

# PEKING REVIEW

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## **Carry Revolutionary Mass Criticism Through to the End**

*Renmin Ribao editorial.*

## **Vietnam's Great War Against U.S. Aggression and for National Salvation Will Triumph**

*Renmin Ribao editorial.*

**Down With the Capitulationism of  
China's Khrushchov!**

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# QUOTATIONS FROM CHAIRMAN MAO TSE-TUNG

**One of our current important tasks on the ideological front is to unfold criticism of revisionism.**

*Speech at the Chinese Communist Party's National Conference on Propaganda Work (March 1957)*

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**We are now in a great new era of world revolution. The revolutionary upheaval in Asia, Africa and Latin America is sure to deal the whole of the old world a decisive and crushing blow. The great victories of the Vietnamese people's war against U.S. aggression and for national salvation are convincing proof of this.**

*Message of Greetings to the Fifth Congress of the Albanian Party of Labour (October 1966)*

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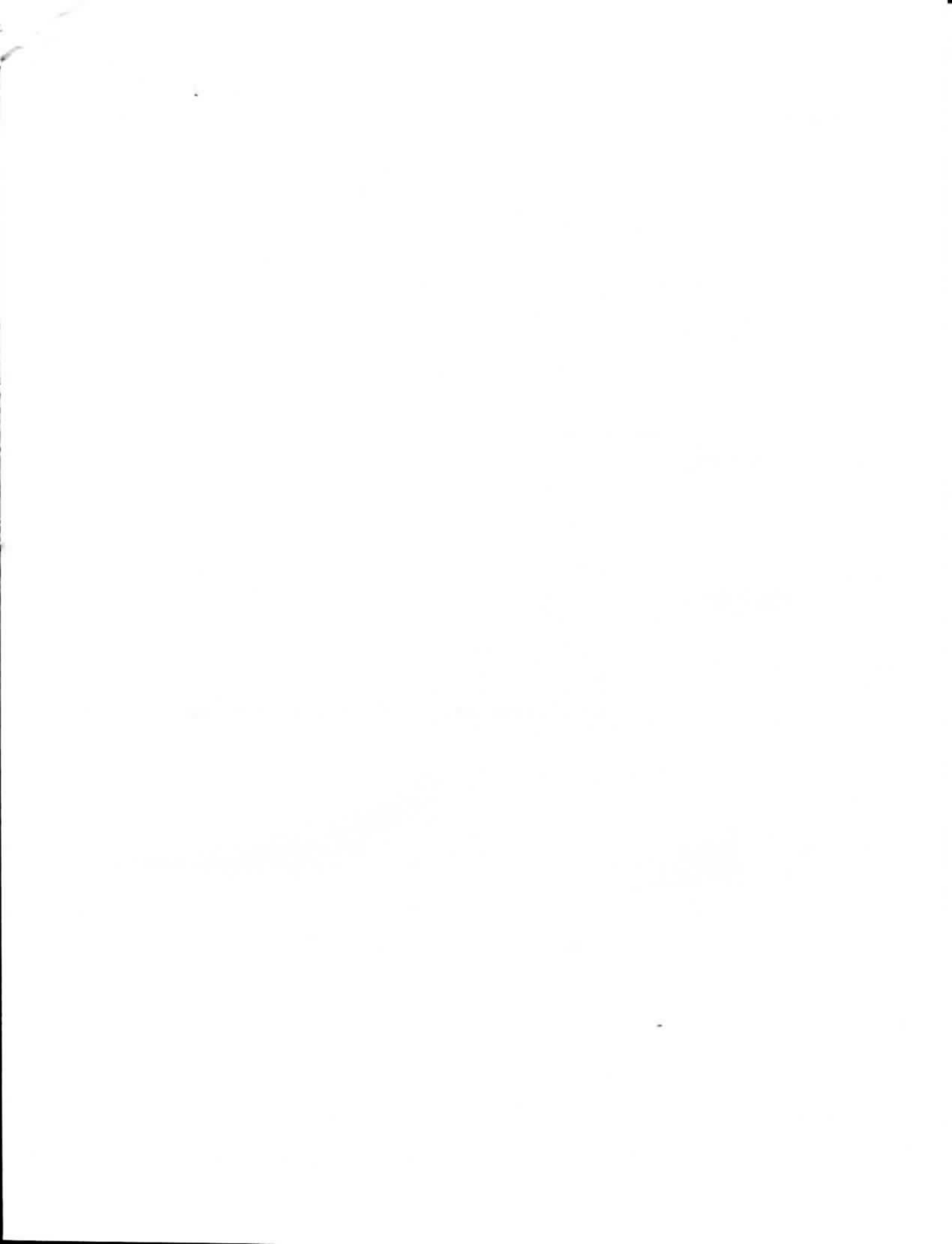
**The Communist Party of China, having made a clear-headed appraisal of the international and domestic situation on the basis of the science of Marxism-Leninism, recognized that all attacks by the reactionaries at home and abroad had to be defeated and could be defeated.**

*The Present Situation and Our Tasks (December 1947)*



Chairman Mao Tse-tung

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



## Chairman Mao's Portraits Distributed All Over the World

More than 840 million copies of portraits of Chairman Mao, or over five times the number produced in the preceding 16 years, were printed in the 11 months from July 1966 to the end of May 1967 by the revolutionary staff members and workers in China's photography and fine arts publication circles to meet the pressing demands of revolutionary people all over the world.

There are 33 different portraits of the great leader of the world's people. Printed in colour or in black and white, most of them show Chairman Mao reviewing the mighty

army of the cultural revolution and his wholehearted support for the revolutionary mass movement. These portraits have been supplied in large numbers to all of China and are distributed widely in vast areas covering Asia, Africa, Latin America and other continents.

Chairman Mao is the greatest Marxist-Leninist of the present era who, with genius, has creatively inherited, defended and developed Marxism-Leninism in an all-round way and raised it to a completely new stage, that of Mao Tse-tung's thought. The revolutionary people in all of China and all over the

world look to Peking; their hearts turn to Chairman Mao. Thousands upon thousands of urgent telegrams, cables and letters come to Peking from inside and outside China with requests for Chairman Mao's portraits.

When obtaining a portrait of Chairman Mao, people say they feel as if he is at their side and this fills them with strength and confidence. Foreign friends often burst into cheers: "Long live Chairman Mao! A long, long life to him!" They all regard it as one of the happiest moments in their lives to get a Chairman Mao portrait.

### Vietnamese Vice-Premier Le Thanh Nghi in Peking

Le Thanh Nghi, Vice-Premier of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam, arrived in Peking on July 20 with the Vietnamese Government Economic Delegation he led. He and his party were warmly greeted at the airport by Vice-Premier Li Hsien-nien and over 1,000 revolutionary people in the capital. The next evening, Vice-Premier Li Hsien-nien gave a banquet for the distinguished Vietnamese guests.

In his speech at the banquet, Vice-Premier Li Hsien-nien praised and congratulated the heroic Vietnamese people on the series of new, great victories they had won under the correct leadership of President Ho Chi Minh in their war of resistance against U.S. aggression and for national salvation. He said that these were the splendid victories of a people's war and a miracle in the history of the revolutionary wars of the

world's people. While these victories had greatly deflated the arrogance of U.S. imperialism, modern revisionism and the reactionaries of all countries, they had greatly raised the morale of the revolutionary people of the whole world. They had set a shining example for the people of Asia, Africa and Latin America in their struggle for national liberation.

Vice-Premier Li Hsien-nien strongly condemned the Soviet modern revisionist leading clique for stepping up its collaboration with the U.S. imperialists in an attempt to stamp out the revolutionary flames of the Vietnamese people's struggle. The Vice-Premier quoted **Chairman Mao's teaching that "the people who have triumphed in their own revolution should help those still struggling for liberation. This is our internationalist duty."** He expressed the determination of the Chinese people, who had steeled themselves in the great proletarian cultural revolution and

were armed with Mao Tse-tung's thought, to give all-out support to the Vietnamese people in carrying their fight against U.S. aggression and for national salvation through till final victory.

Vice-Premier Le Thanh Nghi, in his speech, said that the tremendous victories won by the armies and people in north and south Vietnam were victories gained under the leadership of the Vietnam Workers' Party, victories for the line of people's war and for the iron determination of the Vietnamese people to thoroughly defeat the U.S. imperialist aggressors.

The Vietnamese Vice-Premier vehemently condemned U.S. imperialism for increasing its reinforcements, expanding its war of aggression in Vietnam and carrying out a new military adventure against the northern part of Vietnam. He said that,

*(Continued on p. 28.)*

# Carry Revolutionary Mass Criticism Through to the End

**I**N the course of the mighty struggle in the great proletarian cultural revolution over the last year and more, we have exposed and overthrown the handful of top Party persons in authority taking the capitalist road who are rotten to the core, and dragged out a number of bourgeois representatives who sneaked into the apparatus of the dictatorship of the proletariat. Our successes are world-shaking.

But, can we conclude from this that the great proletarian cultural revolution has already been successfully completed, or that the handful of big and small Party persons in authority taking the capitalist road altogether finished?

No!

The counter-revolutionary revisionists who have been dragged out are fierce dogs in the water; they are wounded tigers; they are poisonous snakes not yet frozen by the cold, although they already sense the threat of winter.

As Chairman Mao Tse-tung pointed out in criticizing and repudiating the Hu Feng counter-revolutionary clique: **"This reactionary clique who frantically hate the Communist Party, the people and the revolution have by no means really laid down their arms but are attempting to preserve their 'strength' by double-faced tactics and are waiting for an opportunity to stage a comeback."**

Have we not actually seen that this is so?

Some of these scoundrels have been overthrown, but they still stubbornly refuse to admit their heinous crimes against the Party and socialism. They seize every opportunity to hit out wildly in a vengeful counter-attack. One of them has venomously churned out what purports to be a confession but which is in reality a counter-revolutionary manifesto for a counter-attack.

Some harbour an inveterate hatred for the proletarian revolutionaries and the revolutionary masses. In order to save themselves from imminent destruction they invariably manipulate and make use of a number of conservative or reactionary organizations, mislead a section of the people and wage desperate last-minute struggles against the revolutionary forces. They come out into the open, bare their fangs and do not even scruple to lay their murderous hands on proletarian revolutionaries.

Others are doing their best to appear harmless and even pitiable in a vain attempt to wangle sympathy so

that they might slip through. They have used all their cunning to sneak into our revolutionary ranks in order to corrupt and disintegrate us from within and to bring about a capitalist restoration.

Therefore, we will never take pity on these evil persons; we will never lower our vigilance; we will never abandon the revolution half-way.

**"With power and to spare we must pursue the tottering foe**

**And not ape Hsiang Yu the conqueror seeking idle fame."**

We must rouse the people in their hundreds of millions and, in the thoroughgoing revolutionary spirit of beating the dog in the water, carry out the revolutionary mass campaign of exposure, criticism and struggle against the reactionary forces who hate the Party, the people and the revolution.

Comrade Lin Piao has said: "It is possible to overthrow the political power of the bourgeoisie and other exploiting classes within a comparatively short period of time. It is also possible to overthrow their systems of ownership within a short time. But, it is in no way a simple and easy matter to sweep them out of their positions on the ideological front. That will take a very long time. And if victory is not won on this front, then the victories gained in political power and in the economic sphere might all be lost. . . ."

The top Party person in authority taking the capitalist road is the chief representative of the bourgeoisie within our Party, the chief boss behind the scenes of the counter-revolutionary revisionists, big and small, who sneaked into the apparatus of the dictatorship of the proletariat. He represents a concentrated expression of the reactionary ideology of the bourgeoisie and of old and new revisionism, and he is the biggest defender of all old ideas, culture, customs and habits.

It is precisely he who has obstinately pursued the bourgeois reactionary line and opposed the proletarian revolutionary line represented by Chairman Mao for a long period and in a systematic way. Before our nationwide victory, he went all out to preach the "parliamentary road" and advocate the handing over of the people's army led by the Communist Party. He opposed the seizure of power by armed force and the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat. After liberation of the whole country, he did his best to spread the fallacy "exploitation is a contribution," to press for the development of capitalism in the cities and in the countryside and to oppose the socialist transformation. After the



socialist transformation of the ownership of the means of production was completed in the main, he was active in putting around "the theory of the dying out of class struggle," and worked hard to restore capitalism in an attempt to turn the dictatorship of the proletariat into that of the bourgeoisie.

Internationally, he energetically pushed the line of capitulating to the imperialists, the revisionists and the reactionaries of different countries and stamping out the flames of revolution in the world. Thus, he did his utmost to cater to the needs of imperialism and modern revisionism and to smother the revolutionary struggle of the people in different parts of the world. He usurped important posts and power in our Party and state and, by making use of the political influence that he had got through cheating, and waving "red flags" to oppose the red flag, he peddled his revisionist trash over a long period.

The proletarian revolutionaries and the broad revolutionary masses have rebelled against the handful of top Party persons in authority taking the capitalist road, unhorsed them, and ordered them to stand aside. This is a tremendous victory for the great proletarian cultural revolution. However, overthrowing them organizationally is not tantamount to overthrowing them politically and ideologically. It is imperative to repudiate and discredit completely their counter-revolutionary revisionist line, politically, ideologically and theoretically, to eliminate their evil influence in all fields and on all fronts, to expose their ugly bourgeois soul and their reactionary ideology thoroughly, to expose them as something filthy and contemptible, like dog's dirt. Only then can we regard them as being completely overthrown.

If power is seized only administratively and organizationally from the handful of Party people in authority taking the capitalist road, but not politically and ideologically, our struggle to seize power is not thoroughgoing, the power we have seized is not consolidated and we are in danger of losing it again. The restoration of capitalism is an ever-present possibility if class struggle on the political and ideological front is not thoroughly carried out.

Lenin said, "When the old society perishes, its corpse cannot be nailed up in a coffin and lowered

into the grave. It disintegrates in our midst, the corpse rots and infects us." If we do not rouse the masses in their hundreds of millions to take part in the revolutionary criticism and repudiation, to uproot the poisonous ideology of the exploiting classes and to clean up the rubbish left over by the exploiting classes from every corner, it will continue to stink, spread its poisonous germs and harm the people. Did not the old-line revisionists such as Bernstein, Kautsky, Trotsky and Bukharin die long ago? However, their revisionist rubbish was not buried with them. The trash peddled by China's Khrushchov was simply picked up from these old ancestors of his.

The great proletarian cultural revolution is a mighty political and ideological revolution. Its purpose is to eliminate bourgeois ideology and foster proletarian ideology in a big way, to get rid of revisionist ideas and put Mao Tse-tung's thought in command. The masses of workers, peasants and soldiers, revolutionary cadres and revolutionary intellectuals must raise aloft the great banner of the invincible thought of Mao Tse-tung, and throw themselves into the mass campaign of revolutionary criticism and repudiation against the handful of top Party persons in authority taking the capitalist road. It is an extraordinary phenomenon of world significance for 700 million people to participate in this campaign. We should do our utmost to fulfil this most pressing and important fighting task.

Every big political polemic and every great ideological revolution in the history of proletarian revolution must surely lead to a vigorous development of the revolution and a big leap in history. At a time when the whole world is entering a new era in which Mao Tse-tung's thought is the great banner, the campaign of revolutionary criticism and repudiation being carried out by the Chinese people on an unprecedented scale will surely bring about a big leap in the great proletarian cultural revolution, greatly consolidate China's dictatorship of the proletariat, give rise to a dynamic new situation in China's socialist construction and will surely have a very far-reaching impact on the proletarian revolutionary cause of the world.

*("Renmin Ribao" editorial, July 24.)*

## Great Cultural Revolution in Progress

# Mass Pursuit of the Tottering Foe

— New Nationwide Upsurge in Mass Criticism of the Handful of Top Party Persons in Authority Taking the Capitalist Road

**R**EVOLUTIONARY mass criticism and repudiation of the handful of top Party persons in authority taking the capitalist road is a key component part of the great strategy mapped out by our great leader Chairman Mao. Today this mighty movement of revolu-

tionary mass criticism and repudiation is surging up to a new high all over the country. Following our great leader Chairman Mao's teaching of "carrying the great proletarian cultural revolution through to the end" and carrying forward the thoroughgoing revolu-

tionary spirit of relentlessly beating "the dog in the water," the masses of workers, peasants and soldiers, Red Guards, revolutionary teachers and students, and revolutionary cadres are determined to thoroughly criticize and repudiate, and utterly overthrow and discredit this group of counter-revolutionary revisionists politically, ideologically and theoretically. The masses of proletarian revolutionaries point out that the outcome of this movement of revolutionary mass criticism and repudiation and the results of their efforts to refute and discredit this handful of persons involve the success or failure of the great proletarian cultural revolution, the future of the Chinese revolution and the destiny of all mankind. That is why it is necessary to eradicate the poisonous influence of the counter-revolutionary revisionist line this handful of persons carried out in various fields, and to vigorously establish the absolute authority of Mao Tse-tung's thought.

### No Pity for Snake-Like Scoundrels

At the decisive moment of the start of the general offensive against China's Khrushchov and his henchmen, *Renmin Ribao* on July 17 reprinted with an editorial note the 1925 essay "On Deferring Fair Play" written by China's great writer Lu Hsun. The note says: Forty-two years ago in this essay Lu Hsun told us that the dog in the water must be beaten. He declared that "if it is a dog which bites men, I feel it should be beaten no matter whether it is on the bank or in the water."

The note points out: The handful of top Party persons in authority taking the capitalist road are not just "man-biting dogs," but a pack of man-eating beasts. Though they have been dragged out by the masses of proletarian revolutionaries and become "dogs in the water," they are still there and in their hearts are not reconciled to their defeat. They are always looking for a chance to counter-attack, vainly attempting to stage a come-back and recapture power. We proletarian revolutionaries must remember Lu Hsun's words, and in the spirit of relentlessly beating the dog in the water, launch a mass criticism, repudiation and struggle against the handful of top Party persons in authority taking the capitalist road and thoroughly refute, overthrow, and discredit them politically, ideologically and theoretically, make them for ever infamous and never let them rise again.

The note says: Some people hold the view that once those people in authority taking the capitalist road have been exposed or removed from office, they are dead tigers. This view is wrong. Big or small, all the Party people in authority taking the capitalist road are paper tigers, but not dead tigers. We have not thoroughly criticized, repudiated and discredited them yet, they are still live tigers. They will try their best to pretend to be harmless and in a pitiful state. But we should never forget that they are snake-like scoundrels. They are at best like snakes frozen by the cold. Once they are revived by warmth they will bite people. Therefore, we must not forget Chairman Mao's

teaching: "Never take pity on snake-like scoundrels." If we slacken our vigilance and do not carry on mass criticism and repudiation, they are liable to stage a come-back by patching together a counter-revolutionary alliance, leading to much shedding of the blood of the working people. If we have not forgotten the many historical lessons of such bloodshed, we must carry on our mass criticism and repudiation. Otherwise, we will be betraying the revolutionary cause of the proletariat.

The note points out: The purpose of this great and unprecedented cultural revolution is to vigorously destroy the ideology of the exploiting classes, and energetically foster the ideology of the proletariat, that is, Mao Tse-tung's thought. We will make Mao Tse-tung's thought dominate every sphere. The handful of top Party persons in authority taking the capitalist road are garbage stinking to high heaven. The clearing out of this garbage in the ideological sphere will greatly facilitate the vigorous fostering of Mao Tse-tung's thought and the training of successors to the revolutionary cause of the proletariat. Therefore, our present task is to push revolutionary mass criticism and repudiation to new heights.

This *Renmin Ribao* editorial note is playing a tremendous role in guiding and inspiring the proletarian revolutionaries and the revolutionary masses in concentrating their utmost efforts and developing their vigorous revolutionary rebel spirit to successfully carry out revolutionary mass criticism and repudiation.

### Militant Peking and Shanghai

There is a tremendously militant atmosphere in Peking, birthplace of the great proletarian cultural revolution, and industrial Shanghai, source of the great storm of the "January Revolution," as they press forward with the campaign of revolutionary mass criticism and repudiation of the handful of top Party persons in authority taking the capitalist road. With soaring morale, the proletarian revolutionaries are fighting shoulder to shoulder with the broad revolutionary masses. On all fronts and from all sides they are angrily denouncing and mercilessly beating the rabid "dogs in the water." There is a constant round of meetings of struggle and criticism. Slogans and big-character posters are going up in countless numbers. A flood of critical articles is appearing in the daily press and magazines.

The revolutionary teachers and students of Peking Aeronautical Engineering Institute have taken this mass revolutionary criticism and repudiation as their central tasks in resuming classes while continuing the revolution. This gave rise to a new flood of big-character posters and critical articles. In a few days, every available wall around their campus was covered with big-character posters condemning the handful of top Party persons in authority taking the capitalist road. In Shanghai, Fudan University's revolutionary teachers and students have produced masses of propaganda



material, drawn many cartoons, posters and slogans and produced a number of stage items expressing their bitter hatred of China's Khrushchov and Co.

In this upsurge of mass revolutionary criticism and repudiation, Shanghai's proletarian revolutionaries of all trades and professions have carried their big-character posters out into the streets and lanes. With lines of posters on both sides and crowds of people reading, copying and animatedly discussing them, Nanking and Huaihai Roads — Shanghai's two busiest thoroughfares — have been turned into "long exhibition corridors" exposing and denouncing the crimes committed against the Party and socialism by China's Khrushchov and his agents in Shanghai. Columns of big-character posters also appear in side streets. By exposing the counter-revolutionary crimes of China's Khrushchov and making them known to practically every Chinese household, such revolutionary posters are playing an important role in eliminating the poisonous influence of revisionism among the masses.

### Clearing Out Revisionist Poison

Factory workers in Peking and Shanghai denounce the pernicious revisionist programme of industrial management drawn up by China's Khrushchov and Co., and are linking up this denunciation with the tasks of struggle, criticism and transformation in their enterprises. They are angrily exposing and repudiating the crimes committed by the handful of persons trying to bring about a capitalist restoration in their enterprises.

As in Peking, revolutionary teachers and students in Shanghai's universities, colleges and middle schools are carrying to a new high their criticism and repudiation of the counter-revolutionary revisionist educational line and its chief backer, China's Khrushchov. Taking Chairman Mao's revolutionary educational line as their guide, they are making an all-out effort to destroy the bourgeois educational system, policy and methods and establish proletarian ones.

A widespread mass movement for criticizing and repudiating the sinister line in literature and art and its chief backer, China's Khrushchov, is stirring literary and art circles. Revolutionary teachers and students in the Shanghai Conservatory have started an intensive criticism of that big poisonous weed, the violin concerto *Liang Shan-po and Chu Ying-tai* which was hailed as a "model of a national and mass style" by both big and small capitalist roaders.



Commune members of the Hsunhua Sala Nationality Autonomous County, Chinghai Province, meet during a break in field work to denounce the towering crimes committed by the top Party person in authority taking the capitalist road

Linking the tasks of struggle-criticism-transformation in their own units with vigorous repudiation of the handful of top Party persons in authority taking the capitalist road, workers in such departments as finance and trade, journalism, publications, united front work and overseas Chinese affairs in Shanghai are determined to sweep away all the poisonous revisionist influence spread by this handful in every field.

In Shantung Province eleven liaison centres for mass criticism of the revisionist line have been set up in departments dealing with industry and communications, finance and trade, education and youth affairs.

Members of the people's communes in the rural suburbs of Peking and Shanghai and in Heilungkiang, Shantung, Anhwei and Kweichow Provinces are denouncing the reactionary fallacies spread by China's Khrushchov about "exploitation having its merits," and that private plots, free markets and small enterprises with sole responsibility for their own profits and loss should be encouraged, that output quotas should be based on the household and that material incentives should be used.

This peasant mass criticism has entered a broader and deeper phase. The members of the Lukouchiao Brigade of the Lukouchiao People's Commune on the outskirts of Peking have held dozens of meetings to criticize and repudiate China's Khrushchov. This is the busy field season in Shantung Province. But even now the broad mass of revolutionary cadres and peasants in many people's communes are using their field breaks to press on with their mass criticism.

Inspired with the deepest love for Chairman Mao and the deepest hatred for China's Khrushchov and the handful of capitalist roaders in the army, a gigantic mass movement of exposure, repudiation and struggle

against China's Khrushchov and his underlings has unfolded in the leading organs of the Chinese People's Liberation Army and among the commanders and fighters of the units stationed in Peking. The broad mass of commanders and fighters of the units under the Peking Military Command too have gone into action in a big way to expose all the crimes of this top Party person in authority taking the capitalist road and show him up in his true colours.

人民日报  
RENMIN RIBAO

## Vietnam's Great War Against U.S. Aggression and for National Salvation Will Triumph

FULL of confidence the heroic Vietnamese people are carrying on their great war against U.S. aggression and for national salvation and have won one brilliant victory after another.

A year ago, President Ho Chi Minh in his Appeal solemnly declared that no matter how truculent the U.S. imperialists might become, "never will they be able to break the iron will of the heroic Vietnamese people to fight against U.S. aggression, for national salvation." He said, "The war may still last 5, 10, 20 years or longer," but the Vietnamese army and people, "united as one man, will resolutely fight till complete victory whatever the sacrifices and hardships may be." That was the unanimous pledge of the 31 million Vietnamese people who are determined to carry their war against U.S. aggression and for national salvation through to the end.

The situation in the Vietnamese people's war against U.S. aggression and for national salvation is becoming better with each passing day. While the army and people of north Vietnam are striking telling blows at the U.S. air marauders, the army and people of south Vietnam, after hard-fought battles, have smashed the U.S. aggressors' second "dry season offensive" and scored a tremendous victory. As Comrade Truong Son pointed out in his recent article which appeared in the Vietnamese *People's Army* (see p. 13), this victory has clearly created for the Vietnamese people "a political and strategic situation which is more stable and favourable than ever before, a situation which contains new factors, new potentialities and new preconditions for us to win doubly great victories which can definitely be won."

In crushing the U.S. aggressors' second "dry season offensive," the south Vietnamese army and people firmly held the initiative on the battlefield as they had

The Peking and Shanghai press has recently published a number of important articles exposing and denouncing the crimes committed by China's Khrushchov in railroading through the counter-revolutionary revisionist line in education, and attempting to undermine the revolution in Peking opera and strangle the mass movement for the study of Chairman Mao's works. These articles have attracted the greatest attention among the people.

always done before. In actual fact, they gained a greater initiative. The U.S. aggressors who had only known defeats in their war of aggression against Vietnam have never given up trying to seize the initiative on the battlefield from the south Vietnamese people so as to turn the tide. However, the Johnson Administration has failed to achieve this end, although it has thrown into the war more than a million U.S. and puppet troops and had launched the second "dry season offensive." The result has been that the U.S. aggressor forces have sustained even worse defeats and landed themselves in an even more passive situation in which they took a heavy beating. It is quite clear from this that U.S. imperialism is powerless in face of its inevitable and total defeat in Vietnam.

The army and people of south Vietnam have given full play to the might of people's war and employed flexible strategy and tactics. They have taken full advantage of their own strong points and the weaknesses of the enemy and have thus forced the enemy to be scattered and landed it in a situation in which it can be attacked from all sides. On the other hand, the U.S. aggressors have never been able to find any trace of the main force of the liberation army, far less to strike at it. In this way, the army and people of south Vietnam have badly mauled the U.S. aggressor troops who are equipped with modern weapons.

The south Vietnamese army and people have given full play to the strategic role of the three main parts of their armed forces: the regular forces, the regional forces and the militia. They have closely co-ordinated and adopted various kinds of tactics and methods in fighting the enemy and in dealing one blow after another at him.

While intensifying their attacks on the enemy in the mountainous and rural areas, the south Vietnamese

army and people have also increased their surprise attacks against enemy military bases and the cities, bringing unexpected losses to the enemy. This has been largely responsible for wearing down and disintegrating the enemy militarily and demoralizing it politically.

The south Vietnamese army and people are now capable of wiping out whole enemy companies, battalions and regiments, and putting out of action huge numbers of enemy effectives. According to incomplete statistics, a total of 175,000 enemy troops, including 70,000 Americans, were wiped out by the south Vietnamese army and people in the last dry season. This was 60,000 more U.S. and puppet troops wiped out than in the previous dry season.

The 14 million south Vietnamese people waging a heroic war of resistance on a territory of 170,000 square kilometres have trounced the U.S. aggressors who are supposed to be the most powerful in the world. This is a miracle in the history of war, a magnificent feat of the Vietnamese nation and an achievement that has shaken the world.

Our great leader Chairman Mao Tse-tung has pointed out: **Only by waging a people's war can we defeat the national enemy.** The Vietnamese people's war against U.S. aggression and for national salvation is a real people's war. The Vietnamese people have applied Chairman Mao's theory of people's war and its strategy and tactics to their own practical fighting, made their own great creations and thus set yet another splendid example of people's war. Their victories have tied down and wiped out a large number of troops of U.S. imperialism, upset its military deployments under its counter-revolutionary global strategy and immensely boosted the world people's confidence in the struggle against U.S. imperialism. The Vietnamese people have provided valuable experience for the oppressed nations and people to defeat imperialism and its lackeys and made immense contributions to the cause of world revolution.

The U.S. aggressor which has suffered one defeat after another in south Vietnam has had to reinforce its troop strength time and again. The total manpower it threw into the second "dry season offensive" surpassed the level of its war of aggression against Korea. The result, however, was still a defeat. Top U.S. brasshats racked their brains to find some other way out. But they could find none. So they still had to use the old method: more reinforcements. But the U.S. troop supply is nearly running out. Westmoreland, chief of the U.S. aggressor forces in Vietnam, and McNamara, U.S. Secretary of Defence, had a fierce quarrel over the number of additional troops to be sent to south Vietnam. One called for more troops which the other could not spare. So they quarrelled and quarrelled. This reflects the hopeless state in which the U.S. aggressor has found itself. As a matter of fact, even if the United States manages to transfer some tens of thousands of additional troops from other fronts to south Vietnam, what useful purpose can they possibly serve? Have facts not provided enough proof that more U.S. rein-

forcements only lead to heavier casualties and worse defeats for the Yankees?

The U.S. aggressor can neither win victory nor withstand a protracted war in Vietnam. Its fatal weaknesses such as an over-extended war front, a too distant rear, insufficient troop strength and low morale, will inevitably become more pronounced with the development of the war. This ferocious-looking U.S. imperialism has more and more clearly revealed its paper tiger nature under the pounding blows of the Vietnamese people.

Just when the Vietnamese people's war against U.S. aggression and for national salvation was winning one victory after another and U.S. imperialism was in dire straits, the Soviet revisionist clique's chieftain Kosygin went to the United States to conclude a monstrous deal with the U.S. imperialist ringleader Johnson on the Vietnam question. Subsequently, a number of U.S. senators came out with a "five-step program" for a bombing halt in Vietnam to induce "peace talks." This was evidently a product of the Hollybush conspiracy. Kosygin made suggestions to and offered ideas for the U.S. imperialist "peace talks" hoax and ran errands for it. This constitutes a most flagrant act of betrayal of the Vietnamese people by the Soviet revisionist clique.

The Soviet revisionist clique—a pack of most despicable renegades—betray the people's revolution everywhere and try to put out the flames of people's revolution in all parts of the world. They seek by hook or crook to prevent the oppressed nations and people from taking up weapons to wage armed struggle. Where the people have already taken up arms, they try in a thousand and one ways to make them stop fighting and lay down their arms; where the people's armed struggle has achieved great victories, they madly attempt to make them abandon the fruits of their victorious revolution. The Soviet revisionists are the No. 1 accomplice of U.S. imperialism in suppressing the peoples' revolutionary struggle, a fire brigade to put down the peoples' revolutionary wars and an international gendarme for stamping out the peoples' revolutionary movements. The role played by the Soviet revisionist clique on the Vietnam question is just such a villainous one.

On the Vietnam question, there has all along been an acute and complex struggle between the two lines in the international arena. The Chinese Communist Party and the Chinese people together with the Marxist-Leninists and the revolutionary people the world over persevere in the revolutionary line of Marxism-Leninism, Mao Tse-tung's thought and firmly support the Vietnamese people in carrying the war against U.S. aggression and for national salvation through to the end until final victory. The Soviet revisionist clique follow an out-and-out counter-revolutionary line, do their utmost to help U.S. imperialism push ahead with its "peace talks" conspiracy, betray the revolutionary interests of the Vietnamese people and strive to stamp out the Vietnamese people's war against U.S. aggression and



for national salvation so as to bring the Vietnam question into the orbit of "U.S.-Soviet collaboration."

The struggle between the two lines on the Vietnam question is the concentrated expression of the acuteness of international class struggle. Chairman Mao has pointed out: **"Either the East wind prevails over the West wind or the West wind prevails over the East wind; there is no room for compromise in the struggle between the two lines."** To oppose imperialism it is imperative resolutely to oppose the counter-revolutionary line of the Soviet revisionist clique. There is no middle road in the struggle between the two lines.

Our great leader Chairman Mao says: **"We are now in a great new era of world revolution. The revolutionary upheaval in Asia, Africa and Latin America is sure to deal the whole of the old world a decisive and crushing blow. The great victories of the Vietnamese people's war against U.S. aggression and for national salvation are convincing proof of this."**

The revolutionary situation in Asia, Africa and Latin America now is excellent. In Southeast Asia, in particular, flames of national revolutionary and peo-

ple's revolutionary wars have been kindled everywhere. This situation is more favourable to the Vietnamese people's war against U.S. aggression and for national salvation than ever before. The heroic Vietnamese people will certainly be able to finish off the U.S. aggressors finally and win complete liberation of the Vietnamese nation and the reunification of the fatherland so long as they persist in the revolutionary line and in a protracted war.

We, the Chinese people, are close comrades-in-arms sharing the same destiny and weal and woe with the Vietnamese people. It is the sacred internationalist obligation of the Chinese people to support the Vietnamese people's war against U.S. aggression and for national salvation. The 700 million Chinese people are a strong backing for and China's spacious land is a dependable rear area of the Vietnamese people. However wild the storm may rage, the 700 million Chinese people armed with Mao Tse-tung's thought will unwaveringly unite with the Vietnamese people and struggle to drive the U.S. aggressors out of Vietnam.

*("Renmin Ribao" editorial, July 21.)*

## Insidious U.S.-Soviet Collaboration Policy

by "RENMIN RIBAO" COMMENTATOR

**F**INDING itself in an impasse on the south Vietnam battlefield, U.S. imperialism is now, with the collaboration of the Soviet revisionist clique, vigorously pushing its scheme for luring the Vietnamese people into "peace talks" and forcing them to surrender.

The Johnson Administration of late has been planning to send more reinforcements to south Vietnam and has extended its bombing of north Vietnam, including the Red River dam. It has used B-52s to bomb the demilitarized zone. At the same time, Rusk has come out with the proposal aimed at inducing "peace talks through a bombing pause," clamouring that "the problem of our stopping the bombing is not a serious one" so long as the Vietnamese people agree to a "de-escalation." This is sheer deception.

It is crystal clear that U.S. imperialism has been escalating the war of aggression against Vietnam. Why, then, the demagogic call for "de-escalation"? The answer is simple. Despite repeated reinforcements for offensive action in south Vietnam and the continued bombing of north Vietnam, U.S. imperialism has been unable to save itself from defeat. This latest scheme is to gain a respite by tying the hands of the Vietnamese people and to achieve its aim of permanently occupying south Vietnam by trapping the Vietnamese people into "peace talks."

There is no question of "de-escalation" in Vietnam today. Since U.S. imperialism has sent hundreds of thousands of troops to commit aggression in Vietnam, the Vietnamese people must strike relentlessly at the U.S. aggressors. Whether or not there will be

more reinforcements and bombing, so long as the U.S. aggressors do not quit the soil of Vietnam lock, stock and barrel, the heroic and militant Vietnamese people will carry on their war against U.S. aggression and for national salvation and will never consent to any "de-escalation." If the U.S. imperialists think they can, by using the trick of "de-escalation," get what they have failed to obtain by "escalation," they are day-dreaming.

Rusk also said glibly: "We are prepared to go to a Geneva conference." This, too, is sheer deception. The Geneva agreements were long ago torn to shreds by U.S. imperialism and not a trace remains. The two discredited co-chairmen of the Geneva conference, the Soviet revisionist clique and the British Government, are nothing but accomplices of the U.S. aggressors. For U.S. imperialism to still talk about convening the Geneva conference today is a huge joke!

Rusk's offer which is aimed at inducing "peace talks through a bombing pause" is the product of Soviet-U.S. collaboration and the Glassboro talks. Through its monstrous betrayal of the Arab countries in the Middle East events, the Soviet revisionist clique has won the appreciation of its American boss. Thus it has become more enthusiastic about the whole business. One of the most important items in Soviet-U.S. global collaboration is the Vietnam question. According to the Western press, during the talks, Kosygin urgently asked Johnson to issue orders for a pause in the U.S. bombing of north Vietnam while Johnson urged Kosygin to make another effort to "induce Hanoi" to carry out a "mutual de-escalation" in the

Vietnam war. Sure enough, Kosygin called for a "bombing pause" after the Glassboro talks, while Rusk plugged his "de-escalation" rubbish, both of them in tune with the Hollybush score. Kosygin, as the Western press put it, is Johnson's most influential adviser on the Vietnam question. But in fact, this most influential adviser is merely a most useful flunkey.

Chairman Mao has said that the fine words of imperialism "are nothing but cunning bait to hook the fish, so that whoever swallows the bait must expect to be well and truly cooked." Working in collusion with the Soviet revisionist clique, U.S. imperialism is now pursuing this sinister policy towards the Vietnamese people. But the raging flames of the Vietnamese people's struggle to resist U.S. aggression and for national

salvation will never be stamped out. The U.S. imperialists have long partnered the Soviet revisionists in making repeated efforts to lure the Vietnamese people into "peace talks" and force them to surrender. But they have failed to shake the iron will and determination of the Vietnamese people to resist U.S. aggression and save their country. President Ho Chi Minh solemnly declared in his Appeal a year ago: The army and people of Vietnam, "united as one man, will resolutely fight till complete victory whatever the sacrifices and hardships may be." This is the pledge of the 31 million Vietnamese people. All schemes by U.S. imperialism and Soviet revisionism will only end in failure in face of the heroic Vietnamese people.

(*"Renmin Ribao," July 23.*)

## Peop'e's War in South Vietnam

# Lessons From the Glorious Victories In the Dry-Season Battles

by TRUONG SON

*The Hanoi press recently published an article by Truong Son entitled "1966-1967 Winter-Spring Victory — Five Lessons From the Success in Strategic Military Leadership." The article was written for the Vietnamese journal "People's Army." A summary follows:*

**H**AVING suffered stunning blows in the 1965-66 dry season, the Johnson-McNamara clique again suffered bitter failures in both south and north Vietnam in the rainy season. That is why, when the 1966-67 dry season began, they made the big decision to launch a new strategic counter-offensive by throwing in one and half times as many troops as in the previous dry season, and with twice or even three times the fire power, war equipment and materiel. In making this strategic decision the United States cherished a wild ambition, namely, to try and win important victories in its "pincers operations" — "search and destroy" and "pacification" — thus hoping to bring about a turn for a decisive and early victory.

Under the leadership of the Central Committee of the National Front for Liberation, the liberation armed forces and people of south Vietnam had already made their own strategic decision containing these basic objectives: to defeat the one million U.S. and puppet troops, defeat their so-called "big pincers" strategic plan, resolutely smash their second strategic counter-offensive and create a new strategic situation for us as a pre-condition for winning still bigger victories.

Another dry season has now passed and the enemy has sustained another dismal defeat and we have won another major victory. This has strengthened our firm confidence and will, increased our strength and heightened our morale while the opposite is true for the

enemy. Fighting in a not very large area with a not very big population, we have defeated one million U.S., puppet and satellite troops, tipping the balance of force more and more in our favour. This is a spectacular victory; it is of tremendous importance.

Our victory in the winter of 1966 and spring of 1967 is unprecedented and of major and deep political and military significance. It has enabled us to see that the political supremacy of the revolution in the south has been kept up and has developed tremendously and that the moral supremacy of our people and the liberation armed forces has been proved more consolidated than ever after a trial of strength with a million U.S. and puppet troops. This moral superiority overwhelms the enemy at all times.

We not only have the determination to defeat the United States, but also know how to fight and fight victoriously, with both military and political means, combining these two aspects into an invincible strength of a comprehensive strategy. Proceeding from our deep knowledge of the realities in south Vietnam we have grasped the laws of development of south Vietnamese society, the laws of revolutionary struggle and uprising and the laws of people's war. We have made a combined use of these laws, turned them to account and stimulated their interactions, thus creating a situation in which the south Vietnam revolution can advance with steady and vigorous steps and even by leaps and bounds. At the same time, we have grasped and mastered the laws of development of neo-colonialism and correctly assessed the capabilities of the U.S. troops. Thus, our 1966-67 winter-spring victory is the result of a correct strategy and its application with



genius. As a result, the U.S. imperialists, though they have one million troops at their disposal, have been unable to act at will, and hold or regain the initiative. These exceptionally great successes have tempered us and enabled us to develop with increased speed. At the same time, they have provided us with numerous invaluable experiences which must be summed up.

**The first lesson** gained by the liberation forces and people in south Vietnam in their 1966-67 winter-spring victory is that **only by understanding the enemy's strategic determination and correctly analysing the laws and capabilities of action of the enemy can we rightly build our own strategic determination and fix our fighting pattern.**

One of the many reasons for our outstanding victory in the fighting last winter and spring was that, basically, from the very beginning we made a correct estimate of the enemy's strategic scheme and the laws of his actions. Basing ourselves on studies of the overall battlefield situation, the overall situation in the south and the related situation in the whole world, we believed that the enemy would definitely make great efforts and concentrate huge forces to mount a large-scale strategic counter-offensive in the 1966-67 dry season. We also correctly judged that although the United States had a strong strategic determination, very huge forces, very ambitious aims and exceedingly vicious and foul methods, these things carried with them many weaknesses, confusion and passivity. In other words, there were negative and fatal factors in the forces and measures by which the United States would try to carry out its decision.

From this we have drawn a number of conclusions for the direction of our actions, namely: We should not underestimate the enemy's strategic determination, for besides his weaknesses, he still has some strong points which must be taken into full account. We should make preparations to resolutely smash the enemy's plan for a new strategic counter-offensive. We have the objective conditions to defeat the enemy in this winter-spring campaign. But we must make all-out efforts.

We have correctly assessed the strategic abilities of the one million enemy troops so as to decide on a good method of fighting. Proceeding from the experience of the 1965-1966 dry season and from a revolutionary and scientific survey of the balance of forces and the strategic position of the two sides, the liberation armed forces and people of south Vietnam have concluded that although the enemy has considerably increased his troops and war equipment, his combat efficiency has not gone up. His one million troops are fighting a losing battle and are on the defensive. It is impossible for them to achieve any fairly big results in battles. We have correctly analysed the basic reasons why the enemy is bound to fail: the U.S. local war is being conducted on the basis of the defeat of its special warfare and hence the U.S. strategy, from the very beginning, has been a passive one; its troops are not as strong as people imagine; they have their strong points but

they also possess many basic and essential weaknesses; the rule of the puppet clique on which the United States relies is rotten to the core and the puppet troops are too weak; the U.S. troops are not fighting against a bourgeois army but are dealing with a people's war, a people's war in Vietnam in which our armymen and people are in a victorious position, have the initiative and are not fighting alone. That is why the neo-colonialist policy pursued by the United States in Vietnam and its local war of aggression there have met with one defeat after another.

**The second lesson is to maintain and develop the superiority of continual offensive, firmly hold and expand the initiative on the battlefield and force the enemy to fight on our terms.**

As we entered the 1966-67 dry season, we energetically stepped up the tempo and enlarged the scope of our attacks on the enemy, and maintained and extended our initiative on the battlefield on the basis of our victories and expanded scope of attack. The liberation armed forces and people of south Vietnam hold that in the conditions when the enemy is making all-out efforts and using a big force to extend the strategic counter-offensive, if they are not determined to mount continuous attacks to maintain and develop their initiative on the battlefield, not only will they be unable to annihilate the enemy and win greater victories, but will be decimated and even gradually driven back into a defensive position. Therefore, the only and most effective way to maintain and develop the initiative is to attack the enemy resolutely and continuously at all times and in all places so that he can scarcely have any room for manoeuvre. The power of our continued offensives is a comprehensive power in the military as well as in the political field. It is the all-embracing power of all our forces, of all battlefields, all sorts of warfare, and all scales and forms of offensive, a power which steadily builds up our overwhelming superiority over the enemy and maintains and develops our initiative in the revolutionary war.

To maintain and develop the initiative on the battlefield and strive for victory, our armymen and people have brought into full play their determination to fight and defeat the one million U.S. and puppet troops. A vigorous campaign has swept the whole of south Vietnam in which people vie with each other in their determination to defeat the U.S. gangsters. All south Vietnam has been burning with hatred for the enemy and with the desire to wipe out the U.S. and puppet troops. Our absolute political and moral superiority is the firm basis for continuous offensive and for maintaining the initiative, the most important cause of all the victories of our armed forces and people and the source of their wonderful strength which has played the decisive role in defeating the one million enemy troops this dry season.

We must force the enemy to fight on our terms and make ourselves the master of the battlefield. It is necessary to force the enemy to split and scatter his

forces, in other words, to split the enemy and strike him everywhere and make him hesitate between concentration and dispersion, between mobility and static occupation and between defence and attack. The more he tries to unravel the skein, the more he gets tangled. We do not allow the enemy to fight in his own way. Our tactics are to concentrate and disperse our forces rapidly without clear fronts or fixed targets, make sudden appearances and vanish instantly, sometimes fight big battles, sometimes small ones, or big and small ones simultaneously, attack the enemy simultaneously in all places and from all directions, in front, in the rear and on the flanks, strike into his formations and in the midst of his operations, and use our courage and intelligence to defeat the enemy and seize victories in the most unexpected way.

**The third lesson is to grasp and correctly handle the relationship between the task of annihilating enemy forces and that of upholding and developing the people's authority and to promote closer combination of armed struggle with political struggle and with political agitation among the enemy troops.**

The enemy has been combining military activities with political and economic manoeuvres according to a "pincers" plan for carrying out simultaneously his "search and destroy" operations and "pacification" programme. This has three strategic objectives: to wipe out the liberation armed forces, occupy land and enslave the people. But the enemy has met with repeated and powerful attacks and counter-attacks from the south Vietnam liberation armed forces and people. His "pincers" plan for carrying out "search and destroy" operations and the "pacification" programme has been smashed.

Through their practice in the struggle, the south Vietnam liberation forces and people have come to realize that they must grasp and correctly handle the relationship between the task of annihilating enemy forces and that of upholding the people's authority in accordance with the characteristics of the south Vietnam revolutionary war and in conformity with our strategic line. This is also a question of relationship between the front line and the rear, a question of fighting the enemy while preserving and nurturing our resistance potentials and destroying the rear and war potential of the enemy. It is to uphold and develop the people's authority that we are wiping out enemy forces. Inversely, we are upholding the people's authority in order to wipe out enemy forces. Since the question is correctly formulated and properly understood, every locality, or every unit, in giving guidance or in actual operation, always remembers to carry out the ideas of wiping out the enemy and defending the people and territory in its plans. Many localities also know how to use their successes in wiping out the enemy to expand the people's authority and consolidate and develop the base areas, and, at the same time, to use the results of expanding the people's authority to wipe out more enemy forces and win

increasingly great victories both militarily and politically.

The vigorous combination of military struggle with political struggle and political agitation among the enemy troops has demonstrated its tremendous strength. In co-ordination with the armed struggle which is developing powerfully and extensively, political struggle has surged ahead. In 1966, an aggregate total of 11 million people participated in political struggles, or a two-fold increase over 1965. Ideological and organizational work among the masses in the countryside and in the cities and towns has been strengthened. The distribution of land and the struggle for reduced land rents and usury rates have showed their extremely important significance. The campaigns to raise production in the plains and mountain areas have also produced a tremendous effect. The N.F.L.'s policies and its policy on nationalities in south Vietnam have made outstanding achievements. The political offensive against the puppet army and administration has become more and more effective, and so on.

**The fourth lesson is to steadily improve the way of fighting which is characteristic of people's war, so as to increase combat efficiency and produce better results in operations and greater strategic effect.**

Last winter and this spring, our way of fighting people's war has demonstrated its absolute superiority. Our forces have fought on all battlefields and all our three types of armed forces have fought well and won great victories. Guerrilla warfare has developed extensively and reached a climax. More varied and flexible tactics have been adopted. Many new ways of fighting have been created on every battlefield, in every locality and by every type of our armed forces. The superiority, originality and high effectiveness displayed in the way of fighting which is characteristic of people's war in south Vietnam have manifested themselves in the following points:

It gives full scope to the armed forces of all types and the entire 14 million people of south Vietnam in their actions to annihilate the enemy and save the country. Everybody can take part in the fighting against the enemy by using suitable means.

It turns to full account all types of weapons, from the most rudimentary to the up-to-date, and engenders a tremendous, well-integrated power to annihilate the enemy. Anything, a stick, a shoulder-pole, a stone, becomes a weapon in our people's hands.

It enables us both to defeat the enemy by using a big force against a small force or a small force against a big force, and both these methods of fighting are used in combination.

It enables us to fight small as well as big battles, and to co-ordinate small, medium and big battles.

Widespread small actions of the liberation forces have enabled them to decimate and wipe out enemy forces in wide areas, pin them down or scatter them

so as to strike at them more effectively. Big fighting on different scales has also been conducted repeatedly and flexibly; like a powerful fist, it deals firm blows at the enemy and increases his casualty rate.

It enables us to defeat the enemy in all circumstances, within or without fortifications, in his rear or bases, day or night, in all areas from the mountainous region to the plains, as well as in cities and towns.

It enables us either to fight independent battles or to launch stage-by-stage operations which form a campaign. Our way of fighting is characterized by the fact that each individual and each unit can by himself or itself find the enemy and wipe him out independently or in close co-ordination with one another, according to a unified plan of action at every stage and for every campaign.

It enables us to attack the enemy in all fields, military, political and economic.

The way of fighting in people's war in south Vietnam has reached a high level of development and has demonstrated its tremendous force. This force is embodied not only in a most resolute spirit of offensive based on the eagerness of the masses to wipe out the enemy and perform brave deeds, but also in a high level of rational organization and distribution of work and a high standard of strategy, tactics and combat technique of the south Vietnam liberation armed forces and people. Since their way of fighting is of a highly revolutionary, scientific and mass character, the south Vietnamese liberation armed forces and people have won ever greater victories and grown ever stronger in the course of fighting.

**The fifth lesson is to attach importance to the building and development of the two forces [political and military — Ed.] and the three kinds of armed forces and correctly handle the relationship between quantity and quality.**

Confronted by the new and most serious U.S. efforts to step up the war, we have worked with great energy to develop both our political and our armed forces. Never before has our political force developed so powerfully as in this winter-spring campaign. It has rallied all strata of the people and all patriotic Vietnamese into a united fight against the U.S. imperialist aggressors and their henchmen, the clique of traitors, to win national independence and to reunify the fatherland.

Our liberation forces and people have made great efforts in increasing their armed strength. Great importance has been attached to all our three armed forces, which have been developed in a planned way, evenly, and proportionately. The militia and guerrilla movement has widely grown and has brought into full play the entire people's strength in their attack on the enemy. Through the test of practical struggle, we have produced many guerrilla units and self-defence units which are good at wiping out the enemy and boosting

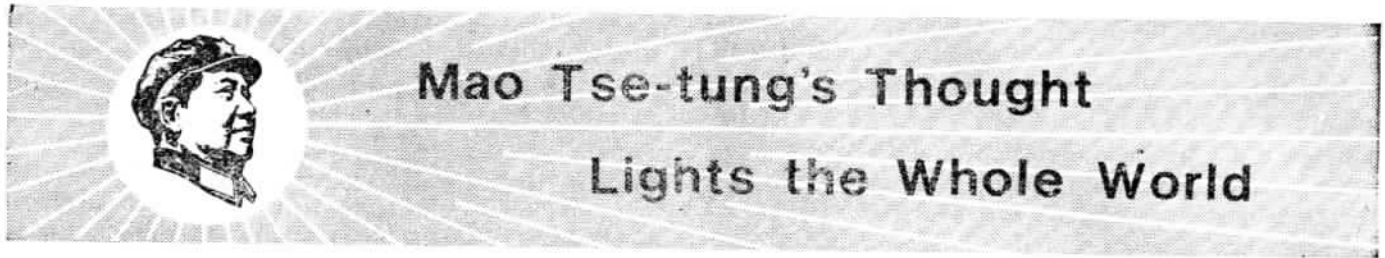
production. The guerrillas not only have great courage and fairly good equipment, but they also use very ingenious and flexible fighting methods. The strengthened regional forces have become powerful mobile units of their localities on all battlefields. They can become highly independent in combat, co-ordinate with the regular army in concentrated fighting, or co-operate closely with the militia and guerrillas to wipe out enemy forces and protect the people. The regular army has been strengthened and has become units with high combativity and mobility, capable of attacking the enemy on all terrains and on any scale by skilfully using all tactical forms and various kinds of combat methods. They are now strong enough to annihilate quickly and completely from one to many battalions of U.S., puppet and satellite troops comprising of infantry, tank and armoured car units. This means that each of our three armed forces has reached a rather high level of combativity, strong enough to fulfil its functions, and that all these forces in particular have been rationally deployed on all battlefields and can now bring their strategic role and effect into full play everywhere.

In preparing ourselves to defeat the one million enemy troops at any time, and basing ourselves on our strategic tasks and line, we stand for the building of a revolutionary armed force with broad and powerful militia and guerrilla units and well-trained regional and regular armies in appropriate numbers. One of the key problems in turning to full account the strength of these armed forces is to improve their quality. Thus we can entirely rely on our own superb liberation armed forces to defeat the numerically strong enemy by using a force of high quality and appropriate numbers, closely combining our three types of armed forces which have been rationally deployed and particularly by giving full play to the effective methods of fighting in a people's war with all its superiority.

The heroic liberation armed forces and people in south Vietnam have defeated and are still defeating the one million U.S. and puppet troops, and have achieved resounding victories. The heroic armed forces and people in north Vietnam have been winning splendid victories over the United States in its war of destruction. The U.S. bandits have suffered heavy defeats. Their forces have been seriously decimated, and they find themselves in dire straits. But they have some strength left, and remain stubborn and cruel. We now have more favourable conditions than ever in our fight against U.S. aggression and for national salvation. However, to win new and greater victories, we must overcome many difficulties and hardships, some of which we may not have met before.

But "pure gold is not afraid of being tested in fire." We have fought one million troops of the United States and the puppet clique. We are determined to fight, even if there are two million of them. We are resolved to carry on our fight even if it will last another 5, 10 or 20 years or longer. We shall surely be victorious!





## A Brilliant Contribution to the Development of Marxism

— On Studying Chairman Mao's *On the Correct Handling of Contradictions Among the People*

by Michael Shapiro (Britain)

When *On the Correct Handling of Contradictions Among the People* first appeared, in 1957, an old Party member wrote to me from England asking me to explain what Comrade Mao Tse-tung meant in the second sentence of this passage:

**"The proletariat seeks to transform the world according to its own world outlook, and so does the bourgeoisie. In this respect, the question of which will win out, socialism or capitalism, is still not really settled."**

This sentence had brought her up sharp. It was the stock belief at that time — even though Khrushchov had already appeared on the scene and the Hungarian incident had occurred — that given the seizure of

power by the proletariat and the socialist ownership of the means of production, there could be no going back. As for classes, class struggle and contradictions, there was a blank refusal by many comrades to recognize that they existed in socialist society.

The stirring events and struggles in the last ten years and, above all, the brilliant leadership in theory and practice — especially in the great proletarian cultural revolution — given by Comrade Mao Tse-tung have opened people's eyes.

*On the Correct Handling of Contradictions Among the People* has played a great role. It was published at a crucial moment in the history of the Chinese and world communist movement. In many countries the Communist Parties were rocking and confused under the impact of the new wave of revisionism unleashed by Khrushchov. Large numbers of people had withdrawn from the Communist Party. Adding to the confusion, various so-called communist theorists even began to question the very nature of socialism. This brilliant work of Chairman Mao helped comrades all over the world to correctly analyse the events in the international communist movement.

From the moment it was published, it immediately became a material force in the sharp struggle between revolution and counter-revolution, between progress and reaction. It provided revolutionaries in China and throughout the world with a sharp new urgently-needed weapon with which to beat back the onslaughts of imperialism and revisionism at that time.

People have been living in class society for thousands of years, with a relative handful of exploiters living off the millions of exploited. Then in 1917, the working class took over power in one country and became the ruling class. It had never happened before in all history, except for the 72 days in 1871, when the workers of Paris "stormed heaven" and established their commune.

But less than 40 years after the establishment of the first dictatorship of the proletariat, and less than 15 years after it had so strikingly proved its superiority at Stalingrad, that turning point in world history, a political blight hit the Soviet Union in the shape of



Somali youth reading a paragraph of Quotations From Chairman Mao Tse-tung

Khrushchov and his modern revisionism. The revisionist gang that usurped political power proceeded to change the political complexion of the Soviet Union and restore capitalism.

How did Khrushchov revisionism emerge in the socialist Soviet Union? What had gone wrong? What had Lenin and Stalin left undone?

Lenin had seen the problem. Again and again he warned comrades against the dangers of bourgeois efforts to subvert the dictatorship of the proletariat. He pointed out that the bourgeoisie remained stronger than the proletariat, even after the latter seized power, and would always attempt to make a come-back. In addition, small production was constantly generating capitalism and a new bourgeoisie.

But Lenin did not live to solve the problem in practice. Stalin—great Marxist-Leninist though he was—failed, on the level of theory, to recognize that classes and class struggle continued throughout the period of the dictatorship of the proletariat. He therefore failed to make a clear distinction between the two different kinds of contradictions in a socialist society, those between ourselves and the enemy and those among the people.

Thus it fell to Comrade Mao Tse-tung to solve the vital problem posed by history. And he provided mankind with a comprehensive, all-embracing and correct Marxist-Leninist solution.

*On the Correct Handling of Contradictions Among the People* is a brilliant contribution to the development of Marxism. In this great document, Chairman Mao developed the Marxist-Leninist theory on materialist dialectics, class struggle and the dictatorship of the proletariat creatively and with genius.

As far back as August 1937, in *On Contradiction*, Comrade Mao Tse-tung had already explained that **“Contradiction and struggle are universal and absolute, but the methods of resolving contradictions, that is, the forms of struggle, differ according to the differences in the nature of the contradictions.”**

In his *On the Correct Handling of Contradictions Among the People* Chairman Mao carried his analysis further. He said that in socialist China **“the class struggle is by no means over. The class struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie, the class struggle between the different political forces, and the class struggle in the ideological field between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie will continue to be long and tortuous and at times will even become very acute.”** He also said: **“It will take a fairly long period of time to decide the issue in the ideological struggle between socialism and capitalism in our country.”**

The central issue in a socialist society, after the basic completion of the socialist transformation of ownership of the means of production, is one of true recognition of the continued existence of classes and class struggle, and of recognition that, in the final analysis, this class struggle is a struggle for political power, one between the proletariat which wants to con-

solidate the dictatorship of the proletariat and the bourgeoisie which wants to overthrow it.

For the first time in the history of Marxism the great Chairman Mao, having summed up the experience of the dictatorship of the proletariat both in China and abroad, has solved the problem of carrying forward the revolution under the conditions of the dictatorship of the proletariat. By so doing, he has prevented a capitalist restoration in socialist China and opened the channel for the advance to communism.

In distinguishing between the two types of contradictions—those between ourselves and the enemy and those among the people—*On the Correct Handling of Contradictions Among the People* explains what is meant by the people.

Chairman Mao says: **“To understand these two different types of contradictions correctly, we must first be clear on what is meant by ‘the people’ and what is meant by ‘the enemy’. The concept of ‘the people’ varies in content in different countries and in different periods of history in the same country.”**

A clear understanding of this point is of vital importance to revolutionaries everywhere. In Britain, for example, as in many other countries, the Communist Party is completely revisionist. Turning its back on Marxism-Leninism, Mao Tse-tung’s thought, it is treating the contradictions inherent in imperialism and capitalism as though they were not antagonistic.

Inevitably, young Marxist-Leninist groups are growing up. They are becoming active and are arguing out vital questions. A deeper study of Comrade Mao Tse-tung’s teachings on this as on other points can help them avoid many pitfalls in the way of their advance.

It is important today to study and restudy this brilliant work of Chairman Mao’s.

Study of this great work and its contribution to the world communist movement helps everyone to understand the correctness of the striking summation made by the *Red Flag (Hongqi)* and the *People’s Daily (Renmin Ribao)* on May 18, 1967.

Here the whole history of the development of Marxism is defined as marked by **“three monumental milestones”**:

“Marx and Engels founded the theory of scientific socialism.

“Lenin and Stalin developed Marxism, solved a series of questions of the proletarian revolution in the era of imperialism and solved the theoretical and practical questions of establishing the dictatorship of the proletariat in one country.

“Comrade Mao Tse-tung has developed Marxism-Leninism, solved a series of questions of the proletarian revolution in the present era and solved the theoretical and practical questions of carrying on the revolution and preventing a restoration of capitalism under the dictatorship of the proletariat.”

Glory to the greatest Marxist-Leninist of our era, Comrade Mao Tse-tung, the banner of the world revolution!

*(Slightly abridged.)*



# Down With the Capitulationism of China's Khrushchov!

by CHENG LI-CHIA

FOR decades the top Party person in authority taking the capitalist road has been consistently opposed to the proletarian revolutionary line represented by Chairman Mao, persisted in a line of class and national capitulationism, and dreamt of setting China on to the road to capitalism.

Always an agent of the bourgeoisie in the Party, he is the Khrushchov of China in every sense of the term.

## Who Should Lead the Chinese Revolution?

Who should lead the Chinese revolution? Should the proletariat exercise leadership in the struggle to seize political power? These are cardinal issues of right or wrong concerning the future of the revolution and the destiny of the country.

Chairman Mao has pointed out: **"Is the proletariat to follow the bourgeoisie, or is the bourgeoisie to follow the proletariat? This question of responsibility for leadership in the Chinese revolution is the linchpin upon which the success or failure of the revolution depends"** and **"we must sharply pose the question of who is to lead and must resolutely combat capitulationism."**

On the question of who should lead whom, the proletarian revolutionary line represented by Chairman Mao has carried out a protracted and sharp struggle against the class capitulationist line of the top Party person in authority taking the capitalist road.

This person is an old-line class capitulationist. As far back as during the First Revolutionary Civil War, when the struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie to win leadership in the revolution became increasingly acute, he jumped forward to oppose the working class leading the revolutionary masses to seize state power. He raved that the Chinese proletariat was "immature" and that it was "out of the question right now" to "seize political power."

In March 1926, Chairman Mao published his brilliant work *Analysis of the Classes in Chinese Society*, in which he posed and answered the question of first importance for the revolution — who are our enemies and who are our friends.

Yet, six months later, this Khrushchov of China openly set himself against Chairman Mao's revolution-

ary line and went out of his way to glorify the Kuomintang as the party to assume leadership in the Chinese revolution.

His reactionary contention was a version of the capitulationist theory of the Right opportunist Chen Tu-hsiu. From the very start, he was a faithful follower of Chen Tu-hsiu's Right opportunist line. His reactionary contention served to co-ordinate, from inside the Party, with the Kuomintang Rightists' wild attacks on the Chinese proletariat and its political party.

In another brilliant work published in 1940, *On New Democracy*, Chairman Mao answered the important question of "whither China," on which the nation's attention was focused. Two years later, the Khrushchov of China again countered Chairman Mao's revolutionary line and continued to persist in his capitulationist line.

He proclaimed that "the three people's principles and the Kuomintang are a banner of great use" which "have a tremendous bearing on the Chinese revolution." He heaped praises on Chiang Kai-shek, the people's common enemy, asserting that Chiang "is also a banner," and that "we should also admit that Chiang is the leader in the construction of a new China."

In a word, as he saw it, the proletariat could not lead the Chinese revolution and the leadership of the revolution could only belong to the bourgeoisie, the Kuomintang and Chiang Kai-shek. Without the "banner" of the Kuomintang and Chiang Kai-shek, the Chinese revolution could not advance an inch. This is a purely traitorous theory.

This theory was a revival of Chen Tu-hsiu's capitulationist line during the First Revolutionary Civil War, and a development of the new Wang Ming-led capitulationist line inside the Party during the War of Resistance Against Japan.

While these class capitulationists were beside themselves in lauding the Kuomintang, public enemy Chiang Kai-shek launched three anti-Communist onslaughts in succession. Along with military attacks, he hired a handful of reactionary politicians, "metaphysics-mongers" and Trotskyites for wild political and ideological attacks in an attempt to destroy the Chinese Communist Party.

Had we acted according to the counter-revolutionary programme of the top Party person in authority taking the capitalist road and handed over the leadership of the revolution to Chiang Kai-shek's Kuomintang — an imperialist stooge and the people's common enemy — this would have been an outright betrayal of the revolution which would have finished off its future.

Chairman Mao taught us long ago: **"The leading force in our revolution is the industrial proletariat."** History proves that the leadership of the Chinese revolution must and can only belong to the proletariat. Without the leadership of the Chinese Communist Party, no revolution can be successful. The true banner leading the Chinese revolution is the Chinese Communist Party.

### **Armed Struggle, or the Parliamentary Road?**

Should the Chinese revolution take the road of armed struggle or the "parliamentary road"? This is an important aspect in the sharp struggle between the proletarian revolutionary line represented by Chairman Mao and the capitulationist line of the top Party person in authority taking the capitalist road.

Chairman Mao teaches us: **"Political power grows out of the barrel of a gun"; "the seizure of power by armed force, the settlement of the issue by war, is the central task and the highest form of revolution"; "the principal form of struggle in the Chinese revolution is armed struggle"; and "China's problems cannot be settled without armed force."**

Diametrically opposed to the proletarian revolutionary line, the top Party person in authority taking the capitalist road has always opposed armed struggle, advocated legal struggle and strongly pushed for the Second International's bankrupt "parliamentary road." At the beginning of 1946, he publicized that "the main form of struggle of the Chinese revolution has turned into a peaceful, parliamentary one. The struggle is legal mass struggle and parliamentary struggle."

He also said: "All the work of our Party should be reorientated and all our organizations modified, in order to go over to non-armed struggle as the main form of struggle to fit the new situation."

The so-called parliamentary road was thoroughly repudiated by Lenin long ago and had long become a worn-out weapon in the revisionist armoury. Lenin pointed out: **"Limiting the class struggle to the parliamentary struggle, or regarding the latter as the highest and decisive form, to which all the other forms of struggle are subordinate, is actually desertion to the side of the bourgeoisie against the proletariat."**\* The myth spread by the top Party person in authority taking the capitalist road that arms could be replaced by "ballots" had also been severely refuted by Lenin

long ago. Lenin said: **"Only scoundrels or simpletons can think that the proletariat must first win a majority in elections carried out under the yoke of the bourgeoisie, under the yoke of wage-slavery, and must then win power. This is the height of stupidity or hypocrisy; it is substituting elections, under the old system and with the old power, for class struggle and revolution."**\*\*

In order to realize his dream of a "parliamentary road," the top Party person in authority taking the capitalist road energetically advocated handing over the people's arms and selling out the Party's control over the army. In October 1937 when the Japanese imperialists extended their aggression to north China and the nation was in a crisis, he urged that all armed forces there be integrated into a united army which was to be under the leadership of the "Central Military Commission of the National Government (the Kuomintang reactionary government)."

In February 1938, he again proposed that all anti-Japanese armed forces in north China "must be united, to the maximum possible degree, under the direct command of the local, the north China and the central supreme military headquarters. They must execute the policies of the north China supreme political organ and of the central authorities. Wherever possible, military commanders at any level must be appointed or approved by a higher level." In a word, he advocated turning the people's armed forces, the power of military command, over to the Kuomintang. This is an out-and-out class capitulationist line.

Chairman Mao has told us: **"Without a people's army the people have nothing"; "Communists do not fight for personal military power . . . but they must fight for military power for the Party, for military power for the people"; and "the arms of the people, every gun and every bullet, must all be kept, must not be handed over."**

Practice in the protracted class struggle of the Chinese people has fully borne out this truth. After World War II, the French Communist Party and the Italian Communist Party, guided by the revisionist line, handed over their arms and took part in parliamentary elections. As a result, the victories won by the working people through struggle were completely forfeited. This is a tragic lesson. On the contrary, the heroic Vietnamese people who kept their arms after the war, succeeded not only in driving out the French imperialists, but also in defeating the U.S. imperialists.

In every way, the top Party person in authority taking the capitalist road advocated handing over the people's arms to the Kuomintang so as to deprive the Chinese people of the major means of seizing political power, consolidating it and defending the dictatorship of the proletariat. This is a grave crime against the revolution. The revolutionary Chinese people must

\* Lenin: "Elections and the Dictatorship of the Proletariat."

\*\* Lenin: "To Italian, French and German Communists."

thoroughly expose this crime and settle accounts with him.

### **Resolute Struggle, or National Betrayal and Capitulation?**

Class capitulation, which conforms to the needs of the bourgeoisie's interests domestically, is sure to develop into national capitulation, which conforms to the interests of the imperialists internationally. Chairman Mao teaches us: **"In the final analysis, national struggle is a matter of class struggle"** and **"class capitulationism is actually the reserve force of national capitulationism in the anti-Japanese national revolutionary war."** This is specifically so in the case of the top Party person in authority taking the capitalist road. While consistently and actively pushing forward the line of class capitulation, he has pushed ahead with every effort with the line of national capitulation.

The revolutionary line of the proletariat all along has held that imperialism and all reactionaries are paper tigers whose nature never changes. Make trouble, fail, make trouble again, fail again . . . till their doom, that is the logic of the imperialists and all reactionaries. In the face of these beasts, one must not show even the least cowardice; the revolutionary people should not only cast away illusions and prepare for struggle, but they should dare to wage a tit-for-tat struggle against them and obtain victory.

The top Party person in authority taking the capitalist road has acted in a diametrically opposite manner. He is in mortal fear in the face of imperialist aggression. As early as in the period of the War of Resistance Against Japan, he spread within the Party the idea of fearing the imperialists and openly spoke such rubbish as "Japanese imperialism is not a paper tiger." In October 1937, in defence of Chinese traitors, he uttered such humbug as that they "had to surrender since they were coerced by the Japanese bandits. . . ." He even asked the guerrillas to "understand their (the traitors) distress" because they "cannot but provide information to the Japanese on the activities of the guerrillas."

Chairman Mao points out: **"The serious cases of capitulation, anti-communism and retrogression which have occurred in various places should not be viewed in isolation. We should realize their seriousness, combat them resolutely and not be overwhelmed by their impact."**

The top Party person in authority taking the capitalist road, however, has done his best to sell the traitor's philosophy, vainly attempting to induce the Chinese people to take the road of national betrayal and capitulation. In his mind, the revolutionary integrity of the proletariat and national integrity are all unimportant things, only "my" life is most important; national betrayal is permissible, so long as my life is saved.

Chairman Mao sharply criticized those people stubbornly taking the capitalist road as ones who are, in

fact, **"ready to capitulate to imperialism, feudalism and bureaucrat-capitalism."**

The top Party person in authority taking the capitalist road is exactly this kind of person. To realize his dream of developing capitalism, he did not hesitate to act the servant of imperialism. In 1946, soon after the triumph of the anti-Japanese war, he hurriedly declared: "If the Americans insist on picking up compradors in China, we may as well act as compradors for them, red compradors."

Compradors are running dogs of imperialism; there can be no difference between "red compradors" and any other type of compradors!

This old-hand capitulationist placed all his hopes on U.S. imperialism, the No. 1 enemy of the Chinese people, begging it for "sympathy" and "assistance."

Early in 1946, he publicly advocated that U.S. and British imperialism should "assist China's democratic movement" and promote "co-operation among China's three major political parties (the Kuomintang, the Communist Party and the Democratic League)" and "co-operation among the three main classes (the labouring people, the middle bourgeoisie and the big bourgeoisie)," so as to bring about a "democratization of China."

He went so far as to shamelessly beg for alms from U.S. imperialism. He said that if the Political Consultative Conference proved a success and "we join the government," U.S. dollars would come and part of the money would be spent on the settlement of demobilized soldiers and the reorganization of the army, and the rest would be used to open factories.

He described the most vicious enemy of the Chinese people as its No. 1 friend, described the U.S. imperialists' wanton aggression and plunder as "sympathy" and "assistance," and even expressed "thanks" for this. If this is not out-and-out national betrayal, what is?

The Chinese people has known for over a century the meaning of U.S. imperialist "sympathy" and "assistance." All the political, economic, military and cultural aggression and oppression from the Opium War of 1840 down to the war of aggression in which the United States supplied the money and guns while Chiang Kai-shek supplied the men and fought on its behalf to slaughter the Chinese people—all this is the "sympathy" and "assistance" U.S. imperialism bestowed upon the Chinese people.

Chairman Mao has said that **the logic of the U.S. mandarins is to describe aggression as "friendship."**

This logic was not strange at all to Acheson, its creator. The strange thing is that the self-styled "veteran revolutionary," this Khrushchov of China, should peddle this American logic with such zeal in the Chinese Communist Party.

The top Party person in authority taking the capitalist road hoped to develop capitalism by opening factories on "U.S. aid." This was an outright reactionary



daydream. Imperialism is a decaying capitalism which cannot exist for a single day without colonies and semi-colonies. In these circumstances, how can it allow a colony or a semi-colony to establish any capitalist society under the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie? To take the capitalist road in the era of imperialism, as he felt could be done, would inevitably have resulted in making China a colony of imperialism.

For several decades, the top Party person in authority taking the capitalist road has on every important question of the Chinese revolution and at every crucial moment of the revolution, directly betrayed Marxism-Leninism, Mao Tse-tung's thought, betrayed the proletarian revolutionary line represented by Chair-

man Mao and betrayed the whole revolutionary cause of the proletariat. Like Khrushchov, Tito and their like, he is a big traitor to the proletariat and to the nation. If we do not completely root out such a time-bomb buried by imperialism and the bourgeoisie within our Party, "then it would not take long, perhaps only several years or a decade, or several decades at most, before a counter-revolutionary restoration on a national scale inevitably occurred, the Marxist-Leninist Party would undoubtedly become a revisionist party or a fascist party, and the whole of China would change its colour."

*(Excerpts of article carried in the "Renmin Ribao" of July 6, 1967.)*

## British Imperialist Bandits Will Never Get Away Without Being Severely Punished

by "RENMIN RIBAO" COMMENTATOR

THE British fascist bandits' political persecution of the Hsinhua correspondents and other patriotic newsmen in Hongkong was long pre-meditated. During the past two months and more, the British imperialists have committed murder and arson and all kinds of evil. With their guilty conscience, they are scared to death of the Hongkong Branch of the Hsinhua News Agency and the patriotic Hongkong newspapers exposing their fascist atrocities. They hate most of all the dissemination of Mao Tse-tung's thought by the patriotic newspapers. The British fascist authorities in Hongkong look upon the Hsinhua News Agency and the patriotic newspapers as a thorn in their side. They have called out army, police and "riot police," to create time and again such serious incidents as the beating up and searching of Hsinhua reporters and threatening the patriotic press. Discarding the fig-leaf, their "freedom of the press," the British imperialists have now resorted to the most despicable means of blatant persecution. They thought that they could seal the mouths of these newsmen and keep the public in the dark, so that they could continue their persecution of our compatriots in Hongkong even more unscrupulously. This is just wishful thinking.

No persecution by the British imperialists can prevent the just voice of our 4 million patriotic countrymen in Hongkong from being heard. Each one of them is a witness to the bloody atrocities perpetrated by the British imperialists and they will surely accuse these bandits of their towering crimes before the whole world.

We tell British imperialism frankly: Your fascist atrocities cannot be hidden; the struggle of our countrymen in Hongkong against British violence cannot be

suppressed and the invincible thought of Mao Tse-tung cannot be blockaded. Our great leader Chairman Mao has taught us: "All the dark forces harming the masses of the people must be exposed and all the revolutionary struggles of the masses of the people must be extolled." Let there be no mistake: As to the countless blood debts which you have incurred in the last hundred years and more and that you owe to the Chinese people, and your fascist outrages in persecuting our countrymen in Hongkong, we are going to expose them thoroughly and settle up all accounts. As to the heroic struggle of our patriotic countrymen in Hongkong against British violence, their determination to be loyal to the motherland and the great leader Chairman Mao, we are going to praise them wholeheartedly. Your fascist outrages cannot suppress the voice of truth, nor can they save you from total defeat. On the contrary, they are like "lifting a rock only to drop it on one's own feet," and reveal all the more clearly your paper tiger nature: outwardly tough but weak inside.

Hsueh Ping, Chen Feng-ying and other brave and courageous comrades, have waged tit-for-tat struggles against the fascist British authorities in Hongkong in the enemy's "police stations" and "courtrooms." They have turned the enemy "courts" into tribunals to convict the enemy, and with iron-clad facts bitterly denounced British imperialism's fascist outrages, thus greatly raising the morale of our patriotic countrymen and greatly deflating the arrogance of British imperialism in Hongkong. They set another brilliant example of creatively studying and applying Chairman Mao's works in the struggle against the enemy.

As an old Chinese saying goes, it is discourteous not to give tit for tat. The Chinese people must reply

with fitting counter-blows to British imperialist provocations. The Information Department of the Chinese Foreign Ministry has been authorized to state that, in view of the Hongkong British authorities' unreasonable persecution of the correspondents of the Hongkong Branch of the Hsinhua News Agency and other patriotic newsmen, the Chinese Government has decided to limit the freedom of movement of the British Reuter's Peking correspondent pending further notice.\* This is a serious warning to British imperialism. The Chinese people always mean what they say. British imperialism, in making provocations in such a rabid way, will not

escape severe punishment at the hands of the great Chinese people.

(*"Renmin Ribao," July 22, Slightly abridged translation.*)

\* Reuter's Grey was notified of this decision on July 21. At the same time he was told that the entrance and exit visas previously issued to him were withdrawn, and that he must remain in his residence and must not depart from it. He was warned that in the event of failure to abide by the decision, he would be held responsible for all the serious consequences. — P.R. Ed.

## Anti-British Struggle in Hongkong

# Trying the Enemy in the Enemy's Court

THE names of China's heroic sons and daughters in the struggle against British imperialism and violence in Hongkong, who are armed with the invincible thought of Mao Tse-tung and who have unbendingly fought the enemy in the enemy's court, are legion. Among them are workers, office and shop clerks, young students and elderly school teachers, cultural workers and journalists. They have turned Hongkong's court into a forum to indict the British imperialists for their fascist outrages.

### The Case of Kidnapped Hsueh Ping

On July 11, the British authorities in Hongkong kidnapped Hsueh Ping, a Hsinhua correspondent, while he was on a normal reporting assignment. They twice illegally brought him to trial. Falsely accusing him of attending "illegal gatherings" and giving a police superintendent cause to feel that incidents "undermining public security" might take place, the court finally declared that all "charges are established" and sentenced Hsueh Ping to two years' imprisonment.

In court on July 19 Hsueh Ping waged a dogged and tit-for-tat struggle against the enemy and made a long accusation against the most vicious British imperialism.

When Hsueh Ping was brought to the district court for a second trial, he walked to the witness box with his head high and stated solemnly: "I swear before the great socialist motherland!"

He told how, while he was reporting the suppression of our patriotic countrymen in Wanchai district by the riot police, the fascist police of the Hongkong British authorities kidnapped him and how, in the process, these gangsters struck him with truncheons and rifle butts, how he suffered hand, head, chest, waist and back injuries, and how he again was beaten after being taken to the Wanchai Police Station.

When Hsueh Ping came to this point, the judge was so frightened that he repeatedly tried to interrupt him.

The court interpreter did not even dare to translate the word "kidnap" to the judge and Hsueh Ping had to criticize him for this then and there. Although the judge insisted on saying that what Hsueh Ping was talking about was irrelevant and tried to stop him, Hsueh Ping defied his interruption and went on: "It must be pointed out that the kidnapping of Hsinhua newsman by the British authorities in Hongkong is by no means accidental, it is an act of provocation against our socialist motherland!"

Aghast, the judge again interrupted and demanded that Hsueh Ping confine his remarks to his case alone. To this Hsueh Ping retorted: "What I am saying is all connected with the case."

At the time of the kidnapping, Hsueh Ping continued, besides himself, there were also other news reporters present to cover the incident and take photographs. But he alone was kidnapped by the police. "It is obvious that this was an organized, planned and deliberate action," he said.

Hsueh Ping then spoke of how patriotic countrymen in Hongkong were launching a new upsurge in the creative study and application of Chairman Mao's works. At this point, the judge became even more frightened and tried his utmost to stop him.

At the end of his rope, the judge flared up and told Hsueh Ping that it was he who was being accused and tried, so he must give nothing but the matters of fact.

"Of course I'm talking about matters of fact," Hsueh Ping replied. "Our countrymen in Hongkong," he repeated, "inspired by the great proletarian cultural revolution of the motherland, have launched an upsurge in the creative study and application of Chairman Mao's works. They dearly love their motherland, and their great leader Chairman Mao. It will never do for the Hongkong British authorities to hope to suppress the campaign with high-handed measures. Our countrymen in Hongkong have the freedom to show their devotion



to the motherland and the great leader Chairman Mao, to study and spread Mao Tse-tung's thought."

Hsueh Ping protested against the absurd "sentence" passed on him by the judge and warned: "If you go on setting yourselves against the Chinese people, you will come to no good end!"

### "I Don't Know" Witnesses

Six workers of the Taikoo Dockyard and Engineering Co., who were beaten black and blue, seriously injured, and kidnapped late at night by British fascist thugs, presented numerous facts to expose the despicable acts of the Hongkong authorities in collaborating with Taikoo's owners to frame up charges against them.

The Hongkong authorities brought some iron tubes into court, as evidence of weapons made by the workers. One of the latter immediately challenged the police detective witness to answer if the tubes belonged to any of the six. The reply was "I don't know." The worker pressed him with another question: "Do you think those things belong to us?" Again he replied: "I don't know." The Hongkong British authorities' witness was completely embarrassed.

An 18-year-old girl who worked at a patriotic bank and was accused of violating public security in the May 22 incident (see *Peking Review*, No. 22, 1967) asked another so-called witness to explain the word "riot." When the witness failed to explain, the girl asked: "How have I violated public security?" Again the witness could not answer. Next, the girl said: "Since you can't even tell me the meaning of riot and violation of public security, how can you accuse people of the charges against them?" The witness had nothing to say. The girl continued: "All your evidence is pure rubbish.

The fact is that we were at 'governor's house' to protest. . . ." But before she could finish, the judge hurriedly dismissed the court.

### The British Authorities Are the Culprit

Other patriotic countrymen who were unwarrantedly arrested in the May 22 bloody incident created by the British authorities in Hongkong also exposed them as the real criminal. One publishing company's clerk, rejecting the charge of having held a "riotous assembly," bared the political intrigue of British imperialism in Hongkong—that of hostility to socialist China. "We were shouting slogans calling on our compatriots in Hongkong and Kowloon to love our motherland and unite. What is wrong with that?" The judge tried to interrupt him, but he continued: "The British authorities stressed that the slogans we shouted were political ones. But I must point out that what they mean by political is to forbid us to love our motherland!"

### Let British Imperialists Tremble Before the Chinese People

Chen Feng-ying, Chen Teh-mu, Hsinhua correspondents, and five other reporters of the patriotic press, along with the 21 patriotic educational workers who were all illegally arrested on July 15, formed a heroic collective and fought a tit-for-tat struggle against the enemy in court. They firmly protested the unwarranted arrest and trial. When the 62-year-old president of a patriotic school appeared in court, he emphatically and distinctly protested word by word: "I protest! Protest against your unwarranted arrests, illegal trials, and protest your brutal beating of other detained persons." His stern and dignified manner made the court officials unable to look him in the eye.

## Big Counter-Revolutionary Collusion of U.S. Imperialism and Soviet Revisionism in Middle East Events

U.S. imperialism and its lackey Israel unleashed a large-scale war of aggression on June 5, 1967 against the Arab countries. This was a rabid onslaught against the Arab people by U.S. neo-colonialism with the collaboration of the Soviet revisionists. Countless facts show that U.S. imperialism is the arch criminal in this war of aggression and the most ferocious enemy of the Arab people, and that the Soviet revisionist ruling clique is the biggest betrayer of the Arab people and the U.S. aggressors' chief accomplice.

### U.S. Imperialism Plans and Directs Israel to Launch Aggressive War; Soviet Revisionists Deceive Arab Countries and Tie Their Hands

U.S. imperialism had long planned and made careful military preparation for this war of aggression. In-

spired by it, since last spring, the Israeli premier had time and again clamoured for the use of force against Syria. At the same time, Israeli troops provoked many border incidents. Between March and May, some 400 new tanks and more than 200 aircraft were shipped to Israel from the United States, and 1,000 "volunteers" were enlisted from the U.S. air force. All this greatly increased Israel's striking capacity.

Faced with the threat of war by U.S. imperialism and Israel, the Arab countries rose to struggle against their aggressive schemes. In the beginning of May, Syria banned the "Society of American Friends of the Middle East," a U.S. intelligence organization in Syria. On May 15, it exposed the U.S.-Israeli designs for an armed attack on Syria. On May 18, the U.A.R.

demanding the withdrawal of the "U.N. emergency force" from the Gaza Strip and U.A.R. territory. On May 22 it announced the closing of the Gulf of Aqaba.

U.S. imperialism then instructed Israel to speed up its war preparations. On May 25, Israeli Foreign Minister Abba Eban rushed to Washington and had secret talks with Johnson and Rusk. Reuter reported on May 28 that "Eban had obtained pledges of American action and not just vague promises of support." After his return to Tel Aviv, Israel rapidly completed "general mobilization" and began to concentrate troops along its borders with the U.A.R. and Syria. On June 1, Israel formed its "war cabinet" and the post of defence minister was given to fascist Moshe Dayan, who was commander-in-chief of the Israeli troops during the British-French-Israeli aggression against Egypt in 1956. At the same time, the U.S. Sixth Fleet and British naval units headed for the Eastern Mediterranean and the Red Sea. The United States and Britain airlifted military equipment and ammunition to Israel and U.S. U-2 spy planes reconnoitred for Israel in preparation for a surprise attack.

According to the U.S. weekly *Newsweek*, when everything was in order, U.S. Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff Earle G. Wheeler reported to Johnson, assuring him that if initial Israeli air strikes were successful, it would win the war in three or four days. Wheeler's view was supported by C.I.A. chief Richard Helms.

British Prime Minister Harold Wilson was in the United States on June 2 and 3 to put the final touches to the war plan with Johnson. On June 3, the Israeli ambassador to Washington returned to Tel Aviv with a secret message from Johnson and attended an urgent cabinet meeting.

Everything showed that Israel was poised for attack. The Soviet revisionist ruling clique was fully aware of this but it lied to the Arab countries, asserting that Israel would not attack, and urged them to exercise "self-restraint" and caution in order to avoid a large-scale conflict. Thus it prevented the Arab countries from taking effective self-defence measures and tied their hands. While hypocritically declaring that they would not remain "indifferent" if the Arab countries were attacked, the Soviet revisionists stepped up their collaboration with U.S. imperialism, revealing that they would not intervene against its aggressive actions.

During this period there was hectic secret diplomacy by Moscow with Washington, London and Paris. Frequent messages were exchanged between these capitals and special envoys hurried back and forth. The Western press revealed that Johnson wrote to Kosygin suggesting joint diplomatic action, while the Soviet revisionists in turn assured the United States that both it and the Soviet Union had vital interests in the Middle East. It was reported that two weeks before the outbreak of the war Johnson had secret, urgent contacts with Kosygin and then continued to

keep in touch with him. The *Washington Post* said that "through the critical exchange, Washington and Moscow signalled each other" that they had "a mutual desire to avoid an American-Soviet collision in the Middle East."

On May 23, Johnson issued a statement designed to intimidate the Arab countries. The same day the Soviet Government also issued a statement in which it neither supported the U.A.R.'s demand for the withdrawal of the "U.N. emergency force" and its just action of closing the Gulf of Aqaba, nor condemned the U.S. imperialists' aggressive scheme. Instead, the statement had an ulterior motive, saying that the Soviet Government would not allow "a violation of peace and security in the Near East." This is how the Soviet revisionists and the U.S. imperialists worked in close rapport to exert pressure on the Arab countries.

British Foreign Secretary George Brown hastened to Moscow for urgent talks with Kosygin on May 24. Commenting on Brown's mission, the British *Daily Mirror* said that Brown had brought back from Moscow "a secret Russian pledge of help to take the Middle East crisis off the boil." The *Paris Presse* quoted Brown as saying that the Soviet Union was quietly urging the Arab leaders to calm down. While supporting the Arabs in open statements, it was warning them privately of all the dangers involved in any "armed intervention" against Israel (meaning counter-attacks against Israeli aggression).

On May 26, Johnson cabled Nasser demanding that the U.A.R. "cease any offensive military operations that may lead to a large-scale explosion." Early the following morning, the Soviet Ambassador to the U.A.R., on Kosygin's instructions, called on Nasser and informed him of the Soviet Government's demand that the U.A.R. must not fire the first shot. The U.A.R. press said that Kosygin's demand was made in accordance with U.S. objectives.

At the end of May, a dozen or more Soviet warships sailed through the Bosphorus into the Eastern Mediterranean. One vessel sailed alongside U.S. warships. The crews greeted one another while cameras clicked on their smiling faces. On June 1, U.S. Vice-President Humphrey let the cat out of the bag by saying that he saw nothing wrong with Soviet warships operating in the Mediterranean Sea. Clearly these warships were not sent to support the Arab countries.

All this shows that the war of aggression unleashed by Israel was stage-managed by the U.S. imperialists with the co-operation of the British imperialists. The Soviet revisionists, in league with both, were fully behind Israel in the aggression. Their political deception of the Arab countries served as a cover for the U.S.-Israeli surprise attack.

### **U.S., British Imperialists Take Direct Part in Aggression; Soviet Revisionists Betray Arab People**

U.S. imperialism had Israel unleash its war of aggression against the Arab countries on June 5. Israeli

planes swarmed over airfields in the U.A.R., Syria and other Arab countries, bombing continuously. Meanwhile, Israeli ground troops overran Arab territory.

U.S. imperialism took a direct part in the six-day war of aggression by Israel. Official U.A.R. sources charged that aircraft carriers of the U.S. Sixth Fleet had been ordered to guard Israel's air space and provide it with air cover. U.S. carrier-based planes bombed U.A.R. air force bases on the first day of the war. Jordan's radar network detected group after group of U.S. aircraft taking off from carriers in the Mediterranean. One U.S. fighter was shot down over Jordan on the first day of the war. Ships of the U.S. Sixth Fleet off the U.A.R. coast jammed the U.A.R. radar network and intercepted military messages.

British imperialism also directly participated in the war. The U.A.R. Armed Forces Supreme Command disclosed that Canberra bombers bearing British markings took part in raids on U.A.R. positions in the Sinai Peninsula.

After the United States and Israel launched their surprise attack on the Arab countries, the Soviet revisionist ruling clique stepped up its shameless collaboration with Washington in accordance with its plan of further betraying the Arab people. Five hours after the outbreak of war, Kosygin got on the "hot line" to assure Johnson that the Soviet Union had no desire for a war with the United States in the Middle East. Deep in the White House basement, according to the U.S. press, the "hot line" teletype suddenly began chattering out Kosygin's message in Russian. Johnson rushed from his bedroom to the basement "situation room." He had the message quickly translated into English, and then breathed a sigh of relief. From the message, Johnson got further confirmation that the Soviet revisionists would not take any action to check U.S. aggression. This left him free to push ahead with his scheme.

To meet the requirements of U.S. imperialism, the Soviet revisionist clique on June 5 issued a statement which, instead of condemning U.S. imperialism or making any mention of coming to the aid of the Arab people's struggle against aggression, called on "the governments of other states, including the great powers . . . to extinguish the military conflagration in the Middle East." It also demanded that the United Nations must "promptly take steps to restore peace in the Middle East." This revealed the Soviet revisionists' attempt to use the U.N. as an instrument for power politics to put down the Arab people's struggle against aggression.

The Soviet revisionist clique thus openly discarded its "aid-to-the-Arabs" mask. When the Arab countries were subjected to aggression, it perfidiously refused help and looked on with folded arms. It did not dare lift a finger against the U.S. imperialists. Soviet papers even carefully avoided mentioning the justified U.A.R. charge that the United States and Britain were taking a direct part in the war. When the U.A.R. Am-

bassador was instructed by his government to inform Kosygin of this urgent matter, Kosygin expressed doubts about it. He had the nerve to cite information from Soviet "intelligence" to absolve U.S. and British imperialism from any blame. Furthermore, when Arab students in Moscow demonstrated against the aggression, the Soviet revisionist clique ordered 5,000 troops and police, and more than 160 military trucks, to set up five security cordons round the embassies of the U.S. and British imperialists.

On June 6, Kosygin sent another message of assurance to Johnson by the "hot line" that the Kremlin accepted the U.S. proposal for an "unconditional ceasefire." Subsequently, the Soviet delegate to the United Nations tabled a draft resolution in the U.N. Security Council, together with the United States and Britain, forcing an "immediate ceasefire" on the Arab countries. The next day the same delegate tabled another resolution setting a deadline for the ceasefire. All these resolutions required the Arab people to stop their just struggle against aggression, and evidenced partiality towards Israel which had already occupied large slices of Arab territory. Aided by this protection, Israel continued its aggression. On June 8, the U.A.R. delegate to the United Nations, acting on instructions from his government, rejected the "unconditional ceasefire." But the Soviet revisionist clique exerted pressure on the U.A.R. through its ambassador in Cairo to reverse its decision. In a display of dirty power politics, the United States and the Soviet Union used joint pressure to compel Jordan, the U.A.R. and Syria to accept the "ceasefire."

In an attempt to conceal its shameless betrayal of the Arab people, the Soviet revisionist clique had on June 7 sent a hypocritical note to Israel, declaring that it would "reconsider" relations with Israel and spouting a lot of empty talk. However, the day after the note was sent and after the adoption of the U.N. resolution setting a deadline for the "ceasefire," a Soviet cargo ship sailed through the Gulf of Aqaba—the first vessel to do so after Israel had seized control. The ship received a "salute" from an Israeli torpedo boat. Could there be any better show of betraying the Arab people? By having their freighter pass through, the Soviet revisionists in fact took the lead in recognizing Israel's seizure of the Gulf and paved the way for realizing the U.S.-British-Israeli scheme to turn it into an international waterway.

U.S. imperialism was highly gratified by these acts of betrayal by the Soviet revisionist clique. Mike Mansfield, Senate Democratic leader, was beside himself with joy when he disclosed the close "common efforts" and "co-operation" between the United States and the Soviet Union in the Middle East events. *Newsweek* wrote that when the Israelis were attacking the Arab armies, Johnson "concentrated on trying to keep the Russians on the sidelines. . . [and] . . . had produced eminently satisfactory results." Such public praise of the Soviet revi-



sionists by their American bosses is further evidence of their renegade features.

### **U.S. Imperialism Tries to Push Forward New Aggression Plan; Soviet Revisionism Publicly Embraces U.S. Imperialism**

After the Arab countries were compelled to accept the "ceasefire," Israel became more arrogant and openly made territorial claims. Like someone who is given an inch and then asks for a yard, U.S. imperialism came up with the so-called five principles for the settlement of the Middle East issue. These "principles" are actually meant to ensure the permanent existence of the Israeli Zionist regime, give it de jure recognition, and satisfy its expansionist designs, and let the "United Nations emergency force" return to the Arab region so as to intensify the suppression of the national-liberation movements there and to expand the sphere of influence of U.S. neo-colonialism in the Middle East.

In order to hide its renegade features and get out of an awkward situation, the Soviet revisionist clique rushed in with some more ruses. On June 9, it lined up a handful of followers and the Tito clique to publish a 7-nation joint statement, and on June 21 it adopted a so-called resolution of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union on Middle East policy. It announced the severance of diplomatic relations with Israel with great fanfare and proposed convening an emergency session of the United Nations. But the Soviet revisionist clique itself spilled the beans in the next few days.

On June 19, Kosygin spoke at the U.N. General Assembly one hour after Johnson's speech in Washington. He spoke in the same vein as Johnson. He called for a "common language" on the Middle East question among the big powers, and for efforts to "pave the way for the restoration of peace in the Near East" and to prevent "the emergence of hotbeds of war" and he furiously opposed the anti-imperialist struggle of the Arab people and served U.S. imperialism in pushing ahead its new plan of aggression.

Kosygin's trip to the United States was primarily to seek an audience with Johnson. He had two tete-a-tetes with Johnson which lasted ten hours altogether. Like kinsmen, they saw eye to eye. This was why Kosygin said that his arrival in Glassboro was "like coming home." This is a complete exposure of a renegade's mentality.

At the Soviet-U.S. talks, they worked out overall co-ordination and co-operation on global strategy, devised new schemes to suppress the revolutionary struggles of the peoples, and reached agreement, tacit or otherwise, on many current major international issues, as well as making an even bigger deal over the Middle East. The talks mark a new stage in U.S.-Soviet collaboration. The Soviet revisionists have yielded completely to U.S. imperialism and have become a minor figure and flunkey in the counter-revolutionary alliance headed by the U.S. imperialists.

Following these talks, the United States and the Soviet Union carried out closer collaboration in the

United Nations. Thanks to the behind-the-scenes efforts of the United States and the Soviet Union, the U.N. Security Council decided on July 10 to send "U.N. observers" to the Suez Canal Zone to supervise the "ceasefire" so as to enable the U.S.-controlled U.N. personnel who not long ago had been driven out of U.A.R. territory to return.

### **Arab People Have Opened Their Eyes. They Have Condemned U.S. Imperialist Aggressions, and Denounced Soviet Revisionist Betrayal**

The war has put to the test all political forces and greatly raised the political awareness of the masses. In time of war, people see many things clearly in a few days which they may have failed to see clearly during many years of peace.

The Arab people have further seen who their real enemies and real friends are from the events in the Middle East.

Throughout these events, the masses of the people of the Arab countries, backed by the great solidarity of the people of the world, let loose a storm of demonstrations angrily condemning the United States, Britain and Israel for their monstrous crimes and denouncing the Soviet revisionists for their betrayal. The masses in the U.A.R., Syria, Yemen and the Sudan stormed the U.S. embassies. People in many Arab countries demonstrated in front of the Soviet embassies. "Down with Johnson!" "Down with Kosygin!" and other angry shouts resounded throughout the Arab world. Some Arab friends said: "At the critical moment when the Arab people were subjected to U.S.-Israeli aggression, the Soviet Union, far from supporting us, has stabbed us in the back. The Soviet Union is really abominable." Others said: "We now clearly see that U.S. imperialism and Israel are our implacable enemies. The Soviet Union is a false friend — it is a real traitor."

The Arab people have come to understand more clearly through this struggle against aggression that the Chinese people are their most loyal and dependable friends. Some Arab friends said: "At this critical moment, China stands firmly on our side. She is our real friend." In their demonstrations condemning the Soviet revisionists as renegades, the Arab people invariably stopped in front of the Chinese embassies and shouted the slogans: "Long live Mao Tse-tung!" and "Long live the Chinese people!" Many said: "Mao Tse-tung's thought is a beacon illuminating the path of the Arab people."

Chairman Mao teaches us: "**The raging tide of the people of the world against the U.S. aggressors is irresistible. Their struggle against U.S. imperialism and its lackeys will assuredly win still greater victories.**" The Arab people who are daily becoming more awakened will certainly sum up their experience and draw their lessons from this war, strengthen their unity and persevere to the end in their struggle to drive out all the neo-colonialists headed by the U.S. imperialists and wipe out all the aggressor bandits!

—HSINHUA CORRESPONDENT

(Continued from p. 5.)

in order to bring into effect the historically important appeal made by President Ho Chi Minh on July 17, 1966, the Vietnamese people were firmly resolved to overcome all difficulties, bring the cause of national liberation and socialist revolution to a successful conclusion, and fulfil their internationalist obligations. He said that the entire Vietnam Workers' Party, people and army were determined to fight U.S. imperialism to the end, and that no matter how long they had to fight and whatever the hardship and sacrifice might be, they would accomplish their task of defending the north, liberating the south and reunifying their motherland.

### Persecuted Hsinhua Correspondent Returns From Rangoon

Yu Min-sheng, the Hsinhua News Agency correspondent who was unjustifiably required by the reactionary Burmese Government to leave Burma within a fixed time, returned to Peking on July 19. He was greeted at the airport by more than 1,000 journalists.

The welcomers strongly condemned the reactionary Ne Win government for tailing after U.S. imperialism and Soviet revisionism, stirring up an anti-China and anti-Chinese campaign and unreasonably expelling the Hsinhua correspondent.

Holding up portraits of Chairman Mao and posters with quotations from him, Peking's revolutionary journalists repeatedly recited quotations from Chairman Mao Tse-tung. They expressed their determination to hold high the great red banner of Mao Tse-tung's thought and resolutely support the revolutionary struggles of the world's people, oppose imperialism, modern revisionism and reactionaries of all countries and spread Mao Tse-tung's thought throughout the world.

As he left the plane around 8 p.m., Comrade Yu Min-sheng waved his red-covered copy of *Quotations From Chairman Mao Tse-tung* and shouted: "Long live Chairman Mao!"

Vice-Premier Chen Yi went forward to greet him warmly. Yu Min-sheng told the Vice-Premier with deep feeling: "All the comrades of the Chinese Embassy in Burma and all the Chinese comrades working in Burma wish Chairman Mao a long, long life. We are determined to follow Chairman Mao's teaching to **'be resolute, fear no sacrifice and surmount every difficulty to win victory.'** We shall never depart from Mao Tse-tung's thought even if this costs us our lives."

Also at the airport was Comrade Bo Than Shwe, member of the delegation of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Burma, who warmly embraced Yu Min-sheng. The crowds of revolutionaries shouted: "Support the armed struggle of the people of Burma!" and "Ne Win will fail, the Communist Party of Burma will win!"

### Protest Against Soviet Revisionist Authorities for Detaining Chinese Embassy Mail

The Soviet revisionist authorities are intensifying their anti-China campaign. They have gone a step further since last year in illegally detaining and confiscating mail containing printed material sent from Peking to the Chinese Embassy in Moscow. An Chih-yuan, Charge d'Affaires ad interim of the Chinese Embassy in Moscow, lodged the strongest protest on July 18 with V.I. Likhachev, Director of the Far East Department of the Soviet Foreign Ministry.

The statement of protest gave an account of the unreasonable detaining by the Soviet side of *China Pictorial*, *China Reconstructs*, *Peking Review* and other printed matter since last October. More intolerable was the fact that the Soviet side went

so far as to detain the works and pictures of Comrade Mao Tse-tung, the greatest Marxist-Leninist of the contemporary era and the great leader of the Chinese people.

The Chinese Embassy, the statement solemnly pointed out, is the diplomatic representative mission sent to the Soviet Union by the great socialist China. It has every right to get all the material it needs from its own country and to enjoy the diplomatic privileges fully guaranteed in international relations. The series of vile acts by the Soviet revisionist authorities is obviously an encroachment on China's sovereignty and a gross violation of the fundamental principles governing international relations.

The statement added that the series of despicable actions taken by the Soviet revisionist authorities was another attempt to completely scrap the relevant postal agreement between the two countries, following their unilateral nullification of a series of Sino-Soviet agreements.

The statement quoted the teaching of the Chinese people's great leader Chairman Mao that "the communist ideological and social system alone is full of youth and vitality, sweeping the world with the momentum of an avalanche and the force of a thunderbolt." No reactionary force whatever can block the spread of Marxism-Leninism. In its current effort to obstruct the dissemination of Mao Tse-tung's thought, the Soviet revisionist leading clique is only acting like a mantis trying to stop a chariot and is lifting a rock only to drop it on its own feet.

Charge d'Affaires ad interim An Chih-yuan demanded that the Soviet side return all the illegally detained mail without delay, and take practical steps to guarantee against the recurrence of similar incidents in the future. The statement emphatically pointed out that if the Soviet side should fail to squarely face the solemn and just warning of the Chinese Embassy and persist in its perverse action, it would be held fully



responsible for all the consequences arising therefrom.

## Nepalese Government Must Stop Anti-China Activities

A group of Nepalese hooligans brazenly carried out anti-China activities in Kathmandu on the evening of July 1 at the bidding of the U.S. imperialists, Soviet revisionists and Indian reactionaries and with the connivance of the Nepalese Government. Chinese Ambassador in Nepal Yang Kung-su lodged a serious protest with the Nepalese Government on July 5 (see *Peking Review* No. 29). But in its July 10 note to the Chinese Embassy, the Nepalese Ministry of Foreign Affairs made no mention of the truth about the anti-China outrage in an attempt to evade its responsibility, instead it unwarrantedly protested against the Hsinhua News Agency's report on the July 1 Kathmandu incident. In its July 21 note to the Nepalese Foreign Ministry, the Chinese Embassy categorically rejected Nepal's protest and lodged the most serious protest with the Nepalese Government against insulting the Chinese people and the deliberate sabotage of Sino-Nepalese friendship by the reactionary forces in Nepal. The Chinese Embassy's note pointed out that the great socialist China was not to be bullied. Imperialism, revisionism and reaction would be knocking their heads against a stone wall in opposing China. Whoever tailed after them in opposing China would surely eat the bitter fruit of their own making.

The note drew attention to the fact that the Nepalese Government had allowed U.S. imperialism, Soviet revisionism and Indian reaction to carry out unchecked anti-China activities in Nepal. Since the launching of China's great proletarian cultural revolution, large quantities of foreign newspapers and periodicals containing anti-Chinese material had been distributed in Nepal. The Nepalese press had also published many anti-Chinese articles slander-

ing China's great cultural revolution and even openly insulting Chairman Mao, the great leader of the Chinese people. In spite of the representations made by the Chinese Embassy, the Nepalese Government had not taken any effective measures to stop the anti-China activities. The note stressed that the Nepalese Government's assertion about forbidding any country to oppose a third country in Nepal actually meant allowing blatant attacks on China by imperialism, revisionism and reaction and by the reactionary forces in Nepal, while forbidding the Chinese side from making necessary and justified exposure and rebuttal.

The note cited irrefutable facts to show that the anti-China incident on July 1 was engineered by U.S. imperialism and Indian reaction and had the approval and support of the Nepalese Government. The Nepalese press is still spreading rumours about China, vilifying and attacking it, and the Hsinhua News Agency is a particular target of such attacks. The Nepalese Government has even intervened directly by restricting the sale of Chinese publications, confiscating copies of *Quotations From Chairman Mao Tse-tung* and other writings by Chairman Mao, intimidating bookshops dealing in Chinese publications and the Nepal-China Friendship Association which has been upholding Sino-Nepalese friendship, while conniving at hooligans' tearing up pictures about China exhibited by the Nepal-China Friendship Association. The note said that recently the Nepalese Government had repeatedly told the Chinese Ambassador that it wished to safeguard the friendship between Nepal and China. If the Nepalese Government is really sincere about this, then it must promptly annul all measures discriminating against China and stop all anti-Chinese statements and deeds on Nepalese territory. If the Nepalese side does not care for the friendship which took China and Nepal a long time to build, but allows imperialism, revisionism and reaction to carry on their evil ways in Nepal or even follows

them in opposing China, then the Nepalese Government must bear full responsibility for all the serious consequences arising therefrom.

## Political Provocation by British Sailors Will Not Be Tolerated

A responsible member of the Department of Consular Affairs of the Chinese Foreign Ministry on July 22 summoned D.C. Hopson, British Charge d'Affaires in China, and lodged the strongest protest with the British Government against the serious political provocations by British sailors who, while in Chinese ports, had repeatedly insulted Chairman Mao, the most respected and beloved great leader of the Chinese people. He handed the British Charge d'Affaires a memorandum listing in detail these provocations by crew members of British merchant ships who had insulted Chairman Mao on seven occasions since May 1967 at Talien, Shanghai, Whampoa and Chinwangtao.

The memorandum pointed out that the British Government could not shirk its responsibility for the incidents. It said: "We want to tell you in all seriousness: Chairman Mao is the most respected and beloved leader of the Chinese people. Any insult to Chairman Mao means an insult to the socialist People's Republic of China and to the great 700 million Chinese people; it constitutes the gravest political provocation which absolutely cannot be tolerated."

The memorandum added: "We must sternly warn you that the days when the imperialists could ride roughshod in China are long since gone for ever. If the British Government is wise enough, it must immediately take effective measures to prevent the recurrence of similar acts of political provocation. Otherwise, the Chinese authorities concerned will mete out severe punishment. Don't say that you have not been warned in advance."

# ROUND THE WORLD

U.S.A.

## New High in Afro-Americans' Violent Struggle

The speedy development of the struggle of the Afro-Americans is a manifestation of sharpening class struggle and sharpening national struggle within the United States.

— Mao Tse-tung

The mid-July revolt in Newark, New Jersey, during which fighting continued for many days despite brutal suppression by 7,000 national guardsmen and police marked a new high in the Afro-Americans' surging freedom movement.

Starting as a protest against the police beating of an innocent Negro cab driver, the revolt soon developed into an open rebellion against racist and class oppressions, against the social system which has driven Afro-Americans into the ghettos, barred them from schools and jobs, and made them suffer bitter discrimination and exploitation. There were demonstrations before the city hall and a police station was attacked; shops which used to fleece the Afro-Americans were set on fire or ransacked. When the troops were called in for wholesale arrests and slaughter of the Afro-Americans, armed youths fought back using "hit and run" tactics and ambushes.

Newark is only one of more than 20 cities which have witnessed large-scale violent self-defence struggles since June. These struggles are not directed against racial discrimination alone. They have the distinct political quality of a battle against class oppression and national oppression. In many places, they are spearheaded at the country's ruling clique. The Negro people's present slogans are: "Fight for complete freedom by all means necessary" and "wipe out the oppressors—the chief oppressor is Johnson." This has no parallel in the history of the Afro-Americans' struggle. It is an eloquent indication of the new political awakening of the masses of

Afro-Americans and their strong will to fight for their liberation.

In the face of the rising struggle of the Afro-Americans, the Johnson Administration, in addition to resorting to armed suppression, is applying still more craftily the tactics of deception, bribery and of "divide and rule." While organizing white riot squads in the Negro areas and arresting those Negro leaders who are resolute in struggle, it is also taking "welfare" measures to find employment for some Negro youth and helping such "leaders" as Martin Luther King to strengthen their control of the Negro movement in an attempt to undermine and wreck it. In Newark, for example, while making a blood-thirsty outcry for the use of force to restore "law and order" and threatening Negro snipers with "maximum sentence," Governor Hughes of New Jersey also sent many clergymen and upper-class Negroes into the ghetto to persuade the demonstrators to "play it cool."

But these dual tactics failed. More and more Afro-Americans have come to see that they must take the road of combating counter-revolutionary violence by revolutionary violence in order to win liberation for themselves. They have become ever clearer on the need to repudiate the "non-violence" doctrine preached by Negro "leaders" who are in the pay of the U.S. ruling circles, and the need to wage a tit-for-tat violent struggle. Stokely Carmichael, a leader of the Black masses, made it crystal clear recently when he said: "There is no need to go to Vietnam and shoot somebody who a honkey

says is your enemy. We're going to shoot the cops who are shooting our Black brothers in the back in this country."

The awakening of the Afro-Americans has also found expression in the fact that their spontaneous, scattered and isolated struggles have gradually become conscious and organized actions waged one in support of another. When the Afro-Americans in Newark rose in revolt, their Black brothers in Plainfield, Jersey city and other nearby towns rose and fought the police to tie them down. As one Western news agency has admitted, the Afro-Americans "are more organized than ever."

Also, the Afro-Americans have become good at fighting in self-defence. In Tampa, Florida, in mid-June they broke into an arms store and equipped themselves with rifles and pistols. In many cities they have learnt to adapt guerrilla tactics to their struggle, keeping the numerically superior assaulting police on the run and wearing them down.

Militant Negro organizations have been formed in many areas. And, what is still more significant, some organizations are seriously studying Chairman Mao Tse-tung's teachings on class struggle and armed revolution, and have begun to take Mao Tse-tung's thought as their guide to action.

Where there is oppression, there is resistance. Whereas the growing violent self-defence struggle of the Afro-Americans is often touched off by police brutality, the fundamental cause is the worsening conditions of the Negro masses and their mounting discontent which has now reached explosion point. In the 25 major Negro areas in the United States, the rate of unemployment is as high as 30 to 38 per cent. The continuous escalation of the Vietnam war has not only led to sky-rocketing prices for consumer goods and the worsening of the Afro-Americans' living standards, but has also cost more and more lives of Negro youth on the Vietnam battlefield. These bitter and hard lessons are quickening the awakening of the Afro-Americans, especially the youth. As

the internal class struggle in the United States sharpens, the Afro-American struggle by the use of violence will certainly grow and spread.

## INDIA

### Dozens of Naxalbaris

Encouraged by the Darjeeling peasant armed struggle which is led by the revolutionaries in the Indian Communist Party, the oppressed and exploited Indian peasants are rising in rebellion against the reactionary government and big landlords. Dozens of Naxalbaris have appeared in all parts of the country.

The *Hindustan Standard* reported on July 4 that, led by the revolutionaries in the Indian Communist Party, peasants at Dhanmatia, Tufanganj sub-division of Cooch Behar District in West Bengal, have seized land. The landlords are scared to death by this rebellion because they "fear a second Naxalbari there." In late June, peasants attacked the big landlords and

seized land from them in the Sitalkuchi region in the same district and in the Nagrakata District on the Bhutan border.

Violent struggle by peasants has spread to Tiljala, which is about 20 miles east of Calcutta (AFP). They also seized land from the landlords and hoisted the red flag.

In the southern part of Sundarbans in West Bengal, which is historically an area of peasant uprisings, the landless tenant farmers are unfolding a campaign to use force to resist evictions by the big farm owners. The revolutionaries in the Indian Communist Party in the same state are working among the peasants and organizing them to wage violent struggles in Hooghly District, in the Sonarpur area of the 24-Parganas District and in Midnapore and Birbhum Districts.

On July 6, the *Statesman* reported a "Naxalbari-type" conflict had broken out between peasants and landlords at Kalathoor in Kerala State. The police faced a tense situation

there as a result of "organized resistance." And the peasants' violent struggle has already struck fear into the heart of the "non-Congress" state government. Kerala's Chief Minister hastily sent a deputy inspector-general of police with extra men to clamp down on the peasants.

The *Times of India* reported on July 1 that a "Naxalbari-type" struggle was being carried on by tribal villagers in the forest areas in the southern part of Tripura, in east India. Some 1,000 tribesmen took part in the destruction of the local forestry office.

According to the *Statesman*, posters which read "the Naxalbari way is our way" have appeared in large numbers in many parts of Assam State.

In Andhra State, too, the revolutionaries in the Indian Communist Party have led a "Naxalbari" campaign in the last three months in a number of areas in Nalgonda District — where the big Telengana armed struggle started in 1946.

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## IN THIS ISSUE

<b>THE WEEK</b>	5	<b>People's War in South Vietnam: Lessons From the Glorious Victories in the Dry-Season Battles</b> — Truong Son	13
Chairman Mao's Portraits Distributed All Over the World		<b>Mao Tse-tung's Thought Lights the Whole World</b>	17
<b>ARTICLES AND DOCUMENTS</b>		<b>Down With the Capitulationism of China's Khrushchov!</b> — Cheng Li-chia	19
Carry Revolutionary Mass Criticism Through to the End — <i>Renmin Ribao</i> editorial	6	British Imperialist Bandits Will Never Get Away Without Being Severely Punished — <i>Renmin Ribao</i> Commentator	22
Mass Pursuit of the Tottering Foe	7	Trying the Enemy in the Enemy's Court	23
Vietnam's Great War Against U.S. Aggression and for National Salvation Will Triumph — <i>Renmin Ribao</i> editorial	10	Big Counter-Revolutionary Collusion of U.S. Imperialism and Soviet Revisionism in Middle East Events	24
Insidious U.S.-Soviet Collaboration Policy — <i>Renmin Ribao</i> Commentator	12	<b>ROUND THE WORLD</b>	30

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