

PEKING REVIEW

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To Expand the War of Aggression
Against Vietnam**

Renmin Ribao Observer on Guam war conference.

QUOTATIONS FROM CHAIRMAN MAO TSE-TUNG

The people's democratic dictatorship needs the leadership of the working class. For it is only the working class that is most far-sighted, most selfless and most thoroughly revolutionary. The entire history of revolution proves that without the leadership of the working class revolution fails and that with the leadership of the working class revolution triumphs.

On the People's Democratic Dictatorship

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When we say "imperialism is ferocious", we mean that its nature will never change, that the imperialists will never lay down their butcher knives, that they will never become Buddhas, till their doom.

*Cast Away Illusions, Prepare
for Struggle*

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Without a people's army the people have nothing.

On Coalition Government



Chairman Mao Tse-tung

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

Pakistan's National Day

Pakistan Ambassador to China Sultan Mohammad Khan gave a reception on March 23 to celebrate Pakistan's National Day. Among those who attended were Premier Chou En-lai and Vice-Premier Chen Yi. The Ambassador and the Vice-Premier spoke at the reception, wishing the continuous development of the friendship between the Chinese and Pakistan peoples.

Ambassador Sultan Mohammad Khan spoke of the Pakistan people's efforts in developing their national economy. Referring to the friendship between Pakistan and China, he said that co-operation between them had extended to many fields. He added: "We in Pakistan attach great importance to our friendly relations with the People's Republic of China. This friendship is based on genuine and fundamental interests on both sides and enjoys the overwhelming support of our two peoples and Governments." The Ambassador expressed admiration at the remarkable achievements made by China in the economic and scientific fields on the basis of self-reliance, under the brilliant leadership of Chairman Mao Tse-tung. He wished the great Chinese people still greater achievements, progress and prosperity.

Vice-Premier Chen Yi in his speech stressed that through the great proletarian cultural revolution the Chinese people, armed with Mao Tse-tung's thought, would certainly build China into an even more powerful country and that a socialist China which would never change colour would always be the true friend of all the oppressed peoples and nations as well as the reliable friend of the Pakistan people.

Referring to the recent Guam meeting, Vice-Premier Chen Yi said: "It should be pointed out in particular that the Guam meeting was spear-

headed not only against the Vietnamese people but also against the people of other Indo-Chinese states and the rest of Asia. The U.S. Government is trying hard to urge its vassals in Asia to cater to its expansion of the aggression against Vietnam and is actively preparing to extend its aggressive war against Vietnam to the whole of Indo-China, to the whole of Southeast Asia and to China. We people of Asia must maintain sharp vigilance against the threat to the cause of peace in Asia posed by the U.S. imperialist designs for new war adventures, and by modern revisionism's acts in co-ordination with the war plot of U.S. imperialism. Should U.S. imperialism and its collaborators dare to expand the war and invade China, they will certainly have their heads smashed and will be thoroughly defeated by the 700 million Chinese people who are further tempered and strengthened in the great proletarian cultural revolution."

When Vice-Premier Chen Yi spoke of China's great proletarian cultural revolution, he said that this revolution had already gained one great victory after another. The imperialists, modern revisionists and their followers were frightened to death by it, and were trying their utmost to spread all kinds of rumours and even distribute forged pamphlets to smear it and sow discord between China and other countries in Asia, Africa and Latin America. Their aim was to whip up a new anti-China tide. The Vice-Premier declared that the Chinese people, under the brilliant leadership of Chairman Mao, were determined to carry the great proletarian cultural revolution through to the end. No reactionary force could stop their triumphant advance. In opposing China, the imperialists, modern revisionists and their followers would only end up in dropping

the rock they had lifted on their own feet, thus hastening their own defeat.

Revolutionary Committee Established in Shansi Province

The Representative Conference of Revolutionary Organizations of Shansi Province was held in Taiyuan from March 12 to 18. The conference made an all-round analysis of the present situation in the great proletarian cultural revolution in Shansi Province and set forth the future tasks. In accordance with the correct revolutionary "three-in-one" combination policy put forward by our great leader Chairman Mao, a provisional revolutionary "three-in-one" organ of power — The Revolutionary Committee of Shansi Province — has been formally established.

The conference was convened at a time when the situation concerning the great proletarian cultural revolution in Shansi was becoming better and better. The basic features in the situation were: the formation of a great alliance of the proletarian revolutionaries, with the revolutionary "three-in-one" combination as the core; the winning of a decisive victory in the struggle to seize power from a handful of Party people in authority taking the capitalist road; the tremendous achievements made in "taking firm hold of the revolution and promoting production"; the speedy establishment of a revolutionary new order; the imminent total collapse of the rule by the handful of Party people in authority taking the capitalist road in Shansi Province. The convocation of this conference once again demonstrates the great power of the invincible thought of Mao Tse-tung (see P.R. No. 6, 1967).

The more than 4,000 representatives at the conference came from revolutionary organizations in the various special administrative regions, cities and counties of Shansi, and from leading organs at various levels, as well as from the Shansi Provincial Military Command of the People's

Liberation Army and army units stationed in this area. Members of the Chinese Communist Party nucleus in Shansi and leading members of the Shansi Revolutionary Rebel General Headquarters were also present.

The Shansi Provincial Revolutionary Committee, whose establishment was announced at the conference, came into being through a democratic election by all the representatives. It is composed of leaders of revolutionary mass organizations that truly represent the broad masses of the people in Shansi, representatives of the Chinese People's Liberation Army units stationed locally and revolutionary leading cadres. It is a provisional organ of power of the revolutionary "three-in-one" combination, under the leadership of the working class and based on the worker-peasant alliance, and at the same time a unified command of the proletarian revolutionary mass organizations in Shansi Province.

During the conference, Liu Ke-ping, leader of the Chinese Communist Party nucleus in Shansi, and three other comrades spoke at the conference on behalf of that nucleus and the Shansi Revolutionary Rebel General Headquarters.

Soviet Revisionists' Sabotage of Afro-Asian Writers' Movement Condemned

The Union of Chinese Writers issued a statement on March 24 strongly condemning the Soviet revisionist leading clique for plotting to hold the bogus "third Afro-Asian writers' conference" in Beirut. The statement pointed out that this serious splittist action had thoroughly exposed the renegade features of the Soviet revisionists in openly throwing themselves into the embrace of U.S. imperialism, selling out the Afro-Asian people's cause of unity against imperialism and seeking to wreck the Afro-Asian writers' movement. It expressed full support for the March 21 statement of the Afro-Asian Writers' Bureau concerning the bogus "third Afro-Asian writers' con-

ference" (see p. 20), and sternly denounced the new despicable plot and crime of the Soviet revisionists.

The statement of the Union of Chinese Writers enumerated the tremendous work done in the past eight years and more by the Afro-Asian Writers' Bureau headed by R.D. Senanayake. Such work had greatly strengthened mutual understanding and militant friendship among Afro-Asian writers and peoples. The statement expressed the determination of the Chinese writers who, together with the revolutionary and progressive writers of other Asian and African countries and with the Afro-Asian Writers' Bureau as the centre, would raise ever higher the banner of unity against imperialism.

It exposed the Soviet revisionists' crimes in selling out the Afro-Asian people's cause of unity against imperialism and in sabotaging the Afro-Asian writers' movement. All this, the statement declared with firm conviction, would expedite the destruction of Soviet revisionism.

In the struggle to develop the Afro-Asian writers' movement, the statement went on to say, Chinese writers had always had the confidence and support of the broad masses of revolutionary and progressive writers of Asia and Africa. It declared that the Third Conference of Afro-Asian Writers to be held in Peking this year would be a conference which would hold still higher the great red banner of Mao Tse-tung's thought and a revolutionary and militant conference of unity and victory. As hosts of the conference, the Chinese writers would contribute their greatest effort to its successful convocation.

Soviet Revisionists' New Step in Aggravating Sino-Soviet Relations

First secretary Miao Chun and third secretary Sun Lin of the Chinese Embassy in the Soviet Union, who were unwarrantedly ordered to leave the Soviet Union by the Soviet

Government, returned on March 22 to Peking, close to our most respected and beloved great leader Chairman Mao. The two diplomatic officials were given a warm welcome by representatives of the proletarian revolutionaries in the capital.

On March 18, deputy director of the Far East Department of the Soviet Foreign Ministry Maluhin met An Chih-yuan, Charge d'Affaires ad interim of the Chinese Embassy in the Soviet Union, by appointment and read out a "statement" issued by the Soviet Foreign Ministry which unjustifiably declared Miao Chun and Sun Lin "personae non grata." The statement viciously attacked the normal diplomatic activities of the Chinese Embassy and slandered it as having engaged in so-called anti-Soviet activities.

Charge d'Affaires ad interim An Chih-yuan immediately and firmly rejected the Soviet Foreign Ministry "statement" and strongly protested against it. He forcefully refuted the Soviet Government's vilification of the Chinese Embassy's normal activities. He said: "The actions of the Chinese Embassy and its working staff in the Soviet Union are completely above-board. They have made and are continuing to make contributions to the development of the friendship between the Chinese and Soviet peoples."

"First secretary Miao Chun and third secretary Sun Lin of the Chinese Embassy," the Chinese Charge d'Affaires added, "are diplomatic personnel guided by Mao Tse-tung's thought. Their actions are in full accord with the principles of international law. They have made positive contributions to the friendship between the Chinese and Soviet peoples. Now you expel them on a flimsy pretext. This does not show that you are powerful but shows that you are weak. We are firmly convinced that the Chinese and Soviet peoples will always remain friendly to one another. No one can undermine this friendship. Your anti-China activities will never be countenanced by the Soviet people and will come to no good end."

Representative Conference of Peking Revolutionary Workers and Staff

A REPRESENTATIVE Conference of Peking Revolutionary Workers and Staff was held successfully on March 22 in the magnificent Great Hall of the People. The 10,000 people present hailed the triumphant joining of forces of the proletarian revolutionaries in Peking's industrial and mining enterprises under the great red banner of Mao Tse-tung's thought. It was a conference of the great alliance of proletarian revolutionaries, a conference of unity and of struggle. It was a conference to pledge resolute implementation of Chairman Mao's great policy of "taking firm hold of the revolution and promoting production." It was a conference to mobilize all revolutionary workers and staff to beat back the new counter-attack of the bourgeois reactionary line, to deal crushing blows against the adverse current aiming at a counter-revolutionary restoration of capitalism, and to carry the great proletarian cultural revolution through to the end.

Comrade Chou En-lai, Standing Committee Member of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party and Premier of the State Council, extended warm congratulations and gave important instructions on behalf of the great leader Chairman Mao and his close comrade-in-arms Comrade Lin Biao, on behalf of the Party's Central Committee, the State Council, the Military Commission of the Party's Central Committee and the Cultural Revolution Group Under the Party's Central Committee.

Among those who came to the conference to offer warm congratulations were Comrade Chen Po-ta, Standing Committee Member of the Political Bureau of the Party's Central Committee and Leader of the Cultural Revolution Group Under the Party's Central Committee; Comrade Kang Sheng, Standing Committee Member of the Political Bureau of the Party's Central Committee and Adviser to the Cultural Revolution Group Under the Party's Central Committee; Comrade Yeh Chien-ying, Member of the Political Bureau of the Party's Central Committee and Vice-Chairman of the Military Commission of the Party's Central Committee; Comrade Hsieh Fu-chih, Alternate Member of the Political Bureau of the Party's Central Committee and Vice-Premier of the State Council; Comrade Hsiao Hua, Member of the Party's Central Committee, Deputy Leader of the Cultural Revolution Group Under the Military Commission of the Party's Central Committee and Director of the General Political Department of the Chinese People's Liberation Army; Comrade Yang Cheng-wu, Alternate Member of the Party's Central Committee and Acting Chief of the General Staff of the Chinese P.L.A.; Comrade Chiang Ching, First Deputy Leader of the Cultural Revolution Group Under

the Party's Central Committee; and members of the Cultural Revolution Group. Comrade Chen Po-ta also spoke at the conference.

Comrade Chou En-lai said in his speech: This Representative Conference of Peking Revolutionary Workers and Staff is being held today in the capital, the heart of the great proletarian cultural revolution led by Chairman Mao. This is a great and joyous event. This conference is of tremendous significance for promoting the great alliance of Peking's proletarian revolutionaries, for preparing for the setting up of the revolutionary "three-in-one" provisional organ of power, and for taking firm hold of the revolution and promoting production. I warmly congratulate you on the success of your conference. He pointed out: Industry is the leading factor in the national economy of our socialist motherland. The working class is the leading force among the people of our country. The Party's Central Committee has recently written a letter to the revolutionary workers and staff and revolutionary cadres in industrial and mining enterprises throughout the country, calling on them to become the most outstanding models in taking firm hold of the revolution and promoting production. This shows how highly the Party's Central Committee regards the strength and role of the working class. We are very happy to see your enthusiastic response to this call from the Party's Central Committee.

Comrade Chou En-lai stressed: At the present time the great proletarian cultural revolution is entering the stage in which the proletarian revolutionaries are forming great alliances to seize power from the handful of Party people in authority taking the capitalist road. The class struggle is being waged under very acute and complicated circumstances. We hope, dear workers and staff member comrades, that you will heighten your revolutionary vigilance, form a great revolutionary alliance, uphold the policy of the revolutionary "three-in-one" combination and resolutely beat back the adverse current aiming at a counter-revolutionary restoration of capitalism. The handful of Party people in authority taking the capitalist road must not be allowed to stage a come-back. The bourgeois reactionary line must not be allowed to make counter-attacks. Those persons who were removed from office in the "four clean-ups" movement must not be allowed to counter-attack in revenge. The landlords, rich peasants, counter-revolutionaries, bad elements, Rightists and reactionaries from other exploiting classes must not be allowed to be unruly either in word or deed. We must resolutely carry the great proletarian cultural revolution through to the end.

Comrade Chou En-lai said: It is now the rush season for spring farming. Our peasant brothers have mobilized themselves with a sense of urgency and plunged themselves into the upsurge of spring farming. You, our worker brothers, should make an even greater effort to go all out, aim high, take firm hold of the revolution, promote production, support agriculture and do your utmost to fulfil and overfulfil the state plans. We hope that you will abide by the regulations laid down by the Party's Central Committee, strictly observe labour discipline, remain at your work posts, uphold the eight-hour work day, ensure the quality of products and put up a struggle against any unhealthy tendencies towards slacking off in regard to the quality of products and wasting of state property.

Comrade Chou En-lai pointed out with special emphasis: Chairman Mao has called on the People's Liberation Army to give support not only to the masses of the Left and to agriculture but also to industry. The People's Liberation Army has sent cadres to some of Peking's industrial and transport enterprises to help you. This is a very important measure. It is highly significant for ensuring the successful carrying through of the great proletarian cultural revolution and for maintaining order in production. The People's Liberation Army founded by Chairman Mao and led directly by Lin Piao, the deputy supreme commander, is a fighting force, a propaganda force and a work force. It is a pace-setter in the creative study and application of Chairman Mao's works. The fact that you have their support shows that you enjoy the greatest concern and support of Chairman Mao and the Party's Central Committee. We hope that you will do a good job of learning from them and co-operate with them.

In closing, Comrade Chou En-lai called on the revolutionary workers and staff to hold still higher the great red banner of Mao Tse-tung's thought, give prominence to proletarian politics, study well the "three constantly read articles" (*Serve the People*, *In Memory of Norman Bethune* and *The Foolish Old Man Who Removed the Mountains*), study and apply Chairman Mao's works and the quotations from Chairman Mao in a creative way, making strenuous efforts in their application. He called on them to form step by step a great alliance of proletarian revolutionaries on the basis of whole trades, departments and units. And finally he called on them to follow resolutely the proletarian revolutionary line represented by Chairman Mao, firmly oppose the bourgeois reactionary line and strive for a rich harvest in both the great proletarian cultural revolution and industrial production.

In his speech Comrade Chen Po-ta said: It is of great significance that you have convened this Representative Conference of Workers and Staff in the midst of the great proletarian cultural revolution, in the capital where Chairman Mao, the great leader of the proletariat, lives and where the great proletarian cultural revolution initiated by him has its centre. This is a promise that our great proletarian cultural revolu-

tion will win complete victory! We hope that our worker comrades will have a thorough discussion of the ten-point regulations on taking firm hold of the revolution and promoting production laid down by the Party's Central Committee and of the recent letter from the Party's Central Committee to the revolutionary workers and staff and revolutionary cadres in industrial and mining enterprises throughout the country, and that you will carry out to the letter all the directives given by Chairman Mao and the Party's Central Committee in these documents. Taking firm hold of the revolution is the motive force for promoting production. Only by taking a firm hold of the revolution and revolutionizing people's thinking can we give a powerful impetus to the growth of production.

Comrade Chen Po-ta stressed: In the course of the great cultural revolution, the struggle between the two lines—the proletarian revolutionary line represented by Chairman Mao and the bourgeois reactionary line—is a very sharp one. Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line has won a great victory and is going from victory to victory; the bourgeois reactionary line has met with a disastrous defeat and is meeting one disastrous defeat after another. The outlook before us is bright and an excellent situation faces us! Of course, the handful of Party people in authority taking the capitalist road will not step down from the stage of history of their own accord. A very small number of people clinging to the bourgeois reactionary line have gone in for economism in a big way in a vain attempt to sabotage the great proletarian cultural revolution and disrupt socialist production. There is now an adverse current aiming at a capitalist restoration. The working class must unite and beat back this adverse current of counter-revolutionary restoration.

Comrade Chen Po-ta pointed out: We have confidence in the dauntless heroism of our worker comrades. With wisdom inspired by the great thought of Mao Tse-tung, you worker comrades will certainly make a great contribution to the people of our country as well as to the international proletariat and revolutionary people of the various countries by taking firm hold of the revolution and promoting production. We hope you worker comrades will forge ahead steadily in further realizing the great revolutionary alliance of your own class. We hope you worker comrades will unite still more closely with the poor and lower-middle peasants, and with all the working people and revolutionary intellectuals! You must strictly observe socialist labour discipline, destroy the concept of self-interest, foster devotion to the public interest, and bring into full play the enthusiasm and creativeness of collective labour. Worker comrades armed with Mao Tse-tung's thought should vigorously establish the supremacy of Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line and utterly destroy the bourgeois reactionary line in the course of the great proletarian cultural revolution. All this will bring into being new wonders which up till now have been undreamed of but which fully

conform to the laws of the development of history! Worker comrades, your victories are the victories of our great homeland, and of the proletariat of the whole world. They are victories for Mao Tse-tung's thought!

Thunderous applause greeted the adoption of a letter saluting Chairman Mao. All present gave the joyous cheer: "Long live Chairman Mao! A long, long life to him!" The letter said: "Respected and beloved Chairman Mao, it is you who led us to overthrow the rule of the three great enemies and become masters of our own country. It is you who are leading us in smashing the schemes for restoring capitalism being nursed by the handful of Party people in authority taking the capitalist road, and thereby ensuring that our socialist state will never change its political colour. It is you who have dispelled the dense fog and guided our course. We cherish for you boundless, ardent love and we have boundless faith in you; you have our boundless esteem and loyalty. We dare to scale a mountain of swords and plunge into a sea of fire in order to defend you, your brilliant thought and your proletarian revolutionary line. Our red hearts, hearts of the working class, will be for ever loyal to you no matter how great the storm and stress."

The conference also adopted a resolution (see below).

Speeches were made by representatives of proletarian revolutionaries from a number of Peking industrial enterprises, representatives of the poor and lower-middle peasants in the Peking area, of the Peking Garrison Command of the People's Liberation Army, of the Red Guards of the city's universities and colleges and of the Red Guards of middle schools. They warmly greeted the convening of the conference.

The conference unanimously endorsed the list of members of the Committee of Peking Revolutionary Workers and Staff and of its standing committee and the list of delegates to the Peking Municipal Revolutionary Committee which is about to be established. The conference announced that pending the founding of the Congress of Peking Revolutionary Workers and Staff, the Representative Conference of Peking Revolutionary Workers and Staff is the highest organ of power of all the organizations of revolutionary workers and staff in the city.

Comrade Wu Teh and other leading cadres from the Peking Municipality attended the conference.

Resolution Adopted by Representative Conference Of Peking Revolutionary Workers and Staff

ON March 22, the Representative Conference of Peking Revolutionary Workers and Staff adopted a resolution. It pointed out that the glorious task of the conference was to mobilize the revolutionary workers and staff of the factories, mines and other enterprises in Peking to heighten their great sense of responsibility as masters of the country, resolutely respond to Chairman Mao's great call and to the great call of the Party's Central Committee to carry the great proletarian cultural revolution through to the end, and fully utilize the positive factors mobilized by the great cultural revolution to make even bigger efforts to go all out, aim high and bring about a new upsurge in "taking firm hold of the revolution and promoting production."

The resolution stated: In only a few months, tremendous changes have taken place in Peking's industry, communications and transport, municipal construction, finance and trade and other fields. An excellent and inspiring revolutionary situation has emerged. However, the class struggle in the factories, mines and other enterprises is still very sharp. A handful of Party people in authority taking the capitalist road and landlords, rich peasants, counter-revolutionaries, bad elements and Rightists who have wormed their way into the factories, mines and other enterprises are using every means to sow dissension and stir up trouble in order to disrupt

production, launch a retaliatory counter-attack, and undermine the great proletarian cultural revolution. In face of the serious class struggle, we must not slacken our vigilance and relax our militancy.

The great proletarian cultural revolution personally initiated and led by Chairman Mao is the greatest revolution of the sixties of the 20th century, the resolution pointed out. Its aim is to seize power from the handful of Party people in authority taking the capitalist road, to consolidate the dictatorship of the proletariat and to prevent a capitalist restoration. This revolution will determine the fate of the state under the proletarian dictatorship and the fate of the revolutionary cause of the proletariat and the oppressed nations of the whole world. It has opened up a new epoch in the history of the international communist movement.

The resolution declared: We the working class are the leading force in the great proletarian cultural revolution. Along with the poor and lower-middle peasants, we must unite with all revolutionary forces to carry the great proletarian cultural revolution through to the end: this is our bounden duty.

We should become models in resolutely carrying out the proletarian revolutionary line represented by Chairman Mao and in criticizing and repudiating the

bourgeois reactionary line. The proletarian revolutionary line represented by Chairman Mao has already achieved great victory, while the bourgeois reactionary line has met with disastrous defeat. But we must be soberly aware of the fact that in our country the bourgeois reactionary line has its social basis; there are still class forces which uphold and carry out this line. This refers, in the main, to the handful of Party people in authority taking the capitalist road, the landlords, rich peasants, counter-revolutionaries, bad elements and Rightists, and people who have not effectively remoulded their world outlook. Therefore, to criticize and repudiate the bourgeois reactionary line and eliminate its poisonous influence remains a long-term and arduous task; it constitutes a grave political struggle.

No matter what dangers beset the road of our advance, we the working class will always follow Chairman Mao in making revolution, resolutely support the correct leadership of Vice-Chairman Lin Biao, who is Chairman Mao's closest comrade-in-arms, and resolutely support the correct leadership of the Cultural Revolution Group Under the Party's Central Committee. We the working class will resolutely rebel to the end against anyone who opposes our great leader Chairman Mao, opposes the invincible thought of Mao Tse-tung, or the proletarian revolutionary line represented by Chairman Mao.

Chairman Mao and the Party's Central Committee hope that we will become "models in firmly carrying out the Decision of the Party's Central Committee Concerning the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution," "models in the struggle against the handful of persons in the Party who are in authority and taking the capitalist road," and "models in bringing about the great revolutionary alliance and in opposing 'small group' mentality, anarchism, the tendency to grab the limelight, economism and selfishness." We the working class will certainly do so.

The resolution went on: The great proletarian cultural revolution is a powerful motive force for the development of the social productive forces of our country. We the working class are the leading force in socialist construction. In the present stage, under the new conditions of the great proletarian cultural revolution, we should become outstanding models for the labouring masses of the whole country in "taking firm hold of the revolution and promoting production," and rapidly bring about a new upsurge in production. Towards this end, attention must be paid to the following points and they should be earnestly carried out:

1. Exert even greater efforts to go all out, aim high and fulfil and overfulfil the state plans for production and construction.

2. Establish and improve the frontline command in production. Wherever there is the need to seize power in Peking's factories, mines and other enterprises, the masses should be mobilized to do so and to set up a "three-in-one" provisional organ of power which is rev-

olutionary and representative and has proletarian authority. This should lead both the revolution and production. Such a provisional organ of power should have a strong system of command for production to firmly take charge of productive work.

3. Strengthen proletarian labour discipline. All revolutionary Peking workers and staff should follow the regulations laid down by the Party's Central Committee in firmly upholding the eight-hour work day and in observing labour discipline in an exemplary way. They should devote themselves actively to the great proletarian cultural revolution in non-working hours.

4. Practise economy in carrying out the revolution. As a general rule, staff members of workers' organizations should not be detached from production. Administrative and non-productive expenses should be cut to a minimum. Revolutionary workers and staff of Peking must continue to wage uncompromising struggle against counter-revolutionary economism and resolutely defend the socialist economy.

5. Carry out technical innovations and technical revolution, catch up with or surpass advanced world levels of technology.

6. Reform the system of management. We must thoroughly reform the revisionist system of management and the overstuffed bureaucratic set-ups established by the counter-revolutionary revisionist clique of the former Peking Municipal Party Committee in many Peking factories, mines and other enterprises. A socialist management system and set-up must be re-established.

7. Learn from and closely co-operate with the People's Liberation Army. We must sincerely learn from the People's Liberation Army. We must learn from their valuable experience in holding high the great red banner of Mao Tse-tung's thought, giving prominence to proletarian politics, and taking firm hold of ideological revolutionization. We must learn from their noble quality of serving the people wholeheartedly. We must learn from their revolutionary spirit of surmounting every difficulty and fearing no sacrifice and their fine tradition of plain living and hard work.

8. Strengthen the proletarian dictatorship. We must heighten our vigilance and not permit landlords, rich peasants, counter-revolutionaries, bad elements and Rightists who have sneaked into the factories to be unruly in word or deed.

In conclusion, the resolution said: With redoubled ardour, we should actively promote the mass movement among the workers and staff to creatively study and apply Chairman Mao's works and to bring this movement to a new stage. New and higher achievements should be made in the study of Chairman Mao's works. Factories, mines and other enterprises should be turned into great schools of Mao Tse-tung's thought through the great cultural revolution. We will plant the great red banner of Mao Tse-tung's thought over every Peking factory, mine and enterprise, and over every inch of ground in Peking.

Congress of Red Guards of Peking Middle Schools Established

TEN thousand Red Guards of Peking's middle schools gathered in the capital's Great Hall of the People on March 25 to proclaim the founding of their own revolutionary organization of a new type — the Congress of Red Guards of the Middle Schools of Peking.

This was a meeting of victory and solidarity, a meeting to take a militant oath. The hundreds of thousands of young revolutionary pathbreakers in Peking's middle schools will form a still closer alliance under the unified leadership of the Congress and warmly respond to the great call of Chairman Mao and the Party's Central Committee to reopen classes and carry on the revolution. At this present crucial moment in the decisive battle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie, they will make even more effective use of their fighting capacity, resolutely carry out the proletarian revolutionary line represented by Chairman Mao, and thoroughly criticize and repudiate the bourgeois reactionary line. They will fulfil the glorious, militant tasks of struggle (the struggle against and overthrow of those Party people in authority taking the capitalist road), criticism and repudiation (of the reactionary bourgeois academic "authorities" and the ideology of the bourgeoisie and all other exploiting classes), and transformation (of education, literature and art and all other parts of the superstructure not in correspondence with the socialist economic base), and carry the great proletarian cultural revolution in the middle schools through to the end!

Comrade Chou En-lai, Standing Committee Member of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party and Premier, extended warm congratulations and gave important instructions to the meeting on behalf of the great leader Chairman Mao and his close comrade-in-arms Comrade Lin Biao, the Party's Central Committee, the State Council, the Military Commission of the Party's Central Committee and the Cultural Revolution Group Under the Party's Central Committee.

Among those who came to greet the meeting were: Comrade Chen Po-ta, Standing Committee Member of the Political Bureau of the Party's Central Committee and Leader of the Cultural Revolution Group Under the Party's Central Committee; Comrade Kang Sheng, Standing Committee Member of the Political Bureau and Adviser to the Cultural Revolution Group; Comrade Hsu Hsiang-chien, Political Bureau Member, Vice-Chairman of the Military Commission of the Party's Central Committee and Leader of the Cultural Revolution Group Under the Military Commission; Comrade Yeh Chien-ying, Political Bureau Member and Vice-Chairman of the Military Commission; Comrade Hsieh Fu-chih, Alternate Member of the Political Bureau and Vice-Premier; Comrade Hsiao Hua, Member of the

Party's Central Committee, Deputy Leader of the Cultural Revolution Group Under the Military Commission and Director of the General Political Department of the Chinese People's Liberation Army; Comrade Yang Cheng-wu, Alternate Member of the Party's Central Committee, Deputy Leader of the Cultural Revolution Group Under the Military Commission and Acting Chief of the General Staff of the P.L.A.; Comrade Chiang Ching, First Deputy Leader of the Cultural Revolution Group Under the Party's Central Committee; and members of the Cultural Revolution Group Under the Party's Central Committee. Comrade Chiang Ching gave important instructions at the meeting.

In his speech, Comrade Chou En-lai said: From the moment it began in Peking's middle schools, the great movement of the Red Guards received the warm support of our most respected and beloved leader Chairman Mao. It grew swiftly. This was especially so after Chairman Mao received you last August 18, following which you revolutionary young Red Guard fighters went out to society from your schools, with drive enough to storm the heavens. You left Peking for other parts of the country, exchanged revolutionary experience everywhere, fanning up winds of socialism and kindling the flames of the great cultural revolution. You have been destroying the four olds [old ideas, culture, customs and habits] of the exploiting classes, and fostering the four news [new ideas, culture, customs and habits] of the proletariat. You are sweeping away the remnants of the old world and have made tremendous contributions to our country's great proletarian cultural revolution.

Comrade Chou En-lai continued: You responded to Chairman Mao's call to go on long marches on foot, to face the world and brave the storm, to toughen yourselves in storm and stress and to educate yourselves. You have studied and applied Chairman Mao's works in a creative way. You have waged a firm struggle against the reactionary idea of "family lineage" current among a small number within your ranks, and against the actions of the reactionary organization, "the United Action Committee." The conduct of this small number of people can in no way negate the countless meritorious deeds and great exploits of the Red Guards. By criticizing, repudiating and hitting at these reactionary ideas and actions, you have made your ranks still healthier and stronger.

Comrade Chou En-lai said with special emphasis: Chairman Mao and the Party's Central Committee have called on you to reopen classes and carry on the revolution. We are glad to see that you have already enthusiastically taken action on this. We hope you will attend classes on the one hand and on the other hand, make great efforts to rectify your style of work,

forge a revolutionary great alliance and carry the great proletarian cultural revolution through to the end. The main thing is for you to educate yourselves. At the same time, we hope you will learn modestly from your revolutionary elder brothers and sisters in the universities and colleges, from the revolutionary workers and peasants, and from our P.L.A. comrades.

Comrade Chou En-lai concluded: I am very happy indeed today to see that you have forged a great alliance, a great unity and effected a great joining of forces and to see that you have raised still higher your ideological level and your level in carrying on the struggle. **Chairman Mao says: "The world is yours, as well as ours, but in the last analysis, it is yours. . . . Our hope is placed on you."** The future of our motherland is infinitely bright and so is that of the whole world. We hope you will hold higher and still higher the great red banner of Mao Tse-tung's thought and forge ahead valiantly!

On behalf of the Cultural Revolution Group Under the Party's Central Committee, Comrade Chiang Ching extended warm greetings to the young revolutionary fighters.

She said: The Red Guard movement was born in Peking's middle schools. The moment the Red Guards appeared, our great leader Chairman Mao supported this new-born thing with the greatest revolutionary enthusiasm. This shows the enormous concern of Chairman Mao for the young revolutionary fighters; it is the greatest honour for you young revolutionary fighters. You should treasure and uphold this honour.

She continued: The revolutionary Red Guard fighters are pathbreakers in the great proletarian cultural revolution. In a fine display of the spirit of daring to think, speak out, break through and make revolution, you have thwarted the resistance put up by the bourgeois reactionary line, rebelled vigorously against a handful of Party people in authority taking the capitalist road, and energetically destroyed the four olds of the exploiting classes and fostered the four news of the proletariat. By applying Chairman Mao's concept of class analysis, you have criticized and repudiated the exploiting classes' reactionary idea of "family lineage," and put up a resolute struggle against the reactionary organization "the United Action Committee." You have resolutely resisted, criticized and repudiated the bourgeois reactionary line, and energetically disseminated and implemented the proletarian revolutionary line of the Party's Central Committee headed by Chairman Mao. Guided by the invincible thought of Mao Tse-tung, the revolutionary Red Guards have performed immortal exploits in the great proletarian cultural revolution. This is something no one can deny. It is our hope that you revolutionary Red Guards will guard against arrogance and rashness, develop your merits, overcome your shortcomings and make new contributions to the great proletarian cultural revolution.

Comrade Chiang Ching pointed out: The present task facing the young Red Guard fighters in the middle schools is for them to respond actively to the call of Chairman Mao and the Party's Central Committee

to return to their schools, reopen classes and carry on the revolution. You should attend classes and at the same time make revolution. You should rely on the mass of revolutionary teachers and students in the middle schools, resolutely carry out the proletarian revolutionary line of the Party's Central Committee headed by Chairman Mao, and thoroughly criticize and repudiate the bourgeois reactionary line. You should carry on the tasks of the struggle, criticism and repudiation and transformation in accordance with the Decision of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party Concerning the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution and Comments of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party on the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution in the Middle Schools, and carry that great revolution in the middle schools through to the end. The phenomenon of our schools being dominated by bourgeois intellectuals must not be allowed to continue any longer. In order to accomplish this glorious but arduous task, you Red Guard fighters must creatively study and apply Chairman Mao's works in the course of the struggle, launch a rectification and study campaign to straighten out your ideology and style of work and check up on your organizations. It is our hope that you will modestly learn from the P.L.A., vigorously destroy the concept of self-interest and foster devotion to the public interest, overcome the tendency to grab the limelight, overcome the "mountain-stronghold" mentality and "small group" mentality, liberalism, individualism, etc., and strengthen in yourselves the revolutionary spirit, scientific approach and sense of organization and discipline of the proletariat. We hope that you will, on the basis of Mao Tse-tung's thought, go a step further in forging and consolidating the great alliance of proletarian revolutionaries, and build a highly proletarianized and militant revolutionary force.

Comrade Chiang Ching stressed: The great proletarian cultural revolution is a great revolutionary movement in the new stage of our country's socialist revolution. Only when the great alliance of the proletarian revolutionaries is forged and the broad masses are united, will it be possible to win complete victory in the great proletarian cultural revolution. Chairman Mao has repeatedly taught us that we must act according to what Marx said, that is, only by liberating the whole of mankind can the proletariat finally liberate itself, and that we should work conscientiously to unite with all those who can be united.

Comrade Chiang Ching called on the Red Guard fighters to follow Chairman Mao's instructions on treating their teachers and cadres correctly and making a class analysis of them. She said: It is wrong to exclude, oppose and overthrow all teachers and cadres indiscriminately. This erroneous practice is advocated by the few persons who put forward the bourgeois reactionary line. The majority of middle school teachers and cadres are good or comparatively good. What we want to overthrow is the handful of Party people in authority taking the capitalist road and the small number of landlords, rich peasants, counter-revolutionaries, bad elements and Rightists who have wormed their way

into the ranks of teachers and administrative and ancillary staff and refuse to remould themselves. The revolutionary teachers and cadres should be supported. With regard to those teachers and cadres who have made mistakes, we must adopt the policy of "learning from past mistakes to avoid future ones" and "curing the sickness to save the patient," and help them correct their mistakes so that they will return to the proletarian revolutionary line represented by Chairman Mao.

As for those students who were hoodwinked by the bourgeois reactionary line and committed some mistakes, Comrade Chiang Ching said, we should patiently arouse their class consciousness, warmheartedly help them correct their mistakes, and unite with them in reopening classes and carrying on the revolution. We should not discriminate against them nor exclude them, still less struggle against them. We should conduct the rectification and study campaign together with them, and, proceeding from the desire for unity and using the method of "unity — criticism — unity," help them return to the correct road. In this way, the very small number of bad elements who obstinately cling to reactionary ideologies and make a practice of beating, smashing and looting, will be isolated and brought to light before the masses; the few persons who have committed serious crimes will be dealt with by the public security departments in accordance with law.

She continued: It is imperative to uphold Chairman Mao's class line in order to bring about the great alliance of proletarian revolutionaries in the middle schools and to expand and strengthen the ranks of our revolutionary Left. In our revolutionary ranks, Chairman Mao and our Party have always opposed both the tendency to disregard a person's class origin and the "theory that only class origin should be taken into account." Only by steadfastly following Chairman Mao's class line and gradually uniting with the great majority of the students, teachers and cadres, will it be possible to completely overthrow the handful of Party people in authority taking the capitalist road and the small number of landlords, rich peasants, counter-revolutionaries, bad elements and Rightists who have wormed their way into the ranks of the teachers and administrative and ancillary staff and refuse to remould themselves. We must pay attention to the methods of struggle, and carry out to the full the various policies formulated by the Party's Central Committee headed by Chairman Mao. The struggle must be conducted by reasoning, not by coercion or force.

Comrade Chiang Ching said: The great cultural revolution in your schools is part of the great proletarian cultural revolution and is inseparable from it. We hope that, while in school, you will bear in mind the interests of the country and those of the whole world. The present situation is excellent, both internationally and domestically, both in the great cultural revolution and in industry and agriculture. Of course, all exploiting classes and their representatives will not step down from the stage of history of their own accord. There will be reversals and twists and turns in the struggle. The development of the great proletarian cultural rev-

olution is not even. Nevertheless, the over-all situation is excellent. You should draw inspiration from this excellent situation, and carry the great proletarian cultural revolution in your schools through to the end in the spirit of concern for state affairs and the world situation.

Comrade Chiang Ching concluded her speech with this earnest hope: You are Chairman Mao's Red Guards. We hope that you will always study Chairman Mao's writings, follow his teachings, act according to his instructions, exert efforts to remould yourselves and temper yourselves into reliable successors to the revolutionary cause of the proletariat.

The meeting adopted a letter saluting the most respected and beloved great leader Chairman Mao. It said: Most respected and beloved red commander! Under your guidance, we have passed through the heat of the struggle and you can rest assured that we will certainly pass the test of still more violent storms. No gunfire can frighten us, no sugar-coated bullets can cripple us nor can any intrigues or plots deceive us. We have firm convictions and the fearless revolutionary mettle of the proletariat. We have the high morale and robust spirit of the proletariat for carrying the revolution through to the end. We will never be like those who just flash across the stage of history. We vow to serve as stainless cogs in the wheel of revolution, serving the workers, peasants and soldiers and the revolutionary people of the world with wholehearted devotion.

The meeting adopted a Declaration of the Congress of the Red Guards of the Middle Schools in the Capital. The Declaration says: The great Red Guard movement originated in the homeland of Mao Tse-tung's thought. It is the inevitable outgrowth of the new stage of the socialist revolution in China, and a great pioneering undertaking in the international communist movement in the 1960s!

The Declaration continues: On their birth, the Red Guards entered on to the stage of political struggle as the hard-hitting vanguard of the great proletarian cultural revolution. The words emblazoned on their great red banner come from the teachings of our great leader Chairman Mao: "**In the last analysis, all the truths of Marxism can be summed up in one sentence: 'To rebel is justified.'**"

The Declaration goes on to say: Ever since their appearance on the stage of political struggle, the Red Guards have been guided by Mao Tse-tung's thought and, with the full support of the main force of the great proletarian cultural revolution — the workers, peasants and soldiers, they stormed out of the school gates and plunged into society with dauntless heroism. They energetically destroyed the old ideas, culture, customs and habits of the exploiting classes and actively fostered the new ideas, culture, customs and habits of the proletariat, vigorously rebelled against the handful of Party people in authority taking the capitalist road and against all ghosts and monsters and smashed the old world to smithereens. The Red Guards have shown their worth

as the most valuable political shock force in the new stage of the socialist revolution. They have performed countless meritorious deeds in the great proletarian cultural revolution and have written an immortal page in the annals of the international proletarian revolution.

The Declaration declares: Chairman Mao, our most respected and beloved great leader, is our supreme red commander. The invincible thought of Mao Tse-tung is our guiding thought. We are the most powerful reserve force for the Chinese People's Liberation Army. Democratic centralism is our principle of organization.

The meeting also adopted a message to the Red Guards in middle schools throughout the country. It says: **Chairman Mao teaches us: "Act according to what Marx said, that is, only by liberating the whole of mankind can the proletariat finally liberate itself."** We will conscientiously try to understand and resolutely put into practice this great strategic concept of Chairman Mao, correctly carry out the class line of the Party, firmly rely on the revolutionary Left, win over the middle, unite with the great majority, and isolate thoroughly and strike at the handful of Party people in authority taking the capitalist road.

Representatives of the proletarian revolutionary organizations of the middle schools in the capital made

a joint statement at the meeting warmly noting that the Red Guards of the middle schools were growing to maturity nurtured by Mao Tse-tung's thought. They pointed out that the convening of the Congress was only the first step of a 10,000-li long march and still more arduous tasks awaited them. Nevertheless, no matter what twists and turns lay along the road, no matter what storms and dangers appeared in the course of their advance, they would always stand firm on the side of the proletarian revolutionary line of Chairman Mao.

Representatives of the Representative Conference of Peking Revolutionary Workers and Staff, of the Representative Conference of Peking's Poor and Lower-Middle Peasants, and of the Peking Garrison Command of the People's Liberation Army also spoke at the meeting. They pledged themselves to give firm backing to the young Red Guard fighters and to unite, fight and win victory with them.

Representatives of the Congress of Red Guards of Peking Universities and Colleges and of the Red Guards of middle schools in Shanghai also came to the meeting to extend warm, fraternal greetings.

Comrade Wu Teh and other leading cadres from the Peking Municipality also attended the meeting.

A Sinister U.S. Imperialist Meeting to Expand The War of Aggression Against Vietnam

by OBSERVER

Lyndon Johnson, American gangster No. 1, held a two-day war conference in Guam on March 20 and 21. With him was his entourage of top-ranking officials and brasshats and the headmen of the Saigon puppet regime whom he had summoned to Guam. It was a top-level policy-making conference at which the Johnson Administration discussed further expansion of the war of aggression against Vietnam. It was a sabre-rattling conference with a strong smell of gunpowder.

In his remarks before leaving Guam, Johnson admitted that the primary topic at the conference was the military aspect of the Vietnam problem, "both in the south and the north." His advisers at Guam also disclosed to reporters that "the United States is to step up the war in Vietnam — considerably" and that Johnson has "decided on escalation."

Despite official U.S. silence as to what specifically happened at the conference, the military arrangements made there are, according to Western news agency reports, mainly as follows:

The United States will send "additional ground troops" to south Vietnam and "has drawn up a chain of new future operations which will send U.S. troops striking into Vietcong areas on an unprecedented scale."

The United States will add new "targets" to its "strike list" for attack against north Vietnam, and will considerably step up such bombardments.

The United States will move the B-52 strategic bombers stationed in the West Pacific to its bases in Thailand for bombing both south and north Vietnam. The United States will intensify its "military effort" in the whole of Vietnam and, moreover, will spread the flames of war to Laos and Cambodia.

It is particularly worth noting that U.S.I.S. disclosed on March 21 that the Johnson Administration was planning "to set up a defensive barrier north of the 17th Parallel" in order to bring about "a major intensification" of the war in Vietnam and that this "would require, of course, an invasion of north Vietnam."

Obviously, the U.S. imperialists, who are not in the least resigned to defeat on the battlefield in south Vietnam, will carry on a frantic and desperate struggle and embark on new military adventures. Not only are they stubbornly bent on their war of aggression in Vietnam, they are also trying to extend the war still further to the whole of Indo-China, to all of Southeast Asia, and even to China.

At the Guam conference, the U.S. imperialist bigwigs and the south Vietnamese puppets also deliberated over such questions as the so-called "pacification programme" and "representative government" in south Vietnam. These dirty manoeuvres are all designed to supplement U.S. imperialism's military plans for the further extension of the war of aggression against Vietnam.

Chairman Mao has taught us that "the imperialists will never lay down their butcher knives, that they will never become Buddhas. . ." This inviolable truth is borne out once again by the Guam conference. U.S. imperialism will definitely not withdraw its aggressor troops from south Vietnam readily; nor will it cease its armed aggression against Vietnam of its own accord, or willingly give up its criminal designs for the permanent occupation of south Vietnam.

While redoubling his efforts to extend the war, Johnson brays about "seeking" a so-called "honourable peace" in Vietnam. What does he mean by "honourable peace"? To put it bluntly, it means that he wants the Vietnamese people to go down on their knees and surrender under the military pressure of the U.S. aggressors. "To force surrender by means of war" — this precisely was Johnson's smug calculation at the Guam conference.

This No. 1 gangster Johnson is raising his blood-stained butcher knife in a hopeless attempt to force the heroic Vietnamese people to give up half of their land to the U.S. aggressors. He is vainly trying to compel the people in the north to sit idly by while their compatriots in the south are being hacked down by the U.S. aggressors, and to force the great Vietnamese nation to abandon its sacred aim of achieving national liberation and the reunification of the country, which it has fought for over many years of bloodshed and sacrifice. The insolence and madness of the U.S. imperialists knows no bounds!

It is the encouragement and collaboration on the part of the Soviet revisionist ruling clique which have so swollen the insolence of U.S. imperialism. Doing its utmost to promote the U.S. "peace talks" scheme, and acting the part of a Trojan Horse, this clique has brought pressure on the Vietnamese people and tried to wreck their struggle to resist U.S. aggression and save the country. Nor is this all. It has spread wild stories about China on a massive scale, in an attempt to undermine the great militant friendship between the Chinese and Vietnamese peoples. What particularly deserves attention is the visit to London by Kosygin, the chieftain of Soviet revisionism, shortly before the Guam conference. There, Kosygin undertook the dirty mission

of openly betraying the Vietnamese people's revolutionary cause. This greatly whetted the U.S. imperialists' appetite for aggression, and fed the flames of U.S. imperialism's war. The Soviet revisionists are now working intensely behind the scenes with U.N. Secretary-General U Thant to throw up a smokescreen for the U.S. plan to widen the war and to force the Vietnamese people to beg the U.S. aggressors for peace. This is another proof that the Soviet revisionist ruling clique is the leading accomplice of U.S. imperialism in its aggression in Vietnam and Asia.

But the indomitable Vietnamese people will neither submit to intimidation nor collapse under pressure. In a trial of strength lasting several years, they have exposed the paper-tiger nature of U.S. imperialism by their victories in battle. Giving full play to the power of people's war and having enormously enriched the experience of people's war, the heroic Vietnamese people have grown in valour and strength in the fight against the U.S. aggressors. They have tied down more than 400,000 American aggressor troops, beaten them black and blue, exhausted their strength, and driven them to the wall. This is something spectacular in the annals of war, a momentous creation by the Vietnamese people, and a world-shaking exploit. The Vietnamese people have inexhaustible strength and can fight on for generations and generations on their own soil. On the other hand, U.S. imperialism is in no position for a drawn-out war on the south Vietnam battlefield. Although Johnson put on a tough stance and bluffed and blustered at the Guam conference, actually he was behaving like a gambler who has lost so heavily that he has to recklessly pile on more stakes in the hope of recouping his losses. Johnson is stepping up the war escalation, desperately calculating that he can thus settle the Vietnam war quickly. In the words of a Western correspondent, Johnson "hopes" to turn the tables on the south Vietnam battlefield during this year and bring about "peace talks" by increasing pressure. This exactly exposes the fatal weakness of U.S. imperialism — its extreme fear that the war will drag on for a long time.

At present, the situation in the Vietnamese people's struggle against U.S. aggression and for national salvation is excellent. The U.S. aggressors are beset with insurmountable difficulties. For all their present bluster, they cannot possibly avert total defeat. Provided the Vietnamese people persevere in their war of resistance against U.S. aggression and for national salvation, keep the U.S. aggressors firmly in their grip, and fight a protracted war with them, they can certainly wear down these wild beasts, the U.S. aggressors, and finish them off.

Chairman Mao has taught us: "After travelling the hard stretch of road we shall reach the highway to victory. This is the natural logic of the war." It goes without saying that this will be the logic of the Vietnamese people's war of resistance to save their country from U.S. aggression. Given a firm determina-

tion to persevere in their just war, the Vietnamese people are sure to win final and complete victory.

China and Vietnam are fraternal neighbours as interdependent as lips and teeth. Socialist China is the most powerful and most reliable rear base for the Vietnamese people's war for national salvation against U.S. imperialism. The great proletarian cultural revolution now in full swing in China has made China still more stable and secure and powerful, thus providing still greater strength to support the just struggle of the fraternal Vietnamese people. The 700 million Chinese people led by their great supreme commander

Chairman Mao Tse-tung have been closely following the development of the Vietnam situation and are always ready to make the maximum national sacrifices and still greater contributions to the support of the fraternal Vietnamese people's struggle against U.S. aggression and for national salvation. We must sternly warn the U.S. imperialists: your scheme to force the heroic Vietnamese people to surrender by means of war can never succeed. By further expanding your war of aggression against Vietnam, you will only suffer bigger defeats and hasten your own doom!

(*"Renmin Ribao," March 27.*)

解放軍報
JIEFANGJUN BAO

Supporting the Left Politically and Ideologically Is of First Importance

THE great proletarian cultural revolution is a great ideological revolution to arouse the masses boldly and let the masses educate and liberate themselves. No one should nor can do things in their stead. The thought of Mao Tse-tung is a mighty ideological weapon for the masses in educating and liberating themselves. In supporting the revolutionary Left, the most fundamental thing is to give them political and ideological support, help the revolutionary Left conscientiously study and apply Mao Tse-tung's thought, and correctly master and implement the Party's principles and policies so that, nurtured by Mao Tse-tung's thought, they can grow stronger and, relying on their own efforts, carry the great proletarian cultural revolution in their areas and units to success.

Chairman Mao teaches us that politics is the commander and the very soul. In accordance with the constant teachings of Chairman Mao, Comrade Lin Piao tells us that in all fields of work, the great red banner of Mao Tse-tung's thought should be raised high, Chairman Mao's works should be creatively studied and applied, prominence given to politics, the "four-firsts"* persisted in and great and vigorous efforts should be made to grasp the living ideas in people's minds. In supporting the struggles of the Left, we must always remember, and never forget, to hold high the great red banner of Mao Tse-tung's thought; we must always remember, and never forget, to give prominence to politics; we must persist in putting political and ideological work to the fore, and make political and ideologi-

cal work the basis for all work in supporting the struggles of the Left.

"Ideological education is the key link to be grasped in uniting the whole Party for great political struggles." The thought of Mao Tse-tung is the common ideological basis for the people of the whole country to unite and make revolution, and the guide for the great proletarian cultural revolution. Revolutionary mass organizations must be armed with Mao Tse-tung's thought if they are to win victories in the great cultural revolution.

In supporting the Left in the struggle, we should help them creatively study and apply Chairman Mao's works in the course of the struggle, help them study and understand the proletarian revolutionary line represented by Chairman Mao and act in everything according to Chairman Mao's instructions. We should help them, with Mao Tse-tung's thought as their guiding principle, to grasp living ideas in people's minds effectively, eliminate self-interest and foster devotion to the public interest, remould their world outlook, intensify their revolutionary spirit, scientific approach and sense of organization and discipline, and basically

*The "four-firsts" are: First place must be given to man in handling the relationship between man and weapons; to political work in handling the relationship between political and other work; to ideological work in relation to routine tasks in political work; and, in ideological work, to the living ideas in a person's mind, as distinguished from ideas in books. That is to say, first place to man, first place to political work, first place to ideological work and first place to living ideas. — *Tr.*

improve the fighting strength of the revolutionary mass organizations.

"Policy and tactics are the life of the Party." The principles and policies by which Chairman Mao and the Party's Central Committee are guiding the great proletarian cultural revolution, sum up the new experience created by the masses in the course of the current great proletarian cultural revolution. Only when these principles and policies are carried out thoroughly, can the revolutionary movement advance victoriously along the correct path.

In supporting the Left in the struggle, we should help them correctly understand and effectively carry out the principles and policies set forth by Chairman Mao and the Party's Central Committee, grasp the general orientation of the struggle and perfect their skill in the art of struggle. We should help the revolutionary Left do things consciously in accordance with the policies and tactics of the Party, help them to be both daring and adept in the struggle and to unite with the revolutionary masses and revolutionary cadres, so as to win victories in both revolution and production.

The experience of many army units in supporting the Left in the struggle shows that once a good job

is done in political and ideological work, once Mao Tse-tung's thought and the principles and policies of the Party are brought home to the masses, the mastering of this one question leads to the solution of all other questions. This political and ideological support is most powerful and most welcomed by the revolutionary masses. As the masses say: "Of the thousand and ten thousand kinds of help the Liberation Army brings us, Mao Tse-tung's thought is the greatest help."

The great call made by the great leader Chairman Mao to the People's Liberation Army to actively support the masses of the Left is of tremendous strategic significance for the great proletarian cultural revolution. It is also of far-reaching significance in stepping up the proletarian revolutionization of our army and enhancing its fighting capacity.

In this immense mass political and ideological work, we must modestly learn from the good thinking, style of work, experience and methods of the revolutionary masses and revolutionary cadres, and greatly raise the level of our proletarian consciousness and the level of our political and ideological work.

(Excerpts from "Jiefangjun Bao" [Liberation Army Daily] editorial, March 25.)

Follow Chairman Mao, Carry the Revolution Through to the End

by PAN FU-SHENG*

I HAVE received a most profound education through participation in this great proletarian cultural revolution.

Before the Eleventh Plenary Session of the Party's Eighth Central Committee [convened in August, 1966] I had a very poor understanding of the great proletarian cultural revolution personally initiated and led by Chairman Mao, I failed to follow Chairman Mao's thought closely and said and did some wrong things. I got

* The author was the First Secretary of the former Heilungkiang Provincial Committee of the Chinese Communist Party. During the great proletarian cultural revolution, he has resolutely supported the revolutionary Left, struggled against the handful of Party people in authority taking the capitalist road and, together with leaders of the Heilungkiang Provincial Military Area and the broad masses of proletarian revolutionaries, seized all power in the province. (See *Peking Review*, Nos. 7 and 8, 1967, for detailed accounts.) He is now head of the Heilungkiang Provincial Revolutionary Committee, the province's newly established "three-in-one" provisional organ of power.—Ed.

myself into the position of leading others in the revolution or making revolution against others. While I regarded myself as an integral part of the revolutionary force, I failed to make myself a target of the revolution.

In the past, the fight against Japanese imperialism and Chiang Kai-shek, the land reform, the agricultural co-operativization, the transformation of capitalist industry and commerce, and so on, were all struggles to make revolution against others. But the current great proletarian cultural revolution is a revolution in which I myself should be a target. Since my world outlook had not been thoroughly remoulded, this weakness of mine came into the open at the key moment of this class struggle.

At the Eleventh Plenary Session, the proletarian revolutionary line represented by Chairman Mao won a great victory and the bourgeois reactionary line was declared bankrupt. The teachings of Chairman Mao and his close comrade-in-arms Comrade Lin Piao

enabled me to realize my mistakes. I made up my mind that from then on I would stand on the side of the proletarian revolutionary line represented by Chairman Mao, thoroughly criticize and repudiate the bourgeois reactionary line, implement the proletarian revolutionary line represented by Chairman Mao and carry the great proletarian cultural revolution through to the end.

After the Eleventh Plenary Session, I returned from Peking to Harbin. Here I saw the revolutionary Regiment of Red Rebels act in accordance with Chairman Mao's instructions and take the study, dissemination, implementation and defence of Mao Tse-tung's thought as their supreme duty. In a fine display of the spirit of daring to think, speak, act, make revolution and rebel, the regiment resolutely launched fierce attacks on the handful of Party people in authority taking the capitalist road and against all monsters and demons, daring to declare war on all of the old world. It made a splendid contribution to the great proletarian cultural revolutionary movement.

All these striking facts were a profound lesson for me. I made up my mind then to stand by the revolutionary Regiment of Red Rebels, fight shoulder to shoulder with them, and follow Chairman Mao unswervingly in carrying the revolution through to the end.

Recalling the path I have travelled, I find that I have had to struggle at every step. These struggles, against my own mistaken ideas, against the handful of Party people in authority taking the capitalist road, against the conservatives and against the counter-revolutionary organizations, have all been extremely sharp and complicated.

Boldly Arouse the Masses

This great cultural revolution is a revolution made under the condition of the proletarian dictatorship, one to let the masses educate and liberate themselves by the extensive use of free airing of views, big-character posters, great debates and extensive exchange of revolutionary experience. Such extensive democracy is used to overthrow and discredit completely the handful of Party people in authority taking the capitalist road so as to guarantee that our country will never change political colour. This is a great creation of Chairman Mao and an important development of Mao Tse-tung's thought under new historical conditions.

Chairman Mao long ago pointed out: "We have always maintained that the revolution must rely on the masses of the people, on everybody's taking a hand, and have opposed relying merely on a few persons issuing orders." However, prior to the Eleventh Plenary Session of the Eighth Central Committee, I had not followed this advice of Chairman Mao and failed to arouse the masses boldly. This was because over a long period of time I had developed the habits of behaving like a big bureaucrat. Stripped of my so-called dignity and prestige, I felt unhappy. I was also unwilling to break with the old conventions, rules and regulations, all being shaped over a long period of time, and was inclined to maintain the existing state of affairs. At

the same time, I was mentally unprepared for exercising extensive democracy under the dictatorship of the proletariat and was caught unawares.

As to the handful of people in authority taking the capitalist road within the former Provincial Party Committee, they kept to the reactionary stand of the bourgeoisie, and were consistently opposed to the Party, socialism and Mao Tse-tung's thought. During the great cultural revolution, they would inevitably suppress the revolutionary mass movement and resolutely oppose extensive democracy, because if the masses were boldly aroused and extensive democracy was practised they would collapse.

After the Eleventh Plenary Session, acting in accordance with Chairman Mao's teachings, I resolutely stood on the side of the masses, firmly supported the revolutionary Regiment of Red Rebels, boldly aroused the masses, practised extensive democracy, thoroughly criticized and repudiated the bourgeois reactionary line and launched a sharp attack against the handful of people in authority taking the capitalist road within the former Provincial Party Committee.

In the course of the struggle, the conservative forces inside and outside the Party attacked me by various means. They even put up posters calling for a rally to struggle against me. As I was by then fully prepared mentally, although I was encircled and attacked on many occasions, I still persisted in my fight.

I was quite sure that so long as I followed Chairman Mao closely and stood on the side of the true revolutionary Left and the broad revolutionary masses who were armed with Mao Tse-tung's thought, I could not be isolated.

In the course of the struggle, Chairman Mao and the Party Central Committee gave me boundless courage and strength and the revolutionary Left also gave me extremely solid support and assistance. No matter what they deal with, the revolutionary Left have a clear-cut class viewpoint and draw a distinct line between right and wrong. They are reasonable in handling problems. They truly support whatever conforms to the thought of Mao Tse-tung and oppose whatever is antagonistic to it. Therefore, there is absolutely no rhyme or reason for a revolutionary leading cadre to be afraid of extensive democracy or of the masses.

Take a Firm Grip on the General Orientation Of Struggle

"Who are our enemies? Who are our friends? This is a question of the first importance for the revolution." It is also a question of the first importance for the great cultural revolution. The decision concerning the great proletarian cultural revolution adopted at the Eleventh Plenary Session of the Eighth Central Committee of the Party clearly pointed out: "The main target of the present movement is those within the Party who are in authority and are taking the capitalist road."

Before this Plenary Session I failed to single out the main target of the movement, thus directing the movement on to the wrong road for a while. This error

was mainly due to my incorrect attitude of approaching the problems of the great cultural revolution on the basis of my own past experience, which was one of repudiating others but not myself, of repudiating the rank and file but not the leadership, and of making revolution against others but not against myself. **Comrade Lin Piao has said: "We must regard ourselves as an integral part of the revolutionary force and at the same time, constantly regard ourselves as a target of the revolution."** At that time I did not fully understand the meaning of making revolution against myself and failed to do it properly.

As for the handful of Party people in authority taking the capitalist road, they had been diverting the general orientation of the movement by resorting desperately to all sorts of tricks. For instance they stirred up the masses to struggle against the masses, they tried to erode the revolutionary will of the masses by using the sugar-coated bullets of economism, they strove to deceive the masses with a fake seizure of power, and so on.

Educated by Mao Tse-tung's thought and through a host of facts that emerged in the course of the struggle between the two lines, I came to realize my own mistakes and at the same time I was able to see clearly the reactionary nature of the class enemy. I took a determined stand on the side of the proletarian revolutionary line represented by Chairman Mao, and together with those of the Left, called upon the broad revolutionary masses to "bombard" the handful of persons in the Provincial Party Committee who were in authority and taking the capitalist road. As far as my own mistakes were concerned, I welcomed the revolutionary masses to expose and criticize them. How could it possibly be wrong for a revolutionary leading cadre to have his own shortcomings and mistakes "bombarded" and wiped out in the great mass movement?

Discover and Rely on the True Left

In any stage of a revolution it is always necessary to distinguish between the motive forces and the targets, that is, to clarify the fundamental question of whom to rely on, whom to unite with and whom to attack. Just as Chairman Mao has taught us, this is **"the key to a clear understanding of all the problems of the revolution."** In Harbin, the Regiment of Red Rebels has proved itself to be a true revolutionary Left group through the test of a relatively long period of time. Their general orientation since the beginning of the great proletarian cultural revolution has always been correct. They have resolutely acted in accordance with Chairman Mao's instructions and have always marched in the front rank. And finally, they rooted out a handful of Party people in authority taking the capitalist road in Heilungkiang Province. The great alliance of the proletarian revolutionaries in the province was realized, and the power in the Party and government and in financial and cultural affairs, which had been usurped by a handful of Party people in authority taking the capitalist road, was seized back. These victories should be attributed to

Mao Tse-tung's thought and to the vast number of red rebels.

In the course of the long struggle I have forged a militant friendship with the red rebels and have gradually grown to share their stand and their feelings. I have encouraged and supported what is correct on their side, criticized their shortcomings and mistakes, and made suggestions to them in good time. The great mass of red rebels have given very great support to each of my revolutionary actions and criticize or help me when I speak or act in any way which is not in keeping with Mao Tse-tung's thought.

It is precisely because of this that a handful of Party people in authority taking the capitalist road has made desperate efforts to oppose me and to attack me, and has even fabricated rumours to undermine my relations with the Left. They have repeatedly seized on some shortcomings of the red rebels, attacking them for a single fault without considering their actions as a whole. In this way they have tried to make me come out and speak against the red rebels, and vainly attempted to use me as a tool to suppress the student movement. I have been able to spot their intrigues and counter-attacked them resolutely by means of Mao Tse-tung's thought. As a result, the several incidents in Harbin, when the revolutionary students were encircled and attacked, were promptly dealt with.

In the struggle I have realized that to discover and to rely on the Left is a question of stand, a question of trusting the masses and a major question of carrying out Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line.

Distinguish Between the Main Current and The Side Issues

Chairman Mao pointed out forty years ago in the *Report on an Investigation of the Peasant Movement in Hunan* that there were three different kinds of attitude towards the revolutionary mass movement: **"To march at their head and lead them? To trail behind them, gesticulating and criticizing? Or to stand in their way and oppose them?"** In the great cultural revolution movement, these attitudes also exist here among us. Since taking the lid off the class struggle inside the former Provincial Party Committee, the movement has moved forward very, very rapidly and irrepressibly and the situation has been excellent. The main current of the movement has been healthy and the general orientation has always been correct. But conservative forces on every side attacked and blamed me, clamouring and claiming without reason that the general orientation of the movement was wrong.

At each of these crucial moments, Chairman Mao promptly pointed out the correct direction, enabling us to spot and smash the enemy's plots and schemes of all kinds and to constantly push the movement forward. For instance, last September, in order to undermine the great cultural revolution, a handful of Party people in authority taking the capitalist road and the conservative forces incited some workers who did not understand the actual situation to oppose the student

movement. Last December, they again vainly attempted to switch the general orientation of the movement by means of economism. We rely on Mao Tse-tung's thought and have won victory after victory.

Overthrow Self-Interest, Foster Devotion To Public Interest

From my personal experience, I have realized that if you want to put daring above everything else and boldly arouse the masses, you must first discard all selfish ideas and not be afraid of giving up your personal interests. Otherwise, you cannot adhere to principle and cannot therefore win the confidence of the masses.

To be afraid of the masses and the revolution is an expression of political wavering. We revolutionary cadres, every one of us, must thoroughly rebel against self-interest and make revolution to the core of our being; we must eliminate bourgeois ideas and foster proletarian ones, take the stand of the proletarian revolutionaries and actively participate in the mass movement.

For a veteran cadre to survive the test of the great cultural revolution, the key lies in discarding self-interest and **"looking upon the interests of the revolution as his very life."** From the very day I spoke up openly in support of the Regiment of Red Rebels after the Eleventh Plenary Session of the Party's Eighth Cen-

tral Committee, I knew that the conservatives would be out to make endless trouble for me. And things turned out just as I expected. They spread rumours and slanders, made provocations and resorted to abusive remarks in an attempt to overthrow me. In such sharp and complicated class struggle, I did not consider personal gain or loss, and support the Left and rely on them. I think that it would be completely wrong to harbour the illusion that you can stand aloof, without leaning towards either side, without offending either side, in an attempt to evade the struggle and avoid being attacked. This is simply not possible. To think that it is and to act on that assumption, is in effect, to side with the conservatives and the Right.

At present, the proletarian revolutionaries in Heilungkiang Province, guided by the invincible thought of Mao Tse-tung, have won a major victory in seizing power from a handful of Party people in authority taking the capitalist road. However, this is only the first step in a long march; greater and more formidable tasks still lie ahead. From now on, I will stand more firmly on the side of the red rebels, will strive to be a pupil of the masses and will follow our great leader Chairman Mao for ever in carrying the revolution through to the end.

(This is an abridged translation of an article printed in "Renmin Ribao," March 21, 1967.)

Afro-Asian Writers' Bureau Statement

On Soviet Revisionists' Criminal Deeds to Split And Sabotage the Afro-Asian Writers' Movement

- Engineered by the Soviet revisionists, the bogus Beirut "third conference of Afro-Asian writers" is to serve the interests of U.S. imperialism.
- Soviet revisionists are the No. 1 accomplice of the U.S. imperialists and the No. 1 traitor to the Afro-Asian people; to oppose imperialism, it is imperative to oppose revisionism.
- Preparatory work for holding the Third Afro-Asian Writers' Conference in Peking this year is being satisfactorily carried out and the success of the great proletarian cultural revolution in China is a guarantee of the success of the conference.

IN response to the appeal made by the Afro-Asian Writers' Bureau, a large number of writers' organizations and national-liberation organizations of Asia and Africa have issued, during the past few weeks, public statements condemning the Soviet revisionist-engineered bogus "third conference of Afro-Asian writers" to be held, as announced, at the end of this month in Beirut. During the recent successful visit to 12 Afro-Asian

countries, the two bureau delegations issued a series of joint communiques and statements, exposing and condemning the plot of the bogus "third conference" in Beirut engineered by the Soviet revisionist leading clique.

The Bureau salutes all these revolutionary writers' organizations and national-liberation organizations of

Asia and Africa for the militant unity and solidarity expressed in exposing, denouncing and condemning this latest conspiracy engineered by Soviet revisionists against the Afro-Asian writers and peoples.

All these revolutionary actions taken by the Afro-Asian Writers' Bureau and the militant writers' organizations of the two continents have immensely strengthened our unity in the anti-imperialist and anti-colonialist movement and thoroughly unmasked the Soviet modern revisionists as the No. 1 accomplice of the U.S. imperialists.

It should be mentioned here that during the past eight years and more since the First Afro-Asian Writers' Conference in 1958, an intense struggle between the two lines has constantly existed in the Afro-Asian writers' movement. On the one hand, there is the revolutionary line of firm opposition to U.S.-led imperialism and old and new colonialism, and resolute support for the Afro-Asian people's national-liberation struggle, upheld by broad sections of progressive and revolutionary Afro-Asian writers, which has greatly promoted the Afro-Asian people's cause of unity against imperialism. On the other, there is the capitulationist and splittist line pursued by the Soviet revisionist leading clique of collusion and compromise with U.S. imperialism, betrayal of the revolutionary cause of the Afro-Asian people, and sabotaging and splitting the Afro-Asian writers' movement. This line of the Soviet revisionists has met with ignominious defeat in face of the strong opposition by the broad sections of the Afro-Asian writers and people.

It should be pointed out that, for nearly nine years, the Soviet revisionists, in order to peddle their line of capitulation to U.S. imperialism, have often resorted to two tactics, one of which is to talk about literature as a smokescreen behind which to undermine the Afro-Asian people's anti-imperialist and anti-colonialist struggle. This cover has already been seen through by the Afro-Asian people, who have, during their struggle, become aware of the fact that literature cannot be separated from politics. For instance, while the Vietnamese and Palestinian people are suffering under the aggression of the imperialists led by the United States, how could Afro-Asian people and writers engage in mere empty talk about literature without giving actual support to their sacred struggle against imperialism and for national salvation? The other tactic of the Soviet revisionists is to play such tricks as sham opposition to imperialism, sham support to and sham unity with the revolutionary people. It is true that they may, sometimes, make such gestures as uttering empty words of support for the Vietnamese and Palestinian people's liberation struggles, but who is not aware of the fact that the Soviet revisionists, in co-ordination with U.S. imperialism, are advertizing the "peace talks" plot and selling out the sacred cause of the Vietnamese people's struggle against U.S. aggression and for national salvation? And who does not know the fact that the Soviet

revisionists are colluding with Israel to betray the interests of the Palestinian and other Arab people? After exposing themselves more and more in further pressing forward with the line of "U.S.-U.S.S.R. collaboration for world domination" during the recent year and more, the Soviet revisionists are now going over directly to the side of U.S. imperialism without pretences and are becoming more frenzied in openly splitting the Afro-Asian people's solidarity movement and in selling out the interests of the Afro-Asian people. The bogus "third conference" now being engineered by the Soviet revisionists in Beirut has brought their sabotaging activities against Afro-Asian writers' movement to a climax.

Upholding the revolutionary line, the Afro-Asian Writers' Bureau, the headquarters of which is in Colombo, headed by its Secretary-General, Mr. R.D. Senanayake, has smashed one scheme after another hatched by the Soviet revisionists. This is the reason why the Soviet revisionists harbour infinite hatred for the revolutionary Afro-Asian writers' movement. Of late, Chugunov, Secretary of the Soviet Liaison Committee of the Afro-Asian Writers, and Azimov, Chairman of the Committee, have personally come out to shamelessly slander the Bureau and its Secretary-General, Mr. R.D. Senanayake, as having "distorted the facts" in exposing the Soviet revisionist-engineered bogus "third conference" in Beirut as a conspiracy, accusing them of betraying the Afro-Asian writers and people and serving the interests of imperialism headed by the United States. All this proves beyond any shadow of doubt that the nail has been hit right on the head.

Yes, we have, on more than one occasion and in no ambiguous way, stated that the Soviet revisionist organizers of the bogus "third conference" in Beirut were betraying the Afro-Asian people and serving the interests of imperialism headed by the United States. And we have done so not by facts distorted, but by facts straight and clear-cut.

Let us examine the facts only during the last one year.

Is it not a fact that the revisionist leading clique of the Soviet Writers' Union did everything possible in an attempt to sabotage the Afro-Asian Writers' Emergency Meeting in support of the Vietnamese people's struggle against U.S. aggression held in June 1966 in Peking?

Is it not a fact that the revisionist leading clique of the Soviet Writers' Union, in a telegram to the Secretary-General of the Afro-Asian Writers' Bureau, R.D. Senanayake, just prior to the emergency meeting questioned the necessity for holding the emergency meeting of the Afro-Asian writers in support of the Vietnamese people's struggle against U.S. aggression?

Is it not a fact that when the preparatory work for the emergency meeting was in progress the same revisionist leading clique of the Soviet Writers' Union called a splittist meeting in Cairo and frantically

slandered and attacked the Bureau and its secretary-general?

Is it not a fact that this very same revisionist leading clique engineered a splittist meeting in Baku to express their sham support for and genuine betrayal of the Vietnamese people's struggle?

Is it not a fact that this same revisionist leading clique engineered a splittist preparatory meeting in Cairo for the bogus "third conference" in Beirut?

Is it not a fact that this splittist bogus preparatory committee decided to appeal to the UNESCO for a financial contribution to the splittist "writers' association" and the bogus "third conference" in Beirut?

Is it not a fact that UNESCO's principal financier is the U.S. imperialists?

Is it not a fact that UNESCO is a tool of imperialism headed by the United States for cultural aggression in Afro-Asian countries and throughout the world?

Is it not a fact that through UNESCO assistance, the same revisionist leading clique is attempting to barter with U.S. imperialism in the cultural field to undermine the revolutionary struggle of the Afro-Asian writers and people against imperialist cultural aggression?

Is it not a fact that a notorious poet of the Soviet revisionist Writers' Union, Yevtshenko, during his recent American tour, paying homage to the late chieftain of imperialism, laid a wreath at the Kennedy Memorial, thus nakedly exhibiting to the world the true nature of the Soviet revisionist writers as capitulationists to U.S. imperialism?

Is it not a fact that not a single document issued at the "preparatory committee meeting" for the bogus "third conference" engineered in last November by the Soviet revisionists supported the sacred struggle of the Vietnamese people against U.S. aggression and for national salvation or exposed and condemned the towering crimes committed by U.S. imperialism in its war of aggression against Vietnam?

Is it not a fact that the Soviet revisionist engineers of the fake Beirut meeting have intentionally and deliberately not mentioned, in clear-cut terms, the importance of the Afro-Asian writers' and peoples' struggle against imperialism led by the United States in any one of the documents issued in connection with the meeting?

Is it not a fact that the Soviet revisionist organizers of the bogus Beirut meeting have deliberately avoided the question of the liberation of Palestine in order to satisfy the interests of imperialism with which they concur?

All these foregoing facts reaffirm that the Soviet revisionist plotters of the bogus, illegal and splittist

Beirut meeting are, indeed, serving imperialism headed by the United States.

Once again, we come to the conclusion that the Soviet modern revisionists are the No. 1 accomplice of the U.S. imperialists and the No. 1 traitor to the Afro-Asian people. To oppose imperialism headed by the United States, it is imperative to oppose modern revisionism headed by the Soviet leading clique.

We deeply believe that history will, once again, confirm the universal truth pointed out by the great leader, Chairman Mao Tse-tung: **"Make trouble, fail, make trouble again, fail again . . . till their doom; that is the logic of the imperialists and all reactionaries the world over in dealing with the people's cause, and they will never go against this logic."** Having suffered failures at a series of splittist meetings, the Soviet revisionists will fall through even more miserably at the Beirut bogus "third conference," which will inevitably bring them closer to their doom. The result of the bogus "third conference" will, therefore, be nothing but "lifting a rock only to drop it on one's own feet." All progressive Afro-Asian writers, including those who are misled for the moment, will be able to see more clearly the ugly features of the Soviet revisionists in their complete capitulation to U.S. imperialism and their betrayal of the interests of the Afro-Asian people. The revolutionary Afro-Asian writers' movement, after kicking out the Soviet revisionists who sneaked into the ranks of the Afro-Asian people, will develop with greater vigour and vitality.

The Bureau is glad to announce that the preparatory work for the holding of the Third Afro-Asian Writers' Conference, in Peking, this year, as unanimously decided at the Emergency Meeting of the Afro-Asian Writers held last year and attended by writers from 53 Afro-Asian countries and regions, is being satisfactorily carried out.

We record with pride that the success of the great proletarian cultural revolution in China is a sure guarantee of the success of the Third Conference of Afro-Asian Writers in China, this year.

The unequivocal support and co-operation extended by the writers and peoples of the countries visited by the delegations and other Afro-Asian countries for our Bureau and the third conference, is another guarantee of the success of the coming third conference in China and the miserable failure of the bogus Beirut meeting.

We are confident that the revolutionary and progressive Afro-Asian writers will rally more closely around our Bureau, hold still higher the banner of anti-imperialist solidarity and smash the capitulationist line of the Soviet revisionist splittists resolutely, thoroughly, wholly and completely and make still greater contributions to the Afro-Asian people's cause of unity against imperialism.

March 21, 1967.

Peking Review, No. 14

Smash U.S. Imperialism's Plots to Subvert Cambodia

by "RENMIN RIBAO" COMMENTATOR

ON March 22 Cambodian Head of State Samdech Norodom Sihanouk exposed and condemned U.S. imperialism's subversive scheme to make an attempt on his life and stage a coup d'etat in Cambodia. He also solemnly declared that Cambodia will never yield but will resist to the very end. The Chinese people resolutely support Samdech Sihanouk's solemn stand and express great indignation at this despicable U.S. imperialist scheme.

U.S. imperialism has always regarded Cambodia, which adheres to a policy of peace and neutrality, as a thorn in its side and has done everything it could to put pressure on Cambodia in the vain hope of forcing it to change its foreign policy. Since the beginning of this year, U.S. imperialism, while energetically carrying out against the Vietnamese people its war blackmail of forcing "peace talks" through acts of war, has colluded with and directed its lackeys in south Vietnam and Thailand to engage in more frequent and bigger armed provocations and intrusions against Cambodia, thus seriously violating its sovereignty and threatening its security.

The Cambodian people, however, under the leadership of Samdech Sihanouk, have valiantly resisted the aggressive activities of U.S. imperialism and its accomplices. Seeing that open military threats cannot force Cambodia to submit, U.S. imperialism is plotting to intensify its acts of subversion and sabotage against Cambodia. To control and carry out aggression against other countries, U.S. imperialism will use the dirtiest and vilest means. The people of all countries must maintain sharp vigilance against this most ferocious enemy and must wage a tit-for-tat struggle against it.

Chairman Mao has said: "We must not show the slightest timidity before a wild beast. We must learn from Wu Sung* on the Chingyang Ridge. As Wu Sung saw it, the tiger on Chingyang Ridge was a man-eater, whether irritated or not. Either kill the tiger or be eaten by him—one or the other."

Not afraid of all the threats of U.S. imperialism, Samdech Sihanouk has greatly boosted the morale of the Cambodian nation and deflated the arrogance of U.S. imperialism by firmly exposing its subversive plot and declaring Cambodia's determination to fight U.S. imperialism to the end. This is a timely and serious warning to the U.S. imperialists.

The Chinese people have always resolutely supported the policy of peace and neutrality pursued by Samdech Sihanouk and the Royal Cambodian Government and they resolutely support the just struggle of the Cambodian people to oppose U.S. imperialism and safeguard national independence. In the Cambodian people's struggle to resist U.S. imperialism's armed provocations and its schemes of subversion, the 700 million Chinese people will always stand on the side of the Cambodian people. We are deeply convinced that under the leadership of Samdech Sihanouk, the Cambodian people will unite as one and thoroughly smash all the vicious schemes of U.S. imperialism.

("Renmin Ribao," March 27.)

* A hero in the novel, *Shui Hu Chuan (Heroes of the Marshes)*, who killed a tiger with his bare hands on the Chingyang Ridge. This is one of the most popular episodes in that famous novel.—Tr.

The Death Knell Tolls for Imperialism

by FENG LEI

CHINA'S great proletarian cultural revolution which has no parallel in history, initiated and led by our great leader Chairman Mao Tse-tung himself, is shaking the entire old world like an earthquake. Its radiant glory is lighting up the road ahead for the world revolution and the future of mankind. All other major developments in the world today pale in comparison.

There are two diametrically opposed attitudes in the world towards this revolution. On the one hand, all the revolutionary people of the world, as one man, acclaim the great cultural revolution, and regard it as a major event in their own lives; they are immensely

inspired by this great revolution, and they derive infinite hope from it. On the other hand, the imperialists, revisionists and reactionaries of all countries hate it bitterly and pour the most scurrilous abuse on it.

In the past six months or more, the imperialists headed by the United States and all other ghosts and monsters in the world, big and small, have turned their propaganda machines on full blast to vent their class hatred on the Chinese people in the most venomous language they can find. They have wildly screamed that China's great cultural revolution is "extraordinarily alarming," "becoming more and more terrible,"

"more dangerous than any other event in history," etc. According to them, the cultural revolution is nothing but a plague and an immense, unpardonable crime.

Chairman Mao Tse-tung has said: "To be attacked by the enemy is not a bad thing but a good thing." He has also said: "It is still better if the enemy attacks us wildly and paints us as utterly black and without a single virtue; it demonstrates that we have not only drawn a clear line of demarcation between the enemy and ourselves but achieved a great deal in our work." The venomous abuse hurled at China's cultural revolution by imperialism shows that the revolution has achieved splendid victories and dealt deadly blows at imperialism.

The imperialists hurl abuse, but their hearts are filled with fear. What they abuse most viciously is precisely what they fear most.

The imperialist overlords have the nerve to say that the Chinese Red Guards are "fanatics"; they cry: "the Red Guards' disturbances are too extreme," and the Red Guards "are arousing concern all over the world."

Our young fighters — the Red Guards — have done remarkably well! Their revolutionary actions have slapped the imperialist overlords so hard that the pain is unbearable. As soon as our young Red Guards made their truly magnificent appearance on the stage of world history, they were bitterly attacked by the imperialists. This was a great honour for them, which they fully deserve.

Have not the imperialists pinned their hopes for a capitalist restoration in China on its third and fourth generations? But now it is precisely the younger generations in China that have risen up to struggle against a handful of persons in the Party who are in authority and taking the capitalist road and all other ghosts and monsters. They have become path-breakers charging forward in this great cultural revolution. They are being tempered into reliable successors to the cause of proletarian revolution. The heroic revolutionary rebel spirit of the Red Guards has not only dashed the imperialists' fond hopes for a come-back of capitalism in China to pieces, but it has also exerted a strong, far-reaching influence on the world's revolutionary peoples. This strong gust of revolutionary rebellion will sweep across mountains and seas and awaken and inspire revolutionary youth and people of the whole world to rise up and rebel against the imperialists and all other reactionaries. No wonder the imperialists are scared to death and frightened out of their wits!

The imperialist overlords again proclaim: The great cultural revolution has "attacked traditional Chinese culture," and China has thrown "Western civilization" overboard.

Dear gentlemen, you are perfectly right. That is precisely what we are doing. In your eyes, "traditional Chinese culture" and "Western civilization" are splendid things; not a hair of them should be touched, let

alone discarded. Whoever wants to do so must really have gone mad and is committing a monstrous crime.

Why are you so afraid of the Chinese people "throwing overboard" these things? It is exactly because these reactionary and decadent ideologies of the capitalist and all other exploiting classes, which you hold so dear, are seedbeds for the restoration of capitalism. And so long as these seedbeds remain, you can still have hope for a counter-revolutionary come-back in China some day. You could never have imagined that China's great proletarian cultural revolution has mounted a fierce general offensive against the reactionary and decadent ideologies and cultures of the bourgeoisie and all other exploiting classes, in order to smash the "four olds" [old ideas, culture, customs and habits of the exploiting classes] and establish the "four news," [new ideas, culture, customs and habits of the proletariat] and bring about the revolutionization of the thinking of man. To arm the 700 million Chinese people with Mao Tse-tung's thought — this is the most reliable guarantee against the restoration of capitalism in China and for the consolidation of the dictatorship of the proletariat.

Furthermore, the imperialist elite have come out with the statements that "if . . . the pragmatists prevail" in China, it might be possible for them to do something with these "moderates," and that "China would seem to have been going through the softening and moderation familiar in other communist states," but "the harder elements" are "now trying to reverse that particular historical trend. . . ."

Those who are described by the imperialists as "harder elements" are actually the proletarian revolutionaries who are resolute in defending Chairman Mao Tse-tung's revolutionary line; while those described as "pragmatists" or "moderates" are the handful of counter-revolutionary revisionists in China.

It is quite clear that the imperialists are by no means standing aloof in the present crucial class struggle which has a vital bearing on the destiny of the Chinese people. They have openly stood on the side of the handful of counter-revolutionary revisionists, and are putting their bets on them. This helps the Chinese people to see more clearly than ever that all the evils perpetrated by the counter-revolutionary revisionists in our country fit in with what the imperialists want and that the revisionist line they pursue serves the imperialists' policy of promoting "peaceful evolution." Is it not perfectly clear what would have become of China if the counter-revolutionary revisionists had gained the upper hand?

But now in this great cultural revolution, the Chinese people have swung their massive cudgel and are knocking down every one of the handful of counter-revolutionary revisionists into the dust; and they will never allow these revisionists to rise again. We can tell the imperialists headed by the United States plainly: Your hopes for the emergence of "softening and moderation" in China will never come to pass.

U.S. imperialism has been constantly trying to destroy New China ever since it was established 17 years ago. Besides resorting to tactics of war, it has tried to foster "peaceful evolution." At first, it tried to encourage the "democratic individualists" to form a "free government" in China. When this dream was shattered, it consoled itself with the hope that "the second generation leadership in red China will change." John Foster Dulles once said that "peaceful evolution" in China was "probable in terms of decades." Especially after capitalism began to be restored in the Soviet Union, the U.S. imperialists were beside themselves with glee, and gloated: "Looking ahead, what is it possible to discern in the dim, far distance? The eventual (in 10 or 20 years) evolution of communist China into something like present-day Russia." What wild ambitions these imperialists have entertained!

But the salvos of the great Chinese cultural revolution have razed to the ground all the fond hopes for a capitalist restoration in China, which these imperialists have nurtured for the past 17 years. No wonder these imperialist gentlemen are mad with rage.

China is the cradle of Mao Tse-tung's thought. It is the centre to which the hearts of the revolutionary people of the world turn. It is the bastion of world revolution. That China with its 700 million people, a quarter of the world's population, is able to prevent the restoration of capitalism by destroying it at its very roots, is itself a matter of worldwide importance. It is a matter of great historic significance which has a vital bearing on the destiny of mankind and the future of the world. Should capitalism have been revived in China, world history would have been turned back a great many years. On the other hand, if the Chinese people are able to hold aloft for ever the great red banner of Mao Tse-tung's thought and guarantee that their proletarian state will never change colour, it will certainly be a big impetus to the movement forward of the wheel of world history.

Imperialism is the dying stage of capitalism. The Russian October Revolution opened a big breach in the imperialist front and the Chinese revolution made another big breach on its eastern front. Since then, imperialism has been declining faster, like the setting sun in the west. However, with the emergence of the reactionary rule of the revisionist clique in the Soviet Union, there has been a big reverse in the history of the international communist movement. This situation has greatly inflated the counter-revolutionary arrogance of U.S. imperialism, which fondly hopes, with the aid of modern revisionism, not only to stamp out the revolutions of the peoples in two-thirds of the world, but also to swallow up completely the socialist countries in the other one-third of the world — and thus to achieve its wild global strategy of dominating the whole world.

But the great proletarian cultural revolution, initiated and led by our great leader Chairman Mao, has solved this big issue of preventing capitalist restoration and consolidating the dictatorship of the proletariat. The

great Chinese proletarian cultural revolution has fundamentally defeated U.S. imperialism's counter-revolutionary global strategy, and has prevented a big reverse and a big retrogression of world history; it has reopened the channel leading to communism that was blocked by modern revisionism, and advanced the international communist movement and world revolution to a brand-new stage.

The great proletarian cultural revolution in China is a brilliant and magnificent victory of the thought of Mao Tse-tung. With the triumphant development of the great cultural revolution in China, the thought of Mao Tse-tung is spreading on a broader scale throughout the world. Millions upon millions of the world's revolutionary people are integrating themselves with the thought of Mao Tse-tung. This will produce an immeasurable effect upon the future of the world revolution. The revolutionary people of the world will be ever victorious once they are armed with this powerful weapon — the thought of Mao Tse-tung.

Thus, the great proletarian cultural revolution in China has not only pronounced the death sentence on imperialism, but has also served notice on the imperialists that the sentence will be carried out sooner than they think. It has declared to the whole world that the day is not far off when the proletariat of the world and all oppressed nations and people will rise up and achieve complete liberation.

Chairman Mao has taught us that "the enemy will not perish of himself," and that "historically, all reactionary forces on the verge of extinction invariably conduct a last desperate struggle against the revolutionary forces."

In a certain sense, the great proletarian cultural revolution in China is a gigantic struggle of strategic importance between the world's revolutionary forces and counter-revolutionary forces. The imperialists, modern revisionists and reactionaries of all countries will never take their defeat lying down when this revolution is achieving great victories. They will surely make frenzied counter-attacks. In addition to giving continued support to our class enemies at home, U.S. imperialism, desperate as a cornered rat, may also launch war provocations against the Chinese people. We want to warn U.S. imperialism: the 700 million Chinese people have made all preparations. If you dare to start a military adventure, this will only accelerate your own destruction.

Under the personal leadership of our great supreme commander, Chairman Mao, the great proletarian cultural revolution is advancing with the force of an avalanche and is winning one great victory after another. The curses, slanders and attacks by the imperialists and all other monsters and ghosts in the world against this great revolution in China are merely the buzzing of insects in autumn.

Hark, the mighty current of the great proletarian cultural revolution in China is roaring like thunder, and the death knell tolls for imperialism!



Mao Tse-tung's Thought

Lights the Whole World

A Letter From Jailed Indian Revolutionaries Written in Blood

Not long ago, when the ship on which they were working docked in Kwangchow's Whampoa harbour, two Indian sailors seized the opportunity to approach an interpreter working with the Chinese dock staff and excitedly handed him a small piece of cloth. On it was a letter written in blood, just a few lines, in English: "We are anxious to obtain a volume of Mao Tse-tung's works, the most treasured in the world! Long live the great Chairman Mao Tse-tung!"

The two seamen said that the letter had been written by Indian revolutionaries held in jail by the lackeys of U.S. imperialism, the Indian reactionaries. The jailed men were in danger and suffering extreme hardships, but Mao Tse-tung's thought gave them great hopes and boundless strength. Though brutally tortured and beaten by the reactionaries, the two sailors said, their jailed comrades would recall Chairman Mao's teaching that "all reactionaries are paper tigers. . .," a teaching they have learnt to respect as the truth that Chairman Mao has given to the revolutionary people of the world.

These words of Chairman Mao, said the two sailors, gave tremendous inspiration to these Indian revolutionaries in prison, fortifying their will and courage in the struggle for their country's national independence and the liberation of the labouring people. Their position made it impossible for them to express their love and respect in person to Mao Tse-tung, the greatest leader of the revolutionary people of the world. At the same time, they wanted to get to know more from Chairman Mao's writings so that they could blaze the correct path for the revolution. That was why they had torn this piece of cloth from their clothing and written the message with their own blood. After many difficulties, said the sailors, they had succeeded in bringing this letter to the Chinese people who, under the leadership of Mao Tse-tung, are the most sincere comrades and brothers of the revolutionary Indian people.

The Indian people had a boundless love for Chairman Mao and faith in his thought, said the two sailors. This terrified the Indian reactionaries, the lackeys of U.S. imperialism. They had banned Chairman Mao's works and declared that anyone

found reading them would be imprisoned. But, the two seamen concluded, truth can't be stifled; a raven can't blot out the sunlight with its wings!

Saying goodbye to their Chinese friend, the two seamen described with great emotion how since childhood they had worked on ships as virtual slaves. One of them had visited Chinese seaports when he was young and with his own eyes had seen the old China, a land of suffering like India today. Now, after China's liberation, he had again seen with his own eyes the revolutionary New China led by Chairman Mao. "China's revolutionary today," they said confidently, "is the future of India. We Indian people love the New China deeply and our hearts turn to Chairman Mao. Mao Tse-tung's great thought will certainly one day become the thinking of the Indian people."

Two Activists in Studying Chairman Mao's Works

A Ceylonese woman teacher is a diligent student of Chairman Mao's works. One passage from the book *Quotations From Chairman Mao Tse-tung* that is a constant source of encouragement to her is this: "Conditions are changing all the time, and to adapt one's thinking to the new conditions, one must study."



Bolivian friends studying *Quotations From Chairman Mao Tse-tung* together with a Chinese youth

Quotations From Chairman Mao Tse-tung "will always be my guide," she says excitedly and she always takes a copy with her wherever she goes. She often makes use of the few minutes while waiting at a bus stop to read the treasured book.

Her husband too is an active student of Chairman Mao's works. He has been deeply impressed by the many moving stories he has heard about how the Chinese people are applying Mao Tse-tung's thought to

remould themselves and replace the concept of "self" with the concept of "the public interest." Referring to Chairman Mao's teachings on the need to serve the people of the whole world and fight for them, he says: "This is a lofty idea of Marxism-Leninism. I want to try to be a good pupil of Chairman Mao."

This couple has pasted quotations from Chairman Mao on the walls of their home and taught their children to study them with great care.

Mao Tse-tung's Thought Is the Highest Expression of Marxism-Leninism in Our Era

The organ of the Revolutionary Youth Union of the Congo (Leopoldville), "L'eclair" published in Oriental Province, reprinted in its January issue the full text of the statement issued by Chairman Mao Tse-tung on November 28, 1964, supporting the people of the Congo (L) against U.S. aggression. A picture of Chairman Mao was prominently featured with the statement. The monthly also published an article under the above title. We reprint it here in slightly abridged form.—Ed.

Two years ago, at a critical moment when the U.S.-Belgian imperialists launched armed aggression against our country, Chairman Mao Tse-tung issued a great, militant call.

This statement is a great proclamation appealing to the people of the whole world to rise and battle with the U.S. imperialists. This proclamation dealt the aggressive arrogance of the U.S. imperialists a severe blow, it effectively supported the just struggle of the Congolese people and heightened the fighting spirit of all the oppressed peoples, showing them the direction to take in their struggle and strengthening their confidence in victory.

The oppressed peoples must take up arms if they want to resist U.S. imperialism and carry their revolution to complete victory!

This is a great Marxist-Leninist truth, a great truth of the thought of Mao Tse-tung!

Chairman Mao has often said that the enemy holds a sword in his hand, and so the people should also hold swords in theirs. **"When we see the other fellow holding something in his hands, we should do some investigating. What does he hold in his hands? Swords! What are swords for? For killing. Whom does he want to kill with his sword? The people. Having made these findings, investigate further—the Chinese people, too, have hands and can take up swords, they can forge a sword if there is none handy. The Chinese people have discovered this truth after long investigation and study. Warlords, landlords, local bullies and bad gentry and the imperialists all have swords in their hands and**

are out to kill. The people have come to understand this and so act after the same fashion." The revolutionary cause of the oppressed nations and peoples will indeed be full of promise once they grasp this truth.

Six years ago, U.S. imperialism murdered our national hero Patrice Lumumba and overthrew the legal government of the Congo. After that, on several occasions, it blatantly used armed intervention against the Congo. All this resulted in serious setbacks to the national-independence movement. However, the Congolese people, taking to heart the bitter lessons which they learnt at heavy cost in blood, resolutely took up arms and started the armed struggle which they are now waging courageously over the vast extent of their fatherland. Since then, the Congolese people have embarked on the bright road leading them to victory and liberation.

Pursuing its policy of collaboration with the United States for world domination, the Soviet revisionist leading clique plays the role of accomplice of U.S. imperialism in suppressing the revolutionary movements of the peoples of the world. But, despite the aid of this clique of renegades, U.S. imperialism cannot prevent the upsurge of the revolutionary struggle of the peoples.

We are in a new epoch of world revolution. A worldwide struggle against imperialism, modern revisionism and the reactionaries of all countries is unfolding with the speed and the irresistible force of a storm.

Chairman Mao's statement in support of our people against U.S. aggression is a great militant call to the peoples of the whole world and at the same time a scientific prediction of the future of world revolution. This prediction is step by step being transformed into reality through the revolutionary practice of the peoples of all lands.

The days of imperialism, modern revisionism and reaction in all countries are numbered!

In any case, they will be overthrown, defeated and wiped out by the revolutionary peoples.

ROUND THE WORLD

ASIA AND AFRICA

Beware of U.S. Subversion

"When we say 'imperialism is ferocious,' we mean that its nature will never change, that the imperialists will never lay down their butcher knives, that they will never become Buddhas, till their doom."

— Mao Tse-tung

Samdech Sihanouk's exposure during his March 22 press conference of U.S. imperialism's plot to stage a coup in Cambodia can be read with benefit by people all over the world.

He related how a friend of his had travelled from Tokyo to Saigon with an American named George McColm. During the trip McColm spoke in detail of a C.I.A. intrigue.

"Sihanouk won't live for long. We have decided to finish him off before the end of the year," this McColm had said.

McColm also reportedly disclosed that the U.S. imperialists have been using Cambodians to carry out sabotage and subversive activities. According to him, the C.I.A. installed in the Cambodian armed forces two high-ranking officers who have huge deposits in a Swiss bank and are preparing a coup d'etat. McColm also said that three Cambodian government officials who have close ties with the Saigon puppet regime are working for the C.I.A., and in the royal palace itself there is a big traitor watching Sihanouk's every move.

Samdech Sihanouk's revelation of the U.S. imperialist scheme is most timely and poses an important question for all independent countries in Asia and Africa, for Cambodia is certainly not the sole victim of U.S. imperialist subversion.

A month ago the Yemeni Minister of the Interior, Mohamed Al Ahnoumi, called attention to the underhand activities of the office of the local U.S. "Point 4" programme (known as "technical assistance to underdeveloped countries") which led and financed spies engaged in sabotage. Ahnoumi said that a gang of subversives had been arrested in Taizz where some Yemeni citizens were working for the U.S. "Point 4"

office, and a quantity of U.S.-made weapons and explosives were captured.

In Pakistan, too, many papers have recently published editorials and articles calling for vigilance against the subversive activities of the C.I.A. They showed that the U.S. Embassy and the U.S.I.S. are spy centres while the delegations which some

U.S. ECONOMY

Bleak Prospects

"Irreconcilable domestic and international contradictions, like a volcano, menace U.S. imperialism every day. U.S. imperialism is sitting on this volcano."

— Mao Tse-tung

U.S. industrial production has slumped precipitously in the last few months.

According to official figures, the index of industrial production in January dropped to 158, as compared with 159 in December 1966 (100 being the average of industrial production for the period 1957-59). It took another dive in February, dropping to 155.9, which marks the sharpest fall in any one month since the auto workers' strike in October 1964.

The worst hit are the auto, steel and durable consumer goods industries. The decline in new orders here indicates a heavy inventory build-up and "over-production."

Things have come to such a pass because the "three main pillars" of the U.S. economy—auto, steel and construction—are all in bad shape. Production in the auto industry has had to be curtailed time and again because of the sagging market. Total output last year was 8 per cent lower than in 1965. Prospects for 1967 continue to be dim as there is no discernible sign of improvement in demand. U.S. car production in the first quarter of 1967 is expected

U.S. foundations and organizations sent to Pakistan have carried out intelligence and other covert activities.

Through its henchmen, U.S. imperialism has staged many armed intrusions and posed military threats against the independent Asian and African countries. This is open and all can see it. What is often neglected is the internal subversion which U.S. imperialism resorts to through its intelligence and "aid" agencies and through its local agents. In fact, from 1960 until now, the imperialists have staged more than 60 coups in the Asian and African countries. In some, not only was their national independence throttled, but their leaders were murdered. This is a lesson for all independent Asian and African countries.

to be down by 20 per cent, as compared with last year.

The building industry is in no happier position than the auto industry. Last October its operations dropped to the lowest level since World War II. Though it has recovered somewhat at present, the prospects are still very dismal.

Following the slump in the auto and building industries, which are the two biggest customers for steel products, the steel industry has also had to reduce production. Unsold stocks in the steel industry increased considerably in the second half of 1966. It is now obvious that steel production this year will be lower than the 1966 level.

The past few months have witnessed a decline in new orders for durable consumer goods and machine tools, and inertia or decline in retail turn-over. All this foreshadows a continued fall in industrial production.

Curtailed investments by monopoly capital are also a straw in the wind showing that the American economy faces gloomy months ahead. Excessive investment in plant and equipment over the last few years has brought about a widespread, serious

"surplus of productive capacity" in American enterprises. Monopoly capital thus has had to make big cuts in capital outlays. In 1966, American manufacturers spent over \$2,000 million on capital outlays for each quarter. It is estimated that the total for each quarter in the first half of 1967 will not reach \$1,000 million, and will be less in the second half.

Enormous expenditures on the war of aggression in Vietnam have led to heavy budget deficits and serious inflation. Even according to the figures handed out from official quarters, consumer goods prices increased last year three times as much as the average annual increase for the previous five years. As a result, the people's purchasing power has been drastically slashed and a market crisis hastened.

THE DOMINICAN REPUBLIC

Armed Struggle to the Hills

"The Dominican Republic, with the support of the people of the world, is sure to win final victory in its patriotic struggle against U.S. imperialism so long as it relies on the broad masses of the people, unites with all patriotic forces and keeps up a protracted struggle."
— Mao Tse-tung, May 12, 1965

After much planning and preparation, the revolutionary forces in the Dominican Republic have resumed their armed operations.

According to a report in the Dominican paper *El Nacional*, the guerrillas recently engaged the government troops in San Jose de Ocoa, a mountainous region 250 kilometres from Santo Domingo, the capital. Enrique Perez, Minister of the Armed Forces, conceded that many partisan groups were preparing in the hills to take armed action against the government. Guerrilla strongholds were also reported to have been established in Bonao and Manacla in the region of Cibao where peasants were receiving training in guerrilla warfare.

The Dominican people give warm support to the heroic insurgents. Recently, thousands of citizens in Santo Domingo braved police violence to attend a funeral service for Orlando Mazara, a young guerrilla leader who had laid down his life in battle.

The problem of U.S. international payments has been aggravated by the heavy flow of U.S. dollars into south Vietnam. In 1966, the unfavourable balance registered \$1,424 million, exceeding that of 1965. Recently U.S. gold reserves dropped to \$13,109 million, the lowest in 28 years.

In his annual economic report to the U.S. Congress on January 26, Johnson admitted that the war of aggression in Vietnam has had a heavy impact on the country's finances and production and that the economy is confronted with the double menace of malignant inflation and "over-production." The American economy, he said, faces some "serious problems" and "neither the threat of inflation nor the threat of recession can ever be very distant."

In April 1965, the Dominican people staged a patriotic armed uprising. Although Yankee imperialism mobilized 30,000 marines to stage a bloody suppression and succeeded in temporarily holding it back, the Dominican revolutionaries never stopped their struggle. Seeing that the cities are in the hands of powerful enemies, they have taken their weapons to the mountains where they have mobilized the peasants to fight a guerrilla war. This shows that in their battle against the rule of Yankee imperialism and the reactionary government at home, the Dominican people are moving ahead in the direction charted in Chairman Mao's May 1965 statement supporting the Dominican people's resistance to U.S. armed aggression.

ARMS EXPANSION IN JAPAN

Revival of Militarism Quickens

On March 13, the Japanese National Defence Council adopted an arms expansion plan for the next five years, the third of its kind since 1957.

The plan lays down that, between 1967 and 1971, Japan's military expenditure will amount to 2,340,000 million yen, or twice as much as for the second five-year plan period.

The army will be boosted from its present 145,000 to 180,000 men. The navy will be beefed up too. And, what is worth noting, while the plan was being drawn up, the Sato government sent a military delegation to south Vietnam. Its members held secret talks with the command of the U.S. aggressor army, made front-line inspection trips with high-ranking U.S. officers and exerted every effort to familiarize themselves with the intentions of their U.S. masters. As a result, the plan follows the pattern of the U.S. forces in Vietnam and provides for the establishment of anti-guerrilla airborne troops and armoured troop-carrier units. It also openly calls for the strengthening of Japan's "defence capabilities within its territorial waters and for ensuring its security on the seas beyond them." It is quite clear that the Sato government is getting ready to despatch expeditionary forces to take part in U.S. aggressive wars.

As for the air force, the plan provides for setting up two combat groups equipped with Hercules missiles—these are capable of carrying nuclear warheads—and two equipped with Hawk missiles. Two further missile combat groups will be readied. All this is irrefutable proof that Japan intends to acquire nuclear armaments. As Japanese officials have admitted, the arms expansion plan is based on the U.S.-Japan "Security Treaty" which is spear-headed against China, while Sato has openly declared that in the adoption of the plan "serious consideration" has been given to the problem of dealing with "nuclear-developing" China.

In the context of U.S. imperialism's latest intensification of its war of aggression in Vietnam and its moves against China, this can only mean that the Sato government is going to revive Japanese militarism still more energetically, serve the aggressive policy of its U.S. masters still more openly and oppose socialist China still more frantically.

ACROSS THE LAND

Excellent Situation in Revolution and Production in Shanghai Suburbs

THE three million revolutionary peasants of Shanghai's suburbs have responded resolutely to the great call of their great leader Chairman Mao "to take firm hold of the revolution and promote production." Working proudly as true masters of their country, they are busy with spring production work while energetically carrying on the great cultural revolution.

The rural areas around Shanghai are bustling with activity. Revolutionary slogans and red flags are everywhere. Groups of peasants carrying copies of *Quotations From Chairman Mao Tse-tung* and wearing red armbands are either holding meetings to expose, criticize and repudiate a handful of persons in the Party who were in authority and taking the capitalist road, or attending rallies to pledge to bring about a new upsurge in spring farming. In the fields, wheat and rape are a rich green. Large numbers of commune members are busily tending the crops, levelling the ground, collecting manure and making compost. An unprecedented new upsurge in revolu-

tion and production is developing vigorously.

With the poor and lower-middle peasants as their mainstay, revolutionary organizations have been formed at municipal, county, commune and production brigade levels in Shanghai's rural suburbs. They launched fierce attacks on the handful of persons in authority who had entrenched themselves in the former Shanghai Municipal Party Committee and the county and commune Party committees, and wrested power from them.

In the fight to recapture power, the revolutionary peasants in Shanghai's suburbs formed a great alliance. After the seizure of power they also forged a great alliance for production. With active support and assistance from the P.L.A., a municipal joint command was established to organize and direct farm production. This has given a great impetus to agriculture and played a big role in strengthening the worker-peasant alliance and consolidating local political power. At the same time, organs for directing production have been set up by the revolutionary people and cadres in most of the counties and communes in greater Shanghai. This ensures

the smooth and orderly advance of work and production. Manpower, materials and funds needed for spring farming have been properly attended to. Revolutionaries in the supply and marketing, credit, handicrafts, trading and transport departments have taken prompt action to support agriculture and have created favourable conditions for the spring farming.

P.L.A. Helps Spring Ploughing

Enthusiastically responding to Chairman Mao's great call "to take firm hold of the revolution and promote production," commanders and fighters of the Chinese People's Liberation Army are out in force helping the revolutionary peasants with the spring ploughing.

In the glorious tradition of the P.L.A. as a fighting force as well as a working and production force, they are spreading the invincible thought of Mao Tse-tung among the revolutionary peasants as they work together with them. Over 70 cadres of a certain naval unit have taken their men to camp in a remote rural area. In the daytime they work with the commune members; at night they study Chairman Mao's writings and Party Central Committee documents together with the poor and lower-middle peasants and commune cadres and explain to them the great significance in the current great cultural revolution of getting the spring ploughing done successfully. A unit of the Railway Corps has sent a dozen cultural and propaganda groups to mountain and national minority areas to spread the call of Chairman Mao and the Party Central Committee.

One hundred and twenty commanders and fighters of a unit under the Foochow Command went to a suburban commune to help build irrigation channels. Despite a driving rain that day they completed four channels totalling over one kilometre. Cadres and fighters of an air force warehouse went out working with commune members to move soil from a hillside for spreading on lower fields. The earth was frozen hard and refused to yield to pick or shovel. So the fighters resorted to steel rods and



Answer Chairman Mao's great call! All out for the spring sowing!

sledge-hammers. Reciting Chairman Mao's words: "**Be resolute, fear no sacrifice and surmount every difficulty to win victory.**" they swung their hammers, braving the cold wind, and worked up a sweat even though they shed their cotton-padded jackets.

With deep class feeling for the poor and lower-middle peasants, commanders and fighters have given prompt assistance in skill and materials to help the communes solve their difficulties in spring sowing. Helping the ploughing in a remote mountain area, the Fifth Company of a unit under the Shenyang Command found that one of the farm's carts had a worn-out tyre. To avoid any let-up in the work of carting manure to the fields they made an overnight journey back to their barracks to fetch one of their own tyres for the cart. A unit under the Wuhan Command sent carpenters and other skilled personnel to help production teams repair tools urgently needed for the spring farm work.

More Consumer Goods

Shanghai-made consumer goods are being supplied in increasing quantities to various parts of the country. In January, the city's trad-

ing departments shipped out more than 22,000 tons of cotton cloth, knitwear, stationery and other articles of daily use. February shipments topped those for January by 23 per cent.

Shanghai, China's biggest industrial centre, shoulders the glorious task of supplying urban and rural markets throughout the country with industrial consumer goods. The proletarian revolutionaries of the city's trading departments realize that successful marketing and distribution of commodities according to the state plan means great support to proletarian revolutionaries everywhere in their fight to defeat the evil wind of counter-revolutionary economism and uphold Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line. This is not just a matter of ordinary commodity supply, but a serious class struggle. Therefore, in January during the high tide of the struggle to seize power from the handful of persons in the Party who were in authority and taking the capitalist road, they rallied the revolutionary masses and revolutionary cadres to stand fast at their posts and successfully carry out the task of purchasing and marketing industrial goods. After the seizure of power, their morale rose still higher

and their sense of political responsibility was further enhanced.

In distributing and marketing industrial goods, workers and staff of Shanghai's trading departments, armed with Mao Tse-tung's thought, worked in close co-ordination with their comrades-in-arms on the transport front. They surmounted all kinds of obstacles put up by the handful of persons in the Party who were in authority and taking the capitalist road, fully utilized every type of vehicle and craft and loaded and shipped goods out as fast as possible.

The proletarian revolutionaries of Shanghai's trading departments support the great cultural revolution in other parts of the country by actual deeds. Compared with January, February supplies of apparatus for printing propaganda material — cyclostyle and mimeograph machines and poster paints — showed a big increase. After the Party Central Committee issued its recent call to primary and secondary school pupils to return to school, reopen classes and make revolution, supplies of school stationery were promptly forthcoming.

CORRECTION: In "Long Live China's Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution!" on p. 18, No. 13, 1967, for "Pruga" read "Ruga."

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A Quotation From Chairman Mao Tse-tung

The Chinese people wish to have friendly co-operation with the people of all countries and to resume and expand international trade in order to develop production and promote economic prosperity.

— Address to the Preparatory Committee of the New Political Consultative Conference (June 15, 1949)

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