

PEKING REVIEW

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A Quotation From Chairman Mao Tse-tung

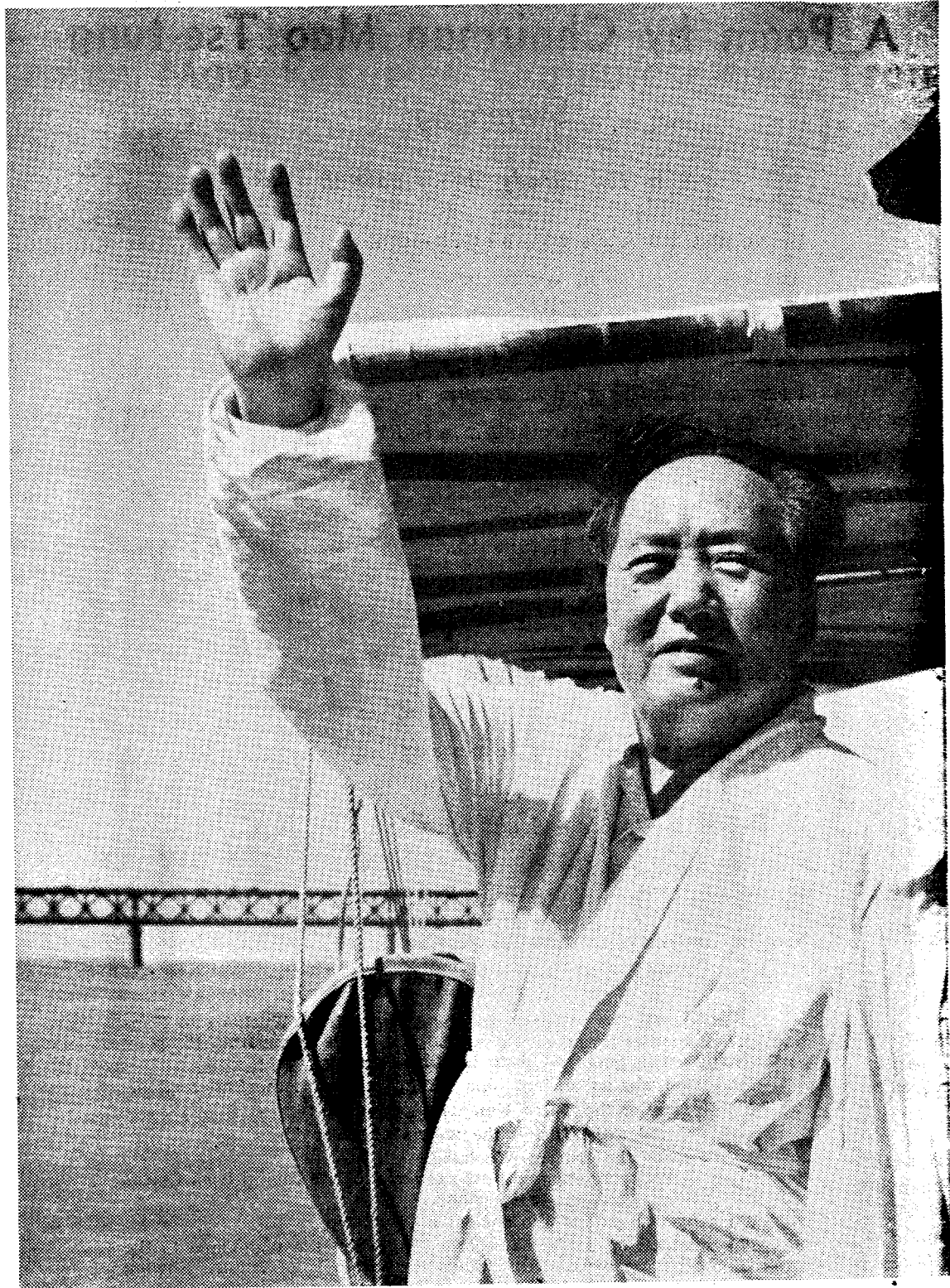
People say that the Yangtse is a very big river, actually bigness is nothing to be afraid of. Is not U.S. imperialism very big? We gave it a rebuff and that was that. So there are some big things in the world that are really not to be feared.

游泳
水調歌頭

才飲長江水，又食武昌魚。
浪聲浩大，橫渡極目，天
際不絕。風吹浪打，後
浪催前浪，勢如萬馬奔
川。在江上，白起若如
龍，風播動，動如雷也。
靜故宏闊，一橋飛架，
南北天堑，變通途，交
立西江石壁，截斷巫山
雲雨，高峽出平湖。神女
應無恙，青鬢綠髮，世
界如畫。

一九五六年七月
毛澤東

A reproduction of the original manuscript of Chairman Mao's poem *Swimming* (see translation on p.4)



Chairman Mao, our most respected and beloved great leader, had a good swim in the Yangtse River, braving the wind and waves on July 16 last year. It left an indelible, happy memory in our minds and greatly inspired the people throughout China and the world to go forward courageously in the storms of class struggle.

A Poem by Chairman Mao Tse-tung

Swimming¹

— to the melody *Shui Tiao Keh Tou*²

I have just drunk the waters of Changsha,
And eaten the fish of Wuchang;³
Now I am crossing the thousand-mile long river,
Looking afar to the open sky of Chu.⁴
I care not that the wind blows and the waves beat:
It is better than idly strolling in a courtyard.
Today I am free!
It was on a river that the Master said:
"Thus is the whole of Nature flowing!"⁵
Masts move in the swell;
Tortoise and Snake are still.⁶
Great plans are being made;
A bridge will fly to join the north and south,
A deep chasm become a thoroughfare;
Walls of stone will stand upstream to the west⁷
To hold back Wushan's clouds and rain,⁸
And the narrow gorges will rise to a level lake.
The mountain goddess, if she still is there,
Will be startled to find her world so changed.

¹ In May 1956, the author swam the Yangtse from Wuchang to Hankow. That summer he swam it a second and a third time from Hanyang to Wuchang. This poem refers to his first crossing.

² *Shui Tiao* was an ancient tune. *Keh Tou* means the first section.

³ A folk song of the Three Kingdoms period ran:

We would rather drink the waters of Chienyeh

Than eat the fish of Wuchang.

The people of Wu were opposed to the removal of the capital from Chienyeh, present-day Nanking, to Wuchang.

⁴ Wuchang was part of the ancient land of Chu.

⁵ *The Analects of Confucius* records that when the sage came to the bank of a river he exclaimed: "Thus is the whole of Nature flowing ceaselessly day and night!"

⁶ The Tortoise Hill at Hanyang and the Snake Hill at Wuchang face each other across the Yangtse. The Yangtse Bridge is constructed between these two hills.

⁷ Referring to a dam to be built further upstream.

⁸ A famous mountain in the Yangtse Gorges. Legend has it that the goddess of this mountain controls the clouds and the rain.

Chairman Mao Receives Congolese (B) Trainees



Chairman Mao, our most respected and beloved great leader and the red sun in the hearts of the revolutionary people throughout the world, with the Congolese (B) trainees.

Chairman Mao, our most respected and beloved great leader and the red sun in the hearts of the revolutionary people throughout the world, on the afternoon of July 11 received the Congolese (Brazzaville) trainees who had finished their studies in China and would soon be leaving for home.

The happy moment which these Congolese friends had been awaiting for days and nights finally arrived at a little after 5 o'clock that afternoon when Chairman Mao came into the reception hall and had a cordial meeting with them. As Chairman Mao entered, the hall became astir.

Waving their copies of the red-covered *Quotations From Chairman Mao Tse-tung*, the Congolese friends shouted with great feeling "Long live Chairman Mao" over and over again.

Chairman Mao applauded and cordially greeted the smiling Congolese friends, and posed for a picture with them. He warmly shook hands with all the Congolese friends. They gathered around him and sang *Sailing the Seas Depends on the Helmsman*.

Premier Chou En-lai and Vice-Premier Chen Yi were among those comrades present.

The trainees who were received were Ockyiemba Pascal Theodore, Boussoukou Jhoseph, M'Bemba Bernard, Kounkou Simon, Mianboula Roger, Massamba Jean-Baptiste, Ossibi Adolphe, Bayenika Albert, Mabonzo Louis, Baghana Georges, Bihemi Clement, N'Goyot Albert, Makouaya Bernard, Boulou Medard, Elenga Andre, N'Goma Guy Charles, Ibara Lambert, Koubemba Romain, Mme. Kouka nee Madami Angele, Koumba Simone, Ikissiba David, Massamba Albert and Bahonda Jean.

Congolese (B) Ambassador to China Apollinaire Bazinga was also present.

Nation Marks Chairman Mao's Swim In the Yangtse

On July 16 last year Chairman Mao, our most respected and beloved great leader, swam in the Yangtse River. With boundless love and respect for the great leader, the masses of proletarian revolutionaries, young Red Guard fighters, workers, peasants and soldiers enthusiastically celebrated the anniversary by meetings and mass swimming in rivers and lakes all over the country, where red flags fluttered and songs filled the air. With great feeling they pledged: Chairman Mao! We will give play to the fearless revolutionary spirit and continue to advance valiantly in the teeth of storms along the revolutionary route you have opened, and carry the great proletarian cultural revolution through to the end!

On a scale unknown before, more than 50,000 Red Guards, militiamen, revolutionary workers, teachers and cadres in government offices in Peking swam across Lake Kunming in the suburbs and Lake Houhai in the city itself. Young Red Guard fighters, who had steeled themselves and matured in the storms of the great proletarian cultural revolution, formed the advance contingent in the cross-lake swims. We have swallowed a few mouthfuls, they said, since we learnt to swim in the ocean of the unprecedented, great proletarian cultural revolution just as we inevitably do when we learn to swim in the rivers and lakes. But, under the guidance of the great thought of Mao Tse-tung, we shall learn how to swim through swimming and how to struggle through struggle. We will for ever follow Chairman Mao and advance in the teeth of storms.

In Shanghai, the masses of proletarian revolutionaries and commanders and fighters of the People's Liberation Army units stationed there took part in mass swims in the Yangtse on four occasions recently. Proletarian revolutionaries and revolutionary workers in Harbin or-

ganized mass swims in the Sungari River on July 16 for distances of 15 kilometres and 3,000 metres. In Tsinan, Shantung Province, more than 10,000 commanders and fighters of the P.L.A. and revolutionary people swam across the Yellow River and held a celebration meeting on the river bank. In Tsingtao, over 100,000 people, consisting of proletarian revolutionaries, revolutionary masses and commanders and fighters of the P.L.A. units stationed there, had a celebration rally at Dongfang-

hong Beach. More than 20,000 formed a large contingent and successfully swam across Huiquan Bay. In Wuhan, Changsha, Foochow, Hangchow, Kunming and other places, similar swimming activities also took place.

Over the past several days, commanders and fighters of various P.L.A. units held meetings and organized swimming activities to commemorate the first anniversary of Chairman Mao's swim in the Yangtse.

President Ho Chi Minh Thanks Chairman Mao for Condolences on Death of Nguyen Chi Thanh

Chairman Mao, Vice-Chairman Lin Piao and Premier Chou En-lai have received President Ho Chi Minh's July 10 message of thanks for their condolences on the death of Comrade Nguyen Chi Thanh, Member of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Vietnam Workers' Party, Member of the Secretariat of the Party's Central Committee, Member of the National Defence Council of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam and General of the Vietnam People's Army. The message said:

"I sincerely thank you for your message of deep condolences on the death of Comrade Nguyen Chi Thanh, Member of the Political Bureau of our Party's Central Committee.

"Comrade Nguyen Chi Thanh was a fine communist fighter of the Vietnam Workers' Party.

"In memory of Comrade Nguyen Chi Thanh, we shall work hard to accomplish the revolutionary tasks he left unfinished."

The Central Committee of the Vietnam Workers' Party and the

Military Commission of the Party's Central Committee also sent a message on the same day to the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party and the Military Commission of the Party's Central Committee, expressing their sincere thanks.

Malian President Keita Congratulates China on First H-Bomb Explosion

Premier Chou En-lai has received a letter from Modibo Keita, President of the Republic of Mali, warmly greeting China's success in exploding its first hydrogen bomb. The letter reads:

It is with joy and pride that the entire people of Mali learnt of the successful test of the first hydrogen bomb of the People's Republic of China.

I am glad, in the name of the men and women fighters of the Sudanese Union Party, in the name of our Government and in my own name, to ask you to convey our most heartfelt and warmest congratulations to the great fraternal people of China, members of the Chinese Communist Party, the Chinese Government, commanders and fighters of the Chinese People's Liberation Army, and Chinese scientists, engineers and nu-

clear researchers, greeting you on this brilliant achievement after previous successes.

Concretely applying the creative thought of esteemed Chairman Mao Tse-tung, the Chinese people show with remarkable results that, by relying on their own efforts, they have finally mastered atomic energy in an unprecedentedly short period of time.

This new leap is a great encouragement to the fraternal Chinese people who are making noble efforts to attain socialist modern agriculture, industry, culture and national defence.

This is also a great encouragement to the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America in their struggle for national liberation and economic and industrial progress.

Finally, it is a telling blow at nuclear monopoly and nuclear blackmail, compelling the imperialist aggressors to think it over.

Also, our attention is particularly drawn to the renewed promise in the communique announcing this successful test that the People's Republic of China will not be the first to use nuclear weapon.

Just as on the occasion of your previous nuclear test, we hail China's thermo-nuclear bomb as a sure guarantee for the defence of world peace and respect for the rights of the peoples.

We wish all the revolutionary forces of China, who are armed with the thought of the great teacher Chairman Mao Tse-tung and are engaged in the victorious, great proletarian cultural revolution, still more brilliant achievements in the years to come.

May the militant friendship and fraternal solidarity formed between the people of our two countries in their common struggle to build a new world be strengthened day by day.

Red Guard Delegation Returns From Albania

The Chinese Red Guard delegation led by Comrade Yao Wen-yuan returned to Peking on July 12 after attending the 5th Congress of the Al-

banian Union of Working Youth and visiting Albania from June 21 to July 10. It brought back the infinite love and respect of the Albanian people and youth for Chairman Mao, the red sun in the hearts of the world's revolutionary people, and their profound revolutionary friendship.

Chou En-lai, Chen Po-ta, Kang Sheng, Liu Ning-I, Chiang Ching, Hsiao Hua, Yang Cheng-wu, Chang Chun-chiao, Kuan Feng, Chi Pen-yu, Chao Yi-min, Yeh Chun and Wang Tung-hsing were among the leading comrades of the Party's Central Committee and of the departments concerned who were at the airport to greet the delegation.

Vasil Nathanaili, Albanian Ambassador to China who was also at the airport, warmly shook hands with Comrade Yao Wen-yuan and thanked the delegation for its friendly visit to Albania. "Your visit was a great inspiration to the people and youth of Albania," the Ambassador said. In reply, Yao Wen-yuan expressed his thanks to the people and youth of Albania for their warm reception of the delegation. He said: "This visit has strengthened the militant friendship between the peoples and youth of China and Albania. We learnt a lot from heroic Albania. We will convey this valuable experience to the people and youth of China."

It was the first time that a Chinese Red Guard delegation had gone abroad since China's great proletarian cultural revolution got vigorously under way. The visit has added a new page to the annals of friendship between the peoples and youth of China and Albania.

Wherever they went, the Red Guards received a rousing welcome. Loud cheers of "Enver-Mao Tse-tung!" and "Long live the Red Guards!" greeted them everywhere.

During the 5th Congress, delegates surrounded their Chinese guests during breaks, chatting amicably and having photos taken with them. They asked the Red Guards for Chairman Mao badges, requested them to write down quotations from Chairman Mao and got them translated into Albanian so that they could study them.

Many Albanian workers, peasants, fighters and students wrote down moving statements in the Red Guards' notebooks. A group of frontier guard commanders and fighters wrote: "Albania's youth have tremendous love for your beloved leader and helmsman, the outstanding Marxist-Leninist Mao Tse-tung, and his close comrade-in-arms Lin Piao, both of whom are leading China's great proletarian cultural revolution." And, "May you, the Chinese Red Guards, carry China's great proletarian revolution through to the end. We wish Comrade Mao Tse-tung good health and a long life, and may he live as long as the mountains in Albania!"

During their visit, the Red Guards saw everywhere the infinite love, respect and admiration of the Albanian people and youth for the great leader Chairman Mao and heard their high praise for the invincible thought of Mao Tse-tung.

For the Albanian comrades, the most treasured gifts they received were shining Chairman Mao badges and silk brocade portraits and photos of him. Having obtained Chairman Mao badges, some of them pinned them on immediately, hugged the Red Guards tightly and shouted: "Long live Chairman Mao!"

The morning of July 8 was unforgettable for the delegation. Comrade Enver Hoxha, the respected and beloved great leader of the Albanian people and close friend of the Chinese people, received the young Red Guards sent by Chairman Mao. (See *Peking Review*, No. 29.)

A great rally was held that afternoon by the youth of Tirana in their honour. Comrades Agim Mero, First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Albanian Union of Working Youth, and Yao Wen-yuan spoke at the rally.

Comrade Mero said that no matter what might come and whatever the circumstances, Albania's youth would uphold their militant friendship with their Chinese comrades-in-arms. He also said that the warm reception given to the delegation "has

(Continued on p. 39.)

Always Follow Chairman Mao and Advance Amid Great Storms

ON July 16 last year, braving winds and waves, our most respected and beloved great leader Chairman Mao had a good swim in the Yangtse River. This left us with an unforgettable and happy memory. It greatly encouraged the people of China and of the whole world to advance courageously in the teeth of the great storms and waves of the class struggle.

Chairman Mao teaches us: **"Even great storms are not to be feared. It is amid great storms that human society progresses."** **"The Yangtse is deep and its currents are swift. This can help steel one's body and will."** The torrent of the great proletarian cultural revolution surges forward like the 10,000-li long Yangtse River. It is a mighty force driving the "ship of history" forward, and the best school for training hundreds of millions of new people in the spirit of communism.

"People say that the Yangtse is a very big river, actually bigness is nothing to be afraid of. Is not U.S. imperialism very big? We gave it a rebuff and that was that. So there are some big things in the world that are really not to be feared." It is precisely in accordance with this great teaching of Chairman Mao's that millions upon millions of young revolutionary fighters have given full play to their dauntless revolutionary spirit. Fighting shoulder to shoulder with the worker, peasant and soldier masses, they have relentlessly criticized and repudiated the bourgeois reactionary line, vigorously rebelled against the handful of Party people in authority taking the capitalist road, and exposed and overthrown the Khrushchov of China. In this they have made immortal contributions to the great proletarian cultural revolution. At the same time, in this revolutionary tempest they are remoulding their own ideology and developing their revolutionary qualities.

As early as last August, the Decision of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party Concerning the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, drawn up under Chairman Mao's personal guidance, wisely pointed out: **"Large numbers of revolutionary young people, previously unknown, have become courageous and daring pathbreakers. They are vigorous in action and intelligent. Through the media of big-character posters and great debates, they argue things out, expose and criticize thoroughly, and launch resolute attacks on the open and hidden representatives of the bourgeoisie. . . . their general revolutionary orientation has been correct from the beginning."**

The emergence in the thick of struggle of large numbers of these vigorous, courageous and intelligent young revolutionary fighters represents a mighty achievement of the great proletarian cultural revolution. These millions of young revolutionary fighters are valuable assets for our Party and state. They are firm and reliable successors to the revolutionary cause of the proletariat.

Making revolution is not an easy thing. It is difficult for young revolutionary fighters to avoid swallowing mouthfuls of water when learning to swim in the ocean of this great revolution which is without parallel in history. There is nothing strange in their committing mistakes of one kind or another in the course of the struggle, and these mistakes are not hard to rectify. The question is how we should help them learn to swim by swimming and learn to struggle in the course of struggle.

Two entirely different attitudes can be adopted towards their shortcomings and mistakes. One is to proceed from the standpoint of the people and enthusiastically give them help, **"help them to unite, to make progress, to press ahead with one heart and one mind, to discard what is backward and develop what is revolutionary."** The other attitude is just the opposite: deal with the young revolutionary fighters in an antagonistic way; grossly exaggerate any shortcoming discovered in them or mistake they might have made and "elevate it to the level of principle"; attack a person for a single fault, without taking other things into account. The first attitude is correct and the second wrong. We must hold fast to the first and oppose the second.

The dialectics of history is inexorable. Having gone through difficult and tortuous struggles, the proletarian revolutionaries will inevitably and completely defeat the bourgeoisie and its representatives. Those people who attack and harm the young revolutionary fighters, who are bent on setting themselves against them, will come to no good end in their attempts to strangle the new-born revolutionary forces and prevent the advance of the wheels of history.

Supporting and protecting proletarian revolutionaries involves an important political principle in the great proletarian cultural revolution. Comrades of the People's Liberation Army, who are supporting the Left and aiding industry and agriculture, exercising military control and helping with military and political

training, and the revolutionary leading cadres should be filled with class feeling and cultivate and foster the younger generation in the great revolution.

But protecting and cherishing our young revolutionary fighters does not mean accommodating them and heaping praise on them in an unprincipled way. It means that proceeding from the long-range interests of the cause of the proletariat and with a high sense of political responsibility, we support and help them and raise their level with Mao Tse-tung's thought. We educate and guide our young revolutionary fighters with the theory, line, principles and policies formulated by Chairman Mao for the great proletarian cultural revolution so that they firmly maintain the general orientation of the struggle.

While carrying out revolution against the handful of Party people in authority taking the capitalist road, young revolutionary fighters must at the same time make revolution against the self-interest in their minds and overcome their own bourgeois and petty-bourgeois ideas. Under the guidance of Mao Tse-tung's thought, they should, in the interests of the people, persist in doing what is right and correct what is wrong, and constantly strive to eliminate self-interest and foster devotion to the public interest and remould their world outlook. Only thus can they rapidly mature politically and temper themselves into staunch proletarian revolutionaries.

Our great leader Chairman Mao places boundless hopes on the revolutionary young people. He says:

"The world is yours, as well as ours, but in the last analysis, it is yours. You young people, full of vigour and vitality, are in the bloom of life, like the sun at eight or nine in the morning. Our hope is placed on you."

Young revolutionary fighters, we must not disappoint Chairman Mao! We must always be loyal to the Party, the people, Chairman Mao and Mao Tse-tung's thought. We must strive to study and apply Chairman Mao's works creatively in the course of the struggle, establish the communist world outlook of whole-hearted devotion to the public interest, serve the workers, peasants and soldiers heart and soul and always remain sons and daughters of the working people. We must continue to carry forward the revolutionary spirit of daring to think, break through, act and rebel and so perform new meritorious deeds in the mass criticism and repudiation of the handful of top Party persons in authority taking the capitalist road, in the struggle to promote the revolutionary great alliance and the revolutionary "three-in-one" combination, and in the work of struggle-criticism-transformation [see footnote on p. 12 — *tr.*] in our own units.

"I care not that the wind blows and the waves beat;

It is better than idly strolling in a courtyard."

Young revolutionary fighters, let us always follow our great leader Chairman Mao and advance in the teeth of great storms and waves!

("Renmin Ribao" editorial, July 16.)

Brezhnev's Renegade Features Revealed More Clearly

by OBSERVER

THE Soviet revisionist renegade group headed by Brezhnev and Kosygin is heading towards ultimate bankruptcy and ruin at a faster pace.

The shameless treachery by this handful of renegades in the recent events in the Middle East has totally discredited them before the world and landed them in a most embarrassing predicament from which they cannot extricate themselves. Their treacherous policy has met with strong opposition from the broad masses of the Soviet people. The strife and rivalry inside this revisionist gang are becoming more bitter and pronounced. Brezhnev and company are having a tougher time and their reactionary hierarchy is growing shakier.

To maintain its reactionary rule, the Soviet revisionist clique is racking its brains and doing everything it can to gloss over its treachery and present itself in a new light.

It has availed itself of every international occasion to indulge in demagoguery with a view to making a bad situation look better. It has lined up a number of followers and issued a seven-nation statement and a seven-nation communique in an effort to patch up its discredited policy of sham anti-imperialism, sham revolution and sham support. It has also directed its pawns, big and small, to cheer and applaud its treacherous policy.

At home, it has used its whole propaganda machine to turn out a fanfare to glorify itself. It has called an assortment of meetings and cooked up resolutions after resolutions in support of itself. In addition, it has summoned scribblers and "public celebrities" in its pay to sing its praises. On the other hand, it cracks down on the Soviet people and exercises a more ruthless fascist dictatorship over them. All this is a profound reflec-

tion of the fear eating away at the hearts of this bunch of renegades.

This was the setting against which Brezhnev delivered his address to the graduates of the Soviet Military Academy on July 5. In it he laboriously tried to defend the treacherous policy of the Soviet revisionist clique with regard to recent events in the Middle East. He pressingly emphasized: "We can say with confidence that in the critical days of the Middle East crisis our actions are correct." Brezhnev personally gave this performance for no other reason than to deceive the people with filthier lies and to suppress the internal quarrels within the ruling clique by means of threats so as to bolster up its position.

However, the heinous crimes committed by the Soviet revisionist clique in the critical days of the Middle East events are incontrovertible, plain facts. How can Brezhnev cover them up? By trying to do so, he has only made the crimes more conspicuous.

Brezhnev tried to make people believe that the policy the Soviet revisionist clique followed with regard to the Middle East events was "to stay the aggressor's hand, to protect the lawful interests of the Arab peoples." The fact is exactly the opposite. On the eve of the outbreak of the war, the Soviet revisionist clique knew quite well that Israel's aggression against the Arab countries was imminent. Yet it resorted to deception to lull the Arab countries and frightened them and restrained them from taking effective self-defence action. After war broke out, the Soviet revisionists stepped up their collaboration with the U.S. imperialists and thus gave the aggressors a free hand. The Soviet revisionists did not restrain the aggressors at all, instead, they aided and abetted them; they did not "stay the aggressor's hand" at all, instead, they tied the hands of the victims of aggression and obstructed the Arab people's resistance against aggression and accomplished what the U.S. and Israeli aggressors could not possibly accomplish.

Brezhnev unabashedly declared that the task of the Soviet revisionist clique lay in "frustrating the plans of imperialism in the Middle East, in helping the Arab states to uphold their freedom and independence." That is an absolute lie. Throughout the Middle East events, there was a steady flow of messages and envoys between the Soviet revisionists and the U.S. imperialists, and dialogues via the "hot line." At the summit talks, the Soviet revisionists revealed their intentions and pledged their loyalty to the U.S. imperialists, thus enthusiastically serving the United States as knaves and accomplices. Was all this for the sake of "frustrating" the plans of imperialism? After the U.S. and Israel unleashed their sudden attack, the Soviet revisionists went back on their word, and, instead of giving any support whatever to the Arab people's war against aggression, ganged up with U.S. imperialism in dishing up "ceasefire resolutions" in the United Nations, served as an international gendarme and compelled the Arab countries to submit to the aggressors. Can this be called "helping" the Arab states?

Brezhnev pretended to condemn Israel by saying that "the aggressor cannot be permitted to derive benefits from his perfidious attack." This is sheer nonsense to deceive people! It was precisely the Soviet revisionists who, together with the U.S. and British imperialists, shielded the Israeli aggressors with the U.N. "ceasefire resolutions," thus enabling Israel to derive benefits from its perfidious attack, and then, by sending U.N. "ceasefire observers," established Israel's occupation of Arab territory as a *fait accompli*. In all the Soviet revisionists' "condemnation" of Israel, there remained only one empty phrase calling for the "withdrawal of Israeli troops" and even this was meant to deceive the Soviet people and the people of the world and to serve the Soviet ruling clique in bargaining with U.S. imperialism. In the final analysis, this is to enable the aggressors to secure a bigger slice of the benefits.

Brezhnev also dwelt at length on the "relations of friendship and co-operation" between the Soviet revisionists and the Arab countries and expressed his "sympathy" for the Arab countries which, he said, "are now passing through a difficult period." Brezhnev was simply shedding crocodile tears! The Arab countries have learnt much from their bitter experience during the Middle East events as to what sort of stuff such "friendship" and "co-operation" are. In ordinary times, the Soviet revisionists talk glibly about "support," but at the "critical moment," they always throw overboard their promises; in ordinary times, they talk about nothing but "friendship," but at the "critical moment," they do not hesitate to commit acts of betrayal; in ordinary times they shake the hands of the oppressed peoples and pat them on the shoulder but no one can tell when they will stab them in the back. The difficulties and humiliation that the Arab countries are now suffering are the result of the Soviet revisionists' betrayal; yet they still have the cheek to talk about "friendship" and "co-operation!"

In carrying out their treacherous policy during the Middle East events, Brezhnev and his gang have betrayed not only the Arab people but also the Soviet people and the people of the whole world. During that time, this handful of renegades have played a role more disgusting and shameless than that of Khrushchov, the father of modern revisionism, in the Caribbean crisis.

In the face of this mass of shocking facts, the people of the world will think over in real earnest: the Soviet revisionist clique of renegades has embarked upon selling out everyone it can, some today and others the following day. How can any people be sure that it will not be their turn next? These renegades have been doing one rotten thing one day and another the next day. What are they not capable of doing? Whoever still harbours illusion towards the Soviet revisionist clique and allows himself to be fooled by its false phenomena, failing to recognize its essence, will one day find himself sold out.

The Soviet people will also give this careful thought: this gang of renegades will never cease pursuing its policy of betrayal. Khrushchov has subjected

the Soviet Union to humiliation and made a mess of it. Now Khrushchov's successors have committed more monstrous deeds than he did and subjected the Soviet Union to greater humiliation. If things are allowed to go on like this, nobody can tell what an awful mess the Soviet Union will be in. This is something the Soviet people will never tolerate.

The people of the countries controlled by the Soviet revisionist clique will also naturally give this careful thought: The Caribbean crisis and the recent Middle East events both serve as a warning; should they allow the faithful followers of the Soviet revisionist clique to link the destiny of their countries up with that of the Soviet revisionists and turn their countries into dependencies, they will wake up one morning to find themselves doubly betrayed. Can anyone be happy to live under such conditions?

Brezhnev, Kosygin and their like are enemies of the Soviet and the world's people, incorrigible renegades and puppet emperors who have sold themselves to the U.S. imperialist overlords. They have staked everything on U.S. imperialism and so they have to go on betraying in order to hang on to their "throne." They show their true colours more clearly every time they commit an act of betrayal. Then they put up some kind of camouflage and go on to commit further betrayals. Brezhnev raved in his speech that his clique "will further implement this line consistently and firmly. An immutable line." That is, this handful of renegades is resolved not to mend its ways. It will go on betraying until its doom.

Chairman Mao teaches us: "It is impossible to persuade the imperialists and the Chinese reactionaries to show kindness of heart and turn from their evil ways. The only course is to organize forces and struggle against them . . . overthrow them." The Soviet revisionist renegade clique headed by Brezhnev and Kosygin can and must be dealt with only in this way.

The reactionary regime of Brezhnev and his kind is sitting on a volcano. The contradictions between the Soviet revisionist ruling clique and the Soviet people are irreconcilable. A power struggle inside this clique is inevitable. With the complete bankruptcy of its policy of betrayal, class contradictions in the Soviet Union will undoubtedly further sharpen. Brezhnev and his gang will intensify the fascist dictatorship at home and become further subservient to U.S. imperialism abroad. They want to use this means to maintain their tottering rule. But this can only be like putting more explosives into the powder keg of Soviet politics, which will explode sooner or later.

People have seen that the Caribbean crisis was a sign-post that indicated the road to doom for the renegade Khrushchov. The recent Middle East events are unmistakable signs showing that the renegades Brezhnev and Kosygin are nearing the end of their days. Brezhnev and Kosygin, like Khrushchov, are nothing but passing clowns on the stage of history. They will be drowned in the current of the people's revolution.

(*"Renmin Ribao," July 16.*)

GREAT CULTURAL REVOLUTION IN PROGRESS

Down With the Peng Chen Counter-Revolutionary Revisionist Clique!

A RALLY to launch the mass campaign for thorough criticism and repudiation of the Peng Chen counter-revolutionary revisionist clique was held on July 13. It was convened by the Peking Municipal Revolutionary Committee.

The rally called upon Peking's revolutionary masses and revolutionary cadres to go into immediate action, keep fast to the general orientation of the struggle as pointed out by Chairman Mao, continue to hold high the banner of revolutionary criticism and repudiation, carry forward the thoroughgoing revolutionary spirit, direct their struggle against the counter-revolutionary revisionist clique within the old Peking Muni-

cipal Party Committee headed by Peng Chen and the handful of top Party persons in authority taking the capitalist road who backed it, bring about a new upsurge in revolutionary mass repudiation on a greater, deeper and more extensive scale, further develop the struggle-repudiation-transformation* in all the different units, and wrest great victory in the great proletarian cultural revolution.

Comrade Chou Ching-fang, Standing Committee member of the Peking Municipal Revolutionary Committee, delivered a speech at the rally. He described the mass repudiation and struggle against the handful of top Party persons in authority taking the capitalist road and the Peng Chen counter-revolutionary revisionist clique as a fundamental measure to oppose and prevent revisionism, a fundamental measure to ensure that China would not change in political colour. It constitutes a major strategic move in which Mao Tse-tung's thought is used to criticize and repudiate revisionist thinking, and Chairman Mao's

proletarian revolutionary line is employed to smash the counter-revolutionary revisionist line advanced by China's Khrushchov. This struggle will surely end with the complete victory of Mao Tse-tung's thought and Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line politically, ideologically, theoretically and organizationally, and with the total bankruptcy of the handful of top Party persons in authority taking the capitalist road and their counter-revolutionary revisionist line. This great victory won by a big country of 700 million people and the staunch bastion of the world's revolutionary people will be an epoch-making event in the international communist movement, a major event affecting the future of the revolutionary people throughout the world.

Chou Ching-fang pointed out that since liberation, the handful of top Party persons in authority taking the capitalist road had made use of the Peng Chen counter-revolutionary revisionist clique to turn Peking into an experimental base to pursue their counter-revolutionary revisionist line in an all-round way. Therefore, repudiation of the counter-revolutionary revisionist line followed by the Peng Chen clique would be a direct repudiation of the handful of top Party persons in authority taking the capitalist road. Mass repudiation and struggle against the Peng Chen clique and its chief backer—the handful of top Party persons in authority taking the capitalist road—means digging out all the “underground bulwarks” and “time bombs” at the side of Chairman Mao and the headquarters of the proletariat. It means eliminating all poisonous effects of counter-revolutionary revisionism. This mass repudiation and struggle directly defends Chairman Mao and the headquarters of the proletariat which he heads, defends the great thought of Mao Tse-tung, defends Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line, and defends the centre of the Chinese revolution and the world revolution. Through this mass repudiation and struggle, we intend to build Peking into a great school of Mao Tse-tung's thought, a model red capital, and to plant the great red banner of Mao Tse-tung's thought over all Peking!

Chou Ching-fang listed the anti-Party, anti-popular crimes of the Peng Chen clique. Protected and backed by the handful of top Party persons in authority taking the capitalist road, this clique waved “red flags” to oppose the red flag. Wearing the cloak of Communists and of Marxism-Leninism, Mao Tse-tung's thought, they took advantage of the Party, government, financial and cultural power which they had usurped in the Peking municipality to pursue an out-and-out counter-revolutionary revisionist line and launch wild, all-out attacks against the Party, socialism

* Struggle-repudiation-transformation means to struggle against and overthrow those persons in authority taking the capitalist road, to criticize and repudiate the reactionary bourgeois academic “authorities” and the ideology of the bourgeoisie and all other exploiting classes, and to transform education, literature and art and all other parts of the superstructure not in correspondence with the socialist economic base. — *Ed.*

and the great thought of Mao Tse-tung in a vain attempt to restore capitalism.

The speech was warmly greeted by audiences, who were in high militant spirit.

Resuming Classes While Making Revolution

IN Peking and Shanghai and in Shantung and Heilungkiang Provinces many universities and colleges have resumed schooling while carrying on with the revolution, others are preparing to follow suit. This marks a new development in the great proletarian cultural revolution in the colleges.

Revolutionary teachers and students unanimously support this move which they consider an important step in the revolutionization of education under the guidance of Mao Tse-tung's thought. They are determined to blaze new trails in this direction.

In the past year and more, the revolutionary students and teachers have played an important role in the cultural revolution. By struggling against the handful of counter-revolutionary revisionists in their own colleges and also going out into society to spread Mao Tse-tung's thought, they have made an invaluable contribution in the struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie, between the socialist road and the capitalist road and between the proletarian revolutionary line represented by Chairman Mao and the bourgeois reactionary line. Now, determined to turn their colleges into great schools of Mao Tse-tung's thought, they are responding with the utmost revolutionary enthusiasm to Chairman Mao's call to “**resume classes while carrying on the revolution.**”

In resuming schooling, they take Chairman Mao's instructions as their programme guide. He said: “**While their [the students'] main task is to study, they should in addition to their studies, learn other things, that is, industrial work, farming and military affairs. They should also criticize the bourgeoisie. The period of schooling should be shortened, education should be revolutionized, and the domination of our schools by bourgeois intellectuals should by no means be allowed to continue.**”

At the present stage, they are linking their studies with criticism and repudiation of the handful of top Party persons in authority taking the capitalist road and the movement for struggle-criticism-transformation in their own schools. They are determined to criticize and repudiate the counter-revolutionary revisionist educational line thoroughly, to smash the old educational system and to revolutionize the principles, content and methods of teaching and studying. They have made up their minds to become pioneers in creating a completely new, proletarian educational system—the first of its kind in the history of mankind.

On July 11, revolutionary students and teachers from more than 50 universities and colleges of Peking held a rally pledging to make the resumption of classes a success. This was attended and addressed by Chen Po-ta, Standing Committee Member of the Political Bureau of the Party's Central Committee and leader of the Cultural Revolution Group Under the Central Committee. It also heard a speech jointly prepared by Peking University, the Peking Aeronautical Engineering Institute, the Peking Geological Institute, the Peking Teachers' University and 11 other higher educational institutions. This stressed that the resumption of classes was an important measure for combining revolutionary mass criticism and repudiation of the handful of top Party persons in authority taking the capitalist road with the task of struggle-criticism-transformation in each specific college, an important guarantee for strengthening students' and teachers' revolutionary spirit, scientific approach and sense of organization and discipline and an effective means of promoting the big alliance of all revolutionary forces and the revolutionary "three-in-one" combination. In resuming classes, they said, first importance would be given to

the study of Mao Tse-tung's thought and to revolutionary mass criticism and repudiation.

The Peking Aeronautical Engineering Institute was the first higher educational institute in the country to resume classes. It began on July 3. Here students and staff have taken mass criticism and repudiation of the handful of top Party persons in authority taking the capitalist road as their main task while resuming some vocational studies. At the same time, they are searching through practice for ways and means to implement Chairman Mao's directive that all students should become acquainted with industrial work, farming and military affairs.

In Shanghai, Tungchi University, the Shanghai Aquatic Products Institute and the Shanghai College of Chinese Medicine resumed schooling on July 10. Other colleges are making active preparations to resume schooling too. Beginning July 5, seven universities and colleges resumed classes in Shantung, while in the northeast, the list includes the Northeastern College of Agriculture and the Heilungkiang Engineering College.

INTERNATIONAL COMMUNIST MOVEMENT

Self-Criticism by the Political Bureau of The Central Committee of the Indonesian Communist Party

(Excerpts)

September 1966

"Indonesian Tribune" published in its January issue (No. 3) the self-criticism adopted by the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Indonesian Communist Party (P.K.I.) in September 1966. The self-criticism is entitled "Build the P.K.I. Along the Marxist-Leninist Line to Lead the People's Democratic Revolution in Indonesia." — Ed.

THE self-criticism says that the disaster which has caused such serious losses to the P.K.I. and the revolutionary movement of the Indonesian people after the outbreak and the defeat of the September 30th Movement has lifted up the curtain which for a long period has hidden the grave weaknesses of the P.K.I.

The Political Bureau is aware that it has the greatest responsibility with regard to the grave weaknesses and mistakes of the Party during the period under

review. Therefore, the Political Bureau is giving serious attention to and highly appreciates all criticisms from cadres and members of the Party given in a Marxist-Leninist spirit, as well as honest criticism from Party sympathizers that have been expressed in different ways. The Political Bureau is resolved to make self-criticism in a Marxist-Leninist way, putting into practice the teaching of Lenin and the example of Comrade Musso in unfolding Marxist-Leninist criticism and self-criticism.

The self-criticism says that under the situation where the most vicious and cruel white terror is being unleashed by the Nasution-Suharto military dictatorship of the Right-wing army generals, it is not easy to make as complete criticism and self-criticism as possible. To meet the urgent necessity, it is necessary to point out the main issues in the ideological, political and organiza-

tional fields, in order to facilitate the study of the weaknesses and mistakes of the Party during the current rectification movement.

With all modesty and sincerity the Political Bureau presents this self-criticism. The Political Bureau expects all members to take an active part in the discussions of the weaknesses and mistakes of the Party leadership, critically analyse them, and do their utmost to improve this self-criticism of the Political Bureau by drawing lessons from their respective experiences, collectively or individually. The Political Bureau expects all members to take firm hold of the principle: "unity — criticism — unity" and "learning from past mistakes to avoid future ones, and curing the sickness to save the patient, in order to achieve the twofold objective of clarity in ideology and unity among comrades." The Political Bureau is convinced that, by holding firmly to this correct principle, every Party member will take part in the movement to study and surmount these weaknesses and mistakes with the determination to rebuild the P.K.I. along the Marxist-Leninist line, to strengthen communist unity and solidarity, to raise the ideological, political and organizational vigilance, and to heighten the fighting spirit in order to win victory.

The Main Weaknesses in the Ideological Field

The serious weaknesses and mistakes of the Party in the period after 1951, the self-criticism says, certainly had as their source the weaknesses in ideological field, too, especially among the Party leadership. Instead of integrating revolutionary theories with the concrete practice of the Indonesian revolution, the Party leadership adopted the road which was divorced from the guidance of the most advanced theories. This experience shows that the P.K.I. had not succeeded as yet in establishing a core of leadership that was composed of proletarian elements, which really had the most correct understanding of Marxism-Leninism, systematic and not fragmentary, practical and not abstract understanding.

During the period after 1951, subjectivism continued to grow, gradually became greater and greater and gave rise to Right opportunism that merged with the influence of modern revisionism in the international communist movement. This was the black line of Right opportunism which became the main feature of the mistakes committed by the P.K.I. in this period. The rise and the development of these weaknesses and errors were caused by the following factors:

First, the tradition of criticism and self-criticism in a Marxist-Leninist way was not developed in the Party, especially among the Party leadership.

The rectification and study movements which from time to time were organized in the Party were not carried out seriously and persistently, their results were not summed up in a good manner, and they were not followed by the appropriate measures in the organi-

zational field. Study movements were aimed more at the rank and file, and never at unfolding criticism and self-criticism among the leadership. Criticism from below far from being carefully listened to, was even suppressed.

Second, the penetration of the bourgeois ideology along two channels, through contacts with the national bourgeoisie when the Party established a united front with them, and through the bourgeoisification of Party cadres, especially the leadership, after the Party obtained certain positions in governmental and semi-governmental institutions. The increasing number of Party cadres who occupied certain positions in governmental and semi-governmental institutions, in the centre and in the regions, created "the rank of bourgeoisified workers" and this constituted "the real channels for reformism." Such a situation did not exist before the August Revolution of 1945.

Third, modern revisionism began to penetrate into our Party when the Fourth Plenary Session of the Central Committee of the Fifth Congress uncritically approved a report which supported the lines of the 20th Congress of the C.P.S.U., and adopted the line of "achieving socialism peacefully through parliamentary means" as the line of the P.K.I. This "peaceful road," one of the characteristics of modern revisionism, was further reaffirmed in the Sixth National Congress of the P.K.I. which approved the following passage in the Party Constitution: "There is a possibility that a people's democratic system as a transitional stage to socialism in Indonesia can be achieved by peaceful means, in parliamentary way. The P.K.I. persistently strives to transform this possibility into a reality." This revisionist line was further emphasized in the Seventh (Extraordinary) National Congress of the P.K.I. and was never corrected, not even when our Party was already aware that since the 20th Congress of the C.P.S.U., the leadership of the C.P.S.U. had been following the road of modern revisionism.

The self-criticism stresses that the experience of the P.K.I. provides the lesson that by criticizing the modern revisionism of the C.P.S.U. leadership alone, it does not mean that the P.K.I. itself will automatically be free from errors of Right opportunism, the same as what the modern revisionists are doing. The experience of the P.K.I. provides the lesson that modern revisionism, the greatest danger in the international communist movement, is also the greatest danger for the P.K.I. For the P.K.I., modern revisionism is not "a latent but not an acute danger," but a concrete danger that has brought great damage to the Party and serious losses for the revolutionary movement of the Indonesian people. Therefore, we must not in any way underestimate the danger of modern revisionism and must wage a resolute and ruthless struggle against it. The firm stand against modern revisionism in all fields can be effectively maintained only when our Party abandons the line of "preserving the friendship with the modern revisionists."

It is a fact that the P.K.I., while criticizing the modern revisionism of the C.P.S.U. leadership, also made revisionist mistakes itself, because it had revised Marxist-Leninist teachings on class struggle, state and revolution. Furthermore, the P.K.I. leadership not only did not wage a struggle in the theoretical field against other "revolutionary" political thoughts which could mislead the proletariat, as Lenin has taught us to do, but had voluntarily given concessions in the theoretical field. The P.K.I. leadership maintained that there was an identity between the three components of Marxism: materialist philosophy, political economy and scientific socialism, and the so-called "three components of Sukarno's teachings." They wanted to make Marxism, which is the ideology of the working class, the property of the whole nation which includes the exploiting classes hostile to the working class.

The Main Errors in the Political Field

The self-criticism says that the mistakes of Right opportunism in the political field which are now under discussion include three problems: (1) the road to people's democracy in Indonesia, (2) the question of state power, and (3) the implementation of the policy of the national united front.

One of the fundamental differences and problems of disputes between Marxism-Leninism and modern revisionism lies precisely in the problem of choosing the road to socialism. Marxism-Leninism teaches that socialism can only be achieved through the road of proletarian revolution and that in the case of colonial or semi-colonial and semi-feudal countries like Indonesia, socialism can only be achieved by first completing the stage of the people's democratic revolution. On the contrary, revisionism dreams of achieving socialism through the "peaceful road."

During the initial years of this period since 1951, our Party had achieved certain results in the political struggle as well as in the building of the Party. One important achievement of this period was the formulation of the main problems of the Indonesian revolution. It was formulated that the present stage of the Indonesian revolution was a new-type bourgeois democratic revolution, whose tasks were to liquidate imperialism and the vestiges of feudalism and to establish a people's democratic system as a transitional stage to socialism. The driving forces of the revolution were the working class, the peasantry and the petty bourgeoisie; the leading force of the revolution was the working class and the principal mass strength of the revolution was the peasantry. It was also formulated that the national bourgeoisie was a wavering force of the revolution who might side with the revolution to certain limits and at certain periods but who, at other times, might betray the revolution. The Party furthermore formulated that the working class, in order to fulfil its obligation as the leader of the revolution, must

forge a revolutionary united front with other revolutionary classes and groups based on worker-peasant alliance and under the leadership of the working class.

However, there was a very important shortcoming which in later days developed into Right opportunism or revisionism, namely that the Party had not yet come to the clearest unity of minds on the principal means and the main form of struggle of the Indonesian revolution.

The Chinese revolution, the self-criticism says, has provided the lesson concerning the main form of struggle of the revolution in colonial or semi-colonial and semi-feudal countries, namely, the people's armed struggle against the armed counter-revolution. In line with the essence of the revolution as an agrarian revolution, then the essence of the people's armed struggle is the armed struggle of the peasants in an agrarian revolution under the leadership of the working class. The practice of the Chinese revolution is first and foremost the application of Marxism-Leninism to the concrete conditions of China. At the same time, it has laid down the general law for the revolutions of the peoples in colonial or semi-colonial and semi-feudal countries.

To achieve its complete victory, it stresses, the Indonesian revolution must also follow the road of the Chinese revolution. This means that 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.

All forms of legal and parliamentary work should serve the principal means and the main form of struggle, and must not in any way impede the process of the ripening of armed struggle.

The experience during the last fifteen years has taught us that starting from the failure to reject the "peaceful road" and to firmly hold to the general law of revolution in colonial or semi-colonial and semi-feudal countries, the P.K.I. gradually got bogged down in parliamentary and other forms of legal struggle. The Party leadership even considered this to be the main form of struggle to achieve the strategic aim of the Indonesian revolution. The legality of the Party was not considered as one method of struggle at a given time and under certain conditions, but was rather regarded as a principle, while other forms of struggle should serve this principle. Even when counter-revolution not only has trampled underfoot the legality of the Party, but has violated the basic human rights of the Communists as well, the Party leadership still tried to defend this "legality" with all their might.

The "peaceful road" was firmly established in the Party when the Fourth Plenary Session of the Central Committee of the Fifth Congress in 1956 adopted a document which approved the modern revisionist line of the 20th Congress of the C.P.S.U. In such a situation, when

the revisionist line was already firmly established in the Party, it was impossible to have a correct Marxist-Leninist line of strategy and tactics. The formulation of the main lines of strategy and tactics of the Party started from a vacillation between the "peaceful road" and the "road of armed revolution," in the process of which the "peaceful road" finally became dominant.

Under such conditions, the General Line of the P.K.I. was formulated by the Sixth National Congress (1959). It reads, "To continue the forging of the national united front, and to continue the building of the Party, so as to accomplish the demands of the August Revolution of 1945." Based on the General Line of the Party, the slogan "raise the Three Banners of the Party" was decided. These were: (1) the banner of the national front, (2) the banner of the building of the Party, and (3) the banner of the 1945 August Revolution. The General Line was meant as the road to people's democracy in Indonesia.

The Party leadership tried to explain that the Three Banners of the Party were the three main weapons to win the people's democratic revolution which, as Comrade Mao Tse-tung has said, were "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."

Thus the second main weapon means that there must be a people's armed struggle against armed counter-revolution under the leadership of the Party. The Party leadership tried to replace this with the slogan "raise the banner of the 1945 August Revolution."

In order to prove that the road followed was not the opportunist "peaceful road," the Party leadership always spoke of the two possibilities, the possibility of a "peaceful road" and the possibility of a non-peaceful road. They held that the better the Party prepared itself to face the possibility of a non-peaceful road, the greater would be the possibility for a "peaceful road." By doing so the Party leadership cultivated in the minds of Party members, the working class and the masses of the working people the hope for a peaceful road which in reality did not exist.

In practice, the Party leadership did not prepare the whole ranks of the Party, the working class and the masses of the people to face the possibility of a non-peaceful road. The most striking proof of it was the grave tragedy which happened after the outbreak and the failure of the September 30th Movement. Within a very short space of time, the counter-revolution succeeded in massacring and arresting hundreds of thousands of Communists and non-communist revolutionaries who found themselves in a passive position, paralyzing the organization of the P.K.I. and the revolutionary mass organizations. Such a situation surely would

never happen if the Party leadership did not deviate from the revolutionary road.

The Party leadership declared, says the self-criticism, that "our Party must not copy the theory of armed struggle abroad, but must carry out the Method of Combining the Three Forms of Struggle: guerrilla warfare in the countryside (especially by farm labourers and poor peasants), revolutionary actions by the workers (especially transport workers) in the cities, and intensive work among the enemy's armed forces." The Party leadership criticized some comrades who, in studying the experience of the armed struggle of the Chinese people, were considered seeing only its similarities with the conditions in Indonesia. On the contrary, the Party leadership put forward several allegedly different conditions that must be taken into account, until they arrived at the conclusion that the method typical to the Indonesian revolution was the "Method of Combining the Three Forms of Struggle."

To fulfil its heavy but great and noble historical mission, to lead the people's revolution against imperialism, feudalism and bureaucrat-capitalism, 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 glorious Chinese 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."

While working for the realization of this most principal question we must also carry out other forms of struggle; armed struggle will never advance without being co-ordinated with other forms of struggle.

* * *

The line of Right opportunism followed by the Party leadership was also reflected in their attitude with regard to the state, in particular to the state of the Republic of Indonesia, the self-criticism says.

Based on this Marxist-Leninist teaching on state, the task of the P.K.I. after the August Revolution of 1945 failed, should have been the education of the Indonesian working class and the rest of the working people, so as to make them understand as clearly as possible the class nature of the state of the Republic of Indonesia as a bourgeois dictatorship. The P.K.I. should have aroused the consciousness of the working class and the working people that their struggle for liberation would inevitably lead to the necessity of "superseding the bourgeois state" by the people's state under the leadership of the working class, through a "violent revolution." But the P.K.I. leadership took the opportunist line that gave rise to the illusion among the people about bourgeois democracy.

The climax of the deviation from Marxist-Leninist teaching on state committed by the Party leadership was the formulation of the "theory of the two aspects in the state power of the Republic of Indonesia."

The "two-aspect theory" viewed the state and the state power in the following way:

"The state power of the Republic, viewed as contradiction, is a contradiction between two opposing aspects. This first aspect is the aspect which represents the interests of the people (manifested by the progressive stands and policies of President Sukarno that are supported by the P.K.I. and other groups of the people). The second aspect is the aspect that represents the enemies of the people (manifested by the stands and policies of the Right-wing forces and die-hards). The people's aspect has now become the main aspect and takes the leading role in the state power of the Republic."

The "two-aspect theory" obviously is an opportunist or revisionist deviation, because it denies the Marxist-Leninist teaching that "the state is an organ of the rule of a definite class which **cannot** be reconciled with its antipode (the class opposite to it)." It is unthinkable that the Republic of Indonesia can be jointly ruled by the people and the enemies of the people.

The Party leadership who wallowed in the mire of opportunism claimed that the "people's aspect" had become the main aspect and taken the hegemony in the state power of the Republic. It was as if the Indonesian people were nearing the birth of a people's power. And since they considered that the forces of the national bourgeoisie in the state power really the "people's aspect," the Party leadership had done everything to defend and develop this "people's aspect." The Party leadership had altogether merged themselves in the interests of the national bourgeoisie.

By considering the national bourgeoisie the "people's aspect" in the state power of the Republic, and president Sukarno the leader of this aspect, the Party leadership erroneously recognized that the national bourgeoisie was able to lead the new-type democratic revolution. This is contrary to historical necessity and historical facts.

The Party leadership declared that the "two-aspect theory" was completely different from the "theory of structural reform" of the leadership of the revisionist Italian Communist Party. However, the fact is, theoretically or on the basis of practical realities, there is no difference between the two "theories." Both have for their starting point the "peaceful road" to socialism. Both dream of a gradual change in the internal balance of forces in the state power. Both reject the road of revolution and both are revisionist in character.

The anti-revolutionary "two-aspect theory" glaringly exposed itself in the statement that "the struggle

of the P.K.I. with regard to the state power is to promote the pro-people aspect so as to make it bigger and dominant, and the anti-people force can be driven out from the state power."

The Party leadership even had a name for this anti-revolutionary road; they called it the road of "revolution from above and below." By "revolution from above" they meant that the P.K.I. "must encourage the state power to take revolutionary steps aimed at making the desired changes in the personnel and in the state organs." While by "revolution from below" they meant that the P.K.I. "must arouse, organize and mobilize the people to achieve the same changes." It is indeed an extraordinary phantasy! The Party leadership did not learn from the fact that the concept of president Sukarno on the formation of a co-operation cabinet (the old-type government of national coalition), eight years after its announcement, had not been realized as yet. There was even no sign that it would ever be realized, despite the insistent demands. Let alone a change in the state power!

The self-criticism stresses that to clean itself from the mire of opportunism, our Party must discard this "theory of two-aspect in the state power" and re-establish the Marxist-Leninist teaching on state and revolution.

The 5th National Congress of the Party in the main had solved theoretically the problem of the national united front. It formulated that the worker-peasant alliance was the basis of the national united front. With regard to the national bourgeoisie a lesson had been drawn on the basis of the experience during the August Revolution that this class had a wavering character. In a certain situation, the national bourgeoisie took part in the revolution and sided with the revolution, while in another situation they followed in the steps of the comprador-bourgeoisie to attack the driving forces of the revolution and betrayed the revolution (as shown by their activities during the Madiun Provocation and their approval of the Round Table Conference Agreement). Based on this wavering character of the national bourgeoisie, the Party formulated the stand that must be taken by the P.K.I., namely, to make continuous efforts to win the national bourgeoisie over to the side of revolution, while guarding against the possibility of its betraying the revolution. The P.K.I. must follow the policy of unity and struggle towards the national bourgeoisie, the self-criticism says.

Nevertheless, since the ideology of subjectivism in the Party, particularly among the Party leadership, had not yet been eradicated, the Party was dragged into more and more serious mistakes, to such an extent that the Party lost its independence in the united front with the national bourgeoisie. This mistake had led to the situation in which the Party and the proletariat

were placed as the appendage of the national bourgeoisie.

A manifestation of this loss of independence in the united front with the national bourgeoisie was the evaluation and the stand of the Party leadership towards Sukarno. The Party leadership did not adopt an independent attitude towards Sukarno. They had always avoided conflicts with Sukarno and, on the contrary, had greatly over-emphasized the similarities and the unity between the Party and Sukarno. The public saw that there was no policy of Sukarno that was not supported by the P.K.I. The Party leadership went so far as to accept without any struggle the recognition to Sukarno as "the great leader of the revolution" and the leader of the "people's aspect" in the state power of the Republic. In many articles and speeches, the Party leaders frequently said that the struggle of the P.K.I. was based not only on Marxism-Leninism, but also on "the teachings of Sukarno," that the P.K.I. made such a rapid progress because it realized Sukarno's idea of Nasakom unity, etc. Even the people's democratic system in Indonesia was said to be in conformity with Sukarno's main ideas as expressed in his speech "The Birth of Pantjasila" on June 1, 1945.

The self-criticism repudiates the erroneous view that "to implement the Political Manifesto in a consistent manner is the same as implementing the program of the P.K.I."

The statement that consistently implementing the Political Manifesto meant implementing the program of the P.K.I. could only be interpreted that it was not the program of the P.K.I. that was accepted by the bourgeoisie, but that, on the contrary, it was the program of the national bourgeoisie which was accepted by the P.K.I., and was made to replace the program of the P.K.I., it points out.

The abandonment of principle in the united front with the national bourgeoisie had developed even further in the so-called "General Line of the Indonesian Revolution" that was formulated as follows: "With the national front having the workers and peasants as its pillars, the Nasakom as the core and the Pantjasila as its ideological basis, to complete the national democratic revolution in order to advance towards Indonesian Socialism." This so-called "General Line of the Indonesian Revolution" had not even the faintest smell of the revolution. Because, from the three preconditions to win the revolution, namely, a strong Marxist-Leninist party, a people's armed struggle under the leadership of the Party, and a united front, only the united front was retained. Even then, it was not a revolutionary united front, because it was not led by the working class, nor was it based on the alliance of the working class and the peasantry under the leadership of the working class, but on the contrary it was based on the Nasakom.

The Party leadership said that "the slogan for national co-operation with the Nasakom as the core will

by no means obscure the class content of the national united front." This statement is incorrect. The class content of the Nasakom was the working class, the national bourgeoisie, and even elements of the compradors, the bureaucrat-capitalists and the landlords. Obviously, putting the Nasakom in the core not only meant obscuring the class content of the national united front, but radically changing the meaning of the revolutionary national united front into an alliance of the working class with all other classes in the country, including the reactionary classes, into class collaboration.

This error must be corrected. The Party must throw to the dust-bin the erroneous "General Line of the Indonesian Revolution" and return to the correct conception of a revolutionary national united front based on the alliance of the workers and peasants under the leadership of the working class.

The abandonment of principle in the united front with the national bourgeoisie was also the result of the Party's inability to make a correct and concrete analysis of the concrete situation, the self-criticism says.

Ever since the failure of the August Revolution of 1945, except in West Irian, the imperialists did not hold direct political power in Indonesia. In Indonesia, political power was in the hands of compradors and landlords who represented the interests of imperialism and the vestiges of feudalism. Besides, there was no imperialist aggression in Indonesia taking place. Under such a situation, provided that the P.K.I. did not make political mistakes, the contradiction between the ruling reactionary classes and the people, would develop and sharpen, constituting the main contradiction in Indonesia. The primary task of the Indonesian revolution at the present moment is the overthrow of the rule of the reactionary classes within the country who also represent the interests of the imperialists, in particular the United States imperialists. Only by fulfilling this task, can the real liquidation of imperialism and the vestiges of feudalism be realized.

By correcting the mistakes made by the Party in the united front with the national bourgeoisie it does not mean that now the Party need not unite with this class. On the basis of the worker-peasant alliance under the leadership of the working class, our Party must work to win the national bourgeois class over to the side of the revolution.

The Main Mistakes in the Organizational Field

The self-criticism says that the erroneous political line which dominated the Party was inevitably followed by an equally erroneous organizational line. The longer and the more intensive the wrong political line ruled in the Party, the greater were the mistakes in the organizational field, and the greater the losses caused by them. Right opportunism which constituted the wrong political line of the Party in the period after 1951 had

been followed by another Right deviation in the organizational field, namely, liberalism and legalism.

The line of liberalism in the organizational field manifested itself in the tendency to make the P.K.I. a party with as large a membership as possible, a party with a loose organization, which was called a mass Party.

It says that the mass character of the Party is not determined above all by the large membership, but primarily by the close ties linking the Party and the masses, by the Party's political line which defends the interests of the masses, or in other words by the implementation of the Party's mass line. And the mass line of the Party can only be maintained when the prerequisites determining the Party's role as the advanced detachment are firmly upheld, when the Party members are made up of the best elements of the proletariat who are armed with Marxism-Leninism. Consequently, to build a Marxist-Leninist Party which has a mass character is impossible without giving primary importance to Marxist-Leninist education.

During the last few years, the P.K.I. had carried out a line of Party building which deviated from the principles of Marxism-Leninism in the organizational field.

This liberal expansion of Party membership could not be separated from the political line of the "peaceful road." The large membership was intended to increase the influence of the Party in the united front with the national bourgeoisie. The idea was to effect the gradual change in the balance of forces that would make it possible to completely defeat the die-hard forces, with a Party that was growing bigger and bigger, in addition to the policy of unity with the national bourgeoisie.

The stress was no longer laid on the education and the training of Marxist-Leninist cadres to prepare them for the revolution, for work among the peasants in order to establish revolutionary bases, but on the education of intellectuals to serve the needs of the work in the united front with the national bourgeoisie, and to supply cadres for the various positions in the state institutions that were obtained thanks to the cooperation with the national bourgeoisie. In the light of this policy, the slogan of "total integration with the peasants" had become empty talk. What was being done in practice was to draw cadres from the countryside to the cities, from the regions to the centre, instead of sending the best cadres to work in the rural areas.

To raise the prestige of the P.K.I. in the eyes of the bourgeoisie, and to make it respected as the party of intellectuals, the 4-Year Plan stipulated that all cadres of the higher ranks must obtain academic education, cadres of the middle ranks high school education, and cadres of the lower ranks lower middle school education. For this purpose the Party had set up a great

number of academies, schools and courses. So deep-rooted was the intellectualism gripping the Party leadership that all Party leaders and prominent figures of the popular movements were obliged to write four theses in order to obtain the degree of "Marxist Scientists."

The deeper the Party was plunged into the mire of opportunism and revisionism, the greater it lacked organizational vigilance and the more extensively legalism developed in the organization. The Party leadership had lost their class prejudice towards the falsehood of bourgeois democracy. All the activities of the Party indicated as if the "peaceful road" was an inevitable certainty. The Party leadership did not arouse the vigilance of the masses of Party members to the danger of attacks by the reactionaries who were constantly on the look for the chance to strike. Due to this legalism in the organizational field, within a short span of time counter-revolution has succeeded in paralysing the P.K.I. organizationally.

Liberalism in organization had destroyed the principle of internal democracy in the Party, destroyed collective leadership and had given rise to personal leadership and personal rule, to autonomism.

In a situation when liberalism dominated the organizational line of the Party, it was impossible to realize the Party's style of work "to combine theory and practice, to keep close bonds with the masses and to conduct self-criticism." It was equally impossible to realize the method of leadership whose essence is the unity of the leadership and the masses; to realize it the leadership must give an example to the rank-and-file.

Thus, in general the wrong political line which ruled in the Party was followed by the wrong line in the organizational field which violated the principles of a Marxist-Leninist Party, destroyed the organizational foundation of the Party, namely, democratic centralism, and trampled on the Party's style of work and method of leadership.

To build the P.K.I. as a Marxist-Leninist Party, we must thoroughly uproot liberalism in the organizational field and its ideological source. The P.K.I. must be rebuilt as a Lenin-type Party, a Party that will be capable of fulfilling its role as the advanced detachment and the highest form of class organization of the Indonesian proletariat, a Party with a historical mission of leading the masses of the Indonesian people to win victory in the anti-imperialist, anti-feudal and anti-bureaucrat-capitalist revolution, and to advance towards socialism. Such a Party must fulfil the following conditions: **Ideologically**, it is armed with the theory of Marxism-Leninism, and free from subjectivism, opportunism and modern revisionism; **politically**, it has a correct programme which includes a revolutionary agrarian programme, has a thorough understanding of the problems of the strategy and tactics of the Indo-

nesian revolution, masters the main form of struggle, namely the armed struggle of the peasants under the leadership of the proletariat, as well as other forms of struggle, is capable of establishing a revolutionary united front of all anti-imperialist and anti-feudal classes based on the worker-peasant alliance under the leadership of the working class; **organizationally**, it is strong and has a deep root among the masses of the people, consists of the most trustworthy, experienced and the most steeled Party members who are models in the implementation of the national tasks.

Today, we are rebuilding our Party under the reign of unbridled counter-revolutionary white terror which is most cruel and ferocious. The legality of the Party and the basic human rights of the Communists have been wantonly violated. The Party has to work under completely illegal conditions and the organizational structure of the Party must, therefore, be adjusted according to the new conditions. While working in complete illegality, the Party must be adept at utilizing to the full all possible opportunities to carry out legal activities according to circumstances, and to choose ways and means that are acceptable to the masses with the aim of mobilizing the masses for struggle and leading this struggle step by step to a higher stage.

In rebuilding the P.K.I. along the Marxist-Leninist line, the greatest attention should be devoted to the building of Party organizations in the rural areas, to the establishment of revolutionary bases.

The task to rebuild a Marxist-Leninist Party as has been stated above requires arduous and protracted work, and is full of danger, and consequently it must be carried out courageously, perseveringly, carefully, patiently and persistently.

The Way Out

The self-criticism says that once we know the weaknesses and mistakes of the Party during the period after 1951 as have been explained above, obviously what we have to do is to realize the most urgent tasks faced by the Indonesian Marxist-Leninists at the present time, the first one being the rebuilding of the P.K.I. as a Marxist-Leninist Party which is free from subjectivism, opportunism and modern revisionism.

To rebuild the P.K.I. as such a Marxist-Leninist Party, Party cadres of all levels and then all Party members must reach a unanimity of mind with regard to the mistakes made by the Party in the past, as well as concerning the new road that must be taken.

In order to reach unanimity of mind, a rectification movement must be carried out in the whole Party. Through this rectification movement we will remould the erroneous ideas of the past into correct ideas. In order to advance along the new road, it is absolutely necessary to abandon the wrong road.

Under the present situation, it will not be easy to come to unanimity of mind concerning all past mistakes down to the minutest details. But, what is absolutely necessary is unanimity of mind regarding the fundamental problems raised in this self-criticism.

The opportunist and revisionist mistakes in the political and organizational fields made by our Party which have been subjected to this criticism were not merely the outcome of the social and historical conditions during the last decade, but could be traced farther back in the social and historical conditions since the founding of our Party. We must therefore get rid of the notion that everything will be all right once we have made the present criticism and self-criticism. So long as the ideology of subjectivism is not completely eradicated from the Party, or worse still, if it is still to be found among the Party leadership, then our Party will not be able to avoid other mistakes of Right or "Left" opportunism because, if such is the case, our Party will not be able to analyse the political situation correctly, and consequently will not be able to give the correct leadership. It is above all the task of the leadership and the central cadres, and then of the regional leadership and cadres at all levels to combat subjectivism persistently and wholeheartedly.

Subjectivism can be effectively combated and liquidated when the ability of the whole Party to distinguish proletarian ideology from the ideology of the petty bourgeoisie is raised, and when criticism and self-criticism is encouraged. To raise the ability of the whole Party to distinguish proletarian ideology from the ideology of the petty bourgeoisie will be possible only by intensifying the education of Marxism-Leninism. The Party must educate its members to apply the Marxist-Leninist method in analysing the political situation and in evaluating the forces of the existing classes, so that subjective analysis and evaluation can be avoided. The Party must draw the attention of the members to the importance of investigation and to the study of social and economic conditions, in order to be able to define the tactics of struggle and the corresponding method of work. The Party must help the members to understand that without an investigation of the actual conditions they will get bogged down in phantasy.

The experience of the struggle waged by the Party in the past has shown how indispensable it is for the Indonesian Marxist-Leninists, who are resolved to defend Marxism-Leninism and to combat modern revisionism, to study not only the teachings of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin, but also to devote special attention to studying the Thought of Mao Tse-tung who has succeeded in inheriting, defending and developing Marxism-Leninism to its peak in the present era.

The P.K.I. will be able to hold aloft the banner of Marxism-Leninism, only when it takes a resolute stand in the struggle against modern revisionism which today

is centred around the leading group of the C.P.S.U. The fight against modern revisionism cannot be consistently carried out while, at the same time, preserving the friendship with the modern revisionists. The P.K.I. must abandon the wrong attitude it held in the past with regard to the question of the relations with the modern revisionists. Loyalty to proletarian internationalism can only be manifested by a merciless stand in the struggle against modern revisionism, because modern revisionism has destroyed proletarian internationalism, and betrayed the struggle of the proletariat and the oppressed people all over the world.

In rebuilding the Party, the Indonesian Marxist-Leninists must devote their attention to the creation of the conditions to lead the armed agrarian revolution of the peasants that will become the main form of struggle to win victory for the people's democratic revolution in Indonesia. This means that the greatest attention should be paid to the rebuilding of Party organizations in the rural areas. The greatest attention must be paid to the solution of the problem of arousing, organizing and mobilizing the peasants in an anti-feudal agrarian revolution. The integration of the Party with the peasants, in particular with farm labourers and poor peasants, must be conscientiously carried out. Because, only through such an integration, will the Party be able to lead the peasantry, and the peasantry, for their part, will be capable of becoming the invincible bulwark of the people's democratic revolution.

As a result of the attacks of the third white terror, Party organizations in the rural areas in general have suffered greater damage. This fact has rendered it more difficult and arduous to work in the countryside. But this does not in any way change the inexorable law that the main force of the people's democratic revolution in Indonesia is the peasantry, and its base area is the countryside. With the most resolute determination that everything is for the masses of the people, the Indonesian Marxist-Leninists will certainly be able to overcome the gravest difficulties. By having the most wholehearted faith in the masses and by relying on the masses, the Indonesian Marxist-Leninists will certainly be able to transform the backward Indonesian villages into great and consolidated military, political, economic and cultural bastions of the revolution.

The Indonesian peasants are the most interested in the people's democratic revolution. Because, only this revolution will liberate them from the life of backwardness and inequality as a result of feudal suppression. It is only this revolution that will give them what they have dreamt all their lives and which will give them life: land. That is why the peasants will surely take this road of revolution for land and liberation, no matter how arduous and full of twists and turns this road will be.

Obviously, the second task of the Indonesian Marxist-Leninists at present is the creation of the

necessary conditions for the armed agrarian revolution of the peasants under the leadership of the proletariat. Provided that the Indonesian Marxist-Leninists succeed in arousing, organizing and mobilizing the peasants to carry through an anti-feudal agrarian revolution, the leadership of the working class in the people's democratic revolution, and the victory of this revolution, are assured.

However, the Party must continue the efforts to establish a revolutionary united front with other anti-imperialist and anti-feudal classes and groups. Based on the alliance of the working class and the peasantry under the leadership of the proletariat, the Party must work to win over the urban petty bourgeoisie and other democratic forces, and must also work to win over the national bourgeoisie as an additional ally in the people's democratic revolution. The present objective conditions offer the possibility for the establishment of a broad revolutionary united front.

The military dictatorship of the Right-wing army generals led by Nasution-Suharto is the manifestation of the rule by the most reactionary classes in the country, namely, the comprador-bourgeoisie, the bureaucrat-capitalists and the landlords. The internal reactionary classes under the leadership of the clique of Right-wing army generals exercise the dictatorship over the Indonesian people, and act as the watch-dogs guarding the interests of imperialism, in particular United States imperialism, in Indonesia. Consequently, the coming into power of the military dictatorship of the Right-wing army generals will certainly serve to intensify the suppression and exploitation of the Indonesian people by imperialism and feudalism.

The military dictatorship of the Right-wing army generals represents the interests of only a very small minority who suppresses the overwhelming majority of the Indonesian people. That is why the military dictatorship of the Right-wing army generals will certainly meet with resistance from the broad masses of the people.

Thus, the third urgent task faced by the Indonesian Marxist-Leninists is to establish the revolutionary united front with all anti-imperialist and anti-feudal classes and groups based on the worker-peasant alliance under the leadership of the working class.

Thus, it has become clear that to win victory for the people's democratic revolution, the Indonesian Marxist-Leninists must hold aloft the Three Banners of the Party, namely:

The first banner, the building of a Marxist-Leninist Party which is free from subjectivism, opportunism and modern revisionism.

The second banner, the armed people's struggle which in essence is the armed struggle of the peasants in an anti-feudal agrarian revolution under the leadership of the working class.

The third banner, the revolutionary united front based on the worker-peasant alliance under the leadership of the working class.

The tasks faced by the Indonesian Marxist-Leninists are very arduous. They have to work under the most savage and barbarous terror and persecution which have no parallel in history. However, the Indonesian Marxist-Leninists do not have the slightest doubt that, by correcting the mistakes made by the Party in the past, they are now marching along the correct road, the road of people's democratic revolution. No matter how protracted, tortuous and full of difficulties, this is the only road leading to a free and democratic New Indonesia, an Indonesia that will really belong to the Indonesian people. For this noble cause, we must have the courage to traverse the long road.

The Indonesian Marxist-Leninists and revolutionaries on the basis of their own experience in struggle, do not have the slightest doubt about the correctness of Comrade Mao Tse-tung's thesis that "the imperialists and all reactionaries are paper tigers. In appearance they 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." The military dictatorship of the Right-wing army generals which is now in power is also a paper tiger. In appearance they are powerful and terrifying. But in reality they are not so powerful, because they are not supported but on the contrary are opposed by the people, because their ranks are beset by contradictions, and because they are quarrelling among themselves for a bigger share of their plunder and for greater power. The imperialists, in particular the United States imperialists who are the mainstay of the military dictatorship of the Right-wing army generals, are also paper tigers. In appearance they are powerful and terrifying, but in reality they are weak and nearing their complete downfall. The weakness of imperialism, in particular the United States imperialism, is vividly demonstrated by their inability to conquer the heroic Vietnamese people and to check the tide of the anti-imperialist struggle waged by the people all over the world, including the American people themselves, who are furiously dealing blows at the fortresses of imperialism.

From a strategic point of view, the imperialists and all reactionaries are weak, and consequently we must despise them. By despising the enemies strategically we can build up the courage to fight them and the confidence to defeat them. At the same time we must take them all seriously, take into full account of their strength tactically, and refrain from taking adventurist steps against them.

Today, we are in an era when imperialism is undergoing its total collapse, and socialism is marching forward triumphantly all over the world. No force on earth can prevent the total downfall of imperialism and all other reactionaries, and no force can block the

victory of Socialism throughout the world. The military dictatorship of the Right-wing army generals, as the watch-dog guarding the interests of imperialism in Indonesia is also unable to avert its destruction. The vicious and savage massacre and torture against the hundreds of thousands of Communists and democrats which they are still continuing today, will not be able to prevent the people and the Communists from rising up in resistance. On the contrary, all the brutalities and cruelties will only serve to intensify the tit-for-tat resistance struggle of the people. The Communists will avenge the death of their hundreds of thousands of comrades with the resolve to serve still better the people, the revolution and the Party.

The Indonesian Marxist-Leninists will spare neither efforts nor energy to fulfil the best wishes of the world Marxist-Leninists by resolutely defending Marxism-Leninism and struggling against modern revisionism, by working still better for the liberation of their people and country, and for the world proletarian revolution.

The Indonesian Marxist-Leninists who are united in mind and determined to take the road of revolution, by putting their wholehearted faith in the people, by relying on the people, by working courageously, perseveringly, conscientiously, patiently, persistently and vigilantly, will surely be able to accomplish their historical mission, to lead the people's democratic revolution, to smash the military dictatorship of the Right-wing army generals and to set up a completely new power, the people's democratic dictatorship. With the people's democratic dictatorship, the joint power of anti-imperialist and anti-feudal classes and groups under the leadership of the working class, the Indonesian people will completely liquidate imperialism and the vestiges of feudalism, build a free and democratic new society, and advance towards Socialism where the suppression and exploitation of man by man no longer exists.

Let us unite closely to take the road of revolution which is illuminated by the teaching of Marxism-Leninism, the road leading to the liberation of the Indonesian people and proletariat, the road leading to Socialism.

(Bold-face emphases and quotation marks are in the original.)

CORRECTIONS: In our issue No. 23, 1967, p. 8, the first sentence in the article entitled "One. Instruction Dated December 12, 1963" should read: "Problems abound in all forms of art such as the drama, ballads, music, the fine arts, the dance, the cinema, poetry and literature and the people involved are numerous; in many departments very little has been achieved so far in socialist transformation." The fourth sentence in the same article should read: "As for such departments as the drama, the problems are even more serious."

Raging Anti-British Flames in Hongkong

RECENTLY, the British authorities in Hongkong have repeatedly sent riot police to rabidly suppress our patriotic countrymen in various parts of Hongkong and Kowloon. Moreover, the British army has been called out to take part in the suppression. The matter is extremely serious.

Bloodshed in Western District. On the afternoon of July 9, the riot police arrested a Fukien Middle School student in the western district of Hongkong while he was distributing a news extra reporting the Chinese Foreign Ministry's note of protest to the British Government (see *Peking Review*, No. 29, 1967). When a crowd gathered, these fascist thugs opened fire on them. As the Hongkong British radio station admitted, one was killed on the spot and two were wounded, one of whom died shortly afterwards in the hospital.

Unwarranted Arrest of Newsmen. Hsueh Ping, a reporter of the Hongkong Branch of the Hsinhua News Agency was unwarrantedly arrested on the morning of July 11 by armed police while on a normal reporting assignment. That evening an official of the Western European Affairs Department of the Chinese Ministry of Foreign Affairs summoned D.C. Hopson, British Charge d'Affaires in China, and lodged the strongest protest against this and the repeated provocations and persecution by the British authorities of Hsinhua personnel in Hongkong. The Chinese Foreign Ministry also expressed full support for Liang Wei-lin, Director of the Hsinhua Office, who had sternly demanded that the Hongkong British authorities immediately release Hsueh Ping.

Ignoring the Chinese protest, the fascist British authorities in Hongkong "tried" Hsueh Ping on the following day. The Hsinhua reporter made a firm protest at the "trial."

Armed Assault on the Chinese Goods Centre. From the night of July 11 till the next morning, several hundred riot police under the command of a British police superintendent, planned, organized and plotted an armed attack on the Chinese Goods Centre, a patriotic sales agency. They launched a hail of wooden projectiles and tear gas bombs into the store and the ground floor emporium caught on fire. These ruffians then battered the iron gate down and rushed into the building, tearing down big-character posters against British repressive violence and placards with quotations from Chairman Mao Tse-tung.

People working in the store, aided by nearby patriotic residents, holding high the great red banner of Mao Tse-tung's thought, valiantly engaged in the struggle against the enemy for 13 hours. In the struggle, they kept Chairman Mao's teaching in mind: "**Be resolute, fear no sacrifice and surmount every difficulty to win victory**" and acted accordingly. Despite

the wooden bullets and the tear gas, the staff members succeeded in putting out the big fire in a little more than two hours. At least ten of the people attacked by the riot police in the Chinese Goods Centre were wounded and the ground floor was badly damaged by fire while the first floor partly damaged.

British Regulars Enter Hongkong. On the night of July 12, regular British army units of the Welch Regiment and men of the Hongkong Regiment of the auxiliary armed services moved into the city area. At 11 p.m., the British troops and riot police in the Wanchai district jointly encircled the Motor Transport Workers' Union and broke into it to search and loot and to detain patriotic Chinese nationals. After a while, those deployed at North Point jointly encircled the union's China Motor Bus Branch at Java Road to search and make arrests.

Big Suppression and Big Raids. In the early morning of July 14, several hundred British troops, riot police and armed police raided the Kowloon Dockers' Union and the Hung Hum Workers' Children's School. The heroic arrested workers, students and teachers shouted loudly and repeatedly as they were pushed into the police vans: "Long live Chairman Mao!" The fascist troops and police who broke into both premises even destroyed all of Chairman Mao's portraits, smashed busts of Chairman Mao and tore down the posters inscribed with quotations from Chairman Mao from the walls.

On the previous day, three faculty members of the Pui Kiu Middle School and their driver were kidnapped by riot police.

One British army company and other armed forces and police broke into the Fukien Middle School on the morning of July 15 to ransack the place. They smashed busts of Chairman Mao, pierced and smeared Chairman Mao's portraits and tore down a huge streamer in praise of the great leader Chairman Mao.

Almost at the same time, police and special agents, without giving any reason, arrested a couple engaged in patriotic film work.

In the afternoon, many British troops and riot police encircled and arrested the entire Hongkong educational workers delegation which had gone to the "governor's house" to protest the persecution of patriotic teachers and students by the British authorities. At the same time they unwarrantedly arrested another two reporters of the Hsinhua Office and five others from patriotic newspapers. The Hsinhua News Agency sent a cable of protest and warning to the British fascist authorities in Hongkong. The All-China Journalists' Association too issued a statement in protest.

On July 16, many regular British army units and police, supported by army helicopters, raided more local

"Renmin Ribao" on the Hongkong Situation

A *Renmin Ribao* July 16 Commentator article pointed out that in Hongkong, it was the workers and other patriotic Chinese residents who were really powerful. What had to be done was to fully mobilize the masses, organize them still better and carry on the struggle resolutely and with redoubled efforts. Encircled by our 4 million compatriots in Hongkong and Kowloon, the fascist Hongkong British authorities would be **"like a mad bull crashing into a ring of flames . . . the mere sound of [the people's] voices will strike terror into him, and he will be burned to death,"** said Commentator quoting the well-known description Chairman Mao once gave of the encircled Japanese invaders.

Recalling the British Commonwealth Secretary Herbert Bowden's recent statement in Parliament that the Hongkong authorities would have the full support of the British Government and would take all necessary measures to suppress the struggle in Hongkong, Commentator noted that "when the Chiang Kai-shek reactionaries were approaching their doom, our great leader Chairman Mao said: **'The enemy always underrates the energy of our army and overrates his own strength, though at the same time he is like a bird startled by the mere twang of a bow-string.'** This is the psychology common to all reactionaries on the verge of their doom. This holds true for the British imperialists in Hongkong."

The fact is, said Commentator, that Bowden & Co. are hopelessly stupid. What, after all, does London's so-called full support amount to? Everyone knows how small is the fortune still possessed

by bankrupt British imperialism. The British imperialist clamour for the dispatch of an adequate force resulted in the appearance of a single battalion of mercenaries. In the eyes of our countrymen in Hongkong and the 700 million Chinese people, even if all the armed forces of British imperialism came, they would be nothing, let alone a mere battalion of mercenaries.

Reminding British imperialism of its big boss, U.S. imperialism, which has sent more than a million of its own men and puppet troops to the south Vietnamese battlefield, but still finds itself being drowned in the sea of the south Vietnamese people, Commentator said it was ridiculous for Washington's junior partner British imperialism, to don a tiger's skin in an attempt to scare our patriotic countrymen in Hongkong and the great Chinese people.

He recalled that the British imperialists have been carrying on their repressions in Hongkong for over two months. The mass struggle against them, however, has grown in scope and intensity and more and more people are taking part in it. Our patriotic countrymen in Hongkong, Commentator said, were bound to react strongly to the bloody repressions of the British fascist authorities. They have done well, acted bravely and splendidly! "An eye for an eye, a tooth for a tooth," that is the way to deal with British imperialism, said Commentator. He concluded that the workers and all patriotic countrymen in Hongkong, guided by the great Mao Tse-tung's thought, would give even more powerful demonstrations of their strength and deal telling blows at the British imperialists in Hongkong.

patriotic trade union offices. Thus, between July 11 and that day, altogether 13 patriotic premises suffered armed attacks from the fascist Hongkong British authorities; more than 800 people were arrested, while the number killed and wounded was unavailable at press time.

The People Fight Back

The enormous crimes of the British authorities have provoked our patriotic countrymen to great indignation. Formidable big-character posters against British violence have not only appeared all over the island, Kowloon and the "New Territories," there were also balloons saying "Down with British imperialism!" "We are certain to win and the Hongkong British authorities will certainly be defeated!" drifting in the Hongkong sky, while wooden buoys with similar slogans have appeared on the seas off Kowloon. Defying the curfew, the fully armed British troops and the riot police, people used all sorts of means to hit back hard at the fascist British brutes in Hongkong.

Hongkong's institutes of higher learning—the bulwarks where British imperialism introduces its slavish education—formed a committee on July 14 against British persecution, which announced that Chairman Mao's works would be studied with redoubled effort, that they were to bring about a great

revolutionary alliance of patriotic students, that the dauntless spirit of the Red Guards would be emulated and that there would be a big scale revolt against the enemy. On that and the following day, nearly 2,000 patriotic students and teachers came out into the streets to hold mammoth demonstrations.

Beginning July 17, the Hongkong Seamen's Union, taking sanctions against the British imperialists and striking heavy blows at them, announced its refusal to handle goods to and from Hongkong.

On July 9 and 13 respectively, the Kun Tong and Wong Tai Sin Police Stations were bombed and at least six cars and one motorcycle were destroyed.

During the curfew on the night of July 12, three harpoons were used in an attack on a police van parked near the Shaukiwan market place. Some patriotic countrymen smashed the windows and an emblem of the British crown of the British Chartered Bank.

People hurled firecrackers at the riot police in the Wanchai district and North Point.

At Shumshuipo in western Kowloon, a double decker bus was burnt and a regular bus smashed up. A post office was set on fire. The enemy has been thrown into a sea of people's struggle against British imperialism and its repressive violence.



Mao Tse-tung's Thought

Lights the Whole World

Studying Chairman Mao's 16-Character Formula

A.H. Membeshora, Cairo representative of the Zimbabwe African National Union (Z.A.N.U.), in an April 28 interview with Hsinhua on the eve of the first anniversary of the victorious armed struggle in Sinoia said:

"The African people in Zimbabwe are more determined than ever to win independence, defeat British imperialism and overthrow the white settlers' colonial regime by waging armed struggle and relying on their own strength."

Membeshora stressed: "Just as Chairman Mao has said, **'The revolutionary war is a war of the masses; it can be waged only by mobilizing the masses and relying on them.'** We are going deeper into the midst of the masses to work among them. Through broader mobilization and by closely relying on them, we will certainly win. The enemy will surely be defeated."

He said that he was greatly encouraged and inspired "when I visited one of our training camps and found that all the guerrilla fighters there were studying hard Chairman Mao's famous 16-character formula for guerrilla warfare (**The enemy advances, we retreat; the enemy camps, we harass; the enemy tires, we attack; the enemy retreats, we pursue**); they memorized it before going into battle. I believe that applying Chairman Mao Tse-tung's thought in practice is the guarantee for our final victory."

The Weapon Goto Uses in His Struggle

Goto has been working in a printing shop in Tokyo for six years as a "casual hand." Instead of promoting him to a regular worker in the shop, the management often forced him to work overtime, and thereby prevented him from participating in many public activities. In addition, his active participation in functions for Sino-Japanese friendship and his earnest study of Mao Tse-tung's thought have earned him the bitter resentment of the revisionists in the Japanese Communist Party.

All this has failed to crush him in his conscientious quest for truth. On the contrary, he is all the more devoted to Mao Tse-tung and Mao Tse-tung's thought. He always carries the treasured book for revolution — *Quotations From Chairman Mao Tse-tung* — and reads it attentively even during his streetcar ride to and from his workshop.

The great and infinitely brilliant thought of Mao Tse-tung has broadened the vision of this youth and led him to think seriously about the future of his country and his people.

Speaking about his gains from studying the "three constantly read articles," [*Serve the People, In Memory of Norman Bethune and The Foolish Old Man Who Removed the Mountains*] Goto said, "So long as the Japanese people unite and act in the spirit of 'the Foolish Old Man who removed the mountains' as taught by Chairman Mao, they will certainly be able to remove the two mountains — U.S. imperialism and Japanese reaction — now lying like a dead weight on them."

He expressed great indignation at the fallacies spread among the Japanese people by the revisionists in the Communist Party of Japan. He said, "They fear Mao Tse-tung's thought most. Using the pretext that 'Japan is a highly developed capitalist country,' they do their utmost to spread illusions about 'peaceful transition' in their attempt to use this to oppose Mao Tse-tung's invincible thought." He added that the revisionists in the Japanese Communist Party were trying by every means to prevent people from reading Chairman Mao's works and listening to Radio Peking which propagates Mao Tse-tung's thought. "The more they did so, the more we should read Chairman Mao's works and listen to Radio Peking," he said.

Goto said that Mao Tse-tung's thought is Marxism-Leninism of our times at its highest level, the microscope and telescope of the revolutionary people of the world and their weapon in the struggle against all monsters and ghosts. All revolutionary people in Japan and elsewhere in the world must study Mao Tse-tung's thought conscientiously and apply it in revolutionary practice in their respective countries so as to wipe out all the imperialists, reactionaries and modern revisionists throughout the world.

Heart-Stirring Songs

It was a silent night. Heart-stirring songs came from the coast of the coconut-rich island of Zanzibar. The singer sang lustily in not quite fluent Chinese: "The most ringing song is *The East Is Red*, the greatest leader is Mao Tse-tung. Mao Tse-tung, Mao Tse-tung, you are the sun in the hearts of the world's people, you are the beacon illuminating the path to the liberation of mankind. . . ."

The song came from the house of a Zanzibari youth. He had just learnt this ode to Chairman Mao

from his Chinese friend that day. After he went home in the evening, he sang it over and over. This amateur singer was particularly fond of singing songs in praise of Chairman Mao and those quotations from Chairman Mao Tse-tung which are set to music.

He was once asked to sing at a get-together with his Chinese friends. He stood up and made an im-

promptu and heart-warming speech. He said, "Chairman Mao is the great leader of the revolutionary people of the world. Before I sing a song in praise of him, I would like to shout: Long live Chairman Mao, the great teacher, great leader, great supreme commander and great helmsman!" Then he sang the song *Sailing the Seas Depends on the Helmsman*.

Repudiating China's Khrushchov

Liquidation of Armed Struggle Means Shameful Betrayal of the Proletarian Revolutionary Cause

by FU CHUNG-PI*

IT is by no means accidental that during the great proletarian cultural revolution the top Party person in authority taking the capitalist road should have raised the evil flag of the bourgeois reactionary line. This is a complete exposure of his counter-revolutionary features. As far back as 20 years ago in a February 1946 report he raised the evil flag of capitulationism. In this report, catering to the needs of U.S. imperialism and the Kuomintang reactionaries, he vigorously advocated class co-operation and peaceful transition, and vainly attempted to liquidate the armed struggle and armed forces of the people. It was an out-and-out counter-revolutionary programme opposed to Marxism-Leninism, Mao Tse-tung's thought.

After the victory over Japanese aggression, U.S. imperialism took the place of German, Japanese and Italian fascism and vainly tried to establish its world hegemony; it thereby made itself the common enemy of the world's people. Under the pretext of "aiding" China to bring about peace and democracy, U.S. imperialism helped Chiang Kai-shek prepare a full-scale civil war, in an attempt to eliminate the people's armed forces and the liberated areas led by the Chinese Communist Party, and turn China into a colony of U.S. imperialism.

Chiang Kai-shek, a willing stooge of U.S. imperialism, adopted counter-revolutionary dual tactics: He pretended to negotiate with our Party and spread a smokescreen of "peace"; but in reality, he was busy

deploying troops to attack the liberated areas, so as to wipe out our Party and army. He used a fake peace to serve his real war.

Chairman Mao pointed out in August 1945 that our policy was "to give him [Chiang] tit for tat and to fight for every inch of land." This meant to counter counter-revolutionary dual tactics with revolutionary dual tactics: Through peaceful negotiations, expose Chiang Kai-shek's civil war schemes, and win the political initiative and the sympathy of world public opinion and of the middle-of-the-roaders in China; and at the same time not rely on the negotiations, nor have illusions about the United States and Chiang Kai-shek, but expand and strengthen the people's armed forces, actively prepare for war and rely on revolutionary war to get a settlement. The great practice of the Third Revolutionary Civil War fully proved that Chairman Mao's instructions were wise and correct.

The top Party person in authority taking the capitalist road, however, spread all kinds of illusions about the U.S.-Chiang reactionaries and proclaimed that "the new stage of peace and democracy has arrived." He spread around such nonsense as that the United States, the Kuomintang and the big bourgeoisie could "co-operate" with us "to make China democratic." This is the same "class collaboration" stuff peddled about through the years from Bernstein to Khrushchov.

Basing himself on this fallacy of "class collaboration," the top Party person in authority taking the capitalist road advocated "peaceful transition" through legal struggle, parliamentary struggle. He said: "The main form of the struggle in the Chinese revolution has become peaceful and parliamentary. This is a legal mass struggle and parliamentary struggle." He de-

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clared that "we must depend on this kind of struggle to raise our status and gain positions" and that "we must be good at conducting propaganda, making speeches and running election campaigns to get people to vote for us."

He prescribed that "all political problems must be solved peacefully." He urged that our Party hand over the people's armed forces and accept "official posts in the central government." He prettified the fake democracy of the bourgeoisie and the reactionary Chiang Kai-shek regime. What he was proposing in fact was to give up the people's armed forces and armed struggle and abandon efforts to seize political power.

As early as 1933, Chairman Mao pointed out that "all revolutionary struggles in the world are aimed at seizing political power and consolidating it." The basic question of revolution is political power. This is a universal truth of Marxism-Leninism, Mao Tse-tung's thought. No reactionary force will step down from the stage of history of its own accord. To overthrow the rule of the reactionary forces, it is necessary to have a people's army and to wage armed struggle.

Chiang Kai-shek's reactionary regime was the dictatorship of the big landlords and big bourgeoisie. They "always side with imperialism and constitute an extreme counter-revolutionary group." Chiang Kai-shek, the political representative of China's big landlords and big bourgeoisie, is utterly ruthless. In advocating that the people's army be handed over and armed struggle be given up so as to join Chiang Kai-shek's government, the top Party person in authority taking the capitalist road was, in fact, aiming to disintegrate the revolutionary ranks, abandon the revolution and assist Chiang Kai-shek to maintain his reactionary regime.

He wanted to bargain away the fundamental interests of the people in order to make a political deal with Chiang Kai-shek, to barter away the military power of the Party and people to get wealth and fame for a handful. This is an out-and-out scab philosophy, a renegade's philosophy.

Chairman Mao teaches us that "the seizure of power by armed force, the settlement of the issue by war, is the central task and the highest form of revolution. This Marxist-Leninist principle of revolution holds good universally, for China and for all other countries."

Chairman Mao's theories on armed struggle and people's war are the revolutionary magic weapons both of the Chinese people and of the peoples throughout the world. They are universally applicable truths.

The top Party person in authority taking the capitalist road slandered Chairman Mao's theory on armed struggle as "outmoded." While Chiang Kai-shek was sharpening his sword, this person brazenly maintained that "civil war is not likely to break out," and that "the main form of struggle in the Chinese revolution

has become peaceful struggle" and "not armed struggle."

But history is inexorable. In June 1946, directed by U.S. imperialism, Chiang Kai-shek launched an all-out counter-revolutionary civil war. This completely exploded that person's nonsense about "a new stage of peace and democracy" and showed the bankruptcy of his counter-revolutionary theory of abandoning armed struggle.

Chairman Mao has all along taught us: "Without a people's army the people have nothing." It is by relying on guns that we liberate and defend the land of the people. The Chinese People's Liberation Army is a new-type, revolutionary army founded by our great supreme commander Chairman Mao. It has grown, nurtured by Mao Tse-tung's thought, and wholeheartedly serves the Chinese people and the people of the world.

In the War of Resistance Against Japan, this new-type, people's army waged heroic, protracted struggles against our enemies at home and abroad. It became the backbone of the resistance against the Japanese and puppet troops, and the firm mainstay of national liberation and the people's revolution.

This army was an insurmountable obstacle for Chiang Kai-shek and his master, U.S. imperialism, in their vain attempt to wipe out the Chinese Communist Party, annex the liberated areas and grab the whole of China. Therefore, they looked on the People's Liberation Army as a thorn in their side and were determined not to rest until they had eliminated it. After the victory in the anti-Japanese war, they hoped to make use of peace negotiations to entice and force our army to accept the Kuomintang's reorganization plan and so eliminate our army. This was just wishful thinking.

Giving "tit for tat" against the intrigues of U.S. imperialism and Chiang Kai-shek, our great leader Chairman Mao clearly pointed out that "the arms of the people, every gun and every bullet, must all be kept, must not be handed over."

In total disregard of Chairman Mao's wise instructions, the top Party person in authority taking the capitalist road said that "the army should also be reorganized. Our army should become part of the national army, the national defence army, the peace preservation corps and the self-defence corps. The Party branches, Party committees and political commissars in our army should be abolished. Party organizations in the army should be abolished." The direct army leadership and command should be "unified by the ministry of national defence (of the Kuomintang)."

He also clamoured that only by handing over the army "can it be legalized" and "can it be preserved." This was counter-revolutionary logic, pure and simple.

At this historical juncture, it was none other than our great supreme commander Chairman Mao who wisely analysed the then situation, mapped out the

policy for the revolution and led us in waging the Third Revolutionary Civil War to overthrow the Chiang Kai-shek regime and carry the Chinese revolution to victory.

If we had acted in line with the ideas of the top Party person in authority taking the capitalist road and had handed over the people's army on a silver platter, the Chinese people would once again have been left empty-handed before the butchers' knife of Chiang Kai-shek; they would have lost the fruits of victory won in the War of Resistance Against Japan at the cost of so many lives and so much bloodshed by the martyrs; and it is hard to say how much more sufferings and disaster the Chinese people would have been subjected to and for how many years the victory of the Chinese democratic revolution would have been delayed.

This capitulationist line followed by the top Party person in authority taking the capitalist road is inseparable from the previous capitulationist lines in the

history of our Party. It is of the same type as Chen Tu-hsiu's line and Wang Ming's line.

Chen Tu-hsiu gave up our Party's leadership over the Chinese revolution, handed over military power to Chiang Kai-shek and, consequently, brought about the failure of the First Revolutionary Civil War. Wang Ming put forward the capitulationist line of "everything through the united front" and "everything subordinated to the united front." This again caused heavy losses to our Party and our army during the War of Resistance Against Japan.

The capitulationist line preached by the top Party person in authority taking the capitalist road was a revival of previous capitulationist lines in the new historical conditions following the victory in the anti-Japanese war. Accounts must also be settled for this debt he owes us!

(An abridged translation of the original published in "Renmin Ribao" on July 7.)

Eliminate the Pernicious Influence of the Book On "Self-Cultivation" in the World

by ROSE SMITH*

THE book on "self-cultivation" written by China's top Party person in authority taking the capitalist road has been studied by millions of proletarian class-conscious workers both in China and many countries overseas. It is not something to be lightly dismissed for if every copy of it were destroyed tomorrow, its doctrine would still have to be rigorously combated. Its evil effects are not limited to those who have read and studied it, tens of thousands of others have had its ideology forced on them in many subtle ways. **But Chairman Mao's thought encourages us to combat it wherever it appears. He teaches, "Fighting against wrong ideas is like being vaccinated — a man develops greater immunity from disease as a result of vaccination."**

So the book on "self-cultivation" has to be thoroughly criticized and repudiated and its pernicious influence wiped out if the revolutionary peoples of the world are to march forward on the road to socialism.

In dealing with the poisonous doctrine contained in the book on "self-cultivation," it is necessary to take into consideration the time and circumstances under which it was written, circulated and revised and its sales deliberately boosted. When doing so it is necessary to constantly remind oneself that **"every kind of thinking, without exception, is stamped with the brand of a class,"** and to my mind this particular kind of

thinking of the author can only be described as anti-revolutionary.

This book was written at a time when more than one half of China was occupied by the Japanese imperialist aggressors and when the Communist Party of China was the main force leading the resistance. It was written less than a month after Mao Tse-tung had issued a great call to the nation to "oppose capitulationist activity." It was written after two years of bloody war, at a time when the capitulationists were circulating lying propaganda against the Communist Party, the Eighth Route and New Fourth Armies; when Chiang Kai-shek was secretly conniving with the capitulationists who were arranging a sell-out compromise with the British, U.S. and French imperialists; and when arrangements were being made to allow Japan to grasp vast areas of China, and to divert the main attack on to the suppression of the Communists. What is the nature of a man, who under these circumstances deliberately makes no reference to mass struggle or to the rousing of the people for resistance to Japan and to save the nation?

Instead of lining up with the masses in militant struggle he called upon students of Marxism-Leninism to set themselves apart from the class struggle and cultivate themselves. Small wonder that he completely ignores the very existence of our great leader and teacher Mao Tse-tung.

There have been four editions of this book in English and the later editions show how its author has "progressed." We should note here what Comrade

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Mao Tse-tung, the greatest Marxist-Leninist of our era, has to say about ideology: "To overthrow a political power, it is always necessary, first of all, to create public opinion, to do work in the ideological sphere."

Certainly the author of the book on "self-cultivation" lost no opportunity to publicize his poisonous wares! As recently as 1962 he deliberately held up the publication of the works of Mao Tse-tung so that he could flood the bookshops of the world with more copies of his own poisonous black book.

The latest edition of the book was hurried through the press when the Chinese Communist Party and other Marxist-Leninist Parties were being subjected to vicious attacks and vile abuse by the revisionist clique led by Khrushchov.

The ghoulish revisionists sought to negate the great work and name of Stalin by removing and hiding his body. The author of the book on "self-cultivation" slavishly followed the line and cut out almost all reference to Stalin in his book.

My first acquaintance with the thought of the top Party person in authority taking the capitalist road was in the early 50's. I had been a member of the C.P.G.B. since its foundation in 1920. I was much troubled about the way the Party was going. Like the majority of those who studied the black book, I went to it in search of enlightenment, for help in training myself to become a better revolutionary. The leaders of the British Party boosted it as a book which all members should read. It was something more than mere coincidence that like the Party's new manifesto, "The British Road to Socialism," the book carefully avoided all mention of the dictatorship of the proletariat and fitted very neatly into the British Party's revisionist policy as expressed at its 22nd National Congress. There, the Secretary of the C.P.G.B. had openly announced the retreat away from proletarian revolution and a compromise with reformism. He had declared that British conditions did not require Soviet power and the abolition of parliament. In other words the dictatorship of the proletariat was unnecessary. Britain was at that time already subservient to U.S. imperialism and was shaping its economic, political and military policy in line with the dictates of the world's greatest imperialist aggressors.

The book on "self-cultivation" added to the general damping down of the fighting spirit of those who had worked a life-time within the British Party. Slavish submission to the leadership became the order of the day.

I speak with deep feelings of bitterness for I was then working on the *Daily Worker*, a paper founded on the advice of Lenin, not as a business with large sums of money, but on the pennies of the under-paid, exploited masses who saw in it a political weapon to be used in the struggle to overthrow capitalism. I was much troubled as I saw this paper losing its fighting quality as an agitator, propagandist, and organizer of the masses.

Still arrogantly proud of being known as a member of the Communist Party, I became submissive and carried out the duties allocated to me by the leadership lest disciplinary action be taken against me, and I suffer ignominious expulsion.

Occasional outbursts of protest got me nowhere and I consoled myself that the Party would cleanse itself eventually.

Of course while I had plenty of opportunity to study the book on "self-cultivation," I had yet to get the opportunity to study Chairman Mao's thought and to really grasp the Marxist-Leninist principle that **"Everything reactionary is the same; if you don't hit it, it won't fall. This is also like sweeping the floor; as a rule, where the broom does not reach, the dust will not vanish of itself."**

So I continued to passively submit to what in my heart I knew was wrong!

Under the revisionist leadership of the Communist Party of Great Britain the *Daily Worker* became a replica of the capitalist press, seeking to build up a big circulation by displays of sexy pictures, betting tips, fashion and beauty notes and crime stories!

Finally after 20 years of journalism I left the paper to try and find sanity again by living and working among my own people in the coalfield.

Born of the British working class, reared among miners and cotton textile workers, daily participating in the hardships and humiliations of their lives it was there that I had early learnt that the only way out for the working class is through proletarian revolution and the overthrow of capitalism.

In long-drawn out strikes, on picket lines, on hunger marches, and when fighting evictions I had seen the proletarian spirit of rebellion in action, daring to challenge capitalist authorities, openly defying the reactionary forces that stood in the way of progress. The struggle among the masses had been my life-blood.

It was this that had taken me into the Communist Party when it was established in Britain soon after the Great October Revolution.

But when I returned to my Party branch after an absence of more than 20 years I saw that my heroic comrades of the days of intense class struggle had taken the same road of blind acceptance of Party organization disciplines. It was eating into the hearts of my old comrades like a cancer. Gone was their former proletarian initiative and daring to take prompt class action. They were now almost completely isolated from the masses. They were inert and had become dependent on instructions handed down from higher-up. When these instructions described as a "must" arrived, a handful of loyalists would seek to carry them out, heedless of whether they were suitable for the local circumstances.

In this manner the Party branch degenerated until the membership dwindled. Party life became a mere shell, lacking all revolutionary content. The leadership trailing behind the reformist Labour Party had few roots anywhere among the masses. It contented itself with spending the workers' hard-earned money on parliamentary campaigns and on propaganda preaching about socialism by the parliamentary road.

The leadership of the British Communist Party has since become ever more slavishly involved in the policy of the Moscow revisionists. Whenever this clique waves the baton it follows. It is prepared to turn right, left, upside down or inside out at the command of the Khrushchovs. Of course while doing so it loudly proclaims that it is following a class line.

I came to China in 1962. I saw a socialist country thrown to the wolves by leaders of the Soviet Union who were departing from the principles of Marxism-Leninism. But I also saw the great Chinese people refusing to embark on the road laid down by those persons in authority in Moscow.

I saw the millions in China digging in their heels, determined to go courageously forward under the wise leadership of Chairman Mao to the building up of a prosperous socialist economy, and to carry the proletarian revolution through to the end.

Chairman Mao liberated me too. Through slavishness and a mistaken sense of loyalty I had been in very serious danger of abandoning my class loyalty.

I have had to travel a very hard and difficult road since then to get back to my proletarian class loyalty and you know it does hurt if one really digs deep — but the patient must be cured.

I have now the great privilege of taking part in the proletarian cultural revolution which is sweeping away all the monsters and exposing all those who wave a "red flag" to kill the red flag. Under the guidance of Mao Tse-tung's thought I have realized that there can be no middle road. A Marxist-Leninist must go all out in the struggle against revisionism and put proletarian politics in command. We must fight against the ideology of all those who seek to follow the capitalist road, and eliminate the pernicious influence of the ideas contained in the book on "self-cultivation" throughout the world.

There is evidence that the proletarian cultural revolution taking place in China, under the wise guidance of Chairman Mao, the greatest Marxist-Leninist of our era, is having its repercussions inside Britain as it is in every other country in the world. New Marxist-Leninist groups have arisen in Britain, and there are indications that they are the forerunners of a British Marxist-Leninist Party. The Chinese people's insistence on knocking down those Party people in authority, who are taking the capitalist road, is the death-knell for all revisionists and class collaborators everywhere. The proletarian cultural revolution is demonstrating that the workers, once having taken power, can and will prevent any reversion to capitalism.

Mao Tse-tung's Thought — The Invincible Weapon

The Party Branch of the Gunboat *Sea Tiger* of the P.L.A. Navy Tell How
They Creatively Studied and Applied Chairman Mao's Works

The crew of the "Sea Tiger" [originally Gunboat 588 of the P.L.A. Navy], holding high the great red banner of Mao Tse-tung's thought, creatively studying and applying Chairman Mao's works and giving prominence to politics, meritoriously carried out their tasks of being prepared for war and escorting fishing vessels and shipping. The vessel has been awarded the honoured title "Sea Tiger" by the Ministry of National Defence. (See "Peking Review," 1966, No. 47, page 37.) — Ed.

IN 1958, our gunboat, along with other gunboats of our navy, sank the U.S.-made Chiang warship *Tuochiang*. In an engagement off Chungwu* in 1965

* A town near Chuanchow in Fukien Province. For a report of the battle see *Peking Review*, 1965, No. 47, p. 3.

our vessel and other gunboats sank the frigate *Yungchang* and seriously damaged the submarine chaser *Yungtai*, both U.S.-made vessels of the Chiang gang. What did our small ships rely on to smash up the enemy's larger vessels? **We relied on Mao Tse-tung's thought and on the revolutionary spirit of people armed with Mao Tse-tung's thought.**

**Computers Can Work Out the Technical Capabilities
Of Warships but the Prowess of People Armed
With Mao Tse-tung's Thought Cannot
Be Calculated**

As soon as naval warfare is mentioned, some people think that victory must go to the side which has

ships of greater displacement, speed, firepower, and therefore greater fighting power. Our practice has proved that this is fallacious. No matter how complicated the technique used in naval warfare may be, or how modern the equipment, fighting power is the sum of man plus material, and man is always the decisive factor. In naval warfare, warships are used to defeat the enemy. However, these vessels must be controlled and used by man. Ships are inanimate while men are living beings. However well-equipped a vessel may be, its potential cannot be brought into play unless manned by a class-conscious crew. The technical capabilities of a naval ship are limited and can be worked out with computers, but the tremendous power of men armed with Mao Tse-tung's thought is incalculable. With such power the capability of a weapon is multiplied several-fold or even scores of times. With such power miracles can be performed and the enemy, no matter how powerful, can be defeated.

In the Chungwu naval battle the enemy used his technical superiority and advantage in equipment to open concentrated fire on us, lighting up the sea and sending shells screaming over our heads. We paid no attention to this. We dashed fiercely forward and, when we were in close, opened fire at almost point-blank range, and pinned the enemy down. When the battle was over, one of the prisoners we took aboard stared about him, looked at our guns and the piles of empty shell cases and then peered cautiously into the body of our vessel. Terror, incredulity and doubt showed in his face. He was wondering whether we had still more "new weapons" below. Our men told him that the best weapon we had was not a gun but something far more powerful than a gun, a plane or an atomic bomb and that something is man armed with Mao Tse-tung's thought, man's proletarian class consciousness, man's courageous spirit.

Hate the Enemy, Love the People; Destroy Self Interest, Promote the Public Interest, Dedicate Oneself to the Revolutionary Struggle

Where do the class consciousness of the fighters and their courageous spirit come from? Were they born with them? No! They are the result of being nurtured on Mao Tse-tung's great thought. Most of the men on our ship are from poor or lower-middle peasant families who suffered at the hands of the exploiting classes and the reactionaries in the old society. As a result of studying Chairman Mao's works they linked the past sufferings of their families with the class sufferings of countless working people and this gave birth to their revolutionary spirit of daring to dedicate themselves to the complete liberation of mankind. Sacrifices are bound to occur in fighting and the fighters know that to die for the revolution is a death which in significance is weightier than Mount Tai.

"This change in world outlook is something fundamental," Chairman Mao has said. To establish a com-

munist world outlook is a repeated struggle of destroying self-interest and fostering devotion to the public interest. A tradition has been established over the years on our ship of not assigning new comrades to a gun or giving them a weapon at once but of presenting them with copies of three articles by Chairman Mao—*Serve the People*, *In Memory of Norman Bethune* and *The Foolish Old Man Who Removed the Mountains*. The first lesson is not "Capabilities of a Gunboat" but "Serve the People." In everyday life, fighters must consciously use these "three constantly read articles" to get rid of bourgeois ideas and foster proletarian ones; in battle they must fight with conscious courage in the spirit of these articles.

Courage comes with selflessness, with Mao Tse-tung's thought. Only when a revolutionary fighter has established the world outlook to live and die for the revolution can he consciously, in battle, put eliminating the enemy in the first place and preserving himself in the second place; and not until then can he really understand that it is only by destroying the enemy in large numbers that he can effectively preserve himself; and only when he is unafraid of sacrifice can he minimize sacrifices. The braver we are, the keener and more cool-headed we become, and the greater is the skill with which we fight and the better we fight. The braver we are, the more afraid our enemy becomes and the harder it is for him to employ his skill. The braver we are, the quicker is the enemy destroyed and so the better we are able to preserve ourselves. As we moved in to attack in the Chungwu battle, the enemy ships laid down a heavy curtain of fire to hold us off, but one of our gunboats nimbly wove through and shot up to the nose of the enemy and shelled him fiercely. This made the enemy reel, beat down his fire and created the conditions favourable for us to press home the attack. That gunboat of ours came through unscathed.

Those Who Study Chairman Mao's Works the Best Are the Most Courageous, Staunchest And Most Resourceful

To be revolutionary fighters unafraid of dying in battle is a concentrated expression of not fearing hardships and difficulties in everyday life. Only by daring to undergo severe hardships and working very hard in everyday life can one in battle dare to charge forward in the forefront.

The navy's battlefield is the wide ocean and apart from struggling against the class enemy, it often has to battle the elements as well. Men get sea-sick in rough weather but they stick resolutely to their posts. In winter, the sea winds and rain cut like knives. In summer the decks are burning hot while down below it is stifling and muggy. With life so arduous, we teach our fighters to face up to difficulties willingly and to see these conditions as a test for steeling their revolu-

tionary spirit. Resolute revolutionary fighters grow up amidst difficulties and hardships and are steeled by storms and stress. Radioman Ni Yung-hsiang is always practising in his cramped room where in summer the temperature can be 40°C or higher. Despite the heat he keeps on practising. When comrades urge him to take a break or to find a cooler place he says forthrightly: "If I can't stand up to this in normal times, how can I do my work well under battle conditions?"

Why is it that our cadres and fighting men can consciously practise under the most trying conditions? The answer is: They all study Chairman Mao's works, and so they have this ideological basis of serving the people wholeheartedly. They say: "It is for the Chinese revolution and the world revolution that we accept hardships and work hard, and we man our posts on patrol in all weathers for the happiness of the great majority. In the past, our revolutionary forbears stood up to difficulties to create a New China; today, we bear hardships to create a new, communist world." After studying Chairman Mao's works, Signalman Yang Jui-sung wrote this in his notebook: "We've been on patrol for several nights, getting three hours' sleep a day, but by sleeping a few hours less we enable countless people throughout our motherland to sleep a few hours more. Even if I still have to go without sleep for several nights, I'll do it willingly and happily."

People who willingly accept hardships and difficulties for months and years for the sake of the revolution and who are able to die bravely for the revolution if called upon are not inspired by any passing impulse. Facts bear out that those fighters who study Chairman Mao's works the best, have the least selfish ideas and personal calculations and are the ones who can stand the test of hardships and adversity and fight most courageously in battle. Sailor Yang Chin-hsing has studied *Serve the People* more than thirty times since he joined the navy and each time his ideological level has been raised. In the battle off Chungwu he overcame great trials to fulfil his tasks of signalling meritoriously.

Ke Yi, otherwise known as "Tiger Cub," wrote this pledge after studying *Serve the People*: "I'll give up my life to do anything if it is to the interest of the people; I'll never do anything which is not in the interests of the people, not even if I lose my head for it. In battle I'll fight on if I am wounded, if I lose a leg or an arm. I'll give my all, my last drop of blood if it helps the battle." Fighters with such a high degree of conscious courage in serving the Chinese people and the people of the world will be the most courageous, staunchest and most resourceful.

Both the Revolutionary Spirit of Daring to Fight And the Scientific Attitude of Being Good At Fighting Are Needed

We must not only despise large enemy warships and have confidence in sinking them — we must also

take them seriously and be sure of being able to destroy them. We must not only have the revolutionary spirit of daring to fight and to win but also the scientific attitude of being good at fighting in order to win.

Before we had experience in actually sinking large enemy ships there was a difference of opinion on our gunboat whether we could sink larger enemy vessels. Some new comrades thought that small gunboats would find it quite a job. Some of the older comrades thought it would be easy. Both views were one-sided. To get everyone to see the question in all its aspects we looked for the answer in Chairman Mao's works. We got the comrades to state the difficulties, air their views, make concrete analyses and to hold animated discussions.

Can small gunboats like ours sink enemy warships? **Chairman Mao has taught us long ago that "under the leadership of the Communist Party, as long as there are people, every kind of miracle can be performed."** We are revolutionary fighters nurtured by Chairman Mao. Although our ships and equipment are as yet not as good as the enemy's we have an invincible magic weapon in the thought of Mao Tse-tung with which we are sure to perform "miracles."

Without any experience to go by, what was to be done? **Chairman Mao teaches us that the masses have boundless creative power.** As long as we follow Chairman Mao's instructions, be like the "three cobblers who put their heads together and became a master mind," could we ever lack a way and the means? As there are paths over the tallest mountain, and ships sail over the deepest seas, so there are ways and means of doing things which can be thought up by man.

The result of the discussions was the conclusion that small gunboats can knock out larger warships but there must be a revolutionary spirit and a scientific attitude. Everyone said that there are difficulties in small gunboats sinking large ships but as **Chairman Mao has taught us long ago, everything has two sides and so too do difficulties. Hard and easy are relative and under certain conditions they can transform themselves into each other.** The "difficulties" were: no practice to go by and lack of understanding of the laws governing things. But once the laws are mastered things become easy. On the other hand, if difficulties are seen as absolute, unchangeable, and one dares not struggle against them, then their laws can never be understood and grasped and the "difficulties" will always remain difficulties; and even what is not difficult will become difficult.

With this thought in mind everyone made a detailed analysis of each part of the enemy's ships and found that although they are armoured they are not without vulnerable places. If we avoided the enemy's strong points and attacked him where he was weak, then what was vulnerable would become more vulnerable and what was comparatively more difficult would

become less difficult. In the fight with the frigate *Tuochiang* we struck at the enemy's weak points to turn his strong points into weaknesses. First of all we went for such targets as the control tower, the gun turrets and enemy personnel above the deck, destroying and eliminating them totally. This quickly silenced the enemy's guns. Their larger armour-plated ship became a battered shield and we soon sank it.

They Fight With Their Superiority in Firepower, We Fight With Our Superiority in Politics

In the past some people saw fighting power as the sum of the calibre and number of guns and the ship's tonnage — whichever side was superior in these respects had the advantage. This is looking at things from a metaphysical point of view. Such people can see only the size of the enemy vessel and crew and cannot see that the enemy is not of one heart and mind, is low in morale and that the greater their numbers the greater their disorder. They can see only the enemy vessels' displacement but not our shallow draught and high manoeuvrability. They can see only the number and designed capabilities of the enemy's guns and not the fact that these capabilities depend on the men operating the guns. Our fighters have put it well: "Accuracy of aim comes from being politically red." From long experience in fighting the enemy we have arrived at a special "formula" for calculating a vessel's firepower, that is, the sum total of the designed firepower multiplied by the fighting will of the men behind the guns." The higher the fighting will of the crew, the greater the vessel's fighting power. In morale, our armed forces have absolute advantage over the enemy; he simply cannot stand comparison with us.

In naval engagements we have applied the principle of letting the enemy rely on his superior firepower and ourselves relying on our political superiority, matching our defiance of death to the enemy's fear of dying. This not only brings our political superiority into full play but also transforms our inferiority in weapons and equipment into superiority. This lowers the enemy's already low morale and even transforms his superiority in weapons and equipment into inferiority in weapons and equipment.

Chairman Mao has said: "In given conditions, each of the contradictory aspects within a thing transforms itself into its opposite, changes its position to that of its opposite." Generally speaking, the larger enemy warships have relatively greater firepower, whereas our smaller ships have less firepower. In actual fighting, however, greater and less are not absolute; under certain conditions they can change into their opposites. The decisive factor for bringing about this change is the mental make-up of the men. In the engagement off Chungwu, when we were still a fair way off and the enemy was not in much danger from our guns, their fire was regular and intense. When we closed in and brought our guns to bear, the enemy was thrown

into confusion and their gunfire became more and more erratic. In another action we saw one enemy gun firing wildly up into the sky. We later learnt from a prisoner that the gun-layer of that particular gun was a coward and had not dared to poke his head above the protective shield to see his target. The result was that the lower he kept his head down, the higher became the elevation of his gun. So what is the use of having the best weapons if they are in such hands?

Let Them Rely on Their Technical Equipment to Fight At a Distance; We Will Rely on Our Courage and Resourcefulness to Fight at Close Quarters

With each engagement, our understanding of Chairman Mao's thinking on people's war becomes ever more profound. We know to the core of our being that we will be invincible when we profoundly understand and creatively apply the principle of "you fight in your way, and we fight in ours; we fight when we can win, and move away when we can't." The essence embodied in these words is: Avoid the enemy's strength, hit him where he is weak and make full use of our superiority and strong points. In naval actions the enemy likes to fight in daylight and at long range as he then can bring his longer-range weapons into the fullest play. Bearing in mind the nature and special features of our forces we, on our part, stress close-range fighting and night fighting which enable us to make the fullest use of our strong points and close-range weapons.

For a while, we had our differences over this question. Some argued that it was impossible to employ close-range fighting and night fighting in naval warfare. "On the ocean the eye can see as far as the horizon, and there is no contour of the land to be made use of and nothing to hide behind," they said. "We can't get up close to the enemy because of their longer-range guns and greater volume of fire." Some even drew on foreign "experience" and rules and regulations to show that close-quarter and night fighting were hazardous and without precedent. With this problem in mind, we turned to Chairman Mao's works. Chairman Mao says: All truths have their source in practice. What experience was there to draw on from the bourgeois and revisionist military experts who never even dared think about small gunboats taking on large warships? If we fought according to their rules and regulations, victory would naturally be an unattainable dream. We can rely only on Mao Tse-tung's thought, on the wisdom of the masses and create our own experience. There are risks in close-range and night fighting, but our fighting men put it very well when they say: To make revolution we must not be afraid of risks; we must not stop walking for fear of a fall, nor "make way" when we run into large warships of the enemy for fear of getting hit by a few shells. All things on earth are made by men. And so long as we use Mao Tse-tung's thought to guide us, we can create experience not found in any book, never heard of before.

Enter the Backstage Managers

The Soviet revisionists' propaganda machine has been turned on full blast, encouraging and egging the reactionary Ne Win government on in its wild anti-China activities and rabid persecution of overseas Chinese. This clique of Soviet revisionists who have completely aligned themselves with the Burmese reactionaries are doing their utmost to confuse right and wrong.

Singing the tune of the Burmese reactionaries, they slanderously accused overseas Chinese students in Burma of committing an "act of provocation" in wearing badges with the profile of their great leader Chairman Mao Tse-tung. Such mouthings from the Soviet renegades surprise no one. Like Ne Win in Burma, they exercise bourgeois dictatorship in the Soviet Union. They harbour a bitter hatred for the thought of Mao Tse-tung which radiates its brilliance everywhere. They see a threat to their reactionary rule in anyone who studies Chairman Mao's works and

who wears Chairman Mao badges, regarding this as an intolerable "provocation." Have they not sent troops, police and agents to beat up Chinese students reciting *Quotations From Chairman Mao Tse-tung* in front of the Lenin Mausoleum in Moscow and used this fake pretext to accuse them of "creating disturbances"? Such slanders only show that they and Ne Win are reactionaries of the same sort and that it is from the Soviet revisionists that the reactionary Ne Win government has learnt its fascist, anti-China brutalities.

The Soviet revisionists have also slandered the Chinese people's demonstrations against the Burmese reactionary government's fascist, anti-China atrocities as "chauvinistic fanaticism." This is utter nonsense! The bloody atrocities engineered by the reactionary Ne Win government against China and the overseas Chinese are nothing but a revamped version of Hitlerite racism. It would not have the guts to commit such outrages without Soviet instigation and direction. Have the Soviet revisionists not long been dressing up the reactionary policies of Ne Win's fascist regime

In accordance with Chairman Mao's teachings, we made a concrete analysis of the situations of ourselves and the enemy and concluded that close-range and night fighting in naval battles are certainly possible. First, politically we have absolute advantage; our morale is high; we are daring and full of valour and dare to fight to the end; and we have the self-sacrificing spirit of daring to give up our lives for the Chinese and world revolutions. This is the fundamental factor. Second, although it is not so easy to get up to the enemy under cover, we can spot him first as our ship is smaller, take him unawares and jump on him hard and so render his longer-range guns ineffective. Third, the darkness of night, fog, shoals and islets, for us, are all "cover" for sudden strikes on the seas, enabling us to dash out of hiding to surprise the enemy and get to close quarters. When we do so, the greater height of the enemy ships above the water and their longer-range guns put them in a position which can be likened to "hitting the water inside a tub with a hammer" — plenty of force but nowhere to use it. In this way, the superior firepower on which the enemy relies is transformed into its opposite.

Actual battle has proved that close-range and night fighting, which are in keeping with the traditional methods of combat belonging uniquely to our forces, is

also the basic method for smaller ships to use against larger ships. In the Chungwu engagement, the enemy panicked as soon as we got close up to the *Yungchang*. Although they fired frantically in all directions they did so without accuracy. When we opened up the enemy and his guns were soon destroyed. This drove home to us the point that close-range and night fighting are comparable to the feat of Sun Wu-kung* who overcame the ogre Princess of the Iron Fan by entering her stomach — "you want to hit me, you can't. I want you to die, you cannot live."

The victories scored over the past few years in the course of protecting shipping, fishing vessels and countering enemy sabotages are all victories for the great thought of Mao Tse-tung, victories for his thinking on people's war. From actual practice in war we have come to understand profoundly that Mao Tse-tung's thought is the invincible weapon. With such a weapon our small gunboats can pulverise the enemy's larger warships and can defeat all seemingly powerful enemies.

* Sun Wu-kung — a monkey with magic powers — is the main character in the Chinese folk tale *Pilgrimage to the West*. He could change himself into 72 different forms. Once, turning himself into a tiny insect, he found his way into the stomach of the Princess of the Iron Fan and from there defeated her.

as "socialism"? For quite some time, they and U.S. imperialism have been at their job stirring up the reactionary Ne Win government against China. Now they have gone all out in support of that government's rabid anti-China activities and have even fabricated lies that China wants to use overseas Chinese in Burma for some "ulterior aims." They are bent on helping the reactionary Ne Win government sow discord between the Chinese and Burmese people. All this shows that these Soviet renegades are not only fanning up chauvinistic fanaticism but also racist fanaticism!

Chairman Mao has said: **"The representatives of the exploiting classes, when finding themselves at a disadvantage, usually resort to the tactics of attack as a means of defence, to ensure their survival today and facilitate their growth tomorrow."** Today, the great thought of Mao Tse-tung and China's proletarian cultural revolution are spreading and deepening their influence throughout the world, immensely heightening the morale of the revolutionary people. As it is, the imperialists, the modern revisionists and the reactionaries of all countries are scared to death. To preserve their counter-revolutionary common cause, U.S. imperialism and Soviet revisionism have instigated anti-China campaigns in many parts of the world, and the reactionaries of various countries quickly responded. As soon as the Ne Win reactionary government started its anti-Chinese campaign, both the Soviet revisionist clique and U.S. imperialism came out in its support. This proves still more clearly that the Soviet revisionist clique and U.S. imperialism, which manipulate from behind the scenes, are that fascist hangman Ne Win's bosses. Only the U.S. imperialists call the tune, while the Soviet revisionist clique must satisfy itself with playing second fiddle. Now they have stepped on to the stage. Thus the backstage managers make their entry.

By frantically opposing China, the Ne Win reactionary government is lifting a rock only to drop it on its own feet. Nor will the Soviet revisionists gain much from having the Ne Win fascist clique as an additional anti-Chinese pawn. The more closely they gang up with U.S. imperialism and with the Ne Win clique and other such reactionary riffraff, and the more wildly they oppose China, the nearer they will approach their end.

(July 10)

Clumsy Cover Up

Chairman Mao Tse-tung has pointed out: **"The governments of the imperialist countries, though they engaged in counter-revolutionary activities every day, had never told the truth in their statements or official documents but had filled or at least flavoured them with professions of humanity, justice and virtue."** Like the imperialists, the Soviet revisionist renegades

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also are mountebanks who can go to all lengths to flatter as well as commit the worst crime.

Soon after being closeted with Johnson, the U.S. President, Kosygin, Chairman of the U.S.S.R. Council of Ministers, sanctimoniously told a press conference at the United Nations that "it is impossible to count on an improvement of Soviet-American relations so long as the United States is committing aggression against Vietnam." To improve these relations, he said, it is necessary; first and foremost, for the United States to end its war in Vietnam. Splendid words indeed, Kosygin! But they are just a pack of lies.

This same Kosygin declared a little more than a year ago that while the Vietnam war continued and bombs fell on innocent people, a meeting between the Soviet leaders and Johnson was impracticable. Has the U.S. imperialist war of aggression against Vietnam ended since then? Not at all. On the contrary, it has been expanding continuously. Have U.S. bombs stopped killing innocent Vietnamese people? No, the bombing is being intensified. And yet Kosygin has shamelessly thrown himself into Johnson's embrace just the same. Does this not show conclusively that the Soviet revisionists speak with tongue in cheek?

While pretending to support the Vietnamese people, the ruling Soviet revisionist clique has started "over-all collaboration" with U.S. imperialism in a big way. It is this clique's stock manoeuvre to use the phoney slogan "support the Vietnamese people" to cover up intensified Soviet-U.S. collusion. The Soviet Union in recent years has stepped up collaboration with the United States in proportion to the speed with which the United States has escalated its war of aggression against Vietnam. From flirting in private, the Soviet revisionists have taken to hugging the U.S. imperialists in public. There are so-called cultural exchanges, economic co-operation bonds, agreements on setting up consular offices and on fisheries, a treaty on nuclear non-proliferation, an anti-ballistic missile agreement and so on. The co-operation between the United States and the Soviet Union, to say nothing of their "united actions" to suppress the revolutionary struggles of the people in many lands, are indeed unprecedented in scope and size.

But this is not all. The two also work in perfect harmony to induce the Vietnamese people into "peace talks." In the recent global deal Kosygin struck up with Johnson, he not only betrayed the people of the Middle East but the Vietnamese people as well. Johnson pushed so-called "de-escalation" while Kosygin cried for a bombing pause as a prelude. This shows that the two are teaming up again to inveigle the Vietnamese people into "peace talks." No matter how Kosygin tries to cover up the traces, it is a waste of time since the renegade features of the Soviet revisionist clique as the No. 1 accomplice of U.S. imperialism in its aggression against Vietnam have long been fully exposed.

(July 12)

ROUND THE WORLD

MCNAMARA IN SAIGON

No Way Out

U.S. Defence Secretary McNamara left Saigon for home on July 11 after five frantic days in south Vietnam.

Originally scheduled for the middle of June, McNamara's visit was postponed so that he could take part in the Glassboro talks. During these talks, Kosygin took a further step along the path of capitulation to U.S. imperialism on the Vietnam issue and made a secret deal with Johnson. With the tacit agreement and support of the Soviet revisionist clique, U.S. imperialism is intensifying its counter-revolutionary two-faced tactics of war and "peace" against the Vietnamese people. This is the background to McNamara's latest trip.

McNamara went to south Vietnam because the U.S. aggressor troops had been badly mauled in their "dry season offensive." Westmoreland, the chief of U.S. aggressor forces there, had informed Washington of the critical situation and asked urgently for more reinforcements. Reporting on McNamara's journey, AP said that "the United States faces a moment of decision in Vietnam" and that "entire companies [of U.S. aggressor troops] are smashed and whole battalions have had to be pulled out of the battlefield because their strength had been sapped below the danger level."

To cope with this "marked deterioration in the military situation," Westmoreland had asked for an immediate increase of 70,000 to 150,000 troops. However, as Reuter commented, this would mean "soaring military expenditures and the possibility of mobilization of reserves, inflation, and tax increases beyond the 6 per cent surcharge he [Johnson] already has asked Congress to approve." For the Johnson Administration to do this would inevitably arouse stronger opposition among the American people against the war of aggression in Vietnam and bring about still fiercer bickering within the U.S. ruling clique.

It was this impossible situation which made McNamara present his "formula": he advocated the "maximum use" of the present U.S. forces and the "strengthening of the fighting capacity" of the puppet south Vietnam troops. (According to UPI, only 60,000 of the more than 460,000 U.S. troops in south Vietnam are doing combat duty—the rest are in logistics or support units serving these pampered soldiers.) This, of course, is no real solution to the problem.

In fact, even if Washington sends 100,000 or 200,000 more men as Westmoreland demanded, U.S. imperialism still cannot achieve its purpose. The more troops it sends to south Vietnam, the more disastrous are its defeats. A June 27 article in the *Wall Street Journal* complained "The people who are now saying 600,000 men will do the job are the same who once said 400,000 would" and the "only result of the U.S. troops buildup of the past year" has been that the south Vietnamese people's forces became "stronger."

This is why, before his departure from Saigon McNamara had to admit that, on the south Vietnam battlefield, "the enemy has by no means been eliminated as a threat" and that he did not "expect dramatic progress in the future" for the "pacification" programme.

McNamara has made nine tours to south Vietnam in six years. Each time the U.S. war of aggression was at a critical stage and he invariably stepped up the escalation. His latest visit is no exception. But the results of every one of his visits have shown that the more U.S. imperialism expands the war, the deeper it sinks into the mire.

ANOTHER SOVIET SELL-OUT

"U.N. Observers" in Suez Canal Zone

Redoubling its efforts to collaborate with U.S. imperialism, the Soviet revisionist ruling clique is trying by

use of the United Nations to compel the Arab countries to submit to the blackmail of the U.S. and Israeli aggressors.

On July 6, U.S. Secretary of State Rusk stressed that the United States would "continue to do its full share" to "achieve agreements or arrangements" with the Soviet Union for "a lasting settlement" of the Middle East issue. On July 8 U.S. officials stated more clearly that "American hopes are concentrated" on the U.N. and particularly "on possible behind-the-scenes talks in the U.N. Security Council" for speedy action in the Middle East.

Washington's call for collaboration has received a positive response from the leaders of the Soviet revisionist clique. On July 5 Brezhnev pledged every effort to prevent the resumption of war in the Middle East. In an interview with a French correspondent on July 9, Kosygin advertised "peaceful coexistence" as the "only possibility of preserving world peace." He declared that the Soviet Union "will take all steps in the Security Council" to deal with the Middle East situation. He had the impudence to say "we believe in the U.N."

Soviet Foreign Minister Gromyko who accompanied Kosygin to the United States has been busy in the United Nations. Apart from maintaining close contact with Rusk and U.N. Secretary General U Thant, he has had a flurry of meetings with Arab representatives to the U.N. General Assembly emergency session. Meanwhile, Soviet revisionist military and state leaders have been scurrying around the Middle East to peddle joint Soviet-U.S. plans to induce the Arab countries to submit to the aggressors.

It is against this background that the United States, the Soviet Union, Britain and France, on the evening of July 9, reached a "gentlemen's agreement" through "behind-the-scenes negotiations," and decided to send "U.N. observers" to the Suez Canal zone to "supervise the ceasefire" between the Israeli aggressors and the United Arab Republic. Losing no time, they manoeuvred the U.N.

Security Council into approving the decision early the next morning. This was another step to legalize the status quo so as to enable Israel to continue its occupation of the Arab countries' territories and allow U.S. imperialism, under the cover of the U.N., to control the Suez Canal and establish its influence over the Middle East.

THE DARJEELING ARMED STRUGGLE

New Delhi's Dual Tactics Fail

The Indian Government is applying with greater vigour counter-revolutionary dual tactics in a desperate effort to stamp out the flames of the Darjeeling peasant armed struggle which is led by the revolutionaries in the Indian Communist Party. But both threats and inducement have failed dismally.

"Fifteen hundred state police are waiting for the signal to storm the stronghold of the Left Communist extremists," reported an Indian correspondent on July 1. The *Indian Express* stated on July 5: "The West Bengal government tonight gave the green light to the police to go ahead with all necessary steps to combat lawlessness in the Naxalbari area"; "the police may arrest whomsoever they consider it necessary to arrest. At present, there are about 800 persons on the 'wanted list' . . . more police stations will be set up and patrols will be intensified." The next day, the same paper said that the police authorities had divided the so-called "rebel" strongholds, big or small, into five zones, that a force of nearly 300 policemen is earmarked for each zone, and that special police trained in jungle operations have been sent to Naxalbari.

Parallel with these preparations for armed suppression, the reactionary government is talking about "land distribution." This is another example of political deceit.

As West Bengal Chief Minister A.K. Mukherjee has admitted, the state government's policy is to isolate the "extremists" who are leading the peasant armed struggle. "To implement the policy of 'isolation,' the cabinet has taken some new steps, including the speeding up of the work

of land reform and land distribution," he said.

A June 30 report in the *Indian Express* revealed the Indian Government's intrigue. It said that state ministers were "hopeful of winning over the peasantry from the 'rebels' by speedy distribution of land . . . once the villagers were won over, the task of mopping up the leadership would be easy."

The revolutionaries in the Indian Communist Party and the peasant insurgents are waging a tit-for-tat struggle against this criminal design of the Indian Government. They publicly declared that "Naxalbari has blazed a new trail, which will keep on burning," that "the issue (involved in the armed struggle) is no longer agrarian but political—liberation of the peasants from the bourgeois-dominated government propped up by the new revisionists."

The West Bengal state government set a deadline of July 4 for the revolutionaries and the rebellious peasants to surrender to the police. Indian official sources indicated that none did so. Instead, "the wanted rebel leaders are moving about freely gathering arms and exhorting the tribesmen to resist the police." They were urging the peasants to prepare themselves for a protracted armed struggle.

Nor has the Indian Government succeeded in its "land distribution" scheme. PTI reported on July 6: "The Naxalbari Thana land distribution committee meeting, scheduled to be held at Hatighisa on Monday last (July 3), could not be held as no one turned up."

BETWEEN COLONIALISTS OLD AND NEW

Battle Over the Congo (K)

In their struggle to seize the Congo(K), the old and new colonialists are battering away at each other ever more fiercely. This is the meaning of the clashes between the U.S.-backed Mobutu puppet troops and the white mercenaries led by the Belgian colonialists in the eastern and north-eastern parts of the country.

The latest fighting started on July 5 when the white mercenaries

launched attacks on the Mobutu puppet troops. They occupied Kisangani (formerly Stanleyville) and Bukavu and got control of their airports. On July 10, U.S. imperialism hurriedly sent an American unit including paratroopers and three C-130 transport planes to the Congo(K) to join and direct the Mobutu troops in the fighting.

Ever since the end of 1965 when the American neo-colonialists kicked out the Belgian-trained lackey Tshombe and brought the butcher Mobutu into power, they have tightened their control over the Congo(K) through military and economic "aid." They have also directed the puppet regime to take a host of measures to weaken and eliminate the influence of the Belgian and other colonialists in the country. Last year, the United States established the "Congo General Mining Company"—an organization formed by the Mobutu clique and controlled by U.S. monopolies—to squeeze out the Belgian-controlled "Upper Katanga United Mining Company" which formerly held the Congo's economic lifelines in its hands. In order to retain their position, the Belgian and other colonialists have fought tooth and nail. They have been plotting to overthrow the Mobutu puppet regime and recruiting mercenaries for Tshombe. They have also tried to help Tshombe return to the Congo(K) for a political comeback.

In this fight between the old and new colonialists where dog is eating dog the Soviet revisionists have once again shown themselves to be an accomplice of U.S. imperialism—the number one enemy of the Congolese (K) people. Under joint U.S.-Soviet manipulation, the U.N. Security Council discussed the so-called Congo(K) question and on July 10 adopted a resolution backing the Mobutu puppet regime. During the debate, Soviet delegate Fedorenko openly supported and praised the Mobutu regime, butcher of the Congolese (K) people, even describing it as a "new emerging African country which has gained sovereignty and independence and is struggling for liberation from colonial slavery!"

ACROSS THE LAND

Excellent Summer Harvest

CHINA reaped an excellent summer harvest this year. In a few places, severe natural calamities affected yields, but in the country as a whole the output of summer ripening crops—mainly wheat, barley, peas and broad beans—was about 10 per cent larger than last year.

Kweichow Province in the southwest gathered its best ever summer harvest and big increases were registered in Shansi, Hopei, and Shensi Provinces in the northern parts of the country, and in Szechuan (southwest), Honan, Hupeh (central-south) and the rural area around Shanghai, all of them important grain-producers. Some southern provinces raised 10-20 per cent more rapeseed than last year and a few areas got even larger increases.

Commune members and rural cadres acclaim these gains as another victory for the thought of Mao Tse-tung and an achievement of the great proletarian cultural revolution.

In a number of summer crop producing areas hit by drought last autumn, the sowing had to be postponed. Spring rains ended the drought but some areas later suffered from hail, insects, or hot dry

winds. Armed with Mao Tse-tung's thought, however, the mass of commune members and revolutionary rural cadres were undaunted. Bearing in mind Chairman Mao's great call to "grasp revolution and promote production," they reinforced their field work with the revolutionary energy generated by the great proletarian cultural revolution. In many places big efforts were made to bring more arid land under irrigation. In line with Chairman Mao's teaching that "man has constantly to sum up experience and go on discovering, inventing, creating and advancing," commune members and revolutionary rural cadres used past experience to improve their sowing methods, sowing implements, field management and plant disease and insect pest control.

When the summer crops ripened, the people's commune organized an army of harvesters. Inspired by the great movement to criticize and repudiate the handful of top Party persons in authority taking the capitalist road, they worked selflessly to bring every last ear of grain into the granaries. Large numbers of revolutionary workers and staff, teachers and students, cadres, commanders and fighters of the P.L.A. powerfully reinforced the Shansi, Shantung, Kweichow, Szechuan, Peking and Shanghai commune members and revolutionary rural cadres in their battle to bring in the harvest. Thanks to the revolutionary drive engendered by the great proletarian cultural revolution and large-scale assistance from all quarters the summer harvest was

brought in swiftly. The quality of the work was of a high standard.

Harvesting was followed immediately by an enthusiastic, high-powered drive to pay their agricultural tax in kind, to deliver grain, and oil-bearing crops to the state collecting points. The broad masses of poor and lower-middle peasants and other revolutionary commune members and rural cadres strictly observed Chairman Mao's teaching: "On the question of the distribution of income, we must take account of the interests of the state, the collective and the individual." After seeing to it that an adequate amount had been allocated for their own consumption and for seed, fodder and the collective reserve, they enthusiastically paid their agricultural tax in kind and sold their surplus grain and oil-bearing crops to the state. By the end of June, Szechuan Province, where harvesting began earlier, and wheat-growing Honan, Anhwei and Shantung Provinces had completed 70 per cent and more of their payment of agricultural tax and purchasing plan. The rapeseed-growing areas of Szechuan Province and the delta of the Yangtse River have already overfulfilled their state purchasing quotas.

Shantung Sells State More Pigs and Eggs

IN the first half of this year Shantung Province sold the state 84 per cent more pigs and 45 per cent more fresh eggs than in the same period of 1966. After satisfying its own needs, Shantung provided other provinces with 10 times more pigs and frozen pork and 36.5 times more fresh eggs than in the first half of 1966. Exports of pork and egg products also rose considerably.

Determined to purchase and move more live pigs and fresh eggs faster, better and more economically, the revolutionary workers and staff of the provincial food-stuffs company armed themselves ideologically with the thought of Mao Tse-tung. Fully mobilizing and relying on the masses they overcame every difficulty to fulfil their task.



P.L.A. men helping commune members reap wheat in Huahsien County, Shensi Province

(Continued from p. 7.)

demonstrated the Albanian people's and youth's friendship and enormous love for the fraternal Chinese people and youth, for the glorious Chinese Communist Party and for the outstanding Marxist-Leninist Comrade Mao Tse-tung, the respected and beloved great leader of the Chinese people and great friend of the Albanian people."

Comrade Yao Wen-yuan in his speech said that in the struggle against imperialism, revisionism and the reactionaries in all countries, the Chinese people would always fight side by side with the Albanian people. He also said that during its visit to Albania the Chinese Red Guard delegation had "personally felt that Mao Tse-tung's thought is demonstrating its incomparably great revolutionary might throughout the world. Mao Tse-tung's thought is the beacon illuminating the world revolutionary people's road towards victory. Many Marxist-Leninist youth organizations in different countries have told how they regard Mao Tse-tung's thought as the guiding star for their struggles and how they apply it to the revolutionary practice in their own countries. This has given us tremendous inspiration. Mao Tse-tung's thought is the Marxism-Leninism of the era in which imperialism is heading for total collapse and socialism is advancing to worldwide victory. It is becoming the most incisive spiritual weapon of the oppressed peoples of the world for winning their complete emancipation. Marxism-Leninism, Mao Tse-tung's thought, is certain to triumph throughout the whole world!"

Their speeches were repeatedly interrupted by stormy applause and slogans: "Long live Comrade Mao Tse-tung!" "Long live Comrade Enver Hoxha!" "Enver-Mao Tse-tung!" and "Long live Albanian-Chinese friendship!"

Protests Against Burmese Government for Continuing Anti-China Campaign

Disregarding China's serious protests and stern condemnation by the

world's people, the reactionary Ne Win government of Burma is becoming more unrestrained in spreading the anti-China and anti-Chinese campaign it has whipped up to the urban and rural areas of the whole country.

What is especially serious is that the reactionary Burmese Government has gone so far as to connive with hooligans in various parts of Burma who have used the most vicious language and the most despicable means to set off wild attacks and hurl every kind of insult at the great leader of the Chinese people Chairman Mao. This is the most serious provocation against the 700 million Chinese people and can never be tolerated by them.

The Chinese Embassy in Burma in a note on July 11 to the Burmese Foreign Ministry protested in the strongest terms. The note said: Chairman Mao is the very red sun that shines most brightly in our hearts and Mao Tse-tung's thought is our lifeline. We must warn you that we will fight to the end against anyone who dares to oppose Chairman Mao and Mao Tse-tung's thought. Anyone who dares to oppose Chairman Mao and Mao Tse-tung's thought is hitting his head against a brick wall and inviting his own destruction.

The Burmese Government has organized and connived with many fascist hooligans to murder hundreds of patriotic overseas Chinese in the most brutal way.

The Chinese side has repeatedly demanded that the Burmese Government make proper arrangements for officials of the Chinese Embassy in Burma, together with relatives of the victimized and missing Chinese and representatives of the overseas Chinese organizations, to identify the bodies of the victims. But the Burmese Government has repeatedly burnt the remains of the murdered overseas Chinese in the absence of the Chinese Embassy officials and the representatives of the overseas Chinese organizations.

In another note on July 11 to the Burmese Foreign Ministry, the Chinese Embassy lodged another serious

protest against this, sternly warning that if the Burmese Government continued to pay no heed to China's just demands, the punishment in store for it would be doubly severe.

In addition to shocking massive slaughter, the Burmese Government has carried out large-scale arrests, arson and plunder against the masses of overseas Chinese. In this connection, the Chinese Government demanded that the Chinese Embassy in Burma be free to send personnel to the overseas Chinese quarters to make a detailed investigation of the persecution, and it decided to send planes to Rangoon to bring the seriously wounded overseas Chinese back to China for medical treatment.

But, in its July 4 note replying to the Chinese Embassy on this question, the Burmese Government asserted that it was providing the wounded overseas Chinese with adequate medical facilities. This is a complete lie. The facts are that the seriously wounded were not given proper medical care at all in hospital and that many of them died because of lack of timely first-aid or treatment.

The Burmese Government has repeatedly rejected the Chinese Government's just demand to send planes to bring the seriously wounded overseas Chinese back, asserting that it "cannot allow them to leave the country until after matters relating to the present crisis have been resolved." This is simply a confession that the Burmese Government is going to persecute overseas Chinese on an even bigger scale.

The Chinese Foreign Ministry in a note on July 14 to the Burmese Embassy in China refuted the lies made up by the Burmese Government in its July 4 note. The Chinese Foreign Ministry pointed out that the Burmese Government's refusal to allow Chinese embassy personnel to investigate and the Chinese Government to send planes to return the seriously wounded overseas Chinese clearly revealed that it has a guilty conscience and is afraid of being exposed.

The note reiterated that in arbitrarily rejecting the above just

demands of the Chinese Government, the Burmese Government must bear the responsibility for all the grave consequences arising therefrom.

The note denounced the so-called military control the Burmese Government has imposed on the overseas Chinese quarters, which is an attempt to use guns and bayonets to provide cover for Burmese thugs carrying out even more ruthless persecution of overseas Chinese. It condemned the Burmese Government for depriving the Chinese Embassy of its diplomatic privileges, restricting its contacts with the overseas Chinese and encroaching upon its sacred and inviolable right to protect their proper rights and interests.

Afraid that its fascist crimes and reactionary features will be further exposed before the people of China and the rest of the world, the Burmese Government flagrantly announced on July 14 the cancellation of the permit of Yu Min-sheng, correspondent of the Rangoon Branch of the Hsinhua News Agency, to stay in Burma and asked him to leave before noon, July 17.

In its July 16 note lodging the strongest protest to the Burmese Foreign Ministry, the Chinese Embassy

in Burma pointed out that this is another premeditated, serious step aimed at further worsening Sino-Burmese relations and that Ne Win is the chief culprit in opposing China, persecuting Chinese nationals and disrupting relations between the two countries.

The note stressed that holding high the great red banner of Mao Tse-tung's thought, the Rangoon Office of the Hsinhua News Agency has so truthfully covered the Burmese Government's fascist outrages that Ne Win himself has unscrupulously come forth to issue the order expelling the Hsinhua correspondent.

The note declared: Since you have made up your mind to completely wreck Sino-Burmese relations, then empty your bag of tricks and show what else is in it! The Chinese people armed with Mao Tse-tung's thought are not intimidated by the outrages you have committed.

New War Provocation by U.S. Bandit Planes

Four U.S. imperialist F-105 bandit fighter planes intruded into China's air space over the western part of

Tunghsing Multi-Nationality Autonomous County in the Kwangsi Chuang Autonomous Region on the afternoon of July 12. They fired two guided missiles at Chinese frontier guards, injuring four soldiers of the Chinese People's Liberation Army and damaging one house. When aircraft of the heroic P.L.A. air force took off, the enemy planes fled in panic.

A spokesman of the Chinese Ministry of National Defence sternly warned U.S. imperialism that its war provocation would surely meet with resolute rebuff and doubly severe punishment from the Chinese people and the Chinese People's Liberation Army. The spokesman said that this serious incident was a long considered and planned action. This criminal act by the U.S. authorities did not show their might, but showed their weakness. He exposed the anti-China crimes of U.S. imperialism in collusion with Soviet revisionism, British imperialism and the reactionaries of all countries. He added by quoting the teaching of our great leader Chairman Mao: "The time is not far away when the aggressors and their running dogs in the world will all be buried. There can be no escape for them."

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