

PEKING REVIEW

23

June 3, 1966

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**Mao Tse-tung's Thought — Beacon of
Revolution for the World's People**

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Sweep Away All Monsters

"Renmin Ribao" editorial on current socialist cultural
revolution.

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**Strongest Protest Against
U.S. Piratical Act**

U.S. imperialism incurs another debt in blood by sending
its aircraft to raid Chinese fishing boats.

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China Greet's Guyana's Independence

THE proclamation of the independence of Guyana (formerly British Guiana) on May 26 by the Guyanese people has been warmly greeted by the Chinese people.

A day earlier, Premier Chou En-lai cabled Guyana's Prime Minister Forbes Burnham, extending his congratulations to the people of Guyana and wishing them new successes in their struggle to safeguard national independence and oppose colonialism and neo-colonialism.

Chinese national organizations — trade unionists, women and youth — sent messages of greetings to their counterparts in the newly independent country.

Renmin Ribao hailed the occasion in an editorial which said that the Chinese people rejoiced in this achievement by the people of Guyana. Recalling the Guyanese people's heroic struggle against British colonial rule in the past one and a half centuries, the editorial pointed out that the independence of Guyana is the result of protracted struggle by its people. "In 1961," the paper emphasized, "under the pressure of popular struggle, the British colonialists agreed to Guyana's 'internal self-government' and also to its independence in two years within the framework of the British Commonwealth. But later they set about conspiring in Guyana, created disturbances there, and, using these as pretexts, indefinitely put off Guyana's day of independence. But all this failed to shake the firm determination of the people to get rid of colonial rule. The flames of their national-independence struggle raged ever more furiously. In these circumstances, the British colonialists could find no alternative but to announce in November last year its agreement to Guyana's independence."

"The course of events in Guyana in the last few years again confirmed the truth that the imperialists and colonialists will never willingly yield what they hold, and that they will never serve independence on a silver platter to the oppressed nations," the editorial added. "The British colonialists' 'concessions' and 'promises' to the Guyanese people were only part of their tactics against the national-independence movement and a means of demoralizing the people in their struggle. To preserve their colonial domination, they did not hesitate to cast aside their masks and tear up all their pledges and, baring their murderous features, they resorted to a bloody crack down on the Guyanese people."

Renmin Ribao also pointed out that the proclamation of Guyana's

independence does not mean that the nature of the British colonialists has changed and that they will not counter-attack and try to make a come-back. What is more, a deadlier enemy, the American neo-colonialists, is not far from Guyana. The Guyanese people, therefore, still face the serious task of carrying forward their struggle against colonialism to frustrate the sinister designs of the British colonialists and the American neo-colonialists.

The editorial expressed the conviction that the Guyanese people will definitely be able to preserve the fruits of their struggle and attain genuine and complete national independence, provided they continue to heighten their unity, remain on the alert against the machinations of the colonialists and neo-colonialists and persevere in the struggle against colonialism.

Protest Against Seizure of Overseas Chinese Institutions in Indonesia

THE Chinese Embassy in Indonesia sent on May 22 a note to the Indonesian Foreign Ministry, lodging the strongest protest with the Indonesian Government against the fascist outrages engineered and arranged by the Indonesian Government in all parts of Indonesia in which overseas Chinese schools and institutions were disrupted, looted and illegally occupied.

The note says that to meet the needs of the imperialists, the Indonesian Government has gone so far as to utterly ignore international law and the principles guiding international relations and to trample upon the cultural and welfare establishments of overseas Chinese, which have made important contributions to the upholding and development of the friendship between the two peoples. As a result, more than 200,000 sons and daughters of the overseas

Chinese were forced out of school, nearly 10,000 teachers and staff members have lost their jobs, and the masses of Chinese nationals have been thrown into chaos and distress.

"This is yet another most serious step deliberately taken by the Indonesian Government to disrupt the relations between the two countries. The Chinese Embassy expresses its greatest indignation and lodges its strongest protest against this," the note sternly points out.

The Chinese Embassy's note says that so far no reply has been received by the Chinese Embassy to its notes of protest sent to the Indonesian Government on April 9 and 10 in connection with the closure of overseas Chinese schools and the seizure of overseas Chinese institutions in Djakarta, West Java, South Sumatra,

(Continued on p. 22.)

SWEEP AWAY ALL MONSTERS

AN upsurge is occurring in the great proletarian cultural revolution in socialist China whose population accounts for one-quarter of the world's total.

For the last few months, in response to the militant call of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party and Chairman Mao hundreds of millions of workers, peasants and soldiers and vast numbers of revolutionary cadres and intellectuals, all armed with Mao Tse-tung's thought, have been sweeping away a horde of monsters that have entrenched themselves in ideological and cultural positions. With the tremendous and impetuous force of a raging storm, they have smashed the shackles imposed on their minds by the exploiting classes for so long in the past, routing the bourgeois "specialists," "scholars," "authorities" and "venerable masters" and sweeping every bit of their prestige into the dust.

Chairman Mao has taught us that class struggle does not cease in China after the socialist transformation of the system of ownership has in the main been completed. "The class struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie, the class struggle between different political forces, and the class struggle in the ideological field between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie will continue to be long and tortuous and at times will even become very acute. The proletariat seeks to transform the world according to its own world outlook, and so does the bourgeoisie. In this respect, the question of which will win out, socialism or capitalism, is still not really settled." The class struggle in the ideological field between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie has been very acute right through the 16 years since China's liberation. The current great socialist cultural revolution is precisely a continuation and development of this struggle. The struggle is inevitable. The ideology of the proletariat and the ideology of all the exploiting classes are diametrically opposed to each other and cannot coexist in peace. The proletarian revolution is a revolution to abolish all exploiting classes and all systems of exploitation; it is a most thoroughgoing revolution to bring about the gradual elimination of the differences between workers and peasants, between town and country, and between mental and manual labourers. This cannot but meet with the most stubborn resistance from the exploiting classes.

In every revolution the basic question is that of state power. In all branches of the superstructure — ideology, religion, art, law, state power — the central issue is state power. State power means everything. Without it, all will be lost. Therefore, no matter how many problems have to be tackled after the conquest of state power, the proletariat must never forget state power, never forget its orientation and never lose sight of the central issue. Forgetting about state power means forgetting about politics, forgetting about the basic theses of Marxism and switching to economism, anarchism and utopianism and becoming muddle-headed. In the last analysis, the class struggle in the ideological field between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie is a struggle for leadership. The exploiting classes have been disarmed and deprived of their authority by the people, but their reactionary ideas remain rooted in their minds. We have overthrown their rule and confiscated their property, but this does not mean that we have rid their minds of reactionary ideas as well. During the thousands of years of their rule over the working people, the exploiting classes monopolized the culture created by the working people and in turn used it to deceive, fool and benumb the working people in order to consolidate their reactionary state power. For thousands of years, theirs was the dominant ideology which inevitably exerted widespread influence in society. Not reconciled to the overthrow of their reactionary rule, they invariably try to make use of this influence of theirs surviving from the past to shape public opinion in preparation for the political and economic restoration of capitalism. The uninterrupted struggle on the ideological and cultural front in the 16 years from liberation up to the current exposure of the anti-Party and anti-socialist black line of the "Three-Family Villages," big and small, has been a struggle between the forces attempting restoration and the forces opposing restoration.

In order to seize state power, the bourgeoisie during the period of the bourgeois revolution likewise started with ideological preparations by launching the bourgeois cultural revolution. Even the bourgeois revolution, which replaced one exploiting class by another, had to undergo repeated reversals and witness many struggles — revolution, then restoration and then the overthrow of restoration. It took many European coun-

tries hundreds of years to complete their bourgeois revolutions from the start of the ideological preparations to the final conquest of state power. Since the proletarian revolution is a revolution aimed at completely ending all systems of exploitation, it is still less permissible to imagine that the exploiting classes will meekly allow the proletariat to deprive them of all their privileges without seeking to restore their rule. The surviving members of these classes who are unreconciled will inevitably, as Lenin put it, throw themselves with a tenfold furious passion into the battle for the recovery of their lost paradise. The fact that the Khrushchov revisionist clique has usurped the leadership of the Party, army and state in the Soviet Union is an extremely serious lesson for the proletariat throughout the world. At present the representatives of the bourgeoisie, the bourgeois "scholars" and "authorities" in China are dreaming precisely of restoring capitalism. Though their political rule has been toppled, they are still desperately trying to maintain their academic "authority," remould public opinion for a come-back and win over the masses, the youth and the generations yet unborn from us.

The anti-feudal cultural revolution waged by the bourgeoisie ended as soon as it had seized power. The proletarian cultural revolution, however, is a cultural revolution against the ideology of all exploiting classes. This cultural revolution is entirely different in nature from the bourgeois cultural revolution. It is only after the creation of the political, economic and cultural prerequisites following the capture of state power by the proletariat that the broadest road is opened up for the proletarian cultural revolution.

The proletarian cultural revolution is aimed not only at demolishing all the old ideology and culture and all the old customs and habits, which, fostered by the exploiting classes, have poisoned the minds of the people for thousands of years, but also at creating and fostering among the masses an entirely new ideology and culture and entirely new customs and habits — those of the proletariat. This great task of transforming customs and habits is without any precedent in human history. As for all the heritage, customs and habits of the feudal and bourgeois classes, the proletarian world outlook must be used to subject them to thoroughgoing criticism. It takes time to clear away the evil habits of the old society from among the people. Nevertheless, our experience since liberation proves that the transformation of customs and habits can be accelerated if the masses are fully mobilized, the mass line is implemented and the transformation is made into a genuine mass movement.

As the bourgeois cultural revolution served only a small number of people, *i.e.*, the new exploiting class, only a small number of people could participate in it. The proletarian cultural revolution, however, serves the broad masses of the working people and is in the

interests of the working people who constitute the overwhelming majority of the population. It is therefore able to attract and unite the broad masses to take part in it. The bourgeois individuals who carried out the enlightenment invariably looked down upon the masses, treated them as a mob and considered themselves as the predestined masters of the people. In sharp contrast, proletarian ideological revolutionaries serve the people heart and soul with the object of awakening them, and work for the interests of the broadest masses.

The bourgeoisie, with its base selfishness, is unable to suppress its hatred for the masses. Marx said: "The peculiar nature of the material it [political economy] deals with, summons as foes into the field of battle the most violent, mean and malignant passions of the human breast, the furies of private interest." This also holds for the bourgeoisie when it has been overthrown.

The scale and momentum of the great proletarian cultural revolution now being carried on in China have no parallel in history, and the tremendous drive and momentum and boundless wisdom of the working people manifested in the movement far exceed the imagination of the lords of the bourgeoisie. Facts have eloquently proved that Mao Tse-tung's thought becomes a moral atom bomb of colossal power once it takes hold of the masses. The current great cultural revolution is immensely advancing the socialist cause of the Chinese people and undoubtedly exerting an incalculable, far-reaching influence upon the present and future of the world.

The stormy cultural revolution now under way in our country has thrown the imperialists, the modern revisionists and the reactionaries of all countries into confusion and panic. At one moment, they indulge in wishful thinking saying that our great cultural revolution has shown that there are hopes of "a peaceful evolution" on the part of China's younger generation. A moment later, they become pessimistic, saying that all this has shown that Communist rule remains very stable. Then again, they seem to be fearfully puzzled, saying that it will never be possible to find genuine "China hands" who can promptly pass accurate judgement on what is taking place in China. Dear Sirs, your wishful thinking invariably runs counter to the march of history. The triumphant progress of this great and unparalleled cultural revolution of the proletariat is already sounding the death knell not only of the remnant capitalist forces on Chinese soil, but of imperialism, modern revisionism and all reaction. Your days are numbered.

Illuminated by the great Mao Tse-tung's thought, let us carry the proletarian cultural revolution through to the end. Its victory will certainly further strengthen the dictatorship of the proletariat in our country, guarantee the completion of the socialist revolution on all fronts and ensure our successful transition from socialism to triumphant communism!

(*"Renmin Ribao"* editorial, June 1.)

Mao Tse-tung's Thought—Beacon of Revolution For the World's People

The Chinese press has recently devoted much space to reports, features and statements showing the ardent love of the world's people for Chairman Mao Tse-tung and their high appraisal of Mao Tse-tung's thought. "Renmin Ribao" on June 1 carried an editor's note on this material which we print below together with some of the items carried in the press.—P.R. Ed.

"Renmin Ribao" Editor's Note

Chairman Mao, our great leader, is the sun in the hearts of China's 650 million people and of all the revolutionary people of the world. Mao Tse-tung's great thought enjoys the infinite love and infinite confidence not only of the Chinese people but also of all the revolutionary people of the world. This is clearly illustrated by the large number of reports published by this paper over the last few days.

The reason why Chairman Mao enjoys extremely high prestige among the revolutionary people of the world is because he has, with the gifts of genius, creatively, thoroughly, comprehensively and systematically developed Marxism-Leninism. Mao Tse-tung's thought is not only an integration of the universal truths of Marxism-Leninism with the concrete practice of the Chinese revolution but also an integration of the universal truths of Marxism-Leninism with the concrete practice of the world revolution. It has summed up not only the experience of the Chinese revolution but also the experience of the world revolution in the present epoch. It is an encyclopaedia both of the Chinese revolution and of the world revolution. It is the acme of Marxism-Leninism in our epoch, it is living Marxism-Leninism at its highest.

Our epoch is one in which, throughout the world, imperialism and colonialism are heading towards their doom and socialism and communism are marching towards victory. Mao Tse-tung's thought is the great revolutionary theory which has emerged in this great revolutionary epoch and it is a universal truth applicable everywhere. All oppressed peoples and nations naturally find in Mao Tse-tung's thought the revolutionary truth they are looking for and regard it as their guide in their struggle for liberation. Through their own revolutionary practice they have come to a deep understanding that the banner of Mao Tse-tung's thought is a revolutionary banner and a banner that stands for victory.

At present, the revolutionary people of the world are waging an unprecedentedly fierce and big struggle against U.S. imperialism and its lackeys. The revolutionary struggles of the world's people are developing in depth. The revolutionary people everywhere are increasingly eager to master Mao Tse-tung's thought and use it as a powerful weapon to defeat imperialism, modern revisionism and the reactionaries of all countries. They firmly believe that, relying on Mao Tse-tung's great thought, they can certainly overcome all difficulties and march from victory to victory on the road of revolutionary struggle. The brilliant light of Mao Tse-tung's thought is shining throughout the world.

LAOS: "The Truth Has Come"

Not long ago, a new shipment of Chairman Mao's works arrived in the city of Khang Khay. They were sent straight to a hall where leading government officials and army officers were attending a meeting of the patriotic armed forces. The arrival of the books caused a stir in the hall. People welcomed them, saying to one another: "This is the best gift. The truth has come!"

Chairman Mao's writings are keenly studied by Laotian cadres who consider them to be a major ideological weapon in their struggle against U.S. imperialist aggression and for the development of the liberated areas. Many of his works, the latest being *Problems of Strategy in China's Revolutionary War*, have been translated and distributed among the troops for systematic study.

Quotations from Chairman Mao's works frequently appear in the *Laotian Liberation Army* published in Khang Khay. Before troops sum up their combat experience, they make a point of reading something Chairman Mao has written. Since 1962, one responsible member of the newspaper's staff has studied Chairman Mao's works every day keeping regular notes. In two years, he has translated seven of Mao Tse-tung's works. He says that "Mao Tse-tung is the greatest revolutionary leader of our times" from whose works inexhaustible strength can be drawn.

Leaders and cadres of the Laotian patriotic forces attach the greatest importance to Chairman Mao's theories on the people's army and people's war, on armed struggle, the united front, Party building, the establishment of revolutionary bases, and the mass line. They feel that the Laotian people's own experiences testify to the absolute correctness of Chairman Mao's theses that imperialism and all reactionaries are paper tigers, that state power grows out of the barrel of a gun and to the principle of self-reliance and the formula unity — criticism — unity to resolve contradictions among the people which he has expounded.



Members of the Laotian People's Liberation Army study Chairman Mao's works

JAPAN: "We Japanese Youth Too Will Learn To Master Mao Tse-tung's Thought"

In an interview with the *Hongkong Wen Wei Po* on May 4, Hideko Sugita, head of the young women's delegation from the Japan-China Friendship Association which recently spent five weeks in China, expressed the determination of the Japanese youth to master Mao Tse-tung's thought.

Declaring that she found Chinese youth ardently loved their great leader and were everywhere creatively studying and applying his thought, she said that the Chinese youth feared neither hardship nor death and were resolved to carry the revolution forward. The Chinese youth, she said, set themselves great and far-reaching aims and have taken on the arduous task of completely defeating U.S. imperialist aggression and supporting the revolutionary struggle of the peoples.

"Living in a country still under the control of U.S. imperialism, the young men and women of Japan feel all the more deeply the happiness of the Chinese youth in the era of Mao Tse-tung," she continued. "Young people in China are an example for us and youth all over the world. Following their example, we too will learn to master Mao Tse-tung's thought."



Seminar on the Selected Works of Mao Tse-tung, Volume IV, conducted by the Japan-China Friendship Association

AFRICA: "China Is Good Because It Has Chairman Mao"

The people of Africa cherish a deep respect for Chairman Mao and a deep love for his thought. In one town, we members of a Chinese youth group saw his portrait prominently displayed in a bookstore. In other places, people were learning the songs in which we praise Chairman Mao. At the performances we gave, they joined in with shouts of approval whenever they heard us mention Chairman Mao's name. They congratulated the Chinese people on having such a great leader, saying "you are a great country with a great

Creative Study and Application of Mao Tse-tung's Thought Acclaimed

KIE SAITO, head of the 12th delegation of the Japan-China Friendship Association which has just concluded a month's tour of China, said that what impressed her most was that Mao Tse-tung's thought had been applied in every aspect of the country's life and work. She praised the way China was cultivating and educating the younger generation in the light of this thought, really making them a new generation of revolutionaries. She said that China had undergone great changes since her previous three visits. "These changes have been made by the Chinese people after struggling against natural calamities which continued for three successive years, and against difficulties created by the Soviet revisionists." She said that the source of the strength thus shown by the Chinese people was Mao Tse-tung's thought, which had armed them ideologically, and the people's great faith in their government. They understood that they were working for the revolution.

Takeichiro Sakai, who had lived in northeast China for ten years before liberation, was deeply impressed by the changes in the mental outlook of the people of New China. He said, "In China, Mao

Tse-tung's thought is fixed in the hearts of the people; it has become a material force." Chinese workers, peasants, students and others whom he met, he said, experiencing the happiness of today and remembering the misery of the past, cherished very deep feelings for the Chinese Communist Party and Chairman Mao. They had an unshakable faith in socialism and communism. The younger generation kept the Chinese people and the people of the whole world in their hearts; they did not chase after personal pleasure. "The longer you stay in China, the deeper this impression becomes," Takeichiro Sakai said.

He praised the Chinese people highly for their persistence in the creative study and application of Chairman Mao's thought. The Chinese people carried on this study in close connection with their work and with reality. When they found difficulties, they looked for guidance in Chairman Mao's works. He said, "This is something very important." He expressed the conviction that by studying Mao Tse-tung's works thoroughly and by thus grasping his thought, the Chinese people were making certain that the rise of revisionism would be prevented.

leader." An African youth said to us, "China is good because it has Chairman Mao."

Today, Mao Tse-tung's thought is being spread far and wide in the vast African continent. One African said to us: "I want a genuine Marxist book. I want a book written by Chairman Mao."

While calling at a Mauritanian home, we were asked by our host whether we had with us a copy of Chairman Mao's *On the Correct Handling of Contradictions Among the People*. He told us he had read many of Chairman Mao's works and quoted passages from his *On Contradiction*. In Zanzibar, we visited a youth work camp where militiamen armed with swords and axes welcomed us. They told us that when they met with many difficulties in trying to reclaim wasteland, they read Chairman Mao's *The Foolish Old Man Who Removed the Mountains*.

In the bookstores, Chairman Mao's works are quickly sold out. An African student who knew French found that the shop had only a copy of Chairman Mao's works in Spanish. While he stood hesitating, the attendant told him that the book was selling very rapidly and if he didn't buy it someone else would quickly do so. The student decided to take the book, no matter how much time he had to spend looking up words in the dictionary in order to read it. Among African students, whoever has a volume of Chairman Mao's military writings considers he has a real treasure, and everybody tries to get hold of it and read it first.



Marchers in an International Working Women's Day parade in Brazzaville Congo carry the portrait of Chairman Mao

Wherever we went, hands were stretched out for Chairman Mao's books. Many people wrote down their names and addresses and the titles from Chairman Mao's writings which they wanted so that we could send them copies when we returned home.

In the minds of the African people, Chairman Mao's thought means revolution, hope and victory. While in Brazzaville, Congo, we met a cadre of a youth organization who had with him a copy of the magazine *Evergreen*. He turned to a page which carried Chairman Mao's portrait and, with eyes sparkling, said to us, "Just look, the Chairman is deep in thought. How far he sees and how wide his thoughts range! Chairman Mao not only thinks of China's problems but also of the problems of the world. He thinks not only of today, but of tomorrow." In Tanzania, a youth leader who had been in China told us, "Mao Tse-tung is the red sun from the East. With him, we have hope."

—from a report by a Chinese youth group which toured the Congo (B), the United Arab Republic, Tanzania, Guinea and Mauritania from February to April of this year.

LATIN AMERICA: Inspiration for the Oppressed

U.S. imperialism and its puppets ruthlessly persecute patriots in my country. Countless revolutionaries, including children in their early teens, have been shut up in prison. They think that their savagery can break the will of the revolutionaries and stamp out the revolutionary struggle. However, as we are determined to make revolution, we are not afraid of being jailed! We have, in fact, turned our prison into a school to teach and instruct revolutionaries. We have arranged various political lessons for our fellow prisoners and get imprisoned revolutionary cadres to give talks and guerrilla fighters to instruct us in military skills and to tell us of their experiences in guerrilla warfare. We have also organized study of the works of Chairman Mao Tse-tung. Since we haven't enough books to go round, we have divided up into groups so as to take turns in reading and discussion. Some of us often read deep into the night with a dim small light. Of course, all this is done secretly. We sit together and discuss in low tones or ask those who have read Chairman Mao's works to tell us the content. When

In Praise of Mao Tse-tung's Thought

Leng Ngeth, President of the Cambodia-China Friendship Association

Chairman Mao is the greatest thinker of our times, the illustrious and beloved guide of his 650 million compatriots and an inspirer of noble ideas. It is thanks to his ideas that the Chinese people have reached their present advanced stage of development and great strength, which has won the admiration of the world and given our enemies nightmares.

D.N. Nadunge, Vice-President of the Ceylon Trade Union Federation

The statements of Mao Tse-tung are a guide to the Asian, African and Latin American peoples and to all other oppressed people and nations. Without Mao Tse-tung's thought, it would be impossible to secure victory over imperialism and revisionism and to build socialism in China.

In the struggle to oppose U.S. imperialism and the leading group of the C.P.S.U., Marxism-Leninism and Mao Tse-tung's thought are the most correct guide. Both in China's past struggle for national liberation and in the present socialist revolution and socialist construction, Mao Tse-tung's thought has demonstrated its great strength. The Chinese people have won tremendous successes without any foreign aid and by relying on their own efforts. These successes are attributable to their reliance on Mao Tse-tung's thought.

Florent Malanda, head of the delegation of the Federation of the Trade Unions of Brazzaville Congo

Chairman Mao Tse-tung's writings on self-reliance serve as a programme through which all countries that strive for emancipation and economic independence can put an end to their state of stagnation. With Chairman Mao's thought, they will be able to remove two or three mountains like the Foolish Old Man in Chinese fable.

Ali Mdahema Mlinda, of Zanzibar, head of the delegation from the Afro-Shirazi Party Workers' Department

Chairman Mao Tse-tung is a great and brilliant leader. His works represent truth. Everyone who wants to understand the truth must study Chairman Mao Tse-tung's writings and grasp his ideas. All oppressed and exploited nations and peoples subjected to imperialism should do as Chairman Mao Tse-tung has pointed out, namely, form the broadest united front to deal with U.S. imperialist aggression.

Floreal Carballo, well-known Argentine ophthalmologist

To understand the reality of our times, it is necessary to understand, in the first place, what represents the highest peak of Marxism-Leninism. We must conscientiously study and assimilate the theory and views put forward by Mao Tse-tung. Mao Tse-tung's thought is a guide to a clear understanding of problems, a key to their solution and a weapon to facilitate the revolutionization of the masses at a time when U.S. imperialism and modern revisionism are creating confusion.

the jailers come, we pretend we are just chatting. They frequently search our cells but have never been able to find these books because we have hidden them well.

In prison we revolutionaries are cruelly tortured by the reactionaries but not one of us has succumbed. On the contrary, we are most optimistic.

— letter from a Latin American prison

EUROPE: Common Asset of World's People

Maria Arena Regis, head of the delegation of the Eastern Publishing House in Italy, has stressed that Mao Tse-tung's thought is the common asset of people all over the world.

In a recent interview with Hsinhua, Maria Arena Regis said that she and her delegation came to China not to make a social survey, nor just to see China's industrial and agricultural achievements. The important thing was to get to know and study Mao Tse-tung's thought.

"Mao Tse-tung's thought," she continued, "is the philosophy of profoundly developed Marxism-Leninism. It reflects the reality of our epoch. Mao Tse-tung's thought is applicable by all Marxist-Leninists of the world and is the common asset of the people the world over.

"Therefore, we have the best reasons to study Mao Tse-tung's works. And this is the aim of our visit to China."

The Italian visitor went on to say: "We must grasp Mao Tse-tung's thought and apply it, for it is the guarantee for opposition to U.S. imperialism and modern revisionism and for the radiant future of mankind."

She said: "What impresses me most in Mao Tse-tung's thought is his standpoint of class analysis. In all his writings, he invariably applies a class analysis and on that basis formulates strategy and tactics."

She cited a host of facts to show the great role of Mao Tse-tung's thought in the practice of socialism in China. She said that the recent successful nuclear explosion and the 12,000-ton hydraulic press she saw in Shanghai testified that in every sphere the decisive factor is man. Having grasped Mao Tse-tung's thought and applied it in practice, the Chinese working class brought their creativeness into full play thus working wonders. She also attributed the tremendous success of the people's communes to Mao Tse-tung's thought. For without this as a basis, she added, no achievement of this magnitude was possible.

Referring to the struggle against revisionism, Maria Arena Regis asked: "Why has revisionism occurred in the Soviet Union? Because a privileged stratum has formed there. Then why is it that revisionism will probably not, or possibly never, occur in China? Because here, as I see it, the tendency exists gradually to reduce the gap between the highest and the lowest wages, and policies such as the following are being carried out: participation of functionaries in productive labour, education by the half-work half-study system, introduction of the labour system of working both as a farmer and as a worker, and the combination of the intellectuals with physical labour. In this way, no privileged stratum will arise in China. It can be seen literally from everything that China persists in class struggle and pays attention to the enhancement of the people's ideology. This is the guarantee that will prevent the rise of revisionism."

The Chinese Pavilion at the 1966 Spring Leipzig Fair held in the German Democratic Republic last March became the scene of a moving demonstration of friendship for China and respect and admiration for Chairman Mao and the Communist Party of China. The *Selected Works of Mao Tse-tung* attracted the keenest attention. Many visitors asked for copies and for badges carrying Chairman Mao's portrait. After he was given a badge, an old worker said, "Mao Tse-tung is the greatest man on earth. To wear a badge with his portrait is better than wearing any medals."

Visitors expressed their admiration for Chairman Mao, saying "We love Mao Tse-tung," "Mao Tse-tung has always been and will always be a revolutionary,"



"Mao Tse-tung's works are as essential to me as daily bread," and "Long live Marxism-Leninism and its greatest and most glorious leader, Mao Tse-tung."

Strongest Protest Against U.S. Piratical Act

U.S. imperialist military aircraft again bombed and strafed Chinese fishing boats bearing the national flag of the People's Republic of China on the high seas on May 28. A Chinese fisherman, a fisherwoman and her daughter were killed, and 18 others were wounded. A Chinese fishing boat was sunk and three were damaged.

A spokesman of the Chinese Ministry of National Defence has expressed the strongest protest against these flagrant, serious provocations by the U.S. military aircraft.

On the 28th, while two fishing boats, No.6503 and No.6505, of the Wanwei Brigade of the Chiangping People's Commune of Tunghsing Multi-National Autonomous County in the Kwangsi Chuang Autonomous Region were fishing on the high seas in northern Bac Bo Gulf, two U.S. military aircraft, flying separately from the directions of the southwest and northwest, circled over them at 15:30 hours. Then the U.S. aircraft savagely dropped seven bombs aimed at the two boats and strafed successively with machine guns, killing Chinese fisherman Chen Cheng-wei, wounding six other fishermen and sinking one Chinese fishing boat and damaging another.

At 15:50 hours on the same day, two U.S. imperialist military aircraft bombed and strafed Chinese fishing boats, No.2241, No.2242, No.2325 and No.2326, of the Hoping Fishing Brigade and Chiying Brigade of the Chisha People's Commune of Tunghsing Multi-National Autonomous County, while they were fishing on the high seas in northern Bac Bo Gulf. Chinese fisherwoman Huang Feng-ying and her three-year-old daughter were killed and twelve others were wounded. Two Chinese fishing boats were damaged.

The spokesman of the Chinese Ministry of National Defence points out that the sending of military aircraft by the U.S. Government to sabotage fishery production on the high seas and wantonly bomb and strafe Chinese fishing boats engaged in peaceful labour and murdering or wounding Chinese fishermen, prove that the Johnson Administration is the most barbarous and most ferocious aggressive gangster of present times. "We resolutely protest against the piratical act of U.S. imperialism. We sternly warn the U.S. Government that it must immediately stop such acts of piracy. The great Chinese people armed with Mao Tse-tung's thought are not to be trifled with. We shall definitely settle the blood debts incurred by U.S. imperialism," he said.

Let This Blood Debt Be Registered

by "RENMIN RIBAO" COMMENTATOR

THE utterly evil U.S. imperialists have once again committed a sanguinary crime against the Chinese people. U.S. military aircraft savagely attacked the Chinese fishing boats which were fishing on the high seas in northern Bac Bo Gulf in the afternoon on May 28, killed and wounded as many as 21 Chinese on board.

The Chinese people are highly indignant and lodge the strongest protest with the Johnson Administration which committed this serious crime.

The U.S. imperialists in the recent period had repeatedly attacked Chinese fishing boats and killed and wounded Chinese fishermen. On April 7 of this year, Chinese fishing boats were bombed and strafed on the

high seas by U.S. military aircraft; 17 Chinese fishermen were killed or wounded. Just over a month later, a new incident of a still more serious nature took place in which Chinese fishing boats were attacked. This was another naked provocation by U.S. imperialism against the Chinese people.

U.S. imperialism is carrying out provocations against the Chinese people in a situation in which the Johnson Administration is continuously expanding its war of aggression against Vietnam. Lately the ring-leaders of the U.S. aggressors time and again made it known that the United States was determined to continue its aggressive war and extend the flames of war. As Dean Rusk said on May 24, the United States would

"continue to do what may be necessary." This clearly shows that the repeated attacks by U.S. military aircraft on Chinese fishing boats operating on the Bac Bo Gulf are not at all fortuitous.

Facts have time and again proved to the Chinese people that U.S. imperialism is their mortal enemy. The policy followed by U.S. imperialism of setting itself against the Chinese people to the bitter end will never change. Every provocation by U.S. imperialism serves to remind the Chinese people that they must raise their

vigilance a hundred fold, and be fully prepared at all times.

The Chinese people warn the U.S. aggressors: We have registered all the debts you owed us. Debts must be repaid, and debts of blood must be repaid with blood. The great Chinese people armed with Mao Tse-tung's thought will surely make U.S. imperialism settle all the debts it owed them.

(May 30, 1966.)

Hold the Enemy in the Deepest Hatred

by "JIEFANGJUN BAO" COMMENTATOR

THE arch criminal, U.S. imperialism, has incurred one more debt in blood to the Chinese people.

On the afternoon of May 28, U.S. military aircraft brazenly bombed and strafed Chinese fishing vessels on the high seas in a diabolical way and killed and wounded 21 Chinese on board. The Chinese People's Liberation Army is most indignant at this bloody atrocity of the U.S. gangsters! We must avenge our class brothers! We must make U.S. imperialism repay the debt of blood!

The Chinese fishermen were engaged in peaceful work on the high seas. Their vessels were flying the Chinese national flag. These blatant and unbridled attacks by the U.S. air pirates are grave, flagrant provocations against China by the Johnson Administration.

This is not the only case in which U.S. pirates have bombed Chinese fishing vessels and killed Chinese fishermen. On April 7 this year, not to mention earlier occasions, U.S. military aircraft killed and wounded 17 Chinese fishermen on the high seas. Yet, before the blood had dried, they have come again to commit murder and have even brutally killed a woman and a three-year-old child. How barbarous! How hateful! We can never forgive this savage butcher!

U.S. imperialism is the sworn enemy of the Chinese people. It persists in occupying China's territory of Taiwan and, over the years, has repeatedly intruded into China's territorial air space and waters, has repeatedly sent U.S.-Chiang agents to harass China's mainland and has on many occasions sent military aircraft to intrude into China's air space and attack Chinese aircraft. Time and again its aircraft have followed

and attacked Chinese merchant ships and fishing vessels on the high seas. The crimes U.S. imperialism has committed against the Chinese people are so numerous that they cannot be counted. We hereby sternly warn the U.S. aggressors: The great Chinese people, armed with Mao Tse-tung's thought, are not to be trifled with. The debt in blood must be repaid with blood. U.S. imperialism cannot escape the Chinese people's severe punishment.

In the face of U.S. imperialism's repeated grave provocations, we must, in accordance with Comrade Lin Piao's instructions, resolutely carry out the five-point principle for putting politics first and earnestly make good our combat-readiness. We must hold the enemy in the deepest hatred. We must not for a moment forget the monstrous crimes committed by U.S. imperialism against the Chinese people. We must not for a moment forget that at this very instant U.S. imperialism is engaging in mass slaughter, large-scale burning and the spreading of poisonous chemicals and gases in south Vietnam. We must not for a moment forget that it is committing aggression, subversion and sabotage everywhere in the world. We must for ever keep this deepest hatred uppermost in our minds. Each time U.S. imperialism intrudes into our country, each time it kills one of our class brothers we must enter it in the account and must teach the people to hate U.S. imperialism so as to deepen our class hatred for it. We must put our hatred on the points of our bayonets, load it into the breeches of our guns and be ready at all times to strike back hard at U.S. imperialism, the common enemy of the people of the world.

("Jiefangjun Bao" [Liberation Army Daily], May 30.)

Workers, Peasants and Soldiers Creatively Study And Apply Mao Tse-tung's Philosophical Thinking

— Examples Illustrating the Law of the Unity of Opposites

This is the third instalment of selections from "One Hundred Examples Illustrating the Law of the Unity of Opposites" originally published in the philosophical magazine *Zhexue Yanjiu* (No. 2, 1966). The 100 essays written by workers, peasants and soldiers and revolutionary cadres in the course of their creative study and application of Comrade Mao Tse-tung's philosophical thinking appeared in *Zhexue Yanjiu* in 12 groups, each with a group subhead and an editor's note. The following five examples are taken from three groups together with the original group subheads and editor's notes. The first two instalments appeared in *Peking Review* Nos. 21 and 22.—Ed.

Analyse Things Scientifically; Look Through Appearances to Grasp the Essence

EDITOR'S NOTE: *To understand objective things, to see their essence through appearances, demands scientific analysis. Comrade Mao Tse-tung says: "When we look at a thing, we must examine its essence and treat its appearance merely as an usher at the threshold, and once we cross the threshold, we must grasp the essence of the thing; this is the only reliable and scientific method of analysis." The nature of a thing is determined by its principal contradiction, especially the principal aspect of its principal contradiction. When we have clearly understood the essence of a thing, we can grasp the laws of its development and we will not be misled by appearances and in the class struggle, in the struggle for production and in scientific experiments will hold firm in the right direction from start to finish.*

Comrade Lei Feng, Chairman Mao's good soldier, realized the necessity to see through superficial appearances into the essence of a thing. Taught by the Communist Party, he clearly saw the exploitative nature of the landlord class, held no illusions whatsoever about the enemy and was determined to carry the revolution through to the very end. In developing the Taching Oilfield, the people of Taching, following Chairman Mao's teachings, took their initial knowledge of phenomena as an usher, and through scientific analysis laid bare the secrets of the oil-bearing layers. The worker, peasant and soldier masses and revolutionary cadres deeply understand that only by looking into problems according to Chairman Mao's instructions can they hold to their course under complicated circumstances, and correctly understand and solve all problems to achieve success in their work.

Stripping Away the Layers to Get to The Heart of the Matter

IN order to better understand and deal with ideas currently in the minds of the men in a political study course, the Party branch committee of the nth regiment's 3rd Battalion Headquarters held an enlarged meeting especially to study this matter. The question which was discussed most at the meeting was one that concerned unity.

Once the problem of unity had been discovered did this mean that they had grasped the ideas currently in people's minds? Some comrades said "Yes" and proposed that they go ahead with the course. Others disagreed. They argued that the questions involving unity were only surface signs and that the meeting had not yet got down to the root of things, to the essence, and so it could not be said that the current problems in people's minds had been got hold of. Deputy political instructor Wang Shan-chieh then organized everyone to study the thesis put forward in *On Practice*: a leap

must be made from perceptual to rational knowledge, and the men realized that knowledge could not stop short at the perceptual stage. Wang Shan-chieh then asked them to think over why such problems of unity appeared and where did the crux of the matter lie? Everyone then began to analyse and study in a comprehensive way the various problems brought up at the meeting, starting from the surface and going progressively down to the heart of the matter. In this way, what was inside was gradually brought to light. They saw that the crux of the matter which adversely affected unity lay in some comrades not being able to take the right attitude towards criticism and self-criticism.

Most comrades at this stage felt sure that they had at last got hold of the currently prevalent ideological problem and that their political study course could now begin. But others asked: Why couldn't criticism and self-criticism be done in the proper spirit? This made everyone think hard again. An analysis of concrete instances showed that some comrades were afraid of hurting others' feelings when making criticisms and were also afraid of "losing face" when they themselves were criticized. This led to the discovery of the fundamental reason: the idea of wholly and entirely serving the people had not taken firm root in their minds. If everyone could put the interests of the people at all times above all else, and completely discard individualistic considerations of self-regard, then criticism and self-criticism could be handled properly.

By stripping away the layers to get to the heart of the matter, they finally got to the root of their problems. After further education and everyone had freely spoken and unburdened their minds, closer unity and harmony were achieved. (By Ching Yung, Hua Sheng and Fu Sheng. Originally published in *Jiefangjun Bao* [Liberation Army Daily], as "Stripping Through the Layers to Grasp the Essence," Jan. 31, 1966.)

Looking Through Appearances to Find Out the Real Cause Why the Rice Plants Turned Yellow

IN 1965, No. 1 and No. 9 Production Teams of our farm brigade planted several tens of *mu* to *Liantang-zao* and *Jiangnan 1224*, both early rice strains. After the seedlings had been set out in the paddies, I noticed that the rice of our No. 1 Production Team looked a bit off colour compared to that of a neighbouring production brigade. Its stalks looked spindly, and it was a shade too light, so I told the team to give it several successive dressings of manure. The result was splendid. The rice seedlings shot up, tall and green. No. 1 Team's rice was way ahead of everyone else's when comparative inspections were made and I felt sure that the team would bring in a good harvest that year.

For years, No. 9 Team had been the pace-setter in our brigade, but this time their rice stood shorter than

No. 1's and didn't look as green and good. In some paddies the plants even showed a touch of yellow. The production brigade cadres urged No. 9 to do as No. 1 had done and give their rice more manure. But No. 9 seemed reluctant to take action. Though they had the manure, they hardly used it, and when they did, they did so very, very sparingly. I felt sure they wouldn't do as well as Team 1 that year; they were too "conservative" on this question.

The harvest proved me completely wrong. No. 1 Team's stalks were weak, and the leaves so heavy that their crop lodged badly. The rice plants grew fast but the crop ripened late. The ears matured late. No. 9 Team's rice had thick sturdy stalks and there was no lodging. The ears were fat and full and ripened early. They brought in 80 *jin* more rice per *mu* than No. 1 Team.

What had happened? I learnt that No. 9's cadres and farmers had carefully studied the manure situation and had come to the conclusion that it differed from previous years. In 1965 they had put in more manure before ploughing than in earlier years. For each *mu* of paddy they had ploughed in 4,000 to 5,000 *jin* of green manure and spread over 1,000 *jin* of barnyard manure. Some of the fields were given a dressing of ammonia water. Ten days after transplanting they had top-dressed the crop. There was enough manure. Why the yellowish tinge after the plants were put in, then? This was mainly because the transplanting had been done a little later than usual and there had been a drop in temperature for some days afterwards. On top of all that the fields had been too deeply irrigated, the roots had not spread out and taken hold so the plants had not made full use of the manure. Under the circumstances they decided to "roast" the fields to get the rice to take root. Their manuring was done where the plants needed it and to the right amount. When the plants took firm root and the temperature rose, the manure did its job. Although there was still a tinge of yellow, they decided that the plants were doing all right and there was really nothing to worry about, so they added no more manure. They did right, and so in 1965 they again got a heavy rice harvest.

All this sounds clear and simple enough, but as I didn't look deep into the cause of the yellowing in some plants, I was going at things blindly in this matter of using manure. Looking back, I can see that the yellow colour could have been due to a number of causes. It might have been a lack of manure, or too much water in the fields, or the fumes of the ammonia water. It could have been a sign that the plants were doing fine too. However, I made no distinction between different things; I didn't suit the medicine to the malady, but indiscriminately called for more manure. The result was that I "killed by kindness,"—delayed the ripening of the crop, brought about heavy lodging, adversely affected yields and pushed the cost of production up.

"When we look at a thing, we must examine its essence and treat the appearance merely as an usher

at the threshold," says Chairman Mao, "and once we cross the threshold, we must grasp the essence of the thing; this is the only reliable and scientific method of analysis." If there is not enough manure, shoots generally turn yellow. There is a definite relation between "yellowing" and "not enough manure." But conversely, it is not always true that "yellowing" means "not enough manure," because "yellowing" can be brought on by a number of causes. And so we must not be misled by the appearance of "yellow" and jump to conclusions. On the other hand, we must not ignore it, but see it as an "usher." Once yellowing appears

we must study it deeply and analyse things in their concrete circumstances to find out its true cause and get to the essence of the matter. Only in this way can we correctly decide whether we must or must not apply more manure, put a lot on or only a bit. As I see it, that is what we must do in the case of applying manure, and the same goes for other matters. (By Wei Pao-ta, deputy secretary of the Party branch committee of the Yangwan Production Brigade, Xiaruosi People's Commune, Changhsing County, Chekiang Province. Originally published in *Zhejiang Ribao* [Chekiang Daily], September 10, 1965, as "Appearance and Essence.")

Pay Attention to the Quantitative Limits That Determine The Qualities of Things, and Really "Have A Head for Figures"

EDITOR'S NOTE: *Things have both qualitative limits as well as quantitative limits. The movement of a thing manifests itself in two states: the state of quantitative change with the two contradictory aspects within a thing in a state of relative unity; and the state of qualitative change, the dissolution of this unity, and the transformation of one thing into another. The struggle between the two contradictory aspects within a thing gives rise to the continuous transition from quantitative change to qualitative change and from qualitative change to quantitative change. Comrade Mao Tse-tung teaches us that we must attend to "the quantitative limits that determine the qualities of things," and really "have a head for figures." Our work demands that we correctly treat the relationship between quantity and quality, analyse the contradictions within things and really and clearly discover and grasp the quantitative limits that determine the quality of things.*

In the course of creatively studying and applying the thought of Mao Tse-tung, the masses of workers, peasants and soldiers, and revolutionary cadres have gradually learnt to use this dialectical law of the transformation of quantity into quality and vice versa. For example: In the present upsurge of industrial production workers and staff members in general in the factories, mines and enterprises are paying attention to the dialectical relationship between the quantity and quality in products, and are working ceaselessly to increase production under the condition of keeping quality uppermost in their work. They believe that only by ensuring quality, can there be real increases in quantity, real speed and real economy in practice. Countless instances show convincingly that no matter what the work it can only be done well if we grasp the "quantitative limits that determine the quality of things" and really "have a head for figures" as Chairman Mao has directed.

Speeding Up Production in Converter Steel-Making by Striving for Better Quality

WE must attend correctly to the relations between more, faster, better and more economical results in making steel in converters. Through my work in this field I learnt that the most important thing is to properly handle the relation between quality and speed. The salient feature of converters is speed: a heat of steel is turned out every 20 or so minutes. More speed, that is, the less time it takes to turn out a heat of steel, means more steel for the country. Speed, that is the outstanding thing about converters. But it is rather

hard to keep every operation under good control when you are trying to cut down the time for each heat.

How shall we speed up production by striving for higher quality? We must first of all get things straight in our minds. Before, "speed" was foremost in our thoughts. As soon as our shift started each day we'd figure on getting as many heats as possible for that day. We never fully understood the need to achieve greater speed on the basis of better quality and so we frequently ran smack into trouble. Take that time during the Spring Festival in 1965 for example. For a time we looked at things one-sidedly and paid attention only to quantity, to getting as many heats as possible and overlooked putting quality first. We chalked up a new record for quantity all right, but quality suf-

ferred and this gave trouble in subsequent operations. It affected the quality of work in the rolling mill. It still hurts just to think of it! From the smelting angle, things went quicker and we turned out more steel. But looked at from the overall point of view, things went slower, quality was lowered, and we got less steel. All in all, we saw that it led to losses when we one-sidedly chased after quantity and speed and neglected to put quality first.

On the job, we often came up against the relationship between one minute and 20 minutes. Sometimes we knew a heat was questionable, for we'd been watching it carefully during the blow, but when the time came to pour it out we'd take the risk and pour it without waiting that extra one minute for the analyst's findings. This sometimes led to inferior steel or even to a whole heat having to be thrown out. Conversely, sometimes we'd give the converter a few more minutes of blowing time because we were doubtful of the quality. This seems slower but in reality it was quicker. We frequently found ourselves in such situations. The reason lay in us not consistently striving to produce more on the basis of better quality. And sometimes, near the end of a shift when time was running out, to shorten the time of the blow, we'd tip the converter more and increase the air pressure. The result, as like as not, was that impurities were removed more slowly, a lot of phosphorus remained and so we would have to draw out the blowing time and watch a defective heat of steel being turned out. The inherent quality of the steel itself was affected. So this gave neither more steel nor quicker, better or more economical results.

Of course, speed is also important. But only by first ensuring more variety and higher quality and then going all out for speed is it possible to produce more and better steel quicker. Sometimes, wanting to be on the "safe" side we'd miss the best time to pour. Once that happened there'd be no control over the amount of carbon, or if the blow were prolonged we'd get an inferior heat. It is most important to keep the temperature inside the converter under control. If the duration of the blow is lengthened and operations are slowed up the temperature will drop and defective steel ingots will be the result, or else the whole heat is ruined. So we must be bold and careful, have "a head for figures" and achieve greater speed by first guaranteeing quality.

Briefly: to produce more, on the basis of quality, ensures a real increase in quantity; to do more in less

time, on the basis of quality, ensures real speed; and more economical results can only truly be obtained on the basis of quality. This well reflects the objective laws for handling the relations between more, quicker, better and more economical results in making converter steel. (By Wang Ming-chang, shift chief at the No. 2 converter shop of the Shanghai No. 3 Iron and Steel Plant. Originally published in *Zhongguo Qingnian Bao* [Chinese Youth News] September 11, 1965, as "Dialectics in Converter Steel-Making.")

Big Quantity in High Quality

Every product has two aspects: the quantitative and the qualitative; they stand in contradiction to each other and coexist in a single entity, so there is interdependence, struggle and development. Both combine to determine the standard of a product. Before, I used to see only the opposition between quality and quantity, and did not see their unity, so when the leadership called for increased production I only thought about quantity and not quality. To my mind, quality did not count for much. But take the case of tyres, for example. Let's say their quality is very high; then, say, instead of each tyre having a life of 50,000 kilometres, each one produced actually has a life of 100,000 kilometres, then one tyre will last as long as two tyres. This illustrates how high quality contains big quantity. Consequently, in production we must drive persistently to produce more on the basis of higher quality, strive for speed on the basis of higher quality, and persist in endeavouring to achieve more economical results on the basis of higher quality. At no time must one forget "quality." If, because the quality is poor, and one tyre cannot do the work of one tyre, and may even have a life of only 25,000 kilometres, then two tyres will only be equivalent to one tyre, and though production may have gone up, greater quantity has been achieved only in name. This is the dialectical relationship between quality and quantity. But, of course, if one uses a drive for quality as an excuse for not striving to do one's best to produce a greater quantity of products while working energetically to guarantee quality, that too will be one-sided. If in order to improve quality one decreases productivity and raises the cost of production, that too will not accord with the spirit of producing more, faster, better and with more economical results. (By Li Pao-chang, a worker in the Moutankiang Hualin Rubber Factory. Originally published in *Heilongjiang Ribao* [Heilungkiang Daily] on July 20, 1965.)

Content Determines Form; the Form Must Suit the Content Of the Movement of Contradiction Within a Thing

EDITOR'S NOTE: *Everything has content and form. The content and the form of a thing is a dialectical unity. Comrade Mao Tse-tung said in his "Talks at the Yen-an Forum on Literature and Art": "What we demand is the unity of politics and art, the unity of content and form, the unity of revolutionary political content and the highest possible perfection of artistic*

form." *The content of a thing determines its form. The form of a thing must suit the content of the movement of its contradiction. If the old form does not suit the needs of the new development of the content, it must be altered.*

Following the teachings of Chairman Mao, the broad masses of the workers, peasants and soldiers, and revolutionary cadres are not letting old forms tie them down but are bold in breaking away from old stereotypes, revising and improving unreasonable systems of rules and regulations, boldly making innovations and setting up new order, and instituting new systems of rules and regulations to serve the people, proletarian politics and socialist construction better.

Rules Must Not Restrict Service To the People

IN the summer of 1964 when Chou Yung-chih was taking his bus through Liuying Village, he heard an old peasant woman sigh: "How nice it would be if there was a stop in Liuying Village! I'd step off the bus and I'd be home right away!" Chou's heart missed a beat. There was a struggle in his mind. If he stopped the bus he would be breaking regulations because there was no bus stop in that village. If he went on, the old lady would have to walk a good three li back through the heat. Now, that day as on other days, before starting, he had read some passages of the writings of Chairman Mao. He remembered what Chairman Mao said about "wholly" and "entirely" serving the people. He pulled up and, turning to the conductor, told him to open the door and help the passenger down.

As soon as he had parked away his bus for the day Chou went to Chairman Mao's writings to seek for help in solving this contradiction between what passengers wished and what the regulations laid down. Reading and thinking things over he came to this conclusion: The regulations are there to ensure good service for passengers, not to hinder us from serving the people. Since our route runs between town and country we must do our best to serve the peasants.

From that day on Chou stopped even where there were no scheduled stops. This was going against regulations but he did as circumstances required, stopping when and where passengers wanted, replacing the regulations with a revolutionary new rule "for the convenience of passengers."

The bus stops on this route from the town to the far-out suburbs are few and far between and buses are less frequent than inside the town. Sometimes, an unlucky peasant passenger might see the bus coming from some distance away but before he could reach the stop see it leave without him. If he missed it by a minute he would have to wait a dozen or more minutes for the next bus. There is no need to write here how pleased the peasants were when Chou put this new "regulation" into operation.

Chou had the support of his Party branch committee, and he told his mates what he did and why.

This was received in two different ways. Some of his fellow drivers were all for it and did as Chou did. But others, the minority, couldn't break with old habits and said: "What's the use of stops if you stop when and where you like? There's a limit to what you can do for passengers." "If you stop here, there and everywhere one whole litre of gas will be wasted."

The leadership arranged for them all to study and re-study *Serve the People* and *In Memory of Norman Bethune*. Chou on his part encouraged those who did as he did to carry on and set an example. On the other hand he visited members of dissident bus crews in their homes and talked things over with them as a means of ideological education. He spoke about the differences between their route and those inside the town, and why the route was set up — mainly to serve the peasants. If they served the peasants' needs wouldn't this help strengthen the worker-peasant alliance? Wouldn't it give the peasants more time to do their work, to grow more grain, aid industry and the state?

As a result of these efforts the idea of serving the people took firmer root in the minds of all the bus crews. They came to a common understanding that "regulations must not hinder us from serving the people." They based their work on this. Those who once thought there was a limit to what one could do for the passengers realized that there were no limits when it came to serving the people. Those who were once worried that "stopping when and where the passengers wanted" would increase petrol consumption, set to thinking of how to make economies in other ways. Practice in 1964 and 1965 proved that the consumption of fuel did not go up; on the contrary, there was a saving of 10,000 litres of petrol in those two years. Did "stopping when and where passengers wanted" upset the timetable? Two years of practice proved that this problem did not arise. Drivers were not often asked to make extra stops, and when such a request came once in a while, it meant only the loss of a few seconds which the drivers could make up for before they reached the next stop. (By Liu Hai. Originally published in *Gongren Ribao* [Workers' Daily], January 26, 1966, as "The Bus Fleet of Our Peasants.")



"The Song of Ouyang Hai"

— An Outstanding Novel of a Hero of the Socialist Era

READERS and critics have greeted *The Song of Ouyang Hai* as the most successful Chinese novel portraying a hero of the socialist era. It has been described as "a new milestone in the history of Chinese literature" and "a heroic epic of Mao Tse-tung's era." Eagerly read by millions, it will play an important role in helping to shape the minds of our people, especially youth.

Readers showed their appreciation by buying up the first edition shortly after it was published last December, and presses in Peking, Shanghai, Canton and Chungking are printing five million more copies to meet urgent demands for it. Meanwhile, newspapers, both national and local, and literary magazines are reprinting excerpts of it or the full text in instalments. Many pages have been devoted to reviews of the novel and to reports of discussions of it by groups of workers, peasants, soldiers and students.

It tells the story of a real-life hero, an ordinary soldier of the Chinese People's Liberation Army, Ouyang Hai, who died a hero's death in November 1963. He was

out marching with his unit, when a pack horse carrying a gun-carriage shied and bolted on to the railway tracks. It stood there, motionless, as a passenger train came hurtling towards it. An accident derailing the train with its hundreds of passengers seemed inevitable when, in the nick of time, Ouyang Hai dashed on to the track and, exerting all his strength, pushed the horse off the rails. He saved the train, but it was at the cost of his own life. This was no accidental act of bravery. Ouyang Hai, as a study of his life shows, was a man who had taken Chairman Mao's teachings and ideas as his guide in life. His life belonged to the people.

Based on the life story of Ouyang Hai (other characters are mostly fictitious), the novel gives a vivid and faithful description of the way in which this young son of a poor peasant matured into a great communist fighter, a typical hero of the socialist era.

The 36-year-old author, Chin Ching-mai, is a native of Nanking. In 1949, he joined the People's Liberation Army and became a member of the actors' group of the soldiers' modern drama troupe of the P.L.A. units stationed in Canton, and switched to creative writing in 1960, mainly for his drama troupe. Later, he began his novel at the suggestion of the leadership. He is a member of the Communist Party of China.

Chen Yi, Member of the Political Bureau of the Party's Central Committee and Vice-Premier, speaking with the author not long ago in Canton, described his novel as "a result of the leadership of the Party, the warm assistance of the masses and the efforts of the author." He had high praise for it. Calling it a work "of epoch-making significance and a new milestone in the history of our creative literature," he said: "*The Song of Ouyang Hai* is a good and attractive novel. It is a fine work portraying the socialist era, a work written by a writer who has been reared by the Communist Party since the founding of the People's Republic of China." He added: "This novel successfully creates an image of a hero who, enlightened by Mao Tse-tung's thought, enhances his class consciousness, rids himself completely of individualism, and strives dauntlessly to fight for what is right and just. The writer has depicted the characteristic features of the heroes of our time." The Vice-Premier also praised the author



Sculpture by Tang Ta-hsi



Chiu Cheng-pao (left), leader of the squad to which Ouyang Hai belonged, discusses the novel with Ouyang Hu, the hero's brother

for giving a penetrating and faithful portrayal of life in the army. "Other characters are also well written," he said. "Only by standing on a fairly high plane was the writer capable of producing such a work."

Tao Chu, First Secretary of the Central-South Bureau of the Party's Central Committee, speaking at the same interview, said that the fact that a young author could write such a successful work in such a short time "shows that there is nothing mysterious about creative writing. As long as we really arm ourselves with Mao Tse-tung's thought and go deep into the struggle we can write a good work even if we are not writers, or have little experience in creative writing.

The novel *Storm Over Green Bamboo Village* by the peasant author Wang Hsin-yuan is another proof of this. . . . This shows that the era has gone for ever in which a few people had the monopoly of science and culture. We have come to a great era of tremendous development of socialist culture."

He also pointed out that capitalist and modern revisionist authors were nowadays producing decadent and degenerate characters corrupting the fighting will of the people. *The Song of Ouyang Hai*, on the contrary, "has created a character that shines with all the brilliance of communism, given a profound and truthful exposition of his growth and development, and showed there is nothing accidental in the emergence of such heroes in our era, that this era of ours is one that gives birth to a multitude of heroes. This is a striking contrast and is of far-reaching significance."

In its review "Put Politics First and Write First and Foremost About Heroic Characters," *Hongqi* (No. 7, 1966) pointed out: "The merits of *The Song of Ouyang Hai* are many-sided and so is the experience it provides. But the most important, basic and central one is in putting politics first. To put politics first is to put Mao Tse-tung's thought first. That is, throughout the process of writing, Mao Tse-tung's thought was always in command, Chairman Mao's writings were taken as the supreme guide and Mao Tse-tung's thought was made the soul of the whole novel. Politics occupies first place in the novel itself and first place in the course of its creation. The novel is thus at once a concrete manifestation as well as a product of putting politics first."

A vivid confirmation of this statement is to be found in the article "*The Song of Ouyang Hai: Its Conception and Creation*" in which the author tells of his experience in creating his novel. This article has been widely reprinted in the press. An abridged translation of it follows under a shorter title.

How I Wrote "The Song of Ouyang Hai"

by CHIN CHING-MAI

I WAS transferred from the actors' group of our soldiers' modern drama troupe to its creative writing group in 1960. At that time the "Resolution Concerning the Strengthening of Political and Ideological Work in the Armed Forces," adopted at the Enlarged Session of the Military Commission of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China, had just been relayed to all the basic units, and the whole army was studying and discussing this document.

Learn About Our Heroes

On the instructions of the leadership, I joined a company, as an ordinary soldier, taking part in their

study of the resolution and in their activities to create a "four-good" company.* I wrote several short pieces in this time, but few of these were any good. I felt very

*The "four-good" title of honour is given to companies which are good in political and ideological work, in the "three-eight" working style, in military training and in living arrangements. The guiding motto of the "three-eight" working style is made of three phrases ("firm and correct political orientation; a plain, hard working style; flexibility in strategy and tactics") and eight Chinese characters (which mean in English unity, alertness, earnestness and liveliness).

depressed, wondering if I could ever manage to write well about the life of our soldiers. I didn't realize then that my failures were the result of my low ideological level and of a lack of understanding of the life of our soldiers.

Later, together with some other comrades I studied and re-studied Chairman Mao's *Talks at the Yanan Forum on Literature and Art*. With this as a start, I made a thorough review of my work and came to see that I had failed to create something of real value mainly because I had failed to follow Chairman Mao's advice: I had not gone deep into the life of our fighters and commanders and had only a superficial knowledge of my subject. Consequently, I lacked the insight needed for good creative writing. If I was to become a good propagandist of Mao Tse-tung's thought, and create works which would be well received by the masses, I thought to myself, I must first of all follow Chairman Mao's advice to the writers that "they must change and remould their thinking and their feelings. Without such a change, without such remoulding, they can do nothing well. . . ."

Soon after I went to serve in another company, one which I had been in before and was therefore more familiar with. There, again, I joined the men at their daily drill and training classes. But this time the results were different.

Three years before when serving in this company, I made the acquaintance of a deputy squad leader. He was always good humoured, always smiling and was the first to welcome new recruits to the squad, coaching them in how to make up their knapsacks and other soldier's skills. This time when I met him he was just reporting to his superior, a platoon commander, who three years before had been a new recruit in his squad. My old friend was still a deputy squad leader. When I asked him how he felt about this, he said simply: "It's to serve the people!"

In the same company, I met a new comrade, a cook. He was the kind of man who speaks little but works hard. He was of the Miao nationality and his family lived in a remote mountain area. Before joining the army, he had had little schooling, so now when a letter came from home, he would ask someone else to read him the letter and write the reply for him. One day, a letter from home urged him to stop being a cook so as to get an opportunity to learn some real skill. He said not a word after the squad leader finished reading the letter, but immediately set himself to write a reply, the first letter he ever wrote. It contained only one sentence: "My work is to serve the people."

These two sentences — "It's to serve the people" and "my work is to serve the people" — short as they were, were a whole education to me. Since the movement to study Chairman Mao's works started in the People's Liberation Army, a good number of soldiers have come to the fore because of the creative way they

study and apply Chairman Mao's ideas and teachings. Most of them did not have much formal education before they joined the army; nor were they eloquent in answering the "whys" of life. Once in the revolutionary army, the first thing they learnt to read was an article entitled *Serve the People* written by Chairman Mao. And they were soon able to translate every sentence they learnt from it into action, with wholehearted devotion and true selflessness. They were the new type of men of the socialist era, new people armed with Mao Tse-tung's thought.

All this enabled me to see the new characteristics of our soldiers and to understand them a bit better. It also helped me to see that one could not possibly understand, let alone write about, the new men of our times if divorced from Mao Tse-tung's thought. Following this, what was foremost in my thoughts was no longer what to write, but a determination to really settle down in a company, join the men there in their study of *Serve the People*, take a full part in their everyday life and work, and, in the course of this, remould my thinking step by step.

The news of Ouyang Hai's death reached us in the winter of 1963 while I was on field manoeuvres. Soon afterwards, I was instructed to join the company to which Ouyang Hai had belonged and try to collect all the material I could about him. I had little difficulty in doing this as all Ouyang Hai's former comrades-in-arms were ready to help. I was told not only about his last heroic act, but about his extraordinary bravery in fighting a fire and in saving a child from drowning. Even seemingly commonplace events in his everyday life and work were deeply moving and took on fresh significance.

One rainy afternoon, some of Ouyang Hai's former comrades took me to see a highway tunnel which he had helped to build. It was a small affair, but there, over the opening, three big characters "For the Revolution!" had been inscribed by Ouyang Hai. This threw a revealing light on his thoughts and feelings: this was not a bridge spanning the Yangtse; it was just a small tunnel for a road tucked away in the mountains but he saw it as part of the building of socialism. In this one sensed the profound feeling of a communist fighter for the revolutionary cause.

Understanding a Hero

As I gathered material on Ouyang Hai, I gradually became aware of his bitter class hatred against the old society and his great love for the new, and of the roots of that hatred and that love. His home, in a mountain village of Kueiyang County, Hunan Province, was a poverty-stricken place before liberation. His birth came not as a happy addition to the family but a misfortune making his elder brother, the family's chief bread-earner, liable to Kuomintang conscription. At seven, hunger forced him to go begging in the snow. Still a child, he walked the rugged mountain paths peddling charcoal. Class oppression fostered his stub-

born determination to struggle and never give up half way. Then came liberation by the revolution under the leadership of the Chinese Communist Party and Chairman Mao Tse-tung. Ouyang Hai was lifted out of the abyss of wretchedness. Hence his deep class feeling for the new society, the people, the Party and Chairman Mao. He was an activist in his village in the co-operative farm movement. In the army, he looked on all his fellow soldiers as class brothers and was always ready to help a comrade. When, on a visit home in 1962, he found that his elder brother was following the wrong, capitalist road, he roundly upbraided him, telling him: "You've forgotten who you were!" A firm proletarian class stand and, on this basis, sentiments of love and hatred that clearly differentiated between the people and the enemies—that was his most outstanding characteristic. To depict such a character, it is necessary to portray him as an embodiment of a class, to show this main aspect of his, and to show how he matured in the struggle in the socialist era to foster proletarian ideas and eradicate bourgeois ideas.

Ouyang Hai was not a wartime hero. He grew to heroic stature in the course of the socialist revolution and construction. Heroes and heroic deeds are not abstract conceptions. They always carry the imprints of class and time. The heroes of today are deeply concerned with the historic movements of our time, both at home and abroad. By their shining deeds, done at their respective posts, they answer the questions put forward by the times. This was true of Lei Feng and Ouyang Hai. This is also true of the men and women of the Taching Oilfield and the Tachai Farm Production Brigade. This prompted me as a writer to portray the growth of my hero against a concrete historical background: the upsurge in the study of Chairman Mao's works following the enlarged meeting of the Central Military Commission; the big leap forward which began in 1958; the suppression of the rebel bandits in Tibet in 1959; the withdrawal of experts by the Soviet revisionists in 1960, and so on. **Depicting Ouyang Hai thus against a background of sharp, complex class struggles has made it possible to project his artistic image as the embodiment of his class and the spirit of the socialist era, as well as to show in a concentrated way the characteristic features of the heroic people of our time.**

Ouyang Hai, as a youngster raised in our socialist era, drew strength from Chairman Mao's works. He became a conscious, proletarian fighter with a clear aim in life by remoulding himself and the society in the light of Mao Tse-tung's thought. He showed astonishing tenacity in the study of Chairman Mao's writings; he read on doggedly, always with the help of a dictionary, for he had had little education in his childhood. Even more noteworthy was his conscious application of Chairman Mao's teachings and ideas. At the time of his death, a copy of one of Chairman Mao's articles was found in a bag he carried still warm from the warmth of his body. To give a faithful portrayal

of him, it was necessary to project this aspect of his life. This is what made him a great people's fighter.

Portraying a Hero

As I wrote, I re-studied Chairman Mao's theses on classes and the class struggle. This enabled me to work on a higher ideological plane. I saw how necessary it is to look at the reality of today from the point of view of class struggle. To portray a heroic character in our contemporary life means to depict him in the struggle for socialism, in the struggle to foster proletarian ideas and eradicate bourgeois ideas so as to transform his subjective world and the objective world. It is inconceivable to portray a hero of our time and not link him with this struggle. All our heroic characters grow in the course of remoulding themselves through ceaseless study of Mao Tse-tung's thought. I have therefore, in the first half of the book, put particular stress on the fact that Ouyang Hai was anxious to become a hero and to get ahead of others. This is to show how a piece of good iron is cleaned of dross and tempered into steel in the furnace of the revolution. Writing about heroic characters, in my view, is not an aim in itself. It is to praise our great era, our great Party and the boundless strength of Mao Tse-tung's thinking. This was why I devoted the first half of the novel to portrayal of Ouyang Hai's growth.

When the hero of the book has learnt what is really meant by being a hero and acquired the outlook of service to the people, he has matured into a people's fighter. At this point he becomes a member of the Chinese Communist Party. In the chapter "Hard Bones and a Red Heart," I write, through Ouyang Hai, about our self-reliant spirit and efforts in building our country and waging the struggle against modern revisionism. In "Locomotive," I write about his creative study and application of the writings of Chairman Mao and **how he helps the less advanced to catch up with the rest.** "A Visit Home" describes our hero in the struggle between the road of socialism and the road of capitalism. In the two subsequent chapters, I show him in the midst of a struggle between old and new ideas and how he correctly conducts himself in this situation. All this is to show the ideological stature of a communist fighter, to show what tremendous power Mao Tse-tung's thinking has engendered in this heroic character.

I came up against some difficulties when I came to the parts dealing with the anti-revisionist struggle and the handling of contradictions among the people. I reported this to my leadership and I was much helped by their suggestions and encouragement. I was advised to make a serious study of Chairman Mao's *On the Correct Handling of Contradictions Among the People* and other important documents. I have revised these chapters several times but as they stand now, they still leave much to be desired. I have the feeling that to properly project the ideological stature attained by a hero is an ideological test for the writer himself. The fundamental question is whether he—the writer—can

solve the problem of his own world outlook by creatively applying Mao Tse-tung's thought.

I am a new hand at writing modern plays and I never tried my hand at a novel before. So obviously, the technique of writing was a hurdle which had to be overcome. A clear theme and a wealth of material are of course most important. But if the writing itself is not artistically strong, the work can still not serve, as Chairman Mao put it, as a powerful weapon "for uniting and educating the people and for attacking and destroying the enemy."

The best way to learn how to write, it seems to me, is to learn first of all from life and the masses. The process of writing and rewriting is a process of improving one's techniques. In this novel, some incidents and not a few of the expressions came direct from life and the people. I found it most helpful to read my novel out, chapter by chapter, to people and listen to their criticism and suggestions. This I did three times, each followed by a major revision. In fact, the novel was "passed" by the masses. I also learnt a good deal from recent biographies of heroic characters.

As the central figure of this novel is a real-life person, I took great pains to check and re-check the facts with those who knew Ouyang Hai well: his political commissars and fellow-soldiers, his fellow villag-

ers and near relatives, as well as cadres working at the Kueiyang County Communist Party Committee and the people's commune where his home was. They were my best teachers and most exacting checkers on the accuracy of facts. Each time the process was repeated, I was helped to a better understanding of life and my hero.

It was a difficult task to carry through these checkings and wholesale revisions. I drew strength from Chairman Mao's teaching: "Practice, knowledge, again practice, again knowledge. This form repeats itself in endless cycles, and with each cycle the content of practice and knowledge rises to a higher level." This truth gave me immense inspiration and a stubborn patience. These efforts bore fruit. Now those who knew Ouyang Hai well are in agreement that I have given a faithful portrayal of him, both as to the facts and the spirit of the young hero. This is a great encouragement to me. I think that co-operation between the writer and the masses is a good way of putting the mass line into practice. But to be more accurate, the novel is a product of the joint efforts of three sides, for without timely guidance from the leadership, I would not have been able to write it.

(First published in "Canton Evening News," Feb. 26, 1966; abridged translation.)

THE WEEK

(Continued from p. 3.)

Bandung and Malang. Instead, at the instigation of the Indonesian authorities, hooligans of the Right-wing organizations have committed more and more frantic outrages in forcibly occupying and disrupting overseas Chinese schools and institutions, and these outrages have been spreading to all parts of Indonesia.

The note lists the brutal crimes committed since March by the Indonesian armed forces in co-operation with the hooligans of the Indonesian Youth Students' Action Front (KAPPI) and other Right-wing organizations in illegally occupying, taking over, closing and disrupting overseas Chinese schools and institutions in Djakarta, Bandung and many other places in Java, Sumatra, Sulawesi, South Kalimantan, West Kalimantan and East Kalimantan and other islands.

In all these places, the note points out, the forcible occupation and tak-

ing over of overseas Chinese schools and institutions were outrages perpetrated by the local military authorities in collaboration with Right-wing reactionary hooligans. In most cases, the schools and institutions were first disrupted, looted and occupied by the hooligans and then handed over to the local military authorities, who afterwards ordered the closing down or taking over of the schools and institutions, to be eventually transferred for use by Right-wing organizations. In some other cases, the military authorities first placed them under "surveillance" or ordered their closure and then Right-wing hooligans occupied or looted them. All these violations of the overseas Chinese schools and institutions were committed on orders of the Indonesian government authorities. They insulted the national flag of the People's Republic of China and portraits of the beloved and respected leaders of the Chinese people, burnt up books in Chinese and documents, and took away many cars, equipment and other

properties. Many had outrageously used abusive language against and even beat up the teachers and students of the schools and the staff members of the overseas Chinese institutions.

The note demands that the Indonesian Government immediately reverse the unjustifiable decisions of the military authorities concerned on closing down and taking over the overseas Chinese schools and institutions, return the buildings of the schools and institutions under illegal occupation, return all the properties of the schools and institutions and the personal possessions of the overseas Chinese which have been usurped and taken away, and recompense for all losses, to enable the schools to reopen as soon as possible and the overseas Chinese institutions to resume their normal work, and take necessary measures to effectively protect the legitimate rights and interests of overseas Chinese schools and institutions, and ensure that no similar cases will recur.

Extolling the Great Era of Mao Tse-tung

THE most inspiring concerts at the current 7th "Shanghai Spring" Music Festival are those given by workers, peasants and soldiers. They are showing themselves to be the main force in the great socialist cultural revolution. Aware of their important revolutionary role, they have taken over the stage as its rightful owners and are presenting songs, dances and music of a militant, proletarian character. With ringing voices they sing of the Chinese Communist Party, of Chairman Mao Tse-tung and of socialism. Their performances are a powerful counter-attack against the anti-Party, anti-socialist black line that is now being exposed and smashed; they have given the lie to those bourgeois "authorities" and "specialists" who clamour that they are artistically untalented and that their art is too simple in style, and slander that their participation in the festival would lower its standards.

Workers, peasants and soldiers make up over two-thirds of the 4,800 participants in the festival. The special programmes they have put on have been extremely well received by the public. Every item performed has been born of personal participation in the three great revolutionary movements of the class struggle, the struggle for production and scientific experiment.

The revolutionary song and dance movement of the Shanghai workers, peasants and soldiers got going in a big way during the great leap forward of 1958. When China's economy subsequently suffered certain temporary setbacks as a result of the series of natural calamities, the "Three-Family Village" gangster clique and other freaks and monsters in the cultural world

"broke through the door and dashed out" to stir up trouble, using the cultural sphere as their field of operation to attack the Party and socialism. A number of bad operas, plays and films were produced; in music, decadent and degenerate stuff was vigorously promoted, and gods and devils took the limelight in dance.

Shanghai's workers, peasants and soldiers, armed with Mao Tse-tung's thought and under the leadership of the Party, gave an angry riposte. Their revolutionary songs sounded out in counter-attack. They extolled Mao Tse-tung's thought and shattered the fallacies propagated by certain bourgeois "authorities" and "specialists" that music is something "mysterious" or that "in music, talent and skill come first." Year by year, the revolutionary song movement has gathered force, and in this festival, it has found full voice.

Born in Sharp Class Struggles

Many items presented at the current festival were born in sharp class struggles.

Red Story-Teller was a song presented in popular style with gong and drum accompaniment and lively



Finale of dance pageant "The Red Army Fears Not the Trials of a Distant March"

actions by six peasant girls from the Qixian People's Commune of Fenghsien County. It was based on a struggle which these young performers had actually taken part in. A group of old-type showmen once arrived in the village, displayed their posters, set up their stage, and proceeded to put on a show about feudal scholars and beauties. Indignant, these girls and other youngsters in the village tore down the posters and took over the stage to sing revolutionary songs and tell revolutionary stories. The travelling showmen sneaked away. At the festival, the girls performed their item with great vivacity and realism.

The workers, peasants and soldiers are unequivocal about whom they praise and whom they oppose. At the festival, their voices rang out in praise of their great leader Chairman Mao and of the Communist Party. At one concert, 2,000 singers took the stage to sing that well-loved national favourite *The East Is Red*: "From the red East rises the sun, in China appears Mao Tse-tung. . . ." Choirs of units of the People's Liberation Army's three services stationed in Shanghai sang song after rousing song to militant marches pledging that the "people's armed forces will for ever be loyal to the Party."

The song *Forward, Forward, Forward! Open a Road of Our Own!* composed and put on by workers of the Shanghai Steam Turbine Plant reflected the tremendous achievements of the Chinese working class in the struggle for production and in scientific experiment. Six months ago, workers at the plant successfully trial-produced a 6,000-kw. gas turbine up to international standard. They had done it precisely in the "forward," go-ahead spirit of hard and self-reliant work expressed in their song.

One can see that these worker, peasant and soldier performers are not only masters in transforming the world but also masters in creating culture and art. They are writing a new chapter in socialist music and dance.

Recitals of Chairman Mao's Poems Set to Music

A highlight of the festival was the programme devoted entirely to musical recitals of Chairman Mao's poems. These are extremely well loved and known among the Chinese people. A number of them have been set to music and are widely sung. At a time when the socialist cultural revolution is at a new upsurge and when the anti-Party and anti-socialist black line is being shattered, artists performed and audiences listened to these poems with all the more respect and love for their great leader.

The programme presented recitals of more than 20 poems in solos, in choral singing, and in balladry. Some of the verses have been newly set to music. These include *Shaoshan Revisited*, performed in choral singing, *The Fairy Cave—Inscription on a Picture Taken by Comrade Li Chin*, *New Year's Day* and *Tapoti*, all sung in balladry style.

Members of the musical companies which gave the items diligently studied Chairman Mao's works as they rehearsed for the festival. With a better understand-

ing of his thought, they were able to interpret his poems with deeper feeling. Audiences responded with the warmest sentiments. Listening to Chairman Mao's poems sung on the stage was at once a profound education and a great inspiration.

"Five-Good Fighter" Sun Chung-kuang of the People's Liberation Army said: "Listening to this programme has recalled to me how our revolutionary predecessors, guided by the great red banner of Mao Tse-tung's thought, fought with such heroism. When one fell, others stepped forward to take his place. They won for us the fruits of the victory of the people's revolution. A people's fighter must consciously safeguard Mao Tse-tung's thought. We will never permit anti-Party and anti-socialist elements to make trouble. We will crush them without hesitation."

"Long Live the Victory of People's War!"

Chairman Mao's great teachings on people's war were the theme of the special programme presented under the title "Long Live the Victory of the People's War!" This was the answer of the Shanghai singers, dancers and musicians to the bourgeois "authorities" and modern revisionists' opposition to literature and art depicting the great strength of people's war; this was their blow against reactionary theories calling on writers and artists to "deny the classics of revolution" and "rebel against the orthodoxy of war," and to oppose the so-called "smell of gunpowder" in literature and art.

The 7-scene dance pageant *The Red Army Fears Not the Trials of a Distant March* presented with magnificent sweep episodes from the 25,000-li Long March undertaken by the Chinese Workers' and Peasants' Red Army with such revolutionary heroism and optimism under the leadership of Mao Tse-tung.

The scene "Marching Into Tsunyi" was most impressive. Through music and dancing, it focussed on that historic moment when the Tsunyi Conference established Comrade Mao Tse-tung's leadership over the entire Party.

Other scenes took the audience along with the Red Army across plateaus and rivers, over snow-capped mountains and swampy marshlands, until it reached its destination in the northwest. Dances depicted the armymen grappling with and destroying the enemy in the waves of an imaginary river, fighting their way across the bare chains of the Luting Bridge, and the officers and men sharing the hardships of the journey and taking care of each other. They showed them braving winds and rains, their revolutionary ideals unshaken. These lofty heroic images once again illustrate for the audience this truth: With Mao Tse-tung's thought, with a revolutionary army armed with Mao Tse-tung's thought, the waves of the revolution will roll forward over every obstacle in their way.

The successful choreography, based upon music by Chen Keng and others and lyrics by Hsiao Hua, was the work of four young teachers of the Shanghai Dance School who had never tried their hand at choreography

before. Fifty-six students and a teacher took part in the performance.

Storm and Thunder, a set of symphonic pieces, took its theme from Chairman Mao's lines of verse: "The Four Seas are rising, clouds and waters raging, the Five Continents are rocking, wind and thunder roaring." This and other items in the programme described the people's anti-imperialist revolutionary storm that is sweeping the face of the earth and the excellent world situation in which "the East wind is prevailing over the West wind."

"Ode to the Heroes"

Performances of the special programme, "Ode to the Heroes," marked the first time that the Shanghai festival has in such a concentrated way depicted heroes of the socialist era who have grown up and matured under the guidance of Mao Tse-tung's thought. Over 300 singers and musicians took part. They extolled outstanding people who have inspired the nation: Lei Feng, Wang Chieh, Ouyang Hai and Mai Hsien-teh of the P.L.A.; county Party secretary Chiao Yu-lu; Wang Chin-hsi, Chen Yung-kuei, Chao Hsiao-shou of the industrial, agricultural and diplomatic fronts, and many others.

The song cycle *Sing of Wang Chieh, Learn From Wang Chieh* comprised seven songs. It was jointly presented by 90 Shanghai artists from Peking opera, Shao-hsing opera, modern drama and three other forms of theatrical art. The fact that they got together on the same stage to sing revolutionary songs is itself a

new achievement of the great socialist cultural revolution. Last year, these comrades were working in the countryside and taking part in the socialist education movement there when they read of Wang Chieh's heroic deeds and extracts from his diary in the press. Learning from Wang Chieh together with the poor and lower-middle peasants, they composed this song cycle with great feeling. In the process of their creative work, they repeatedly studied Chairman Mao's *Talks at the Yen-an Forum on Literature and Art* and revised the songs the way the peasants liked and wanted to sing them.

These songs and other musical items devoted to portraying heroes of the socialist era are the first results of Shanghai composers, singers and musicians following the Party and Chairman Mao's literary and artistic line and of their entering deeply into the life and struggles of the workers, peasants and soldiers to remould their own ideology and class sentiments.

Their success has shown what tremendous creative strength is released and what broad prospects are opened up when writers and artists follow Mao Tse-tung's guidance in literature and art.

These and other special programmes — including "Learning From Taching and Tachai" and "Revolutionary Operas and Balladry," and two others presented by the Shanghai Conservatory of Music and the city's children — are currently performing at various theatres in Shanghai. Some of the items have been taken directly to the factories, villages and units of the armed forces for the benefit of wider audiences.

For Your Information

Notes to "Hold High the Great Red Banner of Mao Tse-tung's Thought and Actively Participate in the Great Socialist Cultural Revolution"

The following notes have been prepared in answer to readers who desire added information concerning certain phrases and names mentioned in the "Jiefangjun Bao" (Liberation Army Daily) editorial "Hold High the Great Red Banner of Mao Tse-tung's Thought and Actively Participate in the Great Socialist Cultural Revolution" which we carried in our No. 18 issue (April 29, 1966). — Ed.

• "The Life of Wu Hsun" was a pernicious film slandering the revolutionary tradition of the Chinese people and advocating bourgeois reformism and capitulationism. Wu Hsun was a landlord's toady in the

Ching Dynasty, but the film presented him as a great man who was willing to sacrifice himself to provide the sons of poor peasants with a chance to study. An editorial of *Renmin Ribao* on May 20, 1951, sternly pointed out the reactionary nature of this film and called on the whole country to criticize it. This was the first large-scale criticism of reactionary bourgeois ideas after the establishment of New China.

• Yu Ping-po, the author of "Studies in the 'Dream of the Red Chamber,'" evaluated the novel from an idealist viewpoint, using bourgeois methods of textual research. In September 1954 a nationwide movement

was launched to criticize it. This was a struggle between proletarian and bourgeois ideology and against bourgeois idealism.

- The **Hu Feng counter-revolutionary clique:** Hu Feng was a renegade who sneaked into the ranks of the revolution. After liberation he organized a secret clique among literary and art circles to carry out counter-revolutionary activities. In 1954 he presented a 300,000-character "suggestion" to the Central Committee of the Party, viciously attacking the Party's policy and Mao Tse-tung's teachings on literature and art. In May and June, 1955, *Renmin Ribao* published three collections of material on Hu Feng's counter-revolutionary clique, thoroughly exposing and smashing its counter-revolutionary plot.

- The theory of "truthful writing" was advocated by the revisionists. The counter-revolutionary Hu Feng was an exponent of it, and so was Feng Hsueh-feng. They had ulterior motives and under the cover of "truthful writing" tried to oppose the class character and tendency of socialist literature and art, as well as the use of the socialist spirit in literature and art to educate the people. They advocated "truthful writing" in order to seek out the "seamy side" of life in socialist society and the rotten things left over from history, so as to paint our splendid socialist society in dark colours.

- The theory of "the broad path of realism" was advocated by some anti-Party and anti-socialist writers and artists who, opposing Chairman Mao's *Talks at the Yen-an Forum on Literature and Art*, argued that it was out of date and urged that a different and broader path should be found. This was the nature of "the broad path of realism" advocated by Chin Chao-yang and others. In their view, the correct, broad path of serving the workers, peasants and soldiers was too narrow, was "hard-boiled dogmatism" and "confined writers to an unalterable, narrow path." They argued that each author should write whatever he pleased according to his "different personal experience of life, education and temperament and artistic individuality." They wanted writers to abandon the worker-peasant-soldier orientation and explore "new fields which would give unlimited scope to their creativeness."

- Shao Chuan-lin, formerly Vice-Chairman of the Chinese Writers' Union, advanced the theory of "the deepening of realism" while advocating "writing about middle characters." According to this theory, writers should depict "the old traits" in the people, summarize "the spiritual burdens of individual peasants through the centuries" and create complex "middle characters." They should write about "everyday" events to "reveal the greatness in trivial things" and attempt to show "the rich diversity of the world in a crumb of rice." To Shao Chuan-lin, the only realist writing was that depicting "middle characters" riddled with inner contradictions, summarizing "the spiritual burdens of individual peasants through the centuries" and presenting the "painful stages" of the peasants' transition from an individual to a collective economy. This, he con-

tended, was the only way to "deepen realism," whereas praising the revolutionary heroism of the people and describing the heroes among them was neither true nor realistic. This theory of "the deepening of realism," which was taken directly from bourgeois critical realism, is thoroughly reactionary.

- The theory of opposition to "subject-matter as the decisive factor," which was opposed to the socialist view of literature and art, found keen support from Tien Han, Hsia Yen and others. Proletarian writers must consider what subject-matter is of value to the people before they start writing and a specific subject should be selected and written up in order to foster proletarian ideology and liquidate bourgeois ideology and encourage the masses to be firm in taking the socialist road. But to advocates of this theory, these correct views were restrictions and fetters which "must be thoroughly eliminated." Under the pretext of enlarging the scope of subject-matter, they proposed discarding the classics of revolution and rebelling against the orthodoxy of war. They argued that too many of our films dealt with the revolution and armed struggle and that unless a break was made, no really new films could be produced. Other advocates of this theory were in favour of writing works with "human interest," "love of mankind," "insignificant people" and "minor events." The aim of these proposals was actually to lead literature and art astray from the path of serving proletarian politics.

- The chief exponent of the theory of "middle characters" was Shao Chuan-lin. He put forward this proposal time and again between the winter of 1960 and the summer of 1962. He slandered the vast majority of our poor and lower-middle peasants as people in an "intermediate state" vacillating between socialism and capitalism. He hoped that more writing about "middle characters" would undermine readers' faith in socialism and serve to curb or oppose the creation of heroes of the socialist age in works of literature and art.

- Opposition to "the smell of gunpowder." Modern revisionist literature plays up the horrors of war and propagates the philosophy of survival and capitulationism to sap the people's fighting will and serve the needs of the imperialists. In recent years there were also some people in China who repeatedly clamoured that our writing reeked of gunpowder and our stage bristled with guns, and that this was inartistic. They wanted writers to discard the classics of revolution and rebel against the orthodoxy of war. This theory was in essence a reflection of the revisionist trend in our literary and art circles.

- "The merging of various trends as the spirit of the age" was an anti-Marxist-Leninist fallacy put forward by Chou Ku-cheng, who denied that the spirit of the age is the spirit which propels the age forward and that the representative of this spirit is the advanced class which propels the age forward. He argued that the spirit of the age was a "merging" of the "different ideologies of different classes," and that it included

"pseudo-revolutionary, non-revolutionary and even counter-revolutionary ideas." This was a thoroughly reactionary theory aimed at class conciliation.

• **V.G. Belinsky** (1811-1848) was a Russian democrat, literary critic, thinker and writer on aesthetics who opposed the serf system and the despotic rule of the tsar in his literary criticism.

• **N.G. Chernyshevsky** (1828-1889) was a Russian democrat, critic and writer who upheld revolutionary democratic ideas and opposed the tsar and serfdom.

• **N.A. Dobrolyubov** (1836-1861) was a Russian democrat and critic of literature and art who engaged in activities against the rule of the tsar and the serf system.

INTERNATIONAL COMMUNIST MOVEMENT

Why There Cannot Be Any Unity Between Marxist-Leninists and Modern Revisionists

E.F. Hill, Chairman of the Communist Party of Australia (Marxist-Leninist)

E.F. HILL, Chairman of the Communist Party of Australia (Marxist-Leninist) denounced the leaders of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union as scabs, renegades and an ally of U.S. imperialism. The Marxist-Leninists are responsible for the destiny of the world, he said, so they must never reconcile or unite with the leaders of the C.P.S.U.

In an article, "Why There Cannot Be Any Unity Between Marxist-Leninists and Modern Revisionists," in a May issue of the *Vanguard*, organ of the Communist Party of Australia (Marxist-Leninist), he began by declaring unequivocally: "It is quite clear there can never be reconciliation with those whom we call modern revisionists. . . ."

"This matter is a question of theory and of concrete practice. . . ."

"Now Khrushchov has been replaced in the Soviet Union. It is said that things have changed, that the new leaders are better and that within the capitalist countries the revisionists are better now that Khrushchov has gone, that there is the possibility of unity, reconciliation.

"But we must assert that . . . the situation has not improved; it has deteriorated. . . ."

"The fact is that Khrushchov and his colleagues (who are now his successors) represent the capitalist elements in the Soviet Union. There are in fact capitalist strata in the Soviet Union. The very highly paid live on the exploitation of the workers.

"That is their economic basis just as it is in capitalist society. . . . Everything the Soviet revisionists do flows from their class interests — capitalist class. So they are in class unity with the capitalists throughout the world. . . . They seek common ground with the capitalists of what to them is the other powerful capitalist country — the U.S.A."

The article recalled what Khrushchov and his successors — the present leaders of the C.P.S.U. — had done as renegades, saying: "Khrushchov assisted the Indian

reactionaries to wage war on China. Kosygin took the part of India in its war on Pakistan, then imposed the so-called Tashkent agreement with the aim of strengthening India. Kosygin proposes joint socialist action in support of Vietnam. Superficially that is attractive and there are those who say it should be tested out so that the Soviet leaders can expose themselves. Therefore there should be unity and agreement with this proposition. Our opinion is that that is a profound mistake. The Soviet leaders have already exposed themselves.

"Khrushchov pursued the policy of disengagement in Vietnam, i.e., get right out of it and leave it to the U.S. Kosygin pursues the policy of engagement in Vietnam in order to achieve the same objective, i.e., Soviet-U.S. control of the situation. The Soviet leaders want to end the Vietnamese struggle by negotiations, i.e., leaving U.S. imperialism in Vietnam. . . ."

"If they occupy key military positions or supply key military material in Vietnam then they can use it to control the situation just as they used their rockets in Cuba. . . ."

"But do you go into a critical battle with a person whom you know for certain is a traitor in order to test his treachery? Certainly not. . . ."

"We know from a multitude of facts of the Soviet leaders' treachery, of their real alliance with the U.S. imperialists. There is the 'spirit of Camp David,' of 'Tashkent,' of open collaboration with the Indian reactionaries, of seeking agreement with the Japanese imperialists, of co-ordination and agreement with U.S. imperialism.

"The U.S. imperialists can withdraw troops from Europe critical to them in Vietnam only because of the actual (not imagined) conduct of the Soviet leaders. The Soviet leaders interfere in the internal affairs of the Communist Parties in Japan, Indonesia, New Zealand and indeed of all others including those in Asia and Europe in order to try to impose their line of

peaceful transition, peaceful coexistence and negotiations on them.

"That line is peace at any price; agreement with U.S. imperialism at any price."

Turning to the question of reconciliation with the revisionist group in the Soviet Union, the article said: "For the Chinese or us even to raise the question would be treachery. It would suggest there was something good in these people. It would help them in their treachery. It would be betrayal of the working people of the world. There is nothing good in the Soviet revisionists or local revisionists. . . ."

The article stated emphatically that it was correct and imperative for a number of Marxist-Leninist Parties to refuse to attend the 23rd Congress of the C.P.S.U. Refuting the allegation that their refusal to attend the congress had created confusion, the article said: "Once more we must say that to go to a conference initiated by traitors is to provide the traitors with cover. It is to assist their treachery. We know full well from a host of facts they are traitors. . . ."

"Marxist-Leninists are responsible for the destiny of the world. Anything they do that jeopardizes that destiny is bad. In particular the Chinese Party is seen and seen correctly as the focal Party, leading Party of Marxism-Leninism. If the Chinese Party had attended, would it, for example, have assisted the Marxist-Leninists in the Soviet Union? On the contrary. Would it assist the Marxist-Leninists in Australia? On the contrary. So it goes for the world.

"When a man is actually scabbing on a big workers' struggle and calls a conference, do the struggling workers accept an invitation to go along and discuss the scabbery, even though the discussion might be wrapped up in pleasant words? Of course they don't, because to go along as though the person were not a scab would be to help him, give him standing, take the heat off him. . . ."

"Those who refrained from attending the 23rd Congress have assisted the struggle against the scabs and

renegades. They have made the scabs and renegades stand out more clearly for all the world to see."

The article pointed out that the leaders of the C.P.S.U. had invited the Chinese Communist Party and other Marxist-Leninist Parties to attend their congress, "simply to cover their own revisionist treachery and to provide the means for pursuing their treachery. . . ."

"The revisionists have placed aside the question of revolution. They have abandoned it. If they have abandoned revolution necessarily they support capitalism because capitalism can only be ended by revolution. . . ."

"Thus these people are the capitalists or capitalist influence within the working class. The very struggle of the workers is to overthrow capitalism and capitalist influence within the working class. How then can there be reconciliation or unity with them? Reconciliation or unity with them means reconciliation or unity with capitalism. For us to give them any comfort or aid at all would be desertion of Marxism-Leninism. It would itself be treachery. Lenin was pressed with the need for unity. He agreed that there must be unity but on Marxist-Leninist principle. . . ."

"It was precisely Lenin's firm adherence to principle and refusal of such 'unity' and 'reconciliation' that initiated the world socialist system. Today the plea for unity and reconciliation (with the revisionists), at just as important a period of history, can only disarm the working class just as certainly as we can now see clearly it would have in Lenin's day.

"Thus we say: . . . there will be no unity and no reconciliation with the revisionists. The toiling people of the world are repudiating the revisionists. That can be seen internationally. It can be seen in Australia. We will do nothing to assist the revisionists to maintain their hold. On the contrary, the gap between us is increasing day by day and we will struggle to the end to defeat revisionism. It is an essential part of the struggle to defeat capitalism and imperialism."

U.S. Asian Policy Report

Another Reluctant Confession

FROM January to March this year, the U.S. House Subcommittee on the Far East and the Pacific conducted a series of hearings and debates on Washington's bankrupt China policy. More than 30 people took part in the hearings and debates, including Secretary of State Dean Rusk and other U.S. officials and China "experts." On the basis of the testimony and the result of the hearings, the subcommittee presented a report entitled "U.S. Policy Towards Asia." Commenting on the report, a *Da Gong Bao* commentator wrote on May 25:

In this report, U.S. imperialism, in a mood of dismay and consternation, has had to admit the reality

that it is facing a mighty socialist China and has given vent to its inveterate hatred for the Chinese people. This is a confession of the utter bankruptcy of the U.S. policy of hostility to China over the past 17 years, and it is also good material for teaching by negative example to show that Washington is bent on being hostile to the Chinese people to the end.

Seventeen years ago, on the eve of the great victory of the Chinese people's revolution and the inauguration of the People's Republic of China, the U.S. State Department published the notorious White Paper "United States Relations with China," which reluctantly admitted

the complete failure of U.S. imperialism's reactionary policy in China and its absolute helplessness towards the situation which prevailed in China at the time. However, unreconciled to its defeat, U.S. imperialism made it clear in the White Paper that it would continue to make trouble. Actually it has pursued this course of action according to its fixed policy of aggression for 17 years; not a single day has passed in which it has relaxed its efforts to make trouble for China. Washington has resorted to economic blockade, political isolation and war provocations and aggression; it has even placed its hopes on the rise of the "democratic individualists" of China to overthrow the people's state power. However, for all its despicable efforts, its plots of subversion, sabotage and aggression against China have failed. Moreover, its policies of war and aggression in all Asia have never met with such disastrous defeats as now.

A Reflection of U.S. Ruling Group's Weaknesses

This report by the U.S. House Subcommittee on the Far East and the Pacific has had to admit that in spite of Washington's anti-China campaign in the past 17 years, "China is steadily advancing to the rank of a great world power," that the revolutionary state power of the People's Republic of China is "firmly entrenched," and that the Chinese people have accomplished "a feat which finds no parallel. . . ." The report has had to admit that the U.S.-instituted blockade and embargo against China cannot halt the vigorous development of China's socialist construction and that despite the so-called "superiority of our [U.S.] vast nuclear military power," the U.S. threat against China has been a flop. What is particularly disappointing to Washington is that "China offers virtually none of the opportunities . . . to encourage evolution in the direction of liberalization." Looking into the future, U.S. imperialism can only lament that "our country's ability to influence the course of events on the Asia mainland is essentially limited, and will probably tend to decline in the years to come. . . ." On the other hand, China "is bound to exert considerable influence" on the course of events in Asia and the world. Such a conclusion reached in an official report by U.S. imperialism, which has consistently regarded China as its principal enemy and has spared no effort to overthrow the People's Republic of China, reflects the total bankruptcy of the U.S. policy of hostility to the Chinese people as well as the great worries and weaknesses of the U.S. ruling group.

This report reflects the excellent international situation in which "the East wind prevails over the West wind." Since the founding of the People's Republic of China, the balance of power in Asia and the world has undergone tremendous changes which are increasingly favourable to the peoples of China and Asia and the revolutionary peoples of the world, and unfavourable to U.S. imperialism and its accomplices and stooges. The utter bankruptcy of the U.S. imperialist policy of hostility to the Chinese people and other Asian peoples

is the result of the tit-for-tat struggle against U.S. imperialism waged by the Chinese and the other Asian, African and Latin American peoples.

It must be noted that although U.S. imperialism has been badly mauled, in no circumstances will it lay down its butcher's knife or go against the logic of the imperialists: Make trouble, fail, make trouble again, fail again till their doom. The U.S. State Department's White Paper issued 17 years ago already showed this, as has the present House Subcommittee's report, "U.S. Policy Towards Asia." In the final analysis, the question remains that U.S. imperialism vainly attempts to have a trial of strength with the Chinese people by its counter-revolutionary dual tactics, that is, employing its military power and recruiting those accomplices and lackeys that can be recruited to encircle and "contain" China, and at the same time trying to "enlarge" its "limited peaceful contacts" with China, in the hope that "peaceful evolution" may be realized in China.

U.S. Aggressive Plots Can Never Succeed

But we must tell the U.S. imperialists point-blank: All your plots of aggression against China can never be realized. Today, the Chinese people are holding aloft the great red banner of Mao Tse-tung's thought, and are proudly and valiantly advancing on the road of socialist revolution and construction. Our great motherland has never been so powerful as it is today and our great people's revolutionary enthusiasm has never been so high. The Chinese people are fully prepared against the U.S. imperialists' war plot. If they dare to impose an aggressive war on us, we Chinese people will never allow them to escape once they arrive and will wipe out all the aggressor troops, whatever their number. As to "peaceful evolution," which U.S. imperialism is looking forward to, reality is the best answer. Seventeen years ago, it placed its hopes on the "democratic individualists" of China. Ever since, a small section of them, i.e., the bourgeois Rightists, had tried on several occasions to restore capitalism in China. But their attempts were as futile as the mantis trying to stop the wheels of a moving vehicle. The bourgeois Rightists are only a handful of villains; every attempt by them has been completely exposed and smashed. This will continue to be the case in the future as it has been in the past. And their Washington masters can do nothing but weep over it.

The hue and cry by the U.S. imperialists, however, is useful to the Chinese people. As a negative example, it reminds us that we must carry the socialist revolution through to the end, be highly vigilant and fully prepared so as to counter the efforts of the U.S. imperialists and their flunkies to make trouble. Being prepared in this way, we will be able to defeat all the stratagems and intrigues of the enemy, and give it a good beating whether it resorts to a soft or a hard tactic, "peaceful evolution" or the threat of war. Even greater defeats are in store for the diabolical creatures in Washington.

ROUND THE WORLD

U.S. PLOT IN MIDDLE EAST

Arms Against the Arab People

Last month, under a new arms deal with Tel Aviv, the U.S. began sending more heavy weapons to Israel; the latest deliveries will include 200 Patton M-48 tanks, 80 F-104 fighters and an unspecified number of F-111 fighters. In arming Israel at this accelerated rate, what role does Washington expect Tel Aviv to play in the Middle East?

Since the immediate post-World War II years, in which U.S. imperialism replaced British imperialism to become the biggest exploiter and oppressor in the Middle East, it has made itself the chief enemy of the region's people. To preserve its vast oil interests and strategic position there, Washington has been methodically arming Israel, which is to be used as a base for aggression and attack against the Arab people. Through West Germany, in one swoop, it handed over to Israel American-made weapons valued at 80 million dollars. In February this year, it shipped another 200 heavy tanks directly to Israel. At the same time, it has hoped to make the Arab people give up their struggle to liberate Palestine and to accept meekly the presence of Israel which is simply an imperialist instrument of aggression. One manoeuvre designed to bring the Arab people to terms is to suspend U.S. "aid"; in 1965, for instance, Washington applied pressure of this kind on the United Arab Republic in negotiations for the sale of "surplus food."

The Soviet revisionist group, too, is helping the U.S. in its bid to "stabilize the situation in the Middle East." Moscow has time and again called for the settlement of the "conflict" in Vietnam and other areas in the "Tashkent spirit." The Soviet journal *New Times* (November 12, 1965) called for the application of the principle of "peaceful settlement" of disputes in the conflict between

Israel and the Arab countries. This has increased the Arab people's fear of U.S.-Soviet collaboration for domination of the Arab world.

The latest U.S. arms deal with Israel has touched off another wave of protest against U.S. imperialism among the Arab countries, including Syria, the Sudan, the Yemen and Iraq. On May 24, the U.A.R. National Assembly vigorously condemned the U.S. double-faced policy in talking about peace in the Middle East while arming Israel. In a resolution calling for the liberation of Palestine through armed struggle, the Third Palestine National Congress which closed in Gaza on May 24, denounced U.S. imperialism as enemy No. 1 of Palestine, pointing out that the new arms shipment to Israel is "an open challenge to the Palestinian people and the whole Arab nation."

The U.S. imperialist policies towards the Middle East are creating conditions for the flare-up of fresh anti-U.S. storms there. As the Lebanese weekly *Al Moharrer* says: "Not the spirit of Tashkent but that of Vietnam is what will enable us to achieve liberation and unity."

JAPAN

U.S. Nuclear Sub, Go Home!

On May 30, the U.S. nuclear submarine *Snook* sailed into the Japanese port of Yokosuka near Tokyo. It was the ninth visit by a U.S. nuclear submarine to Japan since 1964, but the first "call" at Yokosuka.

The Japanese people, who have strongly protested against all previous eight entries of U.S. nuclear submarines into Sasebo in southern Japan, again sprang into action. On the eve of the arrival of *Snook*, some 8,200 people turned out in Yokosuka city to hold a rally and then parade through downtown streets. On the morning of May 30, braving a downpour, 1,500 Japanese

workers, students and other citizens again held a protest rally in front of the gates of the U.S. base in Yokosuka.

On the pretext that the entry of U.S. nuclear submarines is provided for in the Japan-U.S. "Security Treaty," the Sato government called out 5,600 policemen from seven prefectures to guard the U.S. naval base in Yokosuka. Even commercial sight-seeing ships were banned in the port area for fear that protest demonstrations might be held. In spite of this, rallies and parades in Yokosuka will be continued every day until *Snook* leaves on June 3.

The entry of *Snook* into Yokosuka took place at a time when U.S. imperialism is widening its war in Vietnam. The visit forms a part of the strategic nuclear encirclement of China. In the eyes of U.S. imperialism, Japan is thus not only a base for waging conventional war in Asia but also a major base for launching nuclear war. The entry of *Snook*, obviously, is paving the way for the entry of the U.S. nuclear fleet including the aircraft carrier *Enterprise*.

The U.S.-Japanese reactionaries may think that nuclear submarines are very powerful and can be used to demonstrate U.S. strength in Asia and the Pacific. But as *Renmin Ribao* Commentator said in an article (May 31), "A few nuclear submarines can never frighten the people of Japan and revolutionary peoples of Asia into submission. Those who are really powerful are the peoples who have awakened and dare to wage struggle and not any new weapons possessed by U.S. imperialism."

SHOLOKHOV IN JAPAN

The Soul of a Renegade

Serving the Soviet revisionist leadership's policy of collaboration with the Japanese reactionaries to oppose China, Mikhail A. Sholokhov, master of Soviet modern revisionist literature, toured Japan last month.

In recent years, Sholokhov has often travelled abroad to promote the

Arming India Against Its Neighbours

After claiming it was unable to give Vietnam direct assistance because of the lack of a common frontier, the revisionist leadership of the Soviet Union has in fact transported large quantities of military supplies to the Indian reactionaries over sea routes.

Five Soviet ships loaded with arms and ammunition, including heavy tanks, Mig-21 fighters, military trucks, machine-guns and missiles, arrived in Calcutta, India, in the middle of May.

When the news reached the Pakistan public, the reaction was both immediate and strong. It was pointed out that this military assistance would make the Indian reactionaries more aggressive towards India's neighbours, China and Pakistan, was "tantamount to stoking the fires of war" and would "embolden India to blackmail and browbeat its smaller neighbours." It may be recalled that as late as May 26, Indian troops fired at peaceful Pakistan farmers at Gobindapur in Sylhet, East Pakistan, as they were ploughing their own land.

The Rawalpindi daily *Ta'Meer* has viewed the sending of Soviet arms to India as a part of the revisionist policy of colluding with the U.S. in opposition to China. "The Soviet Union has made her own contribution to containing China's political influence. . . ." the paper said.

This latest move of the Soviet revisionist group has shown many Pakistan people how much the so-called Tashkent spirit is worth. The daily *Jang* recently published a letter from one of its readers who wrote: "Efforts made by the Soviet leaders for the Tashkent Declaration were not motivated so much by their good faith as by their desire to establish their importance in Asian affairs." Another letter signed by Manzoor Ahmad of Dacca, East Pakistan, said: "For us, the Soviet Union and America take the one and same stand. Both are madly pursuing their own personal ends."

Soviet revisionists' reactionary policy of U.S.-Soviet collaboration for world domination and to preach sermons which are anti-China, anti-communist and anti-people. His plan to visit Japan dates back to 1964 when the Soviet leadership began in secret to woo the Sato government of Japan, which faithfully follows Washington's anti-China policy. Sholokhov made known his intention to visit Japan in a letter to a Japanese woman stenographer, whom he had met 30 years ago when she was working in the Japanese Embassy in Moscow. He said that he was going to see her as she was in poor health. And his planned trip came true soon after Japanese Prime Minister Sato accepted Moscow's invitation to visit the Soviet Union.

Accompanied by members of his family and personnel from the Union of Soviet Writers, Sholokhov was warmly received by the Japanese reactionaries and bourgeois writers from the moment he stepped on to Japanese soil. It was as if he was on a state visit. The Japanese bourgeois press lavished nauseous praise on Sholokhov as the author of *The Fate of a Man* and *And Quiet Flows the Don*, reactionary works in which revolutionary wars are opposed, renegades as well as cowards glorified, and the Soviet people and army defamed.

Asked at his press conference on May 26 by a Japanese newsman what he thought of articles in the Chinese press which unmasked him as a renegade (see *Peking Review*, No. 21, May 20, 1966), Sholokhov was visibly embarrassed. "I have nothing to say on this point," he replied. Apart from indulging in some dastardly abuse, he dared not challenge the substance of the two Chinese articles.

Throughout his visit, Sholokhov used every available opportunity to spread the fallacy of class collaboration and the bourgeois concept of human nature as something "abstract" and "transcending all classes." In his television interview with some Japanese writers, he was asked why he chose to prettify the counter-rev-

olutionary characters in *And Quiet Flows the Don*. Devoid of any sense of shame, he answered: "Because they are men." At a meeting attended by reactionary Japanese writers and renegades from the Japanese Communist Party, Sholokhov cried out that the general task of a writer was to elevate further the soul of men and produce literature commensurate with modern man. He also advised young writers to sell themselves by trying "to marry daughters of rich families" because one "would be able to grow if he is financially equipped to spend three or four years on a single work."

This so-called "proletarian writer" also praised Japanese capitalist society with all his heart. According to the *Yomiuri Shimbun*, at a reception given by the Japanese Association of Writers and Artists to mark his 61st birthday, Sholokhov, "with tears in his eyes and deeply touched," said: "Japan is really too wonderful. I should have come earlier had I known this before." On another occasion, he declared in a televised speech in Tokyo: "I love everything Japanese."

The next thing Sholokhov did in Japan was to enjoy life, feasting, seeking pleasure and visiting scenic spots, while showing not the slightest interest in the Japanese people's current struggle against U.S. imperialism and its agents. On the second day after his arrival, he had already expressed his great admiration for the amusement and shopping centre in Ginza and Asakusa, Tokyo's decadent capitalist society in miniature. According to Japanese press reports, Sholokhov tried to behave like a "VIP" when shopping and kept on repeating: "I have money. Show me first-class articles." Sholokhov, observed *Gendai*, a Japanese bourgeois weekly, is a "new Soviet aristocrat who forsakes the workers." The same weekly quoted Sholokhov's Japanese hosts as saying: "After having seen the way the Sholokhovs lived during their stay in Japan, we were unanimous in agreeing that it is simply inconceivable that they have come from a communist country."

RADIO PEKING's

Daily English Language Transmissions

(Schedule beginning April 20th, 1966)

	Peking Time	Local Standard Time	Metre Bands
EAST AND SOUTH AFRICA	00:00-01:00	18:00-19:00 (Cape Town, Salisbury)	30, 25, 24
	01:00-02:00	19:00-20:00 (Dar-es-Salaam) 19:00-20:00 (Cape Town, Salisbury)	30, 25, 24
WEST AND NORTH AFRICA	03:30-04:30	20:00-21:00 (Dar-es-Salaam) 18:45-19:45 (Monrovia) 19:30-20:30 (Accra, Freetown) 20:30-21:30 (Lagos)	43, 31, 25
	04:30-05:30	21:30-22:30 (Cairo) 19:45-20:45 (Monrovia) 20:30-21:30 (Accra, Freetown) 21:30-22:30 (Lagos)	43, 31, 25
SOUTHEAST ASIA	20:00-21:00	19:00-20:00 (Western Indonesia, Bangkok)	252, 224 32, 31, 25, 24, 19
	21:00-22:00	19:30-20:30 (Singapore) 20:00-21:00 (Saigon, Manila) 18:30-19:30 (Rangoon) 20:00-21:00 (Western Indonesia, Bangkok) 20:30-21:30 (Singapore) 21:00-22:00 (Saigon, Manila) 19:30-20:30 (Rangoon)	224, 32 31, 25, 24, 19
SOUTH ASIA	22:00-23:00	19:30-20:30 (Delhi, Colombo) 19:00-20:00 (West Pakistan) 20:00-21:00 (East Pakistan)	41, 30, 25
	23:00-24:00	19:40-20:40 (Kathmandu) 20:30-21:30 (Delhi, Colombo) 20:00-21:00 (West Pakistan) 21:00-22:00 (East Pakistan) 20:40-21:40 (Kathmandu)	41, 30, 25
AUSTRALIA AND NEW ZEALAND	00:00-01:00	21:30-22:30 (Delhi, Colombo) 21:00-22:00 (West Pakistan) 22:00-23:00 (East Pakistan) 21:40-22:40 (Kathmandu)	229
	16:30-17:30	18:30-19:30 (Aust. S.T.) 20:30-21:30 (N.Z.S.T.)	25, 19, 16
EUROPE	17:30-18:30	19:30-20:30 (Aust. S.T.) 21:30-22:30 (N.Z.S.T.)	25, 19, 16
	04:30-05:30	20:30-21:30 (G.M.T.) 21:30-22:30 (Stockholm, Paris)	45, 42, 31
NORTH AMERICA (East Coast)	05:30-06:30	21:30-22:30 (G.M.T.) 22:30-23:30 (Stockholm, Paris)	45, 42, 31
	08:00-09:00	19:00-20:00 (E.S.T.)	19, 16
NORTH AMERICA (West Coast)	09:00-10:00	20:00-21:00 (E.S.T.)	25, 19, 16
	10:00-11:00	21:00-22:00 (E.S.T.)	25, 19, 16
NORTH AMERICA (West Coast)	11:00-12:00	19:00-20:00 (P.S.T.)	31, 25, 19
	12:00-13:00	20:00-21:00 (P.S.T.)	31, 25, 19