

PEKING REVIEW

20

May 19, 1972

**Somali President Mohamed Siad
Barre Visits China**

**Statement of the Government of the
People's Republic of China**

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Among the Masses**

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北京周報

Vol. 15, No. 20

May 19, 1972

Published in English, French, Spanish,
Japanese and German editions

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Samdech Sihanouk in Liaoning

Samdech Norodom Sihanouk and Madame Sihanouk, Special Envoy Ieng Sary and other distinguished Cambodian guests arrived in Shenyang for a visit from Tantung by special train on May 8. Accompanied by Hsu Hsiang-chien, Vice-Chairman of the Military Commission of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China and Vice-Chairman of the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress, they received a grand, rousing welcome from several hundred thousand people.

At the mass rally held by the people of Liaoning Province and Shenyang city on May 11 in honour of their guests, Chairman of the Liaoning Provincial Revolutionary Committee and Commander of the Shenyang Units of the Chinese People's Liberation Army Chen Hsi-lien said: "At a time when the three peoples of Indochina are advancing victoriously in their united struggle, Samdech Norodom Sihanouk, Head of State and Chairman of the National United Front of Cambodia, and Madame Sihanouk and other distinguished Cambodian guests are visiting Liaoning Province shortly after their visit to the Democratic People's Republic of Korea. We are very happy at this."

Comrade Chen Hsi-lien spoke highly of Samdech Sihanouk for his great deeds for the Cambodian people and his outstanding contributions to the united struggle of the three Indochinese peoples against U.S. aggression. "We extend warm congratulations to our fraternal Cambodian people on their great victories," he said.

"Recently," he noted, "U.S. imperialism flagrantly dispatched large numbers of aircraft and warships to carry out wanton bombing and shelling in many areas in the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam in a fresh war escalation. With U.S. imperialism acting as the wire-puller, the Lon Nol-Son Ngoc Thanh traitorous clique in Phnom Penh dished up a

so-called republican draft constitution and staged a farce—the 'national referendum'—in violation of the national interests of Cambodia. However, none of the outrageous military threats and cunning political frauds by U.S. imperialism and its lackeys can shake the iron will of the long-steed people of the three Indochinese countries in their united resistance to U.S. aggression."

"Liaoning Province is one of the heavy industrial bases of our country. Following the teaching of our great leader Chairman Mao, we, along with the people in the rest of the country, regard it as a glorious bounden duty to support the people of Cambodia and the rest of Indochina in their war against U.S. aggression and for national salvation. We reaffirm, at this grand rally, our determination to grasp revolution and promote production and other work and preparedness against war and do everything in our power to support the people of Cambodia and the rest of Indochina in their war against U.S. aggression and for national salvation," he declared.

Samdech Sihanouk said in his speech: "It is to the credit and glory of the three Indochinese peoples to resist ever more victoriously this incessant and arch-criminal escalation of the air war of genocide of U.S. imperialism under the supreme command of Mr. Richard Nixon."

"The teaching of the very respected and beloved Chairman Mao is extremely correct: In such a war, it is not things but people that are the decisive factor of victory, people who are heroic and have the faith, that is to say, the conviction of defending a just cause."

"Having rid themselves of French colonialism, the Khmer, Vietnamese and Lao peoples do not, nor will they, allow U.S. imperialism, or the reviving Japanese militarism or another imperialism to establish itself on their soil."

Samdech Sihanouk declared: "United as one now and always, the

Chinese, Khmer, Vietnamese, Lao and Korean peoples will show the world that they will be perfectly able in the near future to definitely drive U.S. imperialism out of the region of Asia where they live, even though U.S. imperialism is the most powerful, the richest, the most obstinate and cruel imperialism of all time.

"And if Sato and his clique should revive aggressive Japanese militarism and set it against the rest of our Asia, we, the five peoples of China, Cambodia, Korea, Viet Nam and Laos, will give them blow for blow and send them back to their Japanese islands."

During their stay in Liaoning Province, the Cambodian guests, accompanied by Comrades Chen Hsi-lien and Hsu Hsiang-chien, visited China's major steel centre Anshan, the coal city of Fushun and Luta city on the Pohai Bay. They were warmly welcomed by the people wherever they went.

Chou En-lai and Other Comrades Meet Comrades Xuan Thuy and Ly Ban

Chou En-lai, Member of the Standing Committee of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China and Premier of the State Council; Keng Piao, Member of the C.P.C. Central Committee and Head of the International Liaison Department of the C.P.C. Central Committee; Chi Peng-fei, Minister of Foreign Affairs; Han Nien-lung, Vice-Minister of Foreign Affairs; Li Chiang, Member of the C.P.C. Central Committee and Vice-Minister of Foreign Trade; and Huang Chen, Member of the C.P.C. Central Committee, on the afternoon of May 13 met Minister Xuan Thuy, Member of the Secretariat of the Central Committee of the Viet Nam Workers' Party and Head of the Delegation of the Government of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam to

(Continued on p. 20.)

Somali President Mohamed Siad Barre Visits China

HIS Excellency Mohamed Siad Barre, President of the Supreme Revolutionary Council of the Somali Democratic Republic, and the delegation led by him arrived in Peking on May 14 on a state visit at the invitation of the Chinese Government.

The friendship envoys from the "Horn of Africa" were given a tremendous welcome by the Chinese people. More than 100,000 people in the capital turned out to greet them. A grand welcoming ceremony was held at the airport, and when the motorcade carrying the distinguished visitors drove past Tien An Men Square, cheers from the jubilant crowds intermingled with crescendos of music while youths danced and the armed militia saluted the guests from the western shores of the Indian Ocean.

Common Basis of Sino-Somali Friendship And Co-operation

Welcoming the Somali President and his party, *Renmin Ribao* said in its editorial: "Since October 1969, the Government and people of the Somali Democratic Republic under the leadership of President Mohamed Siad Barre have made unremitting efforts and achieved successes in safeguarding their national independence and state sovereignty and in developing their national economy and culture. In international affairs, Somalia has played an active role in promoting the cause of the Afro-Asian peoples' unity against imperialism and made its contributions. The Chinese people heartily rejoice over and admire the Somali people's achievements in both internal and external affairs.

"The friendly relations and co-operation between China and Somalia are built on the common basis of opposing imperialist and colonialist aggression and oppression and supporting the Asian and African peoples' just struggles. Both countries support the people of Viet Nam, Laos and Cambodia in their war against U.S. aggression and for national salvation, support the Palestinian and other Arab peoples in their struggle against U.S.-Israeli aggression, and support the people of southern Africa in their struggle against racial discrimination and for national independence. We thank Somalia for its righteous support to us in the past years for the restoration of China's legitimate rights in the United Nations. In the cause of the Afro-Asian peo-

ples' unity against imperialism, China and Somalia are comrades-in-arms supporting each other. With the deepening of the Afro-Asian peoples' struggle against imperialism and colonialism, the militant unity between the peoples of China and Somalia will surely be further consolidated."

Premier Chou En-lai gave a grand banquet in the banquet hall of the Great Hall of the People in honour of President Mohamed Siad Barre and all members of the delegation led by him. Premier Chou and the Somali President spoke on the occasion.

China Will Always Stand Together With Countries of the Third World

Extending his welcome to the Somali guests, Premier Chou En-lai praised the Somali Government and people for their successes on the road of independent development under the leadership of President Mohamed Siad Barre.

Referring to the present-day international situation, the Premier said: "At present the international situation is excellent. The struggles against imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism and for national liberation and social progress are growing vigorously throughout the world. In Asia, the three Indochinese peoples' war against U.S. aggression and for national salvation has dealt extremely heavy blows to U.S. imperialism and its lackeys. Of late, the U.S. Government has gone to the length of ordering the mining of the ports of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam, the cutting off of its land and water communications and the intensification of air and naval strikes. This is a grave escalation of the war. However, it cannot intimidate the heroic Vietnamese people but will only further arouse them to unite as one in their hatred against the common enemy and carry their war against U.S. aggression and for national salvation to the end till the complete defeat of the U.S. aggressors. In Africa, at the meetings held recently by the United Nations Special Committee on Decolonization, the representatives of African countries and liberation movements issued a strong call for the eradication of the evils of colonialism and racism, expressing the firm will of the African people to oppose imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism. In Latin America, at the Third

Session of the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development held in Santiago, the capital of Chile, the Asian, African and Latin American developing countries have condemned and combated imperialism and expansionism for their acts of plunder and exploitation of the countries of the third world. All this is a living proof that it has become an irresistible trend of history that countries want independence, nations want liberation, and the people want revolution. The Chinese Government and people resolutely oppose the imperialist policies of aggression and war, firmly support the three Indochinese peoples in their war against U.S. aggression and for national salvation, firmly support the Palestinian and other Arab peoples in their struggle to win their national rights and to recover the lost territories and firmly support the African people in their struggle to win and safeguard national independence and racial equality. We will always stand together with the countries of the third world in the struggle against aggression, subversion, control, interference and bullying by the superpowers."

Solidarity and Co-operation With Liberation Movements of All Peoples

In his speech, President Mohamed Siad Barre praised the friendly relations between Somalia and China and spoke warmly of China's aid to Somalia and support to the liberation movements in Africa and Asia. He said: Somalia is also devoted to the solidarity and collaboration with liberation movements of all peoples languishing still under the imperialist and colonial yoke. We extend to them all the assistance and support within our means. He added that the membership of Somalia in the Liberation Committee of the Organization of African Unity and the United Nations Special Committee on Apartheid bears testimony to this.

"The Mogadishu Declaration," the President went on, "adopted last year by the heads of state and government of east and central African states ushered a new era in Africa's struggle for self-determination and independence and indeed for liberation wars throughout the African continent. It is, therefore, more than ever before necessary that liberation movements be given all the required means to wage the wars for freedom and dignity."

The President expressed the Somali people's unreserved support for the struggle of the valiant people of Indochina and demand for the immediate cessation



Tung Pi-wu, Acting Chairman of the People's Republic of China, meets President Mohamed Siad Barre at the Guest House.

of U.S. imperialist aggression and unconditional withdrawal of their forces and allied troops from Viet Nam, Cambodia and Laos. He declared: "The recent escalation of the Viet Nam war by the United States and the mining of the ports of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam does not only violate the principle of international law and U.N. Charter, but also constitutes a deliberate threat to international peace and security. The Supreme Revolutionary Council of the Somali Democratic Republic has adopted an official declaration condemning the recent U.S. aggression against the sovereignty and territorial integrity of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam."

On the question of the unification of Korea, the President said, Somalia supports the position of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea; in the Middle East, Somalia condemns Israel and supports the demands of the Arab states and the Palestinian people. He declared: "We wholeheartedly commend the stand taken by the people of China on the questions of the Middle East and Indochina and on the struggle of all peoples in Africa and Asia for self-determination, independence and dignity."

The banquet proceeded in a warm atmosphere of friendship between the Chinese and Somali peoples. Both hosts and guests proposed toasts to the daily growth of the friendship between the two peoples and the friendly relations of co-operation between the two countries, and to the Afro-Asian peoples' continuous victory in their united struggle against imperialism.

Statement of the Government of the People's Republic of China

May 11, 1972

On May 8, 1972 U.S. President Nixon brazenly ordered the mining of the ports of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam, the cutting off of the land and water communications of north Viet Nam and the intensification of air and naval strikes. This is a new grave step taken by the United States in escalating its war of aggression against Viet Nam.

This act of war escalation by U.S. imperialism seriously encroaches upon the territory and sovereignty of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam, grossly violates the freedom of international navigation and trade and wantonly tramples upon the Charter of the United Nations and international public law. It is a provocation not only against the Vietnamese people, but also against the people of the whole world. The Chinese Government and people express their utmost indignation at and strongly condemn it.

As in the past, the pretexts used by U.S. imperialism to escalate the war this time are most absurd.

In the war in Viet Nam, the United States is the aggressor and Viet Nam the victim of aggression. This is a fact known to all. It is the United States that crudely violated the Geneva Agreements of 1954, created its puppet regime in south Viet Nam and frenziedly massacred Vietnamese people, thus provoking the armed resistance of the south Vietnamese people. It is the United States that moved its forces into south Viet Nam, thus bringing on the south Vietnamese people's war against U.S. aggression and for national salvation. It is the United States that used its air and naval forces to attack the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam, thus expanding the war to the whole of Viet Nam. And again it is the United States that made massive invasions into Cambodia and Laos, thus merging the battlefields of Indochina into one. Yet now the U.S. Government describes its aggression as resistance to north Vietnamese "invasion." This is wholly reversing black and white!

The U.S. aggressor forces have used all kinds of barbarous means and massacred thousands upon thousands of people in Viet Nam and Indochina. The U.S. Government keeps silent about this and yet clamours about "safeguarding" the lives of American soldiers. In fact, it is entirely due to the U.S. Government's policy of aggression that American youths have lost their lives on the Viet Nam battlefield. The question

should have been very simple. If only the U.S. Government stops its aggression immediately, withdraws all its forces unconditionally and ceases supporting the puppet cliques, the U.S. prisoners of war will return home at an early date and the lives of American soldiers will naturally be safeguarded. By continuing to escalate the war in a big way, the U.S. Government will only cause more American youths to lose their lives. How is it possible to speak of "safeguarding" their lives?

The U.S. Government claims that all these doings on its part are not to expand or escalate the war but to end the war. This hypocritical assertion fully reveals the feeble nature of the U.S. aggressors. We want to tell the U.S. Government in all seriousness: Gone for ever are the days when big nations could bully small ones at will. The struggle of the Vietnamese people is a just one. The people of the whole world, including the American people, stand on the side of the Vietnamese people. The U.S. attempt to force the Vietnamese people to submit by relying on so-called "air and naval superiority" will prove to be a perpetual fond dream. The statement of the Government of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam has put it well: "The Vietnamese people have enough determination and enough strength to persist in their just, certainly victorious struggle, even if it will last for five or ten other years, or much longer."

The Chinese Government and people resolutely support the solemn and just stand taken by the Government of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam in its statement of May 10, 1972. The Chinese Government reaffirms that "the 700 million Chinese people provide a powerful backing for the Vietnamese people; the vast expanse of China's territory is their reliable rear area." No matter what happens, this stand of ours will remain firm and unshakable. So long as U.S. imperialism does not stop its war of aggression against Viet Nam, and no matter what forms the war may assume, whether it is fought by the United States itself or by using its puppets and whether fought by ground forces or air and naval forces, we will resolutely support and assist the Vietnamese people in their war of resistance to the end till final victory.

The U.S. aggressors are bound to be defeated!

The Vietnamese people, the three Indochinese peoples are sure to win!

Literary and Art Workers Must Go Among the Masses

— In commemoration of the 30th anniversary of the publication of Chairman Mao's *Talks at the Yen-an Forum on Literature and Art*

by Hsin Wen-tung

IN his *Talks at the Yen-an Forum on Literature and Art* in 1942, Chairman Mao issued the call that literary and art workers "must go among the masses"!

Guided by the brilliant thought of the *Talks*, writers and artists in the revolutionary base areas at that time took up their knapsacks and went to the villages, to the front and into the heat of the struggle, and a vigorous and thriving scene prevailed in the revolutionary literary and art movement. Recalling those years, Chairman Mao said in 1957: "Many of them in Yen-an were very confused in their thinking and came out with all sorts of queer arguments. We held a forum, advising them to go among the masses. Later many went, and the results were very good."

Over the past 30 years, the clarion call "Go among the masses" has been a spur to creative literature and

art and to building contingents of literary and art workers under the leadership of our Party. In the past ten years or so, in particular, through practice in the proletarian literary and art revolution characterized by the model revolutionary theatrical works, it has more than ever before demonstrated its tremendous strength.

Source of Literature and Art

Chairman Mao's instruction that literary and art workers "must go among the masses" was based on the dialectical materialist interpretation of the law governing creative literature and art, on the fundamental principle that the lives and struggles of the workers, peasants and soldiers are the only source of revolutionary literature and art, and on the needs of the proletarian literary and art movement.

Huang Hua's Letter to U.N. Secretary-General and Security Council President

Huang Hua, Permanent Representative of the People's Republic of China to the United Nations, sent a letter on May 11 to Kurt Waldheim, Secretary-General of the United Nations, and George Bush, President of the Security Council of the current month. The letter reads as follows:

On May 8, 1972, the United States representative to the United Nations wrote to the President of the Security Council of the United Nations and requested that his letter and the enclosed May 8 announcement of the U.S. President be circulated as a Security Council document. In this connection, I am instructed by the Chinese Government to state the following:

The United States is the aggressor on the Viet Nam question. The new measures in Viet Nam as announced recently by the U.S. President, including the mining of the entrances to the ports of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam, constitute a further expansion of the war of aggression against Viet Nam and an open violation of the freedom of international navigation. This is a grave provocation to the Vietnamese people as well as to the peoples of the world. These acts of aggression on the part of the United States are absolutely impermissible

by international law and the U.N. Charter. The United States has no right whatsoever to invoke the provisions of Article 51 of the U.N. Charter concerning the exercise of the right of self-defence.

It must also be pointed out that the Viet Nam question has nothing to do with the United Nations in the first place. The United Nations has never meddled in the Viet Nam question since the Geneva Conference was held in 1954.

The U.S. representative to the United Nations has by his letter to the Security Council attempted to impose on the United Nations such insolent measures as the flagrant blockade of the territorial sea and ports of Viet Nam in violation of the U.N. Charter and the principles guiding international relations. That must be condemned.

In view of the above, the U.S. representative's request that his letter and the U.S. President's announcement be circulated as a Security Council document is devoid of any legal basis. This is absolutely unacceptable to China.

I request that my letter be circulated as a document of the Security Council.

Chairman Mao pointed out: "Works of literature and art, as ideological forms, are products of the reflection in the human brain of the life of a given society. Revolutionary literature and art are the products of the reflection of the life of the people in the brains of revolutionary writers and artists." This tells us clearly that life in a society, which is an objective reality, is primary, while literature and art, as ideological forms, are secondary; man's social life provides literature and art with an inexhaustible source, their only source, and literary and artistic works are reflections of social life. Only through processing in the brains of revolutionary writers and artists under the guidance of the Marxist world outlook can social life be correctly reflected and become revolutionary literature and art. On the other hand, through processing in the brains of counter-revolutionary writers and artists with the world outlook of the exploiting classes, the same social life may become reactionary literature and art distorting life and reversing history. Using the dialectical materialist theory of reflection, Chairman Mao has clarified the question of the source of literature and art and the relationship between them and life, thereby developing the Marxist theory on literature and art.

Concerning the question of the source of literature and art, there has always been two different answers which reflect the struggle between two diametrically opposed world outlooks, materialist and idealist, a struggle also between two basically opposed literary and art lines.

Chairman Mao pointed out that revolutionary writers and artists must go into the heat of the struggle, "go to the only source, the broadest and richest source, in order to observe, experience, study and analyse all the different kinds of people, all the classes, all the masses, all the vivid patterns of life and struggle, all the raw materials of literature and art. Only then can they proceed to creative work." This is a proletarian materialist line. All correct knowledge originates in practice. If literary and art workers do not go into the midst of the lives and struggles of the masses to observe, experience, study and analyse, they will not be able to get correct knowledge, or to understand and know well the workers, peasants and soldiers whom they want to serve and depict, and consequently will not be able to create good works.

Liu Shao-chi and other swindlers pushed a revisionist line, inducing literary and art workers to detach themselves from the masses, from the workers, peasants and soldiers and their revolutionary practice. They preached idealism and peddled that "genius decides everything," denying that practice is primary. They raved that once the writers were inspired, they could produce all kinds of works. They exaggerated the role of technique in writing as if it meant everything. Marxist-Leninists hold that artistic technique is necessary for writers and artists. Works which lack artistic quality have no force, however progressive they are politically. But technique, after all, is a means and

method and can in no way replace the source. If writers and artists are detached from the lives of the masses, their works will be like water without a source and a tree without roots; and no matter how proficient they are in technique, they can never produce a revolutionary work. Some works which politically are reactionary may have a certain artistic quality. But the more reactionary the content and the higher the artistic quality, the more poisonous they are.

Liu Shao-chi and his gang disseminated idealism and brought extremely harmful effects to the creative arts. For instance, some writers were influenced in their works by the theory that "there is no conflict." One of the causes was because they had not gone into the midst of the masses to experience their lives, had not used the Marxist viewpoint to analyse the contradictions in actual life and had not understood the essence of social life, the main content of which is class struggle. Another example was some works were over-simplified and too generalized. One of the causes was because the writers failed to produce works through a process of refining, concentration and artistic generalization of the rich lives of the masses. To solve these questions, literary and art workers must go deep into the lives and struggles of the people—the broadest and richest source of literature and art.

Be One With the Masses

Marxism holds that the people who are the makers of history have also created literature and art. The fundamental task of proletarian literature and art is to depict the workers, peasants and soldiers, extol them and portray their heroic images.

Contrary to the Marxist viewpoint, all representatives and apologists of the exploiting classes throughout the ages at home and abroad invariably reverse history, slandering the people as "ignorant mobs" while prettifying themselves as masters of history. In the old China as well as after liberation when the revisionist line exerted its influence, many dramatic and other literary and art works were dominated by emperors, kings, generals and ministers and scholars and beauties, while the people were described as though they were dirt. This reversal of history was a reflection of the afore-mentioned idealist conception of history. Works produced in line with this viewpoint could only serve the exploiting classes and a handful of parasites. As far as the people are concerned, such works could only poison their minds and corrupt their thoughts.

Countless facts have proved that the basic question concerning literary and art workers is still one of relationship between the individual and the people, that is, a question of whom should they love or hate and whom should they serve. On this question, some comrades have often reversed the position of individuals on the one hand and the masses of workers, peasants and soldiers on the other. To a certain degree, they tend to look down upon and stand aloof from the workers, peasants and soldiers. Instead of regarding

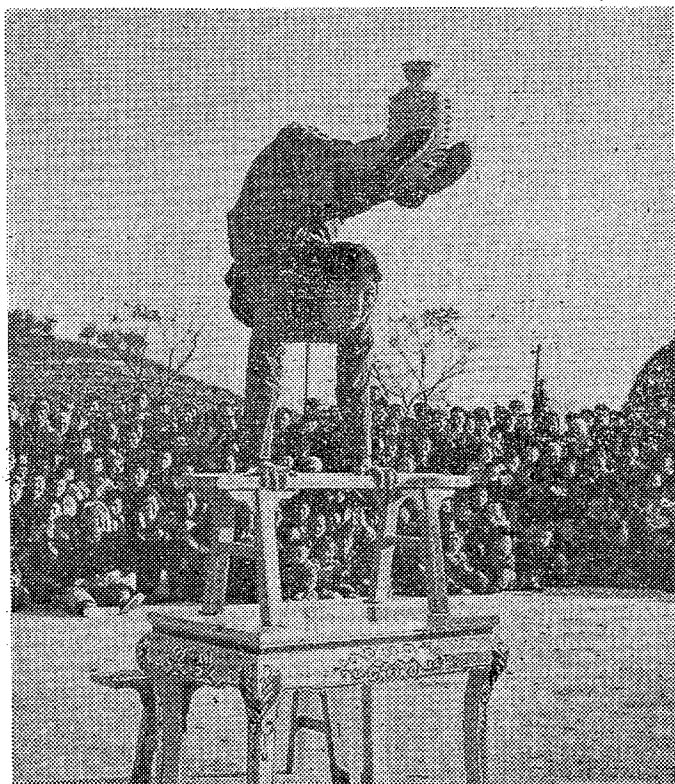
literary and art work as the people's cause, they use it as a tool for seeking personal fame and gain. These comrades often produce works that are the self-expression of the petty bourgeoisie, and are not enthusiastic about extolling the workers, peasants and soldiers. And when they do write about them, the clothes are the clothes of workers, peasants and soldiers but the faces are still those of petty-bourgeois intellectuals. They are at their best in portraying backward persons, but are at their wit's end in writing about worker-peasant-soldier heroes. The reason for all this is mainly because they have not yet shifted their stand to the side of the workers, peasants and soldiers.

In his *Talks*, Chairman Mao pointed out for us the fundamental course to remould our world outlook, and

this is to study Marxism-Leninism and society and integrate with the workers, peasants and soldiers.

In order to have a real grasp of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought, we must learn it not only from books but through class struggle and close contact with the workers, peasants and soldiers. Similarly, in studying society, we must also go among the people and take part in their revolutionary practice. Only in this way can we turn the incomplete knowledge we have obtained from books into complete knowledge and truly understand the people's strength.

Going among the masses is a long-term task. Only by living together with the workers, peasants and soldiers and undergoing a long and even painful process



Hsia Chu-hua, Deputy to the 3rd National People's Congress and deputy secretary of the Party committee of the Wuhan Acrobatic Troupe, performing for the peasants (above).



P.L.A. literary and art workers editing a wall newspaper with fighters of a P.L.A. company (upper right).

Two actresses of the Anchiu Peking Opera Troupe of Shantung Province performing for members of a people's commune (right).



of tempering can intellectuals get rid of the bourgeois world outlook and foster the proletarian world outlook. They should go among the masses unconditionally and wholeheartedly to be re-educated by the workers, peasants and soldiers and be one with them in thoughts and feelings.

"Go among the masses" is the basic course to build up proletarian literary and art contingents ideologically, and is an important principle guiding all the actions of a Marxist party. No exploiting class can put this principle into practice. Some representatives of the exploiting classes in the past raised slogans such as "go to the ordinary folk." But whether in its stand, attitude or effect, this slogan differed completely from the proletarian principle "Go among the masses" mentioned above. Towards the masses, the exploiting classes' thinkers regarded themselves as overlords and saviours. Their wish to "go to the ordinary folk" was, at best, merely to express pity and sympathy for the labouring people, but they would never really take root among the people.

* * *

"Go among the masses" has been Chairman Mao's consistent thought. In the protracted revolutionary struggle in China, Chairman Mao has pointed out many times that the question of the relationship between intellectuals and workers, peasants and soldiers is one of Marxist principle. He said: "Whether he is a true or false Marxist, we need only find out how he stands in relation to the broad masses of workers and peasants, and then we shall know him for what he is. This is the only criterion, there is no other." After the founding of New China, in his *On the Correct Handling of Contradictions Among the People* and *Speech at the Chinese Communist Party's National Conference on Propaganda Work*, Chairman Mao in 1957 pointed out once again that intellectuals must go among the masses. During the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolu-

tion, Chairman Mao stressed again and again: "Direct reliance on the revolutionary masses is a basic principle of the Communist Party." He called on the "young people with education to go to the countryside to be re-educated by the poor and lower-middle peasants" and on the vast numbers of cadres to go down to do manual labour in order to "study once again." Going among the workers, peasants and soldiers is a must for the intellectuals, cadres in government offices and Communists in continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat.

Restudying the *Talks*, literary and art workers in China have in the last few years gone to mines and factories, to villages and People's Liberation Army units to integrate with the workers, peasants and soldiers, putting remoulding their world outlook above everything else. Actively taking part in the revolutionary practice of the masses, they have persisted in using the Marxist viewpoint to observe life, collect material and do their best to portray and extol the workers, peasants and soldiers, and have as a result produced a number of good literary and art works.

At present, creative literary and art activities and performances by the masses in their spare time are full of vitality. Acting according to the requirements put forward by Chairman Mao in his *Talks*, literary and art workers are maintaining close links with worker-peasant-soldier writers and artists, learning and getting sustenance from them and doing everything they can to help them. This provides the raising of standard of literary and artistic works with a more extensive and popular basis. In celebrating the 30th anniversary of the publication of Chairman Mao's *Talks at the Yen-an Forum on Literature and Art*, a number of new literary and artistic works have been published. It can be expected that the day will soon arrive when socialist literature and art will thrive as never before.

For Your Reference

About "Talks at the Yen-an Forum on Literature and Art"

Chairman Mao's great work *Talks at the Yen-an Forum on Literature and Art* was published in May 1942. This was a time when the world's anti-fascist war was in its most difficult phase. In China, the people's War of Resistance Against Japan was in its fifth year. Japanese imperialism had speeded up large-scale "mopping-up" campaigns against the Liberated Areas. The Kuomintang reactionaries pushed their policy of

passivity in the war of resistance but active opposition against the Chinese Communist Party. On the one hand, they sent several hundred thousand troops to encircle and blockade the Liberated Areas, in a vain attempt to annihilate the army and people there, and on the other hand secretly had large numbers of troops surrender to the Japanese invaders who then directed these troops to attack revolutionary bases behind the enemy

lines. In the Party and the revolutionary camp, the "Left" opportunist line and the Right capitulationist line of the early period of the war of resistance, both represented by Wang Ming, seriously endangered and influenced the Party and the Chinese revolution.

The struggle between the two lines had always existed on the literary and art front. In the early 1930s the Left-wing literary and art movement

in the Kuomintang-controlled areas was under the influence of Wang Ming's "Left" opportunist line, with the result that it fell into closed-doorism and sectarianism organizationally, and was bourgeois democratic rather than proletarian in literary and art thought. Under the influence of Wang Ming's Right capitulationist line in the late 1930s, Chou Yang and other henchmen of Wang Ming opposed Lu Hsun's slogan for a "mass literature of national revolutionary war" which embodied the leadership of proletarian cultural thought in the cultural united front. They advocated the capitulationist slogan for a "national defence literature," which gave up the Party's leadership.

Later Chou Yang and his gang went to Yen-an under false colours and continued to propagate their reactionary bourgeois and revisionist thoughts on literature and art, and, in collusion with Trotskyites and reactionary literati, wrote counter-revolutionary articles under a revolutionary banner. Using the pretext of opposing "utilitarianism," they opposed the Party's leadership and literature and art serving politics. They said that "the task of literature and art has always been to expose" and called for a "literature of exposure," inciting writers and artists to write about "dark spots on the sun" and "expose" the shortcomings of the people. They spread the bourgeois "theory of human nature" and upheld "love of humanity" so as to obscure people's class viewpoint, and break down their revolutionary militancy. They co-ordinated all this with the attack and encirclement of the Liberated Areas by the Japanese invaders and Kuomintang reactionaries.

For several years before the publication of the *Talks*, large numbers of progressive writers and artists had gone to Yen-an and the various anti-Japanese bases behind the enemy lines. The crux of the controversy among them at the time was the problems of working for the masses and how to work for the masses. Since the May 4th Movement in 1919, the militant Left-wing

literary and art movement headed by Lu Hsun had made important contributions to the Chinese revolution. But, taking the movement as a whole, the above-mentioned basic questions had not yet found a correct solution. This was because objective conditions were such that the rule of white terror of the Kuomintang reactionaries in areas under Chiang Kai-shek's control hindered writers from going among the masses of the workers and peasants to learn about them and know them well, and thence to reflect their life and struggle. It was also because, in the matter of leadership, the "Left" and Right opportunist lines represented by Wang Ming as mentioned above seriously hampered literature and art from serving the workers, peasants and soldiers, and writers and artists from integrating with the masses of workers, peasants and soldiers. Looking at the question from the aspect of the subjective world of the writers and artists, although they wanted revolution, they were bourgeois or petty-bourgeois in their family origin, educational background and literary and art thought. While they might have cried out for "a mass style," they actually had tended "to some extent . . . to look down upon the workers, peasants and soldiers and divorce themselves from the masses," and still needed to remould their world outlook. Therefore the works they created were also divorced from the masses of workers, peasants and soldiers, and it might be said of the images of workers, peasants and soldiers they projected that "the clothes are the clothes of working people but the faces are those of petty-bourgeois intellectuals."

The Party Central Committee called a forum on literature and art in Yen-an where Chairman Mao gave the *Talks* to systematically sum up the experiences and lessons gained in the revolutionary literary and art movement since the May 4th Movement, eliminate the influence on literary and art thought exerted by Wang Ming's "Left" and Right opportunist lines in the 1930s, criticize bourgeois and petty-bourgeois ideological trends in the revolutionary literary and art ranks and solve such

basic problems in proletarian revolutionary literature and art as that literature and art must serve the workers, peasants and soldiers, and that writers and artists must integrate with the workers, peasants and soldiers. Taking the *Talks* as their weapon, writers and artists in the Liberated Areas carried out a large-scale rectification campaign.

The *Talks* is in two parts, the "Introduction" and the "Conclusion."

The "Introduction" first of all points out that the struggle on the cultural front is an indispensable component part of the entire revolutionary struggle. To ensure that literature and art become a powerful weapon for uniting and educating the people and for attacking and destroying the enemy and serve the revolutionary struggle well, writers and artists must solve the following questions:

The problem of class stand. Our stand is that of the proletariat and of the masses. For members of the Communist Party, this means keeping to the stand of the Party, keeping to Party spirit and Party policy.

The problem of attitude. With regard to the enemy, we should expose their duplicity and cruelty and point out the inevitability of their defeat. With regard to allies, our attitude should be one of both alliance and criticism. As for the masses of the people and their vanguards, we should praise them. The people, too, have their shortcomings. We should be patient and help them overcome their own shortcomings, and not take a hostile attitude and ridicule them.

The problem of audience. In the Liberated Areas, the audience for literature and art works consists of workers, peasants and soldiers and revolutionary cadres. Writers and artists should work for them.

The problem of work. The primary task of our writers and artists is to understand and know well the workers, peasants and soldiers and their cadres. This means that they must go into their midst, become one with them, and remould their thinking and their feelings through sharing their life for a long period.

The problem of study. Writers and artists must study Marxism-Leninism, and the conditions of the various classes in society. Only in this way can our literature and art be rich in content and correct in orientation.

In the "Conclusion," the two central problems treated are: literature and art serving the masses, and how to serve. These problems are cogently expounded in five sections.

1. The article points out that the orientation of literature and art must be to serve the workers, peasants and soldiers. Our literature and art are under the leadership of the proletariat and serve the masses of the people. All our literature and art are for the masses of the people, and in the first place for the workers, peasants and soldiers; they are created for the workers, peasants and soldiers and are for their use.

The *Talks* stresses that the question of "for whom?" is fundamental. Unless this is solved, many other problems will not be easy to solve.

2. On how to serve the workers, peasants and soldiers, the article first of all sets forth the problem of popularization and raising standards. This problem must be considered with the prerequisite of serving the workers, peasants and soldiers. Popularization means to popularize among the workers, peasants and soldiers, and raising standards means raising standards on the basis of the masses of workers, peasants and soldiers, raising the level of literature and art in the direction in which the proletariat is advancing, in the direction in which the workers, peasants and soldiers are themselves advancing. The relationship between popularization and raising standards should be: The raising of standards is based on popularization, while popularization is guided by the raising of standards.

It also points out that the life of the people provides all literature and art with an inexhaustible source, their only source. Literary and art works of the past are not a source, but a stream; they were created by our

predecessors and foreigners out of the literary and artistic raw material they found in the life of the people of their time and place. We must take over all the fine things in our literary and artistic heritage, critically assimilate whatever is beneficial, and use them as examples when we create works out of the literary and artistic raw material in the life of the people of our own time and place. But taking over legacies and using them as examples must never replace our own creative work. Revolutionary writers and artists must go among the masses of workers, peasants and soldiers, to observe, experience, study and analyse all the different kinds of people, all the classes, all the masses, all the vivid patterns of life and struggle, all the raw material in literature and art. Only then can they proceed to creative work.

The *Talks* further points out clearly that our literary and art specialists work not only for the cadres, but also, and indeed chiefly, for the masses. They should pay attention to the masses' wall newspapers, reportage, small troupes, songs and fine arts. No revolutionary writer or artist can do any meaningful work unless he is closely linked with the masses, gives expression to their thoughts and feelings and serves them as a loyal spokesman.

3. The relationship between literature and art and politics, and between literature and art and the entire revolutionary cause, and the problem of the united front in literary and art circles are explained in the article. It points out that in class society, all culture, all literature and art belong to definite classes and are geared to definite political lines. Literature and art detached from politics and standing above classes do not exist. Proletarian literature and art are an indispensable part of the whole revolutionary cause of the proletariat. Literature and art are subordinate to politics, but in turn exert a great influence on politics. All Party literary and art work must be subordinated to the revolutionary tasks set by the Party at a given period.

On the problem of the united front in literary and art circles, it is pointed out that the policy of both struggle and unity must be carried out. All unity and no struggle or all struggle and no unity are both wrong.

4. On the question of literary and art criticism, the *Talks* points out that this is one of the principal methods of struggle in the world of literature and art. In literary and art criticism, there are two criteria, namely the political and the artistic. All classes in all class societies invariably put the political criterion first and the artistic criterion second. The proletariat must also first of all distinguish a work as good or bad according to its own political criterion. What we demand is the unity of politics and art, the unity of revolutionary political content and the highest possible perfection of artistic form.

Profound criticism is levelled at such erroneous views as "the theory of human nature," "the fundamental point of departure for literature and art is love, love of humanity," "the task of literature and art has always been to expose," and so on.

5. A serious campaign of rectification must be unfolded in literary and art circles. The main problem existing in these circles, the *Talks* points out, is that the world outlook of many writers and artists has not been remoulded, and they still carry a great deal of the muck of the exploiting classes in their heads. They will always stubbornly try to project themselves through literary and artistic ways, spread their views, and want the Party and the world to be remoulded in their own image. To yield to them would actually be to yield to the big landlord class and the big bourgeoisie, and run the risk of undermining our Party and our country. In order to put things in order ideologically in our Party and in our ranks so as to lead the revolutionary movement to develop more effectively, it is necessary to launch a struggle of proletarian ideology against non-proletarian ideology. Only in this way can our ranks become truly united ideologically and organizationally.

U.S. Imperialism's New War Escalation Denounced

Statement of Government Of Democratic Republic Of Viet Nam

May 10

On May 8, 1972, U.S. President Nixon announced military measures to intensify to the highest level of savageness the attacks on the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam. Immediately after that, U.S. air and naval forces started mining and blocking otherwise all sea entries to the ports of north Viet Nam.

This highly adventurous and crazy act of war escalation of the Nixon administration is a brutal encroachment on the sovereignty and security of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam, and an insolent challenge to the socialist countries, other countries of peace and justice, and the public in the world and the United States as well. This act of international brigandage of the Nixon administration is also a contravention of the 1954 Geneva Agreements on Viet Nam, and of the most elementary principles of international law, and a violation of the freedom of navigation and of trade of the countries in the world.

A fact known to everybody is that for many years now, U.S. imperialism has been conducting the most ruthless colonial war in history against the Vietnamese people, its design is to turn south Viet Nam into a new-type colony and a military base of the United States, and to perpetuate the partition of Viet Nam. The Vietnamese people, for the independence and freedom of their fatherland, have united millions as one man and have fought with valour and perseverance. They have recorded greater and greater victories by foiling one after another the sinister military and political moves of the enemy.

In its losing position, which has compelled it to disengage its troops from south Viet Nam gradually, the Nixon administration has been endeavouring to carry into effect the policy to "Vietnamize" the war in

an attempt to perpetuate U.S. colonialism in south Viet Nam. To do this, it has tried to maintain and consolidate the Saigon puppet administration by putting in motion a machinery of oppression and coercion with an army of close to one million men, with tens of thousands of military posts, and a system of prisons and concentration camps which covers the whole of south Viet Nam. At the same time, it is carrying out a sanguinary policy of "pacification" to repress all patriots, all political and religious forces, trampling underfoot the Vietnamese people's right to live and their democratic liberties.

While conducting a war of genocide, biocide and ecocide in south Viet Nam, the Nixon administration is doing its best to put into effect the "Nixon doctrine" by extending the war to the whole of the Indochinese Peninsula while conducting air strikes on populous areas of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam. Within three years of Nixon in office the U.S. dumped on both zones of Viet Nam and on Laos and Cambodia a quantity of bombs and shells equal to that it had used in all the five years under the Johnson administration.

Most recently, in a bid to salvage the collapsing "Vietnamization" policy, the Nixon administration mustered a great air and naval force, the biggest ever marshalled by the United States, to step up extermination attacks on south Viet Nam, while unleashing its aircraft, B-52s included, and its warships against populous areas in the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam, even on the capital city of Hanoi and the Haiphong port city, perpetrating many other utterly savage crimes against the Vietnamese people.

In negotiation, the Nixon administration has always, with obduracy, clung to its stand of aggression and colonialism. During the two latest plenary sessions at the Paris Conference, like in the private meeting on May 2, 1972, it sought, as usual, to negotiate on a "position of strength," and persisted in the arrogant "8-point plan for peace," which the Vietnamese people have rejected with firmness. Failing in its effort to negotiate on a "position of strength," the Nixon

administration took all possible measures to wreck the talks in Paris.

U.S. President Nixon has brazenly alleged that the Vietnamese people are demanding the United States to "surrender" and to "impose a communist regime on 17,000,000 people in south Viet Nam," and so on. The fact, however, is that the Nixon administration is seeking, through its "8-point plan for peace" of January 25, 1972, to compel the Vietnamese people to lay down their arms and surrender, and to accept the puppet administration, the tool of U.S. imperialism in Saigon, as well as the U.S. neo-colonialist rule in south Viet Nam. The Provisional Revolutionary Government of the Republic of South Viet Nam, while struggling resolutely against U.S. aggression, has offered a 7-point proposal, the two key points of which have been clarified. The gist of this proposal is the following: An end to the U.S. war of aggression, a stop to the "Vietnamization" policy, the complete withdrawal of U.S. troops, the immediate resignation of Nguyen Van Thieu, the dissolution of the machinery of ruthless repression and coercion of the Saigon puppet administration, the installation of a broadly representative tripartite government of national concord which will be responsible for the holding of truly free and democratic general elections in south Viet Nam to set up a constituent national assembly which, in its turn, will adopt a constitution and set up an official government for south Viet Nam. This reasonable, logical 7-point proposal has the all-out support of the Vietnamese people of all strata, either in the liberated zone or in areas under temporary enemy control, and the warm welcome of broad sections of the public in the world, the American public included.

Added to the serious U.S. sabotage of the Paris Conference on Viet Nam and the intensive increase of U.S. air and naval forces to step up the war of aggression in both the two zones of Viet Nam, the highly adventurous and crazy act of war escalation taken by the Nixon administration — the mining and sealing off of the harbours of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam — has further exposed the extremely aggressive, obdurate, and bellicose nature of that administration. This, anyhow, is but a reckless act of a desperado. The more ferocious the U.S. aggressors become, the heavier will be their penalties. The Vietnamese people have enough determination and enough strength to persist in their just, certainly victorious struggle, even if it will last for 5 or 10 other years, or much longer.

The D.R.V.N. Government vehemently denounces this war escalation of the Nixon administration, and energetically demands that the latter stop mining and

sealing off the entries to north Vietnamese ports, and put an end to the bombardments and all other encroachments on the sovereignty and security of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam.

The D.R.V.N. Government calls on the armed forces and the entire people to unite millions as one man, to endeavour to carry out the testament of our beloved President Ho Chi Minh, and to enhance our revolutionary heroism, in order to fight resolutely for the liberation of the south, the defence and construction of the socialist north, and the ultimate peaceful reunification of the fatherland, and to join the fraternal peoples of Laos and Cambodia in this resolute struggle to rid the Indochinese Peninsula of U.S. imperialism.

Compatriots and fighters in the north, do your best to respond to the appeal of the Central Committee of the Viet Nam Workers' Party and Government of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam: Every citizen must be a staunch fighter to resist the U.S. aggression! Every factory, every construction site, every co-operative, every public office, every school, every street must be turned into a combat trench ready to fight and to crush any military adventures of U.S. imperialism. The north, fighting while carrying on with production, must be resolved to fulfil its duty as the great rear area to the blood-sealed south, to carry out its international obligation to the brother peoples of Laos and Cambodia.

The D.R.V.N. Government warmly acclaim the extremely resounding victories recorded by the armed forces and people of the heroic south on all the battlefields. As a response to the appeal of April 15, 1972 of the National Front for Liberation and the Provisional Revolutionary Government of the Republic of South Viet Nam, the compatriots and fighters in the south should dash forward in the impetus of their victory to push their offensive and uprising to destroy many more enemy effectives and war means, smash the "pacification" programme, reduce to naught the "Vietnamization" policy, duly punish U.S. imperialism for every of its mad military act and obtain yet greater victories.

The D.R.V.N. Government appeals to the governments and peoples of the fraternal socialist countries, other countries which stand for peace and justice, international organizations, the world people and the people of the United States, to act in time to stop the blood-stained hands of the U.S. aggressors, to demand firmly that the Nixon administration stop at once the mining and blockade of north Vietnamese harbours, put an immediate end to the bombardments and all other acts encroaching on the sovereignty and security of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam, give up the "Viet-

namization" policy, negotiate with seriousness at the Paris Conference, and give a positive answer to the R.S.V.N.P.R.G.'s 7-point proposal, the two key points of which having been already elaborated.

It is the firm conviction of the D.R.V.N. Government that in face of this frenzied war escalation and other wicked plots of the Nixon administration, the governments and peoples of the brother socialist countries, and the entire people of the world will further increase their support and assistance to the Vietnamese people and the other peoples of Indochina, till complete victory is won in their righteous struggle against the U.S. aggression and for national salvation.

Statement of Provisional Revolutionary Government Of Republic of South Viet Nam

May 12

On May 8, 1972 U.S. President Nixon brazenly announced military measures to step up the U.S. war of aggression against the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam by mining and sealing up all the D.R.V.N. harbours.

This is a crazy act of war escalation, fraught with danger, an arrogant and unprecedented act since World War II, and an insolent challenge to the whole of the progressive mankind.

The D.R.V.N. is an independent and sovereign country. There is absolutely no law, no morality which the U.S. Government can invoke to justify its use of air and naval forces to mine and blockade the harbours of the D.R.V.N. and carry out bombings and shellings against her. The time of gun-boat policy of the colonial powers is definitely gone for ever. That is why in Asia, Africa, Europe, Australia and Latin America, the socialist countries, the peace- and justice-loving governments and people the world over, many awakened politicians and the American people with high indignation are demanding that the Nixon administration immediately stop this act of brigandage.

The Nixon administration arrogantly claimed that these are necessary measures to protect the lives of 60,000 American soldiers, stop the "invasion of north Viet Nam," defend the Saigon administration. This is indeed utter fallacy and hypocrisy!

The south Vietnamese people, more than anybody else know that in the past 18 years, the U.S. imperialists

have systematically sabotaged the 1954 Geneva Agreements on Viet Nam, intervened more and more in south Viet Nam by every means, military, political, cultural and social, in an attempt to turn south Viet Nam into a military base and a neo-colony of the United States. Faced with the danger of total collapse of the Saigon administration—stooge of the U.S.—the U.S. imperialists have sent half a million G.I.s to invade south Viet Nam. Meanwhile, they used the U.S. air and naval forces to bomb and shell the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam. The U.S. and satellite troops have trampled upon the territory of south Viet Nam, U.S. bombs and shells have killed so many our compatriots in both north and south Viet Nam. The south Vietnamese people who are taking up arms against the U.S. imperialists in south Viet Nam to safeguard their independence and freedom, solemnly denounce: The U.S. imperialists are the aggressors in south Viet Nam. They have invaded south Viet Nam, so the entire Vietnamese people have the right to use every available weapons to resist this aggression. That is the inalienable right of self-defence of the Vietnamese nation as well as any other nation in the world. The south Vietnamese people have the right to call for the assistance of their kith and kin in the north, of the friendly countries and the world people to defeat the U.S. aggressors. The south Vietnamese people wish to express their sincere gratitude to the millions of their brothers, and friends in the five continents who have in the past and at present manifested their lofty desire to stand beside the Vietnamese people in the fight against the U.S. aggression, for national salvation.

The south Vietnamese people, more than anyone else, know that in the past 18 years, the U.S. imperialists have wasted hundreds of billions of dollars and numerous lives of American youths to build up and maintain an extremely brutal administration camouflaged under the label of "independence" and "freedom" to serve as an instrument for the materialization of the U.S. aggressive policy and neo-colonialism in south Viet Nam. The courageous and arduous struggle waged by the south Vietnamese people in nearly 20 years past is aimed at overthrowing that administration, stooge of the U.S., and to smash their coercive repressive machine comprising a million soldiers, "civil guards" and policemen together with a system of posts, prisons, "tiger cages" and concentration camps in south Viet Nam. The earnest aspiration and unshakable aim of the south Vietnamese people is the formation of a national and democratic administration of national concord which provides for the entire people, all political parties and all religious organizations a chance to build an indepen-

dent, peaceful, democratic, neutral and prosperous south Viet Nam and advance to the peaceful reunification of the fatherland.

While persisting in their just fight, the south Vietnamese people have advanced many solutions aimed at peacefully settling the south Viet Nam issue and restoring peace in Viet Nam, the latest being the 7-point peace initiative the two key points of which have been clarified. Had the Nixon administration seriously responded to those fair and reasonable proposals, U.S. servicemen including those captured would have been able to rejoin their families before December 31, 1971. However, as pointed out by public opinion in the United States, U.S. President Nixon is concerned about the life of the Saigon puppet regime more than the fate of U.S. servicemen. That is why he has rejected all the initiatives put forth by the Provisional Revolutionary Government of the Republic of South Viet Nam, sabotaged the work of the Paris Conference on Viet Nam, and is now choosing to step up the war of aggression to its highest level of intensity and brazenness. The Nixon administration is dreaming of saving the "Vietnamization of the war" policy and the Saigon regime from total collapse, and creating a position of strength to force the Vietnamese people to accept a settlement in accordance with its insolent conditions. Let U.S. President Nixon and company know that their adventurous policy cannot change the situation in south Viet Nam, but only drive the United States deeper in the war in Viet Nam and lengthen the list of dead, wounded and captured G.I.s in Viet Nam.

The Provisional Revolutionary Government of the Republic of South Viet Nam voices its total approval of the May 10, 1972 statement of the Government of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam.

The U.S. Government must stop at once the mining and blockading of the sea ports in north Viet Nam and put an end to its bombardments and other war acts against the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam. Every person, inch of land, enterprise, co-operative and school in north Viet Nam is so dear to the south Vietnamese people. If the U.S. imperialist aggressors strike the north once, the south Vietnamese people will punish them ten times harder.

The U.S. Government must end immediately its aggressive war in south Viet Nam, the "Vietnamization of the war" policy, negotiate seriously at the Paris Conference on Viet Nam, and positively respond to the P.R.G.'s 7-point solution of which the two key points have been elaborated.

Implementing venerated President Ho Chi Minh's sacred testament, responding to the appeal of the National Front for Liberation and the Provisional Revolutionary Government of Republic of South Viet Nam, the south Vietnamese people from the mountains to the plains, from the countryside to the urban areas, together with their countrymen throughout the country, are determined to dash forward in the impetus of their victories, continuously carry on their offensives and uprisings, and fight till the Yanks quit and the puppets topple, for the independence and freedom of the fatherland and for the peace, national independence, democracy and social progress in the world. The south Vietnamese people have enough determination and strength to persist in and step up their just resistance to final victory. In the spirit of the Declaration of the Summit Conference of the Indochinese Peoples, the south Vietnamese people, shoulder to shoulder with their Cambodian and Lao brothers will frustrate completely the "Nixon doctrine" and regain the independence and freedom for each country. No brutal force, no insolent threat, no perfidious scheme of the U.S. imperialists can shake the iron will of the south Vietnamese people.

The U.S. imperialist aggressors are being defeated on all fronts in south Viet Nam as well as in Cambodia and Laos. The policy of "Vietnamization of the war" and the "Nixon doctrine" in Indochina are seriously breaking down and will certainly be defeated completely.

With the strong support and assistance from the fraternal countries and friends the world over, the sacred resistance of the Vietnamese people will surely achieve glorious victory.

Statement of Central Committee of Lao Patriotic Front

The Central Committee of the Lao Patriotic Front issued a statement on May 12 strongly denouncing U.S. imperialism for mining the ports of north Viet Nam and intensifying its air and naval attacks against north Viet Nam. It pointed out that this new war provocation might lead to incalculable consequences.

The statement said: "This new, frenzied step of war escalation of the bellicose Nixon clique constitutes a crude encroachment upon the sovereignty and territorial integrity of the D.R.V.N., an independent country and a member of the socialist camp. It is an

overt act of sabotage of the 1954 Geneva Agreements on Viet Nam and the fundamental principles of international law, and an insolent challenge and provocation against the socialist countries and the peace- and justice-loving countries of the world as well as the majority of the political circles and the people of the U.S.A. who are firmly demanding that Nixon stop at once the cruel and inhuman war of the United States in Viet Nam and the other countries of Indochina."

It pointed out: Since he took office, Nixon has broken his commitment to "end the war within six months" and, in his losing position, has on the one hand been obliged to gradually withdraw American troops from Viet Nam. On the other hand, he has unceasingly intensified and enlarged the war of aggression in Viet Nam, Laos and Cambodia in implementation of the policy of "Vietnamization," "Laotianization" and "Khmerization" of the war. In execution of this policy during the last three years or more, the bellicose Nixon clique and its henchmen, along with resorting to deceitful political and diplomatic moves, have used weapons of mass extermination including those severely prohibited by international law, and other modern war means to massacre the patriots, committing heinous crimes against the Vietnamese people as well as the people of Laos and Cambodia. But these brutal acts of military adventure and odious political manoeuvres of the Nixon clique have met with ever heavier failures, and have been exposed and condemned ever more widely and strongly by the world's peoples, including the American people.

It said: "In face of the extremely dangerous acts of war escalation and the intensification and expansion of war by the Nixon clique, the Lao people, a close neighbour of the Vietnamese people who are struggling together for a just cause against U.S. aggression, cannot remain indifferent at this dangerous situation. Therefore, we energetically condemn the bloody and bellicose Nixon clique that is recklessly attacking the D.R.V.N. territory, and fully support the statement of May 10, 1972 of the D.R.V.N. Government."

The statement warmly welcomed the Vietnamese people in both the south and the north for having meted out due punishments to the U.S. imperialist aggressors and recorded many glorious exploits. It pointed out: "The L.P.F. and the Lao people assert that however obdurate it may be, however frantically it may act, and whatever modern means of war it may resort to to oppose the aspirations for peace, independence and freedom of the Vietnamese people and the other peoples of Indochina, the Nixon clique cannot secure a

position of strength, turn the tide and ward off its complete collapse."

The statement concluded: "We are resolved to step up our struggle against U.S. aggression and for national salvation and, standing shoulder to shoulder with the fraternal Vietnamese and Cambodian peoples, will actively contribute to defeating all adventurous steps of war escalation taken by the bellicose Nixon clique, and bring to total bankruptcy its policy of 'Indochina-ization' of the war."

Statement of Royal Government of National Union of Cambodia

The Royal Government of National Union of Cambodia issued a statement on May 13 concerning the U.S. imperialist mining of the ports of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam and the intensification of naval and air attacks. The statement pointed out that these barbarous acts of international brigandage "shamelessly violate the sovereignty and security of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam, trample upon the 1954 Geneva Agreements and all the most elementary rules of international law, and in particular seriously and flagrantly violate the freedom of international navigation and trade. Therefore, by escalating U.S. imperialist aggression against the Indochinese peoples to a degree never seen before, the Nixon administration has flung a brazen provocation against all sovereign countries having normal relations with the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam, an insolent challenge to the American people and to all countries and peoples of the world cherishing peace, justice and freedom."

The statement expressed firm support for the May 10, 1972 statement of the Government of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam, denounced most energetically the criminal acts of the U.S. imperialist aggressors, and demanded the immediate, unconditional, total and definitive end to all bombing and shelling of D.R.V.N. territory, to the blockade and mining of the D.R.V.N. ports as well as to all other acts violating the D.R.V.N. sovereignty and security. The statement said: "The Royal Government of National Union of Cambodia and the Cambodian people firmly and fully support the Vietnamese people exercising their sovereign and inviolable right to liberate their national territory in its totality. They resolutely support the unshakable determination of the Vietnamese people and their army to fight courageously to liberate the south, defend the socialist north, proceed to the peaceful reunification of

the country and thus realize the sacred testament of their late President Ho Chi Minh.

"Facing this more and more serious escalation of the U.S. imperialist aggression, the Cambodian people and their People's National Liberation Armed Forces, under the glorious banner of the N.U.F.C. with Samdech Norodom Sihanouk, Head of State, as its Chairman, are more resolute than ever to raise ever higher their revolutionary heroism in order to carry on without retreat and compromise their just combat for national salvation until they drive out of Cambodia all the U.S. imperialist aggressors and their lackeys of all sorts, eliminate all the traitors with Lon Nol-Son Ngoc Thanh-Sirik Matak as ringleaders, so as to build an independent, sovereign, peaceful, neutral, democratic and prosperous Cambodia enjoying territorial integrity. To attain these sacred objectives, the Cambodian people and their P.N.L.A.F. are determined to carry out the principles of independence, being masters of the destiny of their motherland and relying essentially on their own strength, whatever may be the sacrifices and whatever may be the duration of this war of aggression imposed by the U.S. imperialists."

The statement declared: "If U.S. imperialism wishes to avoid an ignominious defeat in its aggression against the three Indochinese countries and save the 'honour' of the U.S.A., it must immediately end its aggression, its policy of 'Vietnamization,' 'Khmerization' and 'Laotianization' of the war, cease all support and aid to the traitorous regime of Phnom Penh and to those of Saigon and Vientiane. So far as Viet Nam is concerned, it is one and indivisible. U.S. imperialism must negotiate seriously at the Paris Conference and give a positive response to the 7-point solution — the two key points of which have been elaborated — of the Provisional Revolutionary Government of the Republic of South Viet Nam."

The statement said in conclusion: "Gone for ever are the days when U.S. imperialism could with impunity play the role of international gendarme and act as international gangster. No force however brutal, no scheme however perfidious can prevent the advance of the victorious struggle of the three Indochinese peoples."

Statement of Government Of Democratic People's Republic of Korea

The Government of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea issued a statement on May 11 strongly

denouncing the U.S. imperialists for expanding their war of aggression in Viet Nam, and expressing full and firm support for the resolute stand manifested in the statement of the Government of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam.

The statement pointed out: "This new act of war escalation by the U.S. imperialists is a brigandish act of aggression most wantonly infringing upon the sovereignty and security of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam and a vicious criminal act not only aggravating the situation in Viet Nam and Indochina as a whole but also directly endangering peace in Asia and the world to a serious extent.

"And U.S. imperialism has even resorted at will to ultimatum-like threat and blackmail against the countries rendering aid to the Vietnamese people. This is a piratical act totally trampling underfoot the elementary norms of international law and an intolerable, heinous challenge to the socialist countries and the progressive people the world over."

The new large-scale escalation of the war of aggression against the Vietnamese people by the Nixon clique, said the statement, is nothing but a desperate, reckless military adventure. This will only evoke greater indignation and hatred among the Vietnamese people and the peace-loving people the world over and precipitate quicker defeat for the U.S. imperialist aggressors.

The statement stressed: "The Korean people regard the U.S. imperialists' aggression on socialist Viet Nam as on themselves and regard it as their lofty proletarian internationalist duty to actively assist the fraternal Vietnamese people.

"Moreover, now that the U.S. imperialists have drawn south Korea directly into the war of aggression by throwing tens of thousands of south Korean puppet troops on to the battlefield of their war of aggression in south Viet Nam, the Korean people have the right to do everything they consider necessary to assist the Vietnamese people.

"The U.S. imperialists must withdraw without delay all the south Korean puppet troops from south Viet Nam and the south Korean puppet clique must discontinue at once their dirty criminal acts as the blood-stained servants of U.S. imperialism in stifling the national-liberation movement of another country.

"Under the strained situation today when the U.S. imperialists are running wild in escalating the war of

aggression in Indochina, the Government of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea once again solemnly declares that it is fully prepared to render all forms of assistance, including the dispatch of volunteers, any time the Government of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam and the Indochinese peoples demand it."

The statement said in conclusion: "The people of Viet Nam and the rest of Indochina enjoying the active support and encouragement of the socialist countries and the peace-loving people of the whole world will certainly win ultimate victory in their just struggle against U.S. aggression and for national salvation. The more desperate the U.S. imperialists and their lackeys become, the more miserable destruction they will meet."

Statement of Albanian Government

The Government of the People's Republic of Albania issued a statement on May 12 condemning with indignation the new escalation of the U.S. war of aggression against the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam. The statement pointed out: The measures that U.S. President Nixon ordered on May 8 to be taken "constitute a grave violation of the national sovereignty of the D.R.V.N., a serious threat to the freedom and independence of the Vietnamese people, a danger to peace and stability in Southeast Asia as well as a grave challenge to the whole of progressive mankind."

The statement said: The new measures of war do not show the force but the weakness of the U.S.A. They are a desperate attempt of the U.S.A. Through their armed struggle, the people and armed forces of south Viet Nam are scoring still greater successes on the battlefield, causing U.S. imperialism to face complete defeat. Through the undertaking of these measures, the U.S.A. is seeking to escape at any cost from the shameful collapse its plan of "Vietnamization" of the war, to come to the assistance of the Saigon puppets who are facing complete destruction, to compel the Vietnamese people to give up their armed liberation struggle, to perpetuate the division of Viet Nam and to turn its southern part into a colony — a base for new aggressions.

In refuting the absurdity of justifications by U.S. imperialism for the new acts of war against D.R.V.N., the statement pointed out: "The whole world knows that the U.S. troops in Viet Nam, who have gone there

from thousands of miles away to suppress the freedom and independence of the Vietnamese people, are aggressors, whereas the freedom-loving Vietnamese people are the victim of aggression." It said that the Vietnamese people are invincible, "because a people, no matter how small in number they may be, cannot be subdued when they fight for their just cause."

The statement pointed out: The current duty of all the countries and freedom-loving peoples of the world is to raise still higher with more determination their voice of protest, to defend the just cause of the Vietnamese people and to provide them all their possible support and aid. "The defence of Viet Nam is the defence of their national freedom and sovereignty, of peace and international security. The bloody hand of the U.S. aggressors should be stopped immediately."

"The stand towards the struggle of the Vietnamese people constitutes today the touchstone distinguishing those who side body and soul and to the end with the just cause of the Vietnamese people from those who pose as such, but in fact behind their backs do the utmost to sabotage it and in these decisive moments do not hesitate to betray the Vietnamese cause and to enter the road of plots and bargainings with the aggressor, as the Soviet revisionists are doing. The Vietnamese people, who have made numerous sacrifices in the struggle to win and defend the national freedom and independence, will not allow these people to play with their blood and to make use of the created situation in Viet Nam to draw profit for the interests of their hegemonistic policy."

The statement reiterated that the Albanian people and Government will unreservedly support to the end the just armed struggle of the fraternal Vietnamese people and will always grant to it all their possible support. It expressed the conviction that "the Vietnamese people, with their armed struggle, in militant unity with the other Indochinese peoples and enjoying the internationalist support of the great Chinese people and of the other freedom-loving and peace-loving peoples of the world, will cause the shameful defeat of the new acts of war and the fierce blockade of the U.S.A."

Statement of Romanian Government

The Romanian Government issued a statement on May 9 resolutely condemning the U.S. Government's

mining of ports and other new acts of war escalation against the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam.

The statement pointed out that these measures "endanger the vessels of the states entertaining relations and exchanges with that country, and are a fresh and dangerous intensification of the war in Indochina." They "are a serious transgression of international law, a violation of the principles and rules laid down in the United Nations Charter, and a threat to international peace and security," it declared.

The statement said: "The Romanian people reassert their full solidarity with, and complete support for the righteous struggle of the Vietnamese people who heroically defend their freedom and national independence, their right to decide their own destiny by themselves. The Government of the Socialist Republic of Romania resolutely backs the proposals of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam and of the Revolutionary Provisional Government of the Republic of

South Viet Nam as a basis for the peaceful settlement of the Viet Nam issue, and demands that every effort be made to resume the Paris quadripartite negotiations, for a political settlement of the war in that region with observance of the national rights of the Indo-Chinese peoples.

"The Romanian Government and people firmly demand an immediate cancellation of all the aggression escalation measures, an undelayed stoppage of all the military actions against the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam, the total withdrawal of all American troops, observance of the Vietnamese, Cambodian and Lao peoples' right to decide their own development, without interference from outside.

"The Government of the Socialist Republic of Romania and the Romanian people consider that this is the only path corresponding to the interests of all the peoples, the American people included, to the interest of the cause of peace and security the world over."

(Continued from p. 3.)

the Paris Conference on Viet Nam; Ly Ban, Alternate Member of the V.N.W.P. Central Committee and Vice-Minister of Foreign Trade of the D.R.V.N.; Ngo Thuyen, D.R.V.N. Ambassador to China; and Nguyen Van Quang, Ambassador of the Republic of South Viet Nam to China.

The Chinese and Vietnamese comrades had a very cordial and friendly conversation as "comrades and brothers."

Minister Xuan Thuy arrived in Peking by air on May 13 on his way home. Comrade Ly Ban was sent by the Central Committee of the Viet Nam Workers' Party and the Government of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam to discuss China's 1972 economic and military supplementary assistance to Viet Nam. On May 6, Comrades Chou En-lai and Li Hsien-nien met Comrade Ly Ban who arrived in Peking on May 3.

Another Provocation Against Chinese People

Large numbers of aircraft sent by U.S. imperialism wantonly bombed

and strafed Hanoi in the morning of May 10, and flagrantly fired a rocket at the compound of the Office of the Chinese Economic Mission in Viet Nam. A building of the mission was seriously damaged and part of the furniture and other items inside were destroyed. Many civilian houses in the neighbourhood of the mission were also seriously damaged.

This is another provocation against the Chinese people by U.S. imperialism after its successive raids of May 6, 7 and 8 on Chinese merchant ships anchored off a Vietnamese port.

NEWS BRIEFS

▲ Ending their visit to China, President of the General Women's Federation of Syria Bouchra Kanafani, leader, and Lous Ajar, member, of the Syrian Women's Delegation, left Peking for home on May 3. Premier Chou En-lai, Comrade Teng Ying-chao and others met them during their stay.

▲ A joint shipping service agreement between the Government of the People's Republic of China and the Government of Ceylon was signed in Colombo on April 20.

▲ The 44-member Commercial Mission of Peru led by David Landeo Hinojosa, President of the International Bank of Peru, left Peking for home on May 8. While in China, it visited the Chinese Export Commodities Fair in Kwangchow and held business talks with the Bank of China and various Chinese foreign trade corporations in Peking and went sightseeing.

▲ The Government of the People's Republic of China and the Government of the People's Republic of Mongolia signed in Peking on May 12 a protocol on the mutual supply of goods for 1972.

▲ Vice-Chairman of the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress Kuo Mo-jo met on May 5 the Delegation of the Association for Philippine-Chinese Understanding led by Alejandro Roces, Chairman, and Gemma Araneta and Rosario Planas, Co-Chairmen, of the association. Sha Feng, Minister of Agriculture and Forestry of China, met all members of the Philippine Agricultural Group led by Gualberto Besa and all members of the visiting Philippine Constitutional Conventional Group led by Teodoro Araneta.

ROUND THE WORLD

IN THE UNITED STATES

Protest Against New U.S. War Escalation

Gathering momentum in the first week after U.S. President Nixon's May 8 announcement of the new escalation of the aggressive war in Viet Nam, protest activities swept more than 20 U.S. states.

Thousands of people, with college students being very prominent, carried on the struggle in scores of cities despite repressive actions by the reactionary authorities. They displayed the American people's determination and strength in their demand to end the war of aggression in Viet Nam.

Protest demonstrations and rallies took place from Washington, the U.S. capital, to Honolulu in the Pacific.

Angry crowds in Washington, D.C., demonstrated a number of times in front of the Capitol. On May 13, some 2,000 people marched up Pennsylvania Avenue to the Capitol for a protest rally.

In New York, many college students and teachers held a protest meeting in the U.N. Security Council's visitors' gallery. They also issued a statement demanding that the United Nations denounce the U.S. Government as an "international war criminal."

About 10,000 people from various circles in New York held an impressive demonstration and rally. Speakers called on the American people to take further action to force the United States to withdraw from Southeast Asia.

In Minneapolis, Minnesota, 10,000 protestors marched 16 kilometres

from the University of Minnesota to the state capitol in St. Paul under the close watch of the National Guard called out by the authorities.

In Chicago, marchers at the head of about 3,000 demonstrators carried a coffin in protest over the U.S. authorities' aggressive and bellicose policy.

In Salt Lake City, the capital of Utah, demonstrators protested by cutting telephone wires, putting 800 lines out of operation.

The Capitol, state capitols, government establishments at all levels, military offices, munition factories as well as prominent government figures were the main targets of mass demonstrations. In Madison, capital of Wisconsin, more than 5,000 people staged a candlelight march in front of the state capitol. Princeton University students demonstrated in front of the residence of the governor of New Jersey. Crowds in Honolulu demonstrated outside the hotel where U.S. Vice-President Agnew was staying. In Springfield, capital of Illinois, a group of people staged a sit-down protest outside Nixon's presidential campaign headquarters.

Students and people from various walks of life sealed off communication routes as a weapon against U.S. government measures to blockade the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam.

On the West Coast, people sat on the runways of the Santa Barbara airport in California forcing it to close down. A group of demonstrators sat on the railway tracks between Davis, California, and Oregon, holding up five trains for six hours. Another group stopped freeway traffic west of Sacramento, the Californian capital. Altogether, more

than 4,000 people took part in these three protest activities. The demonstrators indicated that they were "blockading military supplies just like what President Nixon is trying to do now in north Viet Nam."

People in Hartford, Connecticut, symbolically mined the Connecticut River.

In the face of the growing just struggle of the American people against the U.S. war of aggression in Viet Nam, the U.S. monopoly ruling clique hastily stepped up its suppressive activities. According to news reports, nearly 2,000 people had been arrested throughout the country since May 8. All this only aroused the American people's anger. In many places people defied suppression to carry out their protest activities.

Despite mass arrests, demonstrators up to May 13 had entered their 21st day of blocking the gates of Westover, Air Force Base, one of the biggest U.S. strategic air force bases. Following a fierce fight between demonstrating University of Minnesota students and the police in Minneapolis, the authorities called out the National Guard to carry out savage suppression of the students. In Albuquerque, New Mexico, several University of New Mexico students were wounded in a fight with the police when the reactionary authorities ordered the latter to open fire.

In San Francisco, 5,000 people held a demonstration in Union Square. The authorities sent large numbers of mounted police to charge at and use tear gas against the marchers. The people fought back with rocks and bottles in a fierce fight lasting five hours.

Suppression by the American authorities failed to intimidate the people. The wave of mass protest is steadily mounting.

ON THE HOME FRONT

Peking Opera "On the Docks"

On the Docks is the first Peking opera to show the labour and life of the working class in socialist China. Born in the spring of 1964 under the direction of Comrade Chiang Ching, it has been performed frequently over the last few years in its birthplace Shanghai and in Peking and other cities. A new version is now on the stage, the result of the opera being revised many times in accordance with audience opinions gathered at performances.

Main Line of Class Struggle

The opera is set on a Shanghai dock in summer 1963. With the loading of foreign-aid cargo as the

theme, it describes the sharp struggle between the dockers and a class enemy and the struggle between proletarian ideas and bourgeois ideas within the revolutionary ranks. A number of occurrences in less than 24 hours closely and steadily develop along the main line of class struggle.

When the curtain rises, the dockers are busy moving seed rice for shipment to Africa. Because of an approaching typhoon, the freighter will leave port ahead of time. There are still 8,000 sacks to be loaded. In addition, 2,000 sacks of export wheat that had been left out in the open have to be moved into the warehouse.

In the rush shipment young docker Han Hsiao-chiang drops a sack of wheat and the grain spills out. Deliberately sabotaging the work, the dispatcher and hidden counter-revolutionary Chien Shou-wei sweeps the spilled wheat into a dust-pan which contains fibreglass and dumps them into the sack. Not only this, he exchanges this sack for a sack of seed rice in an attempt to damage our country's international prestige.

While investigating the accident, woman Party branch secretary of the dockers' brigade Fang Hai-chen gets a request for a transfer from Han Hsiao-chiang. The son of a docker, he has set his heart on becoming a sailor since he was a boy so that he can "steer a made-in-China ocean liner through wind and wave" and "ride the bounding main and sail all over the world..." He is not happy about becoming a docker after finishing senior middle school and still has not accepted this kind of work in his mind. Knowing this, Chien Shou-wei plays on his dissatisfaction and gets the young docker so depressed he accidentally drops the sack. Later this hidden enemy induces him to ask for a transfer so as to cover up his own counter-revolutionary crimes.

Politically vigilant, Fang Hai-chen leads the dockers to gradually reveal the hidden enemy. As he is being exposed and trying to get away by sneaking aboard a foreign freighter, Chien is caught by the workers.

The missing sack of wheat is located and the freighter loaded with the seed rice sails for Africa on time. The young man who was used by the enemy is educated in the storm of



Dockers led by Kao Chih-yang (centre) moving foreign-aid seed rice.

class struggle and admits his mistakes.

Images of the Working Class

A group of heroic images of the working class are created in the opera.

In the seven scenes of the three-hour opera, Fang Hai-chen mobilizes the dockers to struggle ingeniously against the hidden counter-revolutionary, like a good hunter chasing a sly fox. A face-to-face encounter takes place in Scene Five. A little less than three hours before dawn, the workers are still checking the sacks one by one in the warehouse looking for the one that was spilled. When Chien Shou-wei is moving away the seed rice sack which is mixed in with the wheat sacks, the woman Party secretary stops him. While he is utterly confused, she presses him step by step, and the holes in his story give him away. How the wheat sack spilled and was later changed with a rice sack are made clear...

The opera also shows how the proletarian vanguard fighter Fang Hai-chen helps an old comrade-in-arms, the head of the dockers' brigade, whose vigilance has slackened, see things more clearly and see through the hidden counter-revolutionary and how she patiently and carefully educates young Han Hsiao-chiang who was affected by the class enemy's corruption.

Leader of a dockers' team Kao Chih-yang is another fine representative of the Chinese working class. Working on the dock, he keeps the world in mind and regards loading the seed rice marked for helping an African country as his internationalist duty.

In the rush shipment of seed rice and wheat, he suggests that those who come to help the dockers' brigade



Party branch secretary Fang Hai-chen (left) and retired dockerman Ma Hung-liang (right) help Han Hsiao-chiang change his mind about not wanting to be a dockerman.

use the carts while he takes a squad to shoulder the sacks.

When the hidden enemy Chien Shou-wei agitates the dockers to forget about the seed rice and hurry with loading other cargo, Kao sees through it.

During the search for the spilled sack, he sings: "And find it we will, though it be harder than locating a needle at the bottom of the sea." When the dockers find that the spilled sack of wheat has been loaded on a lighter together with the seed rice sacks and will soon be put on a freighter sailing abroad, Kao Chih-yang takes a launch after midnight to look for it. In a storm, he removes his jacket to cover the sack, singing: "Our country's honour is on that lighter, we can't let the enemy's treachery succeed. The revolutionary friendship that lighter carries must never be besmirched by the spilled sack. . . ."

The impression retired dockerman Ma Hung-liang makes on the audience is a deep one.

Old Ma was a dockerman for several decades, a heavily exploited and oppressed job in old China. Seeing the changes on the dock in the new society of his late happy years, he is moved to tears of joy. He becomes furious when he learns that his nephew Han Hsiao-chiang looks down on dockers' work. Acting on a suggestion by the Party branch secretary, the old man tells the youngster of what he suffered in the old society. At the dock's class education exhibition hall, this retired worker accuses the old society, pointing to the carrying-pole and tattered clothes once used by dockers. Filled with anger and grief, the old man helps Hsiao-chiang recall how his sick father carried coal on the dock in the winter and died by falling off a narrow plank. . . .

Helped by the workers, Han Hsiao-chiang comes around and understands the great significance of the dockers' "ordinary" labour. He realizes his mistakes and exposes the enemy.

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Published by: FOREIGN LANGUAGES PRESS, Peking, China

Distributed by: GUOZI SHUDIAN (China Publications Centre), Peking, China

Order from your local bookseller or write direct to the

Mail Order Dept., GUOZI SHUDIAN, P.O. Box 399, Peking, China