmountable deadlock in

which it has been placed, persists in its obduracy and cunning. It talks "peace" while actually intensifying its war of aggression. The session pointed out that the frantic struggle of U.S. imperialism could only result in more disastrous defeats for it. Nothing can check the sustained attacks and daily violent struggles of the South Vietnamese P.L.A.F. and people to completely defeat the war of aggression by U.S. imperialism, over-

throw the puppet regime of its lackeys and put all political power into the people's hands.

The session discussed the present tasks of the South Vietnamese P.L.A.F. and people and adopted various stands and measures for mobilizing all the people and the army to strive to dash forward, launch a sustained and violent attack and rise to fight and win greater victories and, finally, complete victory.

South Vietnam N.F.L. Statement on 14th Anniversary of Geneva Agreements

A statement strongly denouncing U.S. imperialism for obstinately intensifying and enlarging its war of aggression against Vietnam and calling on the people of south Vietnam to fight on till final victory is won in the war against U.S. aggression and for national salvation was issued on July 14 by the South Vietnam National Front for Liberation to mark the 14th anniversary (July 20) of the signing of the Geneva agreements on Vietnam. Following is a summary of the statement. — Ed.

The peoples of Vietnam and Indo-China as a whole scored tremendous victories in their struggle against the colonialist aggressors and against the scheme of the U.S. warmongers to prolong and expand the Indo-China war. The south Vietnamese people should have enjoyed independence and peace, Vietnam, the fatherland of the Vietnamese people, should have been reunified and the situation in Vietnam should have developed satisfactorily in conformity with the aspirations of the peoples of Vietnam, Indo-China, Southeast Asia and the world.

However, the U.S. imperialists sabotaged the Geneva agreements, rigged up an extremely brutal puppet regime in south Vietnam, and frantically used force and fascist measures in an attempt to annihilate the patriotic forces and carry out bloody repressions against the people's movements in south Vietnam for peace and national reunification. In 1961, the U.S. imperialists launched a "special war" in south Vietnam. When this failed, they switched to "local war" in 1965. They sent their expeditionary forces to south Vietnam on a large scale and committed the monstrous crime of massacring the south Vietnamese people with aircraft, warships and various other kinds of modern weapons. Since 1964-65, the U.S. imperialists have thrown their air and naval forces into a barbarous war of destruction against north Vietnam. The aggressive war which the U.S. imperialists are conducting in Vietnam is the most savage war of aggression ever known in history.

Stark facts in the past 14 years make it clear that U.S. imperialism is the aggressor in south Vietnam, that it is the saboteur of the independence, peace and unity of Vietnam, of the 1954 Geneva agreements and of the

peace, security and independence of the Indo-Chinese peoples, and that it is U.S. imperialism which threatens peace in Asia and the world.

The U.S. imperialists are waging a war of aggression which deprives the south Vietnamese people of their independence and freedom and infringes upon the most sacred aspirations and sentiments of every Vietnamese. The south Vietnamese people have no alternative but to rise up and resist aggression in order to save the country and regain national independence and sovereignty.

Under the glorious banner of the South Vietnam National Front for Liberation, the south Vietnamese people have defeated, one after another, all the extremely cruel and wicked manoeuvres and plans of aggression of the U.S. imperialists.

Now, the U.S. defeat is already evident, but it has not yet given up its aggressive design. It has continued to dispatch more U.S. expeditionary forces to south Vietnam, bringing the total of U.S. troops there to nearly 540,000. It has continued to press its satellites for more cannon-fodder. It has also ordered the puppet administration to carry out a "general mobilization" to collect more cannon-fodder in the hope of raising the total of puppet troops to 800,000 by the end of this year. It has intensified the B-52 raids and the use of toxic chemicals to barbarously massacre the innocent population. It is concentrating its cruel bombing raids on an important part of the territory of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam. Obviously, while prating about "peace," the United States is in fact intensifying the war of aggression. It is piling up crime on crime against the people in both north and south Vietnam.

The south Vietnamese people ardently cherish peace, but it must be peace on the basis of independence and freedom. Nothing can shake the determination of the south Vietnamese people and their liberation armed forces to wrest back at all costs their national rights— independence, democracy, neutrality and prosperity — and to peacefully reunify their fatherland. No brute force, no reactionary power and no perfidious manoeuvres can prevent the south Vietnamese people from forging ahead to win final victory.

So long as the U.S. imperialists refuse to stop the aggressive war in south Vietnam, to withdraw all U.S. and satellite troops from south Vietnam, to dismantle U.S. military bases there and to let the south Viet-

namese people settle by themselves the internal affairs of south Vietnam without foreign interference, the south Vietnamese people will continue to fight with arms in hand till final victory.

Italian People Experiencing a New Awakening

THE revolutionary struggle of the Italian people is developing vigorously. One after another, the student, worker and peasant movements have risen and merged into a surging torrent of struggle, violently pounding at the reactionary rule of the monopoly capitalist class.

Student Movement Upsurges Come In Rapid Succession

The broad masses of youth and students have played a vanguard role in the Italian people's new attack on monopoly capital. As early as the end of 1967, the struggle against the decadent and backward educational system broke out in nearly 30 universities, first in Turin and Milan. **Centering around Rome University, the students set off another struggle between February and March this year. Inspired by the powerful revolutionary storm of the French workers' and student movements, the Italian student struggle reached a new peak in May and June. On a scale never seen previously, the movement quickly gathered momentum and for a time went on without let-up; and, in addition to other forms of struggle, it took the new one of occupying the schools.**

The educational system in Italy is very decadent. Regulations from Mussolini's time are still in force in some universities. Many curricula instituted even before World War I have remained up to now. Thus, the student struggle began with the demand that the decadent and backward educational system be reformed. However, as the movement developed in depth, the slogans advanced by the students became more and more militant, and the political trend clearer. They raised slogans calling for the overthrow of the capitalist system and their struggle was directed against the reactionary rule of the monopoly capitalist class and U.S. imperialism's policies of aggression. At the same time, they steadfastly fought revisionism and reformism, exposing the Italian and Soviet revisionist cliques' acts of betrayal. In the struggle, the students began to integrate with the workers and peasants. They supported each other and fought shoulder to shoulder. This indicates that the political consciousness and the level of the struggle by the young students have risen greatly.

Mounting Tide of the Workers' Struggle

Our great teacher Chairman Mao has pointed out: **"The student movement is part of the whole people's**

movement. The upsurge of the student movement will inevitably promote an upsurge of the whole people's movement." Galvanized by the student movement, the Italian workers' movement has shown new progress.

The recent angry tide of the workers' struggle has rolled on in successive waves over the whole Apennine Peninsula from south to north, from Sicily to Venice. It has been continuously moving upward. Massive strikes and demonstrations were widely held in many manufacturing and mining areas and cities. During the struggle, the masses of the workers have brought the spirit of defying brute force, fearing no sacrifice and fighting courageously into full play. In some places, strikes have continued for many months. In others, workers set up headquarters in tents outside factories, ready to wage a protracted struggle against the capitalists. The workers also fought valiantly against the reactionary police sent to suppress them. Strikes paralysed communications in many cities. The struggle by the Italian workers fully shows the powerful strength of the working class.

Meanwhile, the Italian peasants have begun to act. Thirty thousand small peasants recently converged from all over the country on Rome, the capital, to stage an unprecedented protest demonstration against the government's agricultural policy. Protest demonstrations also took place in other cities. The peasant movement is growing throughout the country.

Broad Masses Awakening

The rapid rise of the Italian people's movement clearly symbolizes the daily awakening of the people.

Class contradictions in Italy have long steadily sharpened under the reactionary rule of the Italian monopoly capitalist class. Though the so-called "centre-left" government used a number of tricks in its internal and external policies after assuming office, it actually further stepped up exploitation and control of the people at home, and externally, it continued to pursue a foreign policy subservient to U.S. imperialism. This can only evoke ever stronger opposition from the people. In recent years, the Italian people's opposition to monopoly capital's cruel exploitation and reactionary rule and to U.S. aggression in Vietnam has strengthened; their struggle has grown fiercer. From their own experience they have gradually realized that, under the capitalist system, no matter what signboard the

(Continued on p. 30.)

West Germany's Student Movement Reflects Sharpening Class Contradictions

(I)

THE past few years have witnessed a big development in West Germany's student movement. Particularly since this year, it has been surging forward. An attempt on the life of a student leader by a reactionary in mid April brought about a wave of powerful protest demonstrations against fascist tyranny. These spread to more than 500 cities and towns and some 300,000 people participated.

Just before the West German parliament adopted the "emergency laws" at the end of May, the protests and struggle of the students and workers reached a new high. Strikes were held in nearly all the universities and in many of them students occupied hostels and hoisted red flags. Thousands upon thousands of students and workers held protest rallies and demonstrations in more than 40 cities. In some cases, they occupied radio stations and stormed city halls. Both in scale and intensity, the struggle was unprecedented in the annals of the postwar student movement in West Germany.

Influenced by the actions of the students and workers, 30,000 West Germans, joined by people from all over Europe, staged large-scale demonstrations in the latter part of June to protest against the West German authorities' protection of and connivance with the neo-fascist forces and their high-handed adoption of the reactionary "emergency laws." Then, more than 60,000 students of West German engineering institutes went on strike to press their insistent demand for reform of the educational system. Launched nearly a month ago, this struggle has continued unabated.

The growth of the student movement has caused great alarm among the reactionary ruling circles. They have used counter-revolutionary violence to savagely suppress the demonstrators, attacking them with mounted police, water hoses and police dogs, and arresting students in large numbers and sentencing many of them. At the same time, the ruling circles have also engaged in political deception in an attempt to split the ranks of the students and soften them up. However, neither their tough nor soft tactics have been able to check the forward movement of the struggles of the daily awakening students and masses.

(II)

Started in opposition to the decadent bourgeois educational system, the West German student movement soon went beyond this and broadened out into a large-scale mass movement.

The current student movement in West Germany has many points in common with those of other West

European countries: It is beginning to merge with the workers' movement; breaking through the traditional forms of struggle such as sit-ins and petitions, it has begun to resort to violent action; it has established contacts with the student movements of other countries, which influence and support each other.

It also has its own characteristics:

(1) The struggle is clearly directed against fascist rule and the capitalist system in West Germany. In April, the students concentrated their attack on the Springer publishing chain, a mouthpiece of West German monopoly capital which has always slandered the progressive student movement and spoken out in favour of fascism. They also spearheaded their struggle against West German Chancellor Kiesinger and West Berlin governing mayor Klaus Schuetz, condemning them as fascists and demanding their resignations. In May, they launched a large-scale struggle against the "emergency laws," dealing powerful counterblows to the provocations of the reactionary authorities which cooked up this fascist legislation. In the struggle, the students raised such clear-cut slogans as "Smash the state machine!" "Resist state violence!" and "Overthrow the West German regime!"

(2) The struggle is clearly aimed at U.S. imperialism. The aggressive war which U.S. imperialism has launched against Vietnam and expanded has further exposed its aggressive nature, so it is being opposed ever more strongly by the West German people, especially the youth and students. Demonstrations and rallies against the Yankees have been held one after another. Last year the West Berlin students staged large-scale protest demonstrations in opposition to the visit of U.S. Vice-President Humphrey. Last February, 12,000 students held a big rally and demonstration in Frankfurt to condemn the U.S. imperialist war of aggression. They passed a resolution supporting the Vietnamese people in their struggle against U.S. aggression and for national salvation. Slogans like "United States, get out of Vietnam!" "Strangle Johnson!" and "U.S. imperialism is the No. 1 enemy of the world's people!" were raised. During their struggles last April and May, the youth on a number of occasions surrounded and stormed "America House," the U.S. consulates and the headquarters of the U.S. armed forces. Young people in Bonn and the port of Bremen pulled down the stars and stripes from the flagstaff of the headquarters of the U.S. armed forces and hoisted the red flag in its place. Both in their scale and the clarity of the slogans raised, these anti-U.S. struggles are unprecedented in West Germany. They have reached a higher level than similar struggles waged by students in some other West European countries.

(III)

The vigorous development of the student movement in West Germany is a reflection of the sharpening class contradictions, of the daily aggravation of the economic and political crises of the West German reactionary ruling class and of the unparalleled awakening of the broad masses.

(1) West Germany is experiencing the most serious economic crisis since World War II. Beginning from the third quarter in 1966, industrial production has dropped. Value of industrial output in the first half of 1967 was 6 per cent lower than in the corresponding period of 1966, and the total for 1967 was 3.2 per cent less than 1966. To shift its difficulties on to the workers, monopoly capital has intensified the ruthless exploitation of the workers by instituting "suspension of shifts" without pay and reducing wages. At the same time, it has closed down factories and mines or resorted to partial stoppages of operations or wholesale lay-offs. As a result, the monthly unemployment figures in 1967 increased from 2.5 to 4 times as compared with the same months of the previous year; the highest figure was 700,000. Meanwhile, to make up for the huge financial deficit, and to increase government investment so as to stimulate production, the West German government has substantially increased taxation. It has raised the income tax of the working people from 19 per cent to 25 per cent of their incomes. At the beginning of this year, it introduced the "additional value tax" which brought about increases in commodity prices (a rise of 5.4 to 5.6 per cent in the cost of such basic items as rent, electricity, gas and fuel). The intensification of the exploitation of the working people by the West German monopoly capitalists has naturally aroused the resistance of the broad masses who have staged repeated and numerous strikes and demonstrations against lay-offs, wage cuts and rising prices.

(2) The reactionary policies of the so-called "coalition government" have become more and more unpopular. After the fall of the Erhard government at the end of 1966, the ruling Christian-Democratic Union and the biggest opposition party, the Social Democratic Party, formed a "coalition government" led by Kiesinger. Making use of the deceptive role of the Social Democratic Party and the absolute majority which the two parties command in parliament, this government has tried to strengthen its deception of and control over the people so as to get out of its economic difficulties and consolidate the bourgeois regime. However, the Kiesinger government has not been able to check the economic recession since it came into office. Except for raising taxes and making the working people tighten their belts, it is powerless in the face of West Germany's most serious postwar economic crisis. This cannot but arouse the strong discontent of the masses. To suppress the daily growing mass movement, the Kiesinger government has stepped up its policy of fascisation. On the one hand, it forced through the "emergency laws" which it had zealously drawn up so that the West German ruling circles can, under the

pretext of a "state of emergency," deprive the people of their fundamental freedom of speech and assembly and their right to strike, and can even call out reactionary troops for armed suppression of the people's struggles. On the other hand, it has actively fostered the neo-fascist forces. With its connivance and protection, the number of fascist and revanchist organizations which have already sprung up in West Germany has speedily grown to well over 100. The largest fascist organization, the National Democratic Party, is very ambitious. It hopes to get into the Bundestag in next year's general elections so as to take part in the government. However, Hitler's criminal rule is still fresh in the memory of West Germany's masses. To show their resolute opposition to the reactionary policy of the West German ruling authorities to step up fascisation and revive the Nazi forces, they have repeatedly staged powerful protest demonstrations.

(3) The occupation of West Germany by the U.S. armed forces has aroused growing popular discontent. The West German people have expressed strong dissatisfaction over the fact that there are still large numbers of U.S. troops (now more than 200,000) stationed in the country and that the division of Germany has been deepened by the United States. With greater insistence they want to get rid of U.S. control and solve the issue of German unification. However, since it got into power, the Kiesinger government has continued to implement the same old policy as before. Though saddled with an economic crisis, West Germany is compelled to pay the United States more than U.S. \$700 million annually in subsidies for the troops it stations in the country. This is an additional heavy burden on the West German people. It strengthens their anti-U.S. sentiment and particularly that of the youth and causes them to struggle harder against the occupation by U.S. forces.

(4) The deception practised by the Social Democrats is becoming less effective among the masses. Since its participation in the government, the Social Democratic Party has, to serve the ruling circles, stepped up its collusion with the Christian-Democratic Party. While trying to soften up and disintegrate the student movement, it also works hand in glove with the Christian-Democratic Party to carry out bloody suppression. With regard to the workers' struggle against oppression and exploitation by monopoly capital, it uses the company unions to sabotage and suppress it. It also took an active part in and fully supported the scheme of the monopoly capitalist class to adopt the "emergency laws." All this treachery of the Social Democratic Party has met with the increasing condemnation of the West German people. During the struggle against the "emergency laws" last May, many trade unions at the grass-roots level went on strike and sided with the students despite the ban imposed by the Social Democratic bosses.

Our great teacher Chairman Mao has taught us: "The student movement is part of the whole people's movement. The upsurge of the student movement will

inevitably promote an upsurge of the whole people's movement."

The student movement in West Germany is still growing. With the further sharpening of the class con-

traditions, the West German student struggles will certainly raise the revolutionary struggle of the West German people against fascist rule and the monopoly capitalist class to a new level.

French Capitalist Economy Hard Hit by Workers' Strikes

THE tempestuous general strike of the French workers which erupted in mid May not only deepened the political crisis of the French ruling clique but dealt heavy blows at the crisis-ridden French finances and economy. As a result, France is faced with a series of difficulties such as a drop in production, a steep rise in unemployment, skyrocketing prices, a sharp reduction in gold and foreign exchange reserves and a tottering franc.

In this massive struggle, more than ten million striking workers occupied over half of France's factories, mines and enterprises, including those of the nuclear industry which is under tight government control. During the strike period of more than one month, French industrial production came to a halt, transport and communications were crippled and the economic life of the country was paralysed. Now the stirring strike struggle has temporarily receded, but the consequences of its telling blows to the French capitalist economy are becoming more and more conspicuous.

According to the estimates of Western newspapers and news agencies, the French workers' gigantic strikes will cause at least a 6 per cent drop in the value of industrial output this year. Former French Premier Pompidou admitted that the general strike caused French monopoly capital a loss of 30,000 million francs. Besides, delays in delivery as a result of the strikes have reduced French exports by at least one-third. Directly affecting its foreign exchange income, this has brought about a speedy deterioration in France's international balance of payments and a rapid, steady and massive outflow of its gold and foreign exchange reserves which France had accumulated over the years with much effort. The Bank of France disclosed that since the massive strikes France had lost gold and foreign exchange to the value of 1,734 million U.S. dollars, or more than a quarter of its total gold and foreign exchange reserves.

All this has dealt telling blows at the French franc, which was comparatively stable in the capitalist world, and caused it to totter. The critical position of the franc is not only a heavy blow to the French ruling clique, which has regarded the "strength" of the franc as important capital in its contention with the United States for the dominant position in the Western world, but is also a great threat to other capitalist countries. Once the franc is devalued, it will certainly result in a chain reaction in the entire Western world. The U.S. dollar and the pound, which have long been shaky, will

inevitably receive a mortal blow and the monetary system of the entire Western world will head for collapse at an accelerated pace.

In view of this, the French ruling clique is sparing no effort to try to stabilize the franc. After announcing foreign exchange control measures, the French Government decided on July 3 to raise the bank discount rate from 3.5 per cent to 5 per cent. This is an attempt to maintain the franc's "credit" abroad by attracting idle capital, reducing international payments deficits and stopping the steady massive outflow of gold and foreign exchange reserves. For the same purpose, the French Government proclaimed not long ago its decision to subsidize exports and restrict imports so as to increase foreign exchange income and improve the international payments position. But, like drinking poison to quench a thirst, all these measures will inevitably have extremely serious consequences. The French official news agency AFP had to admit that the rise in the discount rate and the deflation measures would affect investment in enterprises and "harm" economic development. This ran counter to the wishes of the French ruling clique to increase production, strengthen the competitive capacity of French commodities and stimulate exports. At the same time, in shifting the burden of the crisis on to the other capitalist countries by stimulating exports through administrative methods, the French Government has aroused strong resentment from the other five member nations of the West European Common Market and the United States — France's main trade competitors. One country has declared that it reserves "the right to take reprisals." This has further intensified the trade war in the scramble for markets in the capitalist world and France is confronted with greater difficulties in export trade.

Meanwhile, the French monopoly capitalists are ferociously attacking the French people and shifting the difficulties on to the labouring people. The French Government has announced its decision to increase taxation by some 2,500 million francs. French capitalists have raised commodity prices one after another. As reported by Western news agencies, up to now, the price of bread, milk and gasoline, and taxi fares have gone up. New car prices have risen by 3 to 5 per cent. Many capitalists are thinking of "a considerable or a notably considerable increase of price." In addition to this, in order to strengthen their competitive position abroad and rake in greater profits, the monopoly capitalists are feverishly stepping up the merger of enterprises.

increasing the intensity of labour and throwing large numbers of workers into the already swollen ranks of the unemployed. Western newspapers predict that France will face "a period of rising inflation" and "widespread unemployment."

The wicked action of the French ruling clique in intensifying the exploitation and suppression of the labouring people in order to protect the interests of

the monopoly capitalist class will not only fail to save the crisis-riddled French capitalist economy, but will further sharpen the internal class contradictions in France. It will further hasten the political awakening of the French working people and spur them on to stage more powerful struggles for the complete overthrow of the reactionary rule of the French monopoly capitalist class.

U.S.-Soviet Collaboration: New Crimes

THE chieftains of the Soviet revisionist renegade clique and U.S. imperialism have collaborated with each other for a long time. Working hand in glove, they have committed all kinds of counter-revolutionary crimes. The Soviet revisionist renegade clique has recently, in particular, pressed ahead with this collaboration at an unprecedented speed to meet the needs of U.S. imperialism. The facts cited below reveal that the present leaders of the Soviet revisionists have even passed their predecessor Khrushchov. Carried out in a more barefaced manner, their collaboration with U.S. imperialism has become more frequent, feverish and blatant. This has fully revealed their renegade features of doing everything possible to serve as the No. 1 accomplice and faithful flunkey of U.S. imperialism.

Our great leader Chairman Mao has pointed out: "A flunkey who allows himself to be led by the nose by U.S. imperialism will only end up in the same grave as his master." The Soviet revisionist renegades can never escape this ignominious end.

New York-Moscow Direct Airline

The Soviet revisionists and the U.S. imperialists formally inaugurated a direct New York-Moscow flight on July 15, shortly after they had made a deal over their air agreement. An "IL-62" airliner of the Soviet revisionists made its first flight that day from Moscow to New York. Immediately after its arrival, a U.S. "Boeing-707" left New York for Moscow. Most of the "passengers" were high-ranking government and military officials of both sides. This is another step taken by them recently in intensifying their collaboration.

The Soviet revisionists and the U.S. imperialists attached special importance to the opening of this airline. With great fanfare, the Soviet revisionist press, news agency and radio stations gave it much publicity. On July 15, the Soviet revisionist airway company in New York put a full-page advertisement in U.S. papers, announcing the opening of the New York-Moscow airline and guaranteeing the best service to U.S. imperialist "tourists."

U.S. imperialism is greatly delighted by the Soviet revisionists' active measures of betrayal. Its chieftain, Lyndon Johnson, specially sent Under-Secretary of State Rostow as official U.S. representative to the air-

port to welcome the Soviet airliner on its arrival in New York. Trumpeting U.S.-Soviet "co-operation" at the ceremony celebrating the occasion, Rostow stressed that the Johnson government's foreign policy was to achieve a "meeting" of minds between the United States and the Soviet Union. He added that it was Johnson's aim to resolve problems between the United States and the Soviet Union "through the quiet processes . . . one by one, step by step." Rostow referred with satisfaction to the signing a short time ago of the "nuclear non-proliferation treaty" which was jointly worked out by the United States and the Soviet Union and to the agreement between them to open preliminary talks on the so-called limitation of nuclear arms, saying that these were "two great steps forward" recently made by the United States and the Soviet Union. These steps, he said, would surely influence future "co-operation" between the two countries in all fields. The official opening of the Moscow-New York airline, he added, "gives hope of even stronger ties to come."

In reply, head of the Soviet revisionist tourists' delegation A.V. Besidin, who is also head of the international relations department of the Soviet Ministry of Civil Aviation, said obsequiously: "We fully support the views of Mr. Rostow." He openly declared that the inauguration of the New York-Moscow airline had opened "an important channel in developing greater mutual contacts."

When the American airliner arrived in Moscow on July 16, the Soviet revisionists also celebrated the occasion at a ceremony. In his welcoming speech, Soviet Minister of Civil Aviation Boris Bugayev prated that the opening of this line "brings together" Soviet revisionism and U.S. imperialism and that this "will promote friendship" and "mutual understanding" between the two countries.

Charles Bohlen and Foy Kohler, former U.S. ambassadors to the U.S.S.R., who were on board the U.S. airliner, also spoke at the ceremony. Bohlen stressed that it was a "historic event—the opening will result in a general improvement in our relations."

U.S.-Soviet Cultural Agreement

While stepping up their counter-revolutionary collaboration in an all-round way, the Soviet revisionist

The revisionist leading clique of the Soviet Union, the Tito clique of Yugoslavia and all the other cliques of renegades and scabs of various shades. . . . They are flunkeys and accomplices of imperialism before which they prostrate themselves. . . .

—MAO TSE-TUNG

renegade clique and U.S. imperialism signed a comprehensive agreement on cultural exchanges for 1968-69 in Moscow on July 15.

It was revealed that the newly signed agreement covers a wide field, including science, technology, agriculture, health service and medicine, education, radio, television, culture and sports. It also includes the exchange of "artists," "experts," publications, exhibitions and films. The exchange of visits by "experts" alone will be effected in more than 20 fields. The agreement also provides for co-operation on the so-called peaceful use of atomic energy.

To meet its needs for an all-round restoration of capitalism in the Soviet Union, the Soviet revisionist renegade clique has, as stipulated in the cultural exchanges agreement, gone a step further in throwing the door wide open to the peddling of "U.S. civilization." According to disclosures made in Washington, the Soviet revisionists will under the agreement welcome three major art companies and nearly 20 smaller teams to give performances in the Soviet Union, allow U.S. films "the widest possible distribution," render assistance "for the successful distribution" and "distribution free of charge" of the U.S. magazine *America* and hold rotating U.S. exhibitions in six Soviet cities.

U.S. imperialism was highly pleased with this act of betrayal on the part of the Soviet revisionists. U.S. Ambassador to the U.S.S.R. L.E. Thompson said at the Moscow signing ceremony that the U.S. Government "attaches great importance to these exchanges which provide opportunities for better understanding between our two countries."

The agreement was signed on behalf of the Soviet revisionist clique by N. Lunkov, head of a department of the Soviet Foreign Ministry, who fawningly called for the further promotion of all-round collaboration between the Soviet Union and the United States. He shamelessly declared that technical and cultural exchanges "benefit the Soviet Union and the United States. The better and wider the exchanges are in all fields, the better and wider relations will be in the political field."

Negotiations on this agreement began in Moscow at the beginning of June. It was reported that both sides expressed "great enthusiasm" in the course of the negotiations. This is the sixth Soviet-U.S. agreement on cultural exchanges since 1958. Soon after the first of these agreements was signed in 1958, G.V. Allen, then

director of the U.S. Information Agency, gleefully declared that the United States had opened "a hole in the iron curtain" and scored a victory "in the battle of ideas." If the United States had to open "a hole" in order to effect "peaceful penetration" into the Soviet Union ten years ago, then today, when the Soviet revisionist renegade clique has become a bunch of faithful flunkeys and pawns who fall on their knees before U.S. imperialism, reactionary American culture is flooding the Soviet Union like a big tide.

"Fashion" Show

According to a news report from Washington, the Soviet revisionist renegade clique won praise and applause from its U.S. master for the so-called "Soviet fashion designs show" which it held not long ago in Washington under the camouflage of "Soviet-U.S. cultural exchange."

Reports from Western correspondents said that the show displayed "outstanding fashions" by Soviet revisionism's "top contemporary designers." Some of these were so-called "space age" fashions and "revolutionized" clothing designed by "the Soviet Union's best-known avant-garde designer" who copied the cowboy pants and mini-skirts of the West. Others, advertised as "native Russian fashions," were hybrids of fashions of the tsarist nobility and today's Western bourgeois styles.

Characteristic of the fashion show were the marked trends of "Westernization" and the "return to the old" which immediately attracted the attention of the U.S. monopoly capitalist bosses and bourgeois representatives of all descriptions. They lavished praise on the Soviet revisionists for their spirit of sparing no effort in learning from the West even in fashions, and said that it was all very "inspiring." James Kennedy, sponsor of the fashion show and Vice-President of the Celanese Fibers Marketing Company, said with great delight: "The total picture of Russian fashions today reflects a strong feeling for the past, a keen sense of the present and a total awareness and acceptance of international fashion trends." He expressed his readiness to take the show all over the United States.

Abundant facts show that the Soviet revisionist renegade clique has not only degenerated into a servile tool of U.S. imperialism politically, but has accepted wholesale Western bourgeois "styles" in every aspect of its way of life, even in clothing. Brezhnev, Kosygin and their gang of traitors have become rotten to the core.

Evils of Capitalist Restoration in The Soviet Countryside

SINCE usurping power in the Soviet Union, the Soviet revisionist renegade clique has put into effect in the countryside the "principle of free sale of products" and a series of revisionist policies including "putting profits in command," "advocating material incentives," "opening free markets" and "encouraging private economy." All these have resulted in the Soviet countryside in degeneration of the collective economy, an inundation of private economy, the general disintegration of the socialist economy and daily acceleration of class polarization. Once again our Soviet peasant brothers are plunged into suffering.

In order to cover up the fact that capitalism is being restored, Polyansky, one of the top Soviet revisionists, recently described what has been happening in the Soviet countryside as the result of errors of "certain individuals in the leadership." This is a lie.

As we understand it, this is not at all a question of errors committed by "certain individuals in the leadership" but a sharp struggle between the bourgeoisie and the proletariat, between the capitalist road and the socialist road and between the bourgeois reactionary line and the proletarian revolutionary line.

China's top Party person in authority taking the capitalist road also did his utmost to boost in the countryside the "*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 the "four freedoms" (freedom of usury, of hiring labour, land sale and private enterprise). He stirred up an evil current in the countryside in an attempt to restore capitalism, undermine the collective economy of the people's communes and make socialist China change its political colour.

Under the brilliant leadership of our great leader Chairman Mao, we pulled out the top capitalist roader in the Party who was the behind-the-scenes boss of the handful of counter-revolutionary revisionists. This is a great victory for Mao Tse-tung's thought and for Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line.

Both in the course of socialist revolution and socialist construction and during the great proletarian cultural revolution which is going on today, we poor and lower-middle peasants have all along been guided by the great leader Chairman Mao's teachings and followed him closely in our victorious advance along the broad socialist road. The revolutionary practice of China's poor and lower-middle peasants has exploded the revisionist fallacies of China's top capitalist roader in the Party and also the counter-revolutionary fallacies of the Soviet revisionist renegade clique.

In the dark days of the old society, the landlords held political power and the poor lived in misery. It was thanks to the Communist Party and Chairman Mao that we were led to make revolution and were liberated from misery.

Guided by the invincible thought of Mao Tse-tung, the Tanghsia Brigade has undergone tremendous changes in the 18 years since liberation. Our great leader Chairman Mao's inspection of our brigade on April 30, 1958, greatly inspired the poor and lower-middle peasants. The revolutionization of our minds spurred production on. In 1967, for example, the average per-hectare rice yield rose 13.8 per cent compared with 1957, vegetable output increased by 11.8 per cent and the number of pigs went up from 1,904 in 1957 to 2,435. As a result of the beginnings of electrification in our area, our brigade has basically mechanized its farming.

The great and unprecedented proletarian cultural revolution has boosted production. Our brigade produced 2.96 million *jin* of vegetables in the first quarters of 1968. Our people's commune has become more and more consolidated, production has gone up year after year and life has become better and better.

All this proves that China's agriculture will win still greater victories and become more and more prosperous so long as the peasants advance along Chairman Mao's revolutionary line. Had the schemes of China's top capitalist roader in the Party succeeded, our countryside would have been like that of the Soviet Union. Class polarization would have taken place, new exploiting classes would have emerged and we poor and lower-middle peasants would have been thrown back into misery.

After Khrushchov came to power, Soviet agriculture got into a terrible mess. The successors to his counter-revolutionary revisionist line, Brezhnev, Kosygin and company, brought about an all-round restoration of capitalism in the Soviet Union, which led to a further deterioration in agriculture. The Soviet Union, which used to export grain, was compelled to sell a great quantity of gold in the West in order to pay for imported grain. In addition, there is an extreme shortage of ordinary non-staple foods.



**WORKERS, PEASANTS, SOLDIERS
ON WORLD AFFAIRS**

Polyansky cannot succeed in his attempt to explain away depressed Soviet agriculture by pretending that "certain individuals in the leadership" committed mistakes. The root cause of the wretched state of affairs in agriculture in the Soviet Union is that the renegades Khrushchov and his successors have betrayed Marxism-Leninism, betrayed the interests of the labouring people, and turned the Soviet socialist economy into a capitalist economy. Worsening agricultural production is the inevitable outcome of capitalist restoration in the towns and the countryside by the Soviet revisionist renegade clique.

Our great leader Chairman Mao teaches us: "The socialist system will eventually replace the capitalist

system; this is an objective law independent of man's will. However much the reactionaries try to hold back the wheel of history, sooner or later revolution will take place and will inevitably triumph."

The masses of the Soviet peasants and revolutionary people want to take the socialist road. They will definitely rise up and rebel against the Soviet revisionist renegade clique, crush all parasites and blood-suckers, and redirect their country on to the broad path of socialism that was opened up by Lenin and Stalin.

(by poor and lower-middle peasants of the Tanghsia Production Brigade of the Huangpu People's Commune in Kwangtung Province)

Educated Youth Goes to the Countryside

Growing Up in the Storm of Class Struggle

A large number of students graduated from the nation's middle schools and colleges this summer. Firmly responding to Chairman Mao's great call, they asked to go to the countryside, to the border regions and to those places where the motherland needs them most and living conditions are hardest. This is a perfect expression of the revolutionary spirit of young intellectuals in the era of Mao Tse-tung.

There has always been a sharp struggle between the two lines on the question of which path educated youth should follow. Chairman Mao's revolutionary line is that educated youth should integrate themselves with the workers and peasants and temper themselves into successors to the cause of the proletarian revolution in the three great revolutionary movements — class struggle, the struggle for production and scientific experiment — in the factories and the countryside. This is a fundamental measure for preventing and opposing revisionism. The bourgeois reactionary line pushed by China's Khrushchov represented going to the villages or factories as steps leading to fame, official position and wealth, so as to lead the young people astray into revisionism.

For quite a long time now, hundreds of thousands of revolutionary youngsters have by their deeds mercilessly repudiated China's Khrushchov. Perseveringly following the revolutionary direction pointed out by Chairman Mao, they have gone to the countryside, the border regions, the factories and mines, the grass-roots units, and settled down there. They have creatively studied and applied Mao Tse-tung's thought in the storm of socialist revolution and construction, and made up their mind to temper themselves into genuine successors to the cause of the proletarian revolution.

The following story tells how 15 girl students from a city settled down in a remote, small mountain village. It is only one of many moving incidents in the life of China today. — Ed.

IN May 1966, when the mountain flowers were in bloom, drums and gongs sounded in a small hill hamlet on the Liaotung Peninsula in northeast China. Waving their red-covered *Quotations From Chairman Mao Tse-tung*, the poor and lower-middle peasants of the village's production team welcomed a group of new commune members that increased the population of the production team from 19 to 20 households.

That new household comprises 15 girls, all graduates from primary and middle schools of the Luta (Lushun-Talien) municipality. Responding to Chairman Mao's call and deciding to take the road of integrating themselves with the workers and peasants, they bade farewell to their parents and left the city in the spring of 1966. They came to the village with the heroic will and determination to help build the new socialist countryside.

Constantly guided by the great thought of Mao Tse-tung, they have swiftly grown up in the storm of class struggle in the past two years. The militia squad which they all joined was recently elected an outstanding unit in the creative study and application of Mao Tse-tung's thought under the Shenyang Command of the Chinese People's Liberation Army.

Going to the Toughest Spots

It was only after they had waged a struggle against the bourgeois reactionary line that this group of students came to settle in the village.

When they first put down their names in Luta to go to the countryside, certain people tried to feed them

All people who have had some education ought to be very happy to work in the countryside if they get the chance. In our vast rural areas there is plenty of room for them to develop their talents to the full.

— MAO TSE-TUNG

the bourgeois reactionary trash put forward by China's Khrushchov: "As long as you take up farm work seriously for three to five years after you go to the villages and are accepted as peasants, you will soon be admitted into the Party or the Youth League. Since you all have an education, you will surely become cadres. It won't be very long before you find yourself back in the city." At that time, many of them sensed that there was something wrong in these words.

After being assigned to the Wanli People's Commune, Chihnsien County, there was a sharp argument over the question of where they should settle down — in the rich fruit-growing teams or in the poor mountain teams of the forestry brigade?

Some said: "Anyhow, since we'll go back to the city sooner or later, it will be better to stay in the fruit-growing teams which have higher incomes and relatively good conditions."

Some of them disagreed. They argued "The tougher the environment, the better we can temper and remould ourselves. We should go to the poor teams!"

Which one of these two opinions was right? They sat down together and opened Chairman Mao's works. Chairman Mao points out: "What is work? Work is struggle. There are difficulties and problems in those places for us to overcome and solve. We go there to work and struggle to overcome these difficulties. A good comrade is one who is more eager to go where the difficulties are greater." Chairman Mao's words opened their minds and they decided to go to the toughest spots.

Thus the 15 girls each with her four volumes of *Selected Works of Mao Tse-tung* came to this remote mountain village. With rolling slopes and ridges, poor soil and ubiquitous rocks, the village lies in a really poor mountain gully. The difficulties did not daunt them. They heroically declared: "Chairman Mao teaches us that poverty gives rise to the desire for change, the desire for action and the desire for revolution. We pledge to be the masters, and not the guests, of this mountain gully."

Close Integration With the Poor and Lower-Middle Peasants

Their arrival exhilarated the poor and lower-middle peasants. They said: "Chairman Mao sends these youngsters. We must train them well, so that there will be no need for Chairman Mao to worry."

One drizzly morning when Third Aunt, a poor peasant, heard that one of the girls was sick, she hur-

ried over to prepare herb medicine for her. To the girls' expressions of thanks, she replied: "This is what Chairman Mao tells me to do. Dr. Bethune was a foreigner and cured our Chinese wounded soldiers at the risk of his own life. I am Chinese, can I worry about getting a little wet from the rain?" These few words gave the girls a living lesson in Mao Tse-tung's thought.

One day, Yang Shu-kuei, one of the 15, was learning to plough. Despite her efforts, the ox wouldn't go the way she wanted and the plough zigzagged forward. Yang was nearly ready to weep and thought of giving up. The old team leader, her teacher in ploughing, explained to her: "The first time it's new to you, but the second time you'll get the hang of it. Don't give up!" She did not reply and he knew that the problem troubling her mind still remained unsolved. After considering the matter a while, he asked her: "What was the quotation we studied yesterday?"

Little Yang cast a glance at him. She thought he did not know how anxious she was and wondered why at such a time he wanted to ask her about that quotation from Chairman Mao's works. So she answered, speaking quickly but without much thought: "Be resolute, fear no sacrifice and surmount every difficulty to win victory." Seeing her state of mind, the team leader couldn't keep back a laugh. Yang Shu-kuei was taken back. "Was anything wrong?" she asked. The team leader said: "No. It's right. Those are Chairman Mao's words. But to recite them is not enough; you must act according to them." Little Yang's face flushed. She looked at the ox and the field. Shouting *ja* to the ox, she raised her whip and resumed ploughing.

The girls came to understand this more deeply: The poor and lower-middle peasants are their best teachers and Mao Tse-tung's thought unites them with the poor and lower-middle peasants.

Back to the Countryside to Make Revolution

When the great proletarian cultural revolution began, the first revolutionary mass organization to be founded in the village was their "Red Women's Detachment in Defence of Mao Tse-tung's Thought." Guided by Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line, the 15 young revolutionary fighters, together with the poor and lower-middle peasants, threw themselves into the movement.

Then the capitalist roaders in the Party, making a last-ditch struggle, fanned up an ill wind of counter-revolutionary economism. They instigated educated youth who had settled in the countryside to leave their

production posts and flock to the cities. This wind also blew into the forestry brigade.

In January 1967, a so-called "rebel organization" of educated youth who had gone to settle in the countryside was formed in Talien. It tried to expand its membership in the villages. Loyal to the Party and to Chairman Mao, the 15 girls joined up. Soon they received a notice from "headquarters" to attend a meeting in Talien.

Flying a banner proclaiming their determination in revolutionary rebellion and bearing a poster carrying Chairman Mao's quotations, they walked the hundred li to Talien.

They found the "headquarters" housed in one of the best hotels in the city. Questions immediately arose in their minds: What sort of a "rebel headquarters" was this that was so extravagant and showy? How could these young people, leaving their villages, "make revolution" in such a place? The more they looked and thought, the more they didn't like it.

Then the meeting started. Some speakers noisily called on educated youth in the countryside to "return to the cities to make revolution." Everything became clear. The girls turned to their *Quotations From Chairman Mao Tse-tung* and found this passage: "**How should we judge whether a youth is a revolutionary? How can we tell? There can only be one criterion, namely, whether or not he is willing to integrate himself with the broad masses of workers and peasants and does so in practice. If he is willing to do so and actually does so, he is a revolutionary; otherwise he is a non-revolutionary or a counter-revolutionary. If today he integrates himself with the masses of workers and peasants, then today he is a revolutionary; if tomorrow he ceases to do so or turns round to oppress the common people, then he becomes a non-revolutionary or a counter-revolutionary.**"

Armed with Mao Tse-tung's thought, they declared: "We are going back to the villages to make revolution." Getting up and leaving the unfinished meeting, they announced their withdrawal from this organization.

The next day, they formed a Mao Tse-tung's thought propaganda team and went around the city trying to help the youth who had been misled. When they heard some of them saying that "making us educated youth settle in the countryside is nothing but the bourgeois reactionary line," they retorted: "On the contrary, it is Chairman Mao's great call; it has nothing to do with the bourgeois reactionary line. China's Khrushchov wanted us to work three to five years in the countryside and then return to the cities to get official posts — that is indeed the bourgeois reactionary line!"

They heard others saying: "We're leaving the countryside to fight our way back home!" They countered: "Our homes are not in the cities, but in the countryside!"

Their forceful replies were a slap in the face for the handful of capitalist roaders in the Party. They received the warm support of the revolutionary masses,

and were able to help many misled youth to decide to go back to their part of the countryside to make revolution.

The girls returned to the forestry brigade like triumphant warriors. The poor and lower-middle peasants flocked to the edge of the village to welcome them back. One poor peasant turned up his thumb and said: "You've come through with flying colours!"

Never Forget Class Struggle

The young school graduates helped to launch revolutionary mass criticism and repudiation of China's Khrushchov in the mountain village.

Chairman Mao says: "Never forget class struggle." He also says that "we must remind ourselves of this [class struggle] every year, every month and every day." Vice-Chairman Lin Piao points out: "Not to understand classes and exploitation is not to understand revolution." Bearing these teachings firmly in mind, the girls decided, on the first anniversary of their stay in the village, to invite the poor and lower-middle peasants to hold a meeting to recall the oppression and exploitation in the old society and remind themselves of the happiness of the new society, and through this, to thoroughly denounce China's Khrushchov's heinous crimes in restoring capitalism.

On that day, Grandma Lin, who had suffered greatly in the past and deeply hated the old society, rose extra early and made them a "meal to recall past sufferings." This consisted of rolls of bran mixed with wild vegetables which had a bitter, biting taste. Grandma Lin laid the rolls on the table. With tears streaming down her face, she started to tell about her past; how she had begged for a living, and how the landlords used to set their savage dogs on her. . . . Another poor peasant named Hsu wept as she told them the bitter story of her former life as a child bride. Weeping



Tsai Li-chien (first right), a Peking senior middle school graduate, who has chosen a mountain village for her home. Together with her production team leader (second right), she makes plans for building up the village.

together with them, the girls ate the bran rolls and the bitter herb soup. Some of them, too, rose to accuse the old society and relate their own families' bitter histories.

Grandma Lin, roused to deep wrath, asked the young people: "That big scoundrel China's Khrushchov claims 'exploitation has its merits' and wants us to take the road back to the past and suffer once again, can we let him?" "Never!" cried everyone in the room. The shouts of "Down with China's Khrushchov!" and "Long live Chairman Mao! A long, long life to him!" resounded through the little valley.

In late autumn last year, the following incident occurred. On the production team's threshing ground, the commune members were picking peanuts from the peanut stalks. Suddenly the wife of a bad element called out: "Let's all put what we've picked into separate piles, so that the work-points can be given according to how much each has picked. In this way you can rouse everybody's initiative." Hearing this, the young school graduates immediately felt it was no small matter, but a reflection of class struggle.

That night, as usual, the girls took their copies of Chairman Mao's works and made the rounds of the peasant homes to help the peasants in their study. Together, they studied Chairman Mao's teaching that "politics is the commander, the soul in everything." They thoroughly exposed and criticized and repudiated China's Khrushchov's revisionist theories of "putting work in command" and about "material incentives" and his revisionist line in the countryside of advocating "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."

They realized that the suggestion put forward by the wife of that bad element was precisely a sample of the poisonous wares peddled by China's Khrushchov and that they mustn't be taken in.

Late that night, snow flakes began to fall, but the girls and the poor and lower-middle peasants ran to the threshing ground. Seeing the small piles of peanuts distributed over the ground, they told each other that these weren't piles of peanuts, but piles of "self-interest." Taking up the wooden shovels, they shovelled all the little piles into one big collective pile.

The next day, the girls made a bright red flag inscribed with the glittering words: "Fight self, repudiate revisionism." Holding this high, they came to the threshing ground. They planted the flag before those who were conscientiously picking peanuts for the sake of the revolution and doing fast, neat work. Thus they kept the great red banner of Mao Tse-tung's thought flying high.

"Sailing the seas depends on the helmsman. Making revolution depends on Mao Tse-tung's thought." It was in this way that these young school graduates, relying on the invincible thought of Mao Tse-tung, passed two fighting years.

They have struck deep root in the mountain village. In the production team, they occupy a number of indispensable posts: that of storeroom keeper, cashier, primary school teacher, volunteer medical worker, volunteer barber, and group newspaper reader. Most important of all, they are its propagators of Mao Tse-tung's thought. They are instructors of the team's Mao Tse-tung's thought study classes as well as of the study classes run in the commune members' homes. They are determined, together with the poor and lower-middle peasants, to build their mountain village into a big red school of Mao Tse-tung's thought.

Creatively Studying and Applying Mao Tse-tung's Thought

New Outlook of Peasants in a Production Brigade

THE Huangshandong Production Brigade in Polo County, Kwangtung Province, is well to the fore in the creative study and application of Chairman Mao's works.

Its militiamen, poor and lower-middle peasants and other members take the study, implementation, dissemination and defence of Mao Tse-tung's thought as the most important of their militant tasks. Mao Tse-tung's thought study classes run by the brigade, its production teams and member households are in every village. Everyone, man and woman, young and old, attends them. Both teenagers and grey-haired elders can be found among the activists in these classes.

Chen Shou-ching is deputy leader of a militia battalion and an instructor of the Mao Tse-tung's thought study classes. Whenever he hears Chairman Mao's

latest instructions over the radio or reads them in the newspapers, with immense political enthusiasm, he immediately relays them to the militiamen and commune members and organizes the masses to study them. Since he had little schooling, he found it very hard to do propaganda work. But determined to surmount his difficulties, after the day's work he concentrated on reading Chairman Mao's writings. Late into the night, he doggedly continued his reading and writing word by word and sentence by sentence; when he came across new words or passages he did not understand, he marked them with a pencil and consulted others about them the next day. When the campaign got under way to repudiate such counter-revolutionary revisionist fallacies of China's Khrushchov as the theories that "exploitation has its merits" and "the class struggle is dying

out," he visited the old poor peasants house by house to get to know their tragic family histories. This gave him living material to use as "ammunition" in repudiating revisionism.

Old poor peasant Liao Chun-yuan got someone to write for her a big red Chinese character meaning "loyalty" and a couplet reading "Always be loyal to Chairman Mao!" and "Never change our minds even though the seas dry up and the rocks rot!" and put them up in her house. She brought the whole family together before a portrait of Chairman Mao to take this oath: "Chairman Mao! Chairman Mao! Great as are the heavens and earth, the power of your brilliant thought is greater. Deep as are the rivers and seas, your concern for us is deeper. The heavens and earth may change, but our red hearts boundlessly loyal to you will never change!" At mass meetings where she recounted her family history and village history, histories filled with blood and tears, she mercilessly refuted the counter-revolutionary revisionist fallacies propagated by China's Khrushchov and his agents including Tao Chu in central-south China and Kwangtung Province. Speaking of today's happiness, she sang the praises of the great leader Chairman Mao.

Liao Chun-yuan cherishes a greater love for Chairman Mao than for her own life. On one occasion, after a downpour a torrent of water swept down the mountain valley. Her house was flooded a metre deep. As she was seen dashing back into the building heedless of danger, someone shouted: "Don't go in! The house is collapsing!" She shouted back firmly: "There are portraits of Chairman Mao in the house. I must save them even at the cost of my life!" Hardly had she brought out the portraits of Chairman Mao than the house collapsed with a crash. When she moved into a new house after the flood, the first thing she did was to put up the portraits of Chairman Mao.

In this brigade there is a blind old man named Tsai Chuan who diligently studies Chairman Mao's works. With the help of a militiaman, he has learnt to recite the "three constantly read articles" (*Serve the People*, *In Memory of Norman Bethune* and *The Foolish Old Man Who Removed the Mountains*), as well as *Combat Liberalism* and Chairman Mao's latest instructions. Once when it was raining heavily and the road was slippery, someone suggested that he needn't go to the study class that day. But he said: "I can eat and sleep less, but I can't study Mao Tse-tung's thought less. Though I am blind, so long as I follow Chairman Mao's teachings, I see and think more clearly and I will not lose my bearings on the road of revolution."

Destroying Self-Interest and Fostering Devotion To the Public Interest

In the Mao Tse-tung's thought study classes, the militiamen and commune members of the Huangshandong brigade all consciously destroy self-interest and foster devotion to the public good, and they closely combine fighting self-interest with repudiating revisionism.

Militiaman Lo Chi is a crack shot. During the Spring Festival this year, he went out hunting in the hills with several young people. They shot a wild bull and shared out the meat among themselves. There was considerable talk about this among the masses. People said: They went hunting in the name of wiping out harmful wild animals for the people and they used the guns owned by the collective, but the game went to individuals. What was this if not self-interest? Hearing this, Lo Chi just could not understand what was wrong. He thought: True the guns belonged to the collective, but the wild animals were there of themselves provided by nature, and the holiday activities were organized by myself. While out hunting, I climbed one hill after another and went to a lot of trouble to shoot that wild bull, ridding the people of a harmful beast. True I got "a mouthful of meat" and did have some self-interest, but this was a legal "self-interest." After taking part in the Mao Tse-tung's thought study class of the production team he belonged to and studying the brilliant thought of Chairman Mao, he came to realize that when he talked about legal "self-interest," it was because he had been poisoned by China's Khrushchov's theory of "the merger of public interest and self-interest." As a militiaman, if he was vanquished by the reactionary ideas of China's Khrushchov, how could the gun in his hands serve the interests of the proletariat? With this new understanding, he vigorously combated his self-interest at the mass meeting.

Three years ago, commune member Ku Ching had turned over to the collective some waste land he had reclaimed, but later he regretted this. After attending the study class, he came to understand that the reclaiming and keeping of waste land by individuals was the result of the pernicious influence of China's Khrushchov. This cunning scoundrel wanted to use the selfish ideas in people's minds to stealthily open a way for restoring capitalism. In the study class, Ku Ching made a serious self-criticism of his selfish idea of intending to take back the reclaimed land. Speaking with deep feeling, he said: "Only when fighting self-interest and repudiating revisionism are closely combined, can the former be carried out on a high plane and the latter in a thoroughgoing way. Self-interest is the seedbed of revisionism, while revisionism is the evil fruit of self-interest. Without repudiating revisionism, the harm and danger of self-interest cannot be brought to light. Without fighting self-interest, the roots of revisionism cannot be dug up."

In the past, a cowherd of the brigade used to collect firewood while looking after the animals and took home most of what he collected. When others criticized him, he had a good excuse: "This is giving due consideration to both public interest and self-interest!" After studying the "three constantly read articles," however, he thought: A kettle can't hold two different kinds of water and a person can't have two different minds. Like fire and water, public interest and self-interest exclude each other. To hell with the theory of "the merger of public interest and self-interest"! So he

voluntarily turned over to the production team the firewood he had collected.

Be Wholehearted Servants of the People

The main cadres of the Party branch and the militia battalion of the Huangshandong Production Brigade are organizers and leaders of the Mao Tse-tung's thought study classes and at the same time models in creatively studying and applying Mao Tse-tung's thought and implementing Chairman Mao's latest instructions. Following Chairman Mao's teaching to "serve the people wholeheartedly and never for a moment divorce ourselves from the masses," they serve the people zealously and maintain close links with the masses. They regard the propagating of Mao Tse-tung's thought and Chairman Mao's latest instructions as the most important of their tasks in serving the people and maintaining contact with the masses.

Since being elected a standing committee member of the Kwangtung Provincial Revolutionary Committee and vice-chairman of the Huiyang Administrative Regional Revolutionary Committee, Tien Hua-kwei, secretary of the Party branch and political instructor of the militia battalion, is paying still greater attention to keeping close contact with the masses and is being ever mindful not to divorce himself from the masses for a single instant.

When he went for the first time to Kwangchow, the provincial capital, to attend a meeting called by the provincial revolutionary committee, he returned home as soon as the meeting was over. Heedless of fatigue after travelling the 150 kilometres from Kwangchow to Huangshandong, he put down his luggage and went straight to the families of the poor and lower-middle peasants, visiting them one after another, propagating Chairman Mao's latest instructions and relaying the events of the meeting till late at night. Early next morning, braving rain, and barefoot, he joined the commune members in making ridges in the fields. Out of good intentions, some people exhorted him: "Hua-kwei, you are very busy. Better do your office work first, we will do all the farmwork." Tien Hua-kwei said: "You may do all the farmwork, but you can't revolutionize the thinking of the cadres on their behalf."

In the Dingkang Production Team the class struggle was quite acute and work there lagged behind. Bearing in mind Chairman Mao's teaching that "a good comrade is one who is more eager to go where the difficulties are greater," Tien Hua-kwei made his way to that team to rouse the masses there, and get the Mao Tse-tung's thought study classes going in a big way, and so strengthen political morale and generate drive and enthusiasm in production. This greatly improved relations between the cadres and the masses and production went ahead vigorously.

Last February, Li Ching, leader of the militia battalion, decided to go to the most remote production team to set up Mao Tse-tung's thought study classes and propagate and implement Chairman Mao's latest instructions. Ignoring the mountains and long distances to be travelled and working day and night, he

visited every one of the families scattered over the area of the team and carried out propaganda work. With Li Ching thus taking the lead, the study classes are being run better and better and have achieved notable results.

Always Following Chairman Mao in Making Revolution

The Huangshandong brigade cadres pay keen attention to class education in the Mao Tse-tung's thought study classes. Guided by Chairman Mao's teaching that "the aim of every revolutionary struggle in the world is the seizure and consolidation of political power," they recalled the sufferings of the working people due to class and national oppression in contrast with today's happiness after they have been liberated and become masters of their own country; they used Chairman Mao's great revolutionary practice in caring for, going deep into and keeping close links with the masses to check up on their own attitude towards the masses and the mass movement; they recalled the bitterness of persecution by the bourgeois reactionary line in contrast with the good brought by Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line. On this basis, they unfolded a campaign of revolutionary mass criticism and repudiation, mercilessly denounced the bourgeois reactionary line of China's Khrushchov and laid bare his schemes to usurp the leadership of the Party and the state. This was a profound education for the broad masses of cadres and they unanimously expressed their determination to follow Chairman Mao in making revolution all their lives.

Chang Yen-chuan, a production team leader, had been misled by China's Khrushchov and wrongly thought he was "losing something" by being a cadre. In the Mao Tse-tung's thought study class, by recalling the past in contrast with the present, he raised his level of class consciousness. The untold sufferings of the working class and the hatred of the people for the foreign aggressors were brought back fresh to his mind: His family had been farmhands for generations. When he was 13, one after the other his parents died of poverty and disease. They couldn't afford to buy a coffin when his father died, there was no choice but to sell his four-year-old younger brother. Later two of his elder brothers and a younger sister were sold. . . . After liberation, he became a master of the state and the Party trained him, a hired labourer, into a Communist. These living facts enabled him to realize that political power was the very life-blood of the poor and lower-middle peasants. With political power, the people have everything. Losing political power, the people lose everything. The poor and lower-middle peasants must wield political power in the countryside. To refrain from being a cadre was simply playing into the hands of China's Khrushchov in his intrigues and plots to restore capitalism. Following this realization, he rid himself of selfish considerations and courageously shouldered the task of leading his team. By keeping close contact with the masses and mobilizing them boldly, he brought a lively and vigorous atmosphere to the team in both revolution and production.

ACROSS THE LAND

New Successes on the Coal Front

THE great leader Chairman Mao and his close comrade-in-arms Vice-Chairman Lin Piao twice received the participants of the national conference for grasping revolution and promoting production in the coal industry. This has been a big inspiration and encouragement to the collieries in bringing about a brisk, excellent situation in the mines.

Led by the revolutionary committees at various levels and with the help of the People's Liberation Army men supporting the Left, revolutionary mass criticism and repudiation in the coalfields is surging ahead. Mao Tse-tung's thought study classes of all types are being run more and more successfully and the enthusiasm of the revolutionary workers and staff members in the creative study and application of Chairman Mao's works has reached a new high. Revolution promotes production. Average daily output in the nation's major coalfields increased by more than 10 per cent in June compared with May and continued to increase in the first ten days of July. Particularly on July 1, the day after Chairman Mao's second reception of the representatives of coalmine workers and staff, many collieries set up their highest output records since 1960. On that day revolutionary workers and staff did their best in celebration of the Communist Party's birthday and to show their gratitude for Chairman Mao's concern for them. Average daily output of the major coalfields that day surpassed the state plan by more than 20 per cent.

Widespread popularization of Mao Tse-tung's thought has further stimulated the miners' enthusiasm in revolution and production. The Fengfeng, Chingsing, Penki, Tsao-chuang and other collieries have not only overfulfilled their coal output plans for the first half of the year, but also overfulfilled ahead of time the state plans for development and tunnel driving, thus creating favour-

able conditions for a future increase in output.

Excellent Situation in Water Transport

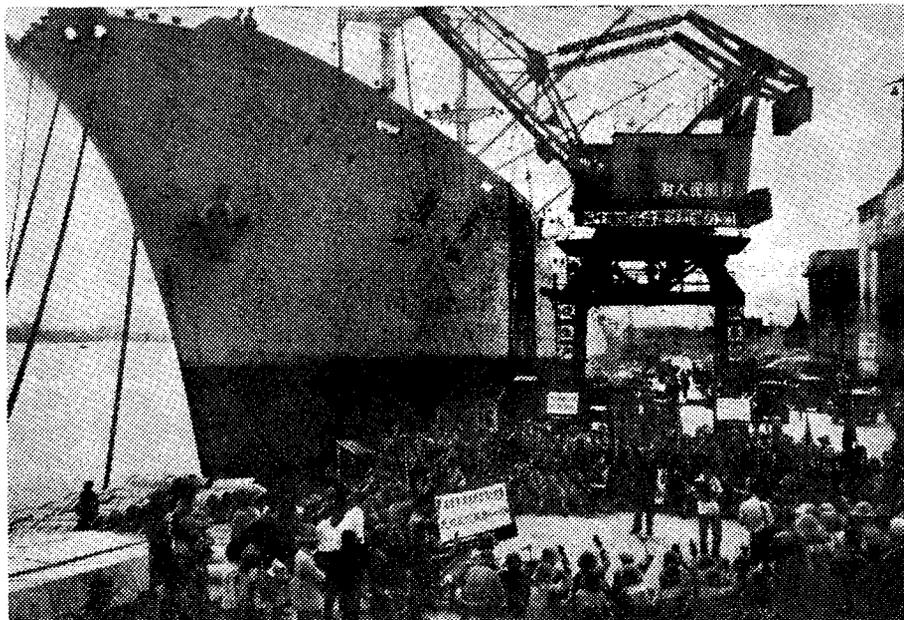
REVOLUTIONARY workers and staff in China's coastal and inland ports and on water transport routes have brought about a new upsurge in grasping revolution and promoting production. A dynamic situation prevails in revolution as well as transport and production in many units. In water transport, the situation is excellent in both revolution and production.

After the national railways and transport conference in May, the revolutionary workers and staff in water transport have been closely following Chairman Mao's great strategic plan and making great efforts to grasp revolution and promote production. Coastal and Yangtse River freight traffic has increased month by month. It rose by more than 10 per cent in May compared with April, and in June showed a 7.5 per cent increase over May. Cargoes handled by the major seaports showed big increases in May,

and they went up by 8 per cent again in June. The June plan for handling cargo was overfulfilled ahead of time. The Shanghai and Kwangchow Maritime Transport Bureaus, and the ports of Shanghai, Tsingtao, Talien, Chinwangtao, Tientsin, Chanchiang and others all fulfilled their transport and production plans for June ahead of time. The turn-around time for ships in port has been steadily reduced. Tientsin and Yentai ports, the oil section of Talien port and the No. 2 loading and unloading section of Shanghai port all handled more cargo than ever before.

Shanghai dockers in May tackled the hard job of unloading the foreign freighter *Pentas*. In unloading 34,000 tons of goods from this ship the port faced an unusual task. Moreover, this was the ship's first visit to Shanghai and the dockers were not familiar with this type of freighter. By creatively studying and applying Chairman Mao's writings and working both hard and skilfully, the dockers got its whole cargo off in a little over three days. This set a new record for unloading cargo in the port of Shanghai.

Tremendous victories for Mao Tse-tung's thought have been gained on all the routes of China's coastal and inland water transport systems.



Before the start of work, revolutionary workers and staff of the No. 5 Stevedores' Team of the Third Section in Shanghai port hold a meeting for revolutionary mass criticism to carry on the fierce attack against the handful of class enemies.

ROUND THE WORLD

ANTI-U.S. STRUGGLE IN LEBANON

Beirut Masses Stone Ball

On taking up his new post, George Ball, formerly U.S. Under-Secretary of State and recently appointed by the Johnson Administration as U.S. chief delegate to the United Nations, travelled first of all to the Middle East to step up the counter-revolutionary dual tactics of the United States in that region. These dual tactics consist of vigorous military aid to the Israeli Zionists to put down the Arab national-liberation movement and the armed struggle of the Palestinian people, and of pressing on with that U.S. political hoax, the so-called "political solution" designed to cajole and coerce the Arab countries into relinquishing their territory and sovereign rights and surrendering to the U.S.-Israeli aggressors.

Junketing around the Middle East, Ball arrived in Beirut, capital of the Lebanon, on July 17. The moment he stepped off his plane, he was given a bad fright by a mass of demonstrators at the airport. Ball scampered into the VIP lounge as the demonstrators, holding placards inscribed with slogans — "Freedom by force is the only solution for Palestine!" "No peace talks with Zionists!" "The Arab nation will never forget U.S. support for Israel!" — indignantly shouted: "U.S. imperialism is the enemy of the Arab people!" "Ball, go home!" and other slogans denouncing U.S. imperialism, the U.N. resolution and the so-called "peace" formula. The demonstrators soon gathered in force. Ball & Co. then hurriedly slipped out of the lounge and jumped into a U.S. embassy car and made for the U.S. Embassy. The enraged crowds threw stones and bottles at the car, smashing the windows and injuring both of Ball's hands.

Prior to his visit to Beirut, Ball journeyed to Tel Aviv on July 14, and there he took up the question of further U.S. military aid with the Israeli reactionary authorities.

Though staying in Israel for only two days, Ball, accompanied by Israeli military and government officials, made a point of "investigating" the Golan Heights, siezed from Syria in the aggressive war launched by the United States and Israel in June last year, and the "military strongholds" south of Lake Tiberias. These activities by Ball show that the United States and Israel are making further military moves against the Arab countries and to suppress the people of Palestine.

Apart from discussing new military measures, Ball and the reactionary Israeli authorities devoted much of their time to finding ways to step up the "political solution" fraud. To Levi Eshkol, premier of the reactionary Israeli regime, Ball handed a "private letter" from U.S. President Johnson, which reiterated the U.S. "5-point plan" for settling the Middle East question. A spokesman of the foreign ministry of the Israeli reactionary regime announced on July 15 that Ball and the Israeli side had, in their talks, expressed support for U.N. "special envoy" Gunnar Jarring's mission of seeking a "political solution."

Whatever the tactics, whether they be military suppression or "political solution," the Arab people have come to see the real nature of U.S. imperialism's counter-revolutionary dual tactics. The injuries inflicted on Ball's hands at Beirut airport by the Arab people speak eloquently of this. This event foretells the inevitable failure that awaits the U.S. imperialist policy of aggression and interference in the Middle East.

JAPANESE UPPER HOUSE

Curtain Falls on Election Farce

The curtain has fallen on the farce of "electing" councillors to the Upper House of the Japanese Diet, held once every three years. The elections, which came to an end on July 9, took place at a time when the pro-U.S. Sato government was faced with

increasing difficulties in its internal and external policies and when the class contradictions and the class struggle in Japan had sharpened as never before.

Prior to the elections, the Japanese people had been waging massive struggles beginning on June 23 against the Japan-U.S. "security treaty," the military bases of the U.S. occupation forces in Japan, the revival of Japanese militarism and the anti-China policy of the Sato government. These struggles served as effective exposures of its crimes of toadying to U.S. imperialism and dealt a heavy blow to the policies of war and aggression of the U.S. and Japanese reactionaries.

In the elections, the Sato government, in order to maintain its reactionary rule, cracked down savagely on the patriotic movement of the Japanese people against U.S. imperialism. It called out thousands of armed police to beat up and arrest patriotic workers, youth and students and resorted to every trick to gag public opinion and rig the elections.

Unnerved by the surging development of this anti-U.S. movement, U.S. imperialism at the same time tried in vain to mollify anti-U.S. feeling by some crude gestures. It put on a show of "returning" the Ogasawara Islands to Japan before the election to help the Sato government to sway the voters.

While employing brute force and lying tactics against the Japanese people, the U.S. and Japanese reactionaries used the Miyamoto revisionist clique in the Japanese Communist Party to undermine the people's struggle. The Miyamoto clique did everything it could to make itself useful to the U.S. and Japanese reactionaries through the capitalist-controlled radio and television. While prettifying U.S. imperialism, it venomously attacked the Japanese people's patriotic anti-U.S. struggle. It brazenly advocated a so-called "lawful" way of "abrogating" the Japan-U.S. "security treaty" through serving "notice" on the U.S. Government. The Miyamoto revisionists claimed that this represented "a non-radical and the most realistic road to attain

independence." Miyamoto himself came out openly and slavishly to reassure the U.S. and Japanese reactionaries that "the Japanese communists (Miyamoto revisionist clique) will never carry out violent revolution."

But whatever criminal moves the U.S. and Japanese reactionaries and the Miyamoto revisionist clique may make, they can never halt the increasingly awakened Japanese people in their march forward. In Japan today, the people are pushing their patriotic struggle against U.S. imperialism to a new height.

Workers' and Student Movements: News Briefs

India

Six hundred thousand government employees in the states of Madhya Pradesh and Bihar went on strike in the first half of July to press their demands for higher wages and better living conditions. Apart from junior clerks, these government employees include sweepers, cleaners, nurses

and other people working in courts, hospitals and other establishments. They are always oppressed, insulted and looked down upon by the reactionary bureaucrats. Their working hours are long and their working conditions awful. They get the lowest pay in government organizations. At the end of 1966 government employees in 20 cities covering nine states took part in strikes under the slogan: "Overthrow the reactionary Congress government!"

Thailand

Following the demonstration by thousands of Bangkok students on June 21 against the U.S. imperialist aggression in Vietnam and the traitorous Thanom clique's participation in it as U.S. imperialism's accomplice, thousands of students of the University of Law and Political Science held campus demonstrations and rallies on July 11 and 12 to protest against the irrational educational system and demand the setting up of a "university students' association." The recent wave of struggles waged by the students in Thailand has frightened the Thanom clique. Speaking to the press on July 15,

puppet police chief Prasert admitted that he was much worried that the struggle of the students might set "an example for the people" and bring about mass struggles on a broader scale. The Defence Ministry of the Thai puppets recently issued a notice cancelling all army leave and ordering the military to be on the alert.

Turkey

Another anti-U.S. demonstration broke out in Ankara on July 18. Angry slogan-shouting demonstrators on the streets of the capital threw ink and rotten eggs at U.S. officials and stoned the windows of American offices set up there for aggressive purposes. This new outburst was touched off by the arrival of vessels of the U.S. 6th Fleet at the major port of Istanbul on July 15. For several days demonstrations took place in Istanbul and Ankara to protest against the "visit" to Turkey by the U.S. warships. Angry Turks also beat up American sailors on shore leave. Thirty-five American sailors were injured, and the U.S. authorities were compelled to hastily announce a "restriction of shore leave."

(Continued from p. 15.)

government may put up, it can only represent the interests of the monopoly capitalist class. To do away with oppression and exploitation, the labouring people must stand up staunchly and engage in a tit-for-tat struggle against the criminal capitalist system and the reactionary rule of the monopoly capitalist class. This is just what happened—more and more workers, peasants and revolutionary intellectuals arose and took action, plunging into the torrent of the revolutionary struggle.

Excellent Situation for Struggle

Faced with the daily expanding powerful people's movement, the petrified reactionary Italian authorities hurriedly resorted to every measure of suppression. The Italian revisionist clique also did its utmost to work together with them in intensifying its traitorous activities and in attempting to put down the raging flames of the people's revolutionary struggle. Nevertheless, all their efforts were futile.

Our great teacher Chairman Mao has said: "How-
ever much the reactionaries try to hold back the wheel of history, sooner or later revolution will take place and will inevitably triumph."

The world has now entered a great revolutionary epoch. The people's revolutionary struggle is developing fiercely in Asia, Africa and Latin America. In Europe and North America, the people's movement is also rising vigorously. Under circumstances in which the whole capitalist world is in steadily deepening political and economic crises, the Italian political situation has been unstable for a long time, the economy is rapidly growing worse and the reactionary rule of the monopoly capitalist class is becoming more and more shaky. The situation in the Italian people's revolutionary struggle is excellent.

Inheritors of the glorious tradition of anti-fascist struggle, the Italian people are today experiencing a new awakening. Neither savage suppression by the reactionary Italian authorities, nor traitorous activities of the Italian revisionist clique can stem the advance of the Italian people's revolutionary struggle. The broad masses of workers, peasants and revolutionary intellectuals will strengthen their unity, persevere in struggle and launch sustained and violent attack on the reactionary rule of the Italian monopoly capitalist class. No matter how much the struggle may rise and fall, and how many twists and turns may be on the road ahead, Italy's future belongs to the Italian people.

(Continued from p. 3.)

leader Chairman Mao, and which has won a decisive victory and is advancing towards all-round victory. He said that the Japanese people must strive for the abolition of the Japan-U.S. "security treaty." At the end of his speech, he shouted: "Long live Chairman Mao, the great leader of the people of the world! A long, long life to him!"

Tatsuo Uenaka, representative of the shipping department of the Japan International Trade Promotion Association, denounced the Sato government for adopting a hostile policy towards China. He said: All those in Japanese trading and shipping circles who cherish Japan-China friendship must adhere to the three political principles governing Japan-China relations and the principle that politics and economics are inseparable, and strive for the normalization of relations between the two countries.

On behalf of the China Ocean Shipping Company and the crew of the *Dongfeng*, Captain Lin Tsu-yi ex-

pressed his thanks to the Japanese friends for their warm assistance and hospitality to Chinese freighters in the last four years.

Staff members of the Tokyo Liaison Office of the China-Japan Memorandum Trade Office also attended the reception.

Protest Sato Government's New Anti-China Crime

The Japan International Trade Promotion Association arranged a get-together on July 20 to celebrate the anniversary. When the crew members of the *Dongfeng*, which was in Yokohama port, received the invitation to join the get-together, they applied three days in advance to the Japanese authorities for permission to go to Tokyo.

At a little past two o'clock on the afternoon of July 20, Japanese friends thronged Hama Rikyu Park in Tokyo, with copies of the treasured revolutionary book *Quotations From Chairman Mao Tse-tung* in their hands, waiting enthusiastically for

the Chinese crew members. At that moment, word came that the Sato government had unwarrantedly obstructed the Chinese crew from coming ashore and attend the Tokyo get-together. With great indignation, the people in the park immediately turned the get-together into a protest rally against the Sato government.

Many Japanese friends spoke at the rally. They all angrily denounced the pro-U.S. reactionary Sato government for committing another unforgivable grave crime of sabotaging friendship and trade between Japan and China.

The Mao Tse-tung thought propaganda team of the revolutionary "Hagurumaza" Theatre of Japan, which attended the rally, performed revolutionary items which expressed great indignation at the U.S.-Japanese reactionaries for sabotaging Japan-China friendship.

After the rally, the people organized themselves and set forth for Yokohama to demonstrate and protest against the Japanese authorities.

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CHAIRMAN
MAO TSE-TUNG

In Albanian, Arabic, Bengali, Burmese, English, French,
German, Hausa, Hindi, Indonesian, Italian, Japanese, Korean,
Lao, Mongolian, Nepalese, Norwegian, Persian, Portuguese,
Russian, Spanish, Swahili, Tamil, Thai, Urdu, Vietnamese
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