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THE FOOLISH OLD MAN WHO REMOVED THE MOUNTAINS

MAO TSE-TUNG

June 11, 1945

On the Revolutionary "Three-in-One"
Combination

Hongqi editorial.

QUOTATIONS FROM CHAIRMAN MAO TSE-TUNG

Be resolute, fear no sacrifice and surmount every difficulty to win victory.

The Foolish Old Man Who Removed the Mountains

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The people, and the people alone, are the motive force in the making of world history.

On Coalition Government

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The just struggles of the peoples of various countries in the world support each other.

Important Talks With Guests From Asia, Africa and Latin America



Chairman Mao Tse-tung

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



Chairman Mao Meets Comrade Wilcox



Chairman Mao with Comrade Wilcox (*third from the left*).
Comrade Rita Smith is second from the right.

COMRADE MAO TSE-TUNG, Chairman of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party and the great leader of the Chinese people, met Comrade V. G. Wilcox, General Secretary of the Communist Party of New Zealand, on March 12. Comrade Mao Tse-tung and Comrade V.G. Wilcox had an extremely cordial conversation.

Present at the meeting were Comrade Chou En-lai and Comrade Kang Sheng. Members of the Standing Committee of the Political Bureau of the Chinese Communist Party's Central Committee, and Comrade

Liu Ning-I, Member of the Secretariat of the Party's Central Committee. Also present was Comrade Rita Smith, Member of the National Committee of the Communist Party of New Zealand, who was in Peking.

Comrade V.G. Wilcox arrived in Peking on March 8 on a friendly visit to China at the invitation of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party. He was welcomed at the airport by Comrade Chou En-lai, Comrade Kang Sheng and several hundred representatives of the proletarian revolutionaries in the capital.

On the evening of March 10, Comrades Chou En-lai and Kang Sheng gave a banquet for Comrade Wilcox. At the banquet which was permeated with a warm and friendly atmosphere Comrades Chou En-lai and Wilcox proposed toasts to the militant friendship between the Chinese Communist Party and the Communist Party of New Zealand, the victory of Marxism-Leninism throughout the world, the victory of China's great proletarian cultural revolution and the health of the great leader Chairman Mao.

Accompanied by Comrade Liu Ning-I, Comrade Wilcox visited the Peking Aeronautical Engineering Institute on the morning of March 10. He received a tremendous welcome from several thousand young revolutionary fighters of the Red Flag Fighting Detachment and other revolutionary students, teachers and staff members of the institute. Addressing a big meeting which welcomed him, Comrade Wilcox said: "Comrade Mao Tse-tung is the greatest living Marxist-Leninist. He has not only inherited Marxism-Leninism from the past, but creatively developed it in the era of the final defeat of imperialism." He added that the Communist Party of New Zealand had realized that the great thought of Mao Tse-tung was Marxism-Leninism in practice and that Mao Tse-tung's thought guaranteed victory not only for the Chinese revolution but also for the world revolution.

Comrade Wilcox paid warm tribute to China's great proletarian cultural revolution which, led by Chairman Mao himself, guarantees the victory of socialism and prevents revisionism and the restoration of capitalism. He said: "You are building a strong socialist China, and in so doing, you are actually helping us in our fight to overthrow imperialism in our country of New Zealand."

He went on to say that the Communist Party of New Zealand and the Communist Party of China were fighting shoulder to shoulder against imperialism headed by the United States and against modern revisionism with the leading clique of the Soviet Communist Party as its centre. China is building socialism, he said. "Your country is the main bulwark in opposing imperialism. The New Zealand Communist Party is also struggling, opposing imperialism and fighting for socialism. Shoulder to shoulder, we will go forward to a glorious future in unity with the whole of progressive mankind."

Comrade Wilcox's speech evoked thunderous and enthusiastic applause and everyone at the meeting continually shouted: "Long live the militant friendship between the Chinese Communist Party and the New Zealand Communist Party!" "Prole-

ariat of the world, unite!" "Long live all-conquering Marxism-Leninism, Mao Tse-tung's thought!" "Long live the great leader Chairman Mao! A long, long life to him!"

National Grain Delivery and Purchasing Plan Overfulfilled

In the high tide of the great proletarian cultural revolution, poor and lower-middle peasants and the revolutionary masses in the rural people's communes throughout the country, holding high the great red banner of Mao Tse-tung's thought and warmly responding to their most respected and beloved great leader Chairman Mao's great call to "take firm hold of the revolution and promote production," have enthusiastically delivered their grain (paying the agricultural tax in kind) and sold their surpluses to the state after they had gathered in a rich harvest. The national grain delivery and purchasing plan for 1966-67 had been overfulfilled by the middle of February and was ahead of schedule. This is a victory for the great proletarian cultural revolution and for the great thought of Mao Tse-tung.

Statistics released by the Ministry of Food showed that the plan had been overfulfilled by 4.56 per cent by February 20. According to the State Council's stipulations, China's grain year runs from April 1 each year to March 31 the following year.

The great proletarian cultural revolution has been the great motive force behind this resounding victory on the grain front. In this revolution, Mao Tse-tung's thought has taken still deeper roots in the people's minds. Poor and lower-middle peasants, revolutionary commune members and revolutionary cadres of communes and production brigades had rid themselves of self-interest and fostered devotion to the public interest. With boundless love for our great leader Chairman Mao and infinite hatred for the handful of persons in the Party who were in authority and taking the capitalist road, they enthusiastically sold their surplus and good grain to the state.

They said that in promptly selling surpluses and helping fulfil and overfulfil the state plan for grain delivery and purchase, they were contributing their efforts to consolidating the socialist system and the dictatorship of the proletariat and to the nation's socialist economic construction. And this, they said, was an expression of their support for the great proletarian cultural revolution. Immediately after threshing their crops, many production brigades organized groups to deliver the grain. Holding aloft portraits of Chairman Mao, placards with quotations from his works and red banners, the peasants were in high spirits and shouted slogans as they joyously sent the grain to the state granary.

The grain situation in 1966-67 is better than that of the last few years. This stems from the fact that the poor and lower-middle peasants in the rural people's communes and the proletarian revolutionaries in Party and government organizations at all levels and in foodstuff departments have held high the great red banner of Mao Tse-tung's thought in the great proletarian cultural revolution. The Party's policies have been thoroughly carried out and the relationship between the state, the collective and the individual has been reasonably settled, while the speed and amount of grain delivered registered a new high for the last few years. Also, the quality of the grain is good. Particularly noteworthy is the fact that last year saw big increases in agricultural output in some of China's northern provinces where natural conditions are less favourable. It is because of this that the grain delivery and purchase plan has been fulfilled well. This is of tremendous significance for implementing Chairman Mao's great strategic policy of "preparedness against war, preparedness against natural calamities and everything for the people," and it reduces the need to transport grain from southern to northern parts of the country.

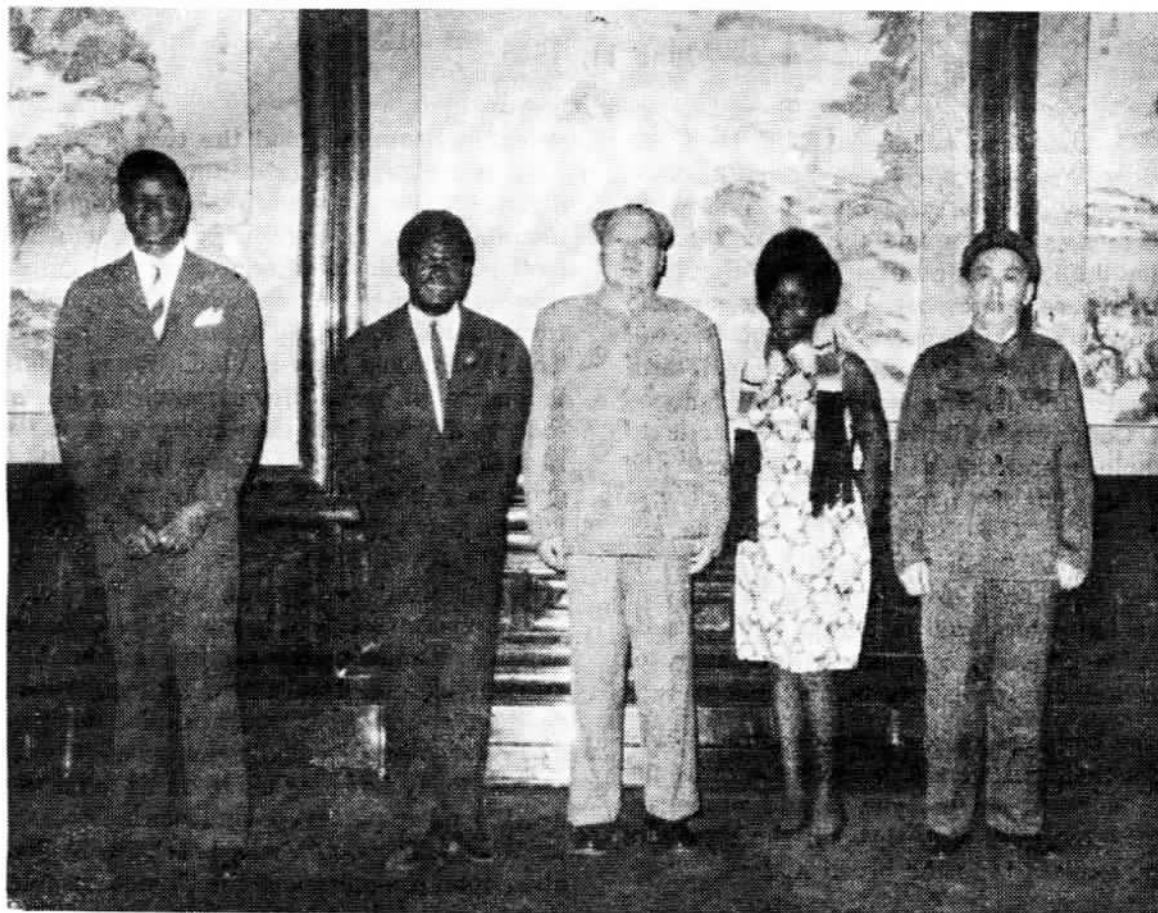
At present, the grain delivery and purchasing work throughout the country is drawing to a conclusion. Proletarian revolutionaries in leading Party and government organizations

Chairman Mao Receives Congolese (B) Minister

CHAIRMAN MAO TSE-TUNG, our most respected and beloved great leader, on March 14 received Francois Macosso, Minister of Justice and Min-

ister of Labour of the Congo (Brazzaville), and his wife. Chairman Mao had a cordial and friendly talk with the Congolese guests.

Among those present on the occasion was Vice-Premier Hsieh Fuchih. Also present was Appolinaire Bazinga, Congolese (B) Ambassador to China.



Chairman Mao with Minister Francois Macosso and his wife. First from the left is Appolinaire Bazinga.

at all levels and foodstuff departments are strengthening their leadership further and keeping a firm hold on the last phases of this work. While doing their best to take good care of the grain and to send it to places where it is needed, they are giving vigorous support to the spring farm work in the effort to win a rich harvest for 1967.

Soviet Revisionist Authorities' New Anti-China Crime Protested

A leading member of the Department of the Soviet Union and East

European Affairs of the Chinese Foreign Ministry on March 11 summoned Razdukhov, Charge d'Affaires ad interim of the Soviet Embassy in China, and handed him a note, strongly protesting against the Soviet authorities' new anti-China provocation at the Naushki station in the Soviet Union of forcibly impounding Chairman Mao's works displayed on the Chinese international express and barbarously beating up the Chinese crew on March 6. In the note, the Chinese Government expressed its greatest indignation at this provocation and lodged the strongest protest with the Soviet Government.

The note pointed out that this new anti-China provocation by the Soviet authorities was another serious step taken by the Soviet Government to deliberately undermine relations between China and the Soviet Union following the fascist outrages committed by Soviet troops, police and thugs on two occasions in beating up the Chinese students returning from Europe and Chinese diplomatic personnel. The Soviet Government must be held fully responsible for all this.

The note described in detail how the Soviet frontier guards had im-

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THE FOOLISH OLD MAN WHO REMOVED THE MOUNTAINS

MAO TSE-TUNG

June 11, 1945

WE have had a very successful congress. We have done three things. First, we have decided on the line of our Party, which is boldly to mobilize the masses and expand the people's forces so that, under the leadership of our Party, they will defeat the Japanese aggressors, liberate the whole people and build a new-democratic China. Second, we have adopted the new Party Constitution. Third, we have elected the leading body of the Party—the Central Committee. Henceforth our task is to lead the whole membership in carrying out the Party line. Ours has been a congress of victory, a congress of unity. The delegates have made excellent comments on the three reports. Many comrades have undertaken self-criticism; with unity as the objective unity has been achieved through self-criticism. This congress is a model of unity, of self-criticism and of inner-Party democracy.

When the congress closes, many comrades will be leaving for their posts and the various war fronts. Comrades, wherever you go, you should propagate the line of the congress and, through the members of the Party, explain it to the broad masses.

Our aim in propagating the line of the congress is to build up the confidence of the whole Party and the entire people in the certain triumph of the revolution. We must first raise the political consciousness of the vanguard so that, resolute and unafraid of sacrifice, they will surmount every difficulty to win victory. But this is not enough; we must also arouse the political consciousness of the entire people so that they may willingly and gladly fight together with us for victory. We should fire the whole people with the conviction that China belongs not to the reactionaries but to the Chinese people. There is an ancient Chinese fable called "The Foolish Old Man Who Removed the Mountains". It tells of an old man who lived in northern China long, long ago and was known as the Foolish Old Man of North Mountain. His house faced south and be-

yond his doorway stood the two great peaks, Taihang and Wangwu, obstructing the way. With great determination, he led his sons in digging up these mountains hoe in hand. Another greybeard, known as the Wise Old Man, saw them and said derisively, "How silly of you to do this! It is quite impossible for you few to dig up these two huge mountains." The Foolish Old Man replied, "When I die, my sons will carry on; when they die, there will be my grandsons, and then their sons and grandsons, and so on to infinity. High as they are, the mountains cannot grow any higher and with every bit we dig, they will be that much lower. Why can't we clear them away?" Having refuted the Wise Old Man's wrong view, he went on digging every day, unshaken in his conviction. God was moved by this, and he sent down two angels, who carried the mountains away on their backs. Today, two big mountains lie like a dead weight on the Chinese people. One is imperialism, the other is feudalism. The Chinese Communist Party has long made up its mind to dig them up. We must persevere and work unceasingly, and we, too, will touch God's heart. Our God is none other than the masses of the Chinese people. If they stand up and dig together with us, why can't these two mountains be cleared away?

Yesterday, in a talk with two Americans who were leaving for the United States, I said that the U.S. government was trying to undermine us and this would not be permitted. We oppose the U.S. government's policy of supporting Chiang Kai-shek against the Communists. But we must draw a distinction, firstly, between the people of the United States and their government and, secondly, within the U.S. government between the policy-makers and their subordinates. I said to these two Americans, "Tell the policy-makers in your government that we forbid you Americans to enter the Liberated Areas because your policy is to support Chiang Kai-shek against the Communists, and we have to be on our guard. You can come to the Liberated Areas if your purpose is to fight Japan, but there must first be an agreement. We will not permit you to nose around everywhere. Since Patrick J. Hurley has publicly

This was Comrade Mao Tse-tung's concluding speech at the Seventh National Congress of the Communist Party of China.

declared against co-operation with the Chinese Communist Party, why do you still want to come and prowl around in our Liberated Areas?"

The U.S. government's policy of supporting Chiang Kai-shek against the Communists shows the brazenness of the U.S. reactionaries. But all the scheming of the reactionaries, whether Chinese or foreign, to prevent the Chinese people from achieving victory is doomed to failure. The democratic forces are the main current in the world today, while reaction is only a counter-current. The reactionary counter-current is trying to swamp the main current of national independence and people's democracy, but it can never become the main current. Today, there are still three major contradictions in the old world, as Stalin pointed out long ago: first, the contradiction between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie in the imperialist countries; second, the contradiction between the various imperialist powers; and third, the contradiction between the colonial and semi-colonial countries and the imperialist metropolitan countries. Not only do these three

contradictions continue to exist but they are becoming more acute and widespread. Because of their existence and growth, the time will come when the reactionary anti-Soviet, anti-Communist and anti-democratic counter-current still in existence today will be swept away.

At this moment two congresses are being held in China, the Sixth National Congress of the Kuomintang and the Seventh National Congress of the Communist Party. They have completely different aims: the aim of one is to liquidate the Communist Party and all the other democratic forces in China and thus to plunge China into darkness; the aim of the other is to overthrow Japanese imperialism and its lackeys, the Chinese feudal forces, and build a new-democratic China and thus to lead China to light. These two lines are in conflict with each other. We firmly believe that, led by the Chinese Communist Party and guided by the line of its Seventh Congress, the Chinese people will achieve complete victory, while the Kuomintang's counter-revolutionary line will inevitably fail.

During the great proletarian cultural revolution which is shaking the nation and the whole world, there has been a new, unprecedented upsurge in the creative study and application of Chairman Mao's works among the commanders and fighters of the Chinese People's Liberation Army and the hundreds of millions of the revolutionary masses of China. Chairman Mao's close comrade-in-arms Comrade Lin Biao not long ago called on the whole army to study Chairman Mao's "three constantly read articles" (*Serve the People*, *In Memory of Norman Bethune* and *The Foolish Old Man Who Removed the Mountains*). He said: "We must study the 'three constantly read articles' as maxims. These must be studied at all levels. We must apply what we study so as to revolutionize our thinking." Warmly responding to this call, the revolutionary masses are diligently studying and applying these three brilliant works in a great effort to remould their thinking, destroy self-interest, promote devotion to the public interest, and revolutionize themselves to the very depths of their souls.

In response to requests from many of our readers, we are publishing Chairman Mao's "three constantly read articles." *Serve the People* and *In Memory of Norman Bethune* were reprinted respectively in *Peking Review*, Nos. 2 and 8, 1967. Now we reprint the last article of the "three constantly read articles" — *The Foolish Old Man Who Removed the Mountains* — together with material provided by *Jiefangjun Bao* (Liberation Army Daily) to aid in its study. — P.R. Ed.

Study "The Foolish Old Man Who Removed the Mountains"

The following reference material was published by "Jiefangjun Bao" (Liberation Army Daily) on January 10 as a guide to aid cadres and fighters of the P.L.A. companies in the study of Chairman Mao's article "The Foolish Old Man Who Removed the Mountains," one of the "three constantly read articles." This is a slightly abridged translation. — Ed.

THE *Foolish Old Man Who Removed the Mountains*, a brilliant work, is the text of the concluding speech made by Chairman Mao at the Seventh National Con-

gress of the Communist Party of China on June 11, 1945.

At that time the international anti-fascist war had already won a decisive victory. The defeat of Japanese imperialism was imminent. But serious struggles still faced the Party and the people on the road of their advance. It was just as Chairman Mao pointed out: two big mountains — imperialism and feudalism — lay like a dead weight on the Chinese people. Japanese imperialism had not yet been finally overthrown. In a vain attempt to turn China into its colony following

the Chinese people's victory in their War of Resistance Against Japan, U.S. imperialism was actively carrying out a policy of supporting Chiang Kai-shek against the Communists. With the vigorous support of U.S. imperialism, the Kuomintang reactionaries were stepping up their preparations for civil war in an attempt to wipe out the people's revolutionary forces, seize the fruits of victory won by the people in their War of Resistance, and plunge China into darkness.

After victory in the War of Resistance Against Japan, therefore, China still faced two opposed roads, two futures: In the one case imperialism, particularly U.S. imperialism, would continue to dominate and occupy China and turn it back into its old semi-colonial and semi-feudal state. The alternative was, under the leadership of the Chinese Communist Party, to boldly mobilize the masses, expand the people's forces, completely overthrow the rule of imperialism and feudalism in China, and build a new, people's democratic China.

At this important turning point in history, our Party convened its Seventh National Congress. That congress, presided over by Chairman Mao himself, decided on the line of the Party, adopted the new Party Constitution and elected its Central Committee headed by Chairman Mao. The congress affirmed Mao Tse-tung's thought as the guiding principle in all the work of the Party. Chairman Mao delivered the concluding speech to the congress in order to mobilize the whole Party and the entire people to carry out the political line laid down by the congress, completely defeat the reactionaries at home and abroad and work for victory in the national, democratic revolution.

Like *Serve the People* and *In Memory of Norman Bethune*, this brilliant work, *The Foolish Old Man Who Removed the Mountains*, is a great classical document of communist education and one of the most fundamental required readings for us in establishing the communist world outlook. For more than 20 years, the great ideas contained in this work have educated and inspired the broad masses of cadres and people who, in order to carry the people's revolutionary cause to victory and implement the Party's line, fear neither danger nor obstructions nor any enemy and march courageously along the road of revolution. The resounding call voiced by Chairman Mao in this article — "**Be resolute, fear no sacrifice and surmount every difficulty to win victory**" is known in every Chinese household. It has become a standard to guide the thinking and actions of the Chinese revolutionary people and is the style of our era.

In the current great proletarian cultural revolution, the proletarian revolutionary line represented by Chairman Mao has won great victories and the bourgeois reactionary line has been defeated. However, the struggle is still very sharp and complex. What stand to take, what attitude to adopt and what line to carry out — this is a rigorous test for all revolutionaries. We must seriously study this brilliant work of Chairman

Mao, arm our minds with the brilliant ideas of this article, hold firmly to the correct stand and see our direction clearly, put "daring" above all else, surmount every kind of difficulty, smash all resistance, resolutely carry out and defend the proletarian revolutionary line of Chairman Mao, and seize new victories for the great proletarian cultural revolution.

In studying this great article, special attention should be paid to the following points:

I. The Proletarian Revolutionary Line of Chairman Mao Is the Programme of United Action For the Whole Party, the Whole Army and the Entire People, and the Basic Guarantee for The Victory of the Revolution

Chairman Mao pointed out in this article that the first thing the Party's Seventh National Congress did was to decide on the line of our Party. Thenceforth, he said, our task was to lead the whole membership of the Party in carrying out the Party line, propagate the line of the congress and, through the members of the Party, explain it to the broad masses, so as to build up the confidence of the whole Party and the entire people in the certain triumph of the revolution and enable them to struggle for the realization of the Party line. In studying this article, we should first of all get a deep understanding of the great significance of the Party line to the revolutionary cause, and a deep comprehension of the extreme importance of propagating, defending and resolutely carrying out the proletarian revolutionary line represented by Chairman Mao.

The question of line is one of primary importance to the Party's leadership. The Party line is the programme of action to unify the whole Party, the whole army and the entire people; it is the basis of all the Party's policies and tactics. It decides the fate of the Party and the success or failure of the revolution. In the final analysis, Party leadership means the formulation of a correct line in accordance with the actual situation, and the use of the Party line to mobilize and arm the whole Party and the broad masses of the whole country. Chairman Mao said: "**To lead the revolution to victory, a political party must depend on the correctness of its own political line and the solidity of its own organization.**" Departure from the Party line makes it impossible to realize Party leadership and consolidate Party unity. The question of line is also the central question of inner-Party struggle. Inner-Party struggle, in the final analysis, is a struggle about what line to follow. If one is not carrying out a correct line, one is carrying out a wrong line. In any revolution, when the revolutionary party leads the wrong way, that revolution is bound to fail. If we do not want our revolution to be led astray, if we want the revolution to be assured of success, we must oppose the wrong line and carry out the correct line.

Chairman Mao has taught us: "**Our Party has laid down the general line and general policy of the Chi-**

nese revolution as well as various specific lines for work and specific policies. However, while many comrades remember our Party's specific lines for work and specific policies, they often forget its general line and general policy. If we actually forget the Party's general line and general policy, then we shall be blind, half-baked, muddle-headed revolutionaries, and when we carry out a specific line for work and a specific policy, we shall lose our bearings and vacillate now to the left and now to the right, and the work will suffer." All specific lines for work and specific policies of the Party are subordinated to and linked to the Party's general line and general policy. To forget the Party's general line and general policy is to forget the whole, the total situation, the orientation and what is in command. Anyone doing that must be muddle-headed. Only by correctly grasping and implementing the Party's general line and general policy, can one correctly carry out the Party's specific lines for work and specific policies, and become a conscious, complete and clear-headed revolutionary.

Since the founding of our Party, it has had a correct proletarian line, that is, the Marxist-Leninist line represented by Chairman Mao. This red thread runs through the entire history of our Party and army. Chairman Mao is the greatest Marxist-Leninist in the present era. Chairman Mao has inherited, defended and developed Marxism-Leninism with genius, creatively and comprehensively, and raised Marxism-Leninism to a completely new stage. Mao Tse-tung's thought is Marxism-Leninism of the era in which imperialism is heading for total collapse and socialism is advancing to worldwide victory. It is the guiding principle for all the work of our Party, army and country. All the brilliant victories of the Chinese revolution led by our Party are the results of implementing Chairman Mao's proletarian line. In the period of democratic revolution, Chairman Mao formulated for our Party a correct general line for the democratic revolution and put forward specific lines for work and specific policies for carrying out that general line. In this way he steered the ship of China's revolution past many dangerous shoals and hidden rocks to plough triumphantly through the tempest-tossed waves along the revolutionary course of Marxism-Leninism. Following the victory of the democratic revolution, Chairman Mao once again formulated the correct general line for the socialist revolution and socialist construction and various specific lines for work and specific policies, pointing out the road of advance for the whole Party and the entire people, and leading us to win successive, brilliant victories on all fronts. We are now carrying on a great proletarian cultural revolution that touches the very souls of the people. In this great revolutionary movement, Chairman Mao made a timely summing up of the new experience of the mass movement, personally presided over the work of formulating the 16-point decision [The Decision of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party Concerning the Great Proletarian

Cultural Revolution], thus enabling this great revolution to advance constantly along the road of Chairman Mao's correct line and win tremendous victories. In the international proletarian revolutionary movement, Chairman Mao has thoroughly criticized and repudiated the renegade line and the scab line of modern revisionism, put forward the most correct and complete general line for the international communist movement and a whole series of strategies and tactics. Guided by this revolutionary line, the international proletarian revolutionary movement, particularly the revolutionary movement of the oppressed nations against colonialism and for national liberation, has forged vigorously ahead and gained one great victory after another. The revolutionary line of Chairman Mao will certainly lead the world revolutionary people to defeat imperialism, modern revisionism and all reactionaries and carry the world revolution to complete victory.

History shows us that the correct line is born and developed not in a spontaneous and peaceful way, but in the midst of struggle. The revolutionary line of Chairman Mao has been constantly enriched and developed and has won continuous victories in the course of struggling against both Right and "Left" opportunist lines. **Chairman Mao has said: "Opposition and struggle between ideas of different kinds constantly occur within the Party; this is a reflection within the Party of contradictions between classes and between the new and the old in society. If there were no contradictions in the Party and no ideological struggles to resolve them, the Party's life would come to an end."** As long as class contradictions and class struggle exist in society, they will inevitably be reflected in our Party. The struggle between the two lines in the Party is a reflection of the class struggle in society and is independent of the will of man. Such struggle existed in the past, exists today and will continue to exist until classes are eliminated. Various kinds of opportunists and representatives of the bourgeois reactionary line invariably resist stubbornly and interfere with the implementation of the correct line of Chairman Mao. In order to carry out Chairman Mao's correct line, we must thoroughly criticize and repudiate and smash all bourgeois reactionary lines.

In the great proletarian cultural revolution that our country is carrying on, there also exists the struggle between the proletarian revolutionary line represented by Chairman Mao and the bourgeois reactionary line. This struggle is now still extremely sharp and complex. A handful of persons in the Party who are in authority and taking the capitalist road are not reconciled to their defeat. They are still playing new tricks and resorting to new ways of deceiving the masses; they continue to oppose the proletarian revolutionary line represented by Chairman Mao. Unless those in the Party who are in authority and taking the capitalist road are completely pulled down and the

bourgeois reactionary line is thoroughly shattered, the correct line of Chairman Mao cannot be implemented and the great proletarian cultural revolution cannot be carried to victory.

II. Be Resolute, Fear No Sacrifice and Surmount Every Difficulty to Win Victory

Chairman Mao has taught us: "Be resolute, fear no sacrifice and surmount every difficulty to win victory." These words are the most concentrated and generalized expression of the dauntless proletarian revolutionary spirit, of daring to struggle and daring to win. They exactly express the fundamental stand and attitude of proletarian revolutionaries towards the cause of the Party and the people, and with regard to difficulties and resistance in the path of the revolution. They are a guide for action for every revolutionary fighter in putting into effect Chairman Mao's revolutionary line.

Difficulties are inevitable in making revolution. What are difficulties? They are unresolved contradictions and unsolved problems. Such contradictions and problems are universal. They exist at all times and everywhere, and everyone has them. The history of the Chinese revolution is one of overcoming difficulty after difficulty. The process of revolution is one of constant struggle against difficulties. **Chairman Mao has said: "What is work? Work is struggle. There are difficulties and problems in those places for us to overcome and solve. We go there to work and struggle to overcome these difficulties."** All work involves difficulties. If there were no difficulties, there would be no need for us to make revolution, to work or to struggle. Without difficulties and struggle, things cannot advance. What attitude should we adopt in the face of these endless difficulties and resistance? Should we be dauntless, daring to struggle and forge ahead in spite of them or should we be hesitant and afraid, and run away from them? Here lies the dividing line between genuine and pseudo-revolutionaries. The attitude adopted is a key factor determining whether or not the Party's lines and policies can be put into effect successfully.

Chairman Mao has said: "The reactionary forces and we both have difficulties. But the difficulties of the reactionary forces are insurmountable because they are forces on the verge of death and have no future. Our difficulties can be overcome because we are new and rising forces and have a bright future." The proletariat is the most revolutionary and advanced class in the history of mankind. The revolutionary cause of the proletariat is a great cause that accords with the laws of social development, serves the vital interests of the people, and has won the wholehearted support of the people. Ours are difficulties which arise in our way of advance, are temporary and can entirely be overcome. Under the wise, correct leadership of Chairman Mao, our army with its inferior equipment was able to defeat an enemy armed to the teeth. The men and women of Taching succeeded in building a big oilfield under extremely difficult conditions, and those of Tachai were able to transform poor gullies into

high-yield farm plots. All this convincingly proves that to revolutionary fighters armed with Mao Tse-tung's thought, there is no enemy that cannot be vanquished, no difficulty that cannot be overcome and no height that cannot be scaled. That is why **Chairman Mao has said: "In times of difficulty we must not lose sight of our achievements, must see the bright future and must pluck up our courage."**

Chairman Mao's teaching to "be resolute, fear no sacrifice and surmount every difficulty to win victory" means, in the last analysis, to give emphasis to the human factor, to urge us to give full play to our subjective initiative, to be fearless of hardships and difficulties, and dare to struggle and win victory. Only by being resolute and fearless of sacrifice, can we surmount every difficulty to win victory, can we vanquish all enemies and overcome all difficulties. If, on the contrary, we are afraid of difficulties, then we shall accomplish nothing and be unable to overcome any difficulty.

"Only heroes can quell tigers and leopards

And wild bears never daunt the brave."

(From Chairman Mao's poem *Winter Clouds*)

Difficulties can only intimidate spineless weaklings. All difficulties will be trampled underfoot by revolutionary fighters who, fearing neither heaven nor earth, can make a mountain bow its head and a river change its course.

This quotation "**Be resolute, fear no sacrifice and surmount every difficulty to win victory**" also tells us that we must admit, analyse and struggle stoutly against difficulties. Strategically, we should despise difficulties while tactically we should take them seriously. We should dare to struggle and dare to win victory; we should also be good at waging a struggle and winning victory. Only so can we turn into reality the possibility of overcoming difficulty.

By tactically taking difficulties seriously is meant that we must be prudent in handling every struggle, pay attention to the art of struggle, be meticulous in studying and getting to the bottom of every difficulty — its nature, characteristics, and laws, and adopt different methods to solve different difficulties. It is absolutely no good to become divorced from reality, to be thoughtless and rash in action; it is necessary to have the spirit of quiet hard work, and constantly sum up experience and improve methods of work in the course of the struggle. These are constant truths: don't be afraid that you cannot accomplish something but do be afraid of not attempting it; don't be afraid that you cannot do something well but do be afraid that you won't use your brains. There must be a clear sweep of the psychology that victory can be won through good luck, that one can comfortably rely on chance without need of hard effort, the sweat of one's brow and even the shedding of one's blood.

Comrade Lin Piao has said: "For our armed forces, the best weapon is not aircraft, heavy artillery, tanks

or the atom bomb. It is Mao Tse-tung's thought. The greatest fighting power is the men who are armed with Mao Tse-tung's thought. It is courage, not to fear to die." Mao Tse-tung's thought is the most powerful and sharpest ideological weapon for overcoming all difficulties. He who possesses Mao Tse-tung's thought possesses dauntless revolutionary spirit, becomes the most revolutionary, the most courageous and wisest of man, is fearless of hardship, death, ghosts and monsters, and is staunch and persevering. The great and invincible thought of Mao Tse-tung is the source of the strength with which the whole Party, army and the people throughout the country forge ahead valiantly, and overcome every difficulty to defeat the enemy and win victory. We must resolutely respond to Comrade Lin Piao's call, creatively study and apply Chairman Mao's works, arm ourselves with Mao Tse-tung's thought, remould our souls and be truly selfless and dauntless communist fighters.

III. Trust the Masses, Rely on the Masses, and Struggle for Implementation of Chairman Mao's Correct Line

Chairman Mao has taught us that our aim in propagating the line of the Party is to build up the confidence of the whole Party and the entire people in the certain triumph of the revolution, that we must first raise the political consciousness of the vanguard, but that this is not enough; we must also arouse the political consciousness of the entire people so that they may willingly and gladly fight together with us for victory. It is precisely by following this teaching of Chairman Mao's that we succeeded in defeating the Japanese aggressors, overthrowing imperialism and feudalism, the two big mountains which lay like a dead weight on the Chinese people, and in achieving great victories in the democratic and socialist revolutions and in socialist construction.

Trust in the masses, reliance on the masses, and close integration with the masses is an outstanding hallmark distinguishing our Party from all other political parties; this has all along been the great thought of Chairman Mao. Chairman Mao has said: "The people, and the people alone, are the motive force in the making of world history." These words are the most generalized quintessence of Marxist historical materialism. Chairman Mao has also said: "As long as we rely on the people, believe firmly in the inexhaustible creative power of the masses and hence trust and identify ourselves with them, no enemy can crush us while we can crush every enemy and overcome every difficulty." This great teaching of Chairman Mao's is the guide for all our Party's work and struggle. The history of our Party is one of relying on the masses and mobilizing them to wage the revolutionary struggle, one of trusting the masses and leading them to liberate themselves. Once divorced from the people, we shall be like water without a source or a tree without roots, the Party's line cannot be put into effect, difficulties in work can-

not be overcome, the revolution cannot achieve victory and we shall accomplish nothing.

In our Party's history, the struggles between the proletarian revolutionary line represented by Chairman Mao and the "Left" and Right opportunist lines have always revolved around the question of the masses. What attitude to adopt towards the masses and the revolutionary mass movement — whether to put "daring" or "fear" above everything else, whether to trust, rely on and boldly mobilize the masses and respect their initiative, or to be afraid of and against the masses and oppose and suppress the revolutionary mass movement — has all along been the touch-stone distinguishing a genuine revolutionary from a pseudo-revolutionary and Marxism from revisionism; it is the watershed dividing the proletarian revolutionary line from the bourgeois reactionary line.

Our great leader Chairman Mao always has the greatest trust in and concern for the masses, he always gives the greatest support to the revolutionary mass movement and is of one heart with them. Chairman Mao's revolutionary line is the line of confidence in the masses, reliance on them and bold mobilization of them, the line of letting the masses educate and liberate themselves. In Chairman Mao's words, it "requires the recruiting of large forces for the purpose of surrounding and annihilating the enemy." The line for the great proletarian cultural revolution worked out by Chairman Mao himself is the living embodiment of the mass line and a great creative development. All representatives of the bourgeois reactionary line are divorced from the masses and fear them. Their line is the line of close-doorism, the line of the regal isolationist, the line of putting "fear" above everything else. They have a great many fears, but these can be boiled down to fear of the masses and the revolution. They are entirely blind to the strength of the masses, and do not believe in the great creativeness of the masses; they treat the masses as if they were ignorant and incapable and look upon themselves as if they were men of wisdom and resourcefulness. In the present great proletarian cultural revolution, the representatives of the bourgeois reactionary line have tried to lead the revolution in the opposite direction, turning it into a struggle of the bourgeoisie against the proletariat instead of a struggle of the proletariat against the bourgeoisie. Taking the stand of the reactionary bourgeoisie, they have exercised a bourgeois dictatorship in a vain attempt to quench the revolutionary flame of the masses and destroy the vigorous, great proletarian cultural revolutionary movement. If they had succeeded in their schemes, the great cultural revolution would have been strangled in the cradle and the fruits of the socialist revolution would have been in danger of destruction. But they will certainly fail in their schemes and they will inevitably be discarded by the masses once the revolutionary masses, under the wise leadership of our great leader Chairman Mao, are mobilized and rallied together on the most extensive scale.

The question of how to treat the masses and what line to adhere to is faced by every revolutionary comrade in his work. Does he regard himself as superior to others or is he willing to be the pupil of the masses? Does he stand above the masses or among them? Does he support or oppose the revolutionary mass movement? These are questions that constantly crop up for everyone; questions which he must answer clearly. These are not ordinary questions about methods of work. They are questions concerning one's fundamental attitude and world outlook. There are two kinds of world outlook and methodology: the proletarian and the bourgeois. You are bound to be afraid of and against the masses if your world outlook is that of the bourgeoisie; you are bound to trust and rely on the masses if your world outlook is that of the proletariat. In the great proletarian cultural revolution, some people fail to see clearly the main current of the mass movement, but instead tend to see its side currents; they stress only individual, passing shortcomings in the mass movement but fail to see that the masses can learn to swim by swimming and learn to make revolution in the course of revolution. This is because they have forgotten Chairman Mao's teaching that "the masses are the real heroes, while we ourselves are often

childish and ignorant"; because they believe that only they themselves are wise whereas the masses are not, and because they always cling to the bourgeois world outlook and methodology and turn away from the proletarian world outlook and methodology. The result of all this is that their attitude to the revolutionary mass movement is incorrect. That some people have a feeling of helplessness, shrink back and lack confidence in the face of difficulties, is another manifestation of this kind of bourgeois world outlook. This is because they do not have the masses in their minds, fail to see their wisdom and strength, and consequently do not know how to find solutions from the masses. For this reason, we must creatively study and apply Chairman Mao's works, take as our weapon the "three constantly read articles" and *On Correcting Mistaken Ideas in the Party*, resolutely wipe out self-interest and foster devotion to the public interest, thoroughly transform our world outlook, be always loyal to Chairman Mao, to Mao Tse-tung's thought and to the revolutionary line represented by Chairman Mao, persist in trusting, relying on and being one with the masses in all our work, in order to crush completely the bourgeois reactionary line and carry the great proletarian cultural revolution through to the end.



On the Revolutionary "Three-in-One" Combination

CHAIRMAN MAO has pointed out that in those places and organizations where power needs to be seized, the policy of the revolutionary "three-in-one" combination must be carried out in establishing a provisional organ of power that is revolutionary and representative and has proletarian authority. This organ of power should preferably be called a revolutionary committee.

This policy is the political and organizational guarantee for the victory of the proletarian revolutionaries in their struggle to seize power. The proletarian revolutionaries should understand this policy correctly and implement it correctly.

The revolutionary "three-in-one" provisional organ of power should be formed by leaders of revolutionary mass organizations that truly represent the broad masses, the representatives of the People's Liberation Army units stationed in the area and revolutionary leading cadres. None of these three bodies can be excluded. It is wrong

to overlook or underestimate the role of any one of them.

As a result of the vigorous mass movement of the great proletarian cultural revolution during the past half year and more, the masses have been fully mobilized, and large numbers of up-and-coming representatives of the revolutionary masses have emerged. The revolutionary masses are the base of the proletarian revolutionaries' seizure of power from the handful of persons in the Party who are in authority and taking the capitalist road. They are the base of the revolutionary "three-in-one" provisional organ of power.

True proletarian revolutionaries and up-and-coming representatives of the revolutionary masses have performed immortal exploits in the great proletarian cultural revolution. They are the new rising forces nurtured by Mao Tse-tung's thought and they embody the general orientation of the revolution.

This struggle to seize power from the handful of persons in the Party who are in authority and taking the capitalist road is a mass movement from below under the leadership of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party headed by Chairman Mao. In the revolutionary "three-in-one" provisional organ of power, it is imperative to give full play to the role of leaders of the revolutionary mass organizations and to take full account of their opinions, and never regard them simply as secondary, because they are the representatives of the broad revolutionary masses. If their role is not recognized or if it is underrated, in effect, the revolutionary masses as well as the great proletarian cultural revolution are negated. If they are excluded or regarded as secondary, it is impossible to establish a provisional organ of power that is revolutionary, representative and has proletarian authority; it is impossible to have a revolutionary "three-in-one" combination.

In all great revolutionary mass movements, it is scarcely avoidable having shortcomings and making mistakes. It is necessary to see clearly the essence, the mainstream and the general orientation of the revolution. In this great proletarian cultural revolution, the shortcomings and errors of the leaders of revolutionary mass organizations who truly represent the masses are a question of one finger among ten, and a problem that arises in the course of progress. As proletarian revolutionaries, we should recognize that their general orientation is correct, that they have many strong points and we should learn from them modestly. As for their shortcomings and errors, we should warmly, patiently and painstakingly help them. It should also be noted that many revolutionary mass organizations have pointed out themselves the wrong tendencies existing in their own organizations and have proposed ways of correcting them as a result of their creative study and application of Chairman Mao's works. Such revolutionary consciousness and initiative is praiseworthy. It is precisely the revolutionary masses themselves who have proposed eliminating self-interest in their own thinking while seizing power from the handful of persons in the Party who were in authority and taking the capitalist road.

In the final analysis, the question of one's attitude towards leaders of revolutionary mass organizations that truly represent the masses taking part in the "three-in-one" provisional organ of power is a question of one's attitude towards the masses, towards the mass movement itself. It is also an important indication of whether the proletarian revolutionary line represented by Chairman Mao can be carried out or not. We must at all times remember Chairman Mao's teachings: "The masses are the real heroes," "the masses have boundless creative power," "the people, and the people alone, are the motive force in the making of world history." If alienated from the revolutionary masses, it is certain that no organization or individual is able to carry out the proletarian revolutionary line represented by Chairman Mao.

The vigorous mass movement of the great proletarian cultural revolution of more than the last half year has been a severe test for the ranks of our cadres. The handful of persons in the Party who were in authority and taking the capitalist road has been exposed. At the same time, the majority of our cadres have proved to be good or comparatively good. The concept of excluding and overthrowing all cadres is absolutely wrong. It is necessary to point out that the masses are not to be blamed for this. To exclude and overthrow all cadres indiscriminately is the view advocated by those several people who put forth the bourgeois reactionary line, and this was precisely what they did. The poisonous influence has not been wiped out of the minds of certain comrades, and therefore they have, to a certain extent, committed similar mistakes without being conscious of them.

In every place, department, enterprise and unit there are great numbers of revolutionary cadres. This is also true even for some places or departments where those in authority taking the capitalist road have been entrenched, but the revolutionary cadres there were suppressed over a long period. We must be aware of this.

The role of the revolutionary cadres in participating in the "three-in-one" provisional organ of power must be given full consideration. They should and can play the role of nucleus and backbone of the organ. Of course, they can do this only by integrating themselves with the masses and by following the mass line in work.

Provided those cadres who made mistakes criticize their own mistakes and correct them, draw a clear-cut demarcation line between themselves and the handful of persons in the Party who are in authority and taking the capitalist road, between themselves and the bourgeois reactionary line, and really stand on the proletarian revolutionary line represented by Chairman Mao, they should be united with in accordance with the principle of "early or late, all who make revolution merit equal treatment," proper jobs should be arranged for them and many of them can be allowed to participate in the provisional organ of power.

However, those who persist in their mistakes, and who do not draw a clear-cut demarcation line between themselves and the people in authority taking the capitalist road, between themselves and the bourgeois reactionary line must not be imposed on the masses and arbitrarily pushed into the "three-in-one" provisional organ of power. Otherwise, this would not be the revolutionary "three-in-one" combination, to say nothing of the seizure of power from the handful of persons in the Party who are in authority and taking the capitalist road; a new reversal would occur and those in authority taking the capitalist road who had been overthrown might even regain power.

We must be vigilant against those who distort the principle of revolutionary "three-in-one" combination

and, on the pretext of forming "three-in-one" combination, carry out eclecticism, conciliation and the combining of two into one, and furthermore, in a hundred and one ways, pull in the persons in the Party who are in authority and taking the capitalist road. This is trying to fish in troubled waters, usurp the fruits of the great proletarian cultural revolution and carry out counter-revolutionary restoration. All revolutionary masses and all revolutionary cadres must resolutely resist, oppose and smash the conspiracy of the class enemy.

The great People's Liberation Army is the mainstay of the dictatorship of the proletariat. Chairman Mao's call on the People's Liberation Army to actively support the masses of revolutionary Left is a matter of great strategic significance.

Experience proves that participation by representatives of locally stationed People's Liberation Army units in the revolutionary "three-in-one" provisional organ of power has played an extremely important role in successfully accomplishing the task in the struggle to seize power.

With the participation of cadres of the People's Liberation Army in the "three-in-one" provisional organ of power and with the support of the P.L.A., the forces of the local proletarian revolutionaries will become still stronger. The class enemy fears the People's Liberation Army and the revolutionary "three-in-one" combination in which P.L.A. cadres take part the most. They try by every means to manufacture rumours and fabricate stories in a vain attempt to sow dissension between the revolutionary masses and the People's Liberation Army, and to incite those among the masses who do not know the truth to direct the spearhead of their struggle against the People's Liberation Army. Such class enemy intrigues must be fully exposed and firmly smashed.

The Chinese People's Liberation Army is an extremely revolutionized army of the proletariat, unmatched in the world. **Chairman Mao Tse-tung has said: "The sole purpose of this army is to stand firmly with the Chinese people and to serve them wholeheartedly."** It is precisely because of this that all revolutionary mass organizations and revolutionary masses have faith in the People's Liberation Army and warmly support the participation by representatives of the local army units in the revolutionary "three-in-one" provisional organ of power. At various levels, in those departments where power must be seized, representatives of the armed forces or of the militia should take part in forming the "three-in-one" combination. This should be done in factories and rural areas, in financial, trading, cultural and educational departments (universities, middle schools and primary schools), in Party and government organizations and in people's organizations. Representatives of the armed forces should be sent to the county level or higher and representatives of the militia should be sent to the commune level or lower. This is very good. If representatives of the armed forces are not sufficient, their posts can be left vacant for the time being and filled in the future.

The attitude towards the People's Liberation Army is actually the attitude towards the dictatorship of the proletariat and it is an important criterion for distinguishing whether a person is of the genuine revolutionary Left or not.

In certain places, some comrades in the local army units may commit temporary mistakes in giving their support because of the intricate and complex conditions of the class struggle. When such problems occur, the genuine revolutionary Left should explain, with good intentions and in the proper way, the conditions and state their views to the leading members of the army units. They should absolutely not adopt an openly antagonistic attitude and still less should they direct the spearhead of their struggle against the People's Liberation Army. Otherwise, they will commit gross mistakes and do things which sadden our friends and gladden our enemies, and they will be used by the class enemy.

The People's Liberation Army has made important contributions in supporting the proletarian revolutionaries in their struggle to seize power. All commanders and fighters must follow Chairman Mao's teachings, closely rely on the broad revolutionary masses, learn from them modestly, be their students before acting as their teachers, be good at discussing matters with them, and carry on deep-going and careful investigations among them. In doing so, they will be able to give the proletarian revolutionaries very powerful support in their struggle to seize power and bring still closer ties between the army and the people and, on their part, the army units will get new tempering and improve in the course of the struggle.

The "three-in-one" provisional organ of power must be revolutionary, representative and have proletarian authority. This organ of power must resolutely carry out the proletarian revolutionary line represented by Chairman Mao and firmly oppose the bourgeois reactionary line. It must not be "combining two into one" or eclectic. Only thus, can this organ be representative and speak for the broad revolutionary masses and revolutionary cadres. Only thus, can it have proletarian authority, exercise powerful centralized leadership on the basis of the most extensive democracy, impose effective dictatorship on the class enemy, and smash every kind of scheme for counter-revolutionary restoration on the part of the handful of persons in the Party who are in authority and taking the capitalist road and the ghosts and monsters in society.

A big question now confronting the people of the whole country is whether to carry the great proletarian cultural revolution through to the end, or to abandon it half-way. All revolutionary comrades must keep a cool head and not get confused. **"With power and to spare we must pursue the tottering foe and not ape Hsiang Yu the conqueror seeking idle fame."** At present, we should especially keep this teaching of Chairman Mao's in mind.

(*"Hongqi"* editorial, No. 5, 1967.)

Still More on Promoting the Concept Of "Public"

Following is a translation of the full text of the "Jiefangjun Bao" (Liberation Army Daily) editorial of March 14. Two earlier editorials, "On Promoting the Concept of 'Public'" and "More on Promoting the Concept of 'Public,'" appeared in that paper on February 9 and November 3, 1966 respectively. A translation of the latter appeared in "Peking Review," No. 46, 1966. — Ed.

THE great proletarian cultural revolution is a mighty ideological revolution that touches the people to their very souls and destroys the concept of self-interest and fosters devotion to the public interest. **Chairman Mao has said: "This is a movement of a momentous scale. It has indeed mobilized the masses. It is of very great significance to the revolutionization of the thinking of the people throughout the country."**

The proletarian revolutionaries are forming great alliances and revolutionary "three-in-one" combinations to wage a struggle to seize power from a handful of persons in the Party who are in authority and taking the capitalist road. This is touching the people to their souls in a still more extensive and penetrating way and elevating to a new height their understanding of the struggle to destroy the concept of self-interest and foster devotion to the public interest. It is the urgent requirement of the current struggle and the conscious demand of the revolutionary masses to do still better in the creative study and application of Chairman Mao's writings and vigorously destroy the concept of self-interest and foster devotion to the public interest, and make revolution in the depths of their souls.

Chairman Mao has said: "Every comrade must be brought to understand that the supreme test of the words and deeds of a Communist is whether they conform with the highest interests and enjoy the support of the overwhelming majority of the people."

What is the criterion for distinguishing whether the words and deeds of every one of us is for the public interest or for self-interest and whether they conform with the highest interests of the broad masses of the

people? It is one's attitude towards the proletarian revolutionary line represented by Chairman Mao.

The proletarian revolutionary line represented by Chairman Mao calls for boldly arousing the masses, struggling against and overthrowing the handful of persons in the Party who are in authority and taking the capitalist road and the reactionary bourgeois academic "authorities," eliminating all the old things of the exploiting classes and carrying the socialist revolution through to the end. This line represents the most fundamental interests of the broadest masses of the people; it represents the direction of social progress.

The bourgeois reactionary line serves the restoration of capitalism. This reactionary line suppresses the masses, protects the handful of Party persons in authority taking the capitalist road and the reactionary bourgeois academic "authorities," and protects all the old things of the exploiting classes. It wants to restore capitalism and bourgeois dictatorship. It represents the private interests of the bourgeois elements.

The question of line is an important question concerning whether or not we want the dictatorship of the proletariat; it concerns the direction and future of the cause of the revolution. If we pay any attention to state affairs, we must pay attention to the struggle of the two lines. In seeking to eradicate bourgeois ideology and establish proletarian ideology and destroy the concept of self-interest and foster devotion to the public interest, in trying to revolutionize our thinking, this question of orientation and line must first be solved. This is a matter of cardinal principle for revolutionaries. If one pays no attention to the question of line, lacks understanding of it, is not politically conscious of it or cannot distinguish between the two lines, one is not a clear-headed revolutionary, but a muddle-head. Talking of eliminating the concept of self-interest and fostering devotion to the public interest outside of the context of the great proletarian cultural revolution and the struggle of the two lines will only make one lose one's political orientation.

To be loyal to the proletarian revolutionary line represented by Chairman Mao is to be loyal to the interests of the proletariat and of the people and there-

fore the greatest devotion to the public interest. Every revolutionary fighter who is politically conscious and wholeheartedly devoted to the public interest should stand firmly on the side of the proletarian revolutionary line represented by Chairman Mao, and on the side of the masses of revolutionary Left. He should make the implementation and defence of the proletarian revolutionary line represented by Chairman Mao as his sacred duty.

Chairman Mao has taught us: There are various non-proletarian ideas in the Party which greatly hinder the application of the Party's correct line.

Ideologically speaking, the struggle between two lines represents the struggle between the proletarian world outlook and the bourgeois world outlook. Which line is carried out, is essentially a question of which world outlook is used to transform the objective world.

Bourgeois self-interest is the ideological source which gives birth to the reactionary line. The process of carrying out the proletarian revolutionary line represented by Chairman Mao is one of overcoming all sorts of non-proletarian ideas and of destroying self-interest and promoting devotion to the public interest. Unless our minds are rid of self-interest and the proletarian world outlook of wholehearted devotion to the public interest is established, it is impossible to have a very good understanding of the proletarian revolutionary line represented by Chairman Mao and carry it out correctly.

Bourgeois self-interest is a corrosive agent and a mortal enemy of the great alliance of the revolutionaries. It is impossible to consider the overall interest and to let the minor principle be subordinated to the major principle if one's mind is occupied by a great deal of self-interest and if one regards only one's self or one's own small group, and this will weaken unity and disrupt organization. Overcoming selfish ideas and establishing the concept of wholeheartedly serving the people is the basis for forming the great unity and great alliance.

At present, in implementing the policy of forming revolutionary "three-in-one" combinations as instructed by Chairman Mao, proletarian revolutionaries eliminate self-interest in their own thinking while they join hands to seize power from the handful of persons in the Party who are in authority and taking the capitalist road. Proletarian revolutionary fighters are diligently, conscientiously and creatively studying and applying Chairman Mao's works. In accordance with the line of Party-building and army-building set forth by Chairman Mao in the Kutien Conference Resolution, they are correcting "small group" mentality, anarchism, sectarianism, the concept of disregarding organizational discipline, ultra-democracy, individualism, subjectivism and other bourgeois ideas and tendencies in their ranks. At the same time they are strengthening their proletarian revolutionary spirit, scientific approach and sense of

organization and discipline, and making efforts to transform themselves into selfless revolutionaries. This is the manifestation of the thriving growth of the revolutionary ranks and revolutionary cause.

The conscious efforts of broad revolutionary masses in destroying self-interest and promoting devotion to public interest is the guarantee for winning complete victory in the great proletarian cultural revolution. Only by destroying the thousands-year-old concept of private ownership and establishing the socialist concept of public ownership and by letting Mao Tse-tung's thought firmly occupy every ideological position, can we pull out the roots of revisionism, and thoroughly remove the soil which gives rise to revisionism, thus enabling our country never to change colour.

Our great supreme commander Chairman Mao called on the People's Liberation Army to actively support and aid the broad masses of the Left. This is our army's glorious strategic task in the new stage of the socialist revolution. To successfully accomplish this important task assigned to us by the Party and Chairman Mao, we must further eradicate bourgeois ideology and foster proletarian ideology, rid ourselves of the concept of self-interest and foster devotion to public interest, step up the revolutionization of our thinking and heighten our consciousness in carrying out and defending the proletarian revolutionary line represented by Chairman Mao. By putting public interest above everything else and understanding the great proletarian cultural revolution and the struggle between the two lines from the point of view of the interests of the proletariat, the people and the Chinese and the world revolution, we will be able to take a firm and clear-cut stand, share the same breath and fate with the broad masses of revolutionaries, and unite, fight and win victories together with them.

The great, invincible thought of Mao Tse-tung is the fundamental weapon for eliminating the concept of self-interest and fostering devotion to public interest. We must act in accordance with Comrade Lin Piao's instructions and bring the mass movement for the creative study and application of Chairman Mao's works to a new, higher stage to meet the new situation in the great proletarian cultural revolution. Commanders and fighters of the whole army should link the struggle between the two lines with the study of the "three constantly read articles" (*Serve the People, In Memory of Norman Bethune and The Foolish Old Man Who Removed the Mountains*) and the Kutien Conference Resolution, articles which they should make their maxims; they should thoroughly transform their world outlook so as to turn themselves into conscious, staunch fighters armed with Mao Tse-tung's thought and forever loyal to the proletarian revolutionary line represented by Chairman Mao, and make new contributions to the people in the great struggle to safeguard the great proletarian cultural revolution.

Experience of Kweiyang Cotton Mill in Forming Alliances Based on Administrative Units

In the initial stages of China's cultural revolution, proletarian revolutionaries established broad revolutionary contacts with each other to strengthen their ranks for breaking through the obstacles set up by the bourgeois reactionary line. They set up many kinds of revolutionary fighting organizations. In a factory, school or unit, there were often several separate headquarters formed by such organizations, and these led the resolute fight against the handful of persons in the Party who were in authority and were taking the capitalist road and against the bourgeois reactionary line. Their contributions were immortal.

The great cultural revolution now has developed to the stage of the decisive battle to seize power from the handful of Party people in authority taking the capitalist road. The proletarian revolutionaries of the Kweiyang Cotton Mill in southwest China, in order to concert their efforts to successfully carry forward the common tasks in their respective units of struggling [against and overthrowing those persons in authority taking the capitalist road], of criticizing and repudiating [the reactionary bourgeois academic "authorities" and the ideology of the bourgeoisie and all other exploiting classes] and of transforming [education, literature and art and all other parts of the superstructure that do not correspond to the socialist economic base], and to take firm hold of the revolution and promote production, have created a new experience in forming alliances of all revolutionary masses and revolutionary mass organizations based on their different working units. (See "Peking Review," No. 11, pp. 8-9.) This valuable experience is now being popularized in many parts of the country.

On March 8, the "Renmin Ribao" published an article written by the mill's revolutionary committee — the provisional organ of power which was formed by the proletarian revolutionaries after they had forged great alliances based on administrative units. The article tells of their experience in applying Mao Tse-tung's thought to eradicate the concept of self-interest and foster devotion to the public interest in the process of forming great alliances based on working units. We publish excerpts from the article. — Ed.

WE proletarian revolutionaries of the Kweiyang Cotton Mill have formed alliances based on administrative units and founded a unified revolutionary mass organization — the Mao Tse-tung's Thought "March 1" Fighting Regiment. We have also set up the provisional organ of power in the mill — the revolutionary committee.

Our experience showed that Mao Tse-tung's thought is the soul of our great alliance. The forming of the great alliances based on administrative units is a process in which the public interest conquers self-interest.

Before the seizure of power, there were some dozen different revolutionary fighting organizations in the mill. All were formed by the revolutionary masses themselves in the course of the great proletarian cultural revolution. They cut across the limits of shifts, teams and workshops and some were affiliated with bigger inter-factory or inter-trade organizations. They played an important part in the struggle against the handful of Party people in authority taking the capitalist road and against the bourgeois reactionary line. On January 17, our mill's revolutionary mass organizations forged an alliance and in one stroke seized all power from the handful of Party people in authority taking the capitalist road. The situation then underwent a

big change. At the time, we had shared the Party, administrative, financial and cultural powers among the different fighting regiments and units. A few days later, the conflict between this organizational form and the need for unified arrangements both in the cultural revolution and in production arose. The different fighting regiments and units, which were each independent, could not keep each other informed and could not act in unison. Sometimes one organization could not decide on matters concerning the whole mill and had to call meetings of all the organizations before anything was decided. This affected work and created confusion. We discovered that the various fighting units and their headquarters, which had played a good role in the past, now became stumbling blocks to the movement and to production under the new conditions of struggle.

Confronted by this situation, we turned to Chairman Mao's works for help.

Chairman Mao teaches us: "It is only through the unity of the Communist Party that the unity of the whole class and the whole nation can be achieved, and it is only through the unity of the whole class and the whole nation that the enemy can be defeated and the national and democratic revolution accomplished." Chairman Mao also says: "Everything must serve vic-

tory at the front, and the organizational task must be subordinated to the political task." Reviewing what we did in the light of these teachings, our conclusion was:

There was not enough unity among our proletarian revolutionaries and an ununified organizational form did not suit the needs of the movement. We also listened to the masses' opinions, and many of them said: "We work and live together, why can't we make revolution together? What's the point in dividing ourselves up into separate organizations, each acting independently?" Some said pointedly, "The revolutionaries of the whole mill should form alliances according to their own workshops, shifts and teams, and then form a unified revolutionary organization of the whole mill."

But this revolutionary proposal from the masses was rejected by leaders of some organizations, mainly because these leaders had not got rid of the "self" in their minds. One of them said: "We were the first to rebel. We planted the peach tree and are entitled to pick the peaches." Another said: "We made herculean efforts to set up an organization of several hundred people and fought through to victory. A merger would mean an end to it all." The worker comrades were enraged by these words and they said: We don't make revolution for our own sake. A revolutionary shouldn't be selfish.

So we studied such brilliant works of Chairman Mao's as the "three constantly read articles" and *On Correcting Mistaken Ideas in the Party*. We criticized the mistaken ideas which had begun to grow in our ranks, using Mao Tse-tung's thought as the weapon.

Many workers withdrew from their former organizations — some of which cut through the limits of shifts, teams and workshops and some affiliated to bigger inter-factory or inter-trade organizations — and formed unified fighting organizations in the same workshop or department. This led to the founding of the mill's "March 1" Fighting Regiment.

Revolutionary workers in the different workshops, in accordance with the requirements laid down by Chairman Mao for worthy successors to the revolution, elected by secret ballot "servants of the people" who really represented the will of the proletarian revolutionaries and the broad revolutionary masses. These formed into the two leading groups for the revolution and for production.

While acting as workshop heads, these newly elected "servants" continued to take part in productive work. They listened to criticism from the masses and made self-criticisms and willingly accepted the supervision of the masses. Whenever differences arose among the members of the leading groups, they turned the issue over to the masses for discussion and solution.

Many small groups were also set up to supervise production. Veteran workers and technical personnel were asked to join such supervisory groups. Those cadres who had proved themselves revolutionary comrades were, in accordance with the Party's policy, also asked to join. As for those cadres who were willing

to rectify their mistakes and return to the side of Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line, we also assigned them suitable work.

After the great alliances were formed on the basis of administrative units, the workers, following discussions, threw out old, unreasonable rules and regulations and set up new and reasonable work systems and mutual pacts, so that new order was swiftly established in production.

The revolutionary workers said: **"Now that we proletarian revolutionaries are the masters, we must become models in production."** The spinners responded with fine results to Chairman Mao's call to take firm hold of the revolution and promote production. They overfulfilled the February quota for 21-count cotton yarn.

Having formed great alliances based on administrative units, we proletarian revolutionaries made further efforts to unite with the majority of the masses and expand our ranks.

Some of the workers in the mill, having been fooled by the few persons in authority taking the capitalist road, had joined conservative organizations. But we analysed that most of them had only been hoodwinked; they were still our class brothers. We realized that we must warmly help and encourage these comrades who had committed mistakes to rectify their mistakes and welcome them to return to the side of Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line. Many revolutionary workers took the initiative in holding heart-to-heart talks with them, telling them their own experience in making revolution, and inviting them to attend discussion meetings at which their criticisms and opinions were solicited. After all this work, many of these formerly hoodwinked comrades realized their mistakes, and we accepted them into our revolutionary organizations. Thus, the antagonistic feelings among the masses which had been stirred up by the handful of Party people in authority taking the capitalist road began to cease, and workers and staff members who had held different views began to be concerned for each other.

All this further isolated the handful of persons in the Party who were in authority and were taking the capitalist road. The great alliance of the proletarian revolutionaries also became further consolidated.

In the process of forming great alliances according to working units, we workers of the cotton mill realized more and more the importance of creatively studying and applying Chairman Mao's works. Now, a new high-tide in the creative study and application of Chairman Mao's works has unfolded throughout the mill. During work breaks, people gather together to study Chairman Mao's works, and we read Chairman Mao's quotations before each shift. We proletarian revolutionaries of the mill understand that the forming of great alliances according to administrative units is only "the first step in a long march of 10,000 li." Our tasks are heavy, and we still have far to go. We will hold still higher the great red banner of Mao Tse-tung's thought and contribute all our efforts to carrying the great proletarian cultural revolution through to the end.

The Tremendous World Significance of China's Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution

Talks by some foreign friends in Peking

A number of foreign friends in Peking were recently invited by the Editorial Department of "Ren-min Ribao" to a forum on China's great proletarian cultural revolution. They were Robert Williams and Mrs. Williams (the United States), Ahmed Mohamed Kheir (the Sudan), Kinkazu Saionji (Japan), Bhayome Chulanond (Thailand), Ibrahim Isa and Willy Hariandja (Indonesia), and P.V. Sarma and Mrs. Sarma (Malaya). They talked freely about their impressions of the great proletarian cultural revolution initiated and led personally by our great leader Chairman Mao, the great world significance of the revolution and their experience in studying Mao Tse-tung's thought. Following are excerpts from their talks.—Ed.

Robert Williams: China's cultural revolution is the greatest event in the history of mankind. As an observer and a revolutionary living in China, and because of my personal background, the cultural revolution in China is of particular significance to me.

I come from a country of the world's biggest imperialism, racism and exploiters. I myself am a victim of not only U.S. imperialism and racism, but also modern revisionism.

I have seen the revolution in a country being subverted. I found that revolution subverted not so much by the people who openly followed the bourgeois line, but people who pretended to be Marxist-Leninists but who were in fact capitalists.

We must be for ever on guard against the enemy who use the cloak of Marxism to deceive the masses of the people and to subvert the revolution. Our common enemy is an enemy with many tricks, of many colours and many attitudes and he is a master at deception.

China is a great base area of world revolution. The great cultural revolution deals a blow at the enemy of the world's people on the one hand, and inspires the people in their struggle on the other. All those who oppose Mao Tse-tung's thought and the Chinese people are the enemy of the people of the whole world. We must launch a struggle against them from all sides. To safeguard the base area of world revolution, we must struggle against the enemy of the world's people.

We revolutionaries living in China must concern ourselves with the struggle of the people in China on the one hand, and must never forget the oppressed and exploited people in our own country on the other. We

must make a good study of Chairman Mao's works and make a serious effort to grasp Mao Tse-tung's thought.

Chairman Mao teaches us that "political power grows out of the barrel of a gun." All the oppressed people in the world regard the victory of the Chinese people as the greatest inspiration to them. Therefore, I think the cultural revolution is the greatest event in the history of mankind. I am happy to be here to see this great event in the history of mankind.

Mrs. Williams: The great cultural revolution in China has had a great impact on me. I started to study Chairman Mao's works several years ago. At that time, I only made a study of the works and I had no personal experience in applying them. After I came to China, I began to acquire a deeper understanding.

I have begun to use Mao Tse-tung's thought to guide myself and to revolutionize my own thinking.

I have seen extensive democracy being carried out in the great cultural revolution. To rebel, one does not rebel against others alone, one also rebels against oneself. Some people dare not make revolution because they themselves oppress the people. In some foreign countries, some people talk about Marxism-Leninism and even pretend to toast revolution but these are the false fronts they put on to deceive the people. These persons do not make revolution themselves and do not want to let others make revolution.

The greatest impact of the cultural revolution on me is that I feel the necessity to revolutionize myself and to make revolution in the depth of my own soul. I have felt the power of Mao Tse-tung's thought. We must grasp Mao Tse-tung's thought, convey it to the people in our own country to enable them to struggle better.

Ahmed Mohamed Kheir: China's great cultural revolution has been going on for nine months. The people of the whole world in their hundreds of millions are watching what is happening in China.

Revolutionary political parties, organizations and hundreds of millions of revolutionary people in the world hail China's cultural revolution, warmly support it, praise it, wish it success and want to learn from it.

But U.S. imperialism and Soviet revisionism viciously attack it. Revolutionary people of the whole world are on the side of the Chinese people, while the Soviet revisionists side with imperialism and reaction.

Chairman Mao Tse-tung says: "We should support whatever the enemy opposes and oppose whatever the enemy supports."

Chairman Mao also says: "It is a good thing and not a bad thing to be attacked by the enemy" and "it is still better if the enemy attacks us wildly and paints us utterly black and without a single virtue; it demonstrates that we have not only drawn a clear line of demarcation between the enemy and ourselves but achieved a great deal in our work."

Chairman Mao says: "After the enemies with guns have been wiped out, there will still be enemies without guns."

Chairman Mao led the Chinese revolution and liberated China from the enemies with guns — the imperialists, feudalists and the comprador class. Now after China has become socialist, Chairman Mao, by unleashing the great proletarian cultural revolution and personally leading it, has again saved China, this time from the enemies without guns. Thus we can say that Chairman Mao has saved China twice in less than two decades.

At present the modern revisionists so brazenly attack and slander China's great cultural revolution because they are afraid that their own fate will be like that of the enemies without guns.

Chairman Mao has given the people extensive democratic rights in the cultural revolution and the people have been fully mobilized. This is something unprecedented in the international communist movement and unknown in any other country. Only a truly great leader like Chairman Mao is able to set in motion such a great movement because he really believes in the masses.

How can those who proclaimed the "party of the whole people" and "state of the entire people" give the people such democratic rights? If they did so, they would be overthrown at once by the Soviet people. Let us think what would happen to China if she believed also in the "state of the entire people" and "party of the whole people"?

The answer is simple. The ghosts and monsters in China would grasp power, suppress the Chinese people's revolution and China would change its political colour. It can be seen, therefore, that the great cultural revolution in China is of great significance.

This cultural revolution is aimed at enemies without guns. This is a development of Marxism-Leninism, and a great contribution to Marxism-Leninism particularly on the questions of the Party and the state.

Before the advent of the cultural revolution, U.S. imperialism vainly pinned its hopes on China's third generation to restore capitalism in China. It is noteworthy that in the cultural revolution it is precisely this third generation who were the first to open fire at the Party people in authority taking the capitalist road.

The Red Guards are not towering in stature. At first I thought they were only going to change the

street names and clip off the girls' plaits. Actually, they are changing the era. It is a heavy blow at U.S. imperialism that Chairman Mao has chosen precisely this third generation. Now the third generation has shown itself clearly, the U.S. imperialist dream is shattered.

China's great cultural revolution has provided a valuable experience for the people in socialist countries, on how to overthrow the power of those bourgeoisie in authority. With this experience of the Chinese people, the other socialist countries will have an easier struggle.

The cultural revolution has turned China into a great school for the study of Mao Tse-tung's thought. In only a few months, the cultural revolution has greatly popularized Mao Tse-tung's thought. This is something even thousands of schools of political science could not achieve.

Mao Tse-tung's thought has once again enriched Marxism-Leninism. It tells the people that the way to prevent a socialist country from changing colour is man's ideological revolutionization.

Kinkazu Saionji: The great proletarian cultural revolution has been personally initiated and guided by the great leader Chairman Mao Tse-tung. It has significance not only for China, but also for the progress of the whole world.

At the beginning I did not understand its meaning. I could not immediately understand why this great cultural revolution was said to have touched the very soul of the people. But as it developed and through contacts with my friends, particularly with those in the Red Guards, I gradually began to acquire an understanding and to be deeply impressed. There can be not the least compromise in this revolutionary movement.

Now more and more Japanese people understand that this movement is a vigorous class struggle. They also realize that the great proletarian cultural revolution is based on Mao Tse-tung's thought. They are not only full of confidence in the ultimate victory of the Chinese people in this cultural revolution, but they — the progressives, youth, students and workers — also feel the need to study Mao Tse-tung's thought.

On the other hand, there are others in Japan who are afraid of China's cultural revolution and afraid of Mao Tse-tung's thought. They are the reactionary forces and the sham Left-wingers in Japan.

But an increasing number of people in Japan have begun to study Mao Tse-tung's thought. Today there are many groups and organizations for the study of Mao Tse-tung's thought. The small red book of *Quotations From Chairman Mao Tse-tung* has been published and sold in five different editions in Japan.

The leaders of the Japanese Communist Party, who had in the past reaped profit from the sales of such books as the *Selected Works of Mao Tse-tung*, are now afraid of them and have forbidden the sale of such books.

In Japan, those who have become revisionists and the reactionaries are afraid of the *Quotations* while the progressive people and revolutionaries who genuinely desire the independence of their country love this book and are making a serious study of it.

Every morning when I wake up I listen to the broadcast news of the great cultural revolution and the militant strains of the *Internationale*. I am tremendously impressed and inspired. This great cultural revolution has profound significance not only for China, but also for all the revolutionary people in the world in their struggle for independence and liberation.

Bhayome Chulanond: China's great proletarian cultural revolution is a heavy blow aimed at imperialism, modern revisionism and the whole capitalist system.

The object of the cultural revolution is the uprooting of the revisionism which would corrode the Chinese people's socialist regime, so that China will not change political colour and degenerate into a capitalist regime like Yugoslavia or the Soviet Union.

In the short span of nine months, the cultural revolution has been launched both intensively and extensively among the 700 million Chinese people. The victories of the cultural revolution, under the leadership of Chairman Mao Tse-tung and the Chinese Communist Party, have enabled the Red Guards, established during the early period of the cultural revolution, and the revolutionary rebels to seize power from the handful of Party people in authority and taking the capitalist road, and to place political power in the hands of the proletarian revolutionaries under the direct leadership of the great Chairman Mao Tse-tung.

These great victories will enable the Chinese revolution to make a giant stride forward. They will strengthen the Chinese People's Republic and will turn China into the most powerful and greatest bastion in opposition to imperialism and modern revisionism. They will turn China into a strong bastion in support of world revolution.

The oppressed and exploited revolutionary people of Thailand remain unwavering before the onslaught of propaganda which distorts and slanders China's great proletarian cultural revolution.

The patriotic and revolutionary people of Thailand have faith in the great Chinese people who oppose U.S. imperialism, Soviet revisionism and all reaction.

The teachings of Chairman Mao that "political power grows out of the barrel of a gun" and that "a single spark can start a prairie fire" have been applied by the people of Thailand in their social struggle.

In 1965, the flame of revolution was first kindled in the northeast of Thailand and later spread to the south. By 1967, the revolutionary flame spread from the south to central Thailand and is now sweeping across the whole nation. It is certain that the revolutionary fire of the people will burn the U.S. imperialist aggressors and the Thanom-Prapas traitorous clique to ashes.

Ibrahim Isa: China's cultural revolution is the greatest revolution. It is carried out by the greatest number of people in the world, by over 700 million people or more than one-fourth of mankind. In this respect, it is unprecedented.

Further, it is a revolution being carried out on the basis of the most advanced revolutionary theory and led by Chairman Mao, the greatest Marxist-Leninist of the present day.

This revolution is contributing to the most precious treasury of the world's revolutionary people.

It is obvious and natural, therefore, that this revolution concerns the people of the world and will have an influence on the fate of the people not only of China but of Asia, Africa and Latin America and the revolutionary people the world over.

The significance of this cultural revolution is the greater because it has been launched at a time when the Soviet Union, as the first socialist country in the world, and the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, the Party of Lenin, have been betrayed; when the leaders of the C.P.S.U. have betrayed Marxism-Leninism and the cause of the people of the world.

The great cultural revolution signifies Chairman Mao Tse-tung's great sense of responsibility towards the fate of the world revolution. Chairman Mao knows China must not follow the path of the Soviet Union, that China, as the bastion of world revolution, must be consolidated.

In the world there is only one great revolutionary bastion, that is, the People's Republic of China. So what will happen if China also goes the wrong way? I think it is due to the great sense of responsibility shown by Chairman Mao towards the fate of the revolutionary people that he personally initiated and has personally led the great cultural revolution.

Chairman Mao says that revolutionary rebellion is justified at any time, even in a socialist country. I think that is the reason why the revisionists are so scared of the rebel spirit.

The greatness of Chairman Mao lies not only in justifying revolutionary rebellion but also in supporting and encouraging such revolutionary rebellion.

The cultural revolution also proves the theses of Chairman Mao that "the people, and the people alone, are the motive force in the making of world history," and "the masses are the real heroes."

I am very happy, as a foreign friend, to be in China during this momentous period. Through the cultural revolution red China will remain red. It will grow more consolidated and stronger. We are indeed very happy to know that, through the cultural revolution, Mao Tse-tung's thought will spread not only in China but will also spread far and wide all over the world, including Indonesia.

For me personally, the great cultural revolution touches my very soul. I realize that to be a true revolutionary one must revolutionize one's own mind first.

You cannot claim to be all for Mao Tse-tung's thought and against imperialism and revisionism by words alone, you have to show it by action.

We Indonesian revolutionaries must make up our minds to grasp Mao Tse-tung's thought and to be true revolutionaries. We will not only make revolution against others, we must also revolutionize ourselves and revolutionize our thinking. To really carry the revolution to the end, to make revolution for the rest of our lives, we must study and grasp Mao Tse-tung's thought.

Willy Hariandja: China's cultural revolution is an embodiment of Mao Tse-tung's thought. We know the cultural revolution is personally led by Chairman Mao Tse-tung, that is why we, the people of Indonesia, are paying great attention to it.

In following the deep-going development of the cultural revolution, I have gradually come to understand that the cultural revolution not only strengthens China as the fortress of world revolution led by Chairman Mao, it also concerns all the peoples in their struggle for proletarian dictatorship.

Chairman Mao says: "The people, and the people alone, are the motive force in the making of world history."

Although I had read this well-known saying among Chairman Mao's teachings long ago, it is only since I have seen China's great cultural revolution that I have begun to acquire a deeper understanding of it.

In the cultural revolution, 700 million people are taking part in the great debate and studying Mao Tse-tung's thought. This in itself is of tremendous significance. One of the clauses in the 16-point decision says that one must not be afraid of disturbances. It is only after repeatedly reading many articles that I have come to understand the greatness of this theory of Chairman Mao's about having full confidence in the masses.

I understand now why we must rely on the people, rely on our own efforts and dare to struggle.

Strong Protest Against Anti-Chinese Atrocities Committed by Revisionists in Japanese C.P.

REVISIONISTS in the Japanese Communist Party have recently organized hoodlums in Tokyo to make repeated attacks on young Chinese nationals resident in Japan and Japanese champions of Japan-China friendship, causing shocking bloodshed. We Chinese people are deeply angered and hereby voice our strong protest. We also extend our cordial regards and deep respect to the Chinese youth and to our Japanese friends who were injured.

It is the revisionists in the Japanese Communist Party who are alone responsible for creating in Tokyo

We must learn from the masses and be their pupils. I used to educate my children, but in this cultural revolution it is my children who educate me.

The modern revisionists distort and slander the cultural revolution by attacking it as inciting young people to criticize "experienced cadres" in China. But as Chairman Mao has pointed out to us, history advances and we must make ceaseless efforts in our study.

P.V. Sarma: China's cultural revolution is a great revolution which touches the people to their very souls. China's bourgeoisie have been overthrown politically and economically, but they are still trying to use the old ideas, culture, customs and habits of the exploiting classes to corrupt the masses and control their thinking in an attempt to stage a restoration of capitalism.

The great cultural revolution in China is a living example of Chairman Mao's teaching that classes and class struggle exist throughout the period of socialism.

We all know that during the socialist period class struggle is at times extremely acute. If we do not struggle against the bourgeois reactionaries and against their ideas, culture, customs and habits, they will get the upper hand. This is a life-and-death class struggle.

The great proletarian cultural revolution is an all-round people's war in the ideological sphere after the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat. It is a vivid illustration of **Chairman Mao's teaching:** "After the enemies with guns have been wiped out, there will still be enemies without guns; they are bound to struggle desperately against us, and we must never regard these enemies lightly."

The great proletarian cultural revolution also shows vividly that the people alone are the true makers of history, but it is only when they have grasped Mao Tse-tung's thought and transformed it into a material force that they consciously become the makers of history. Only in this way can they seize power from those "authorities" taking the capitalist road. Therefore the people must be armed with Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tse-tung's thought, from generation to generation.

this succession of serious bloody incidents in an organized and planned way. However, the paper *Akahata*, standing truth on its head, described these undisguised fascist atrocities as "defence of the democratic movement" in Japan. This is a gross insult to the broad masses of the Japanese Communists and the Japanese people.

It was by no means accidental that the revisionists in the Japanese Communist Party should have staged such a dirty performance at a time when U.S. imperialism, the revisionist leading clique of the C.P.S.U. and

the reactionaries of all countries are frenziedly assailing China's great proletarian cultural revolution and whipping up a violent anti-Chinese campaign, and particularly immediately following repeated anti-Chinese atrocities committed by the Soviet revisionist leading clique. The anti-Chinese incidents engineered by the revisionists in the Japanese Communist Party wholly served the interests of the Soviet revisionist leading clique and the reactionaries of the United States and Japan. By throwing away all pretence and taking the field themselves, the Japanese revisionists have further exposed their true features.

People can now clearly see that the "united action" so vociferously advocated by the revisionists in the Japanese Communist Party is after all nothing other than open collusion with the U.S. imperialists, Japanese reactionaries and the Soviet revisionist leading clique. In this collusion the Japanese revisionists serve as their anti-Chinese villains!

During this grave struggle, the overseas Chinese youth in Japan showed heroic spirit, defying brutality and daring to fight and win. Their creative study and application of Chairman Mao's works and the fact that they have armed themselves with Mao Tse-tung's great thought have enabled these youth to put up a stubborn struggle against the fascist hooligans who persecuted them. They have set a brilliant example for overseas Chinese youth. They have shown their worth as fine sons and daughters of the Chinese people and staunch

fighters for safeguarding the cause of China-Japan friendship. They have earned the respect of both the Chinese and Japanese peoples.

During the struggle to resist the ruffians' attacks, many Japanese friends, in order to uphold Japan-China friendship and justice, have stepped forward at the risk of their lives and spoken out boldly for what is right. Lately, Marxist-Leninists and people of all circles in Japan have held meetings to protest against and condemn the anti-Chinese outrages perpetrated by the revisionists in the Japanese Communist Party. This shows the sincere and deep friendship the Marxist-Leninists and the people of Japan have for the Chinese people and is a new contribution by them to the cause of Japan-China friendship. The Chinese people are most grateful to all Japanese comrades and friends who are struggling in defence of Japan-China friendship!

Chairman Mao has said that "the Japanese people and the Chinese people are good friends" and that "the Chinese and Japanese peoples should unite." China-Japan friendship is the common aspiration of the 800 million people of the two countries. This is an irresistible historical current. Anybody who sabotages China-Japan friendship will come to a bad end, and this has been repeatedly proved by history. Whoever goes stubbornly against this tide, ignoring the lessons of the past, will be drowned by it.

(*"Renmin Ribao" article, March 11.*)

Revisionists in the Japanese Communist Party Expose Their Counter-Revolutionary Features

- In collusion with Japanese reactionaries they instigated grave anti-Chinese incidents and bloodshed.
- They organized repeated hooligan attacks on overseas Chinese youths and Japanese friends.

THE revisionist elements in the Japanese Communist Party, with the co-operation of the Japanese police, have organized hooligans on several occasions to break into the Zenrin (Good Neighbour) Student Hostel for overseas Chinese youths in Tokyo. Provoking grave incidents and bloodshed, they have manhandled overseas Chinese youths and Japanese friends who have stood up for Japanese-Chinese friendship. These anti-China incidents, entirely premeditated and organized, are a damning exposure of the counter-revolutionary features of the revisionist elements in the Japanese Communist Party.

At 11 o'clock on the evening of February 28, the fake "Japan-China Friendship Association" controlled by the revisionist elements in the Japanese Communist Party organized hooligans to stage provocations against young overseas Chinese living in the Zenrin Student

Hostel which belongs to China. These toughs viciously tore down the big-character posters posted up by the overseas Chinese youths demanding that the office of the fake "Japan-China Friendship Association," which has become a centre for anti-China activities, should move out of the building. Then they brutally beat up Peng Chung-tao, an overseas Chinese student who stepped forward to demand an explanation of their action. He was wounded in the head. When other young overseas Chinese lodged a protest against the fake "Japan-China Friendship Association" concerning this incident, the revisionist elements in the Japanese Communist Party sent some 70 hooligans into the building to beat up the young overseas Chinese to the accompaniment of hysterical shouts of: "Kill, kill *Changkoro* (the Chinamen)!" and other anti-China slogans.

(Continued on p. 30.)



The World's People Love Chairman Mao

A Veteran Spanish Revolutionary Talks

At the end of February in Algiers a Hsinhua correspondent talked with a Spanish revolutionary. Speaking with great animation this veteran of more than twenty years' struggle for the liberation of the Spanish people paid high tribute to the thought of Mao Tse-tung.

"Chairman Mao," he said, "fully understands the feelings not only of the Chinese people but of all the oppressed peoples of the world. He is the unique and great leader of the revolutionary people of the world. He belongs not only to the Chinese people but also to us Spanish people.

"Progressive Spanish workers, and other toilers and students are now studying Mao Tse-tung's works eagerly and taking Mao Tse-tung's thought as their guide in their revolutionary work. Many young revolutionaries are reading and discussing Mao Tse-tung's works at the risk of persecution by Franco's police.

"In his writings Chairman Mao has paid tribute to the anti-fascist people's army of the Spanish proletariat. The Spanish people have never stopped struggling since dictator Franco took power nearly thirty years ago. They have a revolutionary tradition and revolutionary experience. I firmly believe that the time is not far off when the Spanish people, guided by Mao Tse-tung's thought, will get organized and take up arms in their struggle for victory.

"From the time of Khrushchov, the leadership of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union has betrayed Marxism-Leninism and turned revisionist. Ignoring the plight of millions upon millions of the world's people who are suffering under cruel oppression and the threat of hunger and unemployment, the Soviet revisionists preach so-called peaceful coexistence and peaceful competition with the imperialists and also make a big thing of so-called material welfare. . . . On the Vietnam question, they are hiding themselves behind the empty slogan 'support Vietnam,' while colluding openly with U.S. imperialism to engineer so-called 'peace talks' in a vain attempt to force the Vietnamese people to surrender.

"Under the leadership of Mao Tse-tung, China is now the mainstay and bastion of world revolution," concluded this revolutionary veteran.

How Ichikawa Creatively Studies and Applies Chairman Mao's Works

With the deepest love and respect for Chairman Mao and the greatest faith in Mao Tse-tung's thought, Ichikawa, a veteran Japanese worker, whether at work or at home, always has at hand a bright red-covered copy of *Quotations From Chairman Mao Tse-tung* and a transistor radio so that he can listen in to Radio Peking.

Exploited and oppressed by the capitalists, Ichikawa as a stoker in a steel plant does extremely heavy work. But at the end of a day of back-breaking labour, he keeps up his study of the works of Chairman Mao. Whenever he finds time, he takes out his copy of the *Quotations* and reads eagerly, seeking to grasp the essence of the words of the great leader Chairman Mao and to draw from it both the courage and the strength needed in the struggle.

Ichikawa's personal experience has shown him that Mao Tse-tung's thought is the scientific guide to carry the cause of the world proletarian revolution to victory, the highest expression of Marxism-Leninism in our era. That is why he not only diligently studies Mao Tse-tung's thought himself but makes vigorous efforts to propagate it by recommending to others the *Quotations From Chairman Mao Tse-tung*, by swelling the ranks of listeners to



Guinean workers studying *Quotations From Chairman Mao Tse-tung*

Radio Peking and promoting subscriptions to the weekly *Peking Review*. He carries on these activities not only in his plant but also among the people at large. He makes full use of his spare time for house-to-house canvassing of neighbourhood people, spreading the revolutionary truth and arousing the political consciousness of the people. In the spirit of serving the people "wholly" and "entirely," Ichikawa always makes strict demands on himself. He says: "I should learn conscientiously from Comrade Bethune's spirit of utter devotion to others without any thought of self as well as his internationalist spirit. Whatever we learn from Chairman Mao's books must be applied. Study without practice is useless."

Ichikawa's revolutionary activity in popularizing Chinese books and magazines and publicizing Mao Tse-tung's thought has aroused fear and venomous hostility among the bosses of the plant and a handful

of Japanese revisionists, and they have used all kinds of dirty tricks against Ichikawa. But all this has failed to daunt him. He firmly believes in Chairman Mao's teaching: "**To be attacked by the enemy is not a bad thing but a good thing.**" Ichikawa says: "We workers must not do anything which satisfies the enemy and makes him happy. That is why we must clearly distinguish between our enemies and our friends." "Furthermore," he says, "whoever compromises with the revisionists compromises with the enemy and with U.S. imperialism. Chairman Mao teaches us: '**The enemy will not perish of himself,**' and they will not '**step down from the stage of history of their own accord.**' So, under no circumstances can we cherish any illusions about the enemy. Only through their own struggle can the Japanese people achieve liberation. A hard struggle awaits us but I am firmly convinced that with Mao Tse-tung's thought we will be victorious in the end."

Mao Tse-tung's Thought Enlightens Africa

by the Sudanese Writer Hamid Mahmoud Wafi

The following article was published in Bamako, Mali, by the author when he recently visited a number of African and Asian countries as a member of the Friendship Delegation of the Afro-Asian Writers' Bureau. It has been abridged for reasons of space. — Ed.

Mao Tse-tung's thought is a red beacon which has lighted up the road to freedom for the oppressed peoples and nations of Asia, Africa, Latin America and the rest of the world.

During our visit to a number of African countries, we saw how the Chinese experts and technical workers, guided by Mao Tse-tung's thought, were helping the African people with their construction and how the imperialists and saboteurs were ruining Africa and plundering its wealth.

The Chinese Government, acting according to the principle of internationalism and of helping the new emerging countries, built a sugar refinery in Mali. Educated in the creative thought of Mao Tse-tung, the Chinese experts gave the lie to the colonialists' argument that sugar-cane would not grow on Mali's soil. Together with their Malian brothers, they developed big sugar-cane plantations to supply the refinery.

In Conakry, capital of Guinea, a large and magnificent building has gone up. This building is a project of unconditional aid from China to the Guinean people.

A casual comparison will show that there is a world of difference between Chinese aid to us African people and the so-called aid which the Soviet revisionists publicize. Here is an example of a Soviet expert. Before he leaves home, he insists that his many requests be satisfied: He

demands a villa with air conditioning in each room, a fine car, and local servants. This is not all. Even more shameful is the fact that the Soviet experts would not allow any worker of the recipient country to stay around while they were doing designing work and drawings. They were afraid that the local workers would learn their "professional secrets."

What about the Chinese experts? In Conakry we saw with our own eyes a Chinese expert who called together many local workers and painstakingly explained the proposed designs to them so that they could make designs by themselves in the future. When I asked a Guinean worker how he was getting along with the Chinese experts, he said: "The Chinese experts? You must be referring to our Chinese brothers. They are our brothers. They never make us feel that we fail to know what they know. There has never been any barrier between them and us."

We visited the living quarters of the Chinese experts in Dougabougou, Mali. Looking at them from a distance, none of the delegation members took such simple cottages made of galvanized iron sheets and branches to be the experts' dwelling-houses. Only when we came near and saw big slogans and quotations from Chairman Mao written in Chinese characters on the walls did we realize that these were the places where the Chinese experts lived. In spite of the scorching heat, they were all out at work. This is not surprising because they are the students of Mao Tse-tung, the Lenin of our time. Their teacher is Chairman Mao, the great teacher, great leader, great supreme commander and great helmsman of the people of Asia, Africa, Latin America and the rest of the world.

ROUND THE WORLD

ASIA, AFRICA AND LATIN AMERICA

Prairie Fires

"A single spark can start a prairie fire."

These were the words Chairman Mao used more than 30 years ago to describe the process of the growth of the revolutionary forces. Today armed revolutionary struggle in Asia, Africa and Latin America are developing according to this law of class struggle defined by Chairman Mao.

As the focal point of world contradictions and the main battlefield in the struggle between the oppressed peoples and the imperialists and colonialists, Asia, Africa and Latin America are like plains of tinder-dry grass. Once the sparks of armed struggle are lighted, they will inevitably spread like a prairie fire.

In the attempt to stamp out the sparks of revolutionary armed struggle, the U.S. imperialists and their lackeys are organizing one "encirclement" campaign after another against the revolutionary armed forces. They seek to isolate the guerrillas by cutting off their links with the masses and then annihilate them with one fell swoop.

However, as Chairman Mao has said, **"The richest source of power to wage war lies in the masses of the people."** Drawn from the masses, revolutionary fighters have such close ties with them that they are like fish in water. That is why they are invincible.

In waging an armed struggle against imperialism and its lackeys, all oppressed peoples have to fight back against counter-revolutionary "encirclement" campaigns. These campaigns will not destroy the revolutionary forces. On the contrary they will help to steel the revolutionary peoples and make them stronger and more resolute. And in the end the counter-revolutionary

"encirclement" campaigns will be transformed into encirclement campaigns directed against the counter-revolutionaries.

The situation in the three countries described below makes this clear.

Thailand: Wherever there is oppression, there is bound to be resistance, and the fiercer the oppression the stronger the resistance. The Thai people are living in deep



poverty under the double oppression of U.S. imperialism and the Thai reactionaries. Sixty per cent of the peasants are landless; 85 per cent are in debt. To build military bases, the United States has seized more than 60,000 hectares of land. This intolerable life has forced the Thai people to rise up in a life-and-death struggle against U.S.-Thai reaction.

The people in Thailand's northeast and south who are the worst oppressed were the first to start an armed struggle (torch marks in sketch maps indicate areas of armed struggle). Led by the Thailand Patriotic Front founded on January 1, 1965, it has spread like wildfire and now covers 19 provinces.

Last year, the Thai people's forces fought more than 150 engagements and killed and wounded more than 520 of the enemy, including nearly 40 officers. Between January 23 and February 5, the people's forces in the northeast launched some 20 attacks. Wherever they occupy villages they carry on patriotic and anti-U.S. imperialism propaganda among the masses.

U.S. imperialism and the Thai reactionaries are terrified by the expansion of the armed struggle of the Thai people. Premier Thanom, the

U.S. puppet, recently complained that in dealing with the guerrillas the government troops faced the "same difficulties as in south Vietnam." He admitted that even with "powerful security forces, it is difficult to put the communists [people's forces] down completely."

In the 1966 fiscal year alone, the United States allotted the Thanom-Prapas clique more than \$43 million in "aid," 85 per cent of it being for suppression of the patriotic armed struggle. U.S. helicopters are frequently used to transport Thai government troops on "mopping-up operations" against the people's forces. U.S. news agencies admit that a "special forces" unit several hundred strong is in Thailand to "help do the counter-insurgency job." On U.S. instructions, the Thanom-Prapas group has set up many "self-rule villages" (another version of the "strategic hamlets" in south Vietnam) in the hope of cutting the ties between the peasants and the people's armed forces.

The ruthless repressions organized by U.S. imperialism and the Thanom-Prapas group only add oil to the flames of the Thai people's armed struggle. As Chairman Mao has noted: **"In the final analysis, their [the reactionaries] persecution of the revolutionary people only serves to accelerate the people's revolutions on a broader and more intense scale."** Like south Vietnam, Thailand will become a graveyard for the U.S. paper tiger.

Angola: The armed struggle of the Angolan people for national independence entered its seventh year on February 4.

Guerrilla warfare is now being waged in three different regions.

In Cabinda, where the guerrilla bases have been in existence for years, the Angolan fighters have encircled big military centres of the Portuguese troops and destroyed large numbers of farms run by the colonialists.

Not far from the capital, in a vast area of Cuanza Norte and Luanda districts where the first guerrilla base was established in 1961, the



flames of guerrilla warfare have never gone out. But they have blazed fiercer this year. Daily bombing of villages by

the Portuguese colonialists has not cowed the revolutionary people into submission. After taking to the forests, they reorganized themselves with the help of the guerrillas and have carried on the fight. That is why the Western press has called this region the "rotten triangle."

An important development in the armed struggle last year was the opening up of the southeastern front in Moxico district. Here guerrilla bases have already been established in Casombo, Lumbala and other villages. Guerrilla warfare is developing so fast in this area of more than 80,000 square kilometres that Portuguese Defence Minister Gomes de Araujo has admitted publicly that these areas are controlled by the guerrillas.

The development of armed struggle in Angola last year was shown not only in the expansion of the guerrilla areas but also by the increased scale of the fighting. In the southeastern region alone, the guerrilla fighters wiped out some 1,000 Portuguese colonial troops, destroyed or damaged 35 bridges and many roads and wrecked more than 20 lorries. The spokesmen of the Portuguese colonial troops admitted that the attacks on Teixeira-de-Sousa in southeastern Angola were the most violent since the armed uprising began in 1961. The colonial authorities had to rush several thousand paratroopers and other forces there to pull themselves out of their difficulties.

In the course of their armed struggle, the Angolan revolutionaries have come to see that Mao Tse-tung's thought is the powerful weapon for all oppressed nations and people in their fight for liberation. They attach increasing importance to the

study of Chairman Mao's works and to the application of his theses on "learning warfare through warfare," on building bases in the rural areas and encircling the cities from the countryside and on the strategy and tactics of people's war. They pay great attention to Chairman Mao's teachings on going to the masses and mobilizing them to take part in guerrilla warfare.

On the pattern of the "strategic hamlets" established by the U.S. imperialists in south Vietnam, the Portuguese colonialists in north Angola attempted to separate the guerrillas from the revolutionary masses by forcibly moving peasants from scattered communities into the areas near their pillboxes. The enemy's scheme, however, did not work. By penetrating deep among the masses, the guerrillas organized and armed the peasants in these "strategic hamlets" and were thus able to isolate the enemy still more effectively and themselves grow stronger.

Colombia: 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." The experience of the Colombian guerrillas once again proves this truth.

Backed by U.S. imperialism, the Colombian government forces in the past year have again and again launched "mopping-up operations" against the guerrillas. But, because the people's forces have deep roots in the countryside, where the enemy is weakest, and have close ties with the great mass of peasants who support them, they have been able to foil these enemy campaigns and in the course of the struggle grow and consolidate their position.

Last October, the Government threw 5,000 troops of the 6th Brigade into action and then reinforcements from the 8th Brigade. Indiscrimi-



nate bombing raids—including the use of gas and incendiary bombs—were made over the guerrilla areas by U.S.-made aircraft and the peasants were subjected to a savage policy of "burn all, kill all, loot all." At the same time, the Government attempted to deceive or bribe the peasants and cut them off from the guerrillas by so-called "civic-military action," a "popular integration plan" and other schemes. Nevertheless, both its tough and soft tactics were frustrated.

In the teeth of the enemy's attacks last year, several guerrilla units in southern Colombia united into one organization, the Colombian Revolutionary Armed Forces. Switching from their previous strategy of passive self-defence, they broke through the enemy's encirclement, took the initiative in attack, and repeatedly smashed the enemy's "encirclement" missions in the provinces of Tolima, Huila, Caqueta and other areas where guerrillas are active. Another guerrilla force, the National Liberation Army, has also mounted repeated attacks against government troops in Norte de Santander Province.

Some guerrilla units in Colombia have been studying Chairman Mao's works. They pay special attention to the study and application of Chairman Mao's military writings such as *Concentrate a Superior Force to Destroy the Enemy Forces One by One*, and his strategy and tactics summed up in such maxims as: "the enemy advances, we retreat; the enemy camps, we harass; the enemy tires, we attack; the enemy retreats, we pursue." They use mines, pits and other indigenous methods to wipe out government troops. Dense jungle provides cover for striking hard at the enemy, and rifles are used to down helicopters. Equipped with weapons captured from the enemy, the guerrillas are now able to wipe out whole enemy platoons at one stroke. The commanders of the government's 2nd, 5th and 6th Brigades have been removed from their posts for their failure in the "encirclement" operations against the guerrillas.

(Continued from p. 7.)

pounded the works of Chairman Mao and beaten up the crew of the Chinese international express. It pointed out that it was proper and indisputable for the Chinese side to display Chairman Mao's works on its own international train for passengers to read.

The note added that it was a usual practice for all international trains to display propaganda material. Soviet trains also displayed Soviet propaganda material and the Chinese authorities had never interfered.

That the Soviet authorities had unreasonably impounded Chairman Mao's works, the note pointed out, not only showed their disregard for the strong desire of the passengers to read Chairman Mao's works but also exposed once again how afraid the Soviet authorities were of the truth, of Marxism-Leninism, Mao Tse-tung's thought.

The note said that the Chinese international express ran between Peking and Moscow in accordance with the through railway transport agreements of the countries concerned and the Soviet side was obligated to strictly guarantee the normal running of the Chinese trains and the personal safety of the Chinese crews. Now that the Soviet side had sent frontier guards to brutally beat up the unarmed Chinese train crew, one could not help asking whether the Soviet

Government intended to carry out its international obligations.

The Chinese Government, said the note, sternly demanded that the Soviet Government apologize to the Chinese side, severely punish the culprits in the incident and guarantee that similar incidents would not occur again.

Protest Against Soviet Embassy Personnel's Persecution of Chinese Staff

A leading member of the Department of the Soviet Union and East European Affairs of the Chinese Foreign Ministry was authorized to issue a verbal statement on March 11 to the Soviet Embassy in China, strongly protesting against the latter's disregard of Chinese law and political persecution of the Chinese working in the Soviet Embassy.

The statement pointed out that N.G. Natashin, second secretary of the Soviet Embassy in China, and O.A. Yedanov, second secretary and chief of the consular section of the Soviet Embassy, had not only persecuted the Chinese staff in the Embassy but had also slandered, threatened and insulted them. In addition, the two had also engaged in activities not compatible with their positions as diplomatic officials. N.G. Natashin had even openly struck Chinese citizens on Chinese territory. For all of this, the Chinese Government had declared N.G. Natashin and O.A. Yedanov personae

non grata and ordered them to leave Chinese territory immediately.

The statement said that the Chinese working in the Soviet Embassy and other Soviet organizations in China had gone on strike in protest against the Soviet Government's series of new anti-China crimes following the bloody incident in Moscow's Red Square engineered by the Soviet Government on January 25. To strike was the sacred right given every Chinese citizen by the Constitution of the People's Republic of China. And it was quite right for the Chinese working in the Soviet Embassy to go back to the Embassy to resume work after the strikes were over. However, the Soviet side viciously slandered them, arrogantly refused to allow them to resume work and unilaterally decided to "dismiss" them. This constituted an extreme contempt of Chinese law and a gross insult to the working class of China. The political persecution of the Chinese staff by the Soviet side was absolutely impermissible.

In protest against the political persecution of the Chinese staff by the Soviet side, the entire Chinese staff working in the Soviet Embassy and other Soviet organizations in China had declared their collective resignation. The statement said that the Chinese Foreign Ministry fully supported this just action by the Chinese staff and lodged the strongest protest with the Soviet side for ignoring Chinese law and persecuting the Chinese staff.

(Continued from p. 25.)

On the evening of March 1, the overseas Chinese students living in the building marched to the fake "Japan-China Friendship Association" to hand in another protest. This the personnel of the so-called "Japan-China Friendship Association" refused to accept. By 8:30 p.m., the propaganda vans of the revisionist elements in the Communist Party of Japan drew up near the building and were followed by more and more hooligans. By midnight more than 400 of them had surrounded the place.

At seven o'clock the next morning, 20 of them burst into the hostel. They attacked four young overseas Chinese on duty there, kicked and punched them, and seriously injured two of them: Wang Chun-ying and Wang Cheng-ming. When the victimized Chinese

youths went later to the fake "Japan-China Friendship Association" to make a serious protest, over 40 hooligans hiding on the premises rushed out and again brutally beat the young Chinese.

In the one hour between 1:30 and 2:30 p.m. that same day, the revisionists in the Japanese Communist Party organized two gangs of hooligans wearing masks and armed with metal implements and clubs to break into the building to beat up the overseas Chinese youths and some Japanese friends who had come to support their Chinese friends. Later, at four o'clock, the revisionists in the Japanese Communist Party once again instigated dozens of toughs who were hiding in the office of the fake "Japan-China Friendship Association" to come out and beat up the overseas Chinese youths.

On March 2 alone, these hooligans under the orders of the revisionists in the Japanese Communist Party injured tens of overseas Chinese youths and Japanese friends. Many suffered head wounds. Some cuts were so deep that the skull bone was exposed. The wounds of three overseas Chinese youths and four Japanese friends are particularly serious.

The overseas Chinese youths, nurtured in Mao Tse-tung's thought, and their Japanese friends displayed a fearless spirit and struggled heroically and dauntlessly in self-defence against the violence perpetrated by the revisionist elements in the Japanese Communist Party.

During this bloody anti-China incident many leading cadres of the Japanese Communist Party were on hand to give orders. Late in the night of March 1, Japanese Communist Dietman Zenmei Matsumoto told the hooligans surrounding the overseas Chinese youths: "This is a protracted fight. You must be ready at all times for a fight." On March 2 when the hooligans were again resorting to violence, Takechiyo Uchino and Shinich Takahara, Alternate Members of the Presidium of the Central Committee of the Japanese Communist Party; Masao Iwama and Zenmei Matsumoto, Dietmen; and Shiro Umezu, Head of the Tokyo Prefectural Assembly Group of the Japanese Communist Party, all showed up in the vicinity of the building. At four o'clock in the afternoon of March 2, Sun Ping-hua, Chief Representative of the Tokyo Liaison Office of Liao Cheng-chih's Office, arrived at the Zenrin Student Hostel to visit the victimized overseas Chinese youths and Japanese friends. In an hysterical outburst Shiro Umezu even told the chief of the prefectural police authorities and bourgeois newsmen: "So Sun

Ping-hua has come. What of it? The beating can go on. Sun Ping-hua can also be punched. This is Japanese territory. . . ."

The police authorities of the Sato government co-operated with the revisionists in the Japanese Communist Party closely in this anti-China bloodshed. They openly assisted the hooligans in attacking the overseas Chinese youths. They also did their best to help the hooligans evade responsibility for this criminal incident. On the morning of March 2 when the hooligans were breaking into the hostel, a group of Japanese policemen entered the building under the pretext of "investigating." They hustled Wang Chun-ying, who was injured by the hooligans, into a car and took him to the Tosaka Police Station. Here they asked him to give details of the incident in accordance with their interrogation. They tried to cheat him into signing a so-called "document of investigation" drawn up by them so as to shield the culprits of the incident. Wang Chun-ying, however, refused to do so and this intrigue failed.

These criminal activities of the revisionist elements in the Japanese Communist Party acting in collusion with the Japanese reactionaries in these bloody anti-China incidents have aroused very great indignation among overseas Chinese in Japan and among the Japanese people. They have condemned and protested in the strongest terms against these incidents. Kenji Asagawa, Dean of the Tokyo Chinese Language Research Institute, commented: "The revisionist elements in the Japanese Communist Party have become desperate. They are, therefore, resorting to fascist violence to save themselves from their doom."

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