

# PEKING REVIEW

39

September 22, 1967

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**Bring About the Revolutionary Great  
Alliance in the High Tide of  
Revolutionary Mass Criticism**

*Hongqi editorial.*

**The Bourgeois Reactionary Line  
Means, in Essence, Taking  
The Capitalist Road**

*Indian Reactionaries Have Miscalculated Again*

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# QUOTATIONS FROM CHAIRMAN MAO TSE-TUNG

The unification of our country, the unity of our people and the unity of our various nationalities — these are the basic guarantees of the sure triumph of our cause.

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

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Only if we draw a clear line between reactionaries and revolutionaries, expose the intrigues and plots of the reactionaries, arouse the vigilance and attention of the revolutionary ranks, heighten our will to fight and crush the enemy's arrogance can we isolate the reactionaries, vanquish them or supersede them.

*On the People's Democratic Dictatorship  
(June 1949)*

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Make trouble, fail, make trouble again, fail again . . . till their doom; that is the logic of the imperialists and all reactionaries the world over in dealing with the people's cause, and they will never go against this logic. This is a Marxist law.

*Cast Away Illusions, Prepare for Struggle  
(August 1949)*



Chairman Mao Tse-tung

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



# Bring About the Revolutionary Great Alliance in the High Tide of Revolutionary Mass Criticism

**P**UBLICATION of the important article "Comments on Tao Chu's Two Books" by Comrade Yao Wen-yuan served as a bombshell to shatter the handful of top Party persons in authority taking the capitalist road headed by China's Khrushchov. This proclamation against the enemy put forth with such force and sweep has caused the revolutionary campaign of mass criticism to develop in depth throughout China.

Revolutionary mass criticism is part of Chairman Mao's great strategic plan. It is a driving force for achieving the revolutionary great alliance and the revolutionary "three-in-one" combination and for making a success of the fulfilment of the tasks of struggle-criticism-transformation in all units. It is an important step towards carrying the great proletarian cultural revolution through to the end.

The situation of the great proletarian cultural revolution is excellent — better than ever before. The most important task at present is to develop in depth the revolutionary campaign of mass criticism and push ahead with the tasks of struggle-criticism-transformation in all units, and the crucial question is to bring about the revolutionary great alliance.

The revolutionary great alliance represents the fundamental interests of the proletariat and is a fundamental principle of Marxism-Leninism, Mao Tse-tung's thought.

As early as a century ago, when the proletariat first stepped into the political arena, Marx and Engels in the *Communist Manifesto* issued the great call: "**Workers of the world, unite!**"

Our great leader Chairman Mao has held high the banner of revolutionary great alliance from the very first day of his leadership of the Chinese revolution and has greatly enriched and developed this fundamental concept of Marxism both in theory and in practice.

Chairman Mao teaches us: "**It is only through the unity of the Communist Party that the unity of the whole class and the whole nation can be achieved, and it is only through the unity of the whole class and the whole nation that the enemy can be defeated and the national and democratic revolution accomplished.**" This was true of the democratic revolution; it is also true of the socialist revolution and of the present great proletarian cultural revolution.

In his recent instructions Chairman Mao has said: **There is no fundamental clash of interests within the**

**working class. Under the dictatorship of the proletariat, there is no reason whatsoever for the working class to split into two big irreconcilable organizations.**

The working class and all proletarian revolutionaries have common enemies and common revolutionary objectives. Under the dictatorship of the proletariat, the handful of Party people in authority taking the capitalist road headed by China's Khrushchov is the most ferocious and dangerous enemy of the working class, the worst disease in our very vitals. We can thoroughly overthrow them only when we unite, concentrate our fire on the target, carry out the revolutionary mass criticism well and make a success of the struggle-criticism-transformation in all places and units.

Unity is strength. The working class has every reason to unite under the great banner of Mao Tse-tung's thought and bring about the revolutionary great alliance in the high tide of revolutionary mass criticism.

Why is it that in some places at present the working class is split into two groups and an alliance has not yet been effected? There are three main reasons.

The handful of Party people in authority taking the capitalist road fear the revolutionary great alliance most of all. They will become isolated and will be finished once the working class is united. To evade the criticism, repudiation and struggle of the revolutionary masses, sabotage the work of taking firm hold of the revolution and promoting production, and sabotage the great proletarian cultural revolution, they engage in vicious schemes to create splits within the ranks of the working class.

The handful of landlords, rich peasants, counter-revolutionaries, bad elements and Rightists are not reconciled to their doom. They will always resort to all kinds of vile tricks to undermine the revolutionary great alliance in a vain attempt to arrive at their criminal object of subverting the dictatorship of the proletariat.

The working class is the most revolutionary class. Yet it, too, may be influenced by bourgeois and petty-bourgeois ideas; the corrosive effects of anarchism, sectarianism, the small group mentality, and the trend of "doubting everything," as well as other bourgeois and petty-bourgeois ideological trends in society, which emerge in Right or extremely "Left" forms, give rise to the phenomenon of petty-bourgeois sectarianism taking the place of proletarian Party spirit within the ranks of the working class, and this is an obstacle to the revolutionary great alliance.

Traced to its source, the split into two groups within the ranks of the working class is an evil outcome of the bourgeois reactionary line carried out by China's Khrushchov.

Only after these impediments are removed will it be possible to realize the revolutionary great alliance.

It is worth noticing that at the present time a handful of counter-revolutionaries are putting on an extremely "Left" front and, making use of the petty-bourgeois ideas in our ranks, are vainly conspiring to undermine and split the leadership of the proletarian headquarters headed by Chairman Mao, and to undermine and split the great Chinese People's Liberation Army — the mainstay of the dictatorship of the proletariat. The organizers and manipulators of the so-called "May 16" group are one such conspiratorial, counter-revolutionary clique. This counter-revolutionary clique must be thoroughly exposed and smashed.

Members of the working class should be revolutionaries imbued with Mao Tse-tung's thought; they should strengthen proletarian Party spirit and forge an alliance based on Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line.

Chairman Mao teaches us: **The proletariat must emancipate not only itself but mankind as a whole.**

**Without emancipating mankind as a whole the proletariat cannot achieve its own final emancipation.**

Members of the working class should have this kind of breadth of vision, this insight and largeness of mind; they should be good at uniting with the great majority, especially with those who have disagreed with them, and even with those who have formerly opposed them and have since been proved in practice to be wrong, and form a powerful and great revolutionary army.

It is an objective reality that there are different levels of political consciousness within the ranks of the working class. This is a kind of contradiction which it is fully possible to solve in accordance with Chairman Mao's principle of **unity — criticism and self-criticism — unity.**

The present rising tide of revolutionary mass criticism will inevitably promote the revolutionary great alliance, and the revolutionary great alliance will inevitably cause the revolutionary campaign of mass criticism to grow in depth and create favourable conditions for accomplishing the tasks of struggle-criticism-transformation in all areas and departments.

*(Excerpts from "Hongqi" editorial, No. 14.)*

## The Bourgeois Reactionary Line Means, in Essence, Taking the Capitalist Road

**T**HERE has been a prolonged and acute struggle within the Chinese Communist Party between the proletarian revolutionary line represented by Chairman Mao and the bourgeois reactionary line represented by China's Khrushchov.

In essence, this struggle has been over the road China should take — the socialist or capitalist road — and it has always centred on the question of state power. In essence, the proletarian revolutionary line means taking the socialist road whereas the bourgeois reactionary line means taking the capitalist road.

Chairman Mao has said: **"Either the East Wind prevails over the West Wind, or the West Wind prevails over the East Wind; there is no room for compromise on the question of the two lines."**

The struggle between the two lines expresses itself in a concentrated way in the attitude taken towards the masses.

The proletarian revolutionary line means trusting the masses, relying on them and respecting their initiative. Chairman Mao says: **"The people, and the people alone, are the motive force in the making of world history."** He also says: **"We have always maintained that the revolution must rely on the masses of the people."** The mass viewpoint is a fundamental Marxist

viewpoint. The attitude taken towards the masses is a touchstone for distinguishing genuine Marxists from sham, and it marks the basic difference between historical materialism and historical idealism.

Taking the reactionary bourgeois stand, China's Khrushchov trusts and relies only on the bourgeoisie. He regards the masses and cadres as submissive simpletons relying on someone's "benevolence," and considers himself their saviour. Like all members of reactionary classes in history, he looks on the masses as "mob," "dregs" and "counters" for gambling purposes. During the great cultural revolution, his counter-revolutionary stand of extreme hostility towards the masses has been fully exposed.

As early as in the War of Resistance Against Japan, he abased himself eulogizing Chiang Kai-shek, the common enemy of the people, calling him the "banner of the revolution," and he treated the words of the big warlord Yen Hsi-shan as imperial decrees. In his opinion, China could not exist without such "big shots."

After the founding of New China, shamelessly prostrating himself before the "capitalist gentlemen" and begging them to continue to exploit the people, he said: "If you exploit me, I shall be able to feed myself, and my wife and children will be able to live. If you do



not exploit me and do not let me work, that will be terrible."

In his eyes, history is not created by the revolutionary people in their hundreds of millions but by one or two tyrants riding on the backs of the people. In his eyes, it is not the workers who feed the capitalists but the other way round!

With such an attitude towards the masses, China's Khrushchov has turned history upside down. This is because he represents the backward, decadent reactionaries who are doomed. His reactionary class stand determines that his outlook be idealist and metaphysical.

Starting from this reactionary stand, China's Khrushchov is bound to oppose mass movements and suppress them. In the great cultural revolution, he cursed the revolutionary mass movement as a movement of "bad people making trouble," as "organized and planned conspiratorial activity," "a disturbance," a movement of riffraff by "little rascals" and "little counter-revolutionaries." Chairman Mao's big-character poster "Bombard the Headquarters" hit the nail on the head and exposed the reactionary nature of this man: **"Adopting the reactionary stand of the bourgeoisie, they have enforced a bourgeois dictatorship and struck down the surging movement of the great cultural revolution of the proletariat. They have stood facts on their head and juggled black and white, encircled and suppressed revolutionaries, stifled opinions differing from their own, imposed a white terror, and felt very pleased with themselves. They have puffed up the arrogance of the bourgeoisie and deflated the morale of the proletariat. How poisonous!"**

One's attitude towards mass movements is an important question of political principle. As Comrade Lin Piao said: "The revolutionary mass movement is naturally rational. Even though there are individual sections and persons among the masses who have 'Left' or Right deviations, the mainstream of the mass movement always conforms to the development of society and is always rational." More than 40 years ago, Chairman Mao hailed the upsurge of the peasant movement with the greatest enthusiasm. When the peasants rose in rebellion he said, **"It's fine,"** and denounced the counter-revolutionary slander which described the peasants' revolutionary movement as a "movement of riffraff." In the great proletarian cultural revolution, Chairman Mao himself approved the publication of China's first Marxist-Leninist big-character poster, supported the Red Guard movement at its birth and backed the struggle for the seizure of power during the "January revolution." Thus, Chairman Mao shows boundless faith in the masses, relies on them and respects their revolutionary initiative. He summed up and improved things created by the masses at the right time, thus promoting the development of the whole movement. Chairman Mao is a great proletarian revolutionary who is truly at one with the people. He is the great helmsman of China's revolution and of the world revolution!

To oppose the revolutionary mass movement is to oppose revolution. Lenin said: **"Revolution without**

**'revolutionary mass struggle' is impossible. There have never been such revolutions."** The bourgeoisie can never create a genuine mass movement, nor is it willing to. Every time the masses rise up, deviate from the course fixed by the bourgeoisie and touch their class interests, they retreat in haste and turn around to suppress the masses. At times, China's Khrushchov, too, prattled about the mass movement. But when the masses really rose, he became rattled and reprimanded them, calling them "mobs," and seized "Rightists" and "counter-revolutionaries" everywhere. He did precisely what Chiang Kai-shek had done. Chiang Kai-shek daily talked about "rousing the people," but when the people did rise up, he turned on them and frantically suppressed them. China's Khrushchov hung out a signboard of revolution but took the same counter-revolutionary actions as Chiang Kai-shek.

To oppose mass movements is to oppose socialism. Chairman Mao has said that **in socialist revolution and socialist construction it is necessary to adhere to the mass line, mobilize the masses boldly and go in for the mass movement in a big way.** Socialism is an unprecedentedly magnificent revolutionary cause; it is absolutely inconceivable without a broad, deep mass movement.

In the course of the great proletarian cultural revolution, the activities of China's Khrushchov in connection with the suppression of the mass movement and the restoration of capitalism reached their peak. He not only suppressed the revolutionary mass movement but also laid down the bourgeois reactionary line on the question of cadres which can be summed up as: hit hard at many in order to protect a handful. This was aimed at attacking the great majority of cadres, who want to make revolution, and even at turning the spearhead of attack against the proletarian headquarters.

Since he was made to step aside, he has continued, through his henchmen whom he had planted in different places, to conduct a trial of strength, in various forms, with the proletariat.

This is a continuation of the struggle between the two lines, a continuation of the struggle over which road to take—the socialist or the capitalist road. It seems that this struggle will go on for a considerable time to come.

The bourgeois reactionary line carried out by China's Khrushchov during the cultural revolution is only a continuation of the bourgeois reactionary line he has long carried out. He tried to impose this reactionary line during the cultural revolution precisely in order to cover up the capitalist road he had adhered to for ten, twenty years.

As far back as the time of the democratic revolution he followed close on Chen Tu-hsiu's heels, cursing the workers' movement as "excessive," "a 'Left' deviation which goes beyond any reasoning." Gnashing his teeth, he suggested that the Northern warlords' regime should "fire several of the workers' leaders who are too rash." His aim was to oppose the proletariat's armed seizure of power.

In the course of the socialist revolution he ordered "the workers not to make trouble," asked the peasants to "make some efforts to oppose rashness" and warned the Party "not to become dizzy with success." His aim was to develop capitalism and to establish the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie.

After the basic completion of the socialist transformation of the ownership of the means of production, he viciously attacked the great leap forward as "a fit of frenzy" and slandered the mass movement saying that it had been "brought about in a rush," and that it was "in fact very empty."

In the "four clean-ups" movement (the socialist education movement) he declared, "the masses are like wild horses and will cause trouble when mobilized." His aim, again, was to restore capitalism.

He acted in this way consistently for forty years. As soon as a mass movement arose he made desperate efforts to suppress it.

Those who suppress mass movements come to no good end. The Northern warlords suppressed the mass movement and so did Chiang Kai-shek. In the end they were all overwhelmed by the angry waves of the mass movement. The fate of China's Khrushchov will be no better.

The struggle between two lines is a protracted one. It existed in the past, exists in the present and will continue to exist in the future.

We should not think that because China's Khrushchov has been unhorsed his bourgeois reactionary line will be eradicated. As Lenin said: **"Its corpse cannot be nailed up in a coffin and lowered into the grave. It disintegrates in our midst; the corpse rots and infects us."** The seizure of power is far from success if we stop

at seizing power organizationally. Only by seizing power ideologically can we consolidate the power we have seized organizationally. In order to eliminate the poisonous influence of the bourgeois reactionary line, we must hold aloft the great red banner of Mao Tse-tung's thought, thoroughly repudiate and discredit the reactionary line, politically, ideologically and theoretically, and ensure that Mao Tse-tung's thought occupies all positions.

Still less should we think that after we have liquidated the bourgeois reactionary line represented by China's Khrushchov no such line will emerge anew. The struggle between the two classes and the two roads will exist as long as the bourgeoisie exists, and therein lies the danger of the emergence of new bourgeois reactionary lines. We must be soberly aware of this.

Therefore, after proletarian revolutionaries have taken power into their own hands they face two possible alternatives. One is to hold high the great red banner of Mao Tse-tung's thought, constantly enhance their own political consciousness, rely on the masses, persevere in the mass line and Chairman Mao's revolutionary line, and consolidate and strengthen the dictatorship of the proletariat. The other is to become conceited and complacent over their victories, reject or even suppress views opposed to their own, become divorced from the masses and fall victim to the sugar-coated bullets of the bourgeoisie. If this happens they will unconsciously slide over to the side of the bourgeois reactionary line and may become new representatives of the bourgeoisie. We should always bear in mind Chairman Mao's teaching: **"We must be very much on the alert and never lose vigilance."**

*(By the editorial departments of the "Wenhui Bao," the "Jiefang Ribao" and the "Life of the Party Branch," Aug. 27.)*

## GREAT CULTURAL REVOLUTION IN PROGRESS

### Proletarian Revolutionaries Criticize and Repudiate Tao Chu

SINCE "Comments on Tao Chu's Two Books," the important article by Yao Wen-yuan, appeared in *Renmin Ribao* on September 8, (see *Peking Review*, No. 38) exposure and criticism of Tao Chu, the counter-revolutionary double-dealer, has been in full spate among proletarian revolutionaries, young Red Guards and revolutionary masses throughout the country.

Meetings, forums and demonstrations were held in Kweichow in the southwest, Heilungkiang and Kirin

in the northeast, Ningsia and Sinkiang in the northwest, and Shantung and Chekiang in east China. The revolutionary masses noted that this criticism and repudiation of Tao Chu, that faithful follower of China's Khrushchov, was an important part of the strategic plan to smash the bourgeois headquarters in China. They declared their determination to defend the proletarian headquarters headed by Chairman Mao, support the People's Liberation Army, pillar of the proletarian dictatorship, hold firmly to the general orientation of the struggle, and advance in close accord with Chairman Mao's strategic plan.

Proletarian revolutionaries in Peking, Shanghai, Kwangchow and other major cities studied and discussed Yao Wen-yuan's article and noted the immense



significance of its publication. Some hailed it as a revolutionary call to battle. Young Red Guards of Shanghai pledged that they would creatively study and apply Chairman Mao's writings still better, constantly raise the level of revolutionary mass criticism, and utterly repudiate the handful of top Party persons in authority taking the capitalist road. At a mass rally of more than 20,000 of the revolutionary people in the Kwangchow area, Tao Chu was angrily denounced for his crimes in Kwangtung.

In the central-south, where Tao Chu had usurped the leadership for many years, civilians and army men indignantly exposed and criticized that counter-revolutionary double-dealer and his henchmen like Wang Jen-chung for their towering crimes in carrying out faithfully the bourgeois reactionary line represented by China's Khrushchov and scheming to restore capitalism. Big-character poster wall-newspapers have appeared in huge numbers in Wuhan. In meetings and forums held in factories, rural people's communes and army units, the proletarian revolutionaries have brought to light a mass of facts to expose Tao Chu, Wang Jen-chung and their like who colluded with one another and tried in vain to turn the central-south into an important base for restoring capitalism. Citing their own personal experience, workers at a diesel engine plant denounced Tao Chu's reactionary theory that "the history of China in the last century or so is a history of receiving blows, and the reason is that it had no industry." Fitter Wu Hsu-pin said: "I'll never forget how we workers were oppressed and bullied in the old society. My father was nearly beaten to death by the Japanese aggressors. We know that we suffered not because China had no industry but because power was in the hands of the Japanese aggressors, Chiang Kai-shek and other traitors." Mao Chin-lou, another fitter, declared: "We workers will have no prospects no matter how big the factory grows if we don't overthrow the handful of people in authority taking the capitalist road here and establish the absolute authority of Mao Tse-tung's thought."

Proletarian revolutionaries in Honan, too, exposed Tao Chu's crimes in that province. They recalled that in 1962, when the imperialists, the revisionists and the reactionaries of various countries were staging a big anti-China chorus and when China's Khrushchov was stirring up the evil wind of a capitalist restoration, Tao Chu went to Honan with a sinister programme which called for the fixing of output quotas based on the peasant household in the mountain areas, "lending" collectively owned land to peasants, and planting trees chiefly by the efforts of individual households. His aim, they pointed out, was to pull the socialist economy back on to the capitalist road.

Yao Wen-yuan's article was an inspiration to commanders and fighters of the three services of the People's Liberation Army. There was great excitement around the barracks when it was broadcast. The proletarian revolutionaries of the Headquarters of the General Staff pledged to carry on revolutionary mass

criticism with still greater political enthusiasm and win new merit in that campaign. Revolutionaries in the leading organs of the Air Force noted that the deepening of the class struggle forced the class enemy to change their tactics in the struggle from time to time and that we must pay the closest attention to acting in accordance with the unified strategic plan of Chairman Mao and the Party's Central Committee, lest our fighting front be confused by people of Tao Chu type.

Many papers published editorials on this occasion. *Renmin Ribao's* leader said: "In his article 'Comments on Tao Chu's Two Books' Comrade Yao Wen-yuan, politically, ideologically and theoretically, has relentlessly exposed and penetratingly criticized the handful of top Party persons in authority, headed by China's Khrushchov, taking the capitalist road." (For full text see *Peking Review*, No. 38, p. 18.) *Wenhui Bao's* editorial "Down With Careerists of Khrushchov Type" said that the publication of Yao Wen-yuan's article dealt another mortal blow to the handful of top Party persons in authority taking the capitalist road. It urged proletarian revolutionaries to be good at spotting careerists and conspirators of the Khrushchov type, people like Tao Chu. Such careerists, it said, would invariably use all sorts of tricks to attain their criminal goal of usurping the leadership in the Party, the government and the army. With the changing situation in the class struggle, they would alternate their counter-revolutionary dual tactics, launching frantic attacks against Chairman Mao's revolutionary line now from the Right, now from the "Left." The *Jiefang Ribao* leader entitled "Down With Tao Chu Who Wants to 'Overthrow All'" pointed out: The anarchist trend of thought of "overthrow all and doubt all" widely spread by Tao Chu was a part of his tactics to cover up his ultra-Right reactionary nature by opposing the revolution from the ultra "Left."

## Peking Municipal Revolutionary Committee's Decision To Win New Victories

ON September 1, 1967, the Peking Municipal Revolutionary Committee adopted a decision entitled "Hold Aloft the Great Red Banner of Mao Tse-tung's Thought to Win New Victories in the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution."

The decision first analyses the unprecedentedly excellent revolutionary situation now prevailing in Peking.

It says: The broad masses of the revolutionary people are criticizing and condemning China's Khrushchov and his agent, the counter-revolutionary revisionist clique of the old Peking Municipal Committee of the Chinese Communist Party headed by Peng Chen. Their scheme to restore capitalism has been smashed. Holding high the great red banner of Mao Tse-tung's thought, the revolutionary masses throughout Peking

are involved in a new upsurge of revolutionary mass criticism and repudiation. The proletarian revolutionaries have developed from political superiority to organizational superiority. They have clenched leadership in many departments and organizations. The great alliance of the proletarian revolutionaries is being further consolidated. The revolutionary "three-in-one combination" has greatly developed. In the Peking area, the People's Liberation Army, resolutely implementing Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line, has made tremendous efforts and scored remarkable achievements in the work of supporting the masses of the Left, in assisting industrial and agricultural production, in exercising military control and giving military and political training. The broad revolutionary masses throughout Peking have firmly responded to Chairman Mao's great call to grasp revolution and promote production vigorously. The situation in industrial and agricultural production is excellent.

It is particularly noteworthy that alongside the intensive development of the great proletarian cultural revolution, there has been the widespread dissemination of Mao Tse-tung's thought which is being increasingly mastered by more and more people.

The decision points out that our main task at present is: to hold high the great red banner of Mao Tse-tung's thought, concentrate all fire of criticism upon the targets — the handful of top Party persons in authority taking the capitalist road — and criticize and repudiate them politically, ideologically and theoretically, accomplish the tasks of struggle-criticism-transformation in the various organizations; vigorously foster the absolute authority of Mao Tse-tung's thought in the course of the revolutionary campaign of mass criticism and repudiation, further develop and consolidate the revolutionary great alliance and the revolutionary "three-in-one combination," enhance the dictatorship of the proletariat and fulfil the various tasks of the great proletarian cultural revolution.

The decision then puts forward several specific tasks. They are: to carry out revolutionary mass criticism and repudiation thoroughly and deeply; further develop and consolidate the revolutionary great alliance; do good work in the struggle to seize power at the municipal district and county level; unfold the movement to support the army and cherish the people on a still larger scale; take firm hold of the revolution and promote production.

The decision also points out that all the revolutionary people must maintain keen revolutionary vigilance and strictly prevent the class enemies both at home and abroad from sowing seeds of discord among them and fishing in troubled waters. It is imperative to suppress resolutely the counter-revolutionary sabotage activities of the U.S.-Chiang special agents, Soviet revisionist special agents and landlords, rich peasants, counter-revolutionaries, bad elements and Rightists. It is necessary to rely on the masses and strengthen the dictatorship of the proletariat.

In its last section entitled "Hold High the Great Red Banner of Mao Tse-tung's Thought," the decision demands that the creative study and application of Chairman Mao's works be placed above all else and that Mao Tse-tung's thought be really put in command of everything. In the revolutionary mass criticism and repudiation, it is necessary to vigorously destroy bourgeois ideas and foster Mao Tse-tung's thought, energetically destroy the bourgeois reactionary line and promote Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line, and put Mao Tse-tung's thought in control of all positions. Use Mao Tse-tung's thought to destroy self-interest and promote devotion to the public interest, strengthen the proletarian revolutionary spirit, scientific approach and sense of organization and discipline, and bring about the revolutionization of people's ideology, says the decision. The revolutionary cadres, revolutionary intellectuals and students of universities, colleges and middle schools, the decision continues, must combine revolutionary mass criticism and repudiation with struggle-criticism-transformation in their respective units, really grasp Mao Tse-tung's thought, gradually establish the proletarian outlook; closely follow Chairman Mao's great strategic plan, and act according to Chairman Mao's instructions in the full sense of the term. The decision demands that revolutionary committees of all levels, and all revolutionary mass organizations, in the course of the struggle, push the mass movement for the creative study and application of Chairman Mao's works forward to a new stage and bring about a new upsurge.

## Lu Jung-ken — Young Revolutionary Fighter Who Exposed and Denounced Tao Chu

COMRADE Yao Wen-yuan's article "Comments on Tao Chu's Two Books" published recently in *Renmin Ribao* was a bombshell of criticism against Tao Chu, the faithful follower of China's Khrushchov. This was followed in the same paper by another article "Bombard Tao Chu," a posthumous work by Comrade Lu Jung-ken, a young Red Guard fighter.

In this mighty, soul-stirring proletarian cultural revolution, great numbers of revolutionary young people, previously unknown, have entered the political arena and shown their mettle. They not only dare to think, to speak out, to breakthrough, to make revolution and to rebel, but study well and are able thinkers and resourceful fighters. In the practice of the great cultural revolution, they have further mastered the invincible thought of Mao Tse-tung. By properly integrating their dauntless revolutionary rebel spirit with a strictly scientific approach and wielding the weapon of Mao Tse-tung's thought, they have been able to pierce the vitals of an evil, cunning enemy. Comrade Lu Jung-ken

was one among millions of such staunch and courageous young Red Guard fighters.

Like other young revolutionary fighters resolved to defend to the death Chairman Mao, the proletarian headquarters headed by him and his proletarian revolutionary line, Lu Jung-ken, a second-year student of a Shanghai senior middle school, time and again exposed Tao Chu's counter-revolutionary words and deeds.

As early as May last year, he had discovered how, in many of his articles, Tao Chu wantonly attacked Chairman Mao, the general line for building socialism, the great leap forward and the people's commune. With Mao Tse-tung's thought as his weapon, he then gave himself over to reading and deeply analysing Tao Chu's *Ideals, Integrity and Spiritual Life*, and *Thinking, Feeling and Literary Talent* and other works. He discovered from a host of materials that Tao Chu was an out-and-out counter-revolutionary double-dealer who waved "red flags" to oppose the red flag. He plied his pen like a sword and wrote a 20,000-word big-character poster. This made him the victim of a counter-attack and persecution. But he never lost heart or wavered. On the contrary, he declared: "I will never take my rest until Tao Chu is overthrown!" And he continued to write critical articles exposing Tao Chu's counter-revolutionary features.

In August last year, the review in Peking of one million young Red Guard fighters and others of the revolutionary masses by our great leader Chairman Mao and our deputy supreme commander Lin Piao gave Lu Jung-ken immense encouragement. Carrying his four volumes of Chairman Mao's works and armed with enormous revolutionary enthusiasm to defend Chairman Mao to the death, he overcame many obstacles to reach Peking on October 12 last year. Immediately he plunged into the struggle. Day in, day out he wrote and posted up big-character posters exposing Tao Chu's crimes.

Last November he put up the result of a month's effort—a 10,000-word big-character poster under the title of "Bombard Tao Chu With Heavy Artillery Fire." It stirred all Peking. Tao Chu, in a fury, immediately organized a counter-attack.

This failed to shake young Lu's resolve. Inspired by Chairman Mao's words "**Be resolute, fear no sacrifice and surmount every difficulty to win victory,**" and despite the onset of illness, he produced a month later his second 10,000-word big-character poster under the title "A Second Shell Against Tao Chu." Tao Chu, the counter-revolutionary double-dealer that he is, was determined to destroy Lu Jung-ken and intensified his persecution.

Prolonged hard struggle had ruined Lu Jung-ken's health. On his way back to Shanghai in the first half of December, he fell ill. Even when hospitalized,

he did not for a moment cease the struggle against the handful of top Party persons in authority taking the capitalist road. He carried on that struggle to the day of his death. In spite of all medical attention he died on February 12 this year.

In his two long big-character posters, Lu Jung-ken cited a mass of indisputable facts to uncover and denounce Tao Chu for his heinous crimes over many years in opposing our great leader Chairman Mao, the Chinese Communist Party and the proletarian revolution and the dictatorship of the proletariat.

He sharply exposed Tao Chu's article "The Sun's Radiance" as conclusive evidence of his frenzied attack on Chairman Mao, the Party and socialism and as the biggest poisonous weed in his *Ideals, Integrity and Spiritual Life*. This article openly called on people throughout the country to discuss in the press the "mistakes" of Chairman Mao and the Chinese Communist Party. Vehemently denouncing Tao Chu, Lu Jung-ken said that the Chinese Communist Party and socialism enjoyed the support of the 650 million Chinese people. Tao Chu's clamour for mass discussion of the "mistakes" of Chairman Mao and the Chinese Communist Party only showed how opposed he was to Chairman Mao, the Chinese Communist Party, socialism and Mao Tse-tung's thought. Could this be permitted by the masses? Absolutely not!

Citing many facts, he showed how Tao Chu sang the same tune as the anti-Party and anti-socialist Rightists, how he preached that "a layman is not in a position to lead a specialist in his own field," how he spread the theory of "the dying out of class struggle" and how he hoisted the tattered banner of bourgeois "freedom, equality and fraternity" and pontificated that "a scholar may be slaughtered but not insulted."

Comrade Lu Jung-ken exposed how, in collaboration with Chou Yang and Co. on the literary and art front, Tao Chu had launched wild attacks against the Party and socialism and vigorously pushed the revisionist line in art and literature. He opposed the principle that literature and art should serve proletarian politics, and that writers should integrate themselves with the workers and peasants and do creative work for the workers, peasants and soldiers. He vigorously advocated bourgeois liberalism and opposed the use of Mao Tse-tung's thought as a weapon in literary and art criticism. He distorted our criticism and repudiation of reactionary bourgeois academic "authorities."

He further exposed the fact that Tao Chu energetically pushed through the revisionist line in education, tried by every conceivable means to corrupt the young people by indoctrinating them with individualism. He showed how Tao Chu advised young people to confine themselves to a small circle of interests, and not concern themselves with the interest of the state and the collective but take the road of seeking fame, becoming big "specialists" and successors of the bourgeoisie.

With this mass of facts, he ripped the mask from Tao Chu. Tao Chu opposes the Party, socialism and Mao Tse-tung's thought. Throw him down!

It is an inexorable historical dialectic that the revolutionary and brave "nobody" must defeat the reactionary and decadent "big shot." Tao Chu, this counter-revolutionary double-dealer who styled himself "basically a proletarian revolutionary" and flourished for a time, is now being thrown into the dust-bin of history

together with the reactionary bourgeois line he stubbornly pursued.

He has left us, but Comrade Lu Jung-ken's proletarian revolutionary spirit and the brilliant contribution he has made to the defence of the proletarian revolutionary line in the course of the great cultural revolution will live for ever in the hearts of our young Red Guard fighters and all revolutionaries.

## Indian Reactionaries Have Miscalculated Again

INDIAN aggressor troops openly crossed the China-Sikkim border at Natu La on September 11 and launched a fierce attack on the Chinese frontier guards. These aggressor troops continued to pour heavy artillery fire on Chinese territory up till the 13th. This is a grave armed provocation against China and a long-premeditated act of military adventurism by the Indian reactionaries. The Chinese people are paying close attention to developments in the situation.

The propaganda machine of the Indian reactionary authorities claimed that it was "no more than a stray incident." By telling the public such lies, the Indian reactionaries are trying to evade their criminal responsibility. But how can lies change the facts?

The Indian Government has long massed large numbers of troops on the China-Sikkim border. Since August, Indian troops have on many occasions intruded into Chinese border areas in defiance of repeated Chinese warnings. They unleashed the September 11 heavy armed attack, opening fire with rifles and artillery on the Chinese frontier guards. The firing continued for several days. After the Chinese Government had lodged a protest with and warned the Indian Government, the Indian troops, instead of ceasing the armed provocation, intensified their artillery bombardment of the Chinese frontier guards. Could this be a "stray incident"? Clearly it was a premeditated military attack.

The provocations and aggression by the Indian reactionaries are instigated by the U.S. imperialists and Soviet revisionists. It is common knowledge that they provided the arms and equipment for the Indian aggressor troops. Of late, they have been urging their lackeys to carry out frantic anti-China activities. The Indian reactionaries are one group of their anti-China hatchet-men. Immediately after the Indian reactionaries had launched their provocations and aggression, the U.S. imperialists and Soviet revisionists turned on their propaganda machines to defend the Indian aggressors and attack China for allegedly aggravating "border tension." Does not this clearly show on whose orders the Indian reactionaries have acted?

It is the usual tactics of the Indian reactionaries to extricate themselves from difficulties at home and abroad by creating incidents on the Sino-Indian border and by mounting anti-China campaigns. The current large-scale military provocations have also been staged to meet their needs in maintaining their reactionary rule.

At present, the reactionary Indian Government is confronted by serious political and economic crises. Famine spreading throughout the country has become more serious. Anti-hunger and anti-tyranny struggles have arisen in successive waves. In particular, the armed struggle of the peasants which started in Naxalbari has shaken the reactionary rule of the big landlords and big bourgeoisie. By unleashing armed aggression against China, the Indian reactionaries are attempting to divert the attention of the people at home and to facilitate their suppression of the peasants' armed struggle.

By doing this, the reactionary Indian Government is also aiming at winning more rewards from the U.S. imperialists and Soviet revisionists. Indian Deputy Prime Minister and Finance Minister M. Desai is now in the United States. Indian Defence Minister Swaran Singh will be going to Moscow to beg for aid. The large-scale military provocations launched by the reactionary Indian Government at this juncture are for the purpose of getting more dollars and rubles from its masters.

In creating this armed provocation on the China-Sikkim border, the Indian reactionaries evidently have another ulterior motive. They want to use it to spread rumours about China being a "threat" to Sikkim, undermine the friendly relations between the peoples of the two countries, strengthen Indian control over Sikkim and keep it permanently as an Indian protectorate.

Our great leader Chairman Mao Tse-tung has said: "Our enemies are the backward and decadent reactionaries. They are doomed to extinction. They are

ignorant of the laws of the objective world. Their methods of thinking are subjective and metaphysical and therefore their judgment is always wrong."

This is exactly the case with the Indian reactionaries. Their judgment of the situation has always been wrong. In 1962, they recklessly launched a massive armed attack against China and ended up by getting a good bashing. But they seem to have completely forgotten the trouncing they took.

We must sternly warn the Indian reactionaries: You have miscalculated again. Don't think you can gain anything by military provocations against China. Debts must be repaid. Our consistent principle is: **"We will not attack unless we are attacked; if we are attacked, we will certainly counter-attack."** If you persist in fighting, you will undoubtedly get another taste of the Chinese people's iron fist.

(*"Renmin Ribao" Commentator, September 14.*)

## Indian Armed Provocations Against China Cannot Be Denied

**T**HE Indian aggressor troops entrenched along the Sino-Sikkim border, who had wantonly shelled Natu La, Chumbi-tan and Kachueh Monastery on the Chinese side, temporarily stopped shelling on September 14 after heroic Chinese People's Liberation Army frontier guards in Tibet struck back powerfully in self-defence. However, Indian commanding officers again ordered their soldiers to open rifle and tommy gun fire at the Chinese side around 8 p.m. that day. The next afternoon, two high-ranking Indian officers visited the advanced positions of the Indian troops at Natu La. The Chinese People's Liberation Army is maintaining sharp vigilance.

### Long-Premeditated Adventures

The Indian reactionaries' armed provocations were long-premeditated adventures at the dictate of U.S. imperialism and Soviet revisionism.

Indian military provocations on the China-Sikkim boundary have become ever more frequent since early August. On August 16, a senior Indian officer went to Natu La to reconnoitre the positions of the Chinese frontier guards. On August 17, 18, 20, 21 and September 6, the Indian aggressor troops, ignoring repeated warnings by the Chinese side, truculently intruded into the Chinese border area and made deliberate provocations. They planted iron rods, installed barbed-wire entanglements and eventually this developed into the grave incident of September 7 in which more than 60 Indian troops intruded into Chinese territory and wounded two Chinese frontier guards.

Meanwhile, the Indian reactionaries have tried to prepare public opinion for their military adventure. In early August, Indian bourgeois papers began to run an endless assortment of reports and articles slandering China. They even alleged that China was likely to "embark on a new military adventure" against India.

More vicious still was the rumour spread by the then Indian External Affairs Minister Chagla on August 29 that India would enter into "peace talks" with China. The "peace talks" fraud resorted to by the Indian reactionaries at this juncture was obviously a smokescreen for their military adventure. Not long afterwards, on

September 11, they launched armed attacks on the China-Sikkim border.

### Evidence of Crime Undeniable

Having a guilty conscience, the Indian reactionaries have been spreading lies to cover up their crime of aggression. Indian Defence Minister Swaran Singh said that "aggressive acts commenced from the Chinese side" and that "Indian forces acted only in self-defence." But the fact that the Chinese frontier guards had handed over to the Indian side the bodies of Indian troops and arms left behind on Chinese territory gives the lie to the deceitful tricks of the Indian reactionaries (see photos on next page).

Chinese frontier guards, in accordance with a notification of the Chinese Government and out of the desire to safeguard the friendship between the Chinese and Indian peoples, on the afternoon of September 16 handed over to an Indian representative the bodies of 14 Indian aggressor troops together with their arms and ammunition. The hand-over procedure was conducted on the Chinese side of Natu La on the Sino-Sikkim border. At 14:10 hours (Peking time), Major K.V. Chankrag, the Indian representative, led 13 Indian personnel to the place designated by the Chinese side. The representative of the Chinese frontier guards handed over the 14 bodies, 24 rifles and sub-machine guns and ammunition to the Indian side. On receiving the bodies, arms and ammunition, K.V. Chankrag signed the list which stated in both Chinese and Hindi: "Dead bodies and military materiel left on Chinese territory by Indian troops when intruding into Chinese territory for military provocation on September 11, 1967." The Indian personnel left Chinese territory with the bodies, arms and ammunition at 15:10.

### Begging Alms From U.S. Imperialism and Soviet Revisionism

The Indian reactionaries launched armed attacks on China in order to beg more alms from their masters, the U.S. imperialists and the Soviet revisionists.

Before Indian Deputy Prime Minister and Finance Minister Morarji Desai arrived in the United States on



September 10, U.S. imperialist chieftain Johnson on September 1 ordered the shipment of one million tons of wheat to the Indian Government. On September 12, the day after the Indian armed attack across the China-Sikkim border, the United States immediately signed an agreement in New Delhi providing for the supply of the one million tons of wheat to India. The agreement also provides India with 70,000 tons of vegetable oil and 30,000 bales of cotton.

Even though Desai tried his utmost to deny that his visit was designed to beg for "aid" from the United States, he let the cat out of the bag by saying in an interview with newsmen on September 12 that "whatever material we have to get for fighting we should try to secure it." In order to curry favour with the Wall Street bosses and "secure" such "material," Desai came out with blatant anti-China upraors.

(Continued on p. 31.)



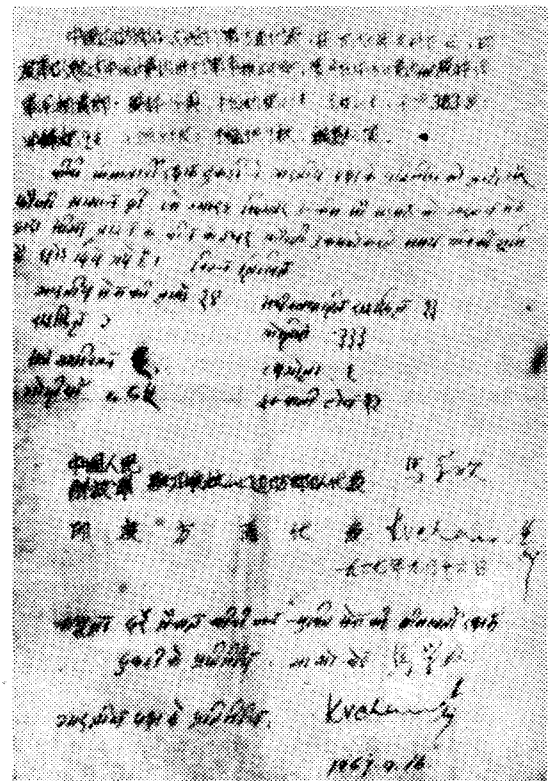
On the afternoon of September 16, flying a Red Cross flag as required, 13 Indian personnel led by Major K.V. Chankrag, who represents the Indian side, went to the place designated by the Chinese side to receive Indian arms and ammunition and bodies of Indian troops killed by Chinese frontier guards when they intruded into Chinese territory.



K.V. Chankrag signs the list (see photo-stat below) after receiving the bodies, arms and ammunition.



After receiving the 14 bodies and signing a list in acknowledgement, the Indian personnel carry the bodies away from China's territory.



The list of bodies of Indian troops and materiel handed over to the Indian side by the frontier guards of the Chinese People's Liberation Army in Tibet.



# The Indian Food Crisis and Armed Revolution

**T**HE food shortage in India, unchecked for years, has ballooned into staggering proportions recently. India is a big country with a large population and rich resources but starvation is spreading across the land. Why has the food shortage become so serious that millions have died and are dying of hunger? What is the way out for hungry India?

In the opinion of the reactionary ruling Congress Party, "Everything will depend on the monsoon and available foreign aid." That is to say, there is no way out except to rely on the handouts of the American overlords and the blessings of God Almighty.

The revisionists in the Indian Communist Party have come forward with "recommendations" for solving India's food problem. In high-sounding language, they call for "doing away with our dependence on the United States" and emphasize the need for a "fundamental agrarian reform" and so on and so forth. Who is supposed to take on this important job? Though beating about the bush, they in fact want the Indian people to rely on none other than the reactionary Congress regime, which represents the big landlords and the big bourgeoisie.

The Soviet revisionists have also chimed in with a "theory" that India's difficulties in agriculture lie in the method of utilizing the land and in the weakness of India's chemical industry, etc. They completely avoid the basic question of India's social system and talk only about methods of management and farming techniques, as if once these questions were out of the way India's food shortage, which results from the rule of the blood-sucking big landlords and capitalists, would automatically disappear.

The fact is India's serious food shortage is entirely due to the reactionary dark rule of the Congress government. At home, this government preserves intact the feudal system and boosts bureaucrat-capitalism, mercilessly exploiting and oppressing the Indian people. In foreign affairs, it hires itself out to and throws in its lot with U.S. imperialism and Soviet revisionism, following a policy of "letting the wolf into the sheepfold," selling out the national interests and bringing untold misery to the Indian people.

The teeming millions of India's toiling masses refuse to accept starvation as their fate. They have now risen to give battle, as witness the spring thunder from Naxalbari where the peasants have started armed struggle. Chairman Mao has said: "**Revolution plus production can solve the problem of feeding the population.**" The only way out for the hungry, suffering Indian people is to cast off by revolutionary means imperialism, Soviet revisionism, feudalism and bureaucrat-comprador capitalism, the mountains weighing down on their backs, and fight for a new India where the people are their own masters.

Following are four features: (1) Famine Stalks the Land; (2) The Crushing System of Exploitation; (3) Indian Revisionists Are Quacks; and (4) a "Renmin Ribao" commentary entitled "Experience Gained by the Indian Peasants at the Price of Blood." These articles demonstrate the truth that for the Indian people groaning under crushing exploitation and oppression revolutionary violence is the only way forward. The road of victory charted by Chairman Mao for the Chinese people is also the road to victory for the Indian people.

## Famine Stalks the Land

Indian Prime Minister Indira Gandhi had to admit on July 6 at a meeting of state chief ministers that the food situation in India was "extremely difficult." The food crisis, already a major symbol of India's growing economic stagnation, is regarded as a big issue leading

to the eruption of a political upheaval and the sharpening of the class struggle in the country.

It is estimated that in the agricultural year ending last June, the total grain output was only

76 million tons. Jagjivan Ram, the Minister of Food and Agriculture, stated that even if the total output reaches this figure, "it will still be 12 million tons short of the state requirement." This is a greatly minimized figure of the actual grain shortage. In the next few months, while the new crop is still in the blade, the old stock will be consumed. At the earliest, the new grain will come on the market in December. As the government's grain reserves are depleted, the solution of the food problem will have to depend entirely on imports.

**Diminishing Production.** Natural conditions are really very favourable for agricultural production in India. But the Congress government follows a reactionary domestic policy of protecting feudalism and a reactionary foreign policy of collaborating with U.S. imperialism and Soviet revisionism. As a result, agriculture has been seriously affected. For years India has suffered from a grain scarcity and since 1960 India's annual grain output has stagnated at about 80 million tons. It has dropped successively for three years after the Indian Government flagrantly launched that large-scale military aggression against China in 1962 and stepped up its armament expansion and war preparations. In the meantime, the amount of grain imported annually from other countries, mainly from the United States, increased every year, rising to over 10 million tons last year.

To alleviate the food crisis by importing grain is tantamount to drinking poison to quench one's thirst. The dumping of U.S. grain on the Indian market has further crippled India's grain production. In 1964, India was hit by a nationwide food crisis unprecedented in history. Indian newspapers disclosed in August 1965 that 300 million out of the 500 million population of India did not have enough food to eat.

According to an AFP report in December the same year, at least 10 million Indians invariably starve to death every year. Since the beginning of this year, the food situation has grown worse. The Indian weekly *Link* lamented: "The shadow of hunger is looming large all over the country from Kerala in the south to

Bihar in the north." More and more of the poor have to make do with tree bark and grass root. Death from starvation is a daily occurrence everywhere.

**Worst Famine of the Century.** The state government of Bihar was compelled to disclose in April this year that serious famine exists in one third of the state. At present, of the 50 million people in the state at least 40 million are starving. *The Times of India* reporting the situation in this area said: "The worst famine of the century has reduced millions to moving skeletons" and they "might not survive long."

The other 15 states of India fare no better. In West Bengal the grain rationing system of the so-called "non-Congress government" has collapsed. Out of a population of 38 million, at least 27 million people are starving. Of the 43 districts in Madhya Pradesh 38 districts are facing serious famine. In some regions in Uttar Pradesh grain shortage has all along been quite serious.

On the other hand, the Indian landlords, bourgeoisie and bureaucrats are indulging in gay life and debauchery and wallowing in luxury. Profiteers cashing in on the grain shortage are hoarding and speculating to amass fortunes.

Where there is oppression there is resistance. Living on the verge of starvation and death, the broad masses of the Indian people are rising to oppose the vicious rule of the reactionary Indian Government. Recently, incidents of seizure of government grain occurred in many places in India.

**Peasant Armed Struggle.** What is more encouraging is that the peasants in Naxalbari and other places in Darjeeling District, under the leadership of the revolutionaries in the Indian Communist Party, have started organized armed struggle and have set up Red areas. (See *Peking Review*, No. 29) They have overthrown local despots, distributed land, banned hoarding and speculation in grain, and repulsed the "mopping-up operations" by government troops and police.

## The Crushing System of Exploitation

**T**HIS revolutionary storm which broke over Naxalbari in India's Darjeeling District under the leadership of the proletariat sounded the clarion call for armed agrarian revolution, inspiring peasants in many other places to unfold the struggle for land seizures. It is pounding at the centuries-old savage feudal system of exploitation.

**Ruthless Exploitation of the Peasants.** As in old China, the fundamental problem of the Indian revolution is the peasant problem.

Soviet revisionist "experts," "scholars," publications and press, the renegade Dange clique and other Indian revisionists have misrepresented facts and rattled on endlessly that a "fundamental change" has taken place

in the Indian countryside since independence, that "agrarian reform" instituted by the Congress Party has "struck at and weakened feudalism," that the feudal system "no longer occupies a predominant position" in the countryside and that the Indian countryside has been turned "capitalistic" and similar rubbish. According to the logic of all these renegades, the anti-imperialist, anti-feudal revolutionary task had been accomplished by the Congress Party and now "peaceful transition" to socialism can be achieved through parliamentary elections. But what are the facts?

The "agrarian reform" laws promulgated by the reactionary Indian Government set "ceilings" for the holding of land by an individual or an individual peasant household. They provide that the land owned in excess of the "ceilings" is to be distributed by the Government among the peasants. But the "ceilings" set are so high that in some cases a family of five can own 360 acres of land. Thus, the big landlords continue to own large tracts of land and their holdings are considered "legitimate." In addition, landlords were allowed to break up their holdings nominally and apportion them to members of their families or their relatives and friends.

The "agrarian reform" laws provide for the abolition of the *zemindar* (landlord) system introduced by British imperialism during its colonial rule in India, under which a feudal landholder could, by paying a fixed revenue to the colonial government, grab a large area of land and collect heavy rents from the cultivators. The laws stipulate that the Government will collect rent directly for the land previously possessed by the *zemindars*. This in fact does not change the character of feudal exploitation.

Besides, the landlords are allowed to retain large tracts of land allegedly "for their own cultivation" which enables them to continue their feudal exploitation. According to the figures released by a parliamentary committee in 1966, 20 per cent of the total of 100 million rural households own 75 per cent of the land, while 80 per cent hold the remaining 25 per cent. These figures show that after the so-called "land reform" was carried out by the Congress Party, the landlords and rich peasants who form a small minority of the rural population still own most of the land while the poor peasants and farm labourers who constitute the large majority are left with little land or no land at all.

It is also common for landlords to use any conceivable pretext to evict peasants from the farms they rent. Such evictions were especially widespread when the reactionary Indian Government began implementing its sham "land reform," and the practice continues in various parts of the country. In the original State of Bombay, the number of evicted peasant households in the period from 1949-53 accounted for 47 per cent of the total of tenant-peasant households.

After the so-called "land reform," "share-cropping" remained very common in the Indian countryside. Under this system, the tenant peasant pays part of his crop as rent to the landowner. Although according to the "land reform" statutes the portion paid to the landowner should be one-third, one-fourth or even one-sixth of the total crop, yet even official Indian documents had to admit that actually a half or 60 per cent or even more is often exacted.

The Soviet and Indian revisionists have sought to prove that the "land reform" carried out by the reactionary Congress government is "anti-feudal" in nature. They have vociferously claimed that one-third of the Indian rural population consists of agricultural workers who are "wage labourers" and that this is proof that capitalism has come to the Indian countryside. All this is bunkum. As a matter of fact, an overwhelming majority of the Indian "agricultural workers" are farm labourers like those in old China. They are tied to the land owned by the landlords or plantation owners and subjected to barbarous feudal oppression and exploitation. They have to serve the landlords day and night and toil 10 to 14 hours a day.

Shocking usury is an important form of feudal exploitation in the Indian countryside. The annual rate of interest is often as high as 100 per cent, and sometimes 200 or even 300 per cent. It is still nothing uncommon for poor peasants to be born in debt, grow up in debt, die in debt and leave their children in debt.

**Armed Agrarian Revolution Is the Road to Emancipation for the Peasants.** Writing about the countryside of colonial, semi-colonial and semi-feudal China, our great leader Chairman Mao pointed out: "The exploitation of the peasantry by the landlord class, which is the basis of the system of feudal exploitation, not only remains intact but, linked as it is with exploitation by comprador and usurer capital, clearly dominates China's social and economic life." This applies to India today.

The fiercer the oppression, the greater the resistance. Indian peasants have at last taken up arms to wage revolutionary struggles. They are the main force of the Indian revolution and the most reliable ally of the Indian proletariat. The Indian revolution cannot triumph without reliance on the peasants, without armed agrarian revolution and without the establishment of rural revolutionary base areas. The revolutionaries in the Indian Communist Party have realized this truth of Marxism-Leninism, Mao Tse-tung's thought. They have begun to go deep into the countryside to arouse and organize the peasant masses and unfold armed struggle. This is an important development of the Indian revolution.

The revolutionary struggles of the Indian people will prove that the Chinese people's road to victory pointed out by Chairman Mao is also the road for the Indian people. Comrade Lin Piao

has put it well: "It must be emphasized that Comrade Mao Tse-tung's theory of the establishment of rural revolutionary base areas and the encirclement of the cities from the countryside is of outstanding and universal practical importance for the

present revolutionary struggles of all the oppressed nations and peoples, and particularly for the revolutionary struggles of the oppressed nations and peoples in Asia, Africa and Latin America against imperialism and its lackeys."

## Indian Revisionists Are Quacks

**W**HILE millions of the Indian people are struggling on the verge of starvation and death, the revisionists in the Indian Communist Party who dream about "peaceful transition" have tried hard to cover up the class and political reasons which caused the food shortage. They are trying to whitewash the reactionary government and openly serve the reactionary ruling classes.

In an article on the food question published in April, the Indian revisionists did not dare even once to refer to the system sustaining the evil rule of Indian reaction or call on the Indian people to rebel against such tyranny. On the contrary, they proposed that the Congress government "carry out a fundamental land reform," "stop imports of American food," "purchase all surplus grains," "control prices of all commodities," etc. All this claptrap can serve no other purpose than to help the reactionary hierarchy deceive the Indian people.

"To carry out a fundamental land reform" is definitely an urgent task in the countryside of India. But how can the Congress government which represents the interests of the landlords and bureaucrat-comprador bourgeoisie be expected to carry out a fundamental land reform? Since the proclamation of India's independence in 1947, the Congress government has adopted many bills on "land reform," but it is all pretence. The result is that the ownership of land in the countryside is more concentrated and feudal exploitation more serious with the number of poor peasants and farm labourers steadily increasing.

In point of fact, there was a genuine land reform, but that did not take place anywhere under the reactionary Congress government of landlords and bureaucrat-comprador bourgeoisie. It happened 20 years ago in Telengana, southeast India, where the armed struggle organized by the peasants led to the establishment of a Red regime and a genuine land reform in the liberated area (see *Peking Review*, No. 33, for details about the Telengana uprising). One million acres of land were confiscated and distributed among peasants who had no or only little land. Thus the peasants in Telengana for the first time shook off the feudal yoke. However, came the betrayal by the revisionist leaders of the Indian Communist Party, and the fruits of victory won by the revolutionary peasants in the armed struggle were completely lost.

**Historical Lesson.** This historical lesson once more proves that the following statement of Chairman Mao is an absolute truth: "**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." If the Indian people want to "carry out fundamental land reform," they can only do it by taking up the gun to overthrow the Indian reactionaries, there is no other way.

"Stop imports of American food"? Year after year, grain production in present-day India has declined and the amount of grains imported from the United States has risen. From 1956, when the first grain agreement was signed between India and the United States according to "Public Law 480," to the end of 1965 a total of 37,280,000 tons valued at 11,120 million rupees were imported. The amount of rupees in the hands of the U.S. Embassy in India is estimated at one quarter to a half of the total Indian currency in circulation. U.S. grain dumping (most grains were rotten) has enriched the U.S. monopoly capitalists, the Indian bureaucrat-comprador capitalists and landlords, and has made the Delhi government more and more dependent on U.S. imperialism. With the rural economy still more severely dislocated as a result of the U.S. dumping and large numbers of peasants drifting into the cities, the government has found itself in an inextricable predicament; it must depend on the United States for food. A Congress official who was once Food Minister admitted long ago that without the greatest possible import of grains there would be no way out, and it would mean suicide without a foreign grain supply.

The talk about "purchase all surplus grains" and "control prices of all commodities" by the Congress government is humbug. In present-day India, the black market in grain is rampant, grain prices are soaring, and the landlords and bureaucrat capitalists are raking in huge profits. Even much of the rationed grains which are nominally handled by the government finds its way into the black market and is sold at high prices because of the racketeering of the capitalists and politicians. Therefore, the famished Indian people often cannot buy even the meagre grain rations promised by the government. Then how can the reactionary Congress government be expected to "purchase" the grains from the landlords and the profiteering merchants and "control" the market prices?

**Change the Social System.** Harsh facts have taught the Indian people that the various fraudulent "reforms" advertised by the revisionists in the Indian Communist Party can achieve nothing. India's food crisis can be solved completely only by the seizure of power by armed force and a thorough change in the social system.

## Experience Gained by Indian Peasants at the Price of Blood

**T**HE Naxalbari path is our path!" This is the correct conclusion drawn by the Indian revolutionary peasants from the historical experience of their prolonged struggle.

Since the proclamation of the "independence" of India 20 years ago, there have appeared three high tides in the peasant movement. The first (1946-51) was the mammoth armed struggle in and around Telengana which shook the whole of India. The second (1953-55) was the mass struggle against eviction by landlords. The third one (1959-62) was another mass struggle for land and against exorbitant taxation. All these mass struggles failed as a result of the brutal suppression by the reactionary regime and the betrayal by the revisionists. However, as the saying goes, "a fall into the pit, a gain in your wit" and more and more peasants have gained in their understanding, thanks to the experience of their past struggles.

Our great leader Chairman Mao Tse-tung has taught us: "Political power grows out of the barrel of a gun." He has also said: "Experience in the class struggle in the era of imperialism teaches us that it is only by the power of the gun that the working class and the labouring masses can defeat the armed bourgeoisie and landlords."

The experience of the various peasant revolutions in the history of India boils down to this: it is imperative to follow the road of armed seizure of power and the encirclement of the cities from the countryside, under the leadership of the proletarian revolutionaries and the guidance of Marxism-Leninism, Mao Tse-tung's thought. This is the decisive factor in the outcome of a revolution. With a revolutionary army, the peasants will have land and rights, and they will win their liberation. Without a revolutionary army, the peasants will have nothing. And to stop the armed struggle is to forfeit all fruits of the peasant revolution.

It is entirely necessary for India's poverty-stricken peasants to wage a mass struggle to combat eviction, seize land, obtain rent reduction and resist taxation. But the various forms of mass struggle must be combined with the general struggle for seizing power by armed force; the armed struggle must be the main form of struggle. Otherwise it is impossible to destroy the feudal system root and branch and to win complete liberation for the peasants. Agrarian revolution is a basic task of the new-democratic revolution in India at the present stage and this revolution will inevitably be a peasant armed revolution.

For several thousand years, domestic and foreign ruling classes had invariably fooled the Indian people and did everything possible to prevent them from know-

ing the truth about the necessity of taking up arms. Once the masses of Indian workers and peasants are awakened and take up arms, they must never lay them down again. The betrayal of the Telengana peasants' armed struggle by the Indian revisionists is a lesson paid for in blood by the Indian people. If the revolutionary people lay down their arms after having embarked on the road of armed struggle, the result will not be "concessions" and "reforms" by the ruling classes but only brutal suppression, sanguinary slaughter and mad vengeance-seeking counter-attacks. In short, the most ruthless class vengeance from the enemy. Revolutionary armed struggle can never be abandoned halfway. The revolutionary people must surmount every difficulty and persist in unyielding and protracted struggle until final victory.

The history of the Indian peasants' revolutionary movement has proved that the Dange clique and other Indian revisionists have all along been renegades betraying the Indian peasants' revolution and have been accomplices and running dogs in the service of the big landlords and bourgeoisie in the country. These despicable and shameless types have tried in every way to bring the peasant movement into the orbit of their revisionist political line — the "parliamentary road" and "peaceful transition." When the peasants' revolutionary struggle has broken through the confines set up by the revisionists, especially when the reactionary rule of the big landlords and bourgeoisie is threatened by the peasants' armed struggle, these renegades will try their best to undermine the revolutionary movement and hoodwink the peasants into laying down their arms and giving up their armed struggle. The Indian revisionists had, in this way, forfeited the peasants' armed struggle in Telengana. Now they again stretch out their sinister hands at the peasants' armed struggle in Naxalbari trying to stamp out this revolutionary spark. To push the peasants' revolution forward on to victory, the Indian proletarian revolutionaries must redouble their class vigilance and wage a resolute struggle against betrayal and sabotage by the revisionists.

The Soviet revisionist renegade group and China's Khrushchov, too, have always preached the "parliamentary road" — the so-called "India's road" — in an effort to prevent the Indian people and other oppressed nations and people from taking the road traversed by the Chinese revolution to victory. All revolutionary people must thoroughly criticize and repudiate this counter-revolutionary fallacy advanced by the Soviet revisionist clique and China's Khrushchov and eliminate its noxious influence.

Chairman Mao Tse-tung has taught us: "Like every other activity in the world, revolution always

follows a tortuous road and never a straight one." He emphasized that "it is only through struggle and hard work, and over a long period too, that we can . . . prevent setbacks or even reversals in the revolution."

The peasant revolution in India has been advancing in tortuous struggle. So long as they are good at summing up their historical experience and forge ahead along the road charted by our great leader Chairman

Mao Tse-tung for armed struggle to seize power, the Indian proletarian revolutionaries certainly can, by prolonged, arduous struggle and hard work, turn the armed struggle, initiated in Naxalbari, into a sweeping revolutionary torrent to overthrow the criminal regime of the big landlords and bourgeoisie and win complete victory in their country's new-democratic revolution.

(*"Renmin Ribao" Commentator, September 5.*)

# The Political Programme of the South Vietnam National Front for Liberation

(Excerpts)

— Adopted at its recent extraordinary congress

- Resolutely intensify the people's war, wipe out the U.S. aggressors and seize final victory.
- The current tasks and objectives of the south Vietnamese people for national salvation are: to unite the entire people, resolutely defeat the U.S. imperialist war of aggression, overthrow the puppet regime, establish a national union democratic state power, build an independent, democratic, peaceful, neutral and prosperous south Vietnam and proceed towards the peaceful reunification of the fatherland.

**I**N 1960, the South Vietnam National Front for Liberation came into being with its 10-point programme aimed at uniting the entire people against the U.S. imperialists and their lackeys.

Since then, the Front has united the broad sections of the people, political parties, organizations, nationalities, religious communities and patriotic personalities in a joint struggle against U.S. aggression and for national salvation.

The Front has always enjoyed wholehearted encouragement and assistance from our compatriots in the north and abroad.

Under the leadership of the National Front for Liberation, our people in the south have been going from victory to victory. The prestige of the Front has been unceasingly enhanced at home and abroad. The South Vietnam National Front for Liberation has become the sole genuine representative of the heroic south Vietnamese people.

These great achievements have proved that the line and policy of the Front are correct, and that the strength of our people's united struggle is invincible.

At present, despite their heavy defeats, the U.S. imperialists are still unwilling to give up their aggressive designs against Vietnam. They are stepping up the war, trampling upon the south, and intensifying the bombing of the northern part of our country. These monstrous crimes of the U.S. imperialists, however,

have served only to deepen our people's hatred and increase their indomitable will.

Never before in the history of our nation has the mettle of our entire people, united in the fight to wipe out the enemy and save the country, been so strong as now. Our people are in a superior position of winning victories and taking the initiative and offensive. The U.S. imperialists and their lackeys have been driven into ever greater passivity and embarrassment. They are in an impasse and are sustaining defeats.

At this juncture, in a spirit of developing its former programme, the South Vietnam National Front for Liberation has worked out this political programme, with a view to further broadening the great national unity and encouraging and stimulating the entire people to forge ahead to fight with resolve to defeat the U.S. aggressors, and build an independent, democratic, peaceful, neutral and prosperous south Vietnam.

## Unite the Entire People to Fight the U.S. Aggressors and Save the Country

The U.S. imperialists have wrecked the Geneva agreements, set up in south Vietnam an extremely cruel puppet regime, and are trying to turn the southern part of Vietnam into a new-type colony and a military base in an attempt to prolong the partition of our country, and further to conquer the whole of Vietnam and dominate all Indo-China and Southeast Asia.



The U.S. imperialists are shrinking from no cruel methods to carry out their sinister designs. Defeated in their "special war," they have switched on to a "local war," using over half a million U.S. and satellite troops, in addition to more than half a million puppet soldiers, for aggression against south Vietnam. At the same time, they have carried on a war of destruction against the northern part of our country.

The U.S. imperialists have used all kinds of modern war means and weapons, including strategic aircraft, napalm bombs, toxic chemicals and poison gas, to massacre our fellow countrymen. They have launched endless operations, carrying out the "kill all, burn all, destroy all" policy.

Obviously the U.S. imperialists are the most savage aggressor in history, the saboteur of the 1954 Geneva agreements, the saboteur of the peace and security of the peoples in Indo-China, Southeast Asia and the world, and the No. 1 enemy of our people and of mankind.

Over the past few years, the U.S. imperialists have continuously escalated the war, yet they have unceasingly clamoured about "peace negotiations" in an attempt to fool the American and other peoples of the world.

The U.S. aggressors and their lackeys think that they can intimidate our people by the use of force and deceive them by means of tricks. But they are grossly mistaken. Our people definitely will never submit to force, never allow themselves to be deceived!

Bringing into play our nation's traditional undaunted spirit, our 31 million compatriots from the south to the north, united as one man, have resolutely risen up to fight against the U.S. aggressors and save the country.

Since 1965, although the U.S. aggressors have brought in hundreds of thousands of U.S. expeditionary troops for direct aggression against south Vietnam, our armed forces and people have won one big victory after another, smashed the two successive U.S. dry-season strategic counter-offensives, and defeated over one million enemy troops (U.S., puppet, and satellite). The liberated areas have continuously expanded, and now already cover four-fifths of the territory and embrace two-thirds of the population of south Vietnam. In the liberated areas, a national and democratic power is taking shape and a new life is blossoming.

In the beloved northern part of the fatherland, our 17 million compatriots are heroically defeating the U.S. imperialists' war of destruction, maintaining and boosting production, and wholeheartedly encouraging and helping the cause of liberating the south, thus fulfilling the obligations of the great rear towards the great front.

The people of all lands, including the progressive people of the United States, are sternly condemning the U.S. imperialist war of aggression and are in sympathy with, lending support to and helping our

people's cause of resistance to U.S. aggression and saving the country.

The most dangerous enemies of our people at present are the U.S. imperialist aggressors and their lackeys — the traitorous puppet administration.

The tasks and objectives of the south Vietnamese people in their struggle for national salvation are now as follows: to unite the entire people, resolutely defeat the U.S. imperialists' war of aggression, overthrow the puppet administration formed by their lackeys, establish a broad national union democratic administration, and build an independent, democratic, peaceful, neutral and prosperous south Vietnam and proceed towards the peaceful reunification of the fatherland.

The South Vietnam National Front for Liberation pledges itself to strive, shoulder to shoulder with the Vietnam Fatherland Front, to fulfil the common glorious task of fighting against U.S. aggression and for national salvation, to liberate the south, defend the north and proceed towards the peaceful reunification of the fatherland.

While fighting for their sacred national rights, the people of south Vietnam are making every effort to accomplish their internationalist obligations. Their war of resistance against U.S. aggression is an integral part of the revolutionary struggle of all people of the world.

The South Vietnam National Front for Liberation is determined to take an active part in the common struggle of the people of the world against U.S.-headed imperialism which is bellicose and aggressive by nature, and for peace, national independence, democracy and social progress.

The ferocious and brutal U.S. aggressors are trampling upon our homeland. We, people of south Vietnam, must stand up to make revolution and wage a people's war to annihilate them, drive them out of our borders, and wrest back our national independence and sovereignty.

Nothing is more precious than independence and freedom. Genuine peace can be had only when there is genuine independence.

The enemy of our nation is cruel and obdurate. But our entire people are determined to fight and to defeat the U.S. aggressors and their lackeys. Our people will fight on unswervingly until complete victory so long as the U.S. imperialists refuse to end their war of aggression, withdraw all U.S. and satellite troops from our country, and to allow the south Vietnamese people to settle the internal affairs of south Vietnam by themselves without foreign intervention. The south Vietnamese people's liberation war is a long and hard one, but it is sure to end in victory.

Our people rely mainly on our own forces, and at the same time strive to win the sympathy, support and assistance of other peoples of the world.

To defeat the U.S. aggressors and their lackeys, our people will not hesitate to make any sacrifice.

They are enthusiastically contributing manpower, material resources and their talent to the national liberation war in the spirit of doing everything for the front and everything for victory.

The South Vietnam National Front for Liberation undertakes to expand the liberation armed forces, comprising the main force units, the regional troops and the militia and guerrilla units, so as to intensify people's war, combine guerrilla with regular warfare, wipe out as many enemy effectives as possible, crush the enemy's sinister designs for aggression, and win final victory.

The South Vietnam National Front for Liberation undertakes to build and develop the political forces of the masses, promote the movement of political struggle, and combine armed struggle with political struggle and agitation among enemy troops to form thus three converging prongs to defeat the enemy.

The South Vietnam National Front for Liberation undertakes to encourage all strata of the population in the towns and rural areas still under enemy control to unite and struggle in every possible form to break the grip of the U.S. aggressors and their lackeys.

At the same time, the Front undertakes to encourage all strata of people in the liberated areas to unite closely to build a people's self-management system, to form step by step a local national-democratic administration, to build base areas, to make every effort in production and in fighting against U.S. aggression and for national salvation, to go on solving the agrarian question satisfactorily, to build a new economy and culture in the liberated areas, and to strengthen the people's physical constitution with a view to ensuring supplies for the front and carrying the resistance war through to complete victory.

### **Build an Independent, Democratic, Peaceful, Neutral and Prosperous South Vietnam**

The South Vietnam National Front for Liberation lays down the following specific policies:

(1) To set up a broad democratic and progressive regime.

— To abolish the disguised colonial regime established in south Vietnam by the U.S. imperialists, overthrow the puppet administration formed by the hirelings of the United States, repudiate the puppet "national assembly" rigged up by the U.S. imperialists and their lackeys, and abolish all anti-national and anti-democratic laws, including the "constitution," enacted by the U.S. imperialists and the puppet administration.

— To hold free general elections and elect the national assembly in a really democratic way in accordance with the principle of universal, equal, direct suffrage and secret ballot.

— To set up a national union democratic government including the most representative persons among the various social strata, nationalities, religious com-

munities, patriotic and democratic parties, patriotic personalities, and forces which have contributed to the cause of national liberation.

(2) To build an independent and self-supporting economy and improve the people's living conditions.

— To abolish the U.S. imperialists' policy of economic enslavement and monopoly. To confiscate the property of the U.S. imperialists and their diehard cruel agents and turn it into state property.

— To build an independent and self-supporting economy, rapidly heal the wounds of war and restore and develop the economy.

(3) To enforce the land policy and carry out the slogan: land to the tillers.

— To confiscate the lands of the U.S. imperialists and their lackeys—the diehard cruel landlords, and allot those lands to the landless or land-poor peasants.

— To confirm and protect the ownership of the lands allotted to peasants by the revolution.

— The state will negotiate the purchase of lands from landlords who possess land upward of a certain amount varying with the situation in each locality, and allot these lands to the landless or land-poor peasants. The recipients will receive the lands free of charge, and will not be bound by any condition whatsoever. In areas where the required conditions for land reform do not yet obtain, land-rent reduction will be carried out.

(4) To build a national democratic culture and education, develop science and technology, and promote public health.

(5) To guarantee the rights of workers, labourers and civil servants and care for their livelihood.

(6) To build up the South Vietnam Liberation Armed Forces into a powerful strength for liberating the people and defending the fatherland.

— The South Vietnam Liberation Armed Forces (comprising the main force units, the regional troops, and the militia and guerrilla units) are the sons of the people, boundlessly loyal to the interests of the fatherland and the people, and duty-bound to fight shoulder to shoulder with the entire people to liberate the south, defend the fatherland and make positive contributions to the defence of peace in Asia and the world.

— To pay due attention to the building of the Liberation Armed Forces. Efforts must be made to raise their quality and increase their fighting capacity so as to step up people's war, defeat the U.S., satellite and puppet troops, and bring the fight against U.S. aggression and for national salvation to complete victory.

— To strengthen the political work so as to enhance the patriotism of the Liberation Armed Forces and their determination to fight and to win, enhance their sense of discipline and continuously tighten the fish-and-water relations between the armed forces and the people.

(7) To show gratitude to the martyrs, look after the disabled servicemen, and reward the fighters and compatriots who have an outstanding record in the fight against U.S. aggression and for national salvation.

(8) To organize social relief.

(9) To put into practice equality between man and woman, and protect mothers and children.

(10) To strengthen the unity of nationalities and promote equality and mutual assistance among them.

(11) To respect freedom of creed, and achieve unity and equality among different religious communities.

(12) To welcome puppet officers and men and puppet officials back to the just cause, and show leniency and give humane treatment to enemy army people who cross over and prisoners-of-war.

—To severely punish the diehard thugs who act as efficient agents of the U.S. imperialists.

(13) To protect the rights and interests of overseas Vietnamese.

(14) To protect the legitimate rights and interests of foreign residents in south Vietnam.

### **To Restore Normal Relations Between North and South Vietnam and Proceed Towards Peaceful Reunification of the Fatherland**

Vietnam is an integral whole and the Vietnamese people are a single nation. No force can divide our fatherland and the reunification of the country is the sacred aspiration of our entire people. Vietnam must be reunified.

The South Vietnam National Front for Liberation holds:

(1) The reunification of Vietnam will be realized step by step through peaceful means and on the principle of negotiation between the two zones with neither side using pressure against the other and without foreign interference.

(2) Pending the reunification of the country, the people in both zones will make joint efforts to oppose foreign invasion and defend the fatherland, and at the same time endeavour to expand economic and cultural exchanges. The people in both zones are free to exchange letters, to go from one zone to the other and to choose their place of residence.

### **To Apply a Foreign Policy of Peace and Neutrality**

The South Vietnam National Front for Liberation applies a foreign policy of peace and neutrality, a foreign policy which guarantees the independence, sovereignty, unity and territorial integrity of the country and helps safeguard world peace. This policy consists in the following points:

(1) To establish diplomatic relations with all countries regardless of their social and political system, on the principle of mutual respect for each other's independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity, non-

infringement upon each other's territory, non-interference in each other's internal affairs, equality, mutual benefit and peaceful coexistence.

To abolish all unequal treaties which the puppet administrations have signed with the United States or any other country.

To join no military alliance and accept no military personnel or military bases of foreign countries in south Vietnam.

(2) To strengthen the friendly relations with all countries which sympathize with, support or assist the Vietnamese people's struggle against U.S. aggression and for national salvation.

(3) Actively support the national-liberation movement of the peoples in Asia, Africa and Latin America against imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism.

(4) Actively struggle to contribute to the safeguarding of world peace and combating the bellicose and aggressive imperialists headed by U.S. imperialism.

\* \* \*

Our people's struggle against U.S. aggression and for national salvation is an extremely hard but glorious cause. It concerns not only the destiny of our people at present and all our future generations but also the interests of the peoples in the world who are struggling for peace, national independence, democracy and social progress. In order to accomplish this glorious cause, our people, already united, must unite still more closely and on a broader basis!

Our people's struggle against U.S. aggression and for national salvation is a just cause. The people throughout our country are united in their determination to fight and defeat the U.S. aggressors and their henchmen. We are winning victories and will surely win complete victory.

No matter how frenzied, brutal and obdurate and perfidious the U.S. imperialists may be, they will inevitably meet with utter failure in their criminal schemes.

In the supreme interests of the fatherland, let our entire people in south Vietnam strengthen their solidarity, millions as one, and march forward shoulder to shoulder in the impetus of our victories to completely defeat the U.S. aggressors and their stooge administration, and together with our northern compatriots to fulfil the great and glorious cause of liberating the south, defending the north and proceeding towards the peaceful reunification of the fatherland.

The Vietnamese people will surely be victorious!

The U.S. aggressors and their henchmen will certainly be defeated!

The programme of the South Vietnam National Front for Liberation is sure to materialize!

Fighters and compatriots throughout south Vietnam, march forward heroically under the glorious banner of the South Vietnam National Front for Liberation!



## Mao Tse-tung's Thought

### Lights the Whole World

## Great Landmarks in the Field of Dialectical Materialism

— Japanese philosopher Kazuto Matsumura on the great development of Marxist-Leninist philosophy by Chairman Mao

Kazuto Matsumura, a noted Japanese philosopher, had an interview with Chinese correspondents to commemorate the 30th anniversary of the publication of the two epoch-making, brilliant philosophical works of Chairman Mao, *On Practice* and *On Contradiction*. Showing boundless love for Chairman Mao and revolutionary enthusiasm, he said that these two brilliant works by Chairman Mao are great landmarks in the field of dialectical materialism. They signify that Chairman Mao has carried Marxist-Leninist dialectical materialist philosophy forward to a brand new stage. Today, all revolutionary people in the world have recognized the fact that Chairman Mao has developed Marxism-Leninism to a completely new stage, namely, that of Mao Tse-tung's thought.

#### **A brilliant example of the unity of theory and practice.**

Matsumura was full of praise for Chairman Mao for his excellent solution to the question of the unity of theory and practice and for establishing a brilliant example of this unity. He said that one of the indispensable conditions for the success of a revolution is the unity of knowledge and practice, namely, the unity of revolutionary theory and revolutionary practice. In the history of the development of Marxist-Leninist philosophy, no one has so incisively exemplified and elaborated the question of the unity of theory and practice as Chairman Mao has done, he said.

He pointed out that this is because Chairman Mao has personally led the very great and very complicated Chinese revolution and personally taken part in the practice of this revolutionary struggle. In the practice of this great revolution, Chairman Mao has consciously engaged in the creation of a revolutionary theory and greatly developed Marxist-Leninist philosophy.

**Making Marxist-Leninist philosophy a theory the masses can master, study and apply in a creative way.** The great merits of Chairman Mao also lie in the fact that he has creatively developed Marxist-Leninist philosophy, making it a philosophical theory which the masses of the people can master, study and apply in a creative way, Matsumura said. Chairman Mao's *On Practice* and *On Contradiction* meet the demands of the masses

of the people who have been longing to master Marxist-Leninist philosophy. They familiarize people with Marxist-Leninist philosophy and do away with the myth that philosophy is something remote which can be seen but cannot be reached. Chairman Mao has outstandingly developed the dialectical materialist theory of knowledge, he said.

Matsumura stressed that thanks to the genius of Chairman Mao, the Marxist-Leninist theory in philosophy has been incomparably enriched.

Matsumura also stressed that *On Practice* and *On Contradiction* have a strong revolutionary character. These two great works teach people how to acquire a correct knowledge of the world and transform it and how to correctly analyse and solve contradictions.

**How to acquire a correct knowledge of the world and transform it.** Matsumura said Chairman Mao pointed out in *On Practice*: **"Discover the truth through practice, and again through practice verify and develop the truth. Start from perceptual knowledge and actively develop it into rational knowledge; then start from rational knowledge and actively guide revolutionary practice to change both the subjective and the objective world. Practice, knowledge, again practice, and again knowledge. This form repeats itself in endless cycles, and with each cycle the content of practice and knowledge rises to a higher level."**

He said that Chairman Mao has used simple and clear-cut wording to express very correctly the dialectical materialist theory of knowledge — that is the view of the unity of theory and practice — in a way everyone can understand and grasp. This is unprecedented in the history of Marxism.

He pointed out that the theoretical basis of Chairman Mao's views on the mass line is explained in *On Practice*. Chairman Mao wrote in his article *Some Questions Concerning Methods of Leadership* published in 1943: **"In all the practical work of our Party, all correct leadership is necessarily 'from the masses, to the masses.' This means: take the ideas of the masses (scattered and unsystematic ideas) and concentrate them**

(through study turn them into concentrated and systematic ideas), then go to the masses and propagate and explain these ideas until the masses embrace them as their own, hold fast to them and translate them into action, and test the correctness of these ideas in such action. Then once again concentrate ideas from the masses and once again go to the masses so that the ideas are persevered in and carried through. And so on, over and over again in an endless spiral, with the ideas becoming more correct, more vital and richer each time. Such is the Marxist theory of knowledge." Chairman Mao has set an example of applying the Marxist-Leninist theory of knowledge to the mass movement, Matsumura said.

**How to correctly analyse and solve contradictions.** Speaking on another great philosophical work by Chairman Mao, *On Contradiction*, he quoted Chairman Mao's teaching: "**The law of contradiction in things, that is, the law of the unity of opposites, is the basic law of materialist dialectics.**" Chairman Mao's great merit lies in the fact that he really takes the law of the unity of opposites as the nucleus, not placing it on a par with the other laws of dialectical materialism.

He said: only by taking the law of the unity of opposites as the nucleus can one correctly explain and understand the mutual relations between the various laws of dialectical materialism. This is the key to a correct comprehension of the symptoms of things — the coming of the new and giving way of the old, the occurrence, the development and the leap. He emphatically pointed out that this is a creative development in dialectical materialism made by Chairman Mao who used the Marxist-Leninist viewpoint, and only Chairman Mao could do it.

Chairman Mao's great merit, he said, also lies in the fact that while pointing out the universality of contradiction he also gave an excellent explanation of the particularity of contradiction and the principal contradiction and the principal aspect of a contradiction. He said that through expounding on the particularity of contradiction Chairman Mao has creatively developed dialectical materialism, and enriched the treasure house of the theory of Marxism-Leninism in the field of philosophy. This is Chairman Mao's great meritorious service and is of world historic significance.

He said that in these two great works, Chairman Mao has criticized the viewpoints that under given historical conditions, there are only contradictions between the enemy and ourselves and no contradictions among the people, or only contradictions among the people and no contradictions between the enemy and ourselves.



Mauritius youth reading Chairman Mao's works

He stressed that since Chairman Mao has made this great contribution to the theory of dialectical materialism, people now can use his theory to solve complicated contradictions. The great proletarian cultural revolution now being successfully carried out in China under the guidance of Chairman Mao's brilliant thought is to resolve the contradiction between the broad masses of the revolutionary people and a handful of revisionists.

**An era marked by the illumination of Mao Tse-tung's thought.** Referring to the characteristics of the present era, he passionately pointed out that the world proletarian revolution has now entered a great era in which it has achieved unprecedented development in depth and breadth, an era marked by the illumination of Mao Tse-tung's thought and an era in which Mao Tse-tung's thought has been recognized by the revolutionary people the world over as the great revolutionary truth. There have never been so many revolutionary people in the world so eagerly studying and applying in a creative way Mao Tse-tung's thought, the peak of Marxism-Leninism in the present era.

Matsumura emphasized that Mao Tse-tung's thought is the powerful ideological weapon for the world revolutionary people to defeat imperialism, all the reactionaries and modern revisionism. It is the compass guiding the people the world over to win their liberation. It is imperative for the revolutionary people throughout the world to study Mao Tse-tung's thought in real earnest and study *On Practice* and *On Contradiction*, using them as arrows to hit the target of the revolution in their respective countries, he added.

He expressed the firm conviction that so long as the revolutionary people in the world grasp and apply in a creative way Mao Tse-tung's thought, which is

universal truth for the whole world and which is Marxism-Leninism at its highest in the present era, they will be assured of resounding victories.

**Watershed dividing Marxist-Leninists and revisionists.** The Japanese philosopher scathingly denounced the Soviet modern revisionists and a handful of revisionists in the Communist Party of Japan for their attempt to negate the great worldwide importance of Mao Tse-

tung's thought. The watershed now dividing the Marxist-Leninist and the revisionist is whether or not one recognizes Mao Tse-tung's thought as the acme of Marxism-Leninism and its great international significance, he stated.

Matsumura expressed the firm belief that Marxism-Leninism, Mao Tse-tung's thought, will surely emerge victorious over revisionism.

## Brezhnev's Anti-China Ravings

Brezhnev, boss of the Soviet revisionist renegade clique, recently visited Hungary and gave vent to his anti-China frenzy at a so-called "Soviet-Hungarian friendship rally." He fiendishly abused China's great proletarian cultural revolution as "counter-revolution," viciously attacked the brilliant thought of Mao Tse-tung and voiced grievances and complaints on behalf of the counter-revolutionary revisionists who have been struck down in China.

Brezhnev's hysterical outburst serves to prove that China's great proletarian cultural revolution has hit this gang of renegades where it hurts most, filled them with mortal fear and excited their violent hatred.

Brezhnev and his cronies are a bunch of out-and-out counter-revolutionaries. These renegades look at developments in a way that is diametrically opposite to that of the revolutionary people. Just as they label counter-revolution as "revolution," so they term revolution as "counter-revolution." The proletarian cultural revolution now going on in China is a great pioneering undertaking in the course of socialist revolution and in the world communist movement and is being enthusiastically acclaimed by the revolutionary people all over the world. Only a tiny group of imperialists, reactionaries and detestable renegades to Marxism-Leninism loathe it virulently, and burst out with torrents of abuse against it. Brezhnev's vilification of this unprecedented great revolution as "counter-revolution" actually amounts to a frank confession of this arch renegade.

Our great leader Chairman Mao Tse-tung has pointed out that **"the day of rejoicing for the masses of the people is a day of woe for the counter-revolutionaries."** It is a matter of great rejoicing for the Chinese and other peoples of the world that China's Khrushchovs have been pulled out, that these biggest time-bombs hidden within the Chinese Communist Party have been defused and that socialist China is guaranteed against a change of colour. Brezhnev, however, calls these counter-revolutionary revisionists of China "outstanding representatives" and "eminent statesmen" of the Party and state and weeps and mourns over the fate of these overthrown scoundrels. Indeed, rogues weep when they

see those of their own kind meet their just fate. Brezhnev's shameful performance has once again divulged the open secret that China's counter-revolutionary revisionists and the Soviet revisionist renegade clique are just tweedledum and tweedledee.

The nearer reactionaries approach their doom, the more desperate is their struggle. The class enemies inside and outside China will never be reconciled to the victory of China's great proletarian cultural revolution. Brezhnev has shown that he cannot reconcile himself to it when he openly urges the Chinese counter-revolutionary revisionists to "find strength" to stage a come-back. However, this gang of traitors are engaged in sheer day-dreaming. China's great cultural revolution is surging forward and whoever attempts to hold back the historical current will be swept away by it.

In the history of the international communist movement, renegades have always spearheaded their attack against every great revolutionary teacher of the world proletariat, against the authority of the revolutionary ideology of the proletariat. Brezhnev, one of the worst renegades to the international communist movement of the present era, is no exception. With bitter hatred and hysterical frenzy, he has abused Chairman Mao Tse-tung, the very red sun which shines most brightly in the hearts of the Chinese people and other peoples of the world, and the invincible thought of Mao Tse-tung. This is an inevitable phenomenon in class struggle. But the foul utterances of renegades cannot, in the least, harm the radiance of the sun. Under the illumination of the most powerful thought of Mao Tse-tung, all ghosts and monsters, flies and bed-bugs, hidden in dark corners will be brought to light and their doom accelerated.

What is it that has driven Brezhnev to stage an anti-China performance in Hungary? To put it bluntly, Brezhnev has done so because China's great proletarian cultural revolution has shaken the "thrones" of the Soviet revisionist ruling clique and their lackeys, because the clique headed by him and Kosygin find themselves in difficulties at home and abroad and the going is tough for them, and because he is bent upon promoting



## Chinese Air Force Downs U.S. Unmanned Plane

An unmanned high-altitude military reconnaissance U.S. imperialist plane intruded into China's air space over Kwangsi for reconnaissance and provocation at noon on September 17. It was immediately shot down by an air force unit of the heroic Chinese People's Liberation Army. This is the tenth U.S. bandit plane downed since last April by the P.L.A. which is armed with the invincible thought of Mao Tse-tung.

The Military Commission of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party issued an order commending the unit concerned on its victory. The order said that it was one more punishment for the U.S. imperialist air pirates intruding into China to carry out sabotage and make trouble. It was a new encouragement to the proletarian revolutionaries and the masses of revolutionary people in China. The commanders and fighters of the unit participating in the battle had by concrete action defended the great proletarian cultural revolution and the great strategic plan of Chairman Mao.

The order pointed out that the victory stemmed from the fact that the unit had held aloft the great red banner of Mao Tse-tung's thought, studied and applied Chairman Mao's works in a creative way, resolutely carried out Chairman Mao's great call to take firm hold of the revolution and promote preparedness

against war and to support the army and cherish the people. It was the result of the unit always being combat ready and courageous and flexible in fighting a war of annihilation.

Our great leader Chairman Mao, the order added, had taught us that **"our national defence will be consolidated and no imperialist will be allowed to invade our territory again."** China has now reached a decisive moment in the battle between the two classes, two roads and two lines, and class enemies at home and abroad will still carry out sabotage and make trouble in every possible way. You should therefore raise your vigilance, intensify preparedness against war and win new merits in defending the country and safeguarding the great proletarian cultural revolution, the order said.

*Renmin Ribao* published the article "A Moth Destroys Itself in a Fire" by Commentator to celebrate the victory. Just like a pricked soap bubble, said Commentator, the dream of the Wall Street big shots to restore capitalism in China has been shattered by the bankruptcy of China's Khrushchov. Through sabotage, trouble making and war provocation, U.S. imperialism is trying to co-ordinate its efforts with the class enemies in our country in their vain attempt to check the triumphant advance of China's proletarian cultural revolution. Commentator declared: "Class enemies at home and abroad dreaming of stamping out the raging flames of China's great proletarian cultural

revolution are merely a few moths plunging into a fire and getting themselves burnt to ashes."

## Counter-Revolutionaries Punished in Peking

A special agent sent by the enemy has been sentenced to life imprisonment, and six other active counter-revolutionaries or criminals have also been sentenced by the Peking Municipal Intermediate People's Court with the approval of the Supreme People's Court of the People's Republic of China. This was announced on September 12 at a rally attended by more than 10,000 revolutionary people.

Called by the Peking Municipal Revolutionary Committee to firmly suppress the counter-revolutionaries, the rally demonstrated the tremendous strength of the dictatorship of the proletariat. It greatly raised the revolutionary morale of the proletariat and hit hard at the reactionary arrogance of the class enemies at home and abroad.

Special agent Tang Hsien-chuan (alias Tang Ho-hsing), male, aged 28, is an overseas Chinese from Indonesia. He joined the "United States Information Service" in Hongkong in 1966, became a special agent and actively provided intelligence for U.S. imperialism.

Since being sent to the mainland in February 1967 to gather intelligence about the great proletarian cultural revolution on a large scale and to take photographs of important mili-

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the U.S.-Soviet worldwide anti-communist, anti-people, anti-China and counter-revolutionary collusion agreed to in Glassboro. The aim of Brezhnev in again personally launching a wild attack on China is to divert the attention of the Soviet people, resist the profound impact of China's great cultural revolution, safeguard the reactionary rule of the Soviet revisionist clique, boost the morale of their hangers-on and serve U.S. imperialism, the most ferocious enemy of the people of the world. In this anti-China outcry, Kadar and his like have been tailing closely behind their masters and

beating the drums for them. Thus, the Soviet revisionists and their hangers-on are working in harmony and whipping up an anti-China adverse current.

Well, since these anti-China "heroes" are so keen on it, let them go on performing. History has no mercy. The more rabid their attacks on China, the sooner their downfall. This is a truth that has been proved time and again. Brezhnev and his like are merely composing their own funeral march by their anti-China outcries.

(*"Renmin Ribao" Commentator, September 16.*)

tary areas in China, he had sent out intelligence to the special agents' organization abroad on many occasions. He was captured on March 27 when he tried to leave, carrying large quantities of intelligence material with him.

Proletarian revolutionary fighters and revolutionary masses at the rally supported the just verdict of the Peking Municipal Intermediate People's Court most enthusiastically. They shouted: "Strike firmly at the sabotage activities by the landlords, rich peasants, counter-revolutionaries, bad elements and Rightists, and maintain revolutionary order in the capital!" "Heighten revolutionary vigilance and smash all conspiratorial and sabotage activities by the class enemies!" "Rely on the masses and strengthen the dictatorship of the proletariat!" "The People's Liberation Army is the powerful mainstay of the dictatorship of the proletariat!" "Defend Chairman Mao with our lives!" "Defend the headquarters of the proletariat headed by Chairman Mao with our lives!" and "Defend Chairman Mao's revolutionary line with our lives!"

The chairman of the rally pointed out in his speech: "The great proletarian cultural revolution in the capital is in an excellent situation. But, just as Chairman Mao has said, **'the enemy will not perish of himself'; 'the imperialists and domestic reactionaries will certainly not take their defeat lying down and they will struggle to the last ditch.'**"

"In the course of the present struggle between the two classes, two roads and two lines, the handful of Party persons in authority taking the capitalist road are gang-ing up with U.S.-Chiang agents, Soviet revisionist agents, landlords, rich peasants, counter-revolutionaries, bad elements, Rightists, hoodlums and thieves, in a futile attempt to undermine the great proletarian cultural revolution. This is something we absolutely cannot tolerate and must suppress relentlessly."

The rally maintained that in dealing with all counter-revolutionaries and a handful of gangsters, the policy of combining suppression with

leniency must be pursued, that is, leniency towards those who acknowledge their crimes but severe punishment of those who stubbornly refuse to do so. As to those who have committed evil deeds, if they own up to their crimes and are willing to turn over a new leaf, they will be treated with leniency.

The rally called on the proletarian revolutionaries and broad revolutionary masses in Peking to heighten their vigilance and bear in mind Chairman Mao's teaching: Never forget class struggle and never forget the dictatorship of the proletariat.

It urged all revolutionary organizations and the revolutionary masses to actively co-ordinate with the organs of the dictatorship of the proletariat in exercising dictatorship over the class enemies. It stressed that in their struggle against the enemies the organs of the dictatorship of the proletariat must resolutely carry out Chairman Mao's great instructions and rely on the masses so that they can spread an escape-proof net and build an iron bastion to defeat all enemies.

Among those attending the rally were responsible members of the Peking Municipal Revolutionary Committee, the Peking Garrison of the Chinese People's Liberation Army, the Ministry of Public Security, the Supreme People's Procuratorate and the Supreme People's Court.

### **Protest Against Tunisian Government's New Anti-China Incidents**

The Chinese Embassy in Tunisia on September 15 handed a Chinese Foreign Ministry note to the Tunisian Foreign Ministry, strongly protesting against Tunisian President Bourguiba's frenzied vilification on August 23 of Chairman Mao, the great leader of the people of China and the rest of the world. The note also protested a series of anti-China incidents created by the Tunisian Government, including the detention of a Chinese table tennis coach and a staff member of the Chinese Embassy, and unreasonable restrictions on the normal activities of Chinese

embassy personnel. The note said that the Chinese Government "decides to recall without delay the four Chinese coaches who have been sent to Tunisia to help in its development of physical culture. At the same time, the Chinese Government categorically rejects all the unreasonable and discriminatory restrictions and demands imposed on the Chinese Embassy by the Tunisian authorities."

The note drew attention to the fact that since the establishment of diplomatic relations, China had always worked actively for the development of friendly relations between the people of the two countries. The Tunisian Government, however, had continuously engaged in activities to sabotage this friendship. These include participation in the "two Chinas" scheme engineered by U.S. imperialism for the purpose of perpetuating its occupation of the Chinese province of Taiwan, thereby grossly intervening in the internal affairs of China and impairing China's sovereignty. The note stressed that the Tunisian Government, ignoring warnings from China, had gone further and further along the road of opposition to China. This is something which the Chinese and Tunisian peoples will never tolerate.

The note said: "It is by no means accidental that the Tunisian Government has, in the recent period, stepped up the escalation of anti-China activities. The people of Tunisia and other Arab countries, through their struggle against U.S.-British-Israeli aggression and betrayal by Soviet revisionism, have gained fresh confirmation that the Chinese people are their most reliable friends and that Mao Tse-tung's thought is the beacon guiding them towards liberation. In particular, Chairman Mao Tse-tung's great call that **"people of the world, unite and defeat the U.S. aggressors and all their running dogs!"** and his brilliant thesis about the seizure of final victory through people's revolutionary war are regarded as the most powerful weapon by the people of Tunisia and other Arab countries and they are arming themselves with it. Alarmed at this situation, U.S. imperialism and the reactionaries of all

countries have whipped up a new anti-China campaign in the vain hope of extinguishing the raging flames of the struggle of the Tunisian and other Arab people against U.S. imperialism and Soviet modern revisionism. Standing on the side of U.S. imperialism, the Tunisian Government has been trying to split and disintegrate the Arab people's anti-imperialist front. This has greatly enraged the Tunisian and other Arab people and encountered their firm opposition. The Tunisian Government is finding itself in an increasingly bad fix. In trying to use its opposition to China to divert the attention of its people and cover up its own crime of entering further into the service of U.S. imperialism and Soviet revisionism and selling out the interests of the Tunisian and other Arab people, the Tunisian Government will certainly come to no good end."

### **Protest Over Indonesian Government's "Invitation" To Chiang Clique's "Trade Delegation"**

The Indonesian fascist military regime headed by Suharto and Nasution on September 11 openly "invited" a "trade delegation" which was sent by Chiang Kai-shek, the public enemy of the Chinese people, to visit Djakarta for sinister activities. Lu Tzu-po, Charge d'Affaires ad interim of the Chinese Embassy in Indonesia, went to the Indonesian Foreign Ministry that day and lodged the strongest protest with the Indonesian fascist military government over this serious political provocation.

Lu Tzu-po said that the Indonesian Government, while wildly carrying out anti-China and anti-Chinese activities, had been maintaining open or covert contacts with the Chiang Kai-shek gang in Taiwan and stepping up all-round collaboration with it. Now it has blatantly "invited" the Chiang gang's "trade delegation" to Indonesia. Djakarta newspapers made noisy propaganda about it, saying: "This is the first delegation since relations between Indonesia and Taipei were cut off 20 years ago." Indonesian Foreign Minister

Malik also openly declared that Indonesia might establish relations with the Chiang gang "at a level above that of commercial representative." He went so far as to say in an even more flagrant tone: "If Taiwan proclaims the founding of a Taiwan republic, we'll recognize it." Indonesian papers have long described the traitor Chiang Kai-shek, who had been repudiated by the Chinese people, as "the head of state of Taiwan" and referred to the Chiang Kai-shek bandit gang as a "government."

All this, Lu Tzu-po pointed out, clearly showed that the Indonesian Government was vigorously working for U.S. imperialism's "two Chinas" plot and for completely wrecking Sino-Indonesian relations. This is a crude intervention in China's internal affairs and an extremely grave provocation against the 700 million Chinese people. The Chinese Embassy is extremely indignant at this and lodges the strongest protest with the Indonesian Government.

Lu Tzu-po sternly warned the Indonesian Government: The handful of Chiang Kai-shek bandits entrenched in Taiwan are stinking political mummies preserved by the U.S. imperialists; they are political tools of the U.S. imperialists in invading China and Asia. Your collaboration with the Chiang gang only shows that you are birds of a feather and fully exposes your extremely reactionary nature and your vicious features of being deliberately hostile to the people of China and the rest of the world.

### **Three Japanese Correspondents Ordered to Leave China**

A responsible member of the Information Department of the Chinese Foreign Ministry on September 10 summoned the nine Japanese correspondents in Peking and officially announced that the three correspondents of the Japanese papers *Mainichi Shimbun*, *Sankei Shimbun* and *Tokyo Shimbun* must leave China within a specified time.

He said: "The Sato government is more reactionary than any previous Japanese Government. Consistently

following U.S. imperialism and Soviet revisionism, it has carried out a reactionary pro-American, pro-Soviet, anti-China and anti-people policy. Sato has recently gone a step further and, disregarding strong opposition from the people of China, Japan and the rest of Asia, has come out in person to intensify collaboration with the Chiang Kai-shek clique, the public enemy of the Chinese people. This is a serious political provocation involving blatant and crude interference in China's internal affairs and open hostility towards the 700 million Chinese people."

He pointed out that the three aforementioned Japanese papers and their correspondents in Peking had consistently encouraged and supported the reactionary Sato government's anti-communist, anti-China and anti-people criminal activities. Disregarding serious warnings, they had carried out anti-China activities and had on many occasions printed stories and cartoons wildly smearing China's great proletarian cultural revolution and distorting China's domestic situation. Particularly intolerable was the fact that they had viciously directed their attack against the Chinese people's most respected and beloved great leader Chairman Mao, the reddest red sun in the hearts of the world's people. The Chinese people are exceedingly indignant at this.

The responsible member also pointed out that such actions of these Japanese papers and their correspondents, which ran diametrically counter to the spirit of the agreement on exchanging correspondents reached between the Tokyo Liaison Office of the Liao Cheng-chih Office and the Peking Liaison Office of the Tatsunosuke Takasaki Office, had done much to destroy the friendly relations between the Chinese and Japanese peoples. "The Information Department," he added, "hereby announces the cancellation of the credentials of the correspondents of the three papers stationed in Peking, and orders them to leave China within a specified time. Meanwhile, we shall not, for the present, consider the possibility of the three papers' sending new correspondents to China."

# ROUND THE WORLD

Imperialism has prepared the conditions for its own doom. These conditions are the awakening of the great masses of the people in the colonies and semi-colonies and in the imperialist countries themselves. Imperialism has pushed the great masses of the people throughout the world into the historical epoch of the great struggle to abolish imperialism.

— Mao Tse-tung

U.S.A.

## New High in Workers' Struggle

The nationwide strike by some 160,000 workers of the Ford Motor Company indicates that, with the continued escalation of the American imperialist war of aggression in Vietnam, class contradictions within the United States are sharpening.

Started on September 7, the strike has paralysed 93 Ford plants and parts depots in 25 states. It is the latest in a series of big strike actions in the United States. In July, the general strike initiated by 137,000 railroad machinists tied up 95 per cent of the nation's passenger and freight rail services for two days and nights. About 700,000 railroad employees were directly or indirectly involved. Started in mid July, the copper miners' strike has lasted for more than 60 days and brought production at four of the country's top copper companies to a standstill. This has seriously affected U.S. munitions production.

According to the clearly minimized official figures, 2,600 strikes took place in the United States during the first six months of 1967. They involved a total of 1.28 million workers and a loss of 14.5 million workdays, the highest for the past 15 years.

One of the features of this year's strikes is the wide field they cover. Taking part were printing, electrical, iron and steel, transport, railroad, rubber and navigation workers, as

well as teachers, firemen and other government employees. There were both unskilled workers like sanitation workers, lift-operators, porters and doormen and skilled workers like mechanics and electricians.

Because of their larger scale and longer duration, these rolling waves of strikes have had serious repercussions. The strike of the 50,000 workers of the rubber industry, which started on April 20 and went on for more than three months, closed down three of the five biggest rubber companies. The strike of 10,000 shipyard electricians on the west coast began last November and continued for over four months. This was a blow to the repair work on ships sorely needed in the U.S. war of aggression against Vietnam.

A third feature is the militancy of the strikers who, refusing to be intimidated or deceived, would not accept such pretexts as "the interest of the nation" and "the necessity of the Vietnam war" invented by the Johnson Administration to curb the strikes. In Virginia in mid July, 3,000 workers at the Newport News Shipbuilding and Drydock Co. fought valiantly against the police who tried to break their strike. The Newport workers' militancy shocked the U.S. ruling class. At the same time, the workers have carried on a firm struggle against the sabotage and treachery of the Right-wing trade union bosses. In many cases "spontaneous strikes" broke out despite opposition from Right-wing unions.

To force the workers to go back to their jobs, the Johnson Administration has dropped its mask of "democracy" and time and time again invoked the reactionary Taft-Hartley Labour Act. It has also drafted a new reactionary law banning strikes by government employees. This law authorizes fining a municipal union up to \$10,000 a day for every day it is on strike. It also stipulates that "under certain circumstances, workers can be fired and union leaders jailed." The high-handed policy of the government has only aroused the anger of the workers.

The sharpening class struggle in the United States is the natural consequence of the U.S. ruling clique's shifting of the burden of its war of aggression against Vietnam on to the working people and of its intensified attack on them. Inflation has led to rocketing consumer prices, which directly affect the working people's standard of living because real wages are constantly falling. Statistics show that there has been a 5.7 per cent rise in the past year in the cost of a "minimum but adequate" budget for a family of four. At the same time, the workers are weighed down by the ever increasing taxation (on the average workers pay almost one-quarter of their wages in taxes).

With the constant escalation in the war of aggression against Vietnam, casualties in the U.S. forces are showing a sharp rise. The worst hit are unemployed youths and young people of worker and country origin who cannot afford to go to college. They are the ones to be drafted and sent to south Vietnam as cannon-fodder. This is another factor in the growing strike movement.

The waves of strikes by the American workers are rising ever higher. Together with the Afro-Americans' armed struggle against racial oppression and the movement against the war of aggression in Vietnam, they are dealing body blows to U.S. imperialism, already badly battered by the Vietnamese people, and are hastening its eventual collapse.

(Continued from p. 14.)

On September 12 he held special talks on the Sino-Indian conflict with Johnson. He also held talks with U.S. Secretary of Defence, Secretary of the Treasury, and Secretary of Agriculture, asking for munitions, money and grain.

Meanwhile, Indian Defence Minister Swaran Singh went to Moscow on September 14 for talks on "increased co-operation" with the Soviet revisionists.

He left for home on September 17 after working out a series of anti-China, anti-popular, counter-revolutionary plots with the Soviet revisionist chiefs. As revealed by Indian sources in Moscow, "the situation of the Sino-Indian border occupied a prominent position" in the talks between the two sides. In their talks, Singh reported to his Soviet revisionist bosses on the Indian armed provocations against China, so as to beg for more "aid."

In addition to material rewards, U.S. imperialism and Soviet revisionism also unloosed their propaganda machines to applaud the Indian reactionaries' criminal acts of aggression.

TASS has once again played its despicable role in collaborating with U.S. imperialism, aligning itself with India and opposing China. It was clear that India started the armed aggression against China, yet TASS spread the myth on September 9 that "the exchange of fire between Chinese and Indian troops took place after a Chinese soldier shot at the Indians." It will be recalled that on September 9, eight years ago, the same TASS issued an anti-China statement in support of the

Indian reactionaries. Furthermore, TASS in its reports has even tried to justify the Indian expansionist practice of stationing troops in Sikkim under an unequal treaty to enslave the people of that country. TASS alleged, "Indian troops are staying on the territory of Sikkim to protect its borders"!

### Diverting Attention of the Indian People

Another reason why the Indian reactionaries chose this time to launch armed attacks on China was to divert the attention of the people from their dire straits and dampen the people's revolutionary struggle. The outbreak of the Indian peasants' armed struggle at Naxalbari near the China-Sikkim border has shaken the rule of the Indian reactionaries to its foundations. The recent acute food shortage and the floods in Uttar Pradesh, Bihar, Orissa and Rajasthan states have placed millions upon millions of people on the brink of death. A resistance struggle on a bigger scale is in the offing. This has thrown the Indian reactionaries into a panic. They are vainly attempting to extricate themselves from their predicament by stirring up a hysterical anti-China campaign to divert the attention of the people.

Referring to the schemes and manoeuvres of the reactionaries, our great leader Chairman Mao has said: "They invariably start by doing others harm but end by ruining themselves." The Indian reactionaries and their masters, the U.S. imperialists and the Soviet revisionists, have stopped at nothing in seeking profit for themselves at the expense of others. They will definitely come to no good end.

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## PEKING REVIEW

Vol. 10, No. 39  
Sept. 22, 1967

Published in English, French, Spanish  
Japanese and German editions

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Published every Friday by PEKING REVIEW, Peking (37), China  
Post Office Registration No. 2-922 Cable Address: Peking 2910  
Printed in the People's Republic of China

September 22, 1967

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