

# PEKING REVIEW

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## Praise for Self-Reliance and Hard Struggle in Building A Plant

## Chinese Embassy in Soviet Union Lodges Stern Protest With Soviet Foreign Ministry

— Against Soviet revisionists' criminal plot to co-ordinate  
with U.S. imperialism in creating "two Chinas"

## *Upsurge of U.S. Revolutionary Mass Movement in 1960s*

# QUOTATIONS FROM CHAIRMAN MAO TSETUNG

We the Chinese nation have the spirit to fight the enemy to the last drop of our blood, the determination to recover our lost territory by our own efforts, and the ability to stand on our own feet in the family of nations.

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The wealth of society is created by the workers, peasants and working intellectuals. If they take their destiny into their own hands, follow a Marxist-Leninist line and take an active attitude in solving problems instead of evading them, there will be no difficulty in the world which they cannot overcome.

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We are now in a great new era of world revolution. The revolutionary storm in Asia, Africa and Latin America is sure to deal the whole of the old world a decisive and crushing blow. The great victories of the Vietnamese people's war against U.S. aggression and for national salvation are convincing proof of this. The proletariat and working people of Europe, North America and Oceania are experiencing a new awakening. The U.S. imperialists and all other such vermin have already created their own grave-diggers; the day of their burial is not far off.

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Working hand in glove, Soviet revisionism and U.S. imperialism have done so many foul and evil things that the revolutionary people the world over will not let them go unpunished. The people of all countries are rising. A new historical period of struggle against U.S. imperialism and Soviet revisionism has begun.

## Central Committee of Communist Party of China Sends Telegram of Sympathy to People in Yunnan Earthquake Area

An earthquake of 7th magnitude occurred in the area south of Kunming in China's Yunnan Province at 01:00 hour on January 5. Led by the Yunnan Provincial Revolutionary Committee and local revolutionary committees at various levels and aided by the People's Liberation Army, the people in the affected area are successfully combating the natural disaster and organizing relief work in the revolutionary spirit of fearing neither hardship nor death.

Immediately after the earthquake, the Central Committee of the Com-

munist Party of China sent a telegram of sympathy to the people in the affected area, conveying warm solicitude of our great leader Chairman Mao and Vice-Chairman Lin Piao, and advancing effective measures to counter the disaster.

The warm solicitude by Chairman Mao and the Party Central Committee has tremendously encouraged the Communist Party members, the revolutionary masses of various nationalities and the P.L.A. commanders and fighters in the affected area. Giving prominence to proletarian

politics and studying and applying Chairman Mao's works in a living way, they are united as one and full of confidence in overcoming the temporary difficulties caused by the earthquake. The broad revolutionary masses declare confidently: With Chairman Mao's wise leadership, we are not afraid of any difficulty. Guided by Mao Tsetung Thought, we will work more strenuously, rely on our own efforts and wage a hard struggle, and will certainly win complete victory in the fight against the disaster!

## Chinese Embassy in Soviet Union Lodges Stern Protest With Soviet Foreign Ministry

— Against Soviet revisionists' criminal plot to co-ordinate with U.S. imperialism in creating "two Chinas"

Seizing the occasion of Agnew's horning into Asia to carry out criminal activities, the Soviet revisionist renegade clique has repeatedly used its propaganda media to describe Taiwan Province, the sacred territory of the People's Republic of China, as a "country." This is a component part of the new anti-China campaign being whipped up by the Soviet revisionists. Bent on being hostile to the 700 million Chinese people armed with invincible Mao Tsetung Thought, the Soviet revisionist social-imperialists will certainly reap the bitter fruit they have sowed.

Again and again, the Soviet revisionist renegade clique has used its propaganda media recently to describe Taiwan Province, the sacred

territory of the People's Republic of China, as a "country" in order to co-ordinate with U.S. imperialism in the latter's criminal plot to

create "two Chinas." This is the clique's despicable political provocation against the 700 million Chinese people, and new evidence of its crime

of ganging up with U.S. imperialism and the reactionaries of various countries to oppose the great People's Republic of China. The Chinese Embassy in the Soviet Union has lodged a stern protest against this with the Soviet Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

Seizing the occasion of U.S. Vice-President Agnew's horning into Asia to carry out criminal activities, the Soviet revisionist renegade clique has set its propaganda machine in motion to join in the U.S. imperialist plot to create "two Chinas." In a report on December 28, 1969, the Soviet paper *Pravda* went so far as to describe Agnew's activities in Asia, including those on China's territory Taiwan Province, as his "tour of ten countries in Asia and the Pacific." The Soviet Central Radio Station was more flagrant in its broadcast, calling China's Taiwan Province a "country." Blatantly quoting Agnew, a TASS report on January 5 called the Chiang Kai-shek bandit gang "the government of the republic of China" and China's Taiwan Province "Formosa."

The Embassy of the People's Republic of China in the Soviet Union lodged a protest with the Soviet Ministry of Foreign Affairs on January 9 and sternly pointed out: "Your official news agency TASS, your press and radio stations, seizing the opportunity to cover the recent activities of U.S. Vice-President Agnew in Asia, have deliberately co-ordinated with U.S. imperialism in its plot to create 'two Chinas.' Not long ago, your national paper *Sotsialisticheskaya Industriya* also went in for creating 'two Chinas.' We warned you against this but you turned a deaf ear to our warning and once again carried out political provocation against us. This fully showed that you deliberately oppose China. We express our indignation over this

to the Soviet Government and lodge a protest with it."

The Chinese Embassy also sternly pointed out: "Taiwan is an inseparable part of the sacred territory of the People's Republic of China. There is only one China in the world, namely, the People's Republic of China. Your criminal plot to co-ordinate with U.S. imperialism in creating 'two Chinas' will never be realized."

It should be pointed out that the Soviet revisionists' plot to co-ordinate again and again with U.S. imperialism recently in creating "two Chinas" is by no means accidental. It is a component part of the new anti-

China campaign they are whipping up.

Brought up under the teachings of the great Lenin and with a glorious revolutionary tradition, the Soviet people have a long-standing revolutionary friendship for the Chinese people. All kinds of criminal actions plotted by Soviet revisionism against China run completely counter to the will of the Soviet people and will be firmly opposed by them. Bent on being hostile to the 700 million Chinese people armed with invincible Mao Tsetung Thought, the Soviet revisionist social-imperialists will certainly reap the bitter fruit they have sowed.

## Air Force Commander Wu Fa-hsien Receives Huang Tien-ming and Chu Ching-jung

Wu Fa-hsien, Commander, Wang Hui-chiu, Political Commissar, and Tseng Kuo-hua, Deputy Commander, of the Air Force of the Chinese People's Liberation Army, on January 5 received Huang Tien-ming, former captain, and Chu Ching-jung, former cadet, of the air force of the Chiang Kai-shek bandit gang, who had crossed over with their plane. Huang Tien-ming and Chu Ching-jung were appointed respectively deputy commander of a unit of the P.L.A. Air Force and staff officer of a unit of the P.L.A. Air Force.

Air Force Commander Wu Fa-hsien and the other P.L.A. Air Force leaders encouraged Huang Tien-ming and Chu Ching-jung to make efforts in the living study and application of Mao Tsetung Thought, foster a

proletarian world outlook and be P.L.A. fighters always loyal to the great leader Chairman Mao.

Wearing the P.L.A. Air Force uniforms with red star cap insignia and red collar insignia, Huang Tien-ming and Chu Ching-jung were very much moved. They shouted again and again: "Long live Chairman Mao!" and "We wish our great leader Chairman Mao a long, long life!" They pledged that under the leadership of the great leader Chairman Mao and his close comrade-in-arms Vice-Chairman Lin they would serve the people wholeheartedly and strive for the liberation of Taiwan, the sacred territory of the motherland.

Present on the occasion were leading members of the P.L.A. Air Force Headquarters, including Liang Pu and Hsia Li.

# Praise for Self-Reliance and Hard Struggle In Building a Plant

— Running the Kirin Municipal Oil and Grease Plant diligently and frugally

The achievements at the Kirin Municipal Oil and Grease Plant are a high tribute to the principle of **self-reliance, hard struggle** and that **diligence and frugality should be practised in running factories**. They provide evidence of the infinite creativeness of the great Chinese people armed with Mao Tsetung Thought. Chairman Mao has pointed out: **"The wealth of society is created by the workers, peasants and working intellectuals. If they take their destiny into their own hands, follow a Marxist-Leninist line and take an active attitude in solving problems instead of evading them, there will be no difficulty in the world which they cannot overcome."** This instruction is the source of our victory and our orientation in advancing. — Ed.

**T**HE Kirin Municipal Oil and Grease Plant came into being in the big leap year 1958 when an excellent situation prevailed. At that time, Communist Party member Liu Sheng, a disabled P.L.A. man, special class, led 12 dependents of armymen and martyrs and other people in his neighbourhood in setting up this promising and thriving socialist enterprise with only 25 yuan and three cauldrons.

The great leader Chairman Mao teaches us: **"On what basis should our policy rest? It should rest on our own strength, and that means regeneration through one's own efforts."** Wholeheartedly following Chairman Mao's teachings and acting according to his instructions, the revolutionary masses in the plant built it through self-reliance and hard struggle. They produced for the revolution and guided the production with a revolutionary spirit. During the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, they thoroughly criticized the counter-revolutionary revisionist line of the renegade, hidden traitor and scab Liu Shao-chi, and in the process Chairman Mao's great concept of **"maintaining independence and keeping the initiative in our own hands and relying on our own efforts"** took deep root among them.

Because the revolutionary spirit of the working class is its mainstay, the plant's outlook has undergone a fundamental change. Today this plant, with a staff of 218, can produce more than 70 varieties of oil and grease as against one single product when it started. Formerly limited to reclaiming waste oil it now mass produced products of an advanced domestic and world level. In 1969, its total output value reached 3,400,000 yuan, 52.7 per cent above that of 1966, while its labour productivity in 1969 was 64.7 per cent above that of 1966. In the course of its 12-year history, the plant

turned over to the state profits amounting to 40 times the total sum invested by the state up through 1969.

## Building the Plant by Hard Struggle And Relying on Their Own Efforts

At the initial stage, neither a building nor equipment was available, nor were money and technique. How to set up a plant in these "poor and blank" circumstances? Some shook their heads: "No plant will be built by these twelve and a half people, one disabled and 12 housewives!" But Liu Sheng, who was seriously wounded and lost both his hands and feet during the War to Resist U.S. Aggression and Aid Korea and was rated a special-class disabled armyman, retorted determinedly: "I will take the road of revolution though I have no feet. I will make revolution though I have no hands. Disabled as I am, I will not stop making revolution half-way! Housewives will also contribute to the socialist construction."

The presence of revolutionary people is the most fundamental prerequisite in the absence of other conditions. Concertedly, they erected a shelter made of ragged straw mats and boards and picked up bricks and stones to support the cauldron. From the big factories they collected waste oil as raw material. The flame of revolution burst with the firing of three cauldrons.

In 1961, the handful of capitalist roaders in the old provincial Party committee feverishly pushed the counter-revolutionary revisionist line of the renegade, hidden traitor and scab Liu Shao-chi. They blustered: "Nothing much will come out of such a wretched plant." Shortly afterwards, they stopped the supply of raw material to the plant and ordered it to stop production. The workers responded in anger: "Why prohibit us from producing things the state needs? We will pro-

duce what socialism requires." They tried every means to overcome the difficulties and managed to continue operating.

In 1962, the plant became a state enterprise under the management of the Kirin city. In the new situation, the issue arose: Should we continue to **rest on our own strength** or ask everything from the state? This was a question of whether the plant would continue to advance along the road of **"maintaining independence and keeping the initiative in our own hands and relying on our own efforts."**

The plant wanted to build a new **workshop** for regenerating the waste oil. Some comrades suggested that they requested an investment of 110,000 yuan from the state. This proposal aroused a heated discussion and most of the workers disagreed with it. They said: "We prefer to resolve all difficulties by ourselves, and never add even the slightest burden to the state." "Socialism will not come if we just wait or ask for help. It will come only when we **build it with our own hands.**" Working together, the workers and cadres cut the waste and old equipment on hand into pieces and made walls for the vessels and stills out of them. They welded a variety of angle bars and steel tubes into supports. In this way they made three wash vessels, one oil-water separator and installed two distilling stills and two cooling towers. Using only big iron hammers, they made a 28-metre-high iron chimney. Having no press and dies to make the dish-shaped base of the wash vessel, the machine-repair workers dug a big hole in the frozen ground in the shape of the base of the wash vessel and with big wooden hammers beat the heated steel plates placed on the hole into the shape they wanted. Forty hours of hard work yielded two bases. In the spirit of "ants nibbling at the bone," they built a workshop which regenerates 2,500 tons of waste oil per year without seeking any investment from the state.

Their spirit of self-reliance developed further in the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution. In the last three years, they designed and built additional workshops and warehouses, covering 4,120 square metres, an area 1.5 times of the total floor space occupied in the first nine years of the plant's operation. Supported and helped by fraternal plants, they made or remade 68 pieces of major equipment and installed all the equipment, saving the state a lot of money and rolled steel.

On its road of **"maintaining independence and keeping the initiative in our own hands and relying on our own efforts"** and in struggling to overcome difficulties, the plant bases itself on making whatever it can, taking into account the conditions in the plant and utilizing waste materials and old equipment. At the same time, its workers carry forward the style of enduring hardship displayed by the veteran Eighth Route Army men, the spirit of practising economy in regard to every fen and every single drop of oil, and the revolutionary heroism of despising all difficulties. The workers said that these traits and practices are valua-

ble spiritually, and provide a reliable method and correct road.

### **Needs of Revolution Is Orientation for Developing Production**

**"Be prepared against war, be prepared against natural disasters, and do everything for the people"** is Chairman Mao's great strategic thinking. It encompasses the whole situation of the revolution. Proceeding from this whole situation the plant produces whatever the revolution needs and links its production closely with socialist construction and with the consolidation of the dictatorship of the proletariat.

In accordance with Chairman Mao's great principle **"Take agriculture as the foundation and industry as the leading factor,"** the plant serves agriculture with all its might. As a result of its investigations in the rural area, the plant learnt that the countryside badly needed lubricating oil for carts. The workers tried their best to produce it. At first, the plant lost money, some scores of yuan per ton, in making the oil. But the workers said: "Chairman Mao calls on us to support agriculture. Whether or not we produce this oil is not a question of financial gain or loss. It is a question of what political orientation we keep to. We have made up our minds to produce the oil. The problem of losing money can be solved." Under the pretext that this product was running at a loss, the handful of capitalist roaders in the old municipal Party committee forced the plant to stop producing the oil. In the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, the workers thoroughly criticized Liu Shao-chi's revisionist trash of "putting profits in command," and shouldered the task of producing this oil sufficient to meet all the needs in the province's rural areas. Giving prominence to proletarian politics, they improved management and lowered the production costs, quickly ending financial loss. Upon the decrease in production costs from 530 yuan per ton to 355 yuan, the price also went down a great deal. The poor and lower-middle peasants were very pleased.

In production, the workers fear no trouble, nor are they concerned about filling a small order. If the revolution needs it, they will resolutely produce it. To scale a technical height, a power plant required a small quantity of a certain oil. Hearing the news, the plant's workers immediately accepted the task in order to heighten the proletariat's morale and to smash the revisionists' attempt to choke China by denying us this product. After overcoming many difficulties, they succeeded in trial-producing the oil in a short period of time, and helped solve the problem faced by the power plant.

The plant conscientiously pays attention to the needs of the whole country. It gives priority to the demands of the revolution and produce what is needed in preparation against war. On one occasion in 1969, a leading member of the plant's revolutionary committee went to a neighbouring factory on business. As he was making a phone call, he noticed an instruction on the



memorandum board: "Wire Wuhsi immediately to send here quickly transparent sulfuretted oil for metal cutting." After he returned to the plant, the comrade discussed the matter with the workers. It struck them that their own plant and the factory visited were only one block apart, yet the oil in urgent need by the latter has to be transported several thousand li. This was certainly not beneficial to preparedness against war. So the oil plant immediately started its trial-production of the required oil. Shortly after repeated experiment, it produced the oil and warmly sent it to the neighbouring factory. Furthermore, it voluntarily accepted the responsibility of long-term supply of this oil.

### **Saving Every Copper for the Revolution**

Our great leader Chairman Mao teaches us: "Saving every copper for the war effort, for the revolutionary cause." Saving every drop of oil, every piece of coal, every kwh. of electricity and every fen for the revolution has become the plant's fine tradition. Although it has grown from a poor to a rich enterprise in the past 12 years, this tradition remains.

At one time, the plant processed tung oil for the city's bureau of grain. Treasuring the oil in the course of the work, the workers used their hands to scoop up every drop spilled on the ground, boiled their cleaning cloths to retrieve the oil, and with spoons scraped up all oil remaining on the bottom of the barrels. Such drops accumulated. With better management and reduction in waste, they saved 20 tons of tung oil, valued at 40,000 yuan. Always keeping in mind the revolution and the construction of the whole country, they handed in all the money thus saved to the state.

In view of the plant's expansion and increased work force, its revolutionary committee at the beginning of 1969 planned to use the plant's 160,000 yuan of accumulation to build a conference room and dormitories. Just prior to breaking earth for the project, the Ninth Party Congress was successfully convened. Liu Sheng, chairman of the revolutionary committee, at the plant's Mao Tsetung Thought study class organized to implement the spirit of the congress proposed a temporary postponement of the building of the conference room and dormitories in favour of using the 160,000 yuan to build another workshop for high-temperature grease. This would save the 370,000 yuan and 100 tons of rolled steel which the state had already allocated for the construction of this workshop. The workers paid great attention to this proposal and engaged in heated discussions. Actually the plant needed a conference room and dormitories. However, acting in accordance with Chairman Mao's great teach-



**Relying on Mao Tsetung Thought, the workers built this high-temperature grease workshop by self-reliance.**

ing: "Be prepared against war, be prepared against natural disasters, and do everything for the people," they considered that the money should be spent where it was most needed. Instead of building a conference room and dormitories or even a new high-temperature grease workshop, they used the 160,000 yuan to build a workshop to produce new products. At the same time, they used old and waste materials to renovate a workshop to produce high-temperature grease. By adopting an improved technological process, they multiplied the production capacity 21-fold. The workers commented: "This is in keeping with our spirit of making revolution with three cauldrons and our plant's time-honoured tradition of self-reliance and building the plant by hard work. That's how money should be used."

They have persevered in putting proletarian politics in command of production. The worker masses have been mobilized and every one of them takes part in management. They have established a whole set of rational and effective system of management, steadily raised the quality of products and reduced costs, and provided an ever increasing amount of accumulation for the state.

### **Following Our Own Road in Developing Technology**

Applying Chairman Mao's great teaching: "Break down foreign conventions and follow our own road in developing industry," the plant mastered techniques and scaled technical heights for the revolution. Proceeding from indigenous methods, it has taken the road of advancing from indigenous to modern methods and integrating them into a whole.

The revolutionary workers who started this undertaking knew nothing about the needed techniques. They had never been in a plant before, nor did they

know anything about the technique of oil refining. But people armed with Mao Tsetung Thought can overcome all difficulties to win victory. By forging ahead dauntlessly, studying diligently, and learning while working, the workers mastered technique step by step. Former ordinary housewives have dexterously mastered the production techniques of most products. The plant now has its own technical forces to handle trial-production of products, technological designing, building and installation. Specializing in one field, they are also skilled in others.

With regard to technique and equipment, the plant has steadily summed up the practical experience of the masses on the basis of its needs and potential and of making full use of the existing conditions. Through gradually developing and raising the experience, it has created complete sets of technological processes and production equipment which are scientific and rational and conform to practical needs. For instance, low-temperature discharging was needed to raise the quality of calcium base grease. As there was no equipment to handle this, the grease became thick and could not flow. Unafraid of scorch or burn at a temperature of about 100 degrees C., the workers scooped up the grease with a big iron ladle one scoop after another. While persevering in production, they engaged in renovating the equipment and improving the technological process. After two years of continuous efforts, they have changed the heating method from fire to steam, replaced the ordinary kettle with a jacketed kettle, switched from manual stirring to mechanical and two-directional stirring. "Indigenous methods" have gradually evolved into methods which are a combination of both indigenous and modern procedures and the primitive has developed into the advanced. Mechanization and a system of pipes have been introduced. As a result, the quality of the calcium base grease produced in this plant caught up with the advanced level of the same kind of products in China.

To smash the slavish comprador philosophy and scale technical heights for the revolution they often raised difficult problems for themselves to solve. In 1965, a set of our production equipment required a kind of non-soap high-temperature grease. To hamper our development, the capitalist countries demanded exorbitant prices and unreasonable conditions for its supply. The workers were indignant when they heard about this, and insisted that they be allowed to tackle the job.

The great leader Chairman Mao teaches us: **"We cannot just take the beaten track traversed by other countries in the development of technology and trail behind them at a snail's pace."** The plant's workers and technicians solved the difficulties in the revolutionary spirit of waging arduous struggles. Comrade Tung Shuo-lin who was in charge of this experiment is a worker-technician with only six years of schooling. Despite his serious duodenal ulcer and cholecystitis and recurrent high fever, he persisted at his fighting post with unusual tenacity. To obtain a

certain raw material, they went to 11 provinces and autonomous regions to bring back 33 samples. After 108 experiments and overcoming a series of difficulties, they finally succeeded in trial-producing the grease. Then they set themselves a higher goal — to surpass the capitalist countries. The key to this goal laid in improving the property of a thickening agent. Daring to think and act, the workers and technicians, assisted by the departments concerned, made bold experiments with indigenous methods and solved the problem in only 60 days. Testing proved that the non-soap high-temperature grease produced in the capitalist countries can ensure continuous operation for only six months whereas with the same kind of grease produced by the Kirin plant the period is extended to 11 months. When the latter is used in locomotive generators, the effective period is 51 times as long as that of an ordinary grease. When it is used on the roller bed's bearings of a large shear in a rolling mill, its effective period is 972-fold greater than the grease previously used.

Proceeding from the principle of relying on its own efforts, the plant is daring to scale technical heights and blaze new paths. Once the workers decide to achieve something, they do not give up until they succeed. Through self-reliance the plant has produced nine standardized products of 28 varieties.

### **Revolutionized People Give Rise to Revolutionized Plant**

Among the experiences which have turned the oil and grease plant into a revolutionized socialist enterprise, the most fundamental one is the growth of a revolutionized contingent, nurtured by Mao Tsetung Thought and tempered in the three great revolutionary movements — class struggle, the struggle for production and scientific experiment. Only with revolutionized people, can there be a revolutionized plant.

The plant has a revolutionized leading group. Its members study and apply Mao Tsetung Thought in a living way, firmly act according to Chairman Mao's instructions, take the lead in study and conscientiously revolutionize their thinking. They take the lead in everything and conscientiously set examples for others to follow. They lead the others to break new paths and are bold in shouldering risks. They regard Chairman Mao's great teachings **"self-reliance," "arduous struggle" and "diligence and frugality should be practised in running factories"** as maxims in running the plant and constantly and repeatedly study them to guide their actions. In undertaking a job, they give primacy to the factor of man, firmly believing that the masses have the intrinsic power of **self-reliance**. They forge close ties with the masses. Not divorced from labour, they always keep the masses in mind. They go wherever there are difficulties. It is not easy to make a distinction between workers and leading cadres. One vice-chairman of the revolutionary committee works with a hammer, pliers or spade all the year round, winning the praise of the workers as "an ox



working for the revolution and a good example of arduous struggle." When the special rail line was being laid, Comrade Liu Sheng went along with the lorries to bring back sleepers from the forest. With other comrades, he climbed the mountains and persevered even though his artificial leg bruised his stump and caused it to bleed. A lorry driver advised him to stay behind but he replied: "There is no smooth road in revolution. The revolution demands the scaling of peaks. I'll do it all my life in order to wipe out imperialism, revisionism and reaction and to emancipate all mankind." The workers said: "Because our leading group is one that wholeheartedly follows Chairman Mao in making revolution, our revolutionary road of self-reliance will progressively widen."

Using Mao Tsetung Thought as the guide, the plant's leading group has trained a hard core loyal to the revolution. Among this force are pathbreakers who boldly defended Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line during the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, old workers who have consistently worked hard to build the plant over the past 12 years, demobilized army men trained in the great school of the People's Liberation Army and young intellectuals consciously seeking re-education by the working class. By taking part in the struggle to change the poor and blank state of the plant, they all cherish profound proletarian devotion to self-reliance and building the plant by hard struggle. They love the plant and love socialism even more. Old worker Chu Yu-shu, a former housewife, over 50 years old, experienced all sorts of suffering in the old society. She has boundless love for Chairman Mao. She assiduously studies and applies Mao Tsetung Thought in a living way and follows Chairman Mao's teachings with-

out reservation. She will do whatever the Party tells her. Diligently and scrupulously, she works heart and soul to build socialism. Often she has said: "The Party is my mother and the plant my home; I follow the Party's teachings and love my home." During the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, she had the honour of being admitted into the great Communist Party of China. She has become a vanguard fighter of the proletariat.

The oil and grease plant pays close attention to educating the new generation to follow the revolutionary tradition so as to ensure that the revolutionary spirit of self-reliance can be carried on from one generation to another. The first lesson the plant gives to the new workers, cadres and technicians is to educate them in **"maintaining independence and keeping the initiative in our own hands and relying on our own efforts"** and tell them the plant's history, so they gain a deep impression of how it started **"making revolution with three cauldrons."** The old workers instruct the young workers not only in words, but by deeds. When one young worker, a graduate of a secondary vocational school, first came to work, she thought there was not much future for her in this small plant. She did not consider the story about the **"three cauldrons"** something to be proud of. On one occasion she nonchalantly threw away a pair of soiled gloves. An old worker silently picked them up, washed and mended them. When she was transporting bricks and needed gloves, the old worker handed this pair to her and said with great emotion: **"Where could we find gloves at the time when we had only three cauldrons to make revolution! You should be good at carrying on the tradition of hard struggle!"** With the help of old workers, this youngster gradually changed her thinking. Recently she went to the city to buy some glass instruments. The cost of their transport was five yuan. She thought: Five yuan equals one-fifth of our plant's founding fund! Ignoring fatigue, she made two trips on foot to carry back the instruments herself. A new generation is growing up sturdily in the fertile soil of self-reliance.

**"We have stood for regeneration through our own efforts, and this has become even more important in the new international situation."** Faced with the war threat of U.S. imperialism and social-imperialism, the revolutionary masses of the Kirin Municipal Oil and Grease Plant, closely following Chairman Mao's great strategic plan and proceeding from the needs of war preparedness, are determined to **"climb the slope with the highest gradient and scale the highest mountain"** and win new and still greater victories through self-reliance.



In front of a cauldron, Liu Sheng, chairman of the plant's revolutionary committee, (third from right) educating the young workers to follow the revolutionary tradition—**"maintaining independence and keeping the initiative in our own hands and relying on our own efforts"**

# A Party Branch Maintaining Close Ties With the Masses

**T**HE 37 Communist Party members in the tool workshop of Hunan's Chuchow Rolling Stock Plant make up 20.5 per cent of the total number of workers and cadres there. Helped and led by the Chuchow Municipal Revolutionary Committee's Mao Tsetung Thought propaganda team stationed in the plant and the Chinese Communist Party's nucleus group in the Chuchow Rolling Stock Plant and by Party consolidation, the workshop established a new Party branch in December 1968 and took in new proletarian blood.

**Direct reliance on the revolutionary masses is a basic principle of the Communist Party.** Guided by Chairman Mao's great theory of continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat, the Party branch has in the past year mobilized Party members and workers to study and apply the whole series of Chairman Mao's latest instructions in a living way so that the Party branch can become a militant fortress which maintains close links with the masses.

## Leading the Revolutionary Masses in Fighting The Class Enemy

The fundamental task of the Party organization is to lead **"the proletariat and the revolutionary masses in the fight against the class enemy."** Shortly after the Party branch was established, some people thought: "The work of purifying the class ranks is **drawing to an end**, Party consolidation has been **accomplished**, the Party branch has been established, and so we can pause and relax." The Party branch saw that this idea was a manifestation of those people's weak sense of class struggle and lack of the spirit of continuing the revolution. It recognized that to grasp or not to grasp class struggle was a fundamental question involving whether the Party branch could lead the revolutionary masses to accomplish the various militant tasks of struggle-criticism-transformation and whether it could implement Chairman Mao's proletarian line on Party building.

In the light of the actual class struggle in the plant and the workshop, the Party branch scathingly criticized the renegade, hidden traitor and scab Liu Shao-chi's theory of "the dying out of class struggle," and through struggle against the enemy, constantly raised the consciousness of the Party members and the revolutionary masses in the struggle between the two lines, and took the initiative to launch one attack after another against the class enemy. Together with the workers, the Party members, after careful investigation and study, launched a powerful political offensive and eventually dug out a handful of deeply entrenched class enemies.

There was one bad egg in the workshop who pretended to be an activist and for a time pulled the wool over the eyes of some of the masses. Following Chairman Mao's teaching **"Never forget class struggle,"** the Party branch, after making an all-round investigation and study and acquiring conclusive evidence, mobilized the masses to expose the disruptive activities of this scoundrel during the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution and his counter-revolutionary features.

The Party branch constantly educated the Party members and revolutionary masses to always use Mao Tsetung Thought to observe the new trends in class struggle. At one time, the class enemies used bourgeois factionalism existing among some comrades in our own ranks to stir up an anarchist trend in an attempt to disrupt proletarian revolutionary discipline and undermine the work of grasping revolution and promoting production. Taking firm hold of this new trend, the Party branch promptly organized the Party members and the masses to conscientiously study Chairman Mao's teaching **"Let . . . the sense of discipline grow stronger, and the revolution will be ever-victorious,"** criticize the reactionary bourgeois theory of "many centres," that is, the theory of "no centre," and thus repulsed the offensive by the class enemies and helped to greatly strengthen the proletarian Party spirit within the revolutionary ranks.

Acting in accordance with Chairman Mao's great strategic thinking **"Be prepared against war, be prepared against natural disasters, and do everything for the people,"** the Party branch often educated the Party members and the workers concerning the international situation and exposed and denounced the crimes of U.S. imperialism and Soviet revisionist social-imperialism so as to enable the revolutionary masses to get a better understanding of their aggressive nature. This has increased the fighting spirit of Party members and masses and strengthened their sense of organization and discipline and effectively carried the movement of grasping revolution and promoting production to a new high. Standing beside their machines, they have the interests of the world's people in mind. They regarded the making of every spare part and every screw as a shell fired at the enemies. Going in for technical innovations in a big way, they gave play to the militant style of daring to think and act, fearing no fatigue and engaging in continuous fighting and strove hard to solve every difficult problem. In 1969, 23 big and small innovated items were introduced, some of which were up to domestic advanced levels. Going all out and aiming high, under the leadership of the Party

branch, the revolutionary masses met the 1969 production targets ahead of schedule.

In the fierce class struggle, the Party members always led the masses and fought in the van, thus bringing about a closer relationship between themselves and the revolutionary masses. The worker comrades said: "Communist Party members can really stand up to any stiff tests in class struggle; they have set a good example for us to follow."

### **Criticizing the Theory That "the Masses Are Backward," Practising the Mass Line**

It was because the revolutionary masses were asked to "attend the meetings and give comments" in the course of Party consolidation that Party members greatly strengthened their mass point of view. But the Party branch did not remain content with this achievement. Seeing that after Party consolidation certain Party members did not pay enough heed to opinions from the masses, the Party branch became aware that the pernicious influence of the theory that "the masses are backward" had not been thoroughly eliminated. So it continued to relentlessly criticize Liu Shao-chi's counter-revolutionary revisionist line and constantly raised the Party members' consciousness in learning from the masses. Meanwhile, the Party branch regarded the implementation of Chairman Mao's teaching "We must have faith in and rely on the masses" as one of the important aspects which they should pay attention to in building the Party in the ideological sphere.

The Party branch was concerned with the well-being of the masses and paid attention to methods of work. In doing their work, they always acted as pupils of the masses before becoming their teachers. They consulted the masses whenever problems came up, and listened to extensive opinions from the masses. Thus every type of work they did acquired a profound mass foundation and had the support of the revolutionary masses. The worker comrades said: "The new Party branch has close relations with the masses."

Led and helped by the Party branch, the overwhelming majority of the Party members are able to modestly listen to the opinions of the revolutionary masses and consciously look up to the masses as their teachers. They often use their holidays and work breaks to go to see the masses, have heart-to-heart talks with them, get to know the trend of their thinking, and accept supervision and help from the revolutionary masses. Influenced by the pernicious effects of Liu Shao-chi's theory that "the masses are backward," one Party member thought himself better than others, adopted a rude attitude towards the masses and thus incurred great dissatisfaction on the part of the masses. Making the advanced elements of the proletariat his example after Party consolidation, he set strict demands on himself. He was determined to be a pupil of the masses. On his own, he often called on them and chatted with them. At any time and under all circumstances, he was able to pay attention to playing the ex-

emplary vanguard role of a Communist and consult them about solving any problem. Without exception, the revolutionary masses said: "There's been a tremendous change in this comrade." He himself said with deep feeling: "Whenever we Party members take a step forward, the masses will keep an eye on our footsteps. If we are going the right way, they will follow us; if we are taking the wrong path, they will immediately point it out to us."

Because the revolutionary masses observed from numerous facts that the new Party branch earnestly followed Chairman Mao's teachings and maintained close ties with them, they took on the attitude of master of the house and constantly made proposals regarding the work of the Party branch. With the deep concern and help of the revolutionary masses, the Party branch has steadily progressed in its work.

On the other hand, as regards one-sided and incorrect opinions of the masses, the Party branch used Mao Tsetung Thought to analyse them and did explanatory and educational work among them. It guarded against and rejected tailism expressed in the statement "Do anything the way the masses want it to be done." Consequently, while the Party branch learnt from the masses, it also led them forward. The hearts of the members of the Party branch are linked with those of the masses.

### **Arming the Masses With Mao Tsetung Thought, Overcoming Non-Proletarian Thinking**

In its work, the Party branch of the tool workshop paid close attention to arming the Party members and the revolutionary masses with Mao Tsetung Thought, helped them overcome their non-proletarian thinking and based the relationship between the Party and the masses on Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line. They developed a deep-going mass movement for the living study and application of Mao Tsetung Thought, often organized Mao Tsetung Thought study classes and held forums to exchange experiences in their living study and application of Mao Tsetung Thought and worked hard to apply what they had been studying. They have held nine such forums since the establishment of the new Party branch. In the light of actual conditions in their workshop, they paid special attention to fostering the following viewpoints:

One. The viewpoint of continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat. The tool workshop has been praised many times for outstanding achievements in its work, but the Party branch did not in the least allow itself to be content with these; instead, it educated the Party members and the masses to arm themselves with Chairman Mao's theory of continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat, to constantly fight self and criticize revisionism and increase their consciousness and initiative in continuing the revolution.

First of all, the Party branch made strict demands on itself. It often adopted the open-door rectification

methods to listen to extensive criticism and opinions from the masses. The Party members also took the lead in fighting self and criticizing revisionism in front of the masses and, by their own exemplary deeds, helped the masses overcome their non-proletarian thinking. One Party branch committee member grew arrogant and complacent because he had been honoured. The Party branch realized that this was an obstacle on the road of continuing the revolution and the beginning of stagnation. Therefore they first began to conscientiously study Mao Tsetung Thought in the Party branch committee and wage active ideological struggle; they then asked the Party branch committee member to speak out about his selfish ideas before the masses and find out where he was lagging. Influenced by the Party branch, the tool workshop decided that whenever it was praised, it would try to find where it was lagging, sum up its experience, work out its measures and constantly display its vigorous revolutionary spirit.

The Party branch led the masses forward by displaying the revolutionary spirit of fearing neither hardship nor death. Whenever difficulties arose, its committee members invariably went ahead boldly to conquer them. In leading the masses in labour at the cast steel capital construction work-site one day in January last year, two Party branch committee members were the first to take off their shoes and socks. Barefooted in the biting cold, they began the battle to break up the ice and dig up the mud. They studied the "three constantly read articles" together with the masses and, with the tenacity and will power of fearing neither hardship nor death, they overcame many difficulties and fulfilled their tasks with credit. They were highly praised by the masses for their exemplary deeds. In one voice, the masses said: "We have faith in such Party members."

Two. The viewpoint of strengthening Party leadership. The new Party branch organized the Party members and the revolutionary masses to conscientiously study Chairman Mao's programme for Party building and the new Party Constitution, guided them to further recognize that the Chinese Communist Party, personally founded and nurtured by our great leader Chairman Mao, is a great, glorious and correct Party and that it is the leading core of the entire Chinese people. At the same time, they mercilessly criticized the counter-revolutionary revisionist fallacies spread by Liu Shao-chi in a vain effort to liquidate the Party leadership. This has further heightened the consciousness of the Party members and the revolutionary masses.

To strengthen Party leadership is to act in accordance with Mao Tsetung Thought and to conscientiously implement Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line. As soon as any of Chairman Mao's latest instructions was published, they immediately publicized it without delay and saw to it that no one missed the chance to study it. They devoted conscientious efforts to studying it and took an active part in putting it into practice. At the same time, the Party branch set strict

demands on the Party members in accordance with the requirements laid down in the new Party Constitution and gave full play to the Party members' exemplary vanguard role. A keen political atmosphere was lacking in the group attending the grinding machines originally, and it was lagging behind in grasping revolution and promoting production. Later, the Party branch strengthened its leadership of this group and sent a Party member there. Acting in line with Chairman Mao's instructions, this Party member headed the masses in studying and applying Mao Tsetung Thought in a living way and in struggling against the undesirable tendencies. He took the initiative in helping the group leader do ideological and political work among the masses and get the whole group united on the basis of Mao Tsetung Thought. As a result, the revolution developed vigorously and production was on the upswing. Thus this group rapidly changed from a backward unit into an advanced one.

Three. The viewpoint of policy. Following Chairman Mao's teaching: "**Policy and tactics are the life of the Party,**" the Party branch persistently armed the workers with the Party's various proletarian policies. It firmly fostered the viewpoint of policy, energetically grasped implementation of Party policy and resolutely carried it out to the letter. This has greatly increased the revolutionary masses' understanding of Party policy. Now, they support whatever conforms to Party policy and oppose whatever runs counter to it. They firmly follow Party policy in handling all problems. Led by the Party branch committee, the tool workshop has conscientiously implemented Party policy and "liberated" those cadres who should be "liberated." Some people previously looked upon the intellectuals as a burden, but later, following Chairman Mao's teaching, they helped them take the road of integration with the workers and peasants and bring their positive factors into play. Because they unswervingly followed Party policy in handling every problem, they have united with all the people who can be united and brought the masses' initiative into full play.

Recently, under the leadership of the plant's Party committee, the Party branch of the tool workshop persevered in giving prominence to proletarian politics and conscientiously studied Chairman Mao's *On Correcting Mistaken Ideas in the Party* and the decisions adopted in 1960 by the enlarged meeting of the Military Commission of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party. They organized debates on the relationship between politics and professional work and carried out the writing and telling of family histories, recalling suffering in the old society and exposing and criticizing the crimes of the exploiting classes. All this has further sparked the proletarian feelings of the masses. On this basis, they unfolded a deep-going "four good" movement and aroused the masses and relied on them. They have made up their minds to make still greater contributions to the socialist revolution and socialist construction in the first year of the 1970s.

# "Three Supports and Two Militaries" Make for the Best Army Building

by Chang Yuan-ho and Sun Hao-chen,

*responsible members of the P.L.A. unit in which Li Wen-chung\* served*

**I**N his "Report to the Ninth National Congress of the Communist Party of China," Vice-Chairman Lin Piao pointed out: "In the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, large numbers of commanders and fighters have taken part in the work of 'three supports and two militaries' (i.e., support industry, support agriculture, support the broad masses of the Left, military control, political and military training) and representatives of the army have taken part in the three-in-one combination; they have tempered themselves in the class struggle, strengthened their ties with the masses, promoted the ideological revolutionization of the army, and made new contributions to the people." Through the great revolutionary practice of "three supports and two militaries" in the past three years, we deeply realize that this constitutes an important component part of our great leader Chairman Mao's theory of continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat; this is the most important mass work in the new situation in the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution and makes for the best army building.

## **Important Development of Marxist-Leninist Theory of Army Building**

The Chinese People's Liberation Army was founded and has developed in the storm of mass struggle. It is the P.L.A.'s glorious tradition to build up the army in mass struggle. In the initial period of the founding of our army, Chairman Mao wisely pointed out: "The Chinese Red Army is an armed body for carrying out the political tasks of the revolution. Especially at present, the Red Army should certainly not confine itself to fighting; besides fighting to destroy the enemy's military strength, it should shoulder such important tasks as doing propaganda among the masses,

organizing the masses, arming them, helping them to establish revolutionary political power and setting up Party organizations." During the Second and Third Revolutionary Civil Wars, Chairman Mao stipulated that our army should be a fighting force and a working force. In the period of the socialist revolution, Chairman Mao further pointed out: "The People's Liberation Army should be a great school. In this school, our army should study politics and military affairs, raise its educational level, and also engage in agriculture and side-occupations and run small or medium-sized factories to make products for its own needs or for exchange with the state against equal values. Our army should also do mass work and participate in the socialist education movement in the factories and the villages. When the socialist education movement is over, it will always find mass work to do so as to be always at one with the masses. Also our army should always be ready to participate in the struggles to criticize and repudiate the bourgeoisie in the cultural revolution." During the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, Chairman Mao directed our army to take part in the work of "three supports and two militaries." This is Chairman Mao's fundamental line and great strategic measure in building our army under the conditions of the dictatorship of the proletariat and an important development of the Marxist-Leninist theory on army building. Only by tempering itself and building itself in such a great mass struggle can the people's army better fulfil the era's important tasks entrusted to it by the proletariat.

## **Raising Consciousness of Class Struggle And the Struggle Between the Two Lines**

Participation in the work of "three supports and two militaries" over the past three years has proved that, by sending the army to face the world of surging mass movements and brave the storm of such struggles, the commanders and fighters have greatly heightened their consciousness of class struggle and the struggle between the two lines, and the army's political mettle has been raised enormously. P.L.A. commanders and fighters used to live in barracks; they seldom took part in mass movements and did not have a clear and deep understanding of class struggle under socialism. Now that they have taken part in the work of "three supports and two militaries," they have a better under-

\* Comrade Li Wen-chung was the leader of the 4th Platoon of the 6th Company of the Chinese People's Liberation Army's Unit 6011. Acting according to orders from the great leader Chairman Mao and Vice-Chairman Lin Piao, his platoon performed immortal meritorious deeds in fulfilling the task of supporting the Left in Kiangsi Province. While carrying out the task of supporting the Left on August 19, 1967, he and men in his platoon bravely rescued more than 50 young Red Guards and other revolutionaries who were in danger of drowning after their boat sank in a river. In doing this, Li Wen-chung and two other comrades gave up their lives. Chairman Mao and Vice-Chairman Lin personally approved the conferring of the honoured title "Model Platoon in Supporting the Left and Cherishing the People" on the platoon.

standing of Chairman Mao's teaching: **"Socialist society covers a considerably long historical period. In the historical period of socialism, there are still classes, class contradictions and class struggle, there is the struggle between the socialist road and the capitalist road, and there is the danger of capitalist restoration."**

After coming to the Changyung Production Brigade in Hsinchien County, Kiangsi Province, to carry out the task of supporting agriculture, the comrades in the Model Platoon in Supporting the Left and Cherishing the People—an honoured title conferred by the Military Commission of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party—found that a section of the peasants in two of the brigade's production teams were at loggerheads over **some problem about water**. Fighters of the platoon first asked them to send representatives to settle the problem through consultation. But antagonism had reached such a point that they could not even sit down at the same table and talk things over. Later, comrades in the platoon studied Chairman Mao's teaching of applying the viewpoint of classes and class struggle and the method of class analysis to observe and analyse every single thing. This enlightened and helped them get to the bottom of the question quickly. Comrade Ma Shou-tseng, the platoon leader, said: "We should deal with this water dispute in the light of Chairman Mao's teaching. We mustn't remain on the 'surface' and tackle it purely as a water problem. We must get to the 'bottom' and catch the 'water devil' who stirred up all this trouble." The fighters and the poor and lower-middle peasants ran a Mao Tsetung Thought study class in which they conscientiously studied Chairman Mao's teaching **"Never forget class struggle"** together and relentlessly criticized the renegade, hidden traitor and scab Liu Shao-chi's theory of "the dying out of class struggle." After investigation and study and a class analysis, they discovered that the man behind the scenes pouring oil on troubled waters was one who, had it not been for some slip, should have been classified as a landlord. The fighters and the poor and lower-middle peasants exposed this class enemy and denounced his crimes. This greatly raised the masses' consciousness of class struggle. The two production teams involved buried the hatchet and, united as never before, they encouraged each other by launching a socialist revolutionary emulation campaign.

Practice in the "three supports and two militaries" has also enabled the commanders and fighters to see that the nature of class struggle in the ideological sphere is protracted, acute and complicated. They profoundly realize that class struggle under the dictatorship of the proletariat still centres round the question of political power, and the main target of revolution is the handful of Party persons in authority taking the capitalist road.

The 6th Company in which Li Wen-chung served had performed many meritorious deeds for the people during the War of Resistance Against Japan, the War of Liberation and the War to Resist U.S. Aggression and Aid Korea. While supporting the Left in a factory in the city of Nanchang during the Great Cultural Revolution, comrades in **this company** learnt that a handful of bad elements had usurped the leadership there. Using the bourgeois theory of "many centres," these people were exercising bourgeois dictatorship over the revolutionary workers and holding back progress in the factory's struggle-criticism-transformation movement. Under the correct leadership of their higher Party committee, the cadres and fighters of the 6th Company, holding high the great red banner of Mao Tsetung Thought, energetically publicized the spirit of the 12th Plenary Session of the Party's Eighth Central Committee among the workers. Kindling the revolutionary flame of struggle against bad elements, they ferreted out the handful of class enemies who had hidden themselves in the revolutionary ranks and wrested back the power of leadership in the factory.

Through actual struggle, the commanders and fighters have come to the profound understanding that it is difficult to seize back power, that it is dangerous to lose it, and that to keep power firmly in the hands of the proletariat is not easy. They have learnt to correctly distinguish, under socialist conditions, the two different types of contradictions—those between ourselves and the enemy and those among the people. Now the commanders and fighters are not only able to struggle against enemies with guns, but they have also learnt to struggle against enemies without guns; they are not only able to fight enemies on the military front, but have learnt to fight those on the ideological front; they are not only able to fight open enemies, but have learnt to fight hidden ones as well. With a deep understanding gained from personal experience, some cadres and fighters said: "We must never forget class struggle or relax in the struggle between the two lines; we must never let the concept of political power fade away in our minds, and we must always continue the revolution."

### **Training Successors to the Proletarian Revolutionary Cause**

By participating in the work of "three supports and two militaries," we have in the great mass struggle trained a great number of successors to the revolutionary cause of the proletariat. This is of great significance in building our army. Chairman Mao has taught us: **"Successors to the revolutionary cause of the proletariat come forward in mass struggles and are tempered in the great storms of revolution."** To carry out the tasks of struggle-criticism-transformation well in every unit, the commanders and fighters at the forefront of "three



supports and two militaries" sometimes went to a factory singly; sometimes a squad went to a county and sometimes two comrades from a mess squad went to a rural people's commune. Closely following Chairman Mao's great strategic plan, they conscientiously implemented Chairman Mao's proletarian policies, followed and defended Chairman Mao's revolutionary line, and tempered their boundless loyalty to Chairman Mao, to Mao Tsetung Thought and to Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line.

Comrade Ku Nung-sheng, present political instructor of the company acclaimed as the "Chingchow Company" during the War of Resistance Against Japan, is an activist in the study of Mao Tsetung Thought. When he went to the Kiukiang Normal School to carry out political and military training, he went with the fine style of persevering in the living study and application of Mao Tsetung Thought. He used Mao Tsetung Thought to carry out propaganda among the masses and to organize and arm them. He could always be found among the masses, doing meticulous ideological and political work and having heart-to-heart talks with the revolutionary teachers and students or visiting their homes. Finding that the non-proletarian "mountain stronghold" mentality still existed among the teachers and students, he immediately organized all of them in a Mao Tsetung Thought study class to study again and again and grasp the meaning of Chairman Mao's great teaching that "the proletariat must emancipate not only itself but all mankind." This helped the broad masses of revolutionary teachers and students rise above their petty concerns and become far-sighted and open-minded. Rallied closely together under the banner of Mao Tsetung Thought, they quickly set up a revolutionary committee and brought on a high tide in the proletarian educational revolution.

Participation in the work of "three supports and two militaries" has increased the ability of both cadres and fighters to use the right tactics, to seize the initiative and to be flexible in the struggle against the enemy; it has also increased their ability to give leadership when working independently. By promoting such successors to the proletarian revolutionary cause to key posts, we have added new blood to our leading groups at various levels. Since participating in the work of supporting the Left, our unit has promoted several hundred cadres at the forefront of the "three supports and two militaries" to leading posts at various levels in the army. These new cadres have studied Chairman Mao's theory of continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat in a living way and have applied it well. Their consciousness of class struggle and the struggle between the two lines is high, and they have the ability to independently lead their men to fulfil the tasks entrusted to them. Now that we have

these successors to the revolutionary cause of the proletariat who have been tempered in the storm of class struggle, our army will dauntlessly forge ahead along Chairman Mao's line on building the army. When we promote new cadres, we see to it that they are selected from among those at the forefront of the "three supports and two militaries," and after promoting them, we send them to the forefront again to be examined and tested and trained into reliable successors to the revolutionary cause of the proletariat, such as Li Wen-chung, a Model in Supporting the Left and Cherishing the People. The surging revolutionary mass movement is a great school for training successors to the revolutionary cause of the proletariat and a great crucible in which they are steeled.

### Fostering the Fine Revolutionary Style

By taking part in the work of "three supports and two militaries," our army has fostered in the mighty storm of mass struggle the fine style of closely following the Party's Central Committee with Chairman Mao as its leader and Vice-Chairman Lin as its deputy leader and of strictly adhering to revolutionary discipline. Everyone realizes that only by closely following the Party's Central Committee can we have the correct orientation and strength and always be imbued with the vigour of advancing on the great road of continuing the revolution. During the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, whenever they hear an order from the Party's Central Committee with Chairman Mao as its leader and Vice-Chairman Lin as its deputy leader, the cadres and fighters immediately study it, even if it is late at night, and resolutely carry it out. Commanders and fighters of a unit, which was praised by the masses as the Indomitable Heroic 4th Company during the War of Liberation, lived several hundred li apart in a remote mountain area when they went to carry out the work of "three supports and two militaries." Day or night, whenever a new directive from Chairman Mao was published, they immediately crossed the mountains to relay it in good time to the poor and lower-middle peasants. "Discipline is the guarantee for the implementation of the line." Though comrades in some companies were scattered over several hundred li in the mountain areas, as soon as they got an order, they were able to take concerted action and raise the conscious observance of discipline to a new high. Though far from their leadership while carrying out the work of supporting the Left, several comrades, sometimes even one comrade, were able to overcome all kinds of difficulties in resolutely carrying out an order and consciously implementing and enthusiastically propagating Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line. While doing its work in a hilly district in Chingan County, the Mao Tsetung Thought propaganda team of the 3rd Company of one unit carried forward the

glorious revolutionary tradition of the old Red Army. With the treasured red books by Chairman Mao close to their bosoms and their luggage on their backs, they crossed mountains and rivers and braved wind and snow for more than 50 days, covering over 1,000 li on foot to widely spread Mao Tsetung Thought and implement Chairman Mao's latest instructions in out-of-the-way mountain villages. One day in bitter winter, they went to a small mountain village more than 1,000 metres above sea level to carry out propaganda. The snow-covered paths on the mountain were slippery, and it was extremely difficult for them to advance. But the fighters, who were armed with Mao Tsetung Thought and always had Chairman Mao in their hearts, defied the biting cold. Their fighting will became firmer and firmer as they made their way through the snow. On the way, fighter Sun Wei-fu suddenly became sick. But when the comrades asked him to rest, he recited in a loud voice two lines from a poem by Chairman Mao: **"The Red Army fears not the trials of a distant march; To them a thousand mountains, ten thousand rivers are nothing."** With tremendous tenacity, he followed the others in continuing their way across the mountains. Comrades in this team helped the poor and lower-middle peasants run various kinds of Mao Tsetung Thought study classes. With their help, 17 communes and timber-yards set up revolutionary committees, and the leading groups of the production brigades under these communes were strengthened.

Vice-Chairman Lin said: "On its part, the surging mass movement greatly inspires and educates the army, thus becoming the revolutionary crucible for tempering and raising the political consciousness of the army." Experience proves that whether the commanders and fighters temper themselves in the storm of mass struggle or not makes a great difference; there is also a great difference whether they work in a big or small area, whether they brave a big or small storm, and whether they temper themselves in the mass struggle for a long or short period. **The bigger the area they work in, the bigger the storm they brave and the longer the time they temper themselves in mass struggle, the more they benefit from it and the more conspicuous is their success in ideological revolutionization.** From our practice, we have come to a deep understanding that to do a good job in building the army on a political basis under the dictatorship of the proletariat, the fundamental way is to constantly enable the units to temper themselves in the great storm of mass struggle.

### **If the Army and the People Are United as One, Who in the World Can Match Them?**

Chairman Mao has taught us: **"The whole Party must pay great attention to war, study military matters and prepare itself for fighting."** In his political report to the Ninth Party Congress, Vice-Chairman Lin called

on us to make full preparations against U.S. imperialism and social-imperialism launching a war of aggression. To be well prepared against war, we must mobilize the people of the whole country to be well prepared both mentally and materially against a war of aggression. The "three supports and two militaries" are the best preparation against war.

The richest source of power to wage war lies in the masses armed with Mao Tsetung Thought. During the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, the commanders and fighters, following and developing the glorious tradition of our army as a working force, have joined Mao Tsetung Thought propaganda teams and gone to government offices, schools, factories and villages to propagate Mao Tsetung Thought. Since taking part in the work of supporting the Left, our unit has sent out thousands of Mao Tsetung Thought propaganda groups to remote and distant areas to disseminate Mao Tsetung Thought. The commanders and fighters have helped the masses run tens of thousands of Mao Tsetung Thought study classes where they study Chairman Mao's works, implement Chairman Mao's proletarian policies and carry out a series of Chairman Mao's latest instructions. Mao Tsetung Thought has taken deep root in the hearts of the people, thereby promoting men's ideological revolutionization and spurring the great development of industrial and agricultural production. Vice-Chairman Lin said: "Once Mao Tsetung Thought is grasped by the broad masses, it becomes an inexhaustible source of strength and a spiritual atom bomb of infinite power." With a deep understanding that comes of personal experience, some cadres and fighters say: The revolutionary masses armed with Mao Tsetung Thought are the best preparation against war.

Commanders and fighters and the masses have shared weal and woe and fought shoulder to shoulder in the work of "three supports and two militaries." Together, they have dug out the handful of renegades, enemy agents and absolutely unrepentant capitalist roaders, thereby eliminating the hidden danger of capitalist restoration and enormously strengthening the dictatorship of the proletariat. While taking part in the revolutionary committees, representatives of the army have consciously brought into them the experience gained by the P.L.A. in giving prominence to proletarian politics, such as studying and applying Mao Tsetung Thought in a living way, persisting in the "four-firsts" (i.e., giving first place to man in handling the relationship between man and weapons; to political work in handling the relationship between political and other work; to ideological work in relation to routine tasks in political work; and, in ideological work, to the living ideas in a person's mind, as distinguished from

*(Continued on p. 21.)*

# To Find Men Truly Great and Noble-Hearted We Must Look Here in the Present

— In praise of the portrayal of the heroic image of Yang Tzu-jung  
in "Taking Tiger Mountain by Strategy"

by Hung Cheng

**T**AKING *Tiger Mountain by Strategy*, a model revolutionary Peking opera improved and perfected again and again through indefatigable efforts, marks the high ideological level and splendid artistic achievement of the model revolutionary theatrical works. Like a resplendent banner calling to battle, it inspires the fighting will of the broad masses of revolutionary people and encourages them to strive for the all-round dictatorship of the proletariat over the bourgeoisie in the realm of the superstructure.

Symbolized by the sparkling successes of the model revolutionary theatrical works, the proletarian revolution in literature and art is an important component part of China's Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution. It is different from the bourgeois "Renaissance" which replaced one system of exploitation with another. It is different from the bourgeois "Enlightenment Movement" which left the system of exploitation intact. And it is different from China's "May 4th Movement" which was anti-imperialist and anti-feudal in content. The series of model revolutionary theatrical works personally fostered by our respected and beloved Comrade Chiang Ching has created images of proletarian heroes unknown in history, driven off the representatives of the landlords and bourgeoisie who dominated the stage for thousands of years and enabled the real masters of history to enter the realm of literature and art. Thus begins a new era in the history of literature and art.

The hero Yang Tzu-jung in the model revolutionary Peking opera *Taking Tiger Mountain by Strategy* is a typical example of proletarian heroes portrayed with a proletarian world outlook and proletarian artistic methods.

## Typical Example of Proletarian Heroes

In order to consolidate their rule, all exploiting classes in history use literature and art to sing the

praises of their representatives, depicting them as "saviours" and decking them out as "heroes." On the other hand, they regard the working people, the creators of history, as dregs. We must now reverse the history reversed by the exploiting classes and strive to portray by proletarian artistic methods the images of proletarian heroes in socialist literature and art so as to consolidate the dictatorship of the proletariat.

Our great leader Chairman Mao has taught us: **"Revolutionary literature and art should create a variety of characters out of real life and help the masses to propel history forward."** What stands out as a remarkable achievement in the model revolutionary Peking opera *Taking Tiger Mountain by Strategy* is the conspicuous success in the portrayal of Yang Tzu-jung, a typical example of new proletarian heroes. The name Yang Tzu-jung, which in the last few years has become the personification of proletarian loyalty, courage and wisdom, has taken deep root in the hearts of the broad masses of workers, peasants and soldiers. "A Communist always heeds the Party's call, he takes the heaviest burden on himself"; "Let the red flag fly all over the world, be there seas of fire and a forest of knives, I'll charge ahead"; "Standing in the cold and melting the ice and snow, I've the morning sun in my heart"; these and other noble words of Yang Tzu-jung have become watchwords heightening the fighting will of the revolutionary people, and today are on the lips of the workers, peasants and soldiers. The image of the proletarian hero Yang Tzu-jung glitters with the brilliance of Mao Tsetung Thought; it has become a tremendous spiritual force inspiring the revolutionary people in their march forward.

Yang Tzu-jung is a scout of the Chinese People's Liberation Army. Years of hardening in battle have made him resourceful and sharp, intrepid and alert. But this is only one aspect of his personality. If atten-

tion were paid solely to depicting these characteristics and to stressing only the "thrills" in the plot and individual ability and cleverness, the result would be to distort the image of this hero, just as many plays and films in the past have distorted the images of other heroes. In accordance with Comrade Chiang Ching's instructions, the *Taking Tiger Mountain by Strategy* Group, proceeding from a deep understanding of the heroic character, has always kept the portrayal of the high political consciousness of this proletarian revolutionary fighter uppermost in mind and laid the stress on describing his boundless loyalty to the great leader Chairman Mao and invincible Mao Tsetung Thought and his sincere and profound class feelings for the masses — the class traits of this hero who came of a family of farm labourers with a history of bitter suffering in the old society. By depicting the proletarian qualities of this hero, *Taking Tiger Mountain by Strategy* has created in Yang Tzu-jung an artistic representative of thousands upon thousands of heroes of the Chinese People's Liberation Army.

Apart from showing Yang Tzu-jung's great courage and wisdom, this opera has incisively described the deep roots of such courage and wisdom which result from being nurtured by Mao Tsetung Thought and which stem from immense loyalty to the people. The scene "Asking About Bitterness" is a most moving description of this.

While pursuing the bandits, Yang Tzu-jung runs into Hunter Chang. The latter recognizes Yang as the "fur trader" who has saved his child. But having just been robbed by the bandits, Hunter Chang is suspicious of Yang now in uniform. Yang Tzu-jung immediately tells the hunter who he is and the aims of the P.L.A. Hearing that the P.L.A. has come into the mountains to fight the bandits, Hunter Chang and his daughter, who bitterly hate the bandit chieftain Vulture, are unable to hold back their pent-up anger. Before her kith and kin the P.L.A. man, Chang Pao, who till then has pretended to be a mute and disguised herself as a boy, sobs as she denounces the bandit chieftain for his crimes. Her angry accusation in this scene draws tears of sympathy. Roused to the utmost rage by her account of the bandits' crimes, Yang Tzu-jung solemnly declares: "Oppressed people everywhere have blood accounts to settle with their oppressors, they want vengeance, an eye for an eye and blood for blood!" He has met or heard about thousands of people who have suffered like the hunter and his daughter. His own life in the old society was also one of misery. When he tells Chang Pao with deep proletarian feelings that "the Communist Party and Chairman Mao will back us up," "us" includes himself. A fighter whose duty is to save the people from their sufferings, Yang Tzu-jung is also one of them. While doing propaganda to encourage the masses to rise in struggle, he also is educated by them. Acting according

to Chairman Mao's teachings, he carries out the P.L.A.'s discipline towards the masses, is concerned with their well-being, and does propaganda work and makes investigations among them. What he does as the leader of a scout platoon is quite ordinary, yet his deep proletarian feelings have enabled him to move "God's" heart, and this "God" is none other than the masses who regard him as one of their own and tell him everything they know about the enemy. Herein lies the inexhaustible source of his wisdom. His flesh-and-blood ties with the masses and his utter loyalty to the Party weld together to form a solid foundation that makes him courageous and fearless in the face of the enemy. In the scene "Into the Bandits' Lair," he is able to remain calm and unperturbed because he feels "millions of class brothers are by his side." Confronted by the ferocious bandits, he is able to cope with any situation, because he has "the morning sun in his heart." The sudden appearance of the bandit Luan Ping in the scene "Converging on Hundred Chickens Feast" brings Yang Tzu-jung face to face with an extremely perilous situation. But he remains fearless before danger and completely ignores his own safety. Fierce and vicious, Luan Ping schemes to put him on the spot, but he has seen through the bandit's cowardice, which is his class nature, and very well knows that Luan Ping dare not say anything about his capture by the P.L.A. Taking full advantage of this, Yang Tzu-jung triumphantly emerges from a passive and unfavourable position, seizes the initiative, turns the tables on the enemy and outwits the enemy until his comrades join forces with him at the Hundred Chickens Feast to wipe out Vulture and his bandit gang. His courage is not that of a daredevil who risks his life for the self-interests of a few individuals or of a small group; his courage stems from his infinite loyalty to the revolution and the people. His wisdom is not that of a scheming politician manoeuvring for power and personal gain, but a correct judgment of the objective reality acquired from investigation and study for the purpose of upholding class interests and annihilating the enemy. All this is the result of his being nurtured by Mao Tsetung Thought.

Since ancient times, a spate of literary and artistic works have portrayed many "wise" and "brave" characters, but has there been any artistic example like Yang Tzu-jung, who serves the people wholeheartedly and has flesh-and-blood relations with the working people and is imbued with the wisdom and courage of the proletariat? None! Never has there been any. Yang Tzu-jung represents thousands upon thousands of proletarian heroes in real life, a heroic image armed with great Mao Tsetung Thought, a new type of hero diametrically opposed to the so-called "heroes" of the feudal and capitalist classes depicted in the literary and artistic works of the past. Yang Tzu-jung in *Taking Tiger Mountain by Strategy* and the heroes in the other

model revolutionary theatrical works have written a new page in the history of world literature and art.

### Great Heroes Emerge From Tempering in Great Struggle

From the time he appears on the stage, Yang Tzu-jung is a mature proletarian hero. His lofty image is presented from different angles through his attitude towards the Party, the comrades, the masses and the enemy. If this hero can be compared to a big tree with deep roots and luxuriant foliage, then the great Chinese People's Liberation Army and the great revolutionary struggle it waged is the fertile soil which nurtures him. In this model revolutionary Peking opera Yang Tzu-jung is created on the basis of the penetrating description of the heroic struggle waged by this people's army. Through the heroic image of Yang Tzu-jung, the opera warmly praises the great people's army; and the penetrating description of the people's army in turn effectively brings out the proletarian hero Yang Tzu-jung's image in bold relief.

In Scene Four "Drawing Up a Plan," the cross-examining of Luan Ping and the determining of the operational strategy make up an important link in the plot. But what impresses us strongly as the performance unfolds is the heroic spirit displayed by the lively and vigorous revolutionary ranks. The far-sightedness of the commander, the fighters' burning desire to go into battle, the brotherly relationship between officers and men, the spirit of the mutual encouragement between comrades-in-arms, the full military democracy and the decisive role of Party leadership — all this particularly warms our hearts. "A Communist always heeds the Party's call, he takes the heaviest burden on himself"; "Well I know that there's danger ahead, but I'm all the more set on driving forward." This aria sung by Yang Tzu-jung with soaring revolutionary sentiment expresses the aspirations of the commanders and fighters of the Chinese People's Liberation Army. The portrayal of this people's army greatly helps us understand hero Yang Tzu-jung. It is no accident that he has performed remarkable heroic deeds.

Directly commanded by Vice-Chairman Lin and following the great leader Chairman Mao's directive "Build stable base areas in the Northeast" the People's Liberation Army in northeast China, in the initial stage of the Liberation War, sent part of its forces deep into the rural areas to arouse the masses, eliminate the bandits, consolidate the rear and co-ordinate with the field army in smashing the attacks launched by the U.S.-Chiang reactionaries. *Taking Tiger Mountain by Strategy* which tells the story of how a detachment of our army chases the bandits into the mountain forests and wipes out the die-hard bandit Vulture, is an epitome of this great struggle. Acting on Comrade Chiang Ching's instruction, the *Taking Tiger*

*Mountain by Strategy* Group conscientiously studied the situation concerning the struggle between ourselves and the enemy in the northeast China theatre of war and our Party's operational strategy. It gives an incisive description of the historical background in which our heroes lived. This vivid description of the background of the whole struggle brings hero Yang Tzu-jung into the scene of the magnificent people's war and closely and organically links him with the whole situation in the great struggle.

At that time, the elimination of the bandits and arousing the masses were two interrelated tasks. Without doing the second, our army could not keep a foothold, and thus could not eliminate the bandits; and without eliminating the bandits, the masses could not be truly aroused. *Taking Tiger Mountain by Strategy* tells how the People's Liberation Army arouses the masses and relies on them to wage war, which is the red line running through the entire opera. After the scene "Drawing Up a Plan," the special task taken on singly by Yang Tzu-jung to penetrate the bandits' lair synchronizes the detachment's task of arousing the masses after it enters Chiapi Valley. The stirring episode "the army and the people awaiting the signal to attack these wolves" which shows how the detachment arouses the masses in Chiapi Valley greatly helps us understand the arduous struggle being carried out by Yang Tzu-jung in the bandits' lair and how it affects the destiny of the broad masses, and thereby fully demonstrates the profound significance of Yang Tzu-jung's actions. These few scenes showing how our army arouses the masses to action are linked with the thrilling struggle waged by Yang Tzu-jung in the enemy's lair. Interrelated and complementing each other, these two aspects form a complete entity. Those who are active in these scenes — the detachment commander, railway worker Li Yung-chi and his mother, Hunter Chang and his daughter Chang Pao and those fighters eager to go into battle — all appear with their special characteristics in this magnificent picture. And it makes hero Yang Tzu-jung stand out most conspicuously.

Li Yung-chi, who has bitter hatred for the enemy and has never seen the People's Liberation Army, is quite aware from personal experience of the fact that in the old society "soldiers and bandits were of the same brood." Therefore, when his kin the Liberation Army men suddenly appear, he first mistakenly takes a hostile attitude towards them. But when his sick mother is cured and saved by the fighters who are filled with proletarian feelings, he begins to change from being vigilant against them to being suspicious of them and from that to taking a great interest in them. As soon as he learns that our army is the people's army which has "come to destroy the reactionaries and change the world," he, with mixed feelings, regards the Liberation Army men as his own kith and kin and voices his strong

desire to follow the Communist Party unswervingly and throw himself into the Liberation War. He says: "Whatever the sacrifice and danger, be it fire or water, when Tiger Mountain is being swept clean and free, I, Yung-chi, in the front ranks will be." Little Chang Pao, whose grandmother was killed by Vulture and her beloved mother driven to death by him, had for eight years been looking at the stars and the moon in the dark sky, longing for the sun to rise from behind the mountains. When the detachment comes into Chiapi Valley to arouse the masses, this little hunter, who had disguised herself as a boy, turns into a lively and brave militia girl. On the eve of attacking Tiger Mountain to wipe out Vulture, she, rifle in hand, eagerly asks to go into battle, saying: "My resolve is to fight on the battlefield, for I've pledged to kill them all." While it portrays Yang Tzu-jung's heroic image, the opera fully demonstrates the people's role and their place in people's war, thereby enabling us to envisage a magnificent scene of hundreds of millions of oppressed people up in arms under the brilliant guidance of Mao Tsetung Thought. The emancipated people form a revolutionary torrent, with numerous heroes coming to the fore and Yang Tzu-jung is their most outstanding and mature example.

The portrayal of Yang Tzu-jung, a proletarian hero in this model revolutionary Peking opera, is inseparably linked with the penetrating description of the great era in which he is brought up. It is a new era with Mao Tsetung Thought as its great banner. The brilliant sunshine of Mao Tsetung Thought lights up these heroes, Chairman Mao's revolutionary line guides them forward and the great storm of people's war steels them. It is a great era which has no parallel in history. Only such an era can raise such great heroes as Yang Tzu-jung.

*Taking Tiger Mountain by Strategy* created under the personal guidance of our respected and beloved Comrade Chiang Ching has, by its profound ideological content and its high artistic attainment, established the heroic image which reflects the great struggle in this great era and opened up vast new vistas for the development of proletarian literature and art.

### Clear-Cut Principle of Proletarian Party Spirit

Chairman Mao teaches us: "In the world today all culture, all literature and art belong to definite classes and are geared to definite political lines. There is in fact no such thing as art for art's sake, art that stands above classes, art that is detached from or independent of politics." *The Summary of the Forum on the Work in Literature and Art in the Armed Forces With Which Comrade Lin Piao Entrusted Comrade Chiang Ching* also points out: "Ours is the literature and art of the proletariat, the literature and art of the Party. The principle of proletarian Party spirit is the outstanding feature distinguishing us from other classes."

*Taking Tiger Mountain by Strategy* eulogizes the proletarian hero Yang Tzu-jung by its clear-cut proletarian stand and with profound proletarian feeling;

at the same time it exposes with intense proletarian class hatred the essence of the class enemy — cruelty, trickery, foolishness and decadence. This sharp contrast leaves an indelible impression of the image of the proletarian hero Yang Tzu-jung on the audience.

Negative characters in an opera or play are necessary because without them there would be no antithesis and the positive characters could not stand out prominently. But should the main emphasis be on portraying the creators and masters of world history or should most of the space be given to describing and playing up the reactionary demeanour of the enemy? Place our heroic characters in the centre or let the negative characters play the main role? This is a matter of class stand, a matter of whether one sides with the positive characters or the negative characters. In accordance with Chairman Mao's teaching, we "too, . . . portray negative characters, but this only serves as a contrast to bring out the brightness of the whole picture"; the *Taking Tiger Mountain by Strategy* Group first of all stressed giving the proletarian heroes and the revolutionary masses a prominent place and delineating their heroic mettle — "determined to vanquish all enemies and never to yield." As to negative characters like Vulture who will be tossed on to the garbage heap of history, the opera exposes with hatred and contempt their paper-tiger nature: they are outwardly strong but inwardly weak and are only putting up a death-bed struggle.

Viewed solely from the development of the plot, the scene "Up the Mountain" is only a simple episode in which Yang Tzu-jung replies to the bandits' questioning and is led up the Tiger Mountain. But how brilliantly and powerfully this model revolutionary Peking opera handles this scene! Carrying the hopes of the people, Yang Tzu-jung gallops into a snowy forest and expresses a revolutionary fighter's lofty aspiration to the surrounding mountains: "Let the red flag fly all over the world, be there seas of fire and a forest of knives, I'll charge ahead. How I wish I could order the snow to melt, and welcome in spring to change the world of men." His aria as well as his accompanying acrobatic dance fully convey the hero's lofty spirit before battle to the audience. "Killing the tiger" which follows immediately further highlights Yang Tzu-jung's dauntlessness, auguring well for his penetration into the bandits' lair. When the bandits enter into the scene, the expression of fright on their faces at the dead tiger and their silly and disgusting manner in questioning Yang Tzu-jung stand in sharp contrast with the courage Yang shows even after killing the tiger.

Chairman Mao teaches us: "When we look at a thing, we must examine its essence and treat its appearance merely as an usher at the threshold." To unite and educate the people and to encourage the fighting will of the revolutionary people, proletarian literature and art, the literature and art of the Party, must take Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought as its guide to observe and assess life, and probe through ap-



pearance to reveal the essence of things which is not immediately visible to people. The scenes in which Yang Tzu-jung fights the enemy face to face enable us to be strongly aware of the clear-cut principle of the proletarian Party spirit that went into creating this model revolutionary opera and the creative method of combining revolutionary realism with revolutionary romanticism developed to the fullest extent.

In the scene "Into the Bandits' Lair," the bandits are many against a solitary Yang Tzu-jung who comes to "take shelter" as a bandit called Hu Piao. The enemy appears "strong" and Yang is "alone." Yet the essence behind this phenomenon is: Vulture and his gang, who are absorbed in their lust for gain, are only a swarm of flies dashing themselves against the wall of a blind alley, while Yang Tzu-jung is a revolutionary proletarian fighter armed with Mao Tsetung Thought who has behind him the support of the broad masses. To describe a superficial phenomenon from a bourgeois viewpoint or to bring to light the essence of the struggle from the proletarian viewpoint—these are two diametrically opposed lines in creation of literature and art. In trying to undermine this model revolutionary opera, the counter-revolutionary revisionists did their best to exaggerate Vulture's "arrogance" and emphasize Yang Tzu-jung's "bandit-like airs." Their attempt suffered a shameful defeat. In describing the superficial phenomenon of the "offering of the Contacts Map" by Yang Tzu-jung disguised as bandit Hu Piao, the opera never fails to tell the audience that Yang is a proletarian hero, and to let them know that the enemy is weak, little and nothing at all. The excellent characterization deeply reflects the essence of things, reveals the mental outlook

of characters from two antagonistic classes and embodies the hope and demand of the proletariat.

In creating this model revolutionary opera, every idea and every design is based strictly on actual life. But what it reflects is not just ordinary daily life. **"Life as reflected in works of literature and art can and ought to be on a higher plane, more intense, more concentrated, more typical, nearer the ideal, and therefore more universal than actual everyday life."** In accordance with Chairman Mao's revolutionary line in literature and art, the *Taking Tiger Mountain by Strategy* Group uses the creative method of combining revolutionary realism with revolutionary romanticism to create the brilliant image of the proletarian hero Yang Tzu-jung. By its entirely new protagonist, its entirely new theme and subject matter, and also its entirely new method of creation, the opera has shown itself to be totally different from the literature and art of all the exploiting classes.

The model revolutionary opera *Taking Tiger Mountain by Strategy* has established an outstanding example for us in the portrayal of the heroic images of the proletariat and in carrying on the struggle-criticism-transformation on the literary and art front. It is an important landmark which indicates the entering of a new stage by the revolution in China's literature and art. The brilliant image of the hero Yang Tzu-jung is certain to encourage us in our great earth-shaking struggle against imperialism and modern revisionism. A powerful spiritual force is sure to turn into a powerful material force.

**"To find men truly great and noble-hearted**

**We must look here in the present."**

(Continued from p. 16.)

ideas in books), and vigorously promoting the "three-eight" working style (i.e., the three phrases meaning **"a firm and correct political orientation, an industrious and simple style of work, and flexible strategy and tactics,"** and the eight characters meaning **"Be united, alert, earnest and lively"**). Thus revolutionary political power has been fundamentally consolidated, and the dictatorship of the proletariat consolidated and strengthened. This is an important development by Chairman Mao of the Marxist-Leninist theory on the building of political power.

In taking part in the work of "three supports and two militaries," the cadres and fighters have forged a profound friendship with the revolutionary masses in their common struggles, thereby further strengthening the unity between the army and the people. During the period of the democratic revolution, we defeated the Japanese invaders, wiped out eight million Chiang Kai-shek bandit troops and were victorious in the revolution by relying on the unity between the army and

the people and using people's war. Today we still rely on this unity and use the magic weapon of people's war in dealing with aggression by U.S. imperialism and social-imperialism. While carrying out the work of "three supports and two militaries," the commanders and fighters, together with the revolutionary masses, have denounced the crimes of aggression by U.S. imperialism and social-imperialism, recognized the reactionary nature of U.S. imperialism and social-imperialism, increased their deep hatred for the enemy, and promoted the task of putting militia work on a solid basis, organizationally, politically and militarily. If imperialism, revisionism and all reaction should dare to impose a war of aggression on us, then every factory, commune, school and every basic unit in our great motherland will be turned into a strong fortress and everyone will be a brave fighter. The whole country will be turned into a mighty bastion, all 700 million Chinese people will be soldiers, and every inch of our motherland will become an impregnable iron wall, and the enemy will be drowned in the ocean of people's war.

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**People of the whole world, unite still more closely and launch  
a sustained and vigorous offensive against our common enemy,  
U.S. imperialism, and against its accomplices!**

**— MAO TSETUNG**

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## **Upsurge of U.S. Revolutionary Mass Movement in 1960s**

**T**HE 1960s was a decade of fierce struggle between the American people and the U.S. reactionary ruling circles and a decade of vigorous development of the U.S. revolutionary mass movement.

During these ten years, successive large-scale mass struggles broke out in the United States, which were unprecedented in momentum, magnitude and development in U.S. history. Rising wave upon wave on a bigger and bigger scale and occurring successively and in co-ordination, the Afro-American struggle against violent repression, the workers' movement, the student movement and the struggle by different strata of the American people against wars of aggression have sent the reactionary U.S. ruling circles reeling and left them at a loss as to what to do.

Starting with the 1964 struggle in Harlem, New York City, the Afro-American violent struggle against repression roared on year after year like a hurricane. By 1968, it had spread to more than 300 large and small U.S. cities. The Black people's struggle sounded a new clarion call for the exploited and oppressed American people to oppose the cruel rule of monopoly capital. With the widening of the war of aggression in Viet Nam by U.S. imperialism, the American people's mass movement against the war also rapidly gained momentum. Two mammoth nationwide demonstrations against the war of aggression in Viet Nam, each with more than a million people participating, broke out in October and November 1969. Meanwhile, the U.S. progressive student movement followed suit, sweeping the main universities and many high schools throughout the United States. Strikes, demonstrations, occupation of school buildings and other forms of struggle occurred everywhere. It was reported that student movement broke out in 524 U.S. colleges and universities in the 1969 academic year. In addition, the American workers' strike struggle also steadily mounted.

In their struggle, the American people gradually freed themselves from the fetters of "non-violence"

and "reformism" and rapidly embarked on the road of using revolutionary violence to oppose counter-revolutionary violence. This was an important indication of their new awakening in the 1960s. The development of the Afro-American violent struggle against repression was particularly swift and vigorous. Since our great leader Chairman Mao issued his "Statement Supporting the Afro-Americans in Their Just Struggle Against Racial Discrimination by U.S. Imperialism" in 1963, the Afro-Americans have become further awakened. Time and again they launched heroic struggles against racial discrimination. In August 1965, the Afro-Americans in the Watts District of Los Angeles rose in struggle against unjustified arrests of young Afro-Americans by the reactionary police. Defying brute force, they seized guns to fight back at some 20,000 armed police in a battle lasting about ten days and nights. In late July 1967, Afro-Americans in Detroit launched a massive struggle against violent repression. Thousands upon thousands of them took up arms to courageously fight nearly 20,000 policemen and troops called out by the reactionary authorities and set fire to more than 1,300 places throughout the city, paralysing all of Detroit. In April 1968, the Afro-American violent struggle against repression swept well over 100 cities in a week, throwing many major U.S. cities into disorder. In Washington, the nerve centre of U.S. imperialism, the valiant Afro-Americans also rebelled against U.S. monopoly capitalist class reactionary rule. Many show-windows of stores owned by white exploiters were smashed and fires broke out in some 100 to 200 places. The Afro-American masses' flames of revenge even spread to the vicinity of the heavily guarded White House and the Capitol. The struggle dealt a severe blow to U.S. reactionary rule at home and its policy of aggression abroad. Former U.S. imperialist chieftain Johnson was so shaken up that he spent several sleepless nights and was compelled to postpone his trip to Honolulu to attend a meeting concerning the aggression in Viet Nam. The U.S. Department of Defence was also forced

to announce a temporary suspension in its plan to send reinforcements to south Viet Nam.

Influenced by the Afro-American violent struggle against repression, the student movement and the workers' movement in the United States became more and more militant. In April 1969, gun-carrying Afro-American students at Cornell University in New York State and Voorhees College in South Carolina, supported by large numbers of white students, occupied school buildings. Students set fire to "ROTC" ("Reserve Officers Training Corps") buildings in some schools. In their struggle, striking workers again and again fought fiercely against fascist police and scab union bosses.

More and more, the spearhead of the American revolutionary mass movement was pointed specifically at the U.S. social system and the domestic and foreign policies of the reactionary U.S. ruling circles. This was another striking sign of the American people's new awakening. A series of facts in recent years have enabled advanced Afro-Americans, American workers and students gradually realize that U.S. aggression abroad and ruthless oppression and exploitation of the people at home stem from the same root cause, and that only by **destroying the imperialist system** can they win complete emancipation. Consequently, they have begun to **combine the struggle for their own emancipation with the struggle against U.S. imperialism's reactionary policy and social system. In their struggle, Afro-Americans raised such slogans as "Black power," "Afro-Americans should fight white racists, not Vietnamese freedom-fighters" and "Our battlefield is here." American students also advanced such slogans as "Power to the people," "Revolution by the young," and "Organize and smash the state." In November 1968, thousands upon thousands of American students demonstrated in Washington, New York, Chicago, San Francisco and other U.S. cities, calling on the American people to boycott the "presidential election" farce staged by the reactionary U.S. ruling circles. In January 1969, when new U.S. imperialist chieftain Nixon was about to take office, some 10,000 people went into the streets of Washington for a massive demonstration. They carried placards reading: "Nixon's the one — No. 1 war criminal" and "Billionaires rule — Nixon's their tool." Beside himself with fear, Nixon had to take refuge behind a bullet-proof "glass cage" to deliver his "inaugural address." This was unprecedented in U.S. history.**

In the face of the rapidly mounting American people's movement, reactionary U.S. ruling circles have stepped up the use of their counter-revolutionary dual tactics in a vain attempt to extinguish the flames of the revolutionary mass movement. However, neither political deception nor violent suppression can prevent the American revolutionary mass movement from rolling ahead. Kennedy's "civil rights plan," Johnson's "war on poverty" and Nixon's "new humanism" — all these lies have been discredited. Fascist suppression can

only more fully expose the vulnerability of reactionary U.S. ruling circles and their desperate struggle.

Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought was disseminated more and more widely among the American people in the 1960s. Some advanced people in the Afro-American struggle began applying Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought to repudiate the "Black capitalism" advocated by the new U.S. imperialist chieftain Nixon. They pointed out that what the Black people really have to do is to smash capitalist rule and end the system of exploitation of man by man. The idea of the merging of the Afro-American movement with the workers' movement was being accepted by advanced Black and white workers. During the big strike at the Newport News Shipbuilding and Drydock Company in July 1967 in which Afro-American workers took the lead, 20,000 Black and white workers fiercely fought shoulder to shoulder against fascist police. The number of times Black and white Americans fight shoulder to shoulder in common struggle is increasing daily. Meanwhile, more and more advanced youth have accepted the idea that educated young people must integrate with the masses of workers and farm workers. They have actively joined the American workers' movement and tried to apply Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought in their struggle.

The vigorous upsurge of the American people's movement in the 1960s was the inevitable result of more ruthless exploitation and oppression at home by the reactionary U.S. ruling circles, the latter's intensification of wars of aggression, and the sharpening of class contradictions in the United States. Because of the frantic squeezing by reactionary U.S. ruling circles, the American people's tax burden will have reached an average of 1,500 dollars per capita in fiscal 1970, more than double the figure ten years ago. U.S. commodity prices have increased by over 30 per cent compared with ten years ago. Real wages of the American working people dropped steadily, while the number of the unemployed has increased steadily. The high rate of unemployment among Afro-Americans is even more shocking. In the Watts District of Los Angeles, the unemployment rate among Afro-American youth reached 42.9 per cent. This aroused strong dissatisfaction and resistance on the part of the American people. Confronted with a bigger wave of the approaching revolutionary mass movement, the fear-stricken U.S. imperialist chieftain Nixon has to admit that there is "a harvest of dissatisfaction, frustration, and bitter division" in the United States and the American people "less and less believe in government." He added that U.S. imperialism is in a "deeply troubled and profoundly unsettled time" and expressed his fear by saying that the U.S. imperialists will be unable "to control our own destiny."

As early as 1946 our great leader Chairman Mao pointed out that **"it will be proved that the U.S. reactionaries, like all the reactionaries in history, do not have much strength. In the United States there are**

others who are really strong — the American people.” The upsurge of the American revolutionary mass movement in the 1960s has vividly borne out Chairman Mao’s brilliant thesis. The American revolutionary mass movement is part of the world revolution of our era. It supports and encourages the struggle of the world’s people against U.S. imperialism and,

at the same time, it has won warm sympathy and firm support from revolutionary people all over the globe. Undoubtedly, the American people will launch a more powerful revolutionary mass movement and will merge with the anti-U.S. struggle of the world’s people to form a mighty torrent that will completely submerge monstrous U.S. imperialism.

## Patriotic Anti-U.S. Struggle of the Japanese People Surges Forward

**D**URING 1969 the heroic Japanese people waged a sustained, courageous struggle against the policies of aggression and war pursued by the U.S. and Japanese reactionaries in Asia. While dealing hammer blows at the enemy, they further tempered themselves in the struggle.

The tempestuous waves of this just patriotic struggle against U.S. imperialism have swept through the Japanese islands from Hokkaido in the north to Okinawa in the south. At the beginning of 1969, the progressive students of Tokyo University put up a valiant fight against some 10,000 fascistic policemen sent by the Sato reactionary government to suppress them. It was the prelude to the vigorous anti-U.S. struggle of the Japanese people in 1969. The mammoth demonstrations in November against the new conspiracy of aggression in Asia hatched by Eisaku Sato and U.S. imperialist chieftain Nixon pushed the Japanese people’s anti-U.S. struggle to a new high.

Last year saw the workers’ struggle against the U.S. and Japanese reactionaries’ ruthless exploitation, the peasants’ struggle against the occupation of their land for expanding military bases and the university and middle school students’ struggle against the reactionary decadent bourgeois educational system converging into a mighty anti-U.S. torrent, with the participants supporting each other and one struggle linking up with another.

The working class has enhanced its class consciousness and tempered its ranks in the course of struggle. This is particularly true of the young workers. On October 10, more than 10,000 young workers held a rally in Hibiya Park in Tokyo and solemnly proclaimed: “We, workers, should stand in the forefront of the struggle to smash the Japan-U.S. ‘security treaty.’ We are determined to fulfil the historic mission of the proletariat.” Young workers took their place in the front ranks of marching columns in a series of anti-U.S. struggles, including the demonstration at the

Shinjuku state-owned railway station on October 21, fighting side by side with the students to deal telling blows at the reactionary police. All this shows that Japan’s young workers have become a powerful detachment playing a vanguard role in the people’s struggle against U.S. imperialism.

With worker and student support, the peasants’ struggle against the expansion of military bases by the U.S. and Japanese reactionaries to push their policy of war in Asia has made great strides forward, winning preliminary victories. The struggle of the peasants of Sanrizuka, Chiba Prefecture, which has been going on for more than three years, to oppose the building of the “New Tokyo International Airport” by the reactionary Sato government has effectively frustrated the plan of the U.S. and Japanese reactionaries. The peasants of Naganuma, Hokkaido, are carrying on their struggle against the construction of missile bases by the “Defence Agency” of the reactionary Sato government. Last year, after waging an arduous struggle for 14 years, the peasants of Sunagawa, Tokyo-to, finally forced the U.S. army to give up its plan to expand the Tachikawa air base. Risking their lives, the peasants of Kitafuji, Yamanashi Prefecture, planted themselves on the U.S. exercise ground to prevent the U.S. troops from holding military manoeuvres. The peasants and fishermen of Mito in Ibaragi Prefecture and Niihama in Tokyo put up a strong fight to prevent the U.S. army from setting up bombing ranges in their midst. More than 1,000 citizens, mostly women, in Yamato city, Kanagawa Prefecture, held a sit-down demonstration on the runway of the Atsugi U.S. air base for three straight days last August to demand the dismantling of the U.S. air base.

Advancing wave upon wave, the students of Japan showed great courage in waging struggles during 1969. The struggle against the reactionary decadent bourgeois educational system started in Tokyo University and

Nihon University developed into a struggle against the tyranny of the U.S. and Japanese reactionaries and the decaying capitalist system. Student strikes swept nearly all the universities and colleges in Japan, with close to 100 universities and school buildings coming under student occupation. Academic life at many universities came to a standstill because the students fought tenaciously. In Tokyo, Osaka, Kyoto and other cities, university students fought the police of the reactionary Sato government with stones and incendiary bottles. Large numbers of students made common cause with the workers and peasants in the struggle against the U.S. and Japanese reactionaries by taking to the streets to join forces with the workers or going to the countryside to fight alongside the peasants. Inspired by the university students' struggle, senior middle school students have also risen to fight.

In the high tide of the Japanese people's just patriotic struggle against U.S. imperialism, the people of Okinawa who find themselves under direct U.S. imperialist rule have displayed dauntless militancy. Defying U.S. bayonets, on many occasions they encircled and attacked the U.S. military bases, greatly heightening the morale of the people and deflating the arrogance of the enemy. Co-ordinating with the people's struggle in Japan proper, the people of Okinawa have held powerful rallies and demonstrations since February last year to articulate their strong demand that Okinawa be restored to Japan. Their struggle has dealt a heavy blow to the "reversion of Okinawa" hoax dished up by the U.S. and Japanese reactionaries.



Angry demonstrators in Tokyo shout anti-U.S. slogans.

This mounting patriotic anti-U.S. struggle has thrown the U.S. and Japanese reactionaries into a panic. The reactionary Sato government has frenziedly taken fascist measures in its attempt to stamp out the flames of the Japanese people's anti-U.S. struggle. However, the atrocities of the Japanese reactionaries can only arouse greater resistance from the people.

In waging their patriotic anti-U.S. struggle in 1969, the people of Japan have quickly raised their political consciousness and steadily grown more powerful through repeated tests of strength with the U.S. and Japanese reactionaries. The number of revolutionary people studying Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought is increasing in Japan, and they are giving attention to application in practical struggle. The ranks of the Japanese revolutionary Left are swelling.

## Palestinian People's Armed Struggle Forges Ahead Victoriously

**T**HE Palestinian people's armed struggle against U.S. imperialism and its lackey, the Israeli aggressor, is forging ahead victoriously. The Palestinian people's armed forces have fought many hard battles and won enormous victories in the past year. They are hitting the Israeli aggressor and its U.S. masters with heavier blows and giving powerful encouragement to the Arab

people's struggle against the U.S.-Israeli aggressors.

### Splendid Victories

In the past year the Palestinian people's guerrilla forces were active over a much wider area. The flames of armed struggle in Israeli-occupied territory

raged from Syria's Golan Heights in the north to the port of Eilat on the Aqaba Gulf in the south, and from the Beisan Valley on the west bank of the Jordan River and the mountainous parts of Nablus in the west to Jerusalem and other cities. Even the territory under Israeli rule and Tel Aviv, the nerve centre of the Israeli regime, were subjected to guerrilla attacks.

Three times in one year the U.S. Trans-Arabian Pipe Line Company, which battens on the blood and sweat of the Arab people, had its pipelines blown up by the guerrillas, resulting in heavy losses for U.S. monopoly capital.

Material published by the Palestinian people's armed forces reveals that, from January to November 1969, the guerrillas launched well over 2,000 attacks on the enemy, more than twice the number launched in 1968. The guerrillas set off 35 attacks in the first ten days of January last year, while more than 180 were launched by them in one week last December. The Palestinian guerrillas today operate throughout the length and breadth of Palestine. As an Al Fatah communique said: "There is no place in Israeli-occupied territory beyond the reach of the Palestinian guerrillas." The Israeli "Minister of Defence" groaned: "The Israeli forces have not seen a calm there [Israeli-occupied land] since the June war [in 1967]."

The Palestinian armed forces who are "learning warfare through warfare" show great combat flexibility in battles with the Israeli aggressors. They use close fighting and night fighting tactics to launch fierce surprise attacks on enemy military headquarters, barracks and outposts. They cut enemy railways and highways, ambush his patrols and patrol cars, blow up his military installations and wipe out large numbers of effectives. According to incomplete statistics, the Palestinian guerrillas last year destroyed over 170 Israeli artillery positions. In February 1969 alone, the "Al Assifa" commandos under Al Fatah completely wiped out 11 Israeli patrols. All this fully shows the power of guerrilla warfare waged by the people.

### War Tempers the People

War has taught and tempered the people. By actually taking part in armed struggle, the Palestinian peo-

ple have come to a deeper understanding of Chairman Mao's great truth that "political power grows out of the barrel of a gun." The broad masses of Palestinian workers, peasants and youth and students and those of other Arab countries, running the blockade and overcoming numerous difficulties, travel long distances to get to the Palestinian guerrilla training camps and actively join the guerrilla forces. Thus, the Palestinian people's revolutionary armed forces are growing in strength from day to day.

Commanders and fighters in many Palestinian guerrilla bases and training camps are often organized to study Chairman Mao's works to acquire wisdom and strength for revolutionary struggle. The fighters' political consciousness has thus been steadily raised and they know what they are fighting for. Whenever a battle mission comes up, everyone eagerly volunteers to fight and is not afraid of sacrifice in carrying out the mission.

"The revolutionary war is a war of the masses; it can be waged only by mobilizing the masses and relying on them." The Palestinian guerrillas have struck deep roots among the Palestinian people who are suffering national oppression. They often go among the masses to do political propaganda work, help the peasants in production and organize the masses for military training. Although the Israeli aggressors have tightened their fascist suppression and tried by every means to sever the ties between the people and the guerrillas, the people in Israeli-occupied land defy brute force and risk their lives to help the guerrillas in every



Palestinian guerrillas cross Jordan River into enemy-occupied area to attack Israeli aggressors.



possible way, thereby enabling the guerrillas to seize every opportunity in battle to wipe out the enemy and expand their own forces.

In the course of armed struggle, the Palestinian people have become increasingly aware that only by strengthening their unity can they persevere in struggle and win complete victory. Back in 1968, Al Fatah began to co-operate with other commando units in joint actions against the enemy. Early last April, the guerrilla units of Al Fatah and other nationalist organizations formally set up the Palestine Armed Struggle Command. Under this unified command, several Palestinian guerrilla detachments in early August launched an attack on enemy forces stationed along the green belt area in the northern Jordan valley. They destroyed three important Israeli strongholds, completely wiped out the enemy defenders and won a splendid victory.

Pummelled by the Palestinian guerrillas and the people of other Arab countries, Israel is facing ever graver political, economic and financial difficulties. According to material divulged by Western countries, Israel's military expenditures since launching its war of aggression against the Arab countries in 1967 have reached over 2,300 million U.S. dollars, more than double its total 1967-68 budget. Israel's 1969 defence budget was 630 million U.S. dollars, a more than 50 per cent increase over that of the previous year. Enormous financial deficits and serious economic troubles have not only added to the suffering of the Israeli people, but have also made the going for the Israeli ruling circles tougher and tougher. Israeli "Prime Minister" Meir has admitted that Israel now has to tighten its belt. In its 1969 end-of-the-year report, AP also wailed that the Israeli ruling clique was now more pessimistic.

### Enemy Plots Defeated

The development and victories of the Palestinian people's armed struggle have struck fear into the hearts of U.S. imperialism and social-imperialism which, in their efforts to seize oil resources and important strategic points and redivide spheres of influence, have been collaborating and fiercely contending with each other at the same time in the Middle East. They have put forward "drafts" one moment and tried to sell "plans" at another; they held "four-power meetings" for a so-called "political solution" of the Middle East question, plotting to use counter-revolutionary dual tactics to induce the Arab countries to capitulate and liquidate the Palestinian people's armed forces. But the Arab people will never be caught in the U.S.

imperialist and social-imperialist trap. Exposure and counter-blows by the Palestinian people's armed forces and the entire Arab people have made U.S. imperialism and social-imperialism suffer one ignominious defeat after another in their "political solution" fraud.

To put down the Palestinian guerrillas' activities, U.S. imperialism has been speeding up its arms supply to the Israeli aggressor troops, while at the same time it looks for agents in the Arab countries in an attempt to destroy the Palestinian guerrillas by the hands of reactionary Arab forces. Instigated by U.S. imperialism, the reactionary forces in certain Arab countries in April, May and October last year tried to throttle the Palestinian commando units. But the Palestinian guerrillas, closely united with the broad masses of the Arab people, rose in struggle and thwarted this vicious U.S. imperialist scheme. Unreconciled to seeing its dirty work defeated, U.S. imperialism recently advanced a so-called "proposal" for Israel and Jordan to "prohibit any acts of violence from its territory against the other." This is a new plot by U.S. imperialism in trying to incite the reactionary Arab forces to quell the Palestinian guerrillas.

Social-imperialism has always worked hand in glove with U.S. imperialism against the Palestinian people. It has viciously slandered and abused the Palestinian people's armed struggle as "terrorist operations," thus revealing its fear and hatred of the Palestinian people's armed struggle. In so doing it has only greatly discredited itself. Recently social-imperialism changed its tactics and hypocritically pretended to "support" the Palestinian people's armed struggle. It is clear to everyone that the purpose of this is to get control of the Palestinian armed forces and use them as chips in its dirty deals with U.S. imperialism in the Middle East, so as to realize its criminal plot of stamping out the Palestinian armed struggle and divide up the Middle East with U.S. imperialism.

But the heroic Palestinian people and other Arab people are daily awakening. They neither believe the "fine words" of U.S. imperialism and social-imperialism nor fear threats and suppression by the U.S.-Israeli aggressors. Holding their guns tightly, they have proudly marched into the great 1970s with big strides. We Chinese people resolutely support the just struggle of the Palestinian people and are convinced that the Palestinian armed forces will certainly strengthen their unity, persevere in their armed struggle, strike harder at the U.S.-Israeli aggressors and, together with all the Arab people, carry the national-liberation struggle through to the end.

# Fighters Armed With Mao Tsetung Thought Are Invincible

**T**HE "Voice of Malayan Revolution" radio recently broadcast an article warmly praising the brilliant victory by a detachment of the Malayan National Liberation Army in an ambush near Kroh under extremely difficult conditions. Analysing the causes of the victory, the article pointed out: "There may be thousands of experiences, but the most important one is to study and apply Mao Tsetung Thought in a living way."

The successful ambush by a detachment of the heroic Malayan National Liberation Army took place on June 17, 1968. It resulted in an important victory in which an entire enemy platoon was wiped out near Kroh, an important military post of the British imperialist-Rahman clique in northern Perak State.

The article said: On the eve of the glorious festival of the 20th anniversary of the Malayan People's National Liberation War Against British Imperialism (June 20, 1968), the enemy launched frenzied attacks on the Malayan National Liberation Army base areas. All the commanders and fighters in the detachment who were doing mass work at the time in the rural areas were determined to repulse the enemy's wild onslaught and greet the 20th anniversary with victory in battle.

Most of the fighters in the detachment were recruits, many of them women. They had had no regular military training and no battle experience. Moreover, their weapons and equipment were rather inadequate.

To overcome these difficulties and defeat the enemy, the detachment's command, carrying out the instructions from above, took firm hold on the study of Chairman Mao's works before the battle so as to arm the fighters with Mao Tsetung Thought and strengthen their confidence in overcoming difficulties and seizing victory. The command conscientiously organized the fighters to study Chairman Mao's three brilliant works: *Serve the People*, *In Memory of Norman Bethune* and *The Foolish Old Man Who Removed the Mountains*, and quotations from Chairman Mao on people's war, the people's army, revolutionary heroism and other subjects over and over. Sometimes they held discussions and forums and set up wall newspapers to carry the fighters' writings on what they had learnt from their study. All this helped them firmly imbue themselves with the revolutionary heroic spirit of "fearing neither hardship nor death" and cultivate the lofty quality of serving the people wholly and entirely.

Through their study, the fighters greatly strengthened their determination to fight, increased their con-

fidence in victory and found more and more ways of overcoming their difficulties. On the basis of their heightened political consciousness, the fighters were unafraid of hardship or fatigue and engaged in a vigorous military training movement on rubber plantations.

The article said that the first shot of the Kroh battle was fired at 5:45 p.m. on June 17. Following closely behind their commanders, both men and women fighters swooped down on the enemy from the hill like tigers, charging fiercely and striking hard and quickly silencing an enemy machine-gun. The crafty enemy tried to counter-attack, but, armed with Mao Tsetung Thought and bringing their spirit of revolutionary heroism and fearlessness of sacrifice into full play, the fighters swiftly closed in on the enemy troops and pointed their guns straight at their chests. Badly frightened, the enemy troops put up their hands and surrendered. The M.N.L.A. fighters who were wounded in the engagement all refused to fall back from the frontline. They persisted in the fighting until the battle ended victoriously.

The article pointed out that the victory of the Kroh ambush most vividly showed that so long as they give prominence to politics and conscientiously study and apply Mao Tsetung Thought in a living way, armed forces with inferior weapons and equipment can defeat an enemy equipped with modern weapons, and that new fighters without battle experience can fight magnificently. The living study and application of Mao Tsetung Thought enables the fighters to display the thoroughgoing revolutionary spirit of "fearing neither hardship nor death" and to fight bravely in battle and batter the enemy.

The victory of the Kroh ambush was won by relying on Mao Tsetung Thought. It not only dealt the enemy a heavy blow militarily, it also provided extremely valuable experience for the Malayan National Liberation Army in its building, training and combat, the article said.

The General Headquarters of the Malayan National Liberation Army has called on the commanders and fighters of the whole army to learn from this detachment and study its experience in putting politics in command, combining theory with concrete practice and studying and applying Mao Tsetung Thought in a living way. Guided by Mao Tsetung Thought, more and more detachments like this one will certainly come to the fore in the heroic Malayan National Liberation Army and carry the armed struggle forward and win new and greater victories, the article concluded.

# Chairman Mao's Works Printed in Large Quantities in Malayan Revolutionary Bases

**T**HE Malayan Communist Party and the National Liberation Army under its leadership have translated, printed and published large quantities of Chairman Mao's writings after surmounting difficulties brought about by the rigours of battle and have launched a mass movement for the living study and application of Mao Tsetung Thought, said an article broadcast by the "Voice of Malayan Revolution" radio on December 26.

The article said: "To propagate Mao Tsetung Thought widely, the publication departments of the Malayan Communist Party and the National Liberation Army under its leadership have in recent years made the translation, printing and publication of the brilliant works of Chairman Mao, the great teacher of the revolutionary people the world over, their most important and glorious combat mission. The broad masses of the army and people in the base areas and guerrilla areas have enthusiastically responded to the Communist Party of Malaya's call for active contributions to the publication of Chairman Mao's works."

"To publish Chairman Mao's works," it continued, "the broad masses of people of various nationalities used every means to overcome all kinds of difficulties caused by the tight enemy blockade, and even risked their lives in long and arduous journeys across mountains to transport the best quality paper, printing ink and stencils from enemy-occupied areas to the base areas."

The article said: Whenever they encountered hardship in transporting these materials for printing Chairman Mao's works to the base areas, they encouraged each other by reciting this quotation from Chairman Mao: "Be resolute, fear no sacrifice and surmount every difficulty to win victory." When they could not continue the trip in daytime, they travelled at night. When enemy troops appeared on the highways, they took out-of-the-way paths. When it rained, they covered the paper with waterproof cloth and gladly let themselves be soaked. Whenever they unexpectedly ran into enemy troops, they did not hesitate to protect with their own lives the materials needed for producing Chairman Mao's red treasured books.

It said: "At present, Volumes I-IV of the *Selected Works of Mao Tsetung* have been printed and published in full. In addition, special editions of Chairman Mao's writings according to subjects also have been published, for example, Chairman Mao's philosophical writings, Chairman Mao's writings on people's war, Chairman Mao's writings on Party and army building, and so on. Moreover, several thousand copies of the 'three con-

stantly read articles' have been reproduced specially for distribution among the Liberation Army fighters and the masses."

"The publication departments have organized people to listen in to Radio Peking and jot down quotations from Chairman Mao since July 1966. A pocket edition of *Quotations From Chairman Mao Tsetung* was published after 100 quotations were collected."

It said: The army received in April 1967 its first copy of *Quotations From Chairman Mao Tsetung* with a *Foreword to the Second Edition* written by Comrade Lin Piao. The comrades were overjoyed and immediately threw themselves into the intense combat mission to reproduce this copy which was published in China. Despite the fact that the enemy was mounting more and more frantic attacks at the time and the situation was most grave, all the comrades throughout the army overcame every difficulty to reproduce this treasured red book.

The article continued: The epoch-making documents of the Ninth National Congress of the great Communist Party of China and important documents of China's Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution have been reprinted in large quantities in several languages and distributed among the fighters in the army and the masses in the countryside.

"The publication of Chairman Mao's works," it pointed out, "has played an extremely important role in the building of our Party and the National Liberation Army under its leadership and in promoting the ideological revolutionization of the masses. Our whole Party and army and all the revolutionary mass organizations in the base areas and guerrilla areas have unfolded a widespread mass movement for the study of Mao Tsetung Thought. Study systems for this have been drawn up by Party organizations and army units."

It said: "The experience of past years has proved that thanks to the study of Chairman Mao's works, the spiritual outlook of the broad masses of the Liberation Army fighters and people has undergone a tremendous change. Everyone has profoundly realized that, armed with Mao Tsetung Thought, one can surmount all difficulties and smash the enemy's counter-revolutionary 'encirclement and suppression' operations. Every army member and the people in the base areas and guerrilla areas are determined to carry out their living study and application of Mao Tsetung Thought in a still better way, and strive, together with the people of the whole country, for new and bigger victories."

The article concluded with the slogan: "Long live invincible Mao Tsetung Thought!"

# Japanese Reactionaries Heading for Destruction

by Kung Nung

**A**S the 1960s drew to an end, chieftain of the Japanese reactionaries Eisaku Sato went to Washington last November and made a deal with U.S. imperialist chieftain Richard Nixon. Under the "Nixon-Sato joint communique" issued after the talks, U.S. imperialism and Japanese reaction are conspiring to bring about the "Okinawanization" of Japan proper under the cloak of "the return of Okinawa" to Japan, and strengthen their military collusion in engineering a new war of aggression. In the more than one month since then, Sato has been very active, busily engaged in holding press conferences, delivering speeches and sending cables. Swollen with arrogance, he did a lot of militarist clamouring. No wonder the Japanese bourgeois press was apprehensive of the grave "consequences" which might arise from Sato's most "undisguised" performance.

The smallest favour from the master makes the flunkey think highly of himself. Sato and his like are exactly such kind of flunkeys. What sort of nonsense did Sato utter after he was received by his master in the United States? "New relationship," "new determination," and "new age" are the words he continually harped on.

Under the wing of U.S. imperialism, the Japanese militarist forces are getting ready to strike again after a prolonged accumulation of strength since World War II. They have grown more and more anxious to expand their "overseas markets" and have evinced an even stronger desire to carry out expansion and aggression abroad with U.S. imperialist backing. This was the background to Sato's visit to Nixon. Again and again, he boasted that he was laying "a foundation for the new Japanese-U.S. relations of the 1970s," when Japan and the United States will further their "co-operation" to "maintain peace in Asia."

What does this "new relationship" between Japan and the United States signify? It signifies closer collaboration between the U.S. and Japanese reactionaries in their criminal activities of opposing communism, opposing China and opposing the people in a vain attempt to unleash a war of aggression in Asia. The relationship between the U.S. and Japanese reactionaries represents a relationship between two bandits, each working hand in glove with the other while each has his own axe to grind. Nixon is anxious to set Japanese militarism loose because he is vainly trying to set up a new military alliance with the United States as the behind-the-scenes boss and Japan the backbone to push ahead the "new Asian policy" of using Asians to fight Asians. The Japanese reactionaries, on their part, are hoping to take the beaten track of Hideki Tojo and ride roughshod over the Asian people by relying on U.S.

imperialism. These are the "international responsibilities and role" the Japanese reactionaries have long been dreaming of.

But the smug calculations of the U.S.-Japanese reactionaries are merely wishful thinking. The "new Asian policy" of U.S. imperialism is simply an indication of its death-bed struggle, a reflection of its increasing weakness and decline. How can a handful of Japanese reactionaries save U.S. imperialism from its doom and how can they play their "role"? **"A flunkey who allows himself to be led by the nose by U.S. imperialism will only end up in the same grave as his master."** This is certainly the way they will end up.

While talking glibly about the "new relationship" between Japan and the United States, Sato, on the pretext of "the Security of Japan," raised a hullabaloo which revealed his rabid designs on China's sacred territory Taiwan and called for a "change of attitude" on the part of China. Far from intimidating the Chinese people, this raving has frightened the jittery Japanese reactionaries themselves. A clear example is the complaint by the Japanese bourgeois press about Sato's words being too "provoking."

Mixed feelings of hatred and fear have overtaken the U.S. and Japanese reactionaries in the face of the surging tide of the Japanese people's patriotic struggle against U.S. imperialism. To safeguard the interests of the Japanese monopoly capitalist class, Sato, while yelling for "firmer measures" against the Japanese people's struggle, engaged in empty talk about his "new determination" to "make further efforts in building a free and abundant (Japanese) society," thus overtly resorting to counter-revolutionary soft and hard tactics. This reflects the common trick all moribund reactionary classes fall back on. However, the Japanese people can neither be cowed nor deceived. The sanguinary rule of the U.S.-Japanese reactionaries in Japan cannot be covered up by Sato with words like "freedom" or "abundance." There can be no freedom for the Japanese proletariat and the masses of the people so long as there is "freedom" for the Japanese reactionaries; and poverty is the inevitable lot of the Japanese proletariat and other working people so long as there is "abundance" for the Japanese monopoly capitalist class. This is a life-and-death class struggle. If Sato proceeds with his "new determination," he can only wind up with new failures culminating in destruction. On the other hand, the Japanese people will carry on their struggle with new determination in the 1970s and the outcome will inevitably be the total collapse of Japanese reactionary rule and the great victory of the Japanese people's patriotic struggle against U.S. imperialism.

It is especially worth noting that more than once Sato has been building castles in the air for Japanese reaction in the 1970s. Intoxicated with self-aggrandizement, he boasted that the 1970s will be a decade in which the Japanese reactionaries enter a so-called "new era in the Pacific," an era for them to "make contributions" in the Asian and Pacific region. The mouthpieces of the Japanese monopoly capitalist class also shouted themselves hoarse about "Japan's defence strength in the 1970s" and flagrantly preached "re-establishing the national targets lost in World War II" and "enhancing Japan's defence responsibilities," and so forth. Beside themselves with joy, the Japanese reactionaries forget where they really stand.

Such feverish political bombast by the Japanese reactionaries not only reveals their vicious schemes to fan up nationalistic sentiments among the Japanese people so as to induce them to serve Japanese militarism, but also shows their anxiety to play an active role as gendarme in Asia for U.S. imperialism and to be the fugleman in its aggression. What they called "making contributions," "re-establishing the lost national targets" and "enhancing Japan's defence responsibilities" are

nothing but synonyms for expansion and aggression in the lexicon of Japanese militarism.

The present era is "an era in which capitalism is unquestionably dying and socialism is unquestionably prospering." The struggle of the oppressed nations and people all over the world against imperialism and revisionism is like a volcano belching forth roaring flames. Sitting on this volcano, U.S. imperialism and social-imperialism are bewailing their approaching doom. By depending on U.S. imperialism and teaming up with social-imperialism in opposing the Asian people and the great socialist China, the Japanese reactionaries are only heading for their own destruction. It is the heroic Japanese people who can really make contributions and are capable of giving a good account of themselves in Japan in the 1970s. They will surely deal still heavier blows to the U.S.-Japanese reactionary forces that are trampling on them and will thus write a new glorious page in the annals of the great struggle of the world's people to completely bury imperialism, revisionism and all reaction.

**CORRECTION:** On page 29 of our first issue this year, right-hand column, line 33, for "bodily" read "boldly."

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