

PEKING REVIEW

29

July 14, 1967

People's War Is Invincible

Renmin Ribao editorial commemorates 30th anniversary
of Chinese People's War of Resistance Against Japan.

The Military Government of Ne Win, The Chiang Kai-shek of Burma, Is Bound To Fail! The People Are Bound to Win!

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Spring Thunder Over India

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報

QUOTATIONS FROM CHAIRMAN MAO TSE-TUNG

The seizure of power by armed force, the settlement of the issue by war, is the central task and the highest form of revolution. This Marxist-Leninist principle of revolution holds good universally, for China and for all other countries.

Problems of War and Strategy
(November 1938)

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Contrary to the predictions of the Chinese and foreign reactionaries, the forces of fascist aggression will undoubtedly be overthrown and the people's democratic forces will undoubtedly triumph. The world will unquestionably take the road of progress and not the road of reaction.

On Coalition Government (April 1945)

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Therefore the united front, armed struggle and Party building are the three fundamental questions for our Party in the Chinese revolution. Having a correct grasp of these three questions and their interrelations is tantamount to giving correct leadership to the whole Chinese revolution.

Introducing "The Communist"
(October 1939)



Chairman Mao Tse-tung

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



Chairman Mao and Vice-Chairman Lin Piao Receive Delegates to P.L.A. Conference On Military Training

Our most respected and beloved great leader Chairman Mao and his close comrade-in-arms Vice-Chairman Lin Piao, other leading comrades of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party and the responsible comrades of various departments concerned — Chou En-lai, Chen Po-ta, Kang Sheng, Hsu Hsiang-chien, Nieh Jung-chen, Yeh Chien-ying, Chiang Ching, Hsiao Hua, Yang Cheng-wu, Su Yu, Chang Chun-chiao, Kuan Feng, Chi Pen-yu, Li Tien-yu, Wu Fa-hsien, Yeh Chun and Wang Tung-hsing — received the delegates to the Conference of the Chinese People's Liberation Army on Military Training on the afternoon of July 7.

Chairman Mao walked briskly into the reception hall in excellent spirits.

Our most respected and beloved great leader Chairman Mao and his close comrade-in-arms Vice-Chairman Lin Piao, and Comrade Chou En-lai receive delegates to the P.L.A. Conference on Military Training.



Chairman Mao, Vice-Chairman Lin Piao and Chou En-lai, Chen Po-ta, Kang Sheng and other comrades with delegates to the conference.

The delegates were greatly excited at this happiest moment. Waving their bright red copies of the *Quotations From Chairman Mao Tse-tung*, they gave Chairman Mao prolonged ovations, cheering "Long live Chairman Mao!" "A long, long life to Chairman Mao!" again and again.

Seeing the smiling delegates, Chairman Mao cordially waved to them

and was later photographed with them.

As Chairman Mao left the reception hall, the delegates shouted "Long live the invincible thought of Mao Tse-tung!" and sang *Sailing the Seas Depends on the Helmsman*. They wished a long life to Chairman Mao, the red sun that shines most brightly in our hearts.

Mourn Death of Comrade Nguyen Chi Thanh

Message of Condolences From Comrades Mao Tse-tung, Lin Piao and Chou En-lai to Comrade Ho Chi Minh

Comrade Mao Tse-tung, Comrade Lin Piao and Comrade Chou En-lai cabled a message on July 8 to Comrade Ho Chi Minh expressing their condolences on the death of Comrade Nguyen Chi Thanh.

The full text of the message reads:

We are deeply grieved to learn of the sudden death of Comrade Nguyen Chi Thanh due to illness. Comrade Nguyen Chi Thanh was your good comrade and comrade-in-arms as well as ours, and he was also a good comrade-in-arms of the revolutionary people and oppressed nations the world over. He made outstanding contributions to Vietnam's revolutionary cause and to the unity and militant friendship between China and Vietnam and between the two Parties and armies of both countries. His death is a great loss to our common revolutionary cause. But his illustrious example and influence will live for ever and will continue to develop and flourish. We trust that you will not grieve too much and will keep well and look after your health.

Message of Condolences Sent by C.P.C.'s Central Committee And Its Military Commission

On the same day, the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party and the Military Commission of the Party's Central Committee

cabled a message to the Central Committee of the Vietnam Workers' Party and the Military Commission of the Party's Central Committee, expressing their condolences on the death of Comrade Nguyen Chi Thanh.

The full text of the message reads:

We are shocked to learn that Comrade Nguyen Chi Thanh died suddenly of illness on July 6, and express our deep sorrow and our condolences. Comrade Nguyen Chi Thanh was an outstanding Marxist-Leninist, an outstanding communist fighter of the Vietnam Workers' Party, a good son of the Vietnamese people and nation and an exceptionally heroic figure brought up and nurtured by the Vietnam Workers' Party led by Comrade Ho Chi Minh. He made an outstanding contribution in the war of resistance waged by the Vietnamese people against French aggression and in the present cause of resistance to U.S. aggression and for national salvation. His death is not only a tremendous loss to the Vietnamese people, Party and army but also a loss to the revolutionary people of China and of the whole world.

Please convey our deepest sympathy to the members of Comrade Nguyen Chi Thanh's family.

Chinese Party and State Leaders Go to Vietnamese Embassy to Express Condolences

On the morning of July 8, Chou En-lai, Member of the Standing Com-

mittee of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party and Premier of the State Council, Chen Po-ta, Standing Committee Member of the Political Bureau of the Party's Central Committee and Head of the Cultural Revolution Group Under the Party's Central Committee, Kang Sheng, Standing Committee Member of the Political Bureau of the Party's Central Committee, Adviser to the Cultural Revolution Group Under the Party's Central Committee and Vice-Chairman of the Standing Committee of the Chinese National People's Congress, and other comrades went to the Embassy of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam in China to express their condolences on the death of Comrade Nguyen Chi Thanh, Member of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Vietnam Workers' Party, Member of the Secretariat of the Party's Central Committee, Member of the National Defence Council of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam and General of the Vietnam People's Army.

Comrade Chou En-lai told Nguyen Quang Huy, Charge d'Affaires ad interim of the Vietnamese Embassy in Peking, that on behalf of Chairman Mao Tse-tung, Vice-Chairman Lin Piao, and leading members of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party, the State Council, the Military Commission of the Party's Central Committee and the Cultural Revolution Group Under the Party's Central Committee and leading members of other departments, they extended to the comrades of the Vietnamese Embassy their condolences on the death of Comrade Nguyen Chi Thanh, and asked the comrades of the Embassy to convey their sympathy to President Ho Chi Minh, the Vietnam Workers' Party, the Vietnamese Government and the family of Comrade Nguyen Chi Thanh.

Comrade Chou En-lai said that Comrade Nguyen Chi Thanh was an outstanding Communist Party member, both politically and militarily, and a courageous communist fighter. Under the leadership of President Ho Chi Minh and the Vietnam Workers' Party, he had made important con-

tributions to the struggle against U.S. aggression and for national salvation, to the struggle against French imperialism and to the struggle against modern revisionism.

Comrade Chou En-lai said: We must bring into full play Comrade Nguyen Chi Thanh's thoroughgoing revolutionary spirit and fight to the end for mankind's cause of communism.

Comrade Lin Piao Greets Albanian Army Day

Comrade Lin Piao, Vice-Premier and Minister of National Defence, on July 8 sent a cable to Comrade Beqir Balluku, Vice-Chairman of the Council of Ministers and Minister of Defence of Albania, extending his warmest greetings on the 24th anniversary of the founding of the Albanian People's Army. The cable said:

"Under the brilliant leadership of the long-tested, glorious Albanian Party of Labour headed by Comrade Enver Hoxha, the Albanian people and the Albanian People's Army are steadfastly holding high the revolutionary red banner of Marxism-Leninism and advancing bravely along the road to victory despite heavy encirclement by imperialism and modern revisionism. In the past year, our comrades-in-arms in the heroic Albanian People's Army have actively responded to the call of the Fifth Congress of the Albanian Party of Labour and Comrade Hoxha and have achieved signal success in giving greater prominence to proletarian politics and strengthening revolutionization in army building; they have also gained tremendous success in carrying out a series of important measures for revolutionization, such as implementing the mass line, stepping up ideological education, opposing bureaucratism, and participating in labour by cadres. The whole army has become even more full of vigour and higher in morale. This will certainly have far-reaching effects in promoting the building of the Albanian People's Army in all fields and in further strengthening the dictatorship of the proletariat and the

socialist system in Albania. While the victories and successes you have won are a tremendous inspiration to the Chinese people who are successfully carrying on the great proletarian cultural revolution and to the revolutionary people of all countries, they constitute a telling blow to imperialism and modern revisionism.

"The past year has seen a new and still greater development of the friendship and solidarity between the peoples and armies of China and Albania, which are based on the principles of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism. Comrade Mao Tse-tung has said: 'China and Albania are separated by thousands of mountains and rivers but our hearts are closely linked. We are your true friends and comrades. And you are ours. You are not like those false friends and double-dealers who have "honey on their lips and murder in their hearts," and neither are we. Our militant revolutionary friendship has stood the test of violent storms.'

The message expressed the wish that heroic Albania, the great beacon of socialism in Europe, would shine ever more brilliantly. It wished the fraternal Albanian People's Army new and still greater successes in strengthening its revolutionization, in constantly enhancing its political qualities and combat power, in defending its socialist motherland and in safeguarding peace in Europe and the world. It wished that the everlasting, unbreakable militant friendship between the peoples and armies

of China and Albania would flourish for all eternity.

Premier Chou and Other Leaders See Performance by South Vietnam Liberation Army Ensemble

The South Vietnam Liberation Army Song and Dance Ensemble, which comes from the forefront of the struggle against U.S. imperialism, gave a performance in the Great Hall of the People on the evening of July 7.

Watching the performance with more than 10,000 commanders and fighters of the Chinese People's Liberation Army, young Red Guard revolutionary fighters and revolutionary people from all walks of life in the capital were responsible comrades of the Party's Central Committee and various departments Chou En-lai, Chen Po-ta, Kang Sheng, Yeh Chien-ying, Hsiao Hua, Yang Cheng-wu and others.

An atmosphere of revolutionary friendship and militant solidarity between the peoples of China and Vietnam prevailed in the Great Hall. The south Vietnamese artists performed songs and dances reflecting the heroic feats of the south Vietnamese armymen and civilians in their anti-U.S. struggle, folk songs praising the Vietnamese people's revolutionary struggle under the leadership of their respected and beloved leader President Ho Chi Minh, and songs eulogizing the Chinese and Vietnamese peoples' militant friendship.

The performers also sang *Long Live Chairman Mao!*—a song in Chinese praising the Chinese people's great leader Chairman Mao, and other revolutionary Chinese songs.

The items performed by the Vietnamese cultural and art fighters received a rousing welcome from the audience.

During the intermission, Chou En-lai, Chen Po-ta, Kang Sheng and other comrades met Nguyen Xuan

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People's War Is Invincible

— Commemorating the 30th anniversary of the Chinese people's War of Resistance Against Japan

THIRTY years ago today, Japanese imperialism launched an aggressive war with an all-out attack on China. The Chinese people, led by the Chinese Communist Party and their great leader Chairman Mao, then began an eight-year national revolutionary war on a scale unprecedented in the annals of the world revolution.

The Chinese people's War of Resistance Against Japan was a great people's war, in which millions upon millions of people took part, personally directed and led by our great supreme commander Chairman Mao. Chairman Mao pointed out: **"It is a marvellous spectacle in the annals of war, a heroic undertaking by the Chinese nation, a magnificent and earth-shaking feat."**

The Kucmintang ruling bloc had long followed a policy of non-resistance towards Japanese imperialist aggression. Later it adopted the reactionary policy of being passive in resisting Japan but active in anti-communism.

At this crucial juncture of life and death for the Chinese nation, the Chinese Communist Party and Chairman Mao mobilized millions upon millions of people and organized a mighty army to fight Japanese aggression. The Eighth Route and New Fourth Armies led by the Chinese Communist Party, advancing to the fronts and penetrating behind the enemy lines, assumed the heavy responsibilities of the anti-Japanese war, established anti-Japanese democratic base areas covering vast territories, fought hard battles and won great victory in the war after eight years of courageous fighting.

The Chinese people's War of Resistance Against Japan was an important part of the worldwide anti-fascist war. The Chinese people, by persisting in their War of Resistance and fighting heroically, played a great role in the victory of the world anti-fascist war.

Tempered in this national revolutionary war, the Chinese people enhanced their revolutionary strength a hundredfold. This laid the foundation for the victory of the later Chinese people's War of Liberation.

During the period of the War of Resistance Against Japan, Chairman Mao solved with genius, both in theory and in practice, a series of problems concerning people's war, and a series of problems concerning the national

democratic revolution led by the proletariat; he creatively and immensely enriched and developed Marxism-Leninism and thus made an inestimable contribution to the cause of the world proletarian revolution of the present era.

The victory of the Chinese people's War of Resistance Against Japan is a victory for Chairman Mao's theory of people's war, a victory for the invincible thought of Mao Tse-tung.

Chairman Mao's correct political and military line was the basic guarantee for victory in the anti-Japanese war. It was during the anti-Japanese war period that he drew up the strategic principle of protracted war, worked out a complete set of strategy and tactics for people's war, and put forward the Marxist-Leninist revolutionary line of **boldly mobilizing the masses and expanding the people's forces so that, under the leadership of our Party, they could defeat the aggressors and build a new China.**

Chairman Mao has pointed out: **"The revolutionary war is a war of the masses; it can be waged only by mobilizing the masses and relying on them."** **"The richest source of power to wage war lies in the masses of the people."** In the period of the War of Resistance Against Japan, our Party, acting on Chairman Mao's instructions, mobilized and organized the masses, did propaganda among them and armed them, and brought fully into play the revolutionary enthusiasm of the masses. In the situation when the enemy was superior and we were inferior in strength, our Party persisted in the struggle, step by step changed the balance of strength between the enemy and ourselves and finally won victory in the War of Resistance.

Chairman Mao has pointed out: **"The Chinese revolution is essentially a peasant revolution."** **"The anti-Japanese war is essentially a peasant war."** China's revolution had to take the road of relying on the peasants, establishing rural base areas, encircling the cities from the rural areas and finally capturing the cities. In the period of the War of Resistance Against Japan, our Party followed precisely this road of victory guided by Chairman Mao, adopted a series of correct policies, brought into fullest play the tremendous strength of the peasant masses and, taking the vast rural base areas as our base, constantly wiped out enemy effective

and created a brilliant example of encircling the cities from the rural areas.

Chairman Mao has pointed out: **“Without the broadest united front of the overwhelming majority of the population, it will be impossible” to win victory in China’s revolution. “Moreover, this united front must be under the firm leadership of the Communist Party of China. Without the Party’s firm leadership, no revolutionary united front can win victory.”** In the period of the War of Resistance Against Japan, our Party followed Chairman Mao’s line and policy, united all forces that could be united, and consolidated and expanded the anti-Japanese national united front. In this united front our Party held to the principles of independence and initiative and of leadership by the proletariat. **This question of responsibility for leadership in the Chinese revolution is the linchpin upon which the success or failure of the revolution depends.**

In the course of the struggle against Right and “Left” opportunism, Chairman Mao’s revolutionary line paved the way for victory both in the War of Resistance Against Japan and in China’s revolution.

After the national united front against Japan was formed, Wang Ming, who once represented the “Left” opportunist line, became the representative of Right opportunism, namely, capitulationism. He advocated an out-and-out capitulationist line to oppose Chairman Mao’s correct line. He surrendered the proletariat’s leadership of the national revolutionary war, opposed the bold arousing of the masses, rejected base areas and people’s armed forces, but wanted to hand over to Chiang Kai-shek, the representative of the big landlords and the big bourgeoisie, everything of the people.

Such class capitulationism is, in essence, national capitulationism. If this Right opportunist line had been acted upon, then there would have been no people’s war and no victory for the people’s war, still less liberation for the whole country.

Under the brilliant leadership of Chairman Mao, our Party carried out a resolute struggle against this Right opportunist line and made a timely correction of this error so that victory in the war was assured.

After victory, the top Party person in authority taking the capitalist road dared not launch a people’s war, but openly advocated the parliamentary road and demanded that our Party hand the army over to the Kuomintang and become “officials” in the reactionary Kuomintang government. Had we acted as he recommended we would have been asking the people throughout the country to give as tribute to the Kuomintang reactionaries the fruits of victory gained in the arduous eight-year War of Resistance Against Japan. This would have been out-and-out class capitulationism.

Chairman Mao also promptly criticized this Right opportunist line, further developed the idea of people’s war and led the Chinese people in launching people’s

war on a still bigger scale. In just over three years, the Kucmintang reactionary regime was overthrown and New China was founded.

Just as Comrade Lin Piao pointed out in his article “Long Live the Victory of People’s War”: “Comrade Mao Tse-tung’s theory of people’s war has been proved by the long practice of the Chinese revolution to be in accord with the objective laws of such wars and to be invincible. It has not only been valid for China, it is a great contribution to the revolutionary struggles of the oppressed nations and peoples throughout the world.”

Today, Chairman Mao’s theory of people’s war has spread on an unprecedentedly broad scale throughout the world. People’s war is showing ever greater power. History has proved and will continue to prove that people’s war is the most effective weapon against U.S. imperialism and its lackeys. The oppressed nations who want to win complete liberation and the people of the various countries throughout the world who want to win complete victory in their wars against aggression can rely only on the strategy and tactics of people’s war. No other strategy and tactics will work. The peoples of many countries in Asia, Africa and Latin America have now taken up arms to fight against U.S. imperialism and its lackeys. The war against U.S. aggression and for national salvation waged by the Vietnamese people, in particular, has set another brilliant example of using people’s war to hit back at the aggressors and win great victories. More and more oppressed nations and peoples throughout the world will inevitably take the road of armed struggle — from having no arms to taking up arms, from having no knowledge of how to fight to becoming skilled in fighting, from not knowing how to wage people’s war to becoming skilful in waging people’s war. This is the law of people’s revolution, the law of historical development.

Faced by the revolutionary storms of the people of the world today, U.S.-led imperialism and its lackeys are panic-stricken. In desperate struggles, they are frantically prosecuting policies of aggression and war and using all kinds of tricks in an attempt to suppress the revolution of the peoples of all countries in the world and quench the flames of their armed struggles. The Soviet revisionist clique, catering to the needs of U.S. imperialism, is making all-out efforts to spread every kind of nonsense against people’s war. When Kosygin and his ilk cry about a “stop to war” everywhere throughout the world, and that “war should become a thing of the past throughout the world,” they actually want the oppressed nations and peoples to submissively endure imperialist slavery and oppression. In Vietnam, in the Middle East and other places in the world, the Soviet revisionist clique and U.S. imperialism collude in their role of international gendarmes.

U.S. imperialism, Soviet revisionism and the reactionaries of all countries have staged one act after

another recently in their scandalous anti-China farce. They frantically attack the great Chinese people and the great thought of Mao Tse-tung. This shows that they are afraid of the dissemination of the great thought of Mao Tse-tung among the people of the world, afraid of people's revolution, afraid that the oppressed nations and peoples will take up arms, afraid of people's war.

Today, on the 30th anniversary of the Chinese people's War of Resistance Against Japan, we must also take note that Japanese militarism which unleashed the war of aggression against China and brought such catastrophe upon the Chinese people then, is being revived under the aegis of the U.S. imperialists. And the Soviet revisionist clique is openly ganging up with U.S. imperialism to step up collusion with Japanese militarism in building up an anti-China encirclement. Betraying the Japanese people, a handful of Japanese Communist Party revisionists have also joined U.S. imperialism, Soviet revisionism and the reactionaries of all countries in the anti-China chorus. But the Japanese people are more awakened than ever before. The situation in Asia and through-

out the world has undergone a basic change. The might of the Chinese people is incomparably greater. All the plots of U.S. imperialism and its accomplice, the Soviet revisionist clique, to use Japanese militarism to threaten the Chinese people will certainly be shattered.

Our great leader Chairman Mao has pointed out: "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; in this sense we may say that only with guns can the whole world be transformed."

People's war is a powerful weapon for transforming the world. So long as they grasp the great weapon of Chairman Mao's theory of people's war, the revolutionary people of the whole world will be able to make themselves invincible and wipe out all such monsters as imperialism, modern revisionism and the reactionaries of all countries.

(A slightly abridged translation of "Renmin Ribao" editorial, July 7.)

The Military Government of Ne Win, the Chiang Kai-shek of Burma, Is Bound to Fail! The People Are Bound to Win!

— Speech by Thakin Ba Thein Tin, First Vice-Chairman of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Burma, at the July 5 Peking memorial rally for martyr Liu Yi

Comrades, comrades-in-arms and friends:

On behalf of the Burmese people, the Communist Party of Burma and Comrade Thakin Than Tun, the Chairman of our Party, I speak at the memorial rally for Comrade Liu Yi today.

I want first of all to say that Comrade Liu Yi was an expert sent to Burma to work for Burmese economic construction in accordance with the Sino-Burmese Economic Aid Agreement.

He served the Burmese people with a high degree of proletarian internationalist spirit. He was killed by thugs instigated by the reactionary Ne Win military government while performing the tasks assigned him by his country, and died a heroic death.

His death and bloodshed contributed to the establishment of Chinese-Burmese friendship. The

Burmese people will never forget this. They will always remember him.

The Burmese people and the Communist Party of Burma feel great sorrow at Comrade Liu Yi's heroic death. I express our sympathy with the Chinese people and the relatives of Comrade Liu Yi.

Now, I want to say that the struggle waged by the young overseas Chinese students and the overseas Chinese brothers in Burma is entirely just and correct.

Their just struggle is bound to win.

The reactionary Ne Win military government can never crush their just struggle.

The combined pressure of Ne Win's masters — U.S. imperialism and the Soviet revisionist leading clique — cannot crush their just struggle either.

Why?

Because they have grasped the thought of Chairman Mao, the great leader of the world, and their struggle is just; the glorious 700 million Chinese people are with them, the broad masses of the Burmese people are with them.

I want to reiterate at this rally that our Communist Party of Burma wholeheartedly supports the just struggle of the overseas Chinese, and vehemently protests against the fascist atrocities of the Ne Win military government in massacring the overseas Chinese.

We fully support the June 29 statement of the Government of the Chinese People's Republic protesting against the Ne Win military government.

Martyr Liu Yi, overseas Chinese student martyrs and overseas Chinese martyrs gave their lives and shed their blood for this struggle.

Many more were wounded, arrested and persecuted. It has been learnt that, up to the present, in Rangoon alone overseas Chinese have been killed by the hundreds and overseas Chinese students and overseas Chinese have been arrested by the thousands.

This is an outrageous crime that can never be erased from the history of Burma! The blood debt incurred by the Ne Win military government, including that owed Comrade Liu Yi and other martyrs, must be paid in blood. We declare here that our Party and the people of Burma, together with the Chinese people, must demand payment for it.

Next, I want to talk about why the Ne Win military government carried out this massacre.

It was by no means accidental that the reactionary Ne Win military government opposed China.

Burma's anti-China incident is not divorced from the anti-China drive in Indonesia, India, Hongkong and in other countries and areas; it is part of the adverse current of opposition to the Communist Parties, the people, the revolution and China. All this shows that class struggle throughout the whole world is very sharp and that the world revolutionary movement has entered a new stage and reached a new height.

This incident was planned beforehand, arranged and carried out in collusion with the U.S. imperialists, Soviet revisionists, reactionaries of all countries and the Kuomintang gang.

The anti-China outrage instigated by the Ne Win military government is an outcome of the anti-communist, anti-popular policy of civil war which it has followed for a long time, and an outcome of its reactionary foreign policy of further dependence on and collusion with imperialism, revisionism and the reactionaries in all countries, and has been decided by its class nature.

The Ne Win military government has carried out this massacre at a time when it is facing total bankruptcy, militarily, politically and economically.

I would like first to talk about its military bankruptcy.

The armed struggle under the leadership of the Communist Party of Burma headed by Chairman Thakin Than Tun has been going on for 19 to almost 20 years.

Ne Win and his gang are the chief culprits who started the reactionary civil war.

They set off the unjust war, and burnt down thousands of villages.

They have turned a large number of villages into concentration camps like those in south Vietnam.

Tens of thousands of peasants have been killed and arrested, many women raped and many Communists massacred.

Aided by U.S. imperialism and assisted by Britain, Israel, West Germany, Japan, India and other imperialists and reactionaries, the Ne Win military government has launched wild attacks on the Burmese people's democratic revolution.

It has received much aid from Khrushchov, Kosygin, Brezhnev, Tito and other modern revisionists.

Ne Win also received great help from China's Khrushchov.

Nevertheless, the Burmese armed struggle has not collapsed. At present, we are dealing the Ne Win military government harsh blows. Under the banner of the national democratic united front, the armed units have scored victory after victory. The people of the Shan, Kachin, Karen, Kayah, Mon and Pa-o nationalities are also engaged in armed struggle against the Ne Win military government. The revolutionary armed forces have now grown so strong that they are capable of taking medium-sized and small towns and have occupied them for a time. According to incomplete statistics, more than 400 battles were fought in 1966. Our Party's armed forces have increased by half. Our guerrilla bases have been expanded and consolidated. The area in which we are fighting accounts for more than 60 per cent of the country's total area.

Last October, our armed units attacked a position only two miles from Ne Win's mansion. In November, they captured the goods of a co-operative shop on the outskirts of Rangoon. These battles gave the Ne Win government a shock. The U.S. and British press sum up our present military situation as follows: The revolutionary armed forces are forming a crescent around Rangoon and although the Burmese Government can control two-thirds of the country by day it can only control one half at night. U.S. imperialism is worried that Burma may become a second Vietnam within two or three years.

The Ne Win military government has fired the first shot against Chinese nationals. Since it has fired the first shot, it is with good reason that we should hit back.

Now that Ne Win has fired the first shot in opposing China, the armed struggle in Burma will certainly develop by leaps and bounds and reach a still higher stage. This is because the present situation is that the Burmese armed struggle is enjoying the full sympathy and support of the 700 million Chinese people and the overwhelming majority of the Burmese people, who are against Ne Win, and will unite still more closely.

The situation to be looked forward to is that the Burmese armed struggle will display greater might and spread further, and more troops of the Ne Win government will be wiped out. This is how Ne Win is digging his own grave.

It is because we have taken Marxism-Leninism, Mao Tse-tung's thought as our guide that we have been able to persevere in carrying on armed struggle for nearly 20 years. The brilliant victories we have won in the military field are a victory of the invincible thought of Mao Tse-tung.

It is because we have established in our minds Chairman Mao's idea that **"political power grows out of the barrel of a gun"** that we have been able to persevere in struggle. We have been able to do so because we have used guns and opposed the ideas and programme of China's Khrushchov and of the Soviet revisionist leading clique which urge us to co-operate with Ne Win and be his disciples.

Our armed struggle arose out of our mastery of Chairman Mao's thought. As already mentioned, we have not only accepted the guidance of the completely correct idea, namely, **"political power grows out of the barrel of a gun,"** but we also carry on our fight in accordance with **Chairman Mao's theory on protracted war, relying on the countryside as our base area and encircling the cities from the countryside.** Our practice has proved that, given a Party armed with the thought of Chairman Mao, and given that this Party is able to rely first of all on the peasants, protracted war can be carried on even in a small country like Burma.

However, as a result of the disruptive activities of China's Khrushchov, the Burmese revolution and the Chinese people have been turned from close friends into distant relatives.

China's Khrushchov has a soft spot for Ne Win, but harbours no such good intention towards the Communist Party of Burma. This is not fortuitous; there is a reason. As far back as 20 years ago, our Party was a Party loyal to Marxism-Leninism, Mao Tse-tung's thought. It is only natural that China's Khrushchov, who is opposed to Marxism-Leninism, Mao Tse-tung's thought, should treat us badly.

In spite of the fact that China's Khrushchov has not liked us, we have followed Chairman Mao's teachings, persevered in self-reliance and carried on struggle for more than 19 years.

Burma's revolution has proved that as long as the people of various countries really act according to Chairman Mao's teachings on self-reliance, then the oppressed people of these countries can decide their own destiny in the spirit of **self-reliance.** Our Party is now undertaking a vigorous study of Chairman Mao's works. It has also been stressed that everyone undertake a creative study and application, in the course of struggle, of **"Long Live the Victory of People's War!"**, written by our respected and beloved Vice-Chairman Lin Piao.

We regard Chairman Mao's works as an invaluable treasure.

Ne Win and his like also study Chairman Mao's works according to their understanding. But the purpose of their study is to discredit Chairman Mao and the Chinese people, to discredit the Burmese people and oppose the Burmese Communist Party.

The enemy is afraid of Mao Tse-tung's thought. Ne Win, the revisionists of all countries and China's Khrushchov are all in mortal fear of Mao Tse-tung's thought. That is why we must double our efforts to study Mao Tse-tung's thought which the enemy fears.

As I have already said, because of the rapid development of the armed struggle in Burma, the military crisis of the Ne Win military government has become more serious.

Class struggle is very acute in Burma. The reactionary Ne Win military government is facing crisis all along the line. This crisis is a bomb that is about to explode.

In these circumstances, the Ne Win military government directs its spearhead at the Communist Party of Burma. It has decided to launch another wild military offensive against the Party.

Externally, it still regards the People's Republic of China as the main danger. It made a public statement to this effect at the Burma Socialist Programme Party Conference convened last November.

From these facts people can clearly see that the Ne Win military government is the enemy of the Burmese people and the enemy of the Chinese people as well.

This Ne Win military government has worked more flagrantly than ever in collusion with U.S. imperialism, Israel, Thailand and the "Malaysian" reactionaries.

Prior to the massacre of the overseas Chinese, it held talks with Adam Malik, representative of the Indonesian fascist government.

I would now like to say something about the political crisis of the Ne Win military government.

Ne Win openly declared that his political line was one of non-acceptance of Marxism-Leninism, Mao Tse-tung's thought, and of non-acceptance of the leadership of the proletariat.

He said his government would give the peasants privileges, but in reality its foundation is the landlords and rich peasants.

It virtually transferred the right to resolve the peasant problem to the reactionary village heads, bureaucrats and military officers.

What it preached about the "labouring people" in effect refers to the bureaucratic exploiting class and reactionary military officers who are slaughtering the peasants. The real workers serve only as the object of their exploitation and oppression.

As in the case of Yugoslavia, Ne Win accepts aid from all imperialist and revisionist countries.

He suppresses the Communist Party by means of unjust war.

This is what the "Burmese programme for socialism" has meant.

Even now the Soviet modern revisionists still proclaim that the road Ne Win takes is a non-capitalist one.

China's Khrushchov also directly told Ne Win that it was necessary to learn from Ne Win's programme for socialism.

But the Burmese people have a real understanding of their own. They see with their own eyes that Ne Win's "Burmese programme for socialism" has brought about the massacre of tens of thousands of people.

Under the Ne Win military government rule, even bourgeois democracy was got rid of. Four months after the military government came to power, more than 100 university students were killed and over 300 students injured on July 7, in Rangoon, the capital of Burma.

In November 1963, after shamelessly sabotaging peaceful negotiations, the Ne Win military government abolished all legitimate parties and arrested more than 1,000 well-known progressive people. From that time till now, it has continued to arrest workers, peasants, students, writers and owners of enterprises. What do all these facts show? They show that Ne Win, who is carrying out military dictatorship in the country, is Burma's Chiang Kai-shek.

The people have clearly realized that the Ne Win military government is incapable of resolving any problem, no matter whether it concerns culture, public health, or the economy. Things are going from bad to worse.

Therefore, the people have seen that Ne Win's "Burmese programme for socialism" is false. Ne Win cannot deceive anyone! And, therefore, Ne Win has exposed his true features to the Burmese people, as did Khrushchov, Kosygin and Brezhnev. China's Khrushchov has also shown his true countenance.

Comrades, this is perfectly clear to us.

We never thought that socialism could be established by relying on "aid" from U.S. imperialism. However, the group of people like Ne Win, Khrushchov and China's Khrushchov said it was possible and experimented in Burma.

I would also like to say a few words about the economic crisis of the Ne Win military government.

Ne Win's "programme for socialism" in Burma long ago plunged the whole country into a serious economic crisis. At present, there is an extreme lack of food and medicine, the price of commodities is very high and speculating merchant cliques and black markets are so numerous that Ne Win has been helpless in dealing with them. The reason is that his officers and officials have all taken part in black market activities.

With regard to the situation of the material shortages, I would like to cite a few examples to explain it.

At present, Burma is extremely short of cooking oil and there has been none for use in preparing dishes. The ordinary people call those dishes with no cooking oil, or very little, "Ne Win dishes."

Famine in Burma is now extremely serious.

Burma is one of the world's biggest rice-producing countries. Even during World War II, when the whole country had been turned into a battlefield, there was no famine in Burma because of the self-reliant efforts of the Burmese people.

In pre-war days, apart from domestic consumption, three million tons of rice were exported annually. But now the amount exported has been only six hundred thousand tons, and the sale of rice domestically has to be measured by the milk bottle.

Famine has been brought on under Ne Win's rule. The Government has declared that Burma will possibly be without grain before November and December of this year. It therefore asks the people to practise economy in grain consumption. However, famine has already begun. Workers have left the factories because they have nothing to eat; peasants are unable to work in the fields because they have insufficient food. People are eating roots and bark. Diseases are spreading because of malnutrition.

Demonstrations and struggles have occurred aimed at securing a solution to the grain problem. In some places the seizure of rice has taken place. In Rangoon, it is only possible for a person to buy one milk bottleful of rice daily. Over 1,000 residents in the Thaketa quarter held a demonstration in front of a grain shop because they had no rice for their evening meal. In Rangoon some restaurants have no rice to serve.

The people of the whole country are highly indignant at the Ne Win military government.

In order to shake itself free of political, military and economic crisis and consolidate its rule, the Ne Win military government has adopted despicable measures. It has stirred up a conflict between China and Burma in an attempt to divert into a national conflict the fierce anger of the Burmese people that has burst forth like a volcano.

It is well known that the Ne Win military government started by ruthlessly massacring overseas Chinese students and other overseas Chinese. At first, it manufactured rumours and incited national hatred, and then provoked national conflict. Its despicable schemes may succeed perhaps for the time being. However, the friendship between China and Burma that has been formed for such a long time is firm and nobody can undermine it. No force on earth is capable of sabotaging this friendship. Whoever attempts to do so is a madman, just banging his head against a brick wall.

Chairman Mao teaches us: **“Lifting a rock only to drop it on one’s own feet’ is a Chinese folk saying to describe the behaviour of certain fools. The reactionaries in all countries are fools of this kind. In the final analysis, their persecution of the revolutionary people only serves to accelerate the people’s revolutions on a broader and more intense scale.”** By his opposition to China, Ne Win is lifting a rock only to drop it on his own feet.

Before World War II, the British imperialists provoked a conflict between China and Burma. Apart from this, China-Burma friendship has been firm. It is a flesh and blood friendship. The Burmese call the Chinese *paukphaw* meaning kinsmen. Of course, Ne Win also calls China’s Khrushchov *paukphaw*. The latter is a *paukphaw* of partners-in-crime, and not that between the people. It is merely *paukphaw* of a supreme master and a disciple.

Therefore, we are convinced that, guided by the spirit of genuinely consolidated friendship between China and Burma, and not by the hypocritical rubbish of Ne Win and China’s Khrushchov, the overseas Chinese in Burma will certainly win victory.

There is another matter I would like to refer to.

The reactionaries of all countries say that there are two kinds of Communist Parties. They say that they do not fear the Communist Parties of Khrushchov, Kosygin and Brezhnev and that they can make friends with such Communist Parties. They take the same attitude towards Communists like China’s Khrushchov. But they are frightened out of their wits by the Communist Party of Mao Tse-tung.

This analysis of the enemy is very important. We should all be Communist Parties of Mao Tse-tung.

The overseas Chinese in Burma, who are struggling by holding aloft Chairman Mao’s teaching **“a great life, a glorious death,”** will certainly win.

The Burmese people will surely end this massacre soon and unite as one in opposition to Ne Win.

The Ne Win military government which is opposing the Chinese and Burmese peoples will certainly be defeated.

China’s Khrushchov, who has suppressed the great proletarian cultural revolution and the Red Guards in China, has been discredited among the masses. The Ne Win military government, which is suppressing overseas Chinese for fear both of the influence of China’s great proletarian cultural revolution and of the revolutionary forces in Burma, is bound to fail.

China’s Khrushchov, who opposed the thought of Chairman Mao, has bitten the dust; the Ne Win military government, which has insulted Chairman Mao, will also certainly be defeated.

Together with the Chinese people, we will certainly carry the struggle against the Ne Win military government, the struggle against revisionism and the struggle against the reactionaries of all countries through to the very end.

We will definitely strengthen the struggle against the Ne Win military government in our practical work.

Let the U.S. imperialists and the Soviet revisionists give more aid to the Ne Win military government!

However great the sacrifice we have to suffer, no matter how long the struggle continues, we will certainly carry on our fight.

We have waged a military struggle over a period of nearly 20 years. We say that we are not afraid of any kind of enemy, because we have Chairman Mao’s thought as our guide.

We will overthrow the Ne Win military government and bring about a lasting peace, a happy and completely independent Burma and set up a people’s democratic united front government conforming to the people’s wishes.

Let us unite, fight and triumph together under the banner of Chairman Mao’s thought!

We fully support the fraternal overseas Chinese in Burma in their revolutionary, valiant and just struggle! No one can destroy the friendship between China and Burma!

The reactionary Ne Win military government is bound to fail!

The people’s democratic revolution is bound to triumph!

Long live the unity of the Burmese and Chinese peoples!

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

Long live proletarian internationalism!

Long live China's great proletarian cultural revolution personally led by Chairman Mao!

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

U.S. imperialism is bound to fail!

Modern revisionism headed by the leadership of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union is bound to fail!

To the good health of Comrade Thakin Than Tun, Chairman of the Communist Party of Burma!

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

红旗
HONGQI

People of Indonesia, Unite and Fight to Overthrow the Fascist Regime

AFTER staging the counter-revolutionary 1965 coup d'etat, the Suharto-Nasution Right-wing military clique, faithful lackey of U.S. imperialism and anti-communist ally of Soviet revisionism, established a fascist dictatorship of unprecedented ruthlessness in Indonesia.

For the past year or more, it has followed an out-and-out traitorous, dictatorial, anti-communist, anti-China and anti-popular counter-revolutionary policy.

It has imposed a white terror in Indonesia on an unprecedented scale, slaughtered several hundred thousand Communists and revolutionary people and thrown into prison several hundred thousand more fine sons and daughters of the Indonesian people. All Indonesia has been turned into one vast hell. By engaging in bloody suppression, it attempts in vain to wipe out the Indonesian Communist Party and stamp out the Indonesian revolution.

This clique cherishes an inveterate hatred for socialist China, which resolutely supports the revolutionary struggle of the Indonesian people. It has repeatedly carried out serious provocations against the Chinese people, whipped up anti-China, anti-Chinese campaigns and practised inhuman racist persecution against overseas Chinese. It has vainly tried to sabotage the traditional friendship between the Chinese people and the overseas Chinese in Indonesia on the one hand and the Indonesian people on the other, and to prevent the Chinese people from supporting the Indonesian people's revolution.

In the final analysis, the many kinds of persecution against the Indonesian Communist Party and the Indonesian people by the Suharto-Nasution Right-wing military clique will only serve to speed the upsurge in the Indonesian revolution and hasten its own doom.

The heroic Indonesian Communists and people can neither be cowed, suppressed, nor wiped out. The determination of the Indonesian people to make revolution is unshakable; and so is the Chinese people's determination to support their revolution. No reactionary force on earth can obstruct this.

At present, the Indonesian Communists and revolutionary people are regrouping their forces for a new battle. The August 17, 1966 "Statement" of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Indonesian Communist Party and the "Self-Criticism" it endorsed in September, which were published by the magazine *Indonesian Tribune* not long ago, are a call to the Indonesian Communists and the Indonesian working class, peasants, revolutionary intellectuals and all anti-imperialist, anti-feudal revolutionary forces to unite and engage in a new struggle.

The two documents of the Political Bureau of the Indonesian Communist Party are a telling blow at U.S. imperialism and its flunkys, the Suharto-Nasution fascist military dictatorial regime, and the revisionist leading clique of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, and a tremendous encouragement to the revolutionary people of Indonesia.

In these two documents, the Political Bureau of the Indonesian Communist Party has summed up the experience and lessons of the Party in leading the Indonesian people's revolutionary struggle, has criticized the Right opportunist errors committed by the leadership of the Party in the past, pointed out the road for the Indonesian revolution, and laid down the principles for future struggle.

The documents point out that Indonesia is a semi-colonial and semi-feudal country. The Suharto-Nasution military fascist dictatorship is a regime of the most

reactionary classes in Indonesia: the comprador bourgeoisie, the bureaucrat-capitalists and the landlords. It is the primary task of the revolution in its present stage to overthrow this counter-revolutionary regime and the reactionary rule of imperialism and feudalism in Indonesia, to establish the people's democratic dictatorship and build a completely independent, democratic, new Indonesia.

The documents emphatically point out: "To achieve its complete victory, the Indonesian revolution must also follow the road of the Chinese revolution. This means that the Indonesian revolution must inevitably adopt this main form of struggle, namely, the people's armed struggle against the armed counter-revolution which, in essence, is the armed agrarian revolution of the peasants under the leadership of the proletariat."

The Political Bureau has criticized the revisionist line of the 20th Congress of the C.P.S.U., and pointed out that this counter-revolutionary line caused serious damage to the Indonesian Communist Party and brought tremendous losses to the Indonesian people's revolutionary movement. Modern revisionism, with the leadership of the C.P.S.U. as its centre, is the greatest danger to the international communist movement and to the Indonesian Communist Party as well. The bloody lesson of the loss of hundreds of thousands of lives in Indonesia shows once again that the revisionist road of "peaceful transition" advocated by the leadership of the C.P.S.U. is the road to burying the revolution, the road to exterminating the Party and the people.

The documents hold that the leadership of the Party in the past deviated from the Marxist-Leninist theory on the state and one-sidedly stressed the possibilities of the so-called peaceful road and parliamentary road. It claimed that Indonesian bourgeois state power had two aspects, the "pro-people aspect" and the "anti-people aspect"; it hoped to bring about a fundamental change in state power by peaceful means through developing the "pro-people aspect." This is a sheer illusion of "peaceful transition."

The documents criticize and repudiate the theory of "combining the three forms of struggle," namely, guerrilla warfare in the countryside, the workers' movement in the cities, and work among the enemy's armed forces. They point out that, concerning the "three forms of struggle," the leadership of the Party in the past, instead of having led them along the road of revolution, led each along the "peaceful road" and thereby virtually gave up the armed struggle. The documents emphasize that the Indonesian Marxist-Leninists must resolutely abandon this erroneous theory, hold high the banner of the people's armed revolution, establish revolutionary base areas in accordance with the experience of the Chinese revolution, and turn the backward villages into strong, consolidated military, political, and cultural bastions of the revolution.

The Political Bureau regards as an important task of the Party the establishment of a broad anti-imperial-

ist and anti-feudal united front led by the working class and based on the worker-peasant alliance. To carry this out, the Party must have a correct programme, correct principles and tactics and, what is particularly important, must grasp that form of armed struggle in which it integrates with the peasants and wins their support.

The documents criticize the slogan of "national cooperation with the 'Nasakom' as the core" and hold that such a statement obscures the class content of the united front. In its effort to establish a united front with the national bourgeoisie, the Party leadership in the past abrogated the independent role of the proletariat and turned it into an appendage of the national bourgeoisie. In the past it put the three components of Marxism on a par with the "three components of Sukarno's teachings" and in an unprincipled way recognized Sukarno as "the great leader of the revolution." The Party's erroneous attitude towards Sukarno is a major manifestation of its loss of independence within the united front.

They point out that an arduous task lies ahead in the building up of the Indonesian Communist Party. It must be built into a Marxist-Leninist Party free from all forms of opportunism, one that resolutely opposes legalism, subjectivism and modern revisionism.

The documents say that on the question of Party building the main mistakes in the past have been "liberalism and legalism." They criticize the Party for its tendency to blindly seek numerical strength in recruitment, and point out that the mass character of the Party is expressed first of all not in a vast membership but in close ties with the masses, in its political line defending the interests of the masses and in the overall application of the mass line.

In order to build a Marxist-Leninist revolutionary Party, the Political Bureau of the Indonesian Communist Party calls upon the whole Party to improve its education in Marxism-Leninism, Mao Tse-tung's thought, to sum up the historical experience of the Party and carry out a rectification campaign.

The documents point out: "The experience of the struggle waged by the Party in the past has shown how indispensable it is for the Indonesian Marxist-Leninists, who are resolved to defend Marxism-Leninism and to combat modern revisionism, to study not only the teachings of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin, but also to devote special attention to studying the Thought of Mao Tse-tung who has succeeded in inheriting, defending and developing Marxism-Leninism to its peak in the present era."

After summing up the historical experience of the Indonesian revolution, the "Statement" and the "Self-Criticism" of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Indonesian Communist Party come to this important conclusion:

"To win victory for the people's democratic revolution, the Indonesian Marxist-Leninists must hold aloft the Three Banners of the Party, namely:

"The first banner, the building of a Marxist-Leninist Party which is free from subjectivism, opportunism and modern revisionism.

"The second banner, the armed people's struggle which in essence is the armed struggle of the peasants in an anti-feudal agrarian revolution under the leadership of the working class."

"The third banner, the revolutionary united front based on the worker-peasant alliance under the leadership of the working class."

The conclusion drawn by the Political Bureau of the Indonesian Communist Party concerning the "Three Banners" conforms with Marxism-Leninism, Mao Tse-tung's thought, and will play an important guiding role in the Indonesian revolution.

The road pioneered by Comrade Mao Tse-tung for the Chinese revolution is the road by which **"political power grows out of the barrel of a gun,"** the road of relying on the peasants, establishing rural revolutionary bases, encircling the cities from the rural areas and finally capturing the cities.

Summing up the experience of the Chinese revolution, Comrade Mao Tse-tung says: **"We have had much valuable experience. A well-disciplined Party armed with the theory of Marxism-Leninism, using the method of self-criticism and linked with the masses of the people; an army under the leadership of such a Party; a united front of all revolutionary classes and all revolutionary groups under the leadership of such a Party — these are the three main weapons with which we have defeated the enemy. They distinguish us from our predecessors. Relying on them, we have won basic victory."**

In the course of leading the Chinese people's struggle to seize political power, the Chinese Communist Party has had great victories in the revolution as well as serious defeats. The Party's defeats and victories, its retreats and advances, its shrinking and growth, its development and consolidation, are all closely linked with whether or not the Party's political line correctly handles the questions of armed struggle and the united front. Armed struggle and the united front are the two basic weapons for conquering the enemy. The united front is a united front for carrying out armed struggle. The Party organization is the heroic fighter wielding these two weapons. Such is how these three are interrelated.

Comrade Mao Tse-tung says: **"Having a correct grasp of these three questions [the united front, armed struggle and Party building — Tr.] and their interrelations is tantamount to giving correct leadership to the whole Chinese revolution."**

At present, a severe white terror continues to reign over Indonesia. The Indonesian Communist Party is

faced with an extremely difficult and complex task. The Party's struggle is undergoing a major change: a switch from the cities to the countryside, from peaceful struggle to armed struggle, from legal to illegal, from open to secret. For a Party, whose main work over a long period of time was open and legal activity in the cities, this change is not easy indeed. It is bound to meet many difficulties. But the objective realities of the revolutionary struggle compel people to make the change and compel them to learn armed struggle, and there is no alternative for them but to master it. In fact, as long as they are resolute and surmount all difficulties, there is no doubt that they can do so.

Comrade Mao Tse-tung says: **"A revolutionary war is a mass undertaking; it is often not a matter of first learning and then doing, but of doing and then learning, for doing is itself learning. There is a gap between the ordinary civilian and the soldier, but it is no Great Wall, and it can be quickly closed, and the way to close it is to take part in revolution, in war."**

We are convinced that the Indonesian Marxist-Leninists, guided by the invincible Marxism-Leninism, Mao Tse-tung's thought, will surmount obstacle after obstacle, effect this historic change and lead the Indonesian people on to the long march for winning victory in the revolution.

The Chinese Communist Party and the Chinese people constantly have the fight of the Indonesian Communist Party and the Indonesian people in mind. Our hearts are closely linked with the hearts of our class brothers in Indonesia. We stand unflinchingly on the side of the Indonesian Communist Party, on the side of the Indonesian revolutionary people, and firmly support the Indonesian Communist Party in leading the Indonesian people's struggle to overthrow the Suharto-Nasution fascist regime and establish a completely independent and democratic new Indonesia.

Comrade Mao Tse-tung says, **"The unbridled violence of all the forces of darkness, whether domestic or foreign, has brought disaster to our nation; but this very violence indicates that while the forces of darkness still have some strength left, they are already in their death throes, and that the people are gradually approaching victory."**

As the documents of the Political Bureau of the Indonesian Communist Party well express, the present military dictatorship of the Right-wing generals and the U.S. imperialists, who support this reactionary regime, are all paper tigers. In appearance, they are terrifying, but in reality they are weak.

Dark clouds cannot long obscure the sun whose resplendent light will surely shine over the whole of Indonesia. Final victory will certainly belong to the Communist Party of Indonesia and to the Indonesian people.

("Hongqi" editorial, No.11, 1967.)

Statement by the Political Bureau of The Central Committee of the Indonesian Communist Party

(Excerpts)

August 17, 1966

A STATEMENT issued by the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Indonesia (P.K.I.) on August 17, 1966, appeared in the first issue of the "Indonesian Tribune" published in November last year. It was entitled "Take the Road of Revolution to Realize the Tasks Which Should Have Been Accomplished by the 1945 August Revolution." Excerpts of the statement follow.—Ed.

The Indonesian people observe the 21st anniversary of the outbreak of the 1945 August Revolution in a situation when the counter-revolutionaries headed by the Right-wing army generals Suharto and Nasution rule over the country. During this period of almost one year, modern Indonesian history has never witnessed such a rampant counter-revolutionary terror, whose barbarism is comparable only to that of Hitlerite Nazism, as has been unleashed by the forces headed by the reactionary generals in the army. Nevertheless, no matter how vicious and barbarous the counter-revolutionaries have run amok, they will never succeed in suppressing the revolutionary elan of the working class, the peasantry and other driving forces of the revolution.

Step by step, the revolutionaries and the democrats are reorganizing themselves and waging a resistance struggle against the military dictatorship of the Right-wing army generals led by Suharto and Nasution. All of this has been accomplished under the most difficult and grave conditions, under the threat of incessant terror. How unbreakable is the revolutionary spirit of the Indonesian people!

The P.K.I., which by virtue of historical necessity occupies the position as vanguard of the working class and all revolutionary forces in Indonesia, not only is rebuilding its organization from the serious damage it has suffered, but due to the practising of criticism and self-criticism within the leadership and within the whole Party, it is returning to the correct road, the road

of revolution which is illuminated by Marxism-Leninism.

Why Has the August Revolution of 1945 Failed To Achieve Its Objective Goal?

Based on objective conditions, Indonesia at the time of the outbreak of the revolution was a colonial and semi-feudal country, and therefore the 1945 August Revolution has the character of a bourgeois-democratic revolution having the double tasks, to drive away imperialism from Indonesia, in order to liberate the whole nation, and to realize democratic reforms, that is to say, to liquidate entirely the remnants of feudalism, in order to liberate the peasants from the feudal oppression of foreign and native landlords.

The 1945 August Revolution is part of the world proletarian socialist revolution. It was a new-type bourgeois-democratic revolution. The complete victory of a new-type bourgeois-democratic revolution will provide the conditions for socialist revolution. Consequently, the perspective of the 1945 August Revolution is socialism and communism.

The driving forces of the 1945 August Revolution are the working class or the proletariat, the peasantry and the petty bourgeoisie outside the peasantry. The anti-imperialist character of the 1945 August Revolution, which manifested itself very clearly at the start of the revolution, has made it possible for the mobilization of the very broad strata of the Indonesian population. Apart from the national bourgeoisie which, to a certain degree, adopted an anti-imperialist and anti-feudal stand, other patriotic elements, including even patriotic landlords, had taken part in or contributed to the war of independence against the Dutch imperialists.

The experience of the 1945 August Revolution has shown that the P.K.I. as the vanguard of the Indonesian working class did not succeed as yet in taking up its

place as the leader of the struggle for emancipation of the Indonesian people. The P.K.I. entered the 1945 August Revolution without adequate preparations. Its serious shortcoming in theory and its lack of understanding of the concrete conditions of Indonesian society had resulted in its inability to formulate the nature of the revolution, its tasks, its programme, tactics and slogans, as well as the correct principles and forms of organization. The high reputation the P.K.I. enjoyed in the eyes of the Indonesian people had been earned through its heroism in fighting imperialism during the time of Dutch colonial domination and of the fascist Japanese occupation. Nevertheless, this high reputation of the P.K.I. had failed to establish the P.K.I. leadership in the August Revolution of 1945.

This theoretical shortcoming and inability to make a concrete analysis of the concrete situation of the world and of Indonesia had resulted in that the P.K.I. was unable to make use of this highly favourable opportunity given by the August Revolution of 1945 to overcome its shortcomings. The P.K.I. did not consistently lead the armed struggle against Dutch imperialism, did not develop guerrilla warfare that was integrated with the democratic movement of the peasants, as the only way to defeat the war of aggression launched by the Dutch imperialists. On the contrary, the P.K.I. even approved of and itself followed the policy of reactionary compromises of Sjahrir's Right-wing socialists. The P.K.I. did not establish the alliance of the working class and the peasantry and did not lead the anti-feudal struggle in the countryside, and did not establish, on the basis of such a worker-peasant alliance, a united front with all other democratic forces. The P.K.I. did not consolidate its strength, on the contrary, it even relegated to the background its own role. These are the reasons why the August Revolution of 1945 did not proceed as it should, did not achieve the decisive victory, and finally failed in reaching its objective goal.

The Main Problem of Every Revolution Is the Problem of State Power

It is an absolute condition for every revolutionary, and even more so for every Communist, to grasp the truth that "the main problem of every revolution is the problem of state power."

The oppressed classes, in liberating themselves from exploitation and oppression, have no other way but to make a revolution, that is to say, overthrowing by force the oppressor classes from state power, or seizing state power by force. Because, the state is an instrument created by the ruling classes to oppress the ruled classes.

But, for a genuine people's revolution in the present modern era, it is not enough just to wrest the power from the hands of the oppressor classes, and to make use of the power that has been wrested. **Marx** has taught us that the destruction of the old military-

bureaucratic state machine is "the prerequisite for every genuine people's revolution" (**Lenin, State and Revolution**). A genuine people's revolution will achieve decisive victory only after it has accomplished this prerequisite, while at the same time sets up a completely new state apparatus whose task is to suppress by force and mercilessly the resistance put up by the overthrown oppressor classes.

What Should the August Revolution of 1945 Have Done With Regard to the State Power?

As a prerequisite, the August Revolution of 1945 should have smashed the colonial state machine along with all of its apparatuses that had been established to maintain colonial domination of Indonesia, and **not** merely transferred the power to the Republic of Indonesia. The August Revolution of 1945 should have established a completely new state, a state **jointly ruled** by all the anti-imperialist and anti-feudal classes **under the leadership of the working class**. This is what is to be called a people's democratic state.

Due to the absence of the working class' leadership, the Republic of Indonesia was inevitably a **state ruled by the bourgeoisie**, despite the participation of the proletariat. A state with such a class character can never become an **instrument** of the 1945 August Revolution. Without the dictatorship of people's democracy, the August Revolution of 1945 did not have an instrument to defeat its enemies, and consequently was unable to accomplish its tasks, namely the complete liquidation of imperialist domination and the remnants of feudalism.

The voluntary withdrawal of a cabinet led by the Communists in 1948 had opened up the broadest opportunity for the reactionary bourgeoisie led by Muhamad Hatta to make the state power fall into its hands. This reactionary bourgeoisie then betrayed the August Revolution by unleashing white terror, the Madiun Affair, as a prelude to the restoration of the Dutch imperialist interests through the conclusion of the despicable agreement of the round-table conference, which turned Indonesia into a semi-colonial and semi-feudal country.

The resurgence of the revolutionary struggle of the Indonesian people in continuing the fight against imperialist domination and the remnants of feudalism after the round-table conference, had gained certain political victories of partial and reform nature, which had led to the lessening of the anti-democratic character of the bourgeois power.

It was a great mistake to assume that the existence of such a government signified a fundamental change in the class character of the state power. It was equally incorrect to assume that the above-mentioned facts marked the birth and the development of an

aspect representing the interests of the people, or of a **pro-people aspect**, within the state power.

Such an error, that was formulated in the "theory of two aspects in state power," led to the erroneous conclusion that within the state power of the Republic of Indonesia there existed two aspects, the anti-people aspect consisting of comprador, bureaucrat capitalist and landlord classes on the one hand, and the "pro-people aspect" composed mainly of the national bourgeoisie and the proletariat on the other hand.

According to this "two-aspect theory," a miracle could happen in Indonesia, namely that the state could cease to be an instrument of the ruling oppressor classes to subjugate other classes, but it could be made an instrument shared by both the oppressor classes and the oppressed classes. And the fundamental change in state power, that is to say, the birth of a people's power, could be peacefully accomplished by developing the "pro-people aspect" and gradually liquidating the "anti-people aspect."

Hoping for a fundamental change in state power, to usher the people into the position of power, through the victory of the "pro-people aspect" over the "anti-people aspect" in line with the "theory of two aspects in state power," was but a pure illusion. The people will be able to gain power only through an armed revolution under the leadership of the working class to overthrow the power of the comprador bourgeoisie, the bureaucrat capitalists and the landlords which represent the interests of imperialism and the remnants of feudalism.

The "theory of two aspects in state power" has in practice deprived the proletariat of its independence in the united front with the national bourgeoisie, dissolved the interests of the proletariat in that of the national bourgeoisie, and placed the proletariat in a position as a tail-end of the national bourgeoisie.

To return the proletariat to its position of leadership in the liberation struggle of the Indonesian people, it is absolutely necessary to rectify the mistake of the "theory of two aspects in state power," and to do away with the erroneous view with regard to Marxist-Leninist teaching on state and revolution.

The Road to a Completely Independent and Democratic New Indonesia

After the August Revolution of 1945, Indonesia has not become a completely independent country, but is still a semi-colonial and semi-feudal country. The power is not in the hands of the people, but in the hands of the upper stratum of the bourgeois and landlord classes. Only a handful of Indonesians from among the ruling classes have enjoyed the fruits of independence, while the people, especially the workers and the peasants who paid the greatest sacrifices during the 1945 August Revolution, still live under the exploitation

and oppression by imperialism and the remnants of feudalism, and therefore are still far away from independence and liberation.

The rule of the military dictatorship of the Right-wing army generals led by Suharto-Nasution and their accomplices, a rule of the bureaucrat-capitalist, the comprador and the landlord classes, far from reducing the exploitation of the Indonesian people by imperialism and the remnants of feudalism, will only intensify this exploitation further.

As facts have proven, in order to establish their dictatorship over the Indonesian people, the Suharto-Nasution clique of Right-wing army generals is completely relying on the "aid" from the imperialist countries headed by the United States. In Indonesia, under the rule of the military dictatorship of Right-wing army generals, headed by Suharto-Nasution and their accomplices, and with the help of international imperialism headed by the United States, neo-colonialism is now being built up.

The main contradiction in the present Indonesian society is still the same with what existed at the outbreak of the August Revolution of 1945, that is to say, imperialism and the remnants of feudalism are involved in a contradiction with the masses of the people who desire full independence and democracy.

Thus the target of the revolution remains the same: imperialism and the remnants of feudalism. Classes which are the enemies of the revolution, in the main, are also the same: imperialism, the compradors, the bureaucrat capitalists and the landlords. The driving forces of the revolution, too, are still the same: the working class, the peasantry and the petty bourgeoisie.

After the imperialists no longer directly hold political power in Indonesia, their political interests are represented by the comprador bourgeoisie, the bureaucrat capitalists and the landlords who are holding the state power in their hands. Therefore, only by overthrowing the power of the domestic reactionary classes can the overthrow of imperialism and the remnants of feudalism be concretely realized. This is the primary task of the present stage of the Indonesian revolution.

Today, the Indonesian people are faced by the military dictatorship of the Right-wing army generals, headed by Suharto-Nasution and their accomplices, which is the manifestation of power of the most reactionary classes in our country.

The absence of democracy for the people, and the suppression by force of arms of every revolutionary and democratic movement, inevitably compel the whole people to take up arms in order to defend their rights. The armed struggle of the people against the armed counter-revolution is unavoidable and constitutes the chief form of struggle of the coming revolu-

tion. Only by taking the road of armed struggle, the Indonesian people will succeed in overthrowing the power of the armed counter-revolutionaries, as a pre-condition to realize their aspiration for which they have fought for scores of years: independence and liberation.

The armed struggle to defeat armed counter-revolution, as a revolution, must not be waged in the form of military adventurism, in the form of a putsch, which is detached from the awakening of the popular masses.

Since the present stage of the Indonesian revolution is essentially an agrarian revolution by the peasantry, the armed struggle of the Indonesian people, too, essentially will be the armed struggle of the peasants to liberate themselves from the oppression by the remnants of feudalism. The armed struggle against the armed counter-revolution can never be lasting and in the end will surely be defeated, unless it is essentially an armed struggle of the peasants in realizing the agrarian revolution. And the armed struggle of the peasants to realize the agrarian revolution will only succeed in achieving a complete victory, and in really liberating the peasantry from the oppression by the remnants of feudalism, only when it is waged under the leadership of the proletariat, and when it is not limited to just overthrowing the power of the landlords in the countryside, but is aimed at smashing the entire power of the internal counter-revolutionaries who are now represented by the military dictatorship of the Right-wing army generals, headed by Suharto-Nasution, and their accomplices.

Conclusions

By studying once more the problems of the August Revolution of 1945, we can draw some conclusions which are of the greatest importance for the Indonesian proletariat and its vanguard, the P.K.I., in facing their future task.

1. The August Revolution of 1945, as a new-type bourgeois-democratic revolution whose mission is to completely liquidate the domination of imperialism and the remnants of feudalism, would have achieved victory only if it was led by the proletariat. In order to establish its leadership in the new-type bourgeois-democratic revolution the proletariat should, above all, form an alliance with the peasantry, and on the basis of this worker-peasant alliance that is led by the working class, establish a revolutionary united front with all other revolutionary classes and groups. The proletariat can fulfil its mission as the leader of the revolutionary united front only when it has correct programme and tactics which are acceptable to its allies to be the guidance for the revolution, only when it has a strong organization, and only when it gives an example in the realization of national tasks. As for the correct programme, it is of the utmost importance to have a revolutionary agrarian programme to forge the alliance of the working class and the peasantry. As for

the correct tactics, it is of the utmost importance to master the chief form of struggle, namely the armed struggle which relies on the support of the peasantry. All of this can be realized only when the proletariat has its own political party, the P.K.I., which is entirely guided by the revolutionary Marxist-Leninist theory, and free from all kinds of opportunism.

2. The pre-condition for the complete realization of the task of the 1945 August Revolution instead of merely seizing the state power from foreign imperialism and transferring it to the Republic of Indonesia, should be the smashing of the whole machinery of the colonial regime and establishment of a completely new state, namely the dictatorship of people's democracy, the joint power of all anti-imperialist and anti-feudal classes under the leadership of the working class. The dictatorship of people's democracy, as an instrument of the new-type bourgeois-democratic revolution, should suppress by force of arms and mercilessly all the enemies of the revolution, and ensure for the people the broadest democratic rights.

3. The emancipation of the Indonesian people from exploitation and oppression by imperialism and the remnants of feudalism can be attained only through the road of revolution which will surely take place once again, a revolution that has the same character as the 1945 August Revolution, that is to say a new-type bourgeois-democratic revolution. The primary task of the coming revolution is the destruction of the power of the internal counter-revolutionaries who are now represented by the military dictatorship of the Right-wing generals, Suharto-Nasution, and their accomplices, through an armed struggle. The armed struggle to defeat the armed counter-revolution will be victorious only when it is essentially an armed struggle of the peasantry to realize the agrarian revolution. And the armed struggle of the peasantry to realize the agrarian revolution will be victorious only when it is waged under the leadership of the proletariat and is aimed at smashing the power of all internal counter-revolutionary forces.

4. The tasks faced by the Party for leading the people's democratic revolution to victory are:

First: To continue to rebuild the P.K.I. along the Marxist-Leninist line, to be a Party which is free from all kinds of opportunism and is consistent in fighting against subjectivism and modern revisionism, while at the same time to continue to arouse, organize and mobilize the masses, especially the workers and the peasants.

Second: To be ready to lead a protracted armed struggle which is integrated with the agrarian revolution of the peasants in the countryside.

Third: To form a united front of all the forces that are against the military dictatorship of the Right-wing army generals, headed by Suharto-Nasution, a united front that is based on the alliance of the work-

ing class and the peasantry under the leadership of the proletariat. These are the Three Banners of the Party in the people's democratic revolution.

The international proletariat, and all the people who are fighting against imperialism, are the ally of the coming Indonesian revolution. U.S. imperialism, the ringleader of the world counter-revolution, despite the help rendered by the Khrushchovite modern revisionists, is facing an ignominious and inevitable defeat in Vietnam.

人民日報
RENMIN RIBAO

Spring Thunder Over India

A PEAL of thunder has crashed over the land of India. Revolutionary peasants in the Darjeeling area have risen in rebellion. Under the leadership of a revolutionary group of the Indian Communist Party, a red area of rural revolutionary armed struggle has been established in India. This is a development of tremendous significance for the Indian people's revolutionary struggle.

In the past few months, the peasant masses in this area, led by the revolutionary group of the Indian Communist Party, have thrown off the shackles of modern revisionism and smashed their trammels. They have seized grain, land and weapons from the landlords and plantation owners, punished the local tyrants and vicious gentry, and ambushed the reactionary troops and police sent to suppress them, thus demonstrating the enormous might of the peasants' revolutionary armed struggle. All imperialists, revisionists, corrupt officials, local tyrants and vile gentry, and reactionary army and police are nothing in the eyes of the revolutionary peasants who are determined to strike them down to the dust. The revolutionary group of the Indian Communist Party has done the absolutely correct thing and done it well. The Chinese people enthusiastically applaud this revolutionary storm of the Indian peasants in the Darjeeling area as do all Marxist-Leninists and revolutionary people of the whole world.

The Indian peasants' rebellion and the Indian people's revolution are inevitable; reactionary Congress rule has left them no alternative. India under Congress rule, though nominally independent, in fact is still a semi-colonial, semi-feudal country. The Congress government represents the interests of the Indian feudal princes, big landlords and bureaucrat-comprador capitalists. Internally, it mercilessly oppresses and

Let us, with the firmest determination and by wholeheartedly dedicating our strength and ability, meet the call of the coming task, to overthrow the rule of the military dictatorship of the Right-wing army generals, Suharto and Nasution, the leaders of the internal counter-revolutionaries, in order to pave the way towards the new Indonesia which is free from the domination of imperialism and the remnants of feudalism.

(Bold-face emphases and quotation marks are in the original.)

ruthlessly exploits the Indian people. Internationally, while continuing to be dependent on its old suzerain, British imperialism, it throws itself into the lap of its new boss, U.S. imperialism, and the latter's number one accomplice, the Soviet revisionist clique, thus selling out the national interests of India on a big scale. Thus imperialism, Soviet revisionism, feudalism and bureaucrat-comprador capitalism weigh like big mountains on the backs of the Indian people, especially on the toiling masses of workers and peasants. The Congress government has intensified its suppression and exploitation of the Indian people and its pursuit of the policy of national betrayal in the last few years. As a result, famine has stalked the land year after year. People dying of starvation is a common sight. The masses of the Indian people, above all the peasant masses, have found life impossible. The revolutionary peasants in the Darjeeling area have now risen in rebellion, in violent revolution. This is the prelude to a violent revolution by the hundreds of millions of people throughout India. The Indian people will certainly cast these big mountains from their backs and win complete emancipation. This is the general trend of Indian history which no force on earth can check or hinder.

What road to take in the Indian revolution is a fundamental question affecting the success or failure of the revolution and the destiny of the 500 million Indian people. The Indian revolution must take the road of relying on the peasants, establishing base areas in the countryside, persisting in protracted armed struggle and using the countryside to encircle and finally capture the cities. This is Mao Tse-tung's road, the road that has led the Chinese revolution to victory, and the only road to victory for the revolution of all oppressed nations and people.

As long as 40 years ago our great leader Chairman Mao Tse-tung pointed out: "In China's central, southern and northern provinces, several hundred million peasants will rise like a mighty storm, like a hurricane, a force so swift and violent that no power, however great, will be able to hold it back. They will smash all the trammels that bind them and rush forward along the road to liberation. They will sweep all the imperialists, warlords, corrupt officials, local tyrants and evil gentry into their graves."

Chairman Mao explicitly pointed out long ago that the peasant question occupies an extremely important place in the people's revolution. The peasants constitute the main force in the national-democratic revolution against imperialism and its lackeys; they are the most reliable and numerous allies of the proletariat. India is a vast semi-colonial and semi-feudal country with a population of 500 million, the absolute majority of which is the peasantry. Once aroused, these several hundred million Indian peasants will become the invincible force of the Indian revolution. By integrating with the peasants, the Indian proletariat will be able to bring about earth-shaking changes in the enormous countryside, and defeat any powerful enemy in a soul-stirring people's war.

Our great leader Chairman Mao teaches us: "**The seizure of power by armed force, the settlement of the issue by war, is the central task and the highest form of revolution. This Marxist-Leninist principle of revolution holds good universally, for China and for all other countries.**"

The specific feature of the Indian revolution, like that of the Chinese revolution, is armed revolution fighting armed counter-revolution. Armed struggle is the only correct road for the Indian revolution; there is no other road whatsoever. Such trash as "Gandhiism," "the parliamentary road" and the like are opium used by the Indian ruling classes to dope the Indian people. Only by relying on violent revolution and taking the road of armed struggle can India be saved and the Indian people achieve complete liberation. Specifically, this means to boldly arouse the peasant masses, build up and expand the revolutionary armed forces, deal with the armed suppression of the imperialists and reactionaries, — who are temporarily stronger than the revolutionary forces — by using the whole set of the flexible strategy and tactics of people's war personally worked out by Chairman Mao, and to persevere in protracted armed struggle and step by step seize the victory of the revolution.

In the light of the characteristics of the Chinese revolution, our great leader Chairman Mao has pointed out the importance of establishing revolutionary rural base areas. Chairman Mao teaches us: in order to persist in protracted armed struggle and defeat imperialism and its lackeys, "**it is imperative for the revolutionary ranks to turn the backward villages into advanced, consolidated base areas, into great military, political, economic and cultural bastions of the revolution from which to fight their vicious enemies who**

are using the cities for attacks on the rural districts, and in this way gradually to achieve the complete victory of the revolution through protracted fighting."

India is an enormous country; the countryside, where the reactionary rule is weak, provides the extensive areas in which the revolutionaries can manoeuvre freely. So long as the Indian proletarian revolutionaries adhere to the revolutionary line of Marxism-Leninism, Mao Tse-tung's thought and rely on their great ally, the peasants, it is entirely possible for them to establish one advanced revolutionary rural base area after another in the huge backward rural areas and build a people's army of a new type. Whatever difficulties and twists and turns the Indian revolutionaries may experience in the course of building such revolutionary base areas, they will eventually develop them from isolated points into a vast expanse, from small areas into extensive ones, in a wave-like expansion. Thus, a situation in which the cities are encircled from the countryside will gradually be brought about in the Indian revolution to pave the way for the final seizure of the cities and winning nationwide victory.

The Indian reactionaries are panic-stricken by developments in the rural armed struggle in Darjeeling. They have sensed imminent disaster and they wail in alarm that the peasants' revolts there will "become a national disaster." Imperialism and the Indian reactionaries are trying in countless ways to suppress this armed struggle of the Darjeeling peasants and nip it in the bud. The Dange renegade clique and the handful of revisionist headmen of the Indian C. P. are vigorously slandering and attacking the revolutionaries in the Indian Communist Party and the revolutionary peasants in Darjeeling for their great exploits. The so-called "non-Congress government" in West Bengal openly sides with the reactionary Indian Government in its bloody suppression of the revolutionary peasants in Darjeeling. This is added proof that these renegades and revisionists are running dogs of U.S. imperialism and Soviet revisionism and stooges of the big Indian landlords and bourgeoisie. What they call the "non-Congress government" is only a tool of these landlords and bourgeoisie.

But no matter how well the imperialists, Indian reactionaries and the modern revisionists may cooperate in their sabotage and suppression, the torch of armed struggle lighted by the revolutionaries in the Indian Communist Party and the revolutionary peasants in Darjeeling will not be put out. "**A single spark can start a prairie fire.**" The spark in Darjeeling will start a prairie fire and will certainly set the vast expanses of India ablaze. That a great storm of revolutionary armed struggle will eventually sweep across the length and breadth of India is certain. Although the course of the Indian revolutionary struggle will be long and tortuous, the Indian revolution, guided by the great Marxism-Leninism, Mao Tse-tung's thought, will surely win final victory.

("Renmin Ribao" editorial, July 5.)

Revolutions and revolutionary wars are inevitable in class society, and without them it is impossible to accomplish any leap in social development and to overthrow the reactionary ruling classes and therefore impossible for the people to win political power.

— Mao Tse-tung, *On Contradiction*

Raising the Red Flag in India

The Darjeeling Peasant Armed Struggle

A PEASANT armed struggle base has been set up in the countryside in Darjeeling District, West Bengal State, under the leadership of the revolutionaries in the Indian Communist Party. A glowing spark in the fire of revolutionary armed struggle launched by the Indian people under the guidance of Mao Tse-tung's thought, it represents the general orientation of the Indian revolution at the present stage.

A Red District

Indian papers have disclosed that this armed struggle area is located around the three villages of Naxalbari, Kharibari and Phansidewa in Siliguri Sub-Division of Darjeeling District in the mountainous area of north West Bengal. This Red district, first established in early March, covers an area of some 270 square miles and has a population of 80,000. For nearly four months since its formation, it has withstood encirclement by the White regime. Nearly 20 hamlets where the revolutionary power is comparatively strong have raised the red flag.

In 1965, the revolutionaries in the Indian Communist Party in Siliguri put forward the slogan of arming the peasants and setting up rural bases in preparation for armed struggle. For two years they devoted themselves to mobilizing and organizing the peasants. After the fourth general elections in early March this year, a non-Congress "united front" government in which members of the Indian Communist Party participated was formed in West Bengal (see *Peking Review*, No. 24, p. 33). It served as a tool of the Indian reactionaries to deceive the people and benumb their revolutionary militancy. Then the members of the Indian Communist Party in the state who want to make revolution unfolded a movement of "deserting the united front government" and "joining the Darjeeling struggle." They went to Naxalbari and other villages to lead and organize the peasants to carry out the agrarian armed struggle.

Led by the revolutionaries in the Indian Communist Party, poor peasants and farm labourers began to arm themselves by the thousands. They estab-

lished their own political power and organized peasants' societies. Trampling in the dust the reactionary government's law which protects the landlords' property, they occupied by force the estates of the landlords, plantation owners and reactionary government. They plowed the land, drove away the plantation owners, used force to harvest the paddy in the fields of the landlords, seized grain, guns and ammunition from the homes of the big landlords, collected money and grain from the landlords, and forbade hoarding and speculation. They established people's courts to try and punish the local bullies and bad gentry. Ignoring the reactionary government's order prohibiting assembly of more than four persons and forbidding the carrying of weapons, they held armed demonstrations and moved about in armed groups.

In the hamlets the organized peasants, armed with bows and arrows, guarded their homes day and night against police "sweeps." They set up alarm systems to warn the villagers of the police's approach.

Defeating Counter-Revolutionary Dual Tactics

Soon after the armed struggle area was established, the Indian reactionaries resorted to counter-revolutionary double-dealing — political deception and armed suppression — to clamp down on the people's revolutionary armed struggle.

In mid-May, the West Bengal state government sent a land and revenue minister to Naxalbari to induce the local people to lay down their arms and seek a "political settlement." But the revolutionaries in the Indian Communist Party who led the struggle refused to meet him.

When these "soft" tactics failed, the state government resorted to a hard line. It dispatched large numbers of armed police to Naxalbari. However, the rebelling peasants successfully ambushed the reactionary troops and police sent out on "mopping-up" operations.

On May 24, when a police team went to Naxalbari to "round up" and arrest the peasants taking part in the struggle to seize land, they were ambushed and encircled by 400 armed peasants. Four police officers

were wounded. On May 25, a police party led by the Siliguri sub-divisional officer and the deputy superintendent of police went to a place near Naxalbari to fire on the peasants harvesting the paddy in the fields of the landlords. They were attacked by armed peasants, one of the party being killed and three others wounded. On May 26, 500 peasants encircled a landlord who had guns in his house. Altogether, in various conflicts in late May, one police officer and over ten policemen were killed and the rebellious peasants eliminated the police stations in the three villages.

When this suppression failed, West Bengal Chief Minister Mukherjee (member of the Bengali Congress Party which split from the Congress Party) went personally to Siliguri on May 27 and called an emergency meeting of district officials of north West Bengal to plot further moves.

In mid-June, Mukherjee sent two companies of police from Calcutta to reinforce Siliguri and prepare for suppression of the people's armed struggle. Troops and police also blockaded the frontiers in Darjeeling bordering Pakistan and Nepal. Meanwhile, six state ministers were sent on June 12 to Naxalbari for political manoeuvring. They tried to fool the local people with promises that the government authorities would "pay immediate attention" to their complaints. At the same time they issued an ultimatum, threatening that the government would resort to armed force after June 20. The *Hindustan Standard* admitted on June 20 that "for three days the six ministers worked very hard to bring what they called the 'misguided' leaders to the conference table, but their . . . efforts could make no headway against the increased tempo of lawlessness in the affected areas."

The Darjeeling peasant armed struggle has greatly encouraged the revolutionary people of West Bengal and has had wide repercussions throughout India. On June 27, the revolutionary masses staged a demonstration in front of the West Bengal state assembly house in Calcutta to support the Darjeeling armed struggle led by the revolutionaries in the Indian Communist Party. They shouted: "Red Salaam (salute) to Naxalbari!" and "Down with the revisionists!" They also raised slogans in praise of Mao Tse-tung's thought. As revealed in the Indian press and Western news agencies, peasant armed action is "on the rise" in many areas of West Bengal and "more and more places are developing in the direction of becoming 'Naxalbari districts.'"

Panic-Stricken Reactionary Government

This situation has greatly alarmed India's central government. Congress Party President Kamaraj rushed back to New Delhi from the state of Madras, and the first meeting he held with Indian Prime Minister Indira Gandhi on June 8 was to discuss the West Bengal situation. On June 13 Interior Minister Chavan's report to parliament on Naxalbari touched off a heated row within the Congress Party. Some members advocated a presidential take-over of the "non-Congress" govern-

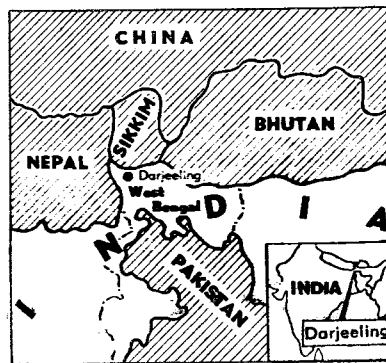
The Darjeeling District

Darjeeling in West Bengal State is a mountainous district of great strategic significance in northern India. Situated not far from Bihar and Assam States, its 1,100 square miles border on several neighbouring countries. Naxalbari is only 4 miles from Nepal, 30 miles from Sikkim, 14 miles from East Pakistan and 60 miles from China's Tibet. Siliguri is a trading and communication centre through which runs the only railway linking Assam with other parts of India.

Darjeeling District is West Bengal's major tea-producing area. It also produces rice and other grain. Large tracts of its land have been seized by plantation owners and landlords who brutally exploit and oppress the labouring people. Most of the population are Santhals and other tribesmen, the majority being landless farm labourers who are the most heavily exploited and oppressed.

Of the 60,000 acres of farmland in Siliguri, 19,000 acres belong to the Indian Government and the rest to the big landlords. Under the protec-

tion of the Congress government, the big landlords and plantation owners often forcibly occupy land reclaimed by the poverty-stricken peasants and plunder them of their crops.



ment in West Bengal. However, the Congress high command vetoed this proposal, feeling that they need this "non-Congress" government to put out the revolutionary fire in Darjeeling.

What is worth special attention is the fact that the reactionary central government is not frightened of the West Bengal government in which a number of Indian Communists are in power, but allows this "non-Congress" government to continue as part of the apparatus for its own reactionary rule. However, when the peasants' armed struggle led by revolutionaries within the Indian Communist Party started in three villages in the state, this made the reactionary central government quake with fear. This clearly proves that "peaceful transition," the "parliamentary road" and other revisionist wares cater to the needs of reactionary rulers. Only through revolutionary armed struggle can the reactionaries be dealt heavy blows; only in this way can the foundations of reactionary rule be shaken.

* * *

Thirty-seven years ago, summing up the experience of the Red political power of the Chinese worker-peasant armed independent regime, Chairman Mao

wrote in his article *A Single Spark Can Start a Prairie Fire*: ". . . in semi-colonial China the establishment and expansion of the Red Army, the guerrilla forces and the Red areas is the highest form of peasant struggle under the leadership of the proletariat, the inevitable outcome of the growth of the semi-colonial peasant struggle, and undoubtedly the most important factor in accelerating the revolutionary high tide throughout the country."

Like pre-liberation China, India is a semi-colonial and semi-feudal country. To liberate themselves, the Indian people must proceed along the path pointed out by Comrade Mao Tse-tung. The establishment of the Darjeeling peasant armed struggle area under the leadership of the revolutionaries in the Indian Communist Party shows that the Indian people have begun to advance along this victorious road.

Chinese Red Guards Will Unite and Fight Side By Side With Albanian Youth For Ever

— Yao Wen-yuan's Congratulatory Speech to 5th Congress of
Albanian Union of Working Youth —

The Fifth Congress of the Union of Working Youth of Albania was held in Tirana from June 26 to 29. On the afternoon of June 26 Comrade Yao Wen-yuan, leader of the Chinese Red Guard delegation, delivered a congratulatory speech to the congress. Following is the full text.— Ed.

Dear Comrades, Comrades-in-arms!

We the Chinese Red Guard delegation wish to convey greetings to the Fifth Congress of the Albanian Union of Working Youth from our great leader Chairman Mao! On behalf of all Chinese Red Guard fighters, we extend militant proletarian salute to the comrades attending this congress! We pay our highest and warmest respects to the Albanian people and youth, to the Albanian Party of Labour and to the great leader of the Albanian people and close friend of the Chinese people Comrade Enver Hoxha!

Taught by Chairman Mao Tse-tung and nurtured by the thought of Mao Tse-tung, we Chinese Red Guards have now had a year's experience in fighting. However, this is the first time that we have sent delegates abroad to attend a conference. We are especially happy that the first international conference we attend is one held by you Albanian comrades, our closest comrades-in-arms, and that the first country we visit is heroic Albania which holds high the revolutionary red banner of Marxism-Leninism. This is another vivid proof of the unbreakable militant friendship of our two Parties and of the youth and people of our two countries!

Under the correct leadership of the glorious Albanian Party of Labour headed by the great communist fighter Comrade Enver Hoxha, the Albanian Union of Working Youth and the broad masses of Albania's revolutionary youth, together with the working people of the whole country, have made tremendous achievements in fulfilling the fighting tasks laid down

at the Fifth Congress of the Albanian Party of Labour. We Red Guard fighters extend our warmest congratulations on these achievements!

The Albanian people and their youth, holding high the militant banner of opposing U.S. imperialism, resolutely oppose its policies of aggression and war, and firmly support the Vietnamese people's just war against U.S. aggression and for national salvation, the Arab people's just struggle against the aggression mounted by U.S. and British imperialism and their lackey, Israel, the national-liberation movements in Asia, Africa and Latin America, and the anti-imperialist, revolutionary struggles of all the peoples of the world. You are worthy of the name of a seasoned, indomitable shock brigade in the fight against imperialism.

The people of Albania and their youth, holding high the revolutionary banner of Marxism-Leninism and taking a clear-cut, uncompromising principled stand, have dealt forceful blows at the Soviet revisionist renegade clique, the Tito renegade clique and other renegades and scabs of all stripes. You have exposed without let-up the crimes of the Soviet modern revisionist renegade clique in serving as an accomplice of U.S. imperialism and betraying the interests of the Soviet people and the peoples' revolution. You have exposed in good time the dirty tricks and deceptive methods by which the Soviet revisionists have tried to patch up their rickety revisionist cart. You have relentlessly exposed the reactionary nature of the sinister counter-revolutionary meeting at Karlovy Vary convened by Brezhnev, Kosygin and other new European scabs. You have criticized and repudiated the "middle road" fallacy. You have energetically supported the proletarian revolutionaries in Europe and countries in other parts of the world and energetically supported the Left youth organizations in their struggles against imperialism and modern revisionism. You have set a glorious example for all the revolutionary youth of the world!

Comrade Hoxha Receives Chinese Red Guard Delegation

COMRADE ENVER HOXHA, the respected and beloved great leader of the Albanian people and the closest friend of the Chinese people, received the Chinese Red Guard delegation led by Comrade Yao Wen-yuan on July 8 in Tirana.

Present on the occasion were Hysni Kapo, Member of the Political Bureau, and of the Secretariat, of the Central Committee of the Albanian Party of Labour; Behar Shtylla, Member of the Party's Central Committee; Agim Mero, First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Albanian Union of Working Youth, and Piro Biti, Director of the International Department Under the Party's Central Committee. Liu Hsiao, Chinese Ambassador to Albania, was also present.

Comrade Hoxha had an extremely friendly, cordial and sincere talk with the members of the Chinese delegation. He paid glowing tribute to the great militant friendship and revolutionary unity between the two Parties of Albania and China and between the peoples and the youth of the two countries. He spoke highly of China's great proletarian

cultural revolution and the Chinese Red Guard movement which are without parallel in history. He expressed the hope that the Chinese Red Guards would make still greater contributions to the great proletarian cultural revolution.

Comrade Hoxha wished Chairman Mao always in good health and requested the Chinese delegation to convey the Albanian people's highest revolutionary salute to Chairman Mao, Vice-Chairman Lin Piao, Premier Chou En-lai and other leading comrades of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China.

Standing arm in arm with the young Chinese Red Guards, Comrade Hoxha twice posed for group photographs. When the Chinese guests took their leave, Comrade Hoxha warmly shook hands with and tightly hugged them.

On July 7 Mehmet Shehu, Chairman of the Albanian Council of Ministers, received and had an extremely cordial and friendly talk with all members of the Chinese Red Guard delegation.

The Albanian people and their youth, powerfully holding aloft the banner of ideological and cultural revolution, are mounting further attacks on the ideology of the bourgeoisie and other exploiting classes. Under the leadership of the Albanian Party of Labour and Comrade Enver Hoxha, you have strengthened your political and ideological education of youth, and have organized the study of Marxist-Leninist theory on a large scale. You have struggled fiercely against reactionary religious forces and are sweeping away religious superstitions and the backward customs and habits that have poisoned people's minds for centuries. You have dealt resounding blows at the old feudal force of habit which discriminates against and oppresses women. You have criticized and repudiated bureaucracy, which is characterized by separation from the masses and is harmful to the interests of the masses, and have introduced the system of rotation of cadres between the leading bodies and the grass roots. You have advocated and developed the communist style of subordinating personal interests to the overall interests of the proletariat, and you have cut down high salaries, abolished many extra remunerations and reduced the size of private plots of land. In the mass revolutionization movement, you have been further developing democracy under the dictatorship of the proletariat. The whole series of measures for revolutionization adopted by you and many revolutionization proposals put forward by the masses have helped consolidate the dictatorship of the proletariat and promote the ideological revolutionization of the broad masses, including the youth. This is a valuable contribution to developing the socialist revolution and preventing capitalist restoration. The emergence among the Albanian people of such great communist fighters as Adam Reka who heroically laid down his life in

selfless devotion to the public interest is the best proof of the infinite might of ideological revolutionization.

The socialist construction in Albania is advancing triumphantly along the line set by the Fifth Congress of the Party of Labour. The Albanian people have scored remarkable successes in accomplishing the tasks of the first year of the Fourth Five-Year Plan. The situation in industrial and agricultural production is excellent. Agricultural co-operation in the mountainous areas has been successfully instituted. The broad masses of revolutionary young people of Albania are dedicating their youth to the implementation of the Fourth Five-Year Plan with boundless enthusiasm and redoubled confidence. Voluntary labour campaigns have been launched in many places with the greatest vigour. Throughout Albania there is vitality and prosperity and a new upsurge has emerged in socialist construction.

The Albanian youth have made brilliant achievements in socialist construction and in the great struggle against imperialism and revisionism. **Comrade Enver Hoxha correctly pointed out in his appraisal: "The [Albanian] youth have made tremendous contributions to the struggle for liberation and socialist construction. The youth will inherit and advance our revolutionary cause. They will succeed in building a socialist society and will fight for the building of communism. They will continue the struggle against imperialism, revisionism and reaction and will wage it in a still deeper way. They will always hold aloft the banner of Marxism-Leninism."**

Comrades! We Chinese Red Guard fighters regard the successes of the fraternal Albanian people and their youth as our own and feel most elated and inspired!

Chairman Mao has said, "Heroic people's Albania has become a great beacon of socialism in Europe."

As a result of your new successes in the class struggles at home and internationally and in socialist construction, this beacon of socialism becomes ever brighter. These achievements are a tribute to the heroic Albanian people and youth, to the glorious Albanian Party of Labour and to the great Marxist-Leninist, Comrade Hoxha.

Comrades! Under the guidance of the proletarian revolutionary line represented by Chairman Mao and through one year's vigorous mass movement, the great proletarian cultural revolution in our country, which is unprecedented, has won great historic victories. The situation both in revolution and production is excellent.

The great proletarian cultural revolution in our country is creating the conditions for a new leap in socialist construction. Amidst the songs of triumph hailing the decisive victories won in the great proletarian cultural revolution in our country, China has successfully exploded its first hydrogen bomb! This is a new victory of Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line! This is another brilliant success in the great proletarian cultural revolution! It indicates that China's sciences, technology, industrial production and national defence capabilities have been raised to a new level. It is another heavy blow to the nuclear monopoly and nuclear blackmail of U.S. imperialism and Soviet revisionism! It has boosted enormously the morale of the revolutionary people and greatly deflated the arrogance of imperialism, modern revisionism and the reactionaries of all countries. At present, industry and agriculture in our country are thriving. Industrial production far exceeds the same period last year in both quantity and quality. The summer harvest is a good and heartening one and the autumn crop may also be a bumper one.

After the counter-revolutionary revisionist clique of Peng Chen, Lu Ting-yi and company was crushed, the top person in authority taking the capitalist road hidden in our Party, a careerist of the Khrushchov type, has been pulled out by us Red Guards and the masses of our country! The book on "self-cultivation," which betrays the dictatorship of the proletariat and opposes proletarian revolution, and publicizes the philosophy of selfishness and slavishness will no longer be able to harm the youth and the revolutionary masses under the cover of Marxism-Leninism! This is a great victory of Mao Tse-tung's thought! This is a great victory in smashing capitalist restoration! This is a great victory for the consolidation of the dictatorship of the proletariat!

The Communiqué of the Eleventh Plenary Session of Eighth Central Committee of the Communist Party of China pointed out: "Comrade Mao Tse-tung is the greatest Marxist-Leninist of our era. Comrade Mao Tse-tung has inherited, defended and developed Marxism-Leninism with genius, creatively and in an all-round way, and has raised it to a completely new stage. Mao Tse-tung's thought is Marxism-Leninism of the era in which imperialism is heading for total col-

lapse and socialism is advancing to worldwide victory. It is the guiding principle for all the work of our Party and country."

The fundamental question of revolution is that of state power. The theory of the dictatorship of the proletariat is the core of the revolutionary theory of Marxism-Leninism. Among Chairman Mao's great creative contributions in inheriting, defending and developing Marxism-Leninism in an all-round way, one of the most important is his creative, epoch-making development of the Marxist-Leninist theory of the dictatorship of the proletariat, his deep analysis of the contradictions, classes and class struggles in socialist society, his summation of the historical experience of the dictatorship of the proletariat, his expounding of the law of class struggle in socialist society and his formulation of a whole series of theories, principles and policies concerning the question of making revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat.

The great proletarian cultural revolution is a revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat, a great revolution being waged under the leadership of the Party's Central Committee headed by Chairman Mao and by boldly arousing hundreds of millions of people. It began with the criticism and repudiation of representative personalities and representative works of the bourgeoisie in the realm of ideology and culture and has exposed a group of Party persons in authority taking the capitalist road. The objective of the movement is to consolidate the dictatorship of the proletariat and prevent the restoration of capitalism. The method used in the movement is extensive democracy under the dictatorship of the proletariat and under the command of Mao Tse-tung's thought, the extensive airing of views, big-character posters and great debates, and thoroughly carrying out the mass line, supporting the proletarian revolutionaries, respecting the initiative of the masses and having firm faith in and relying on the great majority of the people and cadres.

The tremendous victories of the great proletarian cultural revolution of our country have once again proved that the Chinese Communist Party headed by Comrade Mao Tse-tung is a great, glorious and correct Party. Our country is a mighty country of the dictatorship of the proletariat. All the intrigues and plots of the enemy, both at home and abroad, will meet an ignominious end.

The U.S. imperialists and Soviet modern revisionists daily fabricate absurd and outlandish rumours to slander and attack China's great proletarian cultural revolution. The thing they fear most is that the revolutionary people rebel against them and make revolution against them. Confronted by the great revolutionary storm of the hundreds of millions of people in China, they are terrified; they are frightened out of their wits by the great strength of the Chinese people shown in the great cultural revolution. Sensing that they will be buried in the angry waves of peo-

ple's revolution, they are panic-stricken and raise a big hue and cry. This proves that China's great proletarian cultural revolution has hit them where it hurts most!

Comrades! The Red Guards are the product of this unprecedented great proletarian cultural revolution. The Red Guard movement is a completely new form of organization of revolutionary youth which has arisen to meet the needs of the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat. The Red Guards constitute the vanguard of the great proletarian cultural revolution.

When the Red Guards, which is something new, had just emerged on the horizon, they were warmly supported and given correct guidance by our great leader Chairman Mao. Chairman Mao received more than 10 million Red Guards from all parts of the country. The letter to China's Red Guards written by Chairman Mao on August 1 last year is their general programme.

Chairman Mao said: The revolutionary actions of the Red Guards show their "wrath against and denunciation of the landlord class, the bourgeoisie, the imperialists, the revisionists and their running dogs who exploit and oppress the workers, peasants, revolutionary intellectuals and revolutionary parties and groups, and show that it is justified to rebel against reactionaries. I offer you my warm support."

Chairman Mao also said: "In addition, while supporting you, we ask you to pay attention to uniting with all persons that can be united. Regarding those who have committed serious mistakes, after their mistakes have been pointed out, they too should be given work and a way out for correcting their mistakes and turning over a new leaf. Marx said: the proletariat must emancipate not only itself but mankind as a whole. Without emancipating mankind as a whole the proletariat cannot achieve final emancipation. Comrades, please pay attention to this thesis too."

This letter from Chairman Mao shows his great support, solicitude and encouragement for us Red Guards! It is the supreme instruction to the Red Guards!

This letter incisively shows that the nature and tasks of the Red Guard movement are to rebel against the landlord class, the bourgeoisie, imperialism, and revisionism and their running dogs, to rebel against the handful of Party persons in authority taking the capitalist road, to launch fierce offensives against them, and to struggle to the end against all exploiting classes and their reactionary ideology. The imperialists and modern revisionists have an inveterate hatred for us Red Guards because we want to rebel to the end until all these pests are wiped out.

This letter from Chairman Mao indicates that we must strive to unite with all who can be united. Adhering to Chairman Mao's teachings, we Red Guards

have firmly adhered to the general orientation of the struggle in the great cultural revolution. We have tried to unite with the broad masses of youth and other people, making the unity of the proletarian revolutionaries as the core. As to those who have committed mistakes but do not refuse to correct them after repeated education or do not persist in their mistakes, we actively help these people correct their mistakes. Studying and rectifying our style while carrying on the fight, we Red Guard fighters are learning to swim in swimming, learning to make revolution in making revolution. We have been constantly promoting the proletarianization of our ideology, so as to do our best to be reliable successors to the cause of communism.

Comrades! Chairman Mao is the red commander of us Red Guards and we are the little red soldiers of Chairman Mao. We boundlessly love and have confidence, loyalty and respect for Chairman Mao. Chairman Mao is the red sun which shines most brightly in our hearts. The slogan of the Red Guards is, as Comrade Lin Piao put it: "Study Chairman Mao's writings, follow his teachings, act according to his instructions and be his good fighters." At present, in the course of the all-out, revolutionary criticism and repudiation, a mass movement to creatively study and apply the works of Chairman Mao has emerged on an unprecedented scale and a group of brand-new young proletarian revolutionary fighters who have mastered the thought of Mao Tse-tung have come into being in the course of the struggle.

We Chinese Red Guards never for a moment forget our internationalist obligations. We resolutely support the Vietnamese people in their war against U.S. imperialist aggression and for national salvation and pledge to back them up fully! We resolutely support the heroic struggle of the Arab people against the U.S. and British imperialists and their lackey Israel! We resolutely support the just struggle of the revolutionary people of Asia, Africa and Latin America in taking up arms to overthrow the reactionary rule of U.S. imperialism and its lackeys! We resolutely support the Left revolutionary organizations in their uncompromising struggle against revisionist political parties! We warn the U.S. imperialist paper tiger: Chinese Red Guards are the staunch reserve force of the Chinese People's Liberation Army. We are fully prepared to rush to the forefront of battle at the first call of our motherland to smash to smithereens the imperialists headed by the United States!

The Soviet modern revisionist renegade clique is now notorious and bankrupt. They brutally suppress the Soviet people. They are collapsing from within. Their masks can no longer hide their counter-revolutionary hideous features. The thread-bare flag of "united action" which they wave has become more and more ineffective. Just like their behaviour in Vietnam, they have now once again played the role of open accomplice of U.S. imperialism in selling out the interests of the Arab people and undermining the just

war of the Arab people against U.S. and British aggression. Thereby the Soviet modern revisionist clique enabled the Arab people and the people of the whole world to see more clearly their shameful features as counter-revolutionary traitors. Soviet revisionism and U.S. imperialism are like a pair of rats scurrying across the streets and chased by every passer-by. With the **Albanian comrades**, Marxist-Leninists and revolutionary people of the whole world, we should carry to the end the struggle against modern revisionism with the **Soviet Communist Party** leadership as its centre! We believe that the Soviet Communist Party revisionist renegade clique will certainly not escape the just judgment at the hands of the Soviet people and the revolutionary people of the whole world! The Soviet revolutionary youth and working people will certainly rise in rebellion to thoroughly overthrow the reactionary rule of the privileged bourgeois stratum represented by Brezhnev, Kosygin and company! The brilliant banner of the October Revolution will one day fly over the Kremlin again!

Dear comrades-in-arms!

Comrade Mao Tse-tung says: "We are your true friends and comrades. And you are ours. You are not like those false friends and double-dealers who have 'honey on their lips and murder in their hearts,' and neither are we. Our militant revolutionary friendship has stood the test of violent storms."

Comrade Enver Hoxha says: "We treasure very much the true friendship among the peoples." "This is

the friendship between revolutionaries, the friendship between comrades-in-arms for the successful realization of the sacred ideals of socialism and communism, therefore, it is living and green for ever, it will be invincible for all time."

Comrades! The target of our struggle is the same. Our ardent hearts are closely linked. Our hands are tightly joined in revolution. Our strong revolutionary friendship is impossible for any force on earth to smash. In the forthcoming great revolutionary struggle, the Chinese Red Guards will certainly follow Chairman Mao's teaching, learn in earnest from you the proletarian revolutionary spirit, and always unite with you, fight side by side with you and win victory together!

Victory and success to the Fifth Congress of the Union of Working Youth of Albania!

Long live the Albanian Party of Labour and its respected and beloved great leader Comrade Enver Hoxha, leading the youth of Albania on their victorious advance!

Long live Comrade Mao Tse-tung!

Long live great, invincible Marxism-Leninism!

Long live the militant friendship between the peoples and the youth of China and Albania!

Long live the great unity of the revolutionary people and the revolutionary youth of the whole world!

人民日报
RENMIN RIBAO

Ne Win Reactionary Government Is Courting Doom by Madly Opposing China

AT a time when U.S. imperialism and the Soviet revisionist ruling clique are whipping up a new anti-Chinese campaign in the world, especially in those areas around China, the Ne Win reactionary government of Burma, on the instructions of U.S. imperialism and Soviet revisionism, has perfidiously engineered extremely barbarous fascist atrocities in opposing China and persecuting Chinese nationals, thus committing a monstrous crime against both the Chinese and Burmese peoples. Openly serving U.S. imperialism and Soviet revisionism as their anti-China henchman, it has torn to shreds the "Burmese-Chinese friendship" signboard which it had used to deceive the people, and has nakedly

revealed its own reactionary features as a traitorous, dictatorial warlord regime.

Having perpetrated such flagrant atrocities, the Ne Win reactionary government is making all sorts of sly excuses in an attempt to escape responsibility for its crimes. But it won't do it any good.

The Embassy of the Chinese People's Republic in Rangoon is the representative mission of a great socialist country and is endowed with universally acknowledged diplomatic privileges. The Ne Win reactionary government went so far as to organize thousands of hooligans to raid the Embassy, wrecking, damaging,

setting fire to and plundering its property and committing murder. It even called out armed troops to besiege and blockade the Chinese Embassy. Who could have committed such fascist outrages except reactionaries who have lost all confidence in their own rule?

The Chinese experts aiding Burma went there in accordance with relevant agreements between the two countries. They were entrusted by the Chinese people to promote friendship between the two peoples. While in Burma they have worked and toiled with the masses of the Burmese people and helped them heart and soul in work in the economic, scientific and technological fields. Their internationalist spirit and working style of plain living and hard work and close contact with the masses have won the praise of the Burmese people. Now the Ne Win clique has gone so far as to ruthlessly persecute the Chinese experts and even kill one of them. In thus wildly persecuting and murdering these friends of the Burmese people, that clique has reduced itself to something filthy and contemptible — like dog dung. Can the Burmese people permit such atrocities?

The overwhelming majority of Chinese nationals living in Burma have lived in friendship with the Burmese people and shared weal and woe with them for many years. They have made positive contributions to the Burmese people's cause of national independence. The Ne Win reactionary government now has gone so far as to commit murder, arson, plunder and other heinous crimes against them. This is out-and-out gangsterism and racism of the Nazi brand.

To propagate Mao Tse-tung's thought is the sacred and inviolable right of Chinese personnel working abroad. It is also absolutely proper and justified for the patriotic overseas Chinese to love the great leader Chairman Mao Tse-tung, study his works and wear badges with his profile on them. The Ne Win reactionary government is scared to death at seeing the overseas Chinese wearing such badges, and it has whipped up a vicious campaign of opposing China and persecuting Chinese nationals. This is itself proof that the Ne Win clique is a group of savage cowards and a band of fiends dreading the light of day.

The basic policy of the Ne Win clique consists of dictatorship, national betrayal, anti-communism and suppression of the people. This pack of reactionary warlords represent the interests of the Burmese landlord and bureaucrat-capitalist classes. Internally, they have established a military dictatorship and tried to suppress the people's armed struggle, while externally they have thrown themselves into the embrace of U.S. and British imperialism and the Soviet revisionist ruling clique, and have sold out the national interests. At a time when the international class struggle is raging more fiercely than ever and the revolutionary armed forces led by the Communist Party of Burma are daily growing in strength, it is no surprise that the Ne Win reactionary government should be bitterly hostile to and should

madly oppose socialist China which staunchly supports the revolutionary struggle of the people of various countries. It is in fact an inevitable law of the class struggle.

The Ne Win clique is a gang of fascist hangmen who have risen to power by suppressing and slaughtering the people. As soon as it came to power in 1962, it carried out a bloody slaughter of patriotic and progressive Burmese students, massacring some one hundred of them in one stroke. Soon afterwards, it made mass arrests throughout the country and threw thousands upon thousands of patriotic progressives into jail. To maintain its reactionary rule, the Ne Win clique has deprived the people of their minimum democratic rights and has instituted an undisguised military fascist dictatorship, thus turning those parts of the country under its rule into a hell on earth in the grip of a white terror.

The Ne Win clique is a bunch of insatiable blood-suckers. Ever since it assumed power, it has been following an economic policy of merciless plunder, bleeding the Burmese working people white with its exploitation and extortion. Through "nationalization," it has taken over the medium and small industrial and commercial enterprises of the national bourgeoisie and petty bourgeoisie. The reactionary policies of the Ne Win government have thus brought about a serious economic crisis, bringing bankruptcy to the countryside and stagnation to the cities. The people are destitute and a country noted for its rice production has been reduced to a land of famine and starvation.

The Ne Win clique is the arch-criminal in unleashing the counter-revolutionary civil war in Burma. Using its reactionary army which is armed and supported through imperialist aid, it has been relentlessly suppressing the revolutionary armed struggle led by the Communist Party of Burma. This gang of blood-thirsty, reactionary warlords has gone to the extreme in resorting to brutal force, going all out to "mop up" the revolutionary armed forces, burning down thousands of villages and turning many others into concentration camps. Tens of thousands of Communists and other revolutionary people have been murdered.

The Ne Win clique is also a bunch of imperialist agents, the biggest traitors in Burma. It has always been in league with U.S. and British imperialism, Japanese militarism, Soviet revisionism, the Tito clique and the reactionaries of India, Israel, "Malaysia" and Indonesia, and has pursued a policy of selling out the national interests. It has been on more intimate terms with U.S. imperialism especially since Ne Win went to the United States in 1966 to seek an audience with U.S. imperialist chieftain Johnson. Johnson declared that the U.S. and Burma have "common objectives" and "identical interests." The Soviet revisionists are also full of praise for the reactionary Ne Win government, advertising time and again the Ne Win brand of "socialism." In order to fawn on U.S. imperialism and

the Soviet revisionist clique and to completely hire itself out to them, the reactionary Ne Win government is now frantically opposing China and persecuting the overseas Chinese. Therefore, it is by no means accidental that its outrages have won acclamation from the U.S. imperialists and Soviet revisionists.

The reactionary Ne Win government hopes to divert the attention of the Burmese people from their growing discontent by fanning up chauvinistic feelings and provoking national conflicts between Burma and China. This is sheer day-dreaming. When we speak of Sino-Burmese friendship, we mean the friendship between the Chinese and Burmese peoples. This is a revolutionary friendship, a friendship cemented in battle and a friendship among close relatives; it is something that no reactionary force can wreck. By trying to undermine the friendship of the Chinese and Burmese peoples, the reactionary Ne Win government has made itself the common enemy of the two peoples.

This reactionary government is now relying on blood-stained bayonets to prop up its rule. By massacring the Burmese people and the overseas Chinese, it has discarded its last shred of deceptive disguise and has thus lost the pitifully little political capital it had accumulated. Its criminal actions have aroused the growing discontent and resistance of the people of all nationalities in Burma.

Our great leader Chairman Mao Tse-tung teaches us: **"All reactionaries try to stamp out revolution by mass murder, thinking that the greater their massacre,**

the weaker the revolution. But contrary to this reactionary wishful thinking, the fact is that the more the reactionaries resort to massacre, the greater the strength of the revolution and the nearer the reactionaries approach their doom. This is an inexorable law."

The reactionary Ne Win government's rabid anti-China activities and its intensified suppression of the Burmese people serve only to heighten the revolutionary consciousness of the Burmese people and to make them see more clearly that it is their main enemy.

The armed struggle led by the Communist Party of Burma headed by Chairman Thakin Than Tun represents the direction of the historical development of Burma. The people of all nationalities throughout Burma, who are opposed to imperialism, feudalism and the traitorous dictatorship and who stand for friendship with socialist China, are now, under the leadership of the Communist Party of Burma, closing their ranks more tightly in rebellion against the Ne Win government, and this is taking the form of a revolutionary people's war. The Burmese people are determined to overthrow this anti-Communist, anti-popular and counter-revolutionary fascist regime and to win complete liberation.

The reactionary Ne Win government is doomed to destruction and the Burmese people's democratic revolution will achieve final victory! The great solidarity and militant friendship of the Chinese and Burmese peoples will last for ever!

("Renmin Ribao" editorial, July 10.)

The Blood Debts of the Reactionary Ne Win Government Must Be Repaid

LET us hold high the great red banner of Mao Tse-tung's thought and march ahead along the path crimson with the martyr's blood!" On July 5, more than 10,000 revolutionary people in Peking, imbued with revolutionary fervour, held a meeting in memory of the late Comrade Liu Yi, the Chinese expert who helped the Burmese people in their construction and who fell in the struggle to resist the fascist atrocities of the reactionary Ne Win government in Burma.

The meeting began with everyone, the red book *Quotations From Chairman Mao Tse-tung* in their hands, reading the following teaching of the great leader: **"Wherever there is struggle there is sacrifice, and death is a common occurrence. But we have the interests of the people and the sufferings of the great majority at heart, and when we die for the people it is a worthy death."**

Li Hsien-nien, Member of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party and Vice-Premier, laid a wreath in front of the martyr's portrait and the casket containing his ashes, which were flanked by wreaths sent by Comrade Chou En-lai, the Cultural Revolution Group Under the Chinese Communist Party's Central Committee, and the Delegation of the Central Committee of the Burmese Communist Party.

A representative of the Ministry of Water Conservancy and Power, where the late Comrade Liu Yi worked before going abroad, delivered a speech commemorating him. Comrade Liu Yi, he said, was a good member of the Chinese Communist Party, worthy to be called a great internationalist and patriot armed with Mao Tse-tung's thought, a red soldier in foreign-aid projects, and a staunch proletarian revolutionary.

Comrade Liu Yi had defended the dignity of the motherland with his blood and life, defended the resplendent thought of Mao Tse-tung and the great proletarian cultural revolution movement. His death is weightier than Mount Tai.*

Comrade Thankin Ba Thein Tin, First Vice-Chairman of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Burma, stepped to the rostrum amid very warm applause. Comrade Liu Yi, he said, had contributed to the establishment of Sino-Burmese friendship with his own blood, and the Burmese people would never forget this and would always remember him. (The full text appears on p. 10.)

Others who took the floor were representatives of the Commission for Economic Relations With Foreign Countries under the State Council, the Red Guards and the Chinese Embassy in Burma, as well as Comrade Liu Ya-yun, the bereaved widow. With the greatest indignation, they most vehemently protested against and denounced the anti-China, anti-Chinese fascist crimes of the reactionary Ne Win government; they also expressed the Chinese people's firm support for the Burmese people in their armed struggle, led by

* An ancient Chinese writer said, "Though death befalls all men alike, it may be weightier than Mount Tai or lighter than a feather." Chairman Mao once quoted his saying and said: "To die for the people is weightier than Mount Tai."



Before the body of the late Comrade Liu Yi, Chinese embassy personnel, in a face-to-face encounter with Burmese officials (3rd and 4th from right), angrily denounce the reactionary Burmese Government's fascist atrocities. The man with the bandaged head is Comrade Tsao Ta-lin, a diplomatic courier, who received four wounds.

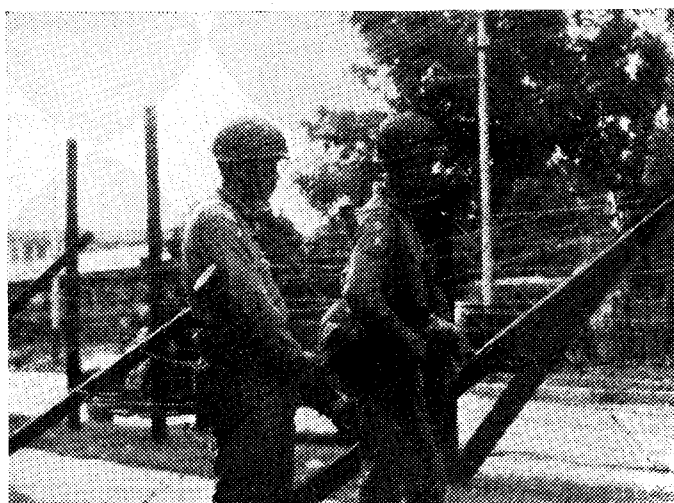
the Communist Party of Burma, to rebel against the Ne Win government until they achieve their complete liberation.

* * *

On July 6, Hsiao Ming, Charge d'Affaires ad interim of the Chinese Embassy in Burma, and other members of the Embassy went to the Rangoon General Hospital to visit and express their sincere regards to a number of wounded overseas Chinese beaten up by hooligans at the instigation of the reactionary Burmese Government. There were 15 whom the Burmese Government allowed to be visited, all badly wounded. One expectant mother, Ke Shu-ping, seriously injured in the head and back, suffered a miscarriage after being hospitalized. Cheng Yi-chu had the ring finger and little finger of her right hand cut off. Another had received such a serious head wound that the person could not be identified. Although they had been in the hospital for ten days, the reactionary Burmese authorities still refused to let their relatives visit them. The Burmese officials twice had set up difficulties even when members of the Chinese Embassy went to see them.

Comrade Hsiao Ming conveyed to them the concern of the great leader Chairman Mao and his close comrade-in-arms Vice-Chairman Lin Piao. Premier Chou En-lai and the people of the motherland: he also brought them fruit shipped specially from China.

The Chinese Ministry of Foreign Affairs on July 5 twice sent notes to the Burmese Embassy in China. The notes most strongly protested to the reactionary Burmese Government for its refusal to let the seriously wounded overseas Chinese return home for medical treatment via regular flights by the Chinese airline, and demanded a guarantee for the safety of the Chinese Embassy personnel sent to make inquiries into the persecution and losses suffered by Chinese nationals in the overseas Chinese quarters in Rangoon and the smooth performance of their functions.



Heavily armed troops of the reactionary Ne Win government surround the Chinese Embassy.

Boldly Arouse the Masses and Expand the Ranks for Struggle Against British Violence

THE gigantic joint big strike that started on June 24 and embraced 50,000 Hongkong workers, has shaken British imperialism in Hongkong. (See *Peking Review*, No. 27.) It demonstrates the might of the working class. In active response to this big strike, patriotic Chinese of other strata residing in Hongkong have followed suit by staging mass struggles in varied forms. Students refused to attend class; small tradesmen, vendors and some patriotic industrialists and

businessmen stopped doing business. This mighty mass struggle involving people of all trades and professions is giving British imperialism in Hongkong harder and harder blows politically and economically.

As the revolutionary mass movement goes deeper, the struggle inevitably grows more acute and tense. And as the reactionary forces are approaching their doom, they inevitably become more frantic. In order to maintain their tottering reactionary rule, the British fascist authorities in Hongkong are putting up a desperate fight. They have been killing our patriotic compatriots, arresting thousands of them and sentencing them to prison. They continue to issue fascist orders and sack striking workers en masse. They resort to despicable means to coerce and bribe workers and other Chinese residents in Hongkong so as to undermine their struggle against violence.

Big 4-Day Joint Suspension of Trade in Hongkong

STARTING on June 29, more than 100,000 patriotic shop assistants, vendors, industrialists and businessmen in Hongkong staged a big joint four-day suspension of trade. Many wholesalers and retailers of foreign goods also overcame all the obstacles put in their way by foreign capitalists and participated in the suspension. In defeating the plots and sabotage of the British imperialists in Hongkong and successfully holding the big joint suspension of trade, this huge commercial force against British imperialism and its repressive violence has struck a telling blow at the British authorities in Hongkong.

In order to sabotage the suspension of trade, the British authorities sent officials and special agents to threaten traders and vendors everywhere with "cancellation of their licences" and "arrest." They also instigated British and U.S. capitalists to force shops taking part in the suspension of trade to "pay their accounts" so as to make them resume business. However, all this was of no avail. This was what a meat vendor told a policeman who tried to scare him: "In order to smash the British authorities in Hongkong, we will face any danger. How can the cancellation of our licences scare us?"

The head of the British "Agriculture, Fisheries and Forestry Department" in Hongkong, making a show of being calm, said: "Hongkong is quite capable of dealing with the shortage of non-staple food." Right after this boast, his department tried to seize pigs and oxen from the Chinese mainland which were waiting to be sent back because of the suspension of trade. However, thanks to the cleverness of patriotic workers, the animals were gone before the convoy of trucks got there, and the British went away empty-handed.

During the four days, compatriots in Macao, in support of the suspension of trade, refused to send chickens, ducks and fish to Hongkong.

Our great leader Chairman Mao teaches: "We can defeat the Chinese and foreign reactionaries, no matter how rampant they are (this rampancy is historically inevitable and not at all strange)." The rampancy of all dark forces at home and abroad shows not only that they still have some strength left but that they are making their death-bed struggle and the people are nearing victory. The British imperialists are like cornered beasts who still struggle, but their days are numbered.

At present, the task placed before the patriotic Hongkong compatriots is to press ahead and persevere in the struggle against British violence so as to win great victory. To achieve this aim, it is necessary to boldly arouse the masses. With the working class as the nucleus, all patriotic and anti-imperialist forces in Hongkong that can be united should be united and the ranks for struggle against British violence continuously consolidated and expanded.

The struggle of our Hongkong compatriots against British violence is a struggle between the forces of aggression and those against aggression. It is a continuation of the anti-imperialist struggle carried out by the Chinese nation over the past century and more. The vicious British imperialists have done many evil things and have committed countless crimes in Hong-

Strongest Protest Against British Imperialist Armed Provocation Along the Border

VICE-MINISTER of Foreign Affairs Lo Kuei-po on the morning of July 9 summoned D.C. Hopson, British Charge d'Affaires to China, and handed him a note from the Chinese Foreign Ministry. It lodges the most urgent and strongest protest with the British Government against the serious armed provocation committed against the Chinese people by the British authorities in Hongkong on July 8. The note says:

"On July 8, people on our side of Sha Tau Kok and Chinese inhabitants of the 'New Territories,' Kowloon, held a rally on our side to voice support for our patriotic countrymen in Hongkong and Kowloon in their just struggle against brutal persecution by the British authorities in Hongkong. After the rally, they demonstrated along different routes. When the Chinese inhabitants were returning to the 'New Territories,' Kowloon, from the demonstration, fully armed policemen and 'riot police' of the British authorities in Hongkong flagrantly carried out a premeditated sanguinary suppression of them, throwing tear bombs and opening fire at them, and at the same time fired at our side. The Chinese frontier guards at once fired warning shots against such atrocities and provocations by the British side. But, in total disregard of the warn-

ings from our side, the policemen and 'riot police' of the British authorities in Hongkong continued to fire at the demonstrators, killing one and wounding eight of them. Our frontier guards also fired back at the policemen and 'riot police' of the British authorities in Hongkong."

The Chinese Government in the note raised the following demands to the British Government:

"1. Make public apologies for the July 8 armed provocation in Sha Tau Kok;

"2. Immediately punish the culprits, compensate for all the losses suffered by the inhabitants of Sha Tau Kok and by the dead and wounded and release all the inhabitants arrested since June 24 in the Sha Tau Kok region;

"3. Guarantee that no similar incidents will occur in the future."

The British Government and the British authorities in Hongkong, the note points out, have gone further to create tension along the border. This is increasingly aggravating the Hongkong situation. The Chinese Government hereby sternly and solemnly warns the British Government: If you persist in being hostile to the Chinese people to the end, then you must bear all the grave consequences arising therefrom.

kong, owing a blood debt that can never be cleared. The British imperialists are the most direct and vicious enemy of our 4 million Hongkong compatriots and an enemy of the Chinese nation. All our Hongkong compatriots who are patriotic should and will follow the teaching of Chairman Mao to unite under the patriotic and anti-imperialist banner and join in the torrent of the great struggle against British violence.

The majority of our 4 million compatriots in Hongkong are patriotic. They oppose imperialism and want to make revolution. Hongkong workers, peasants, fishermen and other labouring people, and all our patriotic compatriots are loyal to our great motherland and loyal to our great leader Chairman Mao. They look lovingly to the mighty socialist motherland and are overjoyed and inspired by the great achievements of its socialist revolution and socialist construction. They derive much education particularly from the great proletarian cultural revolution which is now in full swing in the motherland. Our patriotic Hongkong compatriots eagerly study the great thought of Mao Tse-tung and arm themselves with it. The revolutionary consciousness of our Hongkong compatriots has risen tremendously in this sharp struggle against

British violence. This is the most important condition for boldly arousing the masses in Hongkong to strike at British imperialism.

As the main force in this struggle, the Hongkong workers must do a good job of uniting all patriots, mobilize them to participate in the struggle and welcome all their patriotic actions. Even if some people cannot at present join the fighting ranks against British violence, work must be done to unite them, unless they are traitors.

The workers' strike constitutes the main battlefield in the present struggle against British violence in Hongkong. Shop assistants, the urban poor, small tradesmen and vendors, students, intellectuals and all other patriotic countrymen should use all forms of struggle to fight against British imperialism. In particular, the hundreds of thousands of young students in Hongkong should be active in integrating themselves with the worker-peasant masses and playing the role of vanguard in the struggle against British violence. In this way, British imperialism in Hongkong will be heavily besieged and dealt heavy blows.

In Hongkong, the object we want to hit at directly is British imperialism, the handful of British colonial-

ists and the very few national traitors who obstinately serve British imperialism. Those in the enemy camp who have done bad things must recognize what the facts are, forsake darkness and cross over to brightness, and make amends for their crimes by good deeds. As for the handful of British colonialists and the incorrigible hired thugs who have committed monstrous crimes and have served as assassins for the enemy, our countrymen in Hongkong know full well how to deal with them, that is, to pay them in their own coin. We must severely punish these bad elements. Those who kill people must pay with their lives, and blood debts must be paid in blood. "The magistrate may burn

down houses but the ordinary people cannot even light their lamps," there is no such rule! It will never do that those who kill our patriotic countrymen in Hongkong do not receive due punishment!

With the firm support of the 700 million people of the motherland, our patriotic countrymen in Hongkong are mobilizing themselves further to converge into a mighty, surging ocean. If the enemy refuses to surrender, we will have him drowned in the great ocean of the revolutionary mass struggle against imperialism in Hongkong!

(*"Renmin Ribao" editorial, July 5.*)

Ugly Farce at United Nations

by "RENMIN RIBAO" COMMENTATOR

THE U.N. General Assembly emergency session voted on July 4 without achieving any concrete result. The entire proceedings turned out to be one more ugly farce.

The session failed to touch a single hair of U.S. imperialism which was the main criminal in engineering the armed aggression against the Arab countries, and of Israel, that U.S. imperialist running dog which has forcibly occupied large areas of Arab territory. On the contrary, U.S. imperialism and its Israeli stooge have become more arrogant. An Israeli chieftain, Dayan, even had the gall to proclaim outside the United Nations that it was Israel's intention to annex the Gaza strip and the west bank of the Jordan River which were now under Israeli occupation. Thus, the so-called emergency session of the U.N. General Assembly was a clumsy trick to hoodwink the Arab countries and world opinion from start to finish.

Why did the Soviet revisionist ruling clique suddenly propose convening an emergency U.N. General Assembly session after its betrayal of the Arab countries? As a matter of fact, the real purpose of Soviet revisionist chieftain Kosygin's trip to the United States was to pay homage to U.S. imperialist ringleader Johnson. But he found it a little awkward to do that outright in front of the whole world. So he hit on attending a U.N. General Assembly session, accompanied by a large retinue. Some Soviet revisionist ruling clique valets also rushed to New York to play second fiddle. In fact, all of this was just a sideshow. The real drama was staged at Glassboro where the two types worked out a dirty global deal. Once this was concluded, it was naturally time to wind up the spurious show at the United Nations.

What kind of a thing is the United Nations? It is the tool of U.S. imperialism, number one overlord, and the Soviet revisionist ruling clique, number two over-

lord, to press ahead with neo-colonialism and big-nation power politics. Although the Arab countries, many other Afro-Asian countries and Albania voiced strong indignation at the aggression by U.S. imperialism and its stooge, the United States and the Soviet Union went on manipulating the United Nations as before. The aggressors get protection as usual and the victims of aggression have to put up with it. Such a United Nations can only be a refuge for imperialists, revisionists and counter-revolutionaries, and a chain binding the oppressed nations hand and foot.

After the voting at the U.N. emergency session, U.S. imperialism started on a new scheme. The Johnson Administration declared on July 5 that "the United States believes that the Security Council is the best place for this (the Middle East issue) to be handled." The ball was tossed to the General Assembly from the Security Council and back again to the Security Council from the General Assembly. The net result will be the same—the United States and the Soviet Union must be the ones to decide the fate of the Arab countries.

Our great leader Chairman Mao Tse-tung teaches us: **"The oppressed peoples and nations must not pin their hopes for liberation on the 'sensiblyness' of imperialism and its lackeys. They will only triumph by strengthening their unity and persevering in their struggle."**

In order to safeguard their independence and defeat the aggression by U.S. imperialism and its flunkey, the Arab people must rely on their own struggle. Pinning their hopes on the Soviet revisionists and the United Nations is like asking the tiger for its hide, and that will only bring on more catastrophes. Never should the bloody lesson of the Middle East events be forgotten!

(*"Renmin Ribao," July 8.*)

Pawnshops in Moscow

According to recent reports, the Moscow Pawnshops Administration has been running lavish advertisements in the papers to drum up business for the pawnshops under its control. Terms are said to be attractive: transactions by phone, pawned goods held indefinitely, articles examined in your own home and fair prices guaranteed.

At a time when Soviet enterprises, big and small, are competing with each other in accordance with the "profit-comes-first" principle, is it any wonder that Moscow's pawnshops are unwilling to lag behind and anxious to enter the race for greater profits?

Just what is a pawnshop? It is a place where money is loaned at an exorbitant rate of interest on personal property left as security. Whatever the colour of its signboard and whatever its sidelines, its main business is usury, in other words, sucking the blood out of the poor. Where there are pawnshops, this is the rule, and Soviet pawnshops can be no exception. Naturally the well-fed privileged stratum need have nothing to do with them. It is those toilers, earning a meagre monthly income, who have to give up their pound of flesh.

The Soviet revisionist rulers never tire of boasting about how they have entered the period of "comprehensive construction of communism." But what have pawnshops got to do with communism? When Marx referred to the pawnshop, it was to use the pawn tickets in the hands of the workers to prove the pauperization of the toiling masses. It is rather strange that thriving pawn brokers should be a sign of the transition to communism and that the workers will enter communist society with wads of pawn tickets in their pockets!

The fact that pawnshops flourish in Moscow only shows that the Soviet revisionist clique is fast reviving and developing the system of exploitation and hastening class differentiation. This is an indication of the clique's all-round restoration of capitalism.

Liberman and other official Soviet revisionist scholars always use the absence of a stock exchange in the Soviet Union to deny any capitalist restoration there. This is, of course, nonsense. In the Soviet Union, which is a capitalist country in disguise, the bourgeoisie can exploit and make deals with or without a stock exchange. However, since pawnshops are already doing very well in the land of the Soviets, nobody will be surprised if some day advertisements in Soviet papers herald the establishment of a stock exchange too.

(July 2)

No Adverse Current Can Block the Mainstream of History

U.S. imperialism and the Soviet revisionist clique have worked in close collaboration plotting a series of

anti-China campaigns. They have set their running dogs, especially the reactionaries in countries near China, snapping at China. They have stirred up an evil wind. Their vicious activities have everywhere come up against firm popular opposition.

In Burma, despite the reactionary Ne Win government's anti-China campaign, people in many cities have demonstrated in support of China.

In India, the people of Calcutta broke up an anti-China meeting staged by the reactionaries.

In Nepal, the people of Kathmandu indignantly attacked the Indian diplomats who were openly instigating and directing anti-China activities.

Such instances are not confined to Burma, India and Nepal. Wherever anti-China activities have been engineered, the people have risen in defence of their friendship with the Chinese people.

The new, socialist China is a state founded by our great leader Chairman Mao himself. Holding high the great red banner of Mao Tse-tung's thought, the Chinese people are fighting resolutely against imperialism, modern revisionism and the reactionaries of all countries and firmly supporting the revolutionary struggles of the peoples of the world. China is the mainstay of the world revolution today.

Imperialism, modern revisionism and the reactionaries of all countries have an inveterate hatred for China. They frenziedly vilify and oppose China. In a vain attempt to maintain their reactionary rule, they resort to anti-China campaigns to divert the attention of the people and to check the influence of China and the spread of Mao Tse-tung's thought. But the more frantic they become in opposing China, the more evident it becomes that they are having a tougher and tougher time. Their very opposition to China demonstrates their own inherent weakness.

The masses of the people in various countries want to oppose imperialism, make revolution and struggle for liberation. They find in China their orientation and hope and enthusiastically extol China. They want to take the road of Mao Tse-tung, China's road. They will not be misled by the anti-China propaganda of the imperialists, revisionists and reactionaries; nor will they be cowed by an anti-China white terror. Revolution cannot be subdued, nor can the ardent love of the masses of the various countries for China be crushed.

Our great leader Chairman Mao has pointed out: **"The world will unquestionably take the road of progress and not the road of reaction."**

Opposition to China is a reactionary adverse current which may run wild for a time but will eventually be overborne by the revolutionary torrent of the people. No adverse current can arrest the mainstream of history and no blustering anti-China warrior can escape the fate of being swept away by the current of history.

(July 9)

(Continued from p. 7.)

Hong, head of the ensemble, and other leading members and principal artists, and had a cordial talk with them. When the performance ended, they went on stage to warmly shake hands with the artists, congratulating them on their success.

The South Vietnam Liberation Army Song and Dance Ensemble arrived in Peking on June 27 at the invitation of the Commission for Cultural Relations With Foreign Countries. This is the first time the ensemble has come to China on a friendship visit and to perform.

The ensemble gave its premiere in Peking on the evening of July 4. Vice-Premiers Li Fu-chun and Li Hsien-nien and other comrades were present at the opening ceremony and later watched the performance.

Vice-Premier Chen Yi Condemns Ivory Coast Authorities for Kidnapping Guinean Delegation

Irreconciled to its defeat in Africa, imperialism is constantly resorting to vile means to oppose the African people who uphold national independence and persevere in the struggle against imperialism and colonialism. Lately, it has worked hand in glove with the reactionary authorities of the Ivory Coast in kidnapping the Guinean delegation which, led by Foreign Minister Lansana Beavogui, stopped over on June 26 in Abidjan, capital of the Ivory Coast, on its way home after attending the emergency session of the U.N. General Assembly in New York. The delegation was travelling on a Dutch K.L.M. airliner which was suddenly diverted off its course and landed at Abidjan.

After the kidnapping of the delegation, the Guinean Government took corresponding measures and detained the Netherlands diplomatic representatives in Conakry and leading K.L.M. personnel there.

When Vice-Premier and Foreign Minister Chen Yi received Charge d'Affaires ad interim of the Guinean Embassy in China Camara Fode Issiaga on July 7, on behalf of the Chi-

nese Government he strongly condemned this bandit act by imperialism in collaboration with the Ivory Coast reactionary authorities. He expressed firm support for the Guinean Government's just action in striking back at the imperialists and the Ivory Coast authorities. The Vice-Premier pointed out that the kidnapping was a premeditated action by the imperialist gang. It was another grave crime against the Guinean Government and people and a serious provocation against the Asian and African peoples. He expressed the conviction that the Guinean people would certainly be able to thoroughly smash every imperialist scheme.

Protest Against Attack on Chinese Merchant Ship By U.S. Aircraft

U.S. imperialism has recently been sending large reinforcements to south Vietnam and has sent troops to invade the demilitarized zone. U.S. planes have continually carried out wanton bombings of Hanoi, Haiphong and other cities in north Vietnam, constantly expanding the scope of their bombings. While strafing Haiphong on June 29, U.S. bandit planes dive-bombed a Chinese merchant ship in the harbour, causing serious damage to it.

A spokesman of the Chinese Foreign Ministry issued a statement on July 6, pointing out that U.S. imperialism's flagrant attack on the Chinese merchant ship flying the national flag of the People's Republic of China was another serious provocation against the Chinese people. The Chinese Government and people expressed the strongest protest against such piratical acts of U.S. imperialism. The statement said that the attack "is a most grave step taken by the Johnson government in its scheme to expand the war of aggression against Vietnam and is closely connected with the latest talks between Johnson and Kosygin. The Chinese Government and people are closely watching this new move of war 'escalation' taken by U.S. imperialism."

Chairman Mao has said: "Lifting a rock only to drop it on one's own

feet' is a Chinese folk saying to describe the behaviour of certain fools. The reactionaries in all countries are fools of this kind." The frantic provocations against the Chinese people by U.S. imperialism while it is expanding its war of aggression against Vietnam will only further strengthen the Chinese people's determination to aid Vietnam in its fight against U.S. aggression. The Chinese Foreign Ministry's statement warned the U.S. bandits that the 700 million Chinese people armed with Mao Tse-tung's thought were not to be trifled with. It pointed out that the Chinese people would firmly support the Vietnamese people in carrying on their war against U.S. aggression and for national salvation till final victory. Should the U.S. bandits have the effrontery to spread the flames of war and insist on having a trial of strength with the Chinese people, then the Chinese people, who long ago had made every preparation, would deal doubly heavy blows to the U.S. aggressors.

Soviet Personnel Caught Red-Handed Stealing Information

A responsible member of the Department of Soviet Union and East European Affairs of the Chinese Foreign Ministry on July 3 summoned Razdukhov, Charge d'Affaires ad interim of the Soviet Embassy in China, and lodged a strong verbal protest with him against the stealing of information by staff members of the Soviet Commercial Representative's Office in China and against vicious Soviet attacks and slanders directed at the Chinese Red Guards and revolutionary masses.

On June 11, Gerasimov and Hantimirov, staff members of the Soviet Commercial Representative's Office in China, accompanied by staff members of the China National Machinery Import and Export Corporation, went to Shenyang to handle the question of compensation arising from Soviet machine tools which were not up to the required specifications. The Chinese quarters concerned provided all necessary facilities for this work. But Gerasimov and Hantimirov, who knew nothing about the profession and did not even

know how to use a levelling instrument, created all kinds of pretexts to put off the matter and even refused to discuss the question of compensation with the Chinese personnel concerned. More intolerable was the fact that the two Soviet members took advantage of their stay in Shenyang, sneaked about, surreptitiously read and copied big-character posters and covertly or overtly collected printed matter and information about China's great proletarian cultural revolution. The Red Guards and revolutionary masses, armed with the great thought of Mao Tse-tung, caught them red-handed, demanded that they hand over what they had collected and gave them a warning. This is an entirely just, revolutionary action. But the Soviet Foreign Ministry issued a statement on June 21, which raved about the Chinese side "creating intolerable conditions," deliberately slandering the Red Guards and the revolutionary masses.

The Chinese Foreign Ministry's statement said: "We must sternly warn you that the revolutionary people of China absolutely will not tolerate your activities on Chinese territory detrimental to our national interests. You must honestly observe China's laws and decrees, show respect for China's revolutionary order, and immediately stop all your illegal activities. Our Foreign Ministry spokesman made a statement on June 14 demanding an end to the stealing of intelligence by the personnel of the offices in China of the imperialists, revisionists and reactionaries, and we mean what we say. Should you persist in your perverse action and continue with your illegal activities, China will take the necessary measures. Don't say that you have not been warned beforehand."

Protest Against Nepalese Government Connivance at Anti-China Outrage

On the evening of July 1, a group of Nepalese hooligans, instigated and directed by U.S. imperialism, Soviet revisionism and the Indian reactionaries, and with the connivance of the Nepalese Government, carried out

anti-China activities in front of the Chinese photo exhibition hall in Kathmandu. They made several attempts to break into the exhibition hall, clamouring hysterically for removal of the portrait of the Chinese people's great leader Chairman Mao and of the Chinese national flag. They shouted anti-China slogans and viciously insulted Chairman Mao, the red sun that shines most brightly in the hearts of the Chinese people. Nepalese progressive students, who cherish boundless love for Chairman Mao, the great teacher of the world revolutionary people, and treasure the friendship between the Nepalese and Chinese peoples, rushed to the exhibition hall to defend Chairman Mao's portrait. They shouted: "We will defend Chairman Mao with our blood!" "We will always be loyal to Chairman Mao!" "We pledge to fight to the end against the U.S. and Indian reactionaries!"

The Second Secretary of the Indian Embassy in Nepal, Singh, who took part in plotting the anti-China outrage, came out into the open and beat the Nepalese who defended the friendship between the Nepalese and Chinese peoples, when he saw that the scheme was not fully realized.

The hooligans also hurled stones at the cars of the Chinese Embassy, the Kathmandu branch of the Hsinhua News Agency and Chinese experts, and wounded one Chinese diplomat.

It was reported that U.S. "peace corps" and military men were backing the anti-China hooligans from behind the scenes. The U.S. Embassy sent personnel to Nepalese universities to spread rumours against China and incite Nepalese students to oppose China. The Soviet Embassy was also extremely busy those days. The TASS correspondent in Nepal openly incited Nepalese students and reporters to oppose China.

The Nepalese Government approved and supported this anti-China outrage. In the past six months, the reactionary Nepalese press has continually carried articles slandering China. Reactionary forces in Nepal forbade Nepalese students to wear badges with a profile of Chairman Mao or carry *Quotations From Chair-*

man Mao Tse-tung. At the time of the outrage, the Chinese side repeatedly demanded that the Nepalese Government stop it. However, this demand was ignored. When the hooligans were committing the outrage, the Nepalese Commissioner in Bagmati was right on the spot.

On instructions from the Chinese Government, Chinese Ambassador in Nepal Yang Kung-su lodged a serious protest with the Nepalese Government on July 5 against this anti-China outrage. The Ambassador stressed that the great socialist China was not to be bullied. In conducting anti-China activities, imperialism, revisionism and all reactionaries would break their own skulls. Those who follow them in their anti-China campaign would suffer the consequences of their own actions.

China Warns Indonesian Government Against Continued Persecution of Chinese Nationals

Since the counter-revolutionary coup by the Suharto-Nasution Right-wing military clique in 1965, the Indonesian reactionaries' rabid persecution of Chinese nationals has continued unabated. Thousands of Chinese in the Atjeh area of Sumatra, for example, have been made homeless and deprived of all means of livelihood. On September 2, 1966, the Indonesian Foreign Ministry notified the Chinese Embassy in Indonesia that there were 4,500 Chinese concentrated in Medan, and requested that the Chinese Government ship them back to China. These Chinese had been persecuted and unwarrantedly expelled from the Atjeh area. While solemnly demanding that the Indonesian Government immediately stop its racist atrocities of expelling overseas Chinese en masse, the Chinese Government sent ships to Medan to bring back the persecuted Chinese who were in deep misery. To date, 4,251 of them have been brought back by the Chinese Government. But it is learnt that there are still more than 6,600 in the 14 concentration camps in the Medan area. This clearly shows that instead of stopping its mass expulsion of

Chinese nationals, the Indonesian Government has taken advantage of China's efforts to return the persecuted Chinese and continued to expand the mass expulsion of overseas Chinese in an attempt to pursue its criminal racist ends.

The Chinese Foreign Ministry sent a note to the Indonesian Embassy in China on July 5 with regard to such anti-China and anti-Chinese atrocities. The note said: "We once again sternly warn the Indonesian reactionaries: in so unscrupulously opposing China and persecuting overseas Chinese, you will be lifting a rock only to drop it on your own feet and eat the bitter fruit of your making. Pressed beyond the limit of forbearance, the broad masses of the overseas Chinese armed with Mao Tse-tung's thought will surely rise up to defend their proper rights and interests and resolutely carry through to the end the struggle against persecution. The Chinese Government and people will give all-out support to the just struggle of the broad masses of the overseas Chinese in all circumstances. This stand and determination of ours is firm and unshakable."

The note listed the Chinese Government's four demands for the settlement of the question of persecuted overseas Chinese created entirely by the Indonesian Government, and demanded that the latter make a speedy reply.

Protest Against Anti-China Provocation in Britain

While millions upon millions of people throughout the world hail China for having successfully exploded its first hydrogen bomb, U.S. and British imperialism, modern revisionism and all reactionaries mortally fear and deeply hate this great victory achieved by the Chinese people under the guidance of the invincible thought of Mao Tse-tung. With the connivance of the British Government and incited by the official propaganda machine, a handful of anti-China elements, in the name of the "campaign for nuclear disarmament," created disorders and provocations in front of the Chinese Charge d'Affaires Office in London on June 18 and 27. They were sternly

rebuked by members of the office on both occasions.

A handful of ruffians, catering to the needs of U.S. and British imperialism and the Soviet revisionist leading clique, carried out another provocation in front of the Chinese Charge d'Affaires Office on the evening of July 4. Some of them went so far as to burn a copy of *Quotations From Chairman Mao Tse-tung*, which is most treasured by the revolutionary people of the world and regarded by them as a powerful weapon against imperialism, revisionism and all reactionaries. Staff members of the Chinese Charge d'Affaires Office, who have enormous love for the great leader Chairman Mao, immediately rushed out to stop the ruffians' shameless crime, and managed to seize evidence of the crime on the spot.

The incident was a new and grave political provocation engineered by British imperialism against the great Chinese people. On July 5, Chinese Charge d'Affaires ad interim Shen Ping lodged the most serious and most emphatic protest with the British Foreign Office.

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