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**Great Chinese P.L.A.—Reliable Pillar of Our  
Proletarian Dictatorship and Great  
Proletarian Cultural Revolution**

*Hongqi editorial.*

**Bankruptcy of China's "Devotee  
Of Parliamentarianism"**

**Settle Accounts With Peng Teh-huai for  
His Heinous Crimes of Usurping Army  
Leadership and Opposing the Party**

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# QUOTATIONS FROM CHAIRMAN MAO TSE-TUNG

The army must become one with the people so that they see it as their own army. Such an army will be invincible. . . .

*On Protracted War (May 1938)*

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What imperialism fears most is the awakening of the Asian, African and Latin American peoples, the awakening of the peoples of all countries. We should unite and drive U.S. imperialism from Asia, Africa and Latin America back to where it came from.

*Talk with friends from Japan, Cuba,  
Brazil and Argentina in Wuhan  
(May 1960)*

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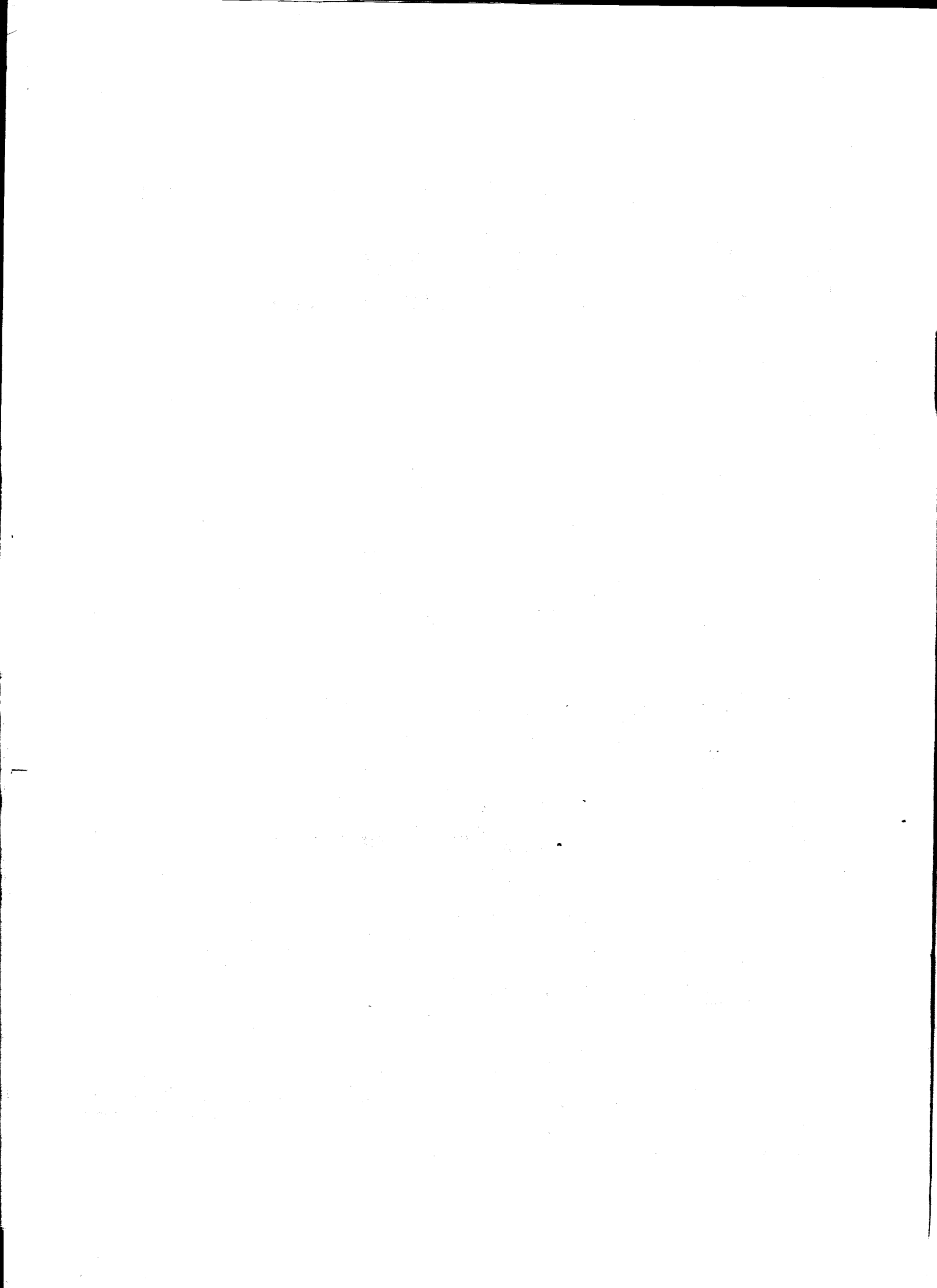
Marxism can develop only through struggle, and not only is this true of the past and the present, it is necessarily true of the future as well.

*On the Correct Handling of Contradictions  
Among the People  
(February 1957)*



Chairman Mao Tse-tung

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



# The Great Chinese P.L.A.—Reliable Pillar Of Our Proletarian Dictatorship and Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution

**T**HE great Chinese People's Liberation Army is a matchless, heroic and invincible army. For decades, it underwent hardships and bitter struggles, made heroic sacrifices, and has written the most glorious epic and won the greatest merit in the revolutionary cause of the Chinese people and the people of the world.

In the great proletarian cultural revolution, the P.L.A. has undertaken the glorious but arduous tasks of supporting the Left, assisting industry and agriculture, exercising military control and giving military and political training. The commanders and fighters of the P.L.A. are boundlessly loyal to our great leader and supreme commander Chairman Mao and to the great thought of Mao Tse-tung. They do what Chairman Mao says, displaying the noble quality of the P.L.A. They have done an enormous amount of work in carrying out the tasks listed above, and their achievements are tremendous.

In factories and villages, they have joined with the masses in actively implementing Chairman Mao's principle of **"tak'ng a firm hold of the revolution and promoting production."** They have helped uncover the criminal plots to sabotage production hatched by the handful of Party people in authority taking the capitalist road, safeguarded socialist construction and promoted the development of industrial and agricultural production.

Resolutely responding to Chairman Mao's call that **"The People's Liberation Army should support the broad masses of the Left,"** they have forged the closest links with the proletarian revolutionaries, fought shoulder to shoulder with them, loved what they love, and hated what they hate. When the proletarian revolutionaries were being suppressed and persecuted, the people's army stepped forward to give them active support and resolute protection. They closely united with them, fought together with them and shared their victories.

The revolutionary masses all recognize the great merit and tremendous achievements won by the Chinese People's Liberation Army and praise them highly. The fact that the gun is firmly in the hands of such a great revolutionary army means that the proletarian revolutionaries have staunch backing, and this is a matter of

heartfelt joy for the millions upon millions of labouring people.

Chairman Mao says: **"Without a people's army the people have nothing."** This is a great truth. It was true in the years of the revolutionary wars and remains true in the great proletarian cultural revolution. The People's Liberation Army is an important instrument of the dictatorship of the proletariat and a strong pillar in the great proletarian cultural revolution.

It is precisely because there is such a powerful revolutionary army that we are able to arouse the masses boldly and to exercise extensive democracy in China, a country of 700 million people, and to wage a struggle to seize power from the handful of Party people in authority taking the capitalist road. It is exactly for this reason that we are able to batter the bourgeois headquarters headed by China's Khrushchov and to win tremendous victories in the great proletarian cultural revolution.

The great proletarian cultural revolution is a great revolution without parallel in history. Owing to the extreme complexity of the class struggle, the arduousness of the tasks and lack of experience, it is inevitable that a few leading members of the P.L.A. units in some places suffered from certain shortcomings or made certain mistakes. The experience of all great revolutions in history, without exception, shows that shortcomings and errors of one kind or another are unavoidable.

Once those army cadres who have shortcomings and have made mistakes become aware of their shortcomings and mistakes, they immediately correct them in action. Hence they win the trust and support of the revolutionary masses.

Proletarian revolutionaries must bear in mind Chairman Mao's teaching to **have faith in and rely on the People's Liberation Army.** This army is a great revolutionary army which was created by our great leader Chairman Mao himself and is under the direct command of Comrade Lin Biao. Since its birth, it has always been built in accordance with Chairman Mao's proletarian line on army building and has grown

stronger and stronger, nurtured on Mao Tse-tung's thought. The big careerists, conspirators and warlords Peng Teh-huai, Lo Jui-ching and their like, who sneaked into the Party, tried their hardest to change the proletarian nature of our army with their bourgeois military line. But their attempts met with resolute resistance and strong opposition from the masses of commanders and fighters. Their conspiracy fell through and it never had any chance of succeeding. The bourgeois military line they tried to put into effect received a crushing blow. It is Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line that has always predominated in the People's Liberation Army.

The great Chinese People's Liberation Army, which is boundlessly loyal to Chairman Mao, to Mao Tse-tung's thought and to his proletarian revolutionary line, is a reliable pillar of the dictatorship of the proletariat and a guarantee for victory in our great proletarian cultural revolution. Proletarian revolutionaries must hold aloft the banner of supporting the People's Liberation Army and in every way help it do a good job of supporting the Left, assisting industry and agriculture, exercising military control and giving military and political training.

(*"Hongqi"* editorial, No. 14, 1967, slightly abridged.)

## P.L.A.'s New Contributions in Serving the People

**R**AISING high the great red banner of the invincible thought of Mao Tse-tung, the great mass of commanders and fighters of the People's Liberation Army have, over the past year, made new, great contributions defending the socialist motherland and the great proletarian cultural revolution. They have thus won new merit in the service of the people.

The imperialists and other reactionaries headed by the United States, and the modern revisionists with the Soviet Party's leading clique as their centre, monsters of the old world, hate and are mortally afraid of the storm of the great Chinese proletarian cultural revolution. In their anti-China hysteria they have launched frenzied provocations against the Chinese people. In the past twelve months, 130 U.S. imperialist military planes intruded into China's air space on 73 occasions while 31 U.S. warships illegally entered China's territorial waters on 42 occasions. The Indian reactionaries, lackeys of U.S. imperialism and Soviet modern revisionism, also engaged in repeated provocations against Chinese border garrison forces on land and from the air. At the instigation of their U.S. masters, the Chiang Kai-shek bandits holed up in Taiwan, have also been active.

The heroic Chinese People's Liberation Army has firmly rebuffed all these provocations. The air force and the naval air force of the P.L.A. shot down nine U.S. imperialist planes of various types and damaged two in the past twelve months. They also brought down a U.S.-made fighter plane of the Chiang gang.

The powerful naval forces of the P.L.A. successfully accomplished their task of escorting merchant and fishing fleets and gave harassing enemy forces a hiding.

The P.L.A. has at the same time made tremendous contributions in defence of the great proletarian cultural revolution.

In the capital, the Peking garrison and other locally stationed P.L.A. units have vigilantly guarded the supreme proletarian headquarters headed by Chairman

Mao. Last year, when millions of young revolutionary fighters came to Peking, P.L.A. men received them warmly and trained them. They saw to it that these youngsters had proper meals and warm lodgings and passed on to them the glorious tradition of the P.L.A. They enabled these young revolutionary fighters to take part in at least one of the eight great Tien An Men Square reviews by Chairman Mao and later saw them all safely off to spread the flames of the great proletarian cultural revolution throughout the country.

In every part of the country, the heroic People's Liberation Army units have made immortal contributions in defending the great proletarian cultural revolution and the new revolutionary order. They stood guard to protect the young Red Guards when they stormed out into the streets to destroy the "four olds" and to sweep away all ghosts and monsters. Their presence guaranteed the right of hundreds of millions of revolutionary masses in town and countryside to hold mass revolutionary debates and great meetings to denounce the handful of capitalist roaders within the Party.

The commanders and fighters of the P.L.A. have firmly carried out the glorious task entrusted to them by our great supreme commander Chairman Mao: to support the Left, assist industry and agriculture, exercise military control and give military and political training. They have stood resolutely on the side of Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line. With a firm and clear-cut stand they have united with the broad masses of the Left, fought side by side with them to win victory together. They have armed the revolutionaries with the invincible thought of Mao Tse-tung, mobilized the revolutionary masses and joined them in exposing and repudiating the handful of top Party persons in authority taking the capitalist road. Inculcating Chairman Mao's teaching that the proletariat can finally liberate itself only by liberating the whole of mankind, they have guided the proletarian revolutionaries in adopting a correct attitude towards themselves, as well as towards the cadres, and towards the masses



who had been hoodwinked, and in the course of the campaign for revolutionary criticism and repudiation promoted revolutionary great alliances and revolutionary "three-in-one" combinations. They have answered the great call of Chairman Mao "to take a firm hold of

the revolution and promote production" and in this same campaign have enhanced the enthusiasm of the workers and peasants both for revolution and production, and helped increase both industrial and agricultural production.

人民日报  
RENMIN RIBAO

## An Extremely Important Matter of Guiding Principle

**R**ENMIN RIBAO on August 18 reprinted an article "We Should Be Bold in Using the Revolutionary Cadres" written by a commentator of the editorial department of *Weidong*, a journal published by Nankai University in Tientsin. The article has drawn nationwide attention.

The question raised in this article, to be bold in using the revolutionary cadres, is an extremely important matter of guiding principle in the current great proletarian cultural revolution. It is a matter that has a bearing on the establishment and consolidation of the revolutionary "three-in-one" combination, on the progress and development of the revolutionary mass criticism and repudiation, and on the accomplishment of the task of taking a firm hold of the revolution and promoting production.

Proletarian revolutionaries everywhere in the country are called on to study this article carefully, and correctly deal with cadres and use them boldly in accordance with Chairman Mao's cadre policy.

The tests of the rigorous struggle of the last year or so have proved that the majority of our cadres are good or comparatively good. The revolutionary leading cadres who were long tested in the revolutionary war and class struggle are relatively mature politically, have relatively strong organizational ability and have relatively rich experience in struggle. The large numbers of revolutionary cadres are valuable assets of the Party and the people. As the article pointed out: "Boldly using revolutionary cadres and drawing them in to take part in the leading groups at all levels is not only an important measure to ensure the vigorous development of all our work, but also a key to the consolidation of our young proletarian political power. Without revolutionary cadres, the political power seized by the young Red Guard fighters today may be lost tomorrow."

People have gained a much deeper understanding than ever before of Chairman Mao's cadre policy through the all-round exposure and mass criticism and repudiation over the last year or so of the bourgeois

reactionary line in dealing with cadres, a line which is summed up as "hit hard at many in order to protect a handful." In all places and departments where the stirring mass movement of the great proletarian cultural revolution has been carried out, the class line-up has become clear or relatively clear and it is not difficult to distinguish between persons in authority taking the capitalist road and proletarian revolutionaries.

At present, an important task confronting proletarian revolutionaries is to implement Chairman Mao's cadre policy even more consciously and to be bold in using revolutionary cadres.

Some people are full of misgivings on the question of using cadres. They are afraid of making a wrong choice, afraid that some day these cadres will go bad.

With regard to this question, the commentator's article we reprinted on the 18th gives an analysis which hits the nail on the head: "Like all phenomena in the world, cadres follow the rule of one divides into two. This is a universal law in the development of things. When we say we should be bold in using revolutionary cadres we do not mean that they will not change in the future. If we are aware of this we can estimate the question soberly. As the revolution develops, the few individuals who become corrupt will be weeded out and those good cadres who are loyal to Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line and to the dictatorship of the proletariat, and who maintain close ties with the masses and make continuous progress will be selected and promoted to leading positions from time to time."

Instead of viewing the cadre ranks one-sidedly from a static, metaphysical viewpoint, this analysis looks at them in an all-round way, dialectically and from the viewpoint of development. Such an analysis is in keeping with Mao Tse-tung's thought and Chairman Mao's policy on cadres.

Chairman Mao's policy on cadres follows certain principles. In judging a cadre we must distinguish between the major aspects of political principle and the minor ones, be clear on what his main trend is and

what is secondary, and examine his life and work as a whole.

The main aspect of political principle in a cadre is whether or not he is holding aloft the great red banner of Mao Tse-tung's thought, whether or not he is giving prominence to proletarian politics and whether he has or lacks revolutionary drive.

In examining a cadre at present, our main consideration should be whether or not he supports Chairman Mao, Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line and the great proletarian cultural revolution; whether he stands on the side of Chairman Mao's proletarian headquarters or on the side of the bourgeois headquarters of China's Khrushchov, and whether or not he supports the proletarian revolutionaries.

It is quite often unavoidable for cadres to commit mistakes in revolutionary struggle. The traditional policy of "learning from past mistakes to avoid future ones" and "curing the sickness to save the patient" should be adopted in dealing with cadres who have made mistakes. This is the only correct policy. We must give cadres who have made mistakes the opportunity to make self-criticism and correct their mistakes. We must let them get tempered and tested in the storm of mass struggle and in the course of revolutionary mass criticism and repudiation, so that they may steadily increase their proletarian political consciousness, their understanding of Mao Tse-tung's thought and their awareness of the proletarian revolutionary line. We must not repeat what that book on "self-cultivation" preaches and make them "ponder over their mistakes behind closed doors." They are still good comrades, provided that they conscientiously correct their mistakes and really stand on the side of Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line.

Even cadres who have committed serious mistakes **should be allowed to correct their errors and encouraged to make amends for their crimes by good deeds, unless they are anti-Party, anti-socialist elements**

**who persist in their errors and refuse to correct them after repeated education."**

An unshakable principle set down by Chairman Mao is, "have faith in and rely on the majority of the cadres." Only when it is combined with faith in and reliance on the majority of the cadres, can faith in and reliance on the masses generate infinite power in the great revolutionary struggle.

Whether or not one is bold in using revolutionary cadres is an important indication of whether or not one is adhering to the proletarian revolutionary line.

The Central Committee of the Party calls on proletarian revolutionaries throughout the country to give resolute support to revolutionary cadres so that they can step forward, and calls on proletarian revolutionaries to use the cadres boldly. Proletarian revolutionaries must have the great communist spirit and get rid of unnecessary misgivings. They must dare to support and trust revolutionary cadres and enable them to play the role of serving as the backbone and core.

Using revolutionary cadres boldly does not mean that in general they should be restored to their original posts. As to how to use them, this should be subject to discussion by the revolutionary masses.

The Central Committee of the Party calls on all revolutionary cadres to step forward boldly, support the proletarian revolutionaries resolutely, take an active part in the great proletarian cultural revolution and courageously shoulder the heavy responsibility of taking firm hold of the revolution and promoting production so that through their own revolutionary actions they can win the trust of the revolutionary masses.

All revolutionary cadres and all cadres who want to make revolution but who have committed mistakes and are willing to correct them should unite with the revolutionary masses and win new merit in the great proletarian cultural revolution.

*("Renmin Ribao" editorial, August 25.)*

### Criticizing and Repudiating China's Khrushchov

# The Bankruptcy of China's "Devotee Of Parliamentarianism"

**W**HETHER the proletariat is to seize power through armed struggle or by taking the "parliamentary road" is the fundamental difference between Marxism-Leninism and revisionism. The entire history of the international communist movement teaches us that all revisionists, big and small, have been "devotees of

parliamentarianism." Without exception they have all denied that revolution by force is the universal law of the proletarian revolution; they have all along taken the bourgeois parliament as a stock exchange, where they conduct transactions selling out the fundamental interests of the proletariat. They have turned them-



selves into the most despicable renegades of the working class.

Their most outstanding representative in China is the top Party person in authority, taking the capitalist road. He has all along been the biggest "devotee of parliamentarianism" in China and in the contemporary world.

In 1945, after victory in the War of Resistance Against Japan, the question put sharply to the whole Chinese people was, "Whither China?" **"To build a new-democratic country of the broad masses of the people under the leadership of the proletariat? Or to build a semi-colonial and semi-feudal country under the dictatorship of the big landlords and the big bourgeoisie? This will be a most complicated struggle."** This most acute struggle is a decisive battle in the choice between the two destinies and the two futures facing China.

Upon final victory in the War of Resistance Against Japan, our great leader Chairman Mao pointed out: ". . . **It is necessary to be soberly aware that the danger of civil war is extremely serious because Chiang Kai-shek's policy is already set. Chiang Kai-shek's policy is civil war**" and that in order to defend the fruits of victory, **"our policy is to give him tit for tat and to fight for every inch of land."**

It was precisely at this crucial moment that China's Khrushchov, on February 1, 1946, came out with his "Report on Problems in the Current Situation." **In this report he flagrantly opposed Chairman Mao's revolutionary line, put forward the absurd, reactionary trash of "a new stage of peace and democracy" and clamoured for the "parliamentary road," saying that "the main form of struggle in the Chinese revolution has become peaceful and parliamentary; it will be legal mass struggle and parliamentary struggle." He also stated that "the whole work of the Party will undergo a change; all our organizations have to change, change to the point that non-armed struggle will be predominant . . . you must be capable of doing propaganda, making speeches and holding election campaigns so that people will vote for you."**

In a word, he wanted to engage in legal struggle, and take the "parliamentary road."

This was the sinister programme mapped out by China's Khrushchov in his futile attempt to pursue the "parliamentary road" in China. This was another great exposure of his features as a renegade in promoting class capitulationism and national capitulationism.

Did "a new stage of peace and democracy" occur in China at that time as China's Khrushchov claimed? No, not at all.

At the time when China's Khrushchov was cherishing fond dreams of the "parliamentary road," Chiang Kai-shek was sharpening his sword, holding peace talks while fighting the civil war. He used U.S. planes

and warships to dispatch large numbers of troops to the civil war front. The danger of an all-out national civil war was imminent and it would break out at any moment. This counter-revolutionary action of Chiang Kai-shek's was a slap in the face to China's Khrushchov who was singing the shopworn tune of the "parliamentary road."

What is a parliament? In capitalist countries it is only an ornament or a screen for bourgeois rule. The main pillar of the bourgeois state apparatus is armed force, not parliament. Whether the bourgeoisie carries out the parliamentary system or abolishes it, or what amount of power it gives parliament is always decided by the requirements of bourgeois rule. It is purely a vicious fraud to aspire to make the transition to socialism peacefully through the "parliamentary road" when the bourgeoisie controls the powerful state apparatus. In the present-day world we have only the tragic lesson of socialist countries which have peacefully evolved into capitalist countries and not a single precedent of a capitalist country making a peaceful transition to socialism. Of course, under certain conditions the proletariat can utilize the parliamentary platform to expose the festering sores of bourgeois society, to educate the masses and to accumulate revolutionary strength so as to prepare to seize political power by armed force. But it is absolutely impossible to use parliamentary struggle to replace revolution by violence. Lenin pointed out long ago that **"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 "legal mass struggle and parliamentary struggle" publicized by China's Khrushchov is precisely **"actually desertion to the side of the bourgeoisie against the proletariat."**

In capitalist countries the "parliamentary road" is a blind alley. In semi-feudal and semi-colonial China, especially in China after the victory of the War of Resistance Against Japan, the "parliamentary road" was even more of an impasse. Quite early, Chairman Mao pointed out the following about old China under Chiang Kai-shek's rule: **"that internally she has no democracy but is under feudal oppression and that in her external relations she has no national independence but is oppressed by imperialism. It follows that we have no parliament to make use of and no legal right to organize the workers to strike. Basically, the task of the Communist Party here is not to go through a long period of legal struggle before launching insurrection and war, and not to seize the big cities first and then occupy the countryside, but the reverse."** The objective law for the triumph of the Chinese revolution was to use armed revolution to oppose armed counter-revolution. This was the only road to victory for the Chinese revolution.

But after the victory of the War of Resistance Against Japan, China's Khrushchov had the impu-

dence to negate this objective law. Therefore, we would like to ask:

Could it be said that the characteristics of the Chinese revolution disappeared after the victory of the War of Resistance Against Japan? Did the basic law of the Chinese revolution cease to operate from then on?

Could it be said that the gang of butchers, headed by Chiang Kai-shek, who killed without batting an eyelid, became angels of peace and democracy after the victory of the War of Resistance Against Japan?

Could it be said that in dealing with the Chiang Kai-shek brigand clique who were armed to the teeth, one could bring about peace and democracy in China just by making a speech and winning a few votes in parliament?

If we had followed the "parliamentary road" advocated by China's Khrushchov at a time when the Kuomintang Chiang Kai-shek was sharpening his sword, cleaning his rifle and preparing to kill us, and had entered the cities on the strength of a few ballots, we would never have won the basic success of the democratic revolution, we would never have been able to enter Chiang Kai-shek's cities, but would only have lost our own cities instead, millions of people would have been killed and the future of the Chinese revolution would have been thrown away.

While China's Khrushchov advocated the "parliamentary road," he also openly opposed armed struggle and urged handing our weapons over to the Kuomintang. He openly put forth the view that "the army should also be reorganized," intending to reorganize our army "to become units of the national army, national defence army, security troops and self-defence forces." He wanted "to liquidate Party organizations" in the army, ". . . stop [the Communist Party's] direct leadership and command of the armed forces which should be placed under the unified command of the Ministry of National Defence." China's Khrushchov even had the effrontery to say that such "compromise" "makes no change in the nature of the army but gives it legality. . . . This is a worthwhile and profitable deal."

This is the logic of a renegade, pure and simple.

Actually, such "compromise" was the equivalent to putting one's fingerprints on a confession in the enemy's prison. To obtain such "legality" can only mean to be legal according to the law of Chiang Kai-shek and to the law of the Kuomintang. To realize such "unification" is to "unify" the Communist Party into the Kuomintang.

"It makes no change in the nature of the army" is the equivocation of a renegade. We would like to ask, without the leadership of the Communist Party whose army would it become? Whom would the guns

point at? Once the nature of the army changes, the direction the muzzles point will change. Without the army there can be no revolution, much less victory in the revolution.

In the ten whole years from 1936 to 1946, China's Khrushchov never gave up the idea of handing over military power to the Kuomintang. Early in May 1936 while he was in the North China Bureau in charge of work in the enemy-controlled area, he wrote in a reactionary bourgeois journal under the pen name Tao Shang-hsing "A Letter Concerning the Communist Party." This venomous article advocated handing over the people's armed forces to the Kuomintang and making a "unified army with the same system and same organization." This was entirely in keeping with Wang Ming's capitulationism. If we compare what China's Khrushchov said in 1946 with what he said in 1936, we will find that the only difference is that he was even more determined to hand over the army and to hand it over more thoroughly. It was simply to curry favour with the U.S.-Chiang reactionaries so as to get a lucrative job in the Kuomintang government that China's Khrushchov chose the sharpest moment of class struggle hastily to betray the people's armed forces. This man had absolutely no sense of shame.

In the international communist movement, to hand over rifles to the enemy in exchange for a few seats in parliament and to gain the post of vice-premier or minister is no invention of China's Khrushchov. After World War II, Thorez handed over weapons, Togliatti handed over weapons, and the Greek Communist Party, though Athens was almost in its hands, also handed over its weapons. And the result? After the guns were handed over the "legality" was abolished; large numbers of true revolutionary Party members were slaughtered and the blood of revolutionary martyrs became the wine in the cups of the enemy. What sort of "profitable" transaction was this? It was clearly a cheap sell-out of the cause of revolution and a monstrous betrayal of the people's interests.

Lenin said: "A bourgeoisie armed against the proletariat is one of the biggest, fundamental and cardinal facts of modern capitalist society. And in face of this fact, revolutionary Social-Democrats are urged to 'demand' 'disarmament'! That is tantamount to complete abandonment of the class-struggle point of view, to renunciation of all thought of revolution." China's Khrushchov is just such an old-line opportunist who abandons all thought of revolution.

At that time, only our great leader Chairman Mao stood firmly against this adverse revisionist current in the international communist movement. Giving tit for tat, he pointed out: "The arms of the people, every gun and every bullet, must all be kept, must not be handed over." This is a summation of the experience of the Chinese revolution and the international communist movement, a strategic concept of tremendous world significance, a wise policy in opposing Right capitula-

tionism, and a fundamental guarantee of complete victory for the Chinese revolution and world revolution.

The Khrushchov of China advocated the "parliamentary road" and opposed the seizure of political power by force of arms with such frenzy because he feared revolution and war and the jaws of death; all he was interested in was winning promotion and filling his coffers in a comfortable way. When in jail, a man like this is bound to give himself over to the enemy and betray the revolution; in the face of violent revolution, he inevitably becomes terror-stricken and shouts himself hoarse for legal struggle. The needs of U.S. imperialism and Chiang Kai-shek, autocrat and traitor to the people, to dissolve and destroy the Communist Party, exterminate the proletarian revolution and maintain the reactionary rule of the U.S.-Chiang Kai-shek clique have been fully served by the ignominious traitorous activities of China's Khrushchov.

In his all-out advertisement of the "parliamentary road," China's Khrushchov used another argument. This was the emergence, according to him, of "historically unprecedented conditions" in China at that time. These conditions were said to be: three countries (Britain, the United States and the Soviet Union) were helping China's democratic movement; three political parties (the Kuomintang, the Communist Party and the Democratic League) in China favoured co-operation to bring about democracy; and the three principal classes of China (the working people, middle-of-the-roads of the middle bourgeoisie and part of the big bourgeoisie) demanded democracy in China. He wanted to take the "parliamentary road" precisely on the strength of this argument.

What nonsense! Under the pen of China's Khrushchov, the U.S. and British imperialists had become Buddhas and were going so far as to help the "democratic movement" of China. Was this a fact? No! It was then the set policy of U.S. imperialism to help Chiang Kai-shek fight the civil war and turn China into a dependency of the United States. Under the signboard of promoting democracy in China, the U.S. Government was reinforcing Chiang Kai-shek's military strength in every possible way and was suppressing the Chinese people's revolution through Chiang Kai-shek's policy of massacring the people. When he described U.S. and British imperialism as helping China's democratic movement, was this Khrushchov of China not clasping an enemy to his bosom and completely and unreservedly standing on the side of U.S. imperialism?

Three political parties "favoured co-operation" and three classes "demanded democracy in China" — this was yet more nonsense! There never can be demand common to the big bourgeoisie and the working people. To wrest every ounce of power and every ounce of gain was the principle of the Kuomintang and Chiang Kai-shek in dealing with the people. On August of 1945, in his essay "On a Statement by Chiang Kai-shek's Spokesman," Chairman Mao pointed

out explicitly that Chiang Kai-shek was the enemy of the people. However, half a year later, China's Khrushchov went so far as to openly stand on the side of the people's enemy, reversing the verdict on Chiang Kai-shek, taking the enemy as people and describing the bloodthirsty butcher to be an angel who was "promoting peace and democracy." Was he not wholly serving in the capacity of a spokesman for Chiang Kai-shek?

The practice of the Chinese revolution has exploded the dream of China's Khrushchov. Rejecting all his nonsense, the Chinese people, under the guidance of Chairman Mao's revolutionary line, finally overthrew the reactionary rule of the Kuomintang after three years' heroic battle, won great victory in the Liberation War and founded the People's Republic of China.

After the founding of New China, China's Khrushchov, his ambition undiminished, still obstinately advertised his capitulationism and vainly attempted to spread it throughout the world. In 1962 he wanted the Communist Party of Burma to "bury its weapons, reorganize its army into the 'defence forces' [Ne Win's reactionary army]; and co-operate with Ne Win in the building of socialism." During his visit to Indonesia in April 1963, he shamelessly lauded the road of "NASAKOM" and in an unofficial conversation he uttered such drivel as, "It will do good" for the Communist Party of Indonesia "to have more Party members in positions of minister in the government, to accumulate more experience in governing the country."

This is China's Khrushchov's big betrayal of the Chinese people, the Asian people and people the world over. China's Khrushchov is the common enemy of the Chinese people and people throughout the world.

The "devotee of parliamentarianism" in China has gone completely bankrupt. All the "devotees of parliamentarianism" in the world, big or small, have met a rebuff everywhere. With each passing day, the great truth of Chairman Mao that "political power grows out of the barrel of a gun" is being grasped by the proletariat, the oppressed people and oppressed nations throughout the world. The flames of armed struggle are burning vigorously in Burma, India, Southeast Asia, Africa, Latin America and other regions. The people are criticizing the old world with the gun. This in itself constitutes the most powerful criticism of China's Khrushchov. Let us hold still higher the great red banner of Mao Tse-tung's thought, thoroughly refute and discredit China's top "devotee of parliamentarianism" and the whole set of capitulationist nonsense he has advertised, and sweep it into the garbage bin of history.

*(By the editorial departments of the "Wenhui Bao," the "Jiefang Ribao" and the "Life of the Party Branch," Aug. 10.)*

# Settle Accounts With Peng Teh-huai for His Heinous Crimes of Usurping Army Leadership and Opposing the Party

by LI HSIN-KUNG

**T**HE Eighth Plenary Session of the Eighth Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party, convened at Lushan in August 1959, successfully smashed the fierce attack made on the Party by the anti-Party clique headed by Peng Teh-huai, shattered their conspiracy to usurp the leadership of the army, Party and state and to restore capitalism, safeguarded the Party's general line for building socialism and uprooted a major hidden danger inside the Party. This was a great victory for Mao Tse-tung's thought and for Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line. It dealt the bourgeois headquarters headed by China's Khrushchov a heavy blow and was of far-reaching, historic significance in helping to consolidate the dictatorship of the proletariat in our country, in promoting the development in depth of the socialist cause and in advancing the struggle against modern revisionism.

Peng Teh-huai was never a Marxist. He is a big conspirator, a careerist and an out-and-out hypocrite who wormed his way into the Party. He is an opportunist of long standing, and a counter-revolutionary revisionist; he was an agent planted in the army by the top Party person in authority taking the capitalist road.

In every momentous struggle over the line of the Party, Peng Teh-huai always supported the wrong line and opposed Chairman Mao's correct line. We must settle accounts with him for his heinous crimes of opposing our great leader Chairman Mao, the great thought of Mao Tse-tung and Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line.

## **During the Period of Democratic Revolution He Always Opposed the Correct Line Represented By Chairman Mao and the Great Thought Of Mao Tse-tung**

Before Peng Teh-huai wormed his way into our Party and army he was an extremely arrogant old-style officer with the ambition of a careerist. He had been in warlord mercenary armies for 12 years. He joined the Communist Party and the Pingkiang Uprising in Hunan (1928) with ulterior motives for he sought to use the revolution to further his ambitions.

His bourgeois world outlook and standpoint has not changed at all in more than 30 years. The Party, Chairman Mao, the masses and the proletariat have no place in his mind. He is self-centred. His one idea is to remould the Party and the army in his bourgeois image.

In June, 1930, the erroneous "Left" opportunist line represented by Li Li-san dominated the leading organs of the Central Committee of the Party. The supporters of this line opposed Chairman Mao's correct line of establishing rural base areas, encircling the cities from the countryside and using the rural base areas to push the revolution forward to a high tide throughout the nation. They mapped out the adventurist course of staging armed uprisings in the major cities and of concentrating the forces of the Red Army to attack the major cities.

Peng Teh-huai was a sedulous supporter and an active executor of this military adventurism.

After the Li Li-san line had been repudiated, and under Chairman Mao's correct leadership, the Red Army in the Central Soviet Area successively smashed the enemy's first, second and third "encirclement and suppression" campaigns. The base areas were expanded and the Red Army grew in size and strength.

The national-democratic movement to oppose Japanese imperialist aggression surged to a new high tide throughout the country. But, at this moment, another erroneous line, namely the first Wang Ming line, appeared in the Party. This was even more "Left" in character than Li Li-san's.

This erroneous line was dominant in the Party for four years. It was the cause of the loss of 90 per cent of the revolutionary base areas and of the Red Army, and the almost complete failure in the Party's work in the White area.

Peng Teh-huai sedulously carried out this line. He made the utmost efforts to oppose and thrust aside Chairman Mao's correct line. Peng Teh-huai played an extremely bad role in enabling the first Wang Ming line to be carried out in the Central Soviet Area.

In January 1935, the enlarged meeting of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Party held at Tsunyi, Kweichow Province, put an end to the domination of the first Wang Ming line in the Central Committee and established Chairman Mao's leading position in the entire Party.

This was the most important historic turning point for our Party. Our great leader Chairman Mao saved the Party and saved the Chinese revolution at their time of gravest crisis.

After the outbreak of the War of Resistance Against Japan in 1937, Chairman Mao made a correct analysis

of the political situation pertaining at the time and formulated the Party's political line for the War of Resistance. It was to arouse the masses boldly, expand the people's forces so as to defeat the Japanese aggressors, liberate the people of the whole country and establish a new China under the leadership of our Party.

In August 1937, at the Lochuan meeting of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Party, the principle of maintaining the independence and the initiative of the Party within the united front was advanced and it was decided to adopt the strategy of independent guerrilla warfare in the mountain areas (later summarized as the policy of "guerrilla warfare is basic, but lose no chance for mobile warfare under favourable conditions"), in order to give full scope to independent guerrilla warfare behind the enemy lines, establish anti-Japanese base areas and develop and expand the people's forces in resisting Japanese aggression.

At this historical turning point, Peng Teh-huai again came out to oppose Chairman Mao's correct line. He spared no effort in attacking the correct line and policy formulated at the Lochuan meeting and in firmly upholding the new capitulationist line represented by Wang Ming, that is, the second Wang Ming line.

From the outbreak of the War of Resistance Against Japan up to the time of his departure from north China in 1943, Peng Teh-huai asserted his independence from Chairman Mao and the Central Committee of the Party in his capacity as deputy commander-in-chief of the Eighteenth Group Army and secretary of the North China Bureau of the Party, a position he held concurrently after 1941. He regarded the area under his charge as his independent kingdom from which to oppose Chairman Mao's correct line and the leadership of the Party's Central Committee headed by Chairman Mao.

He opposed the Party's principle of independence and initiative within the national united front for resistance against Japanese aggression, and advocated giving up proletarian leadership in favour of class capitulation. He opposed the strategy maintaining that "guerrilla warfare is basic," erroneously advocated "mobile and guerrilla warfare" and denied the strategic necessity for guerrilla war in resisting Japanese aggression.

He opposed Chairman Mao's *On New Democracy* and spread and promoted the bourgeois political slogan: "Liberty, equality and fraternity." He opposed the line of boldly arousing the masses and repeatedly poured cold water on the mass movement in the north China area.

He arbitrarily started the "campaign of a hundred regiments" in support of Chiang Kai-shek and in aid of the Kuomintang. This led to a grave setback in the development of our armed forces in the north China base area.

During this period, he revealed himself more and more clearly in his true colours as a bourgeois careerist. He committed serious crimes politically, militarily and organizationally, causing enormous losses to our Party. During the period of the War of Resistance Against Japan, Peng Teh-huai persisted in the Right opportunist line longer than anyone else in our Party and he was also one of the principal Right opportunist elements.

### **He Opposed the Party's General Lines for Socialist Revolution and Socialist Construction, Organized An Anti-Party Clique and Engaged in Conspiratorial Activities Aimed at Usurping the Leadership of the Army and the Party**

The founding of the People's Republic of China marked the beginning of the stage of socialist revolution in China. At this time, Peng Teh-huai, that bourgeois careerist and conspirator who had sneaked into the Party during the democratic revolution, completely revealed his bourgeois reactionary nature by opposing the socialist revolution.

In 1952, when Chairman Mao put forward the Party's general line for the transition period and socialist transformation was started in China, Peng Teh-huai, backed by the top Party person in authority taking the capitalist road, stubbornly resisted Chairman Mao's revolutionary line and did his utmost to oppose socialist revolution.

In collusion with Kao Kang and Jao Shu-shih, he stepped up his anti-Party activities. They attempted to usurp the supreme power of the Party and state by conspiratorial means. Their aim was to liquidate the Party's general line for the transition period, retain capitalism, nip socialism in the bud and bring about a counter-revolutionary restoration of the bourgeoisie.

Investigations made later proved that the Kao-Jao anti-Party alliance was in actual fact an anti-Party alliance of Peng Teh-huai, Kao Kang and Jao Shu-shih. The Central Committee of the Party headed by Chairman Mao waged a resolute struggle against them, exposed and smashed this anti-Party alliance, and this guaranteed the tremendous victory in socialist transformation.

In the spring of 1958, the general line of going all out, aiming high and getting greater, quicker, better and more economical results in building socialism put forward by Chairman Mao was adopted at the Second Session of the Eighth National Congress of the Party. This general line was an important contribution made by Chairman Mao to the development of Marxism-Leninism.

Inspired by the Party's general line, the whole country took a great leap forward. At the same time, the people's commune, a new form of social organization, full of vitality, appeared in the countryside. The tremendous victory of the general line, the great leap

forward and the people's communes enraged both domestic and foreign reactionaries and made them panic-stricken.

To meet the needs of the class enemy at home and abroad, Peng Teh-huai, who had gathered around him a few anti-Party elements, could wait no longer and came out with an even more ferocious attack on the Party at the Lushan Meeting in 1959. In this, they were actively encouraged by the Soviet Khrushchov revisionist clique and had the direct support of China's Khrushchov. This attack was entirely purposive, prepared, planned and organized. In their vain attempt to change the Party's line, subvert the dictatorship of the proletariat in our country and draw China back on to the road of capitalism, they directed the spearhead of their attack against our great leader Chairman Mao.

The letter setting out his views dished up by Peng Teh-huai at the Lushan Meeting on July 14, 1959, was an out-and-out anti-Party programme.

The letter vehemently attacked and smeared the Party's general line, the great leap forward and the people's communes. He slandered as an "exaggerated trend" the vigorous campaign launched by hundreds of millions of people to build socialism under the guidance of Mao Tse-tung's thought, claiming that "the gains could not compensate for the losses." He flung mud at the people's communes, saying that they were "set up too early" and were "a mess."

He vilified as "petty-bourgeois fanaticism" the mass movement and the revolutionary drive and zeal of the Party and the people, and viciously attacked our great leader Chairman Mao. His purpose in making such a hue and cry was completely to negate the revolutionary mass movements, sap the revolutionary enthusiasm of the masses and obstruct the advance of the socialist revolution and socialist construction.

Chairman Mao and the Central Committee of the Party exposed the Peng Teh-huai anti-Party clique in good time, dismissed them from their posts and smashed their conspiracy to stage a counter-revolutionary coup d'etat, thus defending the correct leadership of the Central Committee of the Party represented by Chairman Mao and Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line and ensuring the successful progress of China's socialist construction.

With the support of the bourgeois headquarters headed by China's Khrushchov and exploiting the position in which he was entrenched, Peng Teh-huai started his activities to usurp the leadership of the army quite early in a vain attempt to get the army away from the direct leadership of Chairman Mao. He also tried to liquidate the Military Commission of the Central Committee of the Party. Without the knowledge of the Central Committee, he secretly wanted to set up another "military commission" in order to monopolize the army's power himself.

In order to elevate his own status, Peng Teh-huai engaged in the criminal activity of tampering with the history of the army. He did his utmost to disparage

the great significance of the Autumn Harvest Uprising led by Chairman Mao and exaggerate the role of the Pingkiang Uprising in which he took part. In this way, he tried to portray himself as a standard-bearer in the founding of the army and so gain political capital by this swindle.

As far back as the Seventh National Congress of the Party, Peng Teh-huai openly opposed the laying down in the Party Constitution of Mao Tse-tung's thought as the guiding thought of the Party. At and after the 20th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, Khrushchov stirred up an adverse current to oppose the so-called "personality cult" of Stalin. Trailing close behind Khrushchov, Peng Teh-huai strove to impair Chairman Mao's immensely high prestige. This exposed his bitter hatred for our greatest leader, for the Party and for socialism, and Peng Teh-huai's own ugly features as a counter-revolutionary revisionist.

### **He Opposed Chairman Mao's Military Line and Pursued a Revisionist Military Line in a Vain Attempt to Turn Our Army Into a Tool for The Restoration of Capitalism**

During the long years of revolutionary wars, Chairman Mao developed Marxist-Leninist military theory with genius and in a brilliant and creative way. Mao Tse-tung's military thinking represents the acme of Marxist-Leninist military theory. It is the most powerful weapon of the world's revolutionary people for defeating imperialism and all other class enemies.

Peng Teh-huai has clung to his warlord ideas for the past several decades. What is more, after the founding of the People's Republic of China, he formulated a complete bourgeois, revisionist military line to counter Chairman Mao's proletarian military line.

Mao Tse-tung's thought is the very soul of our army, the decisive element in its invincible strength, and the fundamental guarantee that it will never change its nature. In order to change the proletarian nature of our army and usurp its leadership, Peng Teh-huai directed his spearhead first of all against the great thought of Mao Tse-tung. In a malicious attack, he alleged: "Mao Tse-tung's military thinking is now out-of-date and no longer applicable." He exerted every effort to oppose the study of Chairman Mao's writings. In the training programmes he mapped out for the army and military academies, the study of Chairman Mao's works was never incorporated as the fundamental principle and major content. The "Regulations of Committees of the Chinese Communist Party in the Army (Draft)," prepared in 1953, originally included the following article: "The Party committees take Mao Tse-tung's thought — which integrates Marxist-Leninist theory with the practice of the Chinese revolution — as the guiding principle of all their work." This article constituted the core of the draft regulations but Peng Teh-huai cut it out when he revised the draft. This clearly exposed his scheme to oppose Mao Tse-tung's thought and the Party's absolute leadership over the army.



Using the pretext of modernizing the army and putting it on a regular basis, Peng Teh-huai desperately opposed giving prominence to proletarian politics. He negated the historical experience and fine traditions of our army, concentrated on putting the army on a regular basis along bourgeois lines, and rejected revolutionizing it along proletarian lines. He gave first place to military technique and denied that political and ideological work is the primary factor in building up our army's combat strength. He attempted to abrogate the absolute leadership of the Party in the army and the system of collective leadership through the Party committees, and to push through the "system of one-man leadership," clamouring that this should be the "orientation in army building." He tried to abolish political work in the army, the democratic system and the mass line and undermine the principle of unity between officers and men and between superiors and subordinates.

Chairman Mao has consistently upheld the principle of people's war: victory in a revolutionary war is achieved through relying on the masses, arming them and turning all the people into soldiers. After nationwide victory, in order to consolidate the dictatorship of the proletariat and guard against imperialist aggression, the significance of people's war greatly increased rather than diminished. But, under the pretext that the situation had changed and the militia system was now "out-of-date," Peng Teh-huai tried to abolish the nationwide militia system and totally negate the principle of people's war. His wrong ideas on the question of militia building were a continuation and development of his long-standing warlord mentality and purely military viewpoint which rejected people's war and reliance on the masses.

Peng Teh-huai opposed the strategic principle of active defence formulated by Chairman Mao. He adopted a completely passive attitude towards preparations for dealing with U.S. imperialist aggression. He did not proceed from the standpoint of preparedness against war. Instead, he adopted the opportunist attitude that "no fighting would break out and that war was unlikely."

He opposed Chairman Mao's instructions on building a powerful army, air force and navy. He paid no attention to the building of the air force and navy and was indifferent to the building of the various arms of the army.

He opposed the policy advanced by Chairman Mao of creating an independent and comprehensive network of modern national defence industries by relying on our own efforts. He neither paid attention to research in and manufacture of conventional arms, nor made any active effort to develop the most up-to-date science and technology.

In a futile attempt to turn our army into an appendage of the Khrushchov revisionist clique, he depended entirely on that clique for the improvement of our army's equipment and the development of up-to-date military science and technology. He totally disregarded

the needs of the proletarian revolutionary cause and the safety of the motherland.

Peng Teh-huai opposed adopting Mao Tse-tung's thought as the guide for military work, refused to carry out a whole series of Chairman Mao's instructions and completely negated Chairman Mao's concept of people's war, in a vain attempt to lead our army on to the road of a bourgeois army and turn the revolutionary army of the proletariat into a tool for bringing about the restoration of capitalism.

In 1959, after his anti-Party conspiracy was completely uncovered, his crimes were exposed and repudiated at an enlarged meeting of the Military Commission presided over by Comrade Lin Piao. Peng Teh-huai's bourgeois military line, likewise, went completely bankrupt.

### **Hold High the Great Red Banner of Mao Tse-tung's Thought, Thoroughly Criticize and Repudiate the Counter-Revolutionary Revisionist Peng Teh-huai**

Our great leader Chairman Mao teaches us: **"According to the Marxist theory of the state, the army is the chief component of state power. Whoever wants to seize and retain state power must have a strong army."**

In the period of socialism, the life-and-death struggle between the two classes, the two roads and the two lines is inevitably reflected in the army, the main instrument of the dictatorship of the proletariat. In the final analysis, the struggle between the two military lines is a struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie for power over the armed forces. This is an important component part of the struggle, under the dictatorship of the proletariat, between the bourgeoisie attempting a restoration and the proletariat fighting to frustrate this attempt.

**"Whoever has an army has power."** The army is the pillar of the dictatorship of the proletariat. In order to usurp state power and restore capitalism, the handful of top Party persons in authority taking the capitalist road had to usurp military power.

The anti-Party activities of Peng Teh-huai and the bourgeois military line he promoted were part of the anti-Party activities of the bourgeois headquarters headed by China's Khrushchov, and were directly instigated and shielded by him.

Our Party's struggle against Peng Teh-huai's anti-Party clique was a struggle between the two classes, the two roads and the two lines. As Chairman Mao pointed out at the Lushan Meeting:

**"This struggle at Lushan is a class struggle, a continuation of the life-and-death struggle between the two major antagonistic classes — the bourgeoisie and the proletariat — which has gone on all through the socialist revolution in the last ten years. This kind of struggle, it seems, will continue in China and in our Party. . . . In short, the struggle will cease only when classes die out completely."**

*(Continued on p. 34.)*

# GREAT CULTURAL REVOLUTION IN PROGRESS

## P.L.A. Wins New Merit Supporting the Left In Chinghai

**R**ESPONDING enthusiastically to the great leader Chairman Mao's call that **the People's Liberation Army should support the broad masses of the Left**, the Chinghai Military Command and the commanders and fighters of the P.L.A. units stationed in Chinghai Province, with profound proletarian class feeling, have stood foursquare behind the proletarian revolutionaries. They have won new merit serving the people in the province's great proletarian cultural revolution.

Comrade Liu Hsien-chuan, Commander of the Chinghai Military Command, promptly declared his support when the young revolutionary fighters last year put up their first big-character poster denouncing the handful of capitalist roaders inside the then Chinghai Provincial Party Committee. Subsequently, together with other leading army cadres he stood staunch with the Left in face-to-face confrontations with the handful of capitalist roaders in the Party. When Chairman Mao issued his great call to **support the broad masses of the Left**, many cadres and fighters made this pledge before Chairman Mao's portrait: **In the fierce class struggle of today, we must become the mainstay of the great proletarian cultural revolution and win new merit.**

Last February, when the "August 18" and other revolutionary mass organizations launched their struggle to seize power from the handful of capitalist roaders in the then Provincial Party Committee, this clique, in a vain attempt to maintain their reactionary rule, ganged up with counter-revolutionaries to organize converging attacks on the revolutionary masses. They stirred up trouble, beat people and whipped up an adverse current for a counter-revolutionary restoration. At this crucial juncture, large numbers of cadres and fighters stood up resolutely in defence of Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line, sided with the proletarian revolutionaries rallying around the "August 18" organization and mercilessly exposed the schemes of the class enemy attempting a counter-revolutionary come-back. This staunch support of the P.L.A. was a great encouragement to the hard pressed masses of the "August 18" and other revolutionary groups. It increased their militancy and strengthened their will to win.

In supporting the Left, these P.L.A. units lived up well to the time-honoured tradition of the Chinese

people's armed forces: they are fighting teams as well as work teams and production teams. Hundreds of "Mao Tse-tung's Thought Propaganda Teams" composed of cadres and fighters went to the factories and other enterprises, to the villages, schools and government offices to spread the invincible thought of Mao Tse-tung and the theories, line, principles and policies laid down by the Party Central Committee for the great proletarian cultural revolution. They gave great help to the revolutionaries by arming them with Mao Tse-tung's thought and the Party's principles and policies, and joined them in a thoroughgoing campaign to criticize and repudiate the handful of capitalist roaders in the Party and carried out ideological work among the masses who had been hoodwinked into joining conservative groups. They worked hard to help the revolutionary organizations bring about revolutionary great alliances and "three-in-one" combinations.

To handle correctly the problems that cropped up in the course of the struggle, they put proletarian politics in command and helped the proletarian revolutionaries study and apply Chairman Mao's works creatively with specific problems in mind. When some revolutionaries failed to treat the misled masses in a correct manner, the propaganda teams got them together to study *On the Correct Handling of Contradictions Among the People* and other relevant works of Chairman Mao. As a result, they came to understand that they could fulfil the historic tasks of the great proletarian cultural revolution only by drawing a clear line of demarcation between enemies and friends by the method of class analysis and uniting with the overwhelming majority of the masses. Helped by the P.L.A., the revolutionaries conscientiously followed the formula **unity-criticism-unity** put forward by Chairman Mao for handling contradictions among the people. They won over and educated those among the masses who had been misled and helped them to return to the side of Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line. The ranks of the Left were thus rapidly augmented.

**"The people, and the people alone, are the motive force in the making of world history."** Resolutely implementing this teaching of Chairman Mao, the P.L.A. cadres and fighters carrying out the task of supporting the Left in Chinghai placed full trust and reliance on the revolutionary masses and supported their initiatives. Used as living teaching material, advanced experience gained by the revolutionaries in the struggle was widely popularized and made the basis of joint action by the revolutionary masses.

In the course of their advance, not unnaturally differences of opinion and disunity arose in some places

within revolutionary organizations. In such cases, the comrades of the propaganda teams, bearing in mind the problems and ideas currently abroad among the masses, helped them study Chairman Mao's writings *On Correcting Mistaken Ideas in the Party, Combat Liberalism* and his "three constantly read articles." At the same time as the struggle was being waged to seize power from the handful of capitalist roaders within the Party, discussions and forums were organized to enable the revolutionary masses to fight the "self-interest" lurking in their own minds. Mao Tse-tung's ideas and teachings were also used to overcome other petty-bourgeois ideas. By bringing them all into the orbit of the proletarian revolution, a monolithic unity was achieved among the revolutionaries in their common struggle against the enemy. This also effectively promoted and consolidated the revolutionary great alliance.

With the Chinghai Military Command and the P.L.A. units supporting and helping things on, the cultural revolution in Chinghai Province has gone from strength to strength. Its prospects have been greatly enhanced by the formal establishment on August 12 of the Chinghai Provincial Revolutionary Committee — a revolutionary, representative and authoritative provisional organ of power.

## Revolutionary Mass Criticism In Peking Teachers' University Surges Ahead

**I**N Peking Teachers' University, the revolutionary teachers and students have launched a general offensive of revolutionary mass criticism against the handful of top Party persons in authority taking the capitalist road in the fields of politics, military affairs, education, art and literature. Things are going well. They are guided by Chairman Mao's great strategy; they are holding fast to the general orientation of struggle and use Mao Tse-tung's thought as their sharp weapon. They are combining this revolutionary criticism with the tasks of struggle, criticism and transformation in their own university.

They are making this campaign of revolutionary criticism a big class for the creative study and application of Mao Tse-tung's thought. They have set up a number of groups which are conscientiously studying Chairman Mao's writings on Party building and army building, on education, art and literature and these will systematically criticize the handful of top Party persons in authority taking the capitalist road and their crimes in pushing the revisionist line in these fields.

In the latter half of May, they began by criticizing and rejecting the book on "self-cultivation" by China's Khrushchov. In June, they began the criticism of the sinister counter-revolutionary line in art and literature.

In July, they carried on with criticism of the revisionist line in the field of education. In August, they repudiated the revisionist political line, the revisionist line in Party building and the bourgeois military line.

In the spirit of uninterrupted revolution, the students and teachers use that most powerful weapon, the thought of Mao Tse-tung, to unfold this mass, all-out repudiation of the bourgeois headquarters. They precede their criticism and denunciation with careful investigation and study and thoroughgoing analysis. A multitude of new big-character posters are being put up and all sorts of meetings for exchanging experience in the campaign of struggle, criticism and transformation are being held. Discussions are organized on what the study of Chairman Mao's works has given one personally. The university's mass revolutionary criticism has been carried forward to a new stage.

In repudiating the revisionist line in education, many revolutionary students and teachers went to factories, villages and middle and primary schools to get to know the demands of the workers, poor and lower-middle peasants as regards the revolution in education. They investigated the class struggle in the educational field. Many revolutionary teachers came forward to expose, in the light of their personal experience, the criminal results of the revisionist educational line. In order to criticize and repudiate the old educational system more thoroughly, revolutionary teachers and young fighters in the Departments of Education, History and the Sciences are collaborating in the preparation of two books — a "History of the Development of the Chinese Educational System" and a "History of the Development of the World's Educational System." Students of the Department of Political Education and cadres of the office in charge of studies have joined to produce a "History of Struggle Between the Two Lines on the Educational Front in the Past Seventeen Years."

The revolutionary teachers and students of various departments combined this mass criticism with the tasks of struggle, criticism and transformation in their own university. They have exposed the crimes committed in the university by the handful of capitalist roaders in the Party pushing through the revisionist educational line, the sinister counter-revolutionary line in art and literature, the revisionist line in Party building and organization. They have also laid bare the criminal way bourgeois intellectuals ruled this university.

They have pledged themselves to destroy the old educational system, root and branch. They are determined to be explorers in the revolution in education and pioneers in establishing a new proletarian system of education.

In order to popularize the experience gained by Peking Teachers' University in the mass campaign of revolutionary criticism, the Peking Municipal Revolutionary Committee on August 22 convened a meeting of representatives of all the universities and colleges

in Peking. Here they heard how the P.T.U. had done their excellent job.

## Reactionary Films Criticized

A NUMBER of bad, reactionary films have recently been shown to mass audiences in several cities and subjected to mass criticism.

Most of them were released publicly after the founding of New China. Some preached national betrayal, justified exploitation and wrote off the class struggle; others advocated bourgeois reformism, slavishness and class capitulationism, while some went so far as to tamper with the history of the Party to laud and embellish the top Party person in authority taking the capitalist road. These were the results of the revisionist usurpation of the leadership in the cinema industry over the years. Workers, peasants and soldiers and revolutionary literary and art workers made many criticisms of this state of affairs, but all were suppressed with a high-hand.

Meanwhile, the top capitalist roader within the Party spoke highly of these films. Time and again he resisted Chairman Mao's directives on literature and art. As a result, these revisionist products were allowed to spread their pernicious influence both at home and abroad, and it is only now, in the course of the great cultural revolution, that they are being subjected to criticism.

As early as 1951, Chairman Mao himself initiated and directed the mass criticism campaign against the film *The Life of Wu Hsun* (see *Peking Review*, No. 23, 1967, for the important directive by Chairman Mao entitled "Give Serious Attention to the Discussion of the Film *The Life of Wu Hsun*"). This reactionary film sang the praises of Wu Hsun who, faithful and subservient to the feudal ruling class of the Ching Dynasty in the 19 century, allegedly by begging collected money to run a school. It attributed the root cause of rural oppression and exploitation to peasant illiteracy and urged the peasants to pin their hopes for liberation on the charity of the ruling class. It propagandized such nonsense as that by being able to read and write the peasantry could free itself from oppression and exploitation. In other words, it preached the reformist fallacy of "national salvation through education." Production of this film began in 1948 at a film studio under the Kuomintang government's "Ministry of Defence," but before it could be finished, the reactionary regime had been overthrown. In 1950, the first year following the birth of New China, the film was taken over, completed and shown with the approval of the counter-revolutionary revisionist Chou Yang, then Vice-Minister of Culture.

*City Without Night* (made in 1958) and *The Lin Family Shop* (1957), two poisonous weeds fulsomely praising the capitalists, big and small, were shot after the decisive victory gained in the socialist transforma-

tion of capitalist industry and commerce. *City Without Night* span a tale about a "red capitalist." Running counter to Marxism-Leninism, Mao Tse-tung's thought, it presented its leading character as a capitalist hero of "national salvation through industry." It showed this capitalist family as diligent, thrifty and hard working. Two generations weathered the difficulties created by foreign imperialism and Kuomintang monopoly capital and the son finally became a big shot in Shanghai's textile industry. It deliberately obscured the nature of the class struggle by portraying this capitalist as voluntarily accepting socialist transformation because of his good conscience and intentions. When the script of the film was first published in 1957, many people took objection to it. But the revisionists suppressed the correct criticisms and went on with production as planned. When the country met with temporary difficulties in 1960-62, the handful of revisionists released this film in an attempt to exacerbate the situation.

The same period saw the production of three other bad films. *March Against the Wind* brazenly slandered the Chinese People's Liberation Army, while flattering the reactionary troops of Chiang Kai-shek. *Prairie Fire* was masterminded by China's Khrushchov working hand in glove with a handful of revisionists. It distorted history. While prettifying this top capitalist roader within the Party as the "leader" and very "incarnation" of the Chinese working class, it maliciously negated Chairman Mao's immortal deeds in leading the Anyuan workers' movement in Kiangsi Province in the 1920s. *Two Families* cooked up the story of an old poor peasant who after land reform managed to make a decent living as an individual farmer but went bankrupt as a result of the farm co-operative movement. In order to prepare public opinion for a capitalist comeback, it purposely misrepresented developments in China's countryside, vilified the co-operative movement and by insinuation attacked the rural people's communes.

Workers, peasants and soldiers, Red Guards and others of the revolutionary masses sent their criticisms to the press after seeing these films. Through this mass criticism, they have strengthened their grasp of Marxism-Leninism, Mao Tse-tung's thought, and can better distinguish between fragrant flowers and poisonous weeds. Bad things were turned to good account as these counter-revolutionary films served as teaching materials by negative example.

The revolutionary masses unanimously denounced these films as conclusive evidence of the attempt by the counter-revolutionary revisionist clique to overthrow the dictatorship of the proletariat and to create public opinion for the restoration of capitalism in China. They regarded this campaign of criticism as "an important part of the mass campaign to criticize and repudiate the top capitalist roader in the Party and an important part of the deep-going struggle between the two lines — the proletarian revolutionary line and the counter-revolutionary revisionist line — on the literary and art front."

# Burmese People's Revolutionary Armed Struggle Is Bound to Triumph

— In Commemoration of the 28th Anniversary of the Birth of  
The Communist Party of Burma

by THAKIN BA THEIN TIN

*First Vice-Chairman of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Burma*

*This is the second and concluding instalment of an article by Thakin Ba Thein Tin, First Vice-Chairman of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Burma. The first instalment appeared in our last issue (No. 35). — Ed.*

## (II)

The history of Burma's armed struggle is a record of the victory of the great thought of Mao Tse-tung and also a record proving that Mao Tse-tung's thought is the universally applicable truth.

The history of Burma's armed struggle is a history of the life-and-death struggle between Marxism-Leninism, Mao Tse-tung's military line on the one hand and the bourgeois military line on the other. It is a history of the victory of Marxism-Leninism, Mao Tse-tung's military line.

Here I would like to list some material to show how Mao Tse-tung's thought is integrated in the armed struggle in Burma.

### 1. Without armed struggle, there is nothing.

Chairman Mao teaches us in his article "Introducing *The Communist*": "Without armed struggle neither the proletariat, nor the people, nor the Communist Party would have any standing at all in China and it would be impossible for the revolution to triumph." This teaching is most correct for Burma too.

On March 28, 1948, the ruling classes launched a civil war against our Party and the broad masses of the people. Apart from using armed revolution to oppose armed counter-revolution, there was no other way out in this situation. Therefore, within three or four hours after the enemy had launched the civil war, the Central Committee of our Party had issued the directive: To use armed force to counter-attack the enemy's armed offensive. At the same time it resolutely criticized, repudiated and overcame the idea in the Party which stressed only legal struggle and advocated submission and surrender to the enemy. If, at that time, our Party's

Central Committee had wavered in indecision, had not made its attitude clear and had not followed Chairman Mao's directive that without armed struggle there is nothing, there would not be today's Communist Party, people's army, bases and people's democratic political power, and we would have nothing today.

In the course of the protracted armed struggle our Party has not only overcome revisionism inside the Party but has also overcome the revisionism stemming from the international communist movement. The Soviet revisionists are outright renegades to the revolutionary movements in all countries. They wanted us to abolish Burma's armed struggle. Our Party has carried out a resolute struggle against the Soviet revisionists.

China's Khrushchov and his bunch, in collusion with the Soviet Khrushchovian revisionists, used sinister and knavish means to make us give up armed struggle. When they failed to openly make us relinquish the glorious armed struggle, they declared that armed struggle in Burma was not the main form of struggle and that armed struggle and legal struggle should be on a par. The aim still was to make us give up armed struggle and enter into legal activities.

Chairman Mao's thought won final victory in our Party and our army in this sharp struggle.

### 2. Political power grows out of the barrel of a gun.

In his classic work "Problems of War and Strategy," Chairman Mao teaches us: "Every Communist must grasp the truth, 'Political power grows out of the barrel of a gun.'" This teaching is of utmost importance to our Party and our revolution. If we had not followed this teaching of Chairman Mao's, our Party could not have persevered in the nearly twenty years of armed struggle.

To seize political power from the hands of the ruling classes the oppressed classes can only rely on the gun. Apart from this there is no other method. The transition from slave society to feudal society, from

feudal society to capitalist society and from capitalist society to socialist society all fully proves this universal truth.

All political struggle is class struggle. Armed struggle is the highest form of class struggle. Chairman Mao has used the simplest words to clearly explain this most important Marxist-Leninist principle.

Our Party had overcome the revisionist idea within the Party and army which advocated gaining political power peacefully via the legal parliamentary road. Our Party clearly pointed out: Political power can only be won by arms, it is impossible to do so through so-called peaceful development.

The Khrushchovian revisionists brazenly proposed that in Burma it was possible for peaceful development and peaceful transition. They tried to get our Party into the legal orbit and turn our Party into a revisionist party which tails after the ruling classes.

China's Khrushchov and his gang are birds of a feather with the Soviet revisionists. They said that Ne Win might become a Castro and that Ne Win was sincerely engaged in national construction. They also said that Ne Win was building an independent economy and needed cadres and that if our Party co-operated with him then all problems could be solved. What they meant was that peaceful transition was possible, therefore there was no need to wage armed struggle against the Ne Win government.

It is crystal-clear that on this question China's Khrushchov and his gang oppose Chairman Mao's thought that political power grows out of the barrel of a gun.

Chairman Mao's thought also triumphed in this struggle in our Party and army.

3. The establishment of rural bases and using the villages to surround the cities.

Chairman Mao's vivid teaching about the **establishment of rural bases and using the villages to surround the cities** is of most important and practical significance to the Burmese revolution.

On March 28, 1948, in the situation where the enemy was launching civil war, our Party followed Chairman Mao's teaching and most Party members and cadres withdrew from the cities to the rural areas where they took up armed struggle. Ruling class strength in our country is mainly concentrated in the cities. It is weak in the rural areas. Our Party, however, through long years of organizational work and the launching of peasant movements in the rural areas, has great strength in the countryside. To build the Party, army and a united front we must and can rely on the peasant masses to establish rural base areas. We have, therefore, carried out Chairman Mao's instruction on using the villages to surround the cities.

There was one Party leader who opposed this thought. Based on the view of "staging an insurrection through a general strike," this person proposed seizing

political power in the cities first and then to expand to the countryside.

Thus an acute struggle between the two lines developed. In it Chairman Mao's thought won a thorough victory. Precisely because of this, our country's revolution developed in the right direction and protracted war has been waged for twenty years.

This is not only an important question for the Chinese and Burmese revolutions. It also affects and is of great historic significance for the revolutionary road of the economically backward colonial and semi-colonial, semi-feudal countries where the agricultural economy dominates. On the question of the road of development for the revolution in these countries, there are most acute struggles. Whether to take China's road, which is to wage a protracted armed struggle guided by the policy of the establishment of rural bases and using the villages to surround the cities? Or India's road, that of struggle within the legal sphere and take the path of parliamentary struggle?

The Soviet Khrushchovian revisionists and China's Khrushchov and his gang time and again tried to make us abandon China's road and take India's road. They said that Burma was not like old China. In Burma there was more bourgeois democracy than in the old China ruled by the Chiang Kai-shek regime, and it was possible to make use of bourgeois democracy in waging struggle. Their aim was to make us abandon armed struggle, enter into the legal orbit and engage in long-term legal struggle. Facts have eloquently proved that this idea is extremely erroneous and extremely reactionary.

Vietnam, Laos, Burma, Thailand, Malaya, the Philippines and some Latin American countries, which are today engaged in protracted people's war and whereby the policy of using the villages to surround the cities is being employed, prove that the road of the Chinese revolution is correct and that the direction pointed out by Mao Tse-tung's thought is correct.

We are fully convinced that as long as we firmly grasp Chairman Mao's teaching and thoroughly implement it the armed struggle in Burma will win final victory.

4. The armed struggle in Burma is a peasant war led by the proletariat.

In his article "Introducing *The Communist*" Chairman Mao teaches us: **"Armed struggle by the Chinese Communist Party takes the form of peasant war under proletarian leadership."**

The armed struggle in Burma once again proves the complete correctness of this teaching of Chairman Mao's.

In 1948, before the start of armed struggle, there were 700,000 members in the peasant associations led by our Party. In 1951 the number grew to one million. Our armed struggle is a peasant war waged under the leadership of the working class.



Before armed struggle began, our Party led the peasants in all sorts of struggles such as resisting rent, resisting taxes, safeguarding tenant rights, refusing to repay old agricultural loans, winning new agricultural loans, getting grain, etc. After armed struggle commenced, our Party implemented land reform under such slogans as: "Land to the tillers" and "Agrarian revolution is the core of the democratic revolution." Hence the broad peasant masses actively support our Party's armed struggle and take up arms to defend the fruits of the agrarian revolution. Over 90 per cent of the fighters in our army are the sons and daughters of peasant families and the greater part of the members of our Party are also sons and daughters of peasant families.

It is necessary at the present stage of the revolution to formulate correct peasant policies so as to establish an anti-feudal united front in the rural areas and to carry on a peasant war. Our Party has formulated and put into practice the policy of "Relying on the poor peasants and farm labourers, firmly uniting with the middle peasants, neutralizing the rich peasants and concentrating the attack on the landlords." We have used this correct policy to win and unite the peasants and have gained the support of the peasant masses.

According to our experience, it is necessary to consolidate our class basis in the rural areas. Rely mainly on the poor peasants and farm labourers and firmly unite with the middle peasants on this basis. Only by adhering to this can we carry out the core of the people's democratic revolution — the agrarian revolution — and can we truly engage in a peasant war under proletarian leadership.

Our Party has also learnt this lesson from experience: As a result of failure to correctly apply the class policy in the rural areas the armed revolution suffers losses.

Therefore, so long as we are able to act according to Chairman Mao's instruction and carry out a peasant war under working class leadership, our revolution will win final victory!

5. Even a small country can set up Red political power through a protracted war.

The establishment of Red political power through protracted war is something without parallel in the world.

This first happened in China. Chairman Mao pointed out: "Two things account for its occurrence, namely, a localized agricultural economy (not a unified capitalist economy) and the imperialist policy of marking off spheres of influence in order to divide and exploit. The prolonged splits and wars within the White regime provide a condition for the emergence and persistence of one or more small Red areas under the leadership of the Communist Party amidst the encirclement of the White regime."

Having summed up the experience of post-World War II national-democratic revolutionary movements in colonial, semi-colonial and semi-feudal countries, Chairman Mao noted that in the present era, even in a small country, the strategy of establishing rural base areas and using the villages to encircle the cities can be applied to wage prolonged guerrilla warfare, establish base areas and finally win nationwide victory. Experience of the revolution in our country once again bears out the correctness of this directive from Chairman Mao.

Burma is a small country with a population of only 25 million, about the size of a Chinese province.

Around 1947 we already had started arguing whether it was possible for such a small country as Burma to wage a prolonged revolutionary war.

Both the Khrushchov revisionists in the Soviet Union and the Chinese revisionists denied the possibility of carrying out a prolonged armed struggle in a country like Burma. The waging of a struggle of this kind, they said, is possible only in a big country like China with its unique conditions. This is precisely how they sabotaged the armed revolution.

The experience of the Burmese revolutionary war over the past twenty years, however, once again testified to the fact that even in a small country, it is possible to wage a protracted war and establish Red political power, provided that there is a Communist Party armed with Marxism-Leninism, Mao Tse-tung's thought, and that the Party is also capable of relying on and organizing the masses, above all, the peasant masses, of firmly mastering and carrying out the correct political principle of making the countryside the base areas and encircling the cities from the countryside.

Facts have proved that at present, protracted wars can be waged in accordance with this principle, not only in south Vietnam, Laos and Burma, but in Thailand, Malaya, the Philippines and a number of Latin American countries as well.

Some people say that it is impossible to wage a protracted war in places not geographically contiguous to socialist countries. This too is a wrong argument. It runs counter to the theory of Marxism-Leninism, Mao Tse-tung's thought, that revolution cannot be imported, and that only by relying mainly on the Party and the strength of the masses in a specific country can a revolution develop.

To be geographically contiguous to a socialist country, of course, does produce, as far as material conditions are concerned, certain effects on the revolutionary development. But, as is obvious, this is not the main point.

If it is said that armed revolution can be made only in places adjoining to a socialist country, then, the occurrence of the Great October Revolution, led personally by Comrade Lenin, would be out of the question because at that time there was no socialist coun-

try existing in the world at all; and today, many countries in the world would be without the condition for revolution. However, prolonged revolutionary struggles have been going on in Malaya, the Philippines and some Latin American countries, which, as is known to all, are not geographically contiguous to a socialist country.

There are also people who say that prolonged armed struggle cannot be waged on islands separated from the mainland. This too is wrong.

Geographical locations, such as a mainland or an island, probably do produce certain effects militarily, but this is not primary. The primary thing is to have a Communist Party armed with Marxism-Leninism, Mao Tse-tung's thought, and that Party is also able to follow a correct political line, really rely on and organize the masses, especially the peasant masses, in waging a prolonged armed struggle.

Concrete facts in Burma and other countries clearly prove that if this can be achieved, base areas and Red political power can be established.

6. On the questions of building a people's army and waging a people's war, there was a fierce struggle among us between Chairman Mao's proletarian military thinking and the bourgeois military thinking and Mao Tse-tung's thought finally came out victorious!

Now about some questions we have faced in the struggle.

(1) The Party commands the gun or vice versa? To begin with, it is necessary to establish the absolute leadership of the proletarian Party over our people's army.

Chairman Mao has taught us: **Our army must be an instrument subordinate to the ideological leadership of the proletariat and serving the struggle of the people and the building of revolutionary base areas.**

Our Party has built our army according to this teaching of Chairman Mao's.

Having built the army, we established military committees at the county level under the direct leadership of the Party committee. At the Central Committee level, the political bureau directly leads the military affairs.

When the army accepts the Party's leadership, our army is able to serve the people's struggle and revolutionary base areas are developed.

But, in mid-1950 when regular army units were organized, bourgeois military thinking made its way further among our armed forces. People with such thinking opposed Party leadership, saying that troops could only be commanded by military experts, that the Party is ignorant of military affairs and therefore could not lead the army.

In armed units infected with such bourgeois military thinking, the absolute leadership of the Party was

to a certain extent weakened and the people's army could not successfully fulfil the tasks it shouldered.

In our experience, Chairman Mao's teaching that **"our principle is that the Party commands the gun, and the gun must never be allowed to command the Party"** is most valuable. Our Party waged a sharp struggle against the bourgeois military viewpoint at the cost of blood. Today, as a result of the establishment of the Party's absolute leadership over the army, successive military victories have been won.

(2) Which is decisive — man or weapon?

Whether it is man or weapon that must be given the first place is another problem our army has had to tackle.

The proletarian military viewpoint, that is, Mao Tse-tung's thought, does not deny that technique and weapons have a certain role to play. But Chairman Mao teaches us that **"it is people, not things, that are decisive."** Therefore, our Party has always called for full reliance on the inexhaustible strength and resourcefulness of the masses of the people. There are, however, persons who, saddled with the bourgeois military viewpoint, act counter to this truth. They look upon people as mere automatons and, attaching first importance to weapons, have more faith in these than in people. They belittle the masses and are against the army placing its reliance on their strength.

Experience has proved that wherever bourgeois military thinking holds sway the army is divorced from the masses and it cannot wage a people's war effectively.

The point that man plays the decisive role may be illustrated as follows: Rooted in correct political and ideological understanding and animated by a strong fighting will, our fighters go into battle fearless and determined to crush the enemy, even when each is given only five or ten rounds of ammunition. But during 1957-58 some of our soldiers succumbed to revisionist influence and got cold feet, though the ammunition issued was 50 or 60 rounds each. This makes things very clear.

Because our army today has grasped Mao Tse-tung's thought that in the relationship between man and weapon it is man that must be given the first place, people's war has flourished anew. Our guerrillas, fighting in co-ordination with the great mass of militia, have dealt the enemy one telling blow after another.

(3) Despising the enemy strategically and taking full account of him tactically.

There is still another important problem, the problem of despising the enemy strategically — that imperialism and all reactionaries are paper tigers — but taking full account of him tactically.

It must be admitted that at present, relatively speaking, the enemy is stronger than we are. He has the

edge over us in technique, weapons and military training and, moreover, has the support of imperialism, revisionism and the reactionaries.

Thus, the teaching of Chairman Mao quoted above is of great and immediate significance in helping us to offset the enemy advantages and make full use of his weaknesses and on the other hand in helping us to overcome our own weaknesses and turn our advantages to full account. In particular, Chairman Mao's proposition that **"imperialism and all reactionaries are paper tigers"** has greatly raised our fighting spirit.

Chairman Mao has also taught us to **concentrate in every battle an absolutely superior force (two, three, four and sometimes even five or six times the enemy's strength) and make wiping out the enemy's effective strength the main objective.**

This teaching of Chairman Mao's is extremely profound and valuable and has great and immediate significance for us.

It is impossible for those in our army who at one time espoused the bourgeois military viewpoint to understand the meaning of this inestimable teaching. They do not understand that from the long-term point of view the enemy are merely paper tigers that need not be feared at all. Nor do they understand that in each given battle the enemy must be taken seriously, that an absolutely superior force must be concentrated against him and that, to crush him completely, guerrilla warfare, mobile warfare and a war of annihilation **must be employed to encircle the enemy forces** and destroy them one by one. These persons are interested only in pitting a force corresponding to the enemy's strength and fighting it out by positional warfare and a war of attrition. Guided by such military thinking, they often come up against a situation such as the following: although they have at their disposal a force three or four times greater than the enemy's, they hold back reserves for intercepting the enemy and in so doing divide their own strength. Therefore, in an actual engagement they can only throw in a force not bigger than the enemy's. Such being the case, our army units, far from being able to wipe out enemy effectives, often have to retreat when their ammunition is exhausted.

Now with our army mastering and carrying out Chairman Mao's teaching on the concentration of a superior force to wipe out the enemy, battles with annihilation as the objective have occurred in all parts of the country.

(4) Our army must be one that carries out three basic tasks, practises democracy in three main fields and lays stress on political and ideological work.

Chairman Mao teaches us that a people's army must carry out three basic tasks: fighting, mass work and production. This army must practise democracy in three main fields, that is to say, political democracy, military democracy and economic democracy, and

must put political and ideological work above everything else.

There is a sharp struggle in our army between the proletarian military line based on firm adherence to Chairman Mao's instruction on the building of a people's army and the bourgeois military line opposed to it.

Those who hold bourgeois military views have tried to build a bourgeois army devoted solely to fighting. They have tried to suppress democracy, enforce bureaucratic rule and repudiate political and ideological work in the army.

Our Party has waged a firm struggle against the above-mentioned reactionary bourgeois military thinking and Mao Tse-tung's military line has triumphed in our army.

(5) The emphasis must be placed on self-reliance.

Chairman Mao teaches us: **"On what basis should our policy rest? It should rest on our own strength, and that means regeneration through one's own efforts. We are not alone; all the countries and people in the world opposed to imperialism are our friends. Nevertheless, we stress regeneration through our own efforts."**

This teaching is of the greatest importance, not only to the struggle of the Burmese people but also to the struggle of the oppressed classes the world over.

Our Party has resolutely carried out armed struggle in accordance with this teaching of Chairman Mao's.

**The weapons and ammunition in our hands are obtained through our own efforts or seized from the enemy at the cost of our comrades' lives and blood.**

The spirit of self-reliance is most important. Without this spirit one cannot rely on one's own efforts and the strength of the masses.

While relying mainly on our own efforts, we do not exclude international aid. We hold that it is necessary to win the sympathy and support of the oppressed people of the world, particularly the sympathy and support of the 700 million Chinese people.

We believe that our revolution will develop rapidly if it is put on the basis of self-reliance, and if at the same time it can win international sympathy and support.

### (III)

The revolutionary armed struggle in Burma has taken root among the masses, and nobody can undermine it. The prospects are very bright. Both the domestic and international situations provide most favourable conditions for the development of the revolution.

As stated above, our guerrilla bases have spread to the whole country. We are now using widespread guerrilla warfare to encircle the enemy troops.

At the same time we must admit that at present, the enemy has surpassed us, both numerically and in equipment. In order to completely change the balance of forces between the enemy and ourselves we must take firm hold of Mao Tse-tung's thought and closely integrate it with the practice in our own country.

At present, confronted with the economic, political, military and other crises the Ne Win military government has engineered anti-China incidents, thus throwing itself further into the lap of U.S. imperialism. As our struggle develops victoriously the Ne Win military government will cast its lot with U.S. imperialism still more. When it is finally unable to deal with us by its own troops there is the possibility that it will introduce the troops of U.S. imperialism into Burma. Our Party has made a full estimation of this possibility and is well prepared for it.

If U.S. imperialism invades Burma, the Burmese people will hold high the banner of opposing U.S. imperialism and bravely plunge into battle.

In 1965, when Chairman Thakin Than Tun referred to the possibility of U.S. imperialism invading Burma, he said: "In future, we may have to deal not only with the armed forces of the Ne Win military government which is conducting a counter-revolutionary civil war, but possibly also with those of U.S. imperialism and its lackeys. But, however powerful the enemy may be, however long the war and however great the difficulties and hardships, the Burmese people are ready to suffer immeasurable losses, make the utmost sacrifices and fight on with full confidence in final victory."

We must resolutely fight on in accordance with Chairman Thakin Than Tun's instructions.

We may meet with twists and turns in our road of advance and may suffer temporary setbacks, but viewed as a whole, the Burmese revolution is forging ahead step by step and it is certain that final victory will be won.

The Burmese revolution will certainly triumph!

This is because our revolution is led by the Communist Party of Burma. This Party is armed with Marxism-Leninism, Mao Tse-tung's thought, carries out criticism and self-criticism seriously and has close ties with the masses. It is a courageous, glorious and well-tested Party.

Besides, we have a people's army which unconditionally accepts the leadership of our Party.

In addition, there is the national-democratic united front, led by the working class and based on the worker-peasant alliance, which unites with all forces that can be united.

Therefore our armed revolution will certainly achieve final victory.

The Burmese people's democratic revolution is sure to win!

Burma's Chiang Kai-shek, the Ne Win military government, is sure to be defeated.

Set up the people's democratic government!

Down with U.S. imperialism!

Down with Soviet modern revisionism!

Long live Marxism-Leninism, Mao Tse-tung's thought!

Long live China's great proletarian cultural revolution!

Long live the unity of the Burmese and Chinese peoples!

Long live the unity of the Communist Party of China and the Communist Party of Burma!

Good health to Chairman Thakin Than Tun!

Long live Chairman Mao Tse-tung, the great leader of the world's people! A long, long life to him!

## Japanese Revolutionary Left Grows Rapidly In Struggle

**H**OLDING high the great red banner of Mao Tse-tung's thought, the Japanese revolutionary Left are rebelling in a big way against the U.S. and Japanese reactionaries and the Soviet and Japanese revisionists. These revolutionaries have broken away from the control of the Kenji Miyamoto group of the Japanese Communist Party and are swiftly growing in strength in their struggle against imperialism, revisionism and the Japanese reactionaries. They are the vanguard of the Japanese revolution and the hope of the Japanese nation.

The revolutionary Left in the Yamaguchi Prefectural Committee of the Japanese Communist Party (C.P.J.) were the first to stand up against the Miyamoto group in September last year and set up the Yamaguchi Prefectural Committee (Left). They raised high the great banner: "Rebellion is justified." They were followed by the Left forces in the prefectural committees in Saga, Aichi, Fukuoka and Hyogo which successively issued statements announcing their break from the Miyamoto revisionist group and the establishment of Left prefectural committees. They have un-

folded a tit-for-tat struggle against the U.S. imperialists, the modern revisionists and the Japanese reactionaries.

### **Dealing a Crushing Blow to the Revisionist Line Of the Miyamoto Group**

What a fine rebellion! It has broken the dead calm caused by the Miyamoto group's pursuance for many years of the revisionist line of "parliamentarianism," "legalism" and "peaceful transition," and has brought a new lease of life to the Japanese revolution. At the time of and after the establishment of the Yamaguchi and four other revolutionary prefectural committees, many Left branches or groups of the C.P.J. also came into being or are being organized in cities and villages throughout the country from Kyushu in the south to Hokkaido in the north. Kuraji Anzai, former Member of the Central Committee and Secretary of the Secretariat of the C.P.J., issued a statement in January this year, criticizing and repudiating the revisionist programme of the Miyamoto group and condemning it as renegades from Marxism-Leninism.

The actions of these real Marxist-Leninists in Japan have dealt a crushing blow to the Miyamoto group's revisionist line of allying with the Soviet revisionists, capitulating to U.S. imperialism, opposing China and selling out the Japanese revolution, and vigorously upheld the revolutionary line of Marxism-Leninism, Mao Tse-tung's thought. They are determined to set up a real Marxist-Leninist revolutionary Party and have started a new march for the revolutionary cause of the Japanese people.

What a fine rebellion! It has stirred up a big revolutionary storm in Japanese mass organizations. The Left and progressive forces in the Japan-China Friendship Association, the Afro-Asian Solidarity Organization, journalists' organization, women's and trade organizations come out one after another to break from the handful of Japanese revisionists in the organizations concerned and set up new progressive organizations. The Headquarters of the Japan-China Friendship Association (Orthodox) has, since its founding in October last, broken down all the obstacles put up by the Miyamoto group, overcome all kinds of difficulties, marched forward bravely and grown rapidly in strength. At present, branches of the Headquarters have been set up in 42 out of the 46 Japanese prefectures. Set up in the arduous struggle against the U.S. and Japanese reactionaries and the revisionist Miyamoto group which are hostile to China and sabotaging Japan-China friendship, these organizations are invincible in determination and strength.

### **Creatively Applying Chairman Mao's Works in the Course of Struggle**

A striking feature of the Japanese revolutionary Left and progressive organizations is their boundless love for Chairman Mao and their absolute faith in Mao Tse-tung's thought. They take Mao Tse-tung's thought as the guide to their action and study and apply Chairman Mao's works creatively in the course of struggles.

The first issue of *Revolutionary Fighters* published by the Yamaguchi Prefectural Committee (Left) of the Japanese Communist Party said: "Chairman Mao Tse-tung is the great leader of our times. His ideas and theories are the acme of Marxism-Leninism of the present era. Today in socialist China with the 700 million people and under the leadership of the Chinese Communist Party headed by Chairman Mao, the revolutionary proletariat and the masses of people are rising courageously and relying on their own conscious efforts to carry out successfully the epoch-making proletarian cultural revolution so as to push the proletarian dictatorship and socialist construction to a more consolidated and higher stage." The Yamaguchi Prefectural Committee (Left) of the C.P.J. has called for "arming the Party organizations at all levels in the prefecture with Mao Tse-tung's thought" and decided that Chairman Mao's brilliant works "the three constantly read articles" and *Combat Liberalism* are documents which the Party organizations in the prefecture must study.

The Saga Prefectural Committee (Left) of the C.P.J. affirmed unanimously at its inaugural meeting that Mao Tse-tung's thought is the guiding ideology in revolution and stressed that the revolutionary Left should actively carry out mass struggles against imperialism and revisionism.

An appeal to the people issued by the Aichi Prefectural Committee (Left) of the C.P.J. at its inaugural meeting said: "We are determined to unite closely with the revolutionary masses of the whole prefecture, arm ourselves with Mao Tse-tung's thought, Marxism-Leninism of the great revolutionary new era, carry on the revolutionary tradition of Japan, become a component part of the international united front against U.S. imperialism and fulfil the role of the vanguard Party in the Japanese revolution."

A statement of the recently established Hyogo Prefectural Committee (Left) of the C.P.J. said: "We will hereafter take the genuine revolutionary road under the guidance of Mao Tse-tung's thought, steel ourselves in the flames of mass struggle, rectify the erroneous ideas in the past, take not only the objective world but ourselves as the targets of revolution, make efforts to remould ourselves and make us capable of serving the people completely and wholeheartedly."

In the movement for the creative study and application of Chairman Mao's works among the revolutionary Left, a number of revolutionaries headed by Takaji Nishizawa and Yusho Otsuka set up the Mao Tse-tung's Thought Research Institute and published a journal *Mao Tse-tung's Thought Research*, giving great impetus to the rebellious actions of the revolutionary Left and progressive organizations in Japan.

### **Determined to Smash the Old State Apparatus**

China's great proletarian cultural revolution has greatly inspired the rebellious spirit of Japan's revolutionary Left. They have realized that the "parliamentary struggle" and "peaceful transition" advocated

by the Miyamoto group are revisionist nonsense for the purpose of consolidating the bourgeois regime. They understand that the central issue of proletarian revolution is political power, the smashing of the old state apparatus and the establishment of the new state apparatus. When the revisionists in the Japanese Communist Party at their Tenth Party Congress last October talked glibly about "peaceful transition" and rabidly attacked Mao Tse-tung's thought, the revolutionaries in the C.P.J. issued a statement saying, "Comrade Mao Tse-tung pointed out: 'political power grows out of the barrel of a gun.' We should not forget this truth." They added that "the Japanese people must make preparations for the seizure of political power."

The rebellion of the revolutionary Left in the C.P.J. has broken the fetters of the revisionist line of the Miyamoto group and shattered the fond dream of a group of devotees of "parliamentarianism." They were shaking with fear, fought a battle in a haste and panic, hurled insults at the revolutionary Left and carried out suppression in collaboration with the Sato government. They even resorted to despicable means of informing

against the revolutionary Left in carrying out political persecution of them.

But the Japanese people want to make revolution. It is an inevitable trend in the development of history that the revolutionary Left emerge in Japan and rise in rebellion. Neither the U.S. and Japanese reactionaries nor the revisionist Miyamoto group can hold the Japanese revolution in check. Chairman Mao said, "However much the reactionaries try to hold back the wheel of history, sooner or later revolution will take place and will inevitably triumph."

Despite the joint efforts of the U.S.-Japanese reactionaries, the Soviet revisionists and the Miyamoto group to suppress the Japanese revolution today, and despite the many difficulties and problems still confronting the Japanese revolutionary Left, the radiance of Mao Tse-tung's thought is illuminating the forward path of revolution in Japan; the revolutionary Left are mustering and rallying their forces and growing in strength; the political consciousness of the Japanese people is rising rapidly and an unprecedented excellent revolutionary situation is bound to come.

## Communist League—Marxist-Leninist Founded in Sweden

THE Communist League — Marxist-Leninist of Sweden was founded by Swedish Marxist-Leninists at a national conference held from June 23 to 25, according to a report from Stockholm.

The documents adopted at the conference included "The General Principles," "The Constitution," "The Programme for Action" and "The Most Urgent Tasks." B. Gustafsson was elected Chairman of the League, and F. Baude Vice-Chairman.

"The General Principles" said that "the aim of the Communist League — Marxist-Leninist is to prepare the rebuilding of a Marxist-Leninist Party in Sweden. Before the fulfilment of this task, the league will strive to carry out on a broader scale the duty of a Marxist-Leninist Party."

The duty of a Marxist-Leninist Party, the document said, is to develop, take part in and lead the class struggles in all forms aimed at putting an end to the dictatorship of monopoly capital and establishing the dictatorship of the proletariat. "The dictatorship of the proletariat is a prerequisite to the smashing of the rule of the monopolist class by the people, to the establishment of the social order of socialism, and to the advancement of class struggle until a society of communism without classes is founded."

"The General Principles" pointed out that the League, under the guidance of the principles of Marxism-

Leninism, will fight against revisionist, sectarian and other bourgeois influences on the working class.

"The Programme for Action" stressed the need to struggle against monopoly capital, against class co-operation and against imperialism.

In international class struggle, "The Programme for Action" stressed the need to fight against U.S. imperialism and its lackeys, and to support the national-liberation movement of the Asian, African and Latin American peoples, and support the Vietnamese people's struggle. It further called for efforts to expose the Soviet revisionists' collaboration with the U.S. imperialists, and to support the Soviet and East European people in their struggle against the restoration of capitalism in their countries by the ruling groups.

In the document on "The Most Urgent Tasks," the League called on its members to study the works of Marx, Engels, Lenin, Stalin and Chairman Mao Tse-tung, and to draw instructive lessons from these works in the light of the reality of Sweden and the international situation.

The League also stressed the need to reinforce its journals, the *Marxist Forum* and the *Spark*, and broaden their scope of circulation. Efforts should also be made to absorb new members, establish new basic organizations and strengthen the League organizationally.





## Mao Tse-tung's Thought

### Lights the Whole World

# Chairman Mao's Military Thinking Illuminates the Road for World's People to Win Their Revolution

Chairman Mao Tse-tung, the great leader of the Chinese people, has created the most comprehensive, the most scientific and the greatest military theory, and has formulated a truly proletarian military line. It represents the peak of Marxist-Leninist military thinking. It is the most powerful weapon with which the world's revolutionary people will defeat imperialism and all class enemies.

Like a beacon, Chairman Mao's military theories have illumined the revolutionary road of the people throughout the world. The oppressed nations and the oppressed people the world over acclaim Chairman Mao's great military theories for having pointed to the basic way to attain their complete liberation. More and more revolutionaries are diligently studying and applying these theories in practice. This has accelerated the development of the revolutionary cause of the people of the world tremendously.

### Seize Political Power Through Armed Struggle

The revolutionary people throughout the world have realized with deeper and deeper conviction through their practical struggles that the brilliant thesis of Chairman Mao that **"political power grows out of the barrel of a gun"** is a universal truth. To win liberation, it is necessary to overcome counter-revolutionary violence with revolutionary violence.

Comrade Thakin Ba Thein Tin, the First Vice-Chairman of the Communist Party of Burma which has persisted in armed struggle for nearly 20 years, said recently in Peking, "It is because we have established in our minds Chairman Mao's idea that **'political power grows out of the barrel of a gun'** that we have been able to persevere in struggle. We have been able to do so because we have used guns and opposed the ideas and programme of China's Khrushchov and of the Soviet revisionist leading clique which urged us to co-operate with Ne Win and be his disciples."

A friend from south Vietnam, who is in the very frontline against U.S. imperialism, said, "The major experience the Chinese revolution has provided to the revolution in the colonial countries is that it is necessary to have revolutionary armed force to bring the liberation struggle to victory. The main spiritual strength on

which we rely for defeating U.S. imperialism is Mao Tse-tung's thought."

A friend from the Congo (K) in summing up his experience in the bloody struggle back home said that some so-called friendly countries had urged the Congolese people to engage in parliamentary struggle. But the result was the arrest, murder and execution of many comrades. There is no other alternative for the Congolese people but to fight under the guidance of Mao Tse-tung's thought. Now they hold high the great banner of armed struggle, which is the only correct road leading to the liberation of the Congolese people.

A freedom fighter of Zimbabwe has said. "The experience of our struggle has already discredited the stock argument of certain people who allege that liberation can be achieved through peaceful means. We have already realized that the only way in which we can attain liberation is to oppose guns with guns."

A Palestinian revolutionary fighter against aggression by U.S. imperialism and its lackey Israel firmly believes in the incontrovertible truth of the statement **"political power grows out of the barrel of a gun."** He declared, "We have chosen armed struggle as the only road to the liberation of our usurped homeland."

A young Venezuelan commented: Drawing on the revolutionary experience of the Chinese people and following the teachings of Comrade Mao Tse-tung, thousands of young Venezuelans have gone to the mountain areas with arms in hand to fight against imperialism and the reactionaries.

*Liberacion*, organ of the Communist Party of Bolivia, pointed out that the so-called "peaceful road" preached by the modern revisionists for attaining political power has been thoroughly discredited. "The peoples have come to realize from their own experience that their victory can be ensured only by firmly taking up the guns of revolution."

Chairman Mao's brilliant theses on the encirclement of the cities from the countryside and the seizure of power by armed force constitute a creative development of Marxism-Leninism. Increasing numbers of revolutionaries in all parts of the world are learning to grasp and apply in their struggle Chairman Mao's

brilliant thinking of the establishment of revolutionary base areas in the countryside and the encirclement of the cities from the countryside for the eventual seizure of state power.

A Sudanese friend wrote the following lines in praise of Chairman Mao:

*"Our great teacher!*

*Your thought is the weapon of all revolutionaries.*

*We'll follow you closely with the red banner in hand,*

*To defeat the U.S. imperialist jackals.*

*We'll follow your road of encircling cities from countryside,*

*To wipe out the enemy with swords and spears."*

An Indonesian friend said emphatically that to overthrow the Suharto-Nasution fascist regime, the people of Indonesia should follow the same road pointed out by Comrade Mao Tse-tung. There's no other road for them. For the establishment of a people's democracy, they must wage people's war, build revolutionary bases in the countryside to fight a protracted war, rely on the masses of peasants to carry on the agrarian revolution, carry out the principle of self-reliance in the struggle, and unite with all the forces that can be united to encircle the cities from the countryside and seize final victory. We must resolutely cast away and completely get rid of all illusions and all wrong ideas such as the "peaceful road" and "reliance on the bourgeoisie" and other revisionist "theories" that are peddled by the modern revisionists with the ruling clique of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union as their core. We must put into practice Comrade Mao Tse-tung's teaching to us: **"To oppose counter-revolutionary war with revolutionary war."**

An Angolan guerrilla fighter pointed out that China started her revolution from bases in the villages by mobilizing the peasants. The path travelled by China is entirely correct and applicable to them.

A peasant movement leader from Colombia said: "The peasants have played a tremendous role in the Chinese revolution. It is also true in our country where the peasants account for the overwhelming majority. The reactionary troops cannot leave the cities. Once they come to the countryside, they will find themselves in a passive position and receive blows from the guerrillas from all directions. Chairman Mao's idea of using the villages to surround the cities and then taking the cities is extremely correct and truly great."

A Brazilian friend said warmly: "I have been working for scores of years to find a road for the liberation of Brazil. Today I have found it in China and this is the road of the Ching kang Mountains."\*

\* Ching kang Mountains are located on the border of Kiangsi and Hunan Provinces. In October 1927, under the leadership of Chairman Mao, the Chinese Workers' and Peasants' Red Army reached this area and built the first revolutionary base in China.

A Dominican friend stressed that "without the Ching kang Mountains in those years, there would not be the victory of the Chinese revolution. Without the victory of the Chinese revolution, there would be no victory of the Dominican revolution or victory of the world revolution. The road of the Ching kang Mountains is the indispensable road to the victory of the revolution."

### **The Theory of People's War Is the Most Powerful Weapon for the World's Revolutionary People**

Chairman Mao's theory on people's war is a great contribution to the revolutionary struggles of the oppressed nations and peoples of the world. This theory is arming more and more revolutionary people and inspiring them with full confidence to defeat the enemy.

The heroic Vietnamese people have emerged ever stronger and have won tremendous victories in the struggle against U.S. aggression and for national salvation. That is why they have particularly warm feelings for Mao Tse-tung's thought. A combat hero in south Vietnam said: "Chairman Mao's military thinking is the most correct theory for the proletariat and the oppressed nations to achieve liberation. Chairman Mao's thinking on people's war is the great weapon for the world revolutionary people to defeat the enemy."

The Laotian people who are heroically engaged in a trial of strength with the vicious U.S. wolves have lauded Chairman Mao's thinking on people's war as "one of the greatest and most outstanding creations," a thinking which has made enormous contributions to the liberation movement of the oppressed nations.

A commander of a unit of the Albanian People's Army said: "The People's Army of Albania attaches great importance to grasping Comrade Mao Tse-tung's thought on people's war. This thought is of guiding significance in our military construction. The Albanian Party of Labour, in accordance with the thought on people's war, carries out the arming of the whole people and strengthens war preparedness. Because of this, we are firmly convinced that, although our country is small and is encircled and blockaded by imperialism and revisionism, we are unconquerable."

*La Revolution*, organ of the National Council for the Liberation of the Congo (K), stressed in an article in its January 1967 issue that having summed up the experience and lessons of the struggle in the last three years, "we found that the correct line lies in the application of the great teachings of Comrade Mao Tse-tung on people's war in the light of the situation and specific conditions of our country."

A British worker said gleefully: "Mao Tse-tung has helped us to understand that the decisive factor in war is the people and not weapons. This has destroyed the old thought of pinning blind faith in material resources and technique which the capitalist system had given us. This has also given us full confidence in our struggle."

Elias Seman, Political Secretary of the Argentine Communist Vanguard, declared that Comrade Mao Tse-tung "has summed up the experience of the Chinese revolution at every stage and thus formulated the laws of people's war which have now become a guide to revolutionary action for the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America."

A battle-seasoned regimental commander of the South Vietnam Liberation Army said: By applying Chairman Mao's military thinking and tactical principles on fighting at close quarters, fighting at night, and concentrating a superior force to wipe out the enemy, the Liberation Army has defeated the U.S. aggressor troops which are armed with up-to-date equipment. This proves that Chairman Mao's great military thinking is ever-victorious.

Today millions upon millions of people in Vietnam, Laos, Burma, Thailand, India, Malaya (including Singa-

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## Johnson's "Brinkmanship" Is Doomed to Failure

U.S. imperialism has recently stepped up its wanton bombing of north Vietnam, thus committing new monstrous crimes against the Vietnamese people. Since August 11, U.S. pirate planes have repeatedly raided residential areas of Hanoi, capital of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam, and the Long Ben Bridge on the main communication line linking Hanoi and other places. They have also successively attacked Lang Son which is only ten miles from the Chinese border. On August 18, B-52 strategic bombers were again sent across the demilitarized zone to bomb north Vietnam. It was a new grave war "escalation" by the U.S. aggressors.

On August 21, U.S. pirate planes went so far as to intrude into China's air space and carried out military provocations against the Chinese people. This aggressive crime by U.S. imperialism received a resolute rebuff from the Chinese People's Liberation Army.

The Johnson Administration's stepped-up bombing of north Vietnam and its military provocations against the Chinese people are themselves proof of the multitude of difficulties besetting it in its war of aggression against Vietnam and its utter helplessness.

Following the bitter defeat of its second "dry season offensive" on the south Vietnam battlefield, the United States has sustained further setbacks in the monsoon. It has more and more acutely suffered from the shortage of troops and become increasingly passive. As the manpower resources at home are nearly exhausted, Johnson is hard put to it to be able to scrape together another 45,000 to 50,000 troops for dispatch to Vietnam

pore) and the Philippines are studying and applying Chairman Mao's military teachings in the course of their fighting. The flames of armed struggle are raging in central and southern African regions such as the Congo (K), Angola, Mozambique and "Portuguese" Guinea. Revolutionary fighters regard Chairman Mao's military writings as "a beacon at night." Fighters in the Congo (K) say that they can afford to lose anything else, but not Chairman Mao's works. Revolutionaries in many countries in Latin America, known as the "backyard" of U.S. imperialism, have taken up arms and, carrying Chairman Mao's works with them, have gone into the mountains and jungles to fight guerrilla warfare. Guided by Chairman Mao's brilliant military theories, the armed struggles by the revolutionary people the world over will assuredly become more intense and will inevitably destroy imperialism, modern revisionism and the reactionaries in all countries.

before July 1, 1968. Taylor's mission to the satellite countries to collect cannon-fodder also flopped. At the same time, the sky-rocketing military expenditure has increased the financial deficit and seriously worsened the economic situation. Both the contradictions between the American people and the U.S. ruling clique and the latter's inner conflicts have sharpened. The Johnson Administration is in dire straits.

It is precisely in such a grim situation that the Johnson Administration attempts to expand the area of bombing in north Vietnam for seeking a way out. Even during the Glassboro talks, the U.S. imperialists and Soviet revisionists had jointly cooked up a new fraud of "forcing surrender through bombing" and "inducing peace talks through a pause in the bombing." Rusk admitted not long ago that Kosygin told Johnson that negotiations on ending the war in Vietnam could begin if the United States stopped bombing north Vietnam. The Soviet revisionist rag *Pravda* openly raved on August 6 that a pause in the bombing of north Vietnam by the United States would "pave the way for peace talks on Vietnam." The present extension of bombing of north Vietnam by the United States is part of the new fraud jointly planned by the U.S. imperialists and Soviet revisionists.

U.S. imperialism has "escalated" the area of bombing to the vicinity of the Chinese border and even intruded into China's air space. It has also "escalated" the targets of its bombing to the city area of Hanoi, the capital of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam, and the vehicles of its bombing to B-52 strategic bombers. But

to whatever rung Johnson may escalate the bombing, he will meet with the same fate, that of defeat.

American papers admit that the Johnson Administration is playing with a "brinkmanship policy" and is piling up "fatal stakes" on the gambling table. In fact, "brinkmanship" is nothing new. It was introduced by the dead and gone John Foster Dulles after the United States had suffered defeat in its aggressive war in Korea. U.S. imperialism received not a few bumps and bruises in its war of aggression in Korea but it has not abandoned its ambition of aggression. It wanted to go in for more adventure but at the same time was afraid of meeting with the same defeat as in Korea. That was why it resorted to the "brinkmanship policy" typical of a gambler. The policy itself reflects the U.S. imperialist nature of being outwardly strong but inwardly weak. Can it be that Johnson's "brinkmanship" today is any better than that of Dulles'? No, just the opposite. Compared with the U.S. Government at the time of Dulles, the Johnson Administration is in a more difficult position, weaker in strength and with much less resources. And yet it goes on piling up stakes. The only thing in store for it will be more disastrous losses.

Our great leader Chairman Mao Tse-tung, when speaking on the fact that the counter-revolutionary forces are bound to make erroneous appraisals of any situation, pointed out: "**Their class instinct leads them always to believe that they are all-powerful and that the revolutionary forces are ever futile. They invariably over-estimate their own strength but under-estimate ours.**" This is exactly the case with the U.S. imperialists. They had made an erroneous appraisal of the

situation when they unleashed the war of aggression against Korea. The U.S. ruling circles later admitted themselves that they had fought a wrong war at the wrong time, in the wrong place, with the wrong enemy. But today, instead of learning from this lesson, Johnson continues to make erroneous appraisals of the situation. This is decided by his imperialist nature.

No matter how frenziedly the U.S. imperialists are going to enlarge the war of aggression against Vietnam, the Vietnamese people will never be shaken in their sacred aspirations to reunify their fatherland and in their will to fight against U.S. aggression and for national salvation. The heroic Vietnamese people will never be intimidated by the U.S. aggressors' wanton bombing; they will turn their hatred into strength and strike back at the U.S. gangsters with fiercer and well-aimed blows.

The Chinese people strongly condemn the U.S. imperialists for their crime of rabidly enlarging the war of aggression against Vietnam. Armed with Mao Tse-tung's thought, they have always regarded it their sacred internationalist duty to support the Vietnamese people's struggle against U.S. aggression and for national salvation. They have had a test of strength with U.S. imperialism and have taught it bitter lessons. The great proletarian cultural revolution that is going on vigorously in China today has greatly increased the Chinese people's strength to support their Vietnamese brothers and to oppose U.S. imperialism. U.S. imperialism will be severely punished for widening its military adventure!

(*Renmin Ribao* Commentator, August 22.)

## And Mayflies Lightly Plot to Topple the Giant Tree

**W**ITH the spectacular victory of China's great proletarian cultural revolution, the brilliant thought of Mao Tse-tung spreads ever more widely and takes deeper and deeper root in the minds of the peoples. Grasped by millions upon millions of the revolutionary masses of the world, it turns into a mighty and irresistible force that is pushing the wheel of history forward.

In this excellent revolutionary situation the U.S. imperialists, the Soviet revisionists and the reactionaries of all countries have whipped up a violent, vicious anti-China campaign. They use abuse, but their hearts are full of fear; above all other things they fear the great thought of Mao Tse-tung most. They tremble and are panic-stricken whenever and wherever they hear propaganda about this thought or see the red-covered

treasured book, *Quotations From Chairman Mao Tse-tung*. They have left no stone unturned in their attempts to suppress the propagation of Mao Tse-tung's thought and hate it so much that they would like to immediately "exorcize" it from the world.

However, as Chairman Mao Tse-tung wrote in one of his poems, "**And mayflies lightly plot to topple the giant tree,**" Mao Tse-tung's thought is the great and invincible revolutionary truth. It is Marxism-Leninism in the present era at its highest level and the most powerful ideological weapon to combat imperialism, modern revisionism and reaction in all countries. It is the guiding light leading the peoples to ultimate victory in their struggle for liberation. Revolutionary people throughout the world want to grasp it. They

ardently cherish it and are studying it in real earnest. Nothing will prevent them from doing so.

Mao Tse-tung's thought, once grasped by the revolutionary people, will become an all-powerful material force transforming the world. Now that the Chinese people, holding high the great red banner of Mao Tse-tung's thought, are staunchly defending, propagating and disseminating it, how can this fail to meet with frantic opposition and desperate resistance from all the counter-revolutionary forces of the world? This is class struggle! Its very intensity reflects the matchless might of the invincible thought of Mao Tse-tung and the deadly fear among the U.S. imperialists, Soviet revisionists and reactionaries in face of their impending doom.

In human history, all the correct ideas of the advanced classes in the course of their emergence, dissemination and development invariably meet with tenacious resistance from the decadent, moribund and reactionary forces and are fiercely attacked by them. Nevertheless, after intense struggle, the correct ideas of the advanced classes always win victory.

Copernicus, the Polish astronomer, put forward his theory of the solar system on the eve of the collapse of feudalism in Europe, in defiance of the religious authority of the reactionary ruling class. Copernicus and the Italian scientists, Bruno and Galileo, who upheld Copernicus' theory, were subjected to brutal persecution by the reactionary ruling class of their time. However, the scientific truth finally triumphed. Who, today, does not believe that the earth revolves around the sun?

If the reactionary forces are so hostile to new discoveries in natural science, they are a thousand times more so to the revolutionary truth of the proletariat.

When Marxism was born in Europe, the reactionary forces of Europe were panic-stricken. In a vain attempt

to "exorcize" this "spectre," they joined hands to form a "Holy Alliance" against Marxism.

When Marxism developed to the stage of Leninism, the imperialists and the scabs and renegades of all countries got together in a "Holy Alliance" against Leninism and frantically concentrated combined attacks on it.

But as Chairman Mao has pointed out: "**Marxism can develop only through struggle, and not only is this true of the past and present, it is necessarily true of the future as well.**" It is precisely through the struggles over the last one hundred years that Marxism has developed so tremendously and the revolutionary cause of the international proletariat has won numerous great victories.

Marxism-Leninism has now developed to the stage of Mao Tse-tung's thought. The world has entered into a new era. The great banner of this era is Mao Tse-tung's thought. The imperialists, modern revisionists and reactionaries of all countries are sinking fast, like a dying person. Forming a new "Holy Alliance" to frantically oppose Mao Tse-tung's thought, they will nevertheless meet with more crushing defeats than their predecessors.

Chairman Mao teaches us: "**We should support whatever the enemy opposes and oppose whatever the enemy supports.**" When the U.S. imperialists, Soviet revisionists and reactionaries of all countries are rabidly opposing Mao Tse-tung's thought, it is necessary to defend and publicize it more energetically and make this powerful, ever-victorious ideological weapon more readily accessible to the revolutionary peoples. When all the revolutionary people of the world grasp Mao Tse-tung's thought — the spiritual atom bomb, they will be able to smash the old world to smithereens and create a red new world!

(*"Renmin Ribao" Commentator, August 25.*)

## Renegade Tito's Dirty Mission

**D**ONNING the threadbare cloak of "non-alignment" and using the signboard of "settling" the Middle East question, renegade Tito has recently gone to the Arab countries to prevail on them and to engage in underhand activities.

Tito's Middle East errand was run for the U.S. imperialists and the Soviet revisionists. The day he started his journey, Kosygin sent him an urgent cable, while the U.S. State Department expressed its welcome to his trip, declaring that the United States "would be favourable to an initiative" by Tito "to settle the Middle East crisis." It was quite clear what kind of role Tito was to play.

Just what was this "initiative" of Tito's which the U.S. State Department was favourable to? As Tito himself disclosed a short time before to the manager of the *Washington Post* company, his so-called "plan for solving the Middle East problem" was that Israel should withdraw its troops, and that the United Nations Security Council or the four powers — the United States, the Soviet Union, Britain and France — should guarantee Israel's borders, so as "to constitute a de facto . . . Arab recognition of Israel and so bring an end to the Arab state of belligerency against it."

This "plan" which Tito had brought with him to the Middle East could not be an "initiative" of his

own, it was merely a product of a secret agreement reached between the United States and the Soviet Union at their Glassboro talks. It was based on this agreement that, following the Glassboro talks, U.S. imperialism and Soviet revisionism tried to impose on the Arab countries a proposal for the settlement of the Middle East question based on a motion made by the Latin American countries. The core of that motion which was tabled at the instigation of U.S. imperialism, was entirely the same as the Tito "plan," namely, the withdrawal of Israeli troops in exchange for an end to the Arab countries' state of belligerency against Israel. This shows most clearly that Tito's Middle East trip was entirely in the service of U.S. imperialism and Soviet revisionism plotting to smother the Arab people's struggle against aggression, and that Tito is a running dog serving both of them.

But it is absolutely impossible for the U.S. imperialists and the Soviet revisionists, or, in this connection, for their running dog Tito, to try to make the Arab people cease their struggle against aggression.

No one can deny the fact that it was Israel which, with the support and connivance of U.S. imperialism and Soviet revisionism, had unleashed the war of aggression and invaded and occupied the territories of the Arab countries. The Israeli aggressors must unconditionally get out of these territories which they have occupied. To ask the Arab countries to end their belligerency with Israel and recognize the latter as a *quid pro quo* for the withdrawal of Israeli troops is a flagrant act of lending support and giving encouragement to the aggressor. Is it conceivable that the aggressor should not only go unpunished but even be rewarded? As long as the U.S. imperialist intrigue to use

Israel to commit aggression against the Arab countries continues, the Arab people's struggle against aggression also will not be ended. The U.S. imperialists and the Soviet revisionists are vainly trying to connive with the Israeli aggressors and bind the Arab people fighting against aggression hand and foot by means of the so-called "end of the state of belligerency"; the Arab people will never agree to this.

The Arab people have come to see ever more clearly from the recent Middle East incident that U.S. imperialism is their mortal enemy, Soviet revisionism is an accomplice of U.S. imperialism, and the United Nations is a tool of both in playing power politics. The contradictions between the Arab people on the one hand and the U.S. imperialists and their lackey Israel on the other are irreconcilable. The just struggle of the Arab people against U.S. imperialism and its stooge Israel cannot be strangled by anyone.

Our great leader Chairman Mao has pointed out: **"The oppressed peoples and nations must not pin their hopes for liberation on the 'sensibleness' of imperialism and its lackeys. They will only triumph by strengthening their unity and persevering in their struggle."**

No matter what kind of trickery the U.S. imperialists, the Soviet revisionists and their lackeys Tito and his like may go in for, they are unable to reconcile the contradictions between the Arab people and U.S. imperialism, but will only increase the awakening of the Arab people, make them unite ever more closely and persevere in the struggle against aggression, until all forces of aggression are driven out of the Middle East.

*("Renmin Ribao" Commentator, August 28.)*

## Soviet Union Under Revisionist Rule

# Capitalist Restoration in Agriculture

**T**HE Soviet revisionist ruling clique is fast breaking up and destroying the socialist system in agriculture and bringing about the complete restoration of capitalism in the Soviet countryside.

For many years now the Soviet revisionist ruling clique, from Khrushchov down to Brezhnev, Kosygin and their like, by introducing measures to undermine socialist economic planning and socialist ownership in agriculture, have been moving in a big way to bring about the restoration of capitalism in agriculture.

### Profit Takes Command

As early as 1955, Khrushchov launched the attack on socialist planning in agriculture as "bureaucratic,"

and decided that the state should only fix the yearly quota of agricultural and animal products which the collective and state farms were required to sell to the state, and leave the farms to work out their own production plans. In 1958, he abolished the system under which collective farms were obliged to provide the state with a fixed quota of agricultural and animal products and replaced it with a new system of state purchases from the farms. He then declared: "We shall buy grain where it is cheaper." In 1962, with his blessing, a big "debate" concerning Liberman's recommendation that profit be put in command took place. (See *Peking Review*, No. 16, 1967.) This "debate" was aimed at preparing public opinion for the introduction of the "new economic system" based on profit in agriculture and other branches of the national economy.



The new Soviet leadership headed by Brezhnev and Kosygin has closely followed in Khrushchov's footsteps. At Supreme Soviet sessions and plenary meetings of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, they urged enforcement of the "new economic system" with the accent on profit, declaring that "the rate of profit should be made the basis of objective assessment of the operations of collective and state farms," and that the state will protect and stimulate the free purchase of agricultural products, and ensure the vigorous development of commercial relations.

The Soviet revisionist chiefs, from the higher to the lower echelons, and the Soviet press all harped on the need "to educate the people with the ruble." They called on state and collective farms "to be good at running their affairs profitably and finding the best way of doing this," and also "to be good at dealing with the ruble cleverly and investing it where it will turn a quick profit." Again and again they demanded that the collective and state farms be given greater "independence" and that they be gradually given an entirely free hand in selling their produce so as to develop "the initiative of the enterprises in choosing the most profitable fields."

### Enforcing the "New Economic System"

The new Soviet revisionist leadership has, in the last two years, passed a number of resolutions to enforce in agriculture the so-called "new economic system" with the rate of profit as the main economic index. They allowed all collective and state farms to determine independently the direction in which their production would develop and draw up yearly plans in accordance with the principle of developing production in those spheres which yield the highest profits. They now allow the farms to sell on the open market or to the state at high prices, their surplus of agricultural and animal products after fulfilling the state purchase "quotas." They have authorized the state farms to decide how many workers and staff they want, to recruit or dismiss workers, plan the labour productivity and costs of production, decide on forms of payment for work and the organizational forms of their productive system, and distribute the bulk of the profit in any way they deem fit.

At the end of 1965, the Soviet revisionist ruling clique placed a number of state farms on an experimental basis, under the "new economic system." In mid-April this year, they adopted a resolution on gradually switching state-run agricultural enterprises to a full business accounting system and introducing the "new system" to 390 state farms and other state-run agricultural enterprises embracing a total of 9 million workers and employees.

Encouraged by the Soviet revisionist authorities, more and more collective and state farms have, in the past few years, divided up the land among the field

teams or even among the households and adopted the system of fixing output quotas and giving bonuses for the overfulfilment of these quotas. All this has subverted socialist ownership in Soviet agriculture.

### Free Competition Encouraged

These regressive measures of the Soviet revisionist ruling clique have pushed agriculture on to the capitalist road of free competition, the free market and profit-seeking. According to Soviet press reports, in the past two years, many collective and state farms in the Russian S.F.S.R., the Moldavian and other republics of the Soviet Union have, for the sake of profit, arbitrarily reduced the acreage under crops which are less profitable, though the most important in the locality, and increased that under more profitable crops, thus exploiting their "freedom" to draw up their own production plans. Many of them, under one pretext or another, refuse to honour their contracts with the state and sell their products at high prices in the open market instead. Last autumn, the farms in some republics, regions and territories, "acting as if in agreement," stopped supplying Moscow and other big cities with tomatoes, cucumbers and other vegetables. It turned out that these farms had decided to build their own canneries and sell their canned vegetables in the market for bigger profits in competition with the state shops. In the Latvian Republic, many collective farms have set up their own shops or joint-stock companies to make fat profits by selling their agricultural and subsidiary products at open market prices.

In the Soviet Union in the past few years many collective farms and state farms have, for the sake of profit, been engaged in a big way in lucrative business on the side and exploited hired labour. It is reported that workshops for making rings, ear-rings, brooches and other luxury goods, have become the main occupation of many farms in the Kostroma Region in the Russian Federal Republic. In some farms, more people are working in side occupations than in the fields even in the busy farming season. The management of some state farms in the Moldavian Republic did not scruple to employ teenagers at very low wages to do heavy physical labour and threaten to fire them if they showed the slightest dissatisfaction with their living and working conditions and pay.

### Peasants Heavily Exploited

As a result of the steps taken by the Soviet revisionist ruling clique for the all-round restoration of capitalism in the U.S.S.R., a new bourgeois privileged stratum has emerged in the Soviet countryside and is heavily exploiting the peasants.

As Soviet press reports show, this privileged stratum usually comprises the chairman, specialists and other leading personnel of the collective farms. Their pay is 10, 20 or even 30 times that of an ordinary member. Enjoying unfair and excessive remunera-

tion, they are actually expropriating the fruits of the peasants' labour.

In 1965, the leading personnel of the Baku Worker Collective Farm in the Azerbaijan Republic, for instance, received the following average monthly salaries: chairman, 1,076 rubles; chief accountant, 756 rubles; chief agronomist and livestock technician, 391 rubles each. By contrast, an average farm member received less than 38 rubles.

This high-salaried stratum shows little interest in collective production. While receiving regular salaries from the collective farms, some of these people do not even bother to perform their duties at the farms. The chief agronomist of the Burana Collective Farm had been on the farm's payroll for two years, but he insisted on living in town and only dropped in at the farm like a guest for a few hours each day. During the busy sugar-beet season, the agronomist of the second brigade of the same farm failed to turn up in the fields for four or five days running. One day he went to a wedding and another day he was at a christening party. The farm's output and income declined considerably and the upshot was that there were not enough funds to finance production or settle accounts with members.

Farms are often overstaffed with non-productive managerial personnel. Administrative expenses of the Ak-Beshm Collective Farm in Kirghizia amounted to 17 per cent of the total sum paid out to members. In the Bolshevik Collective Farm in the Minsk Region of the Byelorussian Republic, there was one administrative worker for every four members. The number of administrative personnel at the Gulyaev Collective Farm in the same region came to 12.6 per cent of the total membership, yet they received 42.8 per cent of the total sum paid out to members. Thus, nearly half the income earned by the peasants in the fields went to the top administrative personnel.

Thus heavily exploited, the collective farmers naturally lose interest in so-called collective production. In Byelorussia and the western regions of the Ukrainian Republic, the collective farm peasants generally work less than 160 days a year for "collective production."

Those in the Brest Region worked 138 days a year. In the Azerbaijan Republic, 9.3 per cent of the able-bodied collective farmers did not take part in "collective production" in the period under review.

This state of affairs is worrying the Soviet revisionist ruling clique. On May 16, 1966, the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the Council of Ministers passed a resolution on increasing the material interest of the collective farmers in the development of collective production. This provides that the administration of a collective farm "may deprive its individual members of all or part of the supplementary remuneration and bonuses." That is, in order to drive the peasants to work, the authorities have even resorted to fines.

Resenting such exploitation, Soviet peasants, and young people in particular, are quitting the farms in large numbers and going to the cities. Some agricultural regions have reported that the number of people leaving the farms was 30 or 40 per cent more than the number of people entering them. And this gap continues to widen.

### Soviet Revisionists' Crimes Will Put Them In the Dock

Fifty years ago, the great Lenin founded the first socialist state in the world — the Soviet Union. After his death, Stalin carried on his work and brought about the collectivization of agriculture in the country. These tremendous achievements have now been forfeited by Khrushchov and his successors. The state farms and collective farms in the Soviet Union have degenerated into capitalist enterprises and *kulak* economies. Still, the Soviet revisionist rulers have the impudence to talk about "building communism." Fish eyes cannot pass for pearls, as the Chinese saying goes. The capitalist degeneration of Soviet agriculture will help more and more Soviet people to see what sort of thing is this "communism" advertised by the Soviet revisionist chiefs. Sooner or later, the great Soviet people will rise in rebellion and put the revisionist renegades in the dock for the crimes they have committed.

(Continued from p. 15.)

In the great, unprecedented proletarian cultural revolution, initiated and led by Chairman Mao himself, the handful of top Party persons in authority taking the capitalist road represented by China's Khrushchov have finally been dragged out. They are now heavily besieged by the revolutionary armymen and people in their hundreds of millions. At the present time, a nationwide mass campaign to criticize them is under way.

Commanders and fighters of our army should heartily respond to the call of Vice-Chairman Lin Piao, hold

high the great red banner of Mao Tse-tung's thought, and win fresh merit in the great proletarian cultural revolutionary movement. In the current movement of mass revolutionary criticism, it is necessary to join with the people of the whole country in thoroughly criticizing and repudiating China's Khrushchov and the counter-revolutionary revisionists Peng Teh-huai and Lo Jui-ching, politically, ideologically and theoretically, in destroying the bourgeois reactionary line and bourgeois military line, in wiping out their evil influence, and in putting Mao Tse-tung's thought in control of every position so as to ensure that our Party, state and army will never change their colour.

# ROUND THE WORLD

## BURMA

### Nationwide Anti-Hunger Campaign

The Burmese people are mounting a massive anti-hunger campaign to oppose the reactionary Ne Win government and maintain their right to live.

Burma used to be one of the world's biggest rice producers and exporters. Yet today, under the rule of the Ne Win clique, this rice-bowl of South-east Asia has been reduced to a country of famine.

Always a rice-surplus country in the past, Burma now faces a severe shortage and skyrocketing rice prices. Tens of thousands of working people have only one meal a day and there are many who have nothing to eat except wild fruit.

Rice output has fallen drastically since 1962 when the Ne Win clique came to power. According to Burmese official figures, rice output was 7.29 million tons in 1962-63, and fell to 6.5 million tons in 1966-67. Rice exports were three million tons before World War II, two million tons in 1957, 1.7 million tons in 1962-63, and 1.1 million tons in 1965-66. The estimated total for the current year is only 0.47 million tons.

Last year 0.983 million tons of rice was sold on the home market. For this year only 0.71 million tons are available and the major part has already been sold. The remaining 200,000 to 300,000 tons are far from enough to last till the new harvest comes in at the end of the year. Such a situation is causing great discontent and resistance among the people.

Since July, Rangoon and more than 30 other cities and towns have witnessed seizure of rice by the masses. Anti-hunger demonstrations were still more widespread.

The anti-hunger struggle is fiercest in the rich Irrawaddy Delta. In districts such as Pegu and Tharrawaddy which used to be big rice growers,

there has been large-scale seizure of rice. On July 18, people in Kyonmange seized 1,500 maunds of paddy from nine government boats (a maund is about 46 pounds).

In Pegu District people seized the grain in an organized manner. On learning that the government was planning to ship rice from Kawa to Rangoon by steamer on August 8, 100 small boats with more than 200 people aboard prepared an ambush. All the 485 sacks of rice were captured. Earlier, the people in Thonze Town took possession of 96 sacks of government rice.

According to the mouthpiece of the reactionary government, the *Working People's Daily*, over 1,500 people near Myitkyo Town in Pegu District staged an anti-hunger demonstration on August 16. They then went to a government rice mill and carried away 192 sacks of rice. The day before, more than 100 citizens in Pegu City assembled round the pier to stop rice from being shipped to Rangoon. They demanded that half of it be sold to the local residents at a reasonable price.

Recently, more than 200 people in Prome District seized all rice aboard a steamer bound for Upper Burma. Local residents set up checkpoints at crossroads to stop the government rice convoys, and then forcibly bought up the rice at the official ration price.

In West Burma's Akyab City, which is populated by a number of national minorities, people have also launched a rice seizure campaign. On August 12 and 13, 7,000 people ransacked two government rice mills.

On August 15, more than 500 peasants near Paukkaung went to hold a demonstration in the town, demanding that the authorities supply them with rice. On the same day in Moulmein City, more than 100 housewives who could not prepare any food for their families because they had no rice assembled in indignant protest in front of the local "Security and Administrative Committee."

The serious food crisis has aggravated the internal strife in the Ne Win clique. *Hanthawaddy* reported on August 13 that the local authorities in Upper Burma would not allow vehicles to transport rice to Rangoon and other cities. If they discovered any vehicles doing this, they appropriated the rice at the fixed price.

Burma's serious rice shortage is caused by the ruthless exploitation of the peasantry by imperialism, feudalism and bureaucrat-capitalism. Under Ne Win's reactionary regime, the Burmese peasants have been victims of crushing exploitation. Their suffering, already bad enough as a result of imperialist aggression and extortionate levies by landlords and merchants, was made worse after Ne Win's coming to power because his regime, making great use of the state apparatus, has even more ruthlessly robbed the people through "agricultural loans," "nationalization" and "state purchase and sale of grain," as well as endless taxes and imposts. (According to available statistics, 130,000 acres of land pass from the peasants into the hands of landlords, usurers and reactionary armymen every year.)

The rise of the anti-starvation movement shows that the troubles of the reactionary Ne Win government are mounting. In co-ordination with the development of the armed struggle led by the Burmese Communist Party which is using the countryside as its base area — armed struggle is the main form of struggle in the Burmese people's revolution — this nationwide mass movement will certainly hasten the doom of the Ne Win fascist military clique.

## STRUGGLE FOR NATIONAL LIBERATION

### Indian Tribesmen's Growing Guerrilla War

The Naga and Mizo tribesmen have made important headway in their armed struggle for national liberation. Active in Assam state, Nagaland and Manipur, all in northeast India, they have united with the armed forces of other tribes to carry out still more extensive guerrilla actions. With increased fighting power, they have

dealt heavier blows at the Indian reactionaries who are ruthlessly oppressing them.

According to the *Hindustan Standard*, the Naga and Mizo people have recently accumulated large quantities of arms and ammunition in the hills and are training for guerrilla operations. They are now equipped with automatic weapons and mortars. Seeking battle on their own initiative, they pressed down on the union territory of Manipur from Assam state, striking at the reactionary troops and police.

Last January the reactionary Indian Government mobilized large numbers of police and troops to enforce mass emigration of the Mizo tribesmen. They drove over 60,000 innocent villagers into concentration camps and plundered and burnt hoping that in this brutal way they could isolate the Mizo armed forces from their people.

However, the Naga and Mizo revolutionary armed forces who enjoy the support of their people as well as other tribesmen have grown strong in battle. Recently the Kukis, Zeliangs and other Manipur tribes have also taken part with them in the armed struggle for national liberation. Their brilliant successes in two recent encounters are an indication of their strength.

On July 12, Naga and Mizo armed forces ambushed a unit of the central reserve police at Tamenglong and killed 24 of them. When the Indian reactionaries hurriedly dispatched large numbers of troops for a "combing operation," they were again dealt a harsh blow on July 24. PTI reported on July 26 that 18 Indian army personnel including one officer were killed.

These two recent joint operations have shaken the reactionary rule in areas hitherto regarded by New Delhi as "dependable." The armed tribesmen posted notices on trees and telegraph poles as warning to the reactionary troops and police. Meanwhile the bourgeois papers, with a note of alarm, have carried reports on the "new wave of armed clashes facing" the Northcast region and "the near collapse of India's Manipur government."

The Naga armed force used to be active in Nagaland and north Manipur, while the Mizos kept to the southwest part of Manipur and the Mizo mountain area. Now they are co-operating with each other. Recently the Naga armed force which has kept up a struggle for more than a decade threw out all those elements who wanted to capitulate to the reactionary Indian Government and now is fighting more energetically. The armed struggle of the Mizo tribesmen has persisted for a year. These struggles have dealt a severe blow to the Congress Party's reactionary rule and exposed the nonsense of the Indian revisionists that "conditions aren't ripe for armed struggle in India."

#### IN ISRAELI-OCCUPIED REGIONS

### People's Resistance Movement

A people's resistance movement is sweeping Gaza and the region west of the Jordan River occupied by the Israeli aggressors. Besides strikes and hartals in the cities, there is also guerrilla war. Such activities as distributing leaflets, mine-laying, sniper fire and setting fire to warehouses and depots have made life difficult for the occupationists.

Strikes have begun again in Gaza City and Khan Yunis since the end of July despite suppression and deception by the Israeli occupation authorities. Arab merchants in Khan Yunis demanded that the Israeli military authorities hand back the properties looted from them. These strikes took place although the Israeli aggressors had arrested a number of local inhabitants, burnt down the cultural house of the Palestine Liberation Organization and seized some arms and ammunition in Gaza.

On the west bank of the Jordan River, a national front has been formed to lead the people's resistance. In Jenin City, a general strike was held recently in support of the people's struggle in Jerusalem and Nablus.

On August 7, a general strike was staged by the people in Arab Jerusalem. Except for three bakeries, all shops closed and no one went to

work. Leaflets distributed by "the Committee for the Defence of Arab Jerusalem" called on the Arab inhabitants not to pay taxes to the Israeli occupation authorities.

In the latter part of July, a Palestine guerrilla unit laid mines on a highway near Al Maghazy refugee camp in Gaza. The mines blasted an Israeli army jeep and killed three men in it. Later the Israeli troops encircled the camp, drove out its inmates and killed all the nine members of the family of the camp's *Mokhtar* (village head). But the Israelis still could not get an iota of information about the guerrillas. Finally, they took away all the youth of the camp.

In the Gaza Strip, a group of Palestine children recently formed a secret organization called "Children's Whirlwind" to attack the Israeli troops. Palestine youth have often been seen fighting in the streets with small groups of Israeli troops. In Gaza, shopping Israeli soldiers were locked up and beaten by shop-assistants.

The Palestine people have launched a "non-co-operation movement" to frustrate the attempt of the Israeli aggressors to buy over Palestinians to maintain "law and order" for them. Underground guerrillas issued a warning that whoever served Israel would be given the death penalty. Leaflets signed by "the Palestine People's Resistance Organization" have often appeared in Jerusalem. All this has forced the Israeli aggressors to give up their "soft" tactics and they have again declared a curfew under which Palestine Arabs between the age of 18 and 60 are forbidden to leave their homes between nine p.m. and four a.m.

The Arab people's struggle against U.S. and Israeli aggression is mounting. On the basis of their personal experiences and the lessons from the recent war, many young Palestine patriots are studying carefully Chairman Mao's theses about guerrilla warfare. They are determined to learn the experience of the Chinese revolutionary war through studying Chairman Mao's works, take up arms to drive out the Israeli aggressors and liberate their homeland.

## No Force Can Stop African People From Studying Mao Tse-tung's Thought

In the last six months, the Kenyan Government has five times instigated hooligans to smash the photo display cases of the Chinese Embassy in Kenya, and it has afterwards unwarrantedly expelled the Charge d'Affaires ad interim of the Chinese Embassy. On August 2, Kenyan Vice-President Moi personally attacked China. At a press conference, he presented trumped-up charges against the Chinese Embassy to sow discord in the friendship between the Kenyan and Chinese peoples and to fan up anti-China sentiments. He slanderously asserted that the Chinese Embassy had "grossly interfered" in Kenya's internal affairs in mailing the *Selected Works of Mao Tse-tung, Quotations From Chairman Mao Tse-tung* and badges with a profile of Chairman Mao to Mrs. Ondiege at her request. He also signed "legislation" brazenly banning the import of the *Quotations From Chairman Mao Tse-tung*. Previously, the Kenyan Government had flagrantly banned the import of the Swahili edition of Chairman Mao's *A Single Spark Can Start a Prairie Fire*. All this constituted a most serious step by the Kenyan Government to deliberately sabotage relations between China and Kenya. The Chinese Embassy in Kenya on August 21 sent a note to the Kenyan Foreign Ministry, lodging the strongest protest with the Kenyan Government.

The note said: "It is at the request of the Kenyan people that the Chinese Embassy has supplied them with Chairman Mao Tse-tung's works and badges with his profile. This is entirely the normal function of an embassy in promoting the friendship between the two peoples and is in complete accord with international practice. How could this constitute a 'crime' of 'grossly interfering in Kenya's internal affairs'? Does not the Kenyan Embassy often distribute in Peking copies of the speeches of

your government head as well as books, publications and propaganda material printed in Kenya? Your act of crudely and arbitrarily interfering with and wilfully slandering the normal functioning of the Chinese Embassy fully reveals that you have already gone too far along the road of opposing China!

"Why should Moi, as Vice-President, seize upon such a completely normal thing and come out in person to oppose China? It can only be interpreted as fear on your part of the development of the friendship between the Chinese and Kenyan peoples, of the learning and study of Mao Tse-tung's thought by the Kenyan people and of the tremendous impact of China's great proletarian cultural revolution. To put it bluntly, you dread Mao Tse-tung's thought. Mao Tse-tung's thought is Marxism-Leninism of the era in which imperialism is heading for total collapse and socialism is advancing towards worldwide victory. It is the most powerful ideological weapon for opposing imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism. The eager desire of the peoples of Kenya as well as of Africa and the rest of the world to study Mao Tse-tung's thought in quest of the way for opposing imperialism and seeking national salvation represents a great historic current which no force can hold back. The stronger your obstruction and opposition, the greater the people's efforts to make further exploration and study. Your obstruction and opposition will only result in setting yourselves further against the people. You will come to no better end."

The note warned the Kenyan Government that if it should continue to oppose China, it would surely run up against a stone wall.

## China Will Resolutely Repulse Ceylon Government's Provocations

The Chinese Embassy in Ceylon, in a note to the Ceylonese Ministry of Defence and External Affairs on

August 22, lodged the strongest protest with the Ceylon Government against its grave steps in following U.S. imperialism in creating "two Chinas" by continuously maintaining improper connections with the Chiang Kai-shek bandit gang and deliberately undermining normal relations between China and Ceylon. The note sternly pointed out that the Ceylon Government must immediately sever all connections with the Chiang gang, stop elements of this gang from coming to Ceylon to carry out underhand activities, and guarantee that it would not participate in any criminal activities to create "two Chinas."

The Ceylon Association of Girl Guides invited the Chiang Kai-shek bandit gang in Taiwan to attend the "Asian Trainers Conference" in Colombo on August 12. This gang had also been invited to take part in the "Third Asian Boxing Championships" to be held in December this year. The trainers conference and the boxing championships are either sponsored or organized by Ceylon and are under the auspices of and financed by official Ceylon authorities. The Chinese embassy note stressed that this was a serious incident and hostile towards the Chinese people, a crude interference in the internal affairs of China, and a grave step deliberately taken to undermine the normal relations between China and Ceylon. The Chinese people are extremely indignant at this.

The note pointed out that since it came to power, the present Ceylon Government headed by the United National Party had consistently coordinated with U.S. imperialism in creating "two Chinas" and had continually maintained improper connections with the Chiang Kai-shek bandit gang which has entrenched itself in China's territory of Taiwan. This is something which the Chinese people absolutely will not tolerate. The note said: "The Chiang Kai-shek clique is a political corpse cast aside long ago by the Chinese people, and is a running dog reared by the U.S. imperialists. The U.S. imperialists

and their accomplices are vainly attempting in a thousand and one ways to create 'two Chinas.' This is an important component part of the anti-China campaign of the imperialists, modern revisionists and reactionaries of all countries, and is a counter-revolutionary act in a vain attempt to turn back the wheel of history. The Ceylon Government has taken an active part in this criminal activity. It has revealed its true colours in opposing China by toeing the U.S. imperialist line of keeping close clandestine connections with the Chiang bandit gang elements and in playing the role of a clown in the anti-China farce staged by the imperialists, modern revisionists and reactionaries of all countries. Anyone who attacks China will meet resolute counter-attack from the Chinese people and will be resolutely opposed by the people of his own country. The present Ceylon Government headed by the United National Party can in no way be an exception."

The note pointed out in conclusion that if the Ceylon Government should refuse to come to its senses and persist in its errors, it must be held fully responsible for all the grave consequences.

### **Protest Against Murder of Overseas Chinese Leader By Burmese Government**

The Chinese Embassy in Burma, in a note to the Foreign Ministry of Burma on August 22, lodged the strongest protest with the reactionary Ne Win government against its fascist atrocity in cruelly murdering Liu Ying-chao, a leader of the patriotic Chinese nationals in Burma and Chairman of the Federation of Overseas Chinese Workers in Burma, in prison.

Liu Ying-chao was illegally arrested on June 26 at the height of the anti-China and anti-Chinese outrages engineered by the Ne Win regime. The arrest took place when he went to the former Overseas Chinese Middle School to visit patriotic students in their courageous struggle against the reactionary Ne Win government's unreasonable ban on wearing badges with

a profile of Chairman Mao. Thereafter, the Chinese Embassy in its two notes to the Burmese Foreign Ministry sternly warned the reactionary Ne Win government that it must not victimize Liu Ying-chao and other detained patriotic Chinese and demanded that it immediately set them free. The reactionary government, however, completely ignored the warning and demand and continued to persecute and savagely torture the detained Chinese. Liu Ying-chao died as a result of continuous persecution and torture.

While in prison, Liu Ying-chao all along held high the great red banner of the invincible thought of Mao Tse-tung and waged a heroic and unyielding struggle, in face of the fascist persecution by the reactionary Burmese Government, to defend Mao Tse-tung's thought and the honour and dignity of the motherland and uphold the legitimate right of the broad masses of patriotic Chinese nationals in Burma to express their love for their great leader Chairman Mao and their motherland. As our great leader Chairman Mao has said, **all men must die, but death can vary in its significance, and to die for the people is weightier than Mount Tai.** The death of Liu Ying-chao is weightier than Mount Tai.

Having murdered Liu Ying-chao, the reactionary Burmese Government spread the lie that he died of illness in prison. Furthermore, in disregard of repeated warnings by the Chinese Embassy, it staged behind the back of the Embassy a fraudulent post-mortem examination in an attempt to get rid of incriminating evidence and evade the responsibility for the crime.

The Chinese Embassy in its August 22 note solemnly declared that the Chinese people will take revenge for Liu Ying-chao's death and settle accounts with the reactionary Burmese Government for this blood debt.

The Chinese Embassy firmly demanded that the reactionary Burmese Government: 1. immediately arrange for the Embassy's personnel to go to Insein prison near Rangoon to meet the arrested Chinese and other people concerned for an on-the-spot investigation of the murder of Liu

Ying-chao; 2. severely punish the culprits and their instigators and make compensation to the family of the victim; 3. hold a large memorial service and funeral in honour of Liu Ying-chao; 4. release immediately and unconditionally all innocent patriotic Chinese nationals under arrest; 5. put an immediate end to the illegal interrogation and persecution of the unwarrantedly arrested Chinese nationals.

### **Strong Protest Against Political Provocation by Italian Authorities**

Following their political provocations against two Chinese freighters in the port of Venice in the latter part of July, the Italian authorities on August 13 outrageously interfered once again with the posting of quotations from Chairman Mao and slogans about friendship between the Chinese and Italian peoples on board another Chinese freighter when it arrived in Genoa, arrogantly demanded that the quotations and slogans be removed, and forbade the Chinese seamen to carry on their loading and unloading operations. A responsible member of the China Council for the Promotion of International Trade issued a statement on August 22 strongly protesting against the Italian authorities' new political provocation.

He reiterated that Chinese seamen considered it entirely their inviolable right to put up quotations from Chairman Mao aboard Chinese ships, and to study and give publicity to Mao Tse-tung's thought, and no one had any right to interfere. That the reactionary Italian authorities had a mortal fear and deep hatred for the quotations from Chairman Mao and slogans about friendship between the Chinese and Italian peoples, which were posted aboard the Chinese ship, fully revealed their weakness and reactionary features. He said that the reactionary Italian authorities would never succeed in their attempt to make Chinese seamen remove the quotations from Chairman Mao, the reddest red sun in their hearts, in disregard of all principles guiding international relations.



He also pointed out that the captain of the Chinese freighter and an official of the Chinese Commercial Representative Bureau in Italy had made representations and protests against the new political provocation by the Italian authorities, but the latter, instead of admitting their mistakes, again sent a large number of armed troops and police to cordon off the Chinese ship and enforced a tight blockade, cutting off all its contact with the outside and even resorting to fascist practices of refusing to supply it with fresh water, food and other necessities. They also unjustifiably restricted the freedom of movement of Liu Jo-ming, deputy representative of the Chinese Commercial Representative Bureau in Italy, forbidding him to leave the ship after he had gone aboard. The Chinese side made many representa-

tions and lodged protests with the Italian Commercial Representative Bureau in Peking and the Italian Foreign Trade Institute, demanding that the Italian authorities cease their provocations.

Serving the needs of the imperialists, revisionists and reactionaries in their joint opposition to China, the Italian authorities had willingly acted as their pawn, ignored the repeated warnings and protests from the Chinese authorities concerned, and mistook the self-restraint of the Chinese side as a sign of weakness. But they had miscalculated and misjudged their opponent. **Chairman Mao, the great leader of the Chinese people, said: "We will not attack unless we are attacked; if we are attacked, we will certainly counter-attack."** The responsible member of the China Council for the

Promotion of International Trade was authorized by the authorities concerned to solemnly declare on August 15: Since the Italian authorities had violated the Sino-Italian agreement on setting up a commercial representative bureau in each other's country and had twice unwarrantedly restricted the freedom of movement of Liu Jo-ming, beginning from August 15 Francesco Manzella, representative of the Italian Commercial Representative Bureau in Peking, would not be allowed to leave his residence until the Italian authorities lift their restrictions on Liu Jo-ming's freedom of movement. The Chinese side was compelled to take this measure as a result of the wilful provocations by the Italian authorities. The responsibility for it rested entirely with the Italian side.

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### IN THIS ISSUE

#### ARTICLES AND DOCUMENTS

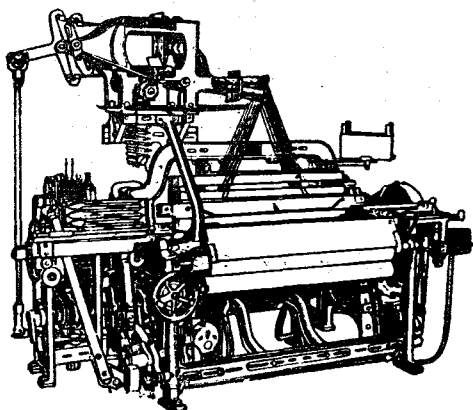
- The Great Chinese P.L.A. — Reliable Pillar of Our Proletarian Dictatorship and Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution** — *Hongqi* editorial 5
- P.L.A.'s New Contributions in Serving the People** 6
- An Extremely Important Matter of Guiding Principle** — *Renmin Ribao* editorial 7
- The Bankruptcy of China's "Devotee of Parliamentarianism"** — editorial departments of the *Wenhui Bao*, the *Jiefang Ribao* and the *Life of the Party Branch* 8
- Settle Accounts With Peng Teh-huai for His Heinous Crimes of Usurping Army Leadership and Opposing the Party** — Li Hsin-kung 12
- Great Cultural Revolution in Progress:** 16
- P.L.A. Wins New Merit Supporting the Left in Chinghai
- Revolutionary Mass Criticism in Peking Teachers' University Surges Ahead
- Reactionary Films Criticized

- Burmese People's Revolutionary Armed Struggle Is Bound to Triumph** — Thakin Ba Thein Tin 19
- Japanese Revolutionary Left Grows Rapidly in Struggle 24
- Communist League — Marxist-Leninist Founded in Sweden 26
- Mao Tse-tung's Thought Lights the Whole World** 27
- Johnson's "Brinkmanship" Is Doomed to Failure — *Renmin Ribao* Commentator 29
- And Mayflies Lightly Plot to Topple the Giant Tree — *Renmin Ribao* Commentator 30
- Renegade Tito's Dirty Mission — *Renmin Ribao* Commentator 31
- Soviet Union Under Revisionist Rule: Capitalist Restoration in Agriculture 32

- ROUND THE WORLD** 35
- THE WEEK** 37

# LOOMS

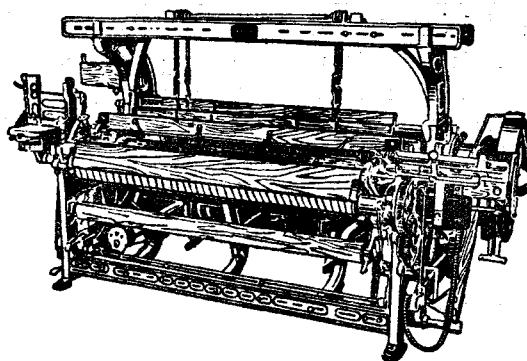
## Multi-shuttle Box Cotton Loom



Model 1511S is specially designed for weaving cloth with four colour lateral stripes or checks and other simple patterns

It has card controlled shuttle box motion, box changing safety device, shuttle positioning and picker retracting device and let-off and take-up stop motion.

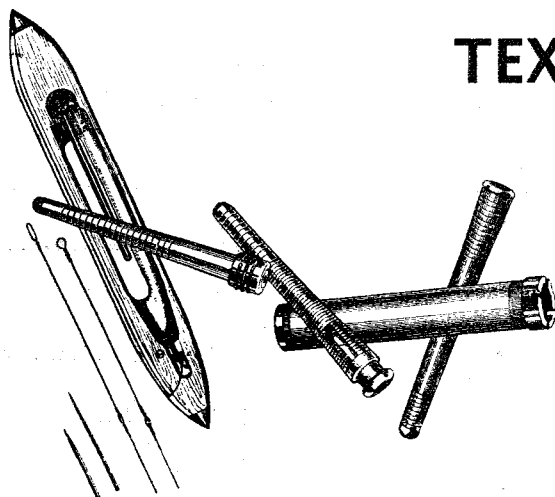
## Shuttle Changing Automatic Loom



Model 1515 is sturdily and solidly built to reduce vibration

Its simplified construction makes it easy to operate

This machine can be equipped with various kinds of twill tappets or a 16-shaft dobby to make a wide range of weaves



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107