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February 3, 1967

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MAO TSE-TUNG

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Hongqi editorial.

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Chairman Mao Tse-tung

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

ON CORRECTING MISTAKEN IDEAS IN THE PARTY

MAO TSE-TUNG

December 1929

THERE are various non-proletarian ideas in the Communist Party organization in the Fourth Red Army which greatly hinder the application of the Party's correct line. Unless these ideas are thoroughly corrected, the Fourth Army cannot possibly shoulder the tasks assigned to it in China's great revolutionary struggle. The source of such incorrect ideas in this Party organization lies, of course, in the fact that its basic units are composed largely of peasants and other elements of petty-bourgeois origin; yet the inadequacy of the Party's leading bodies in waging a concerted and determined struggle against these incorrect ideas and in educating the members in the Party's correct line is also an important cause of their existence and growth. In accordance with the spirit of the September letter of the Central Committee, this congress hereby points out the manifestations of various non-proletarian ideas in the Party organization in the Fourth

This article was a resolution drawn up by Comrade Mao Tse-tung for the Ninth Party Congress of the Fourth Army of the Red Army. The building of the Chinese people's armed forces was a difficult process. The Chinese Red Army (which became the Eighth Route and New Fourth Armies during the War of Resistance Against Japan and is now the People's Liberation Army) was created on August 1, 1927, during the Nanchang Uprising, and by December 1929 had been in existence for over two years. During this period the Communist Party organization in the Red Army learned a great deal and gained quite a rich store of experience in the course of combating various mistaken ideas. The resolution summed up this experience. It enabled the Red Army to build itself entirely on a Marxist-Leninist basis and to eliminate all the influences of armies of the old type. It was carried out not only in the Fourth Army but also in all other units of the Red Army successively; in this way the whole Chinese Red Army became a genuine army of the people in every respect. In the last thirty years or so the Chinese people's armed forces have made tremendous developments and innovations in their Party activities and political work, which now present a very different picture, but the basic line remains the same as that laid down in this resolution.

Army, their sources, and the methods of correcting them, and calls upon all comrades to eliminate them thoroughly.

On the Purely Military Viewpoint

The purely military viewpoint is very highly developed among a number of comrades in the Red Army. It manifests itself as follows:

1. These comrades regard military affairs and politics as opposed to each other and refuse to recognize that military affairs are only one means of accomplishing political tasks. Some even say, "If you are good militarily, naturally you are good politically; if you are not good militarily, you cannot be any good politically" — this is to go a step further and give military affairs a leading position over politics.

2. They think that the task of the Red Army, like that of the White army, is merely to fight. They do not understand that the Chinese Red Army is an armed body for carrying out the political tasks of the revolution. Especially at present, the Red Army should certainly not confine itself to fighting; besides fighting to destroy the enemy's military strength, it should shoulder such important tasks as doing propaganda among the masses, organizing the masses, arming them, helping them to establish revolutionary political power and setting up Party organizations. The Red Army fights not merely for the sake of fighting but in order to conduct propaganda among the masses, organize them, arm them, and help them to establish revolutionary political power. Without these objectives, fighting loses its meaning and the Red Army loses the reason for its existence.

3. Hence, organizationally, these comrades subordinate the departments of the Red Army doing

political work to those doing military work, and put forward the slogan, "Let Army Headquarters handle outside matters." If allowed to develop, this idea would involve the danger of estrangement from the masses, control of the government by the army and departure from proletarian leadership—it would be to take the path of warlordism like the Kuomintang army.

4. At the same time, in propaganda work they overlook the importance of propaganda teams. On the question of mass organization, they neglect the organizing of soldiers' committees in the army and the organizing of the local workers and peasants. As a result, both propaganda and organizational work are abandoned.

5. They become conceited when a battle is won and dispirited when a battle is lost.

6. Selfish departmentalism—they think only of the Fourth Army and do not realize that it is an important task of the Red Army to arm the local masses. This is the "small group" mentality in a magnified form.

7. Unable to see beyond their limited environment in the Fourth Army, a few comrades believe that no other revolutionary forces exist. Hence their extreme addiction to the idea of conserving strength and avoiding action. This is a remnant of opportunism.

8. Some comrades, disregarding the subjective and objective conditions, suffer from the malady of revolutionary impetuosity; they will not take pains to do minute and detailed work among the masses, but, riddled with illusions, want only to do big things. This is a remnant of putschism.

The sources of the purely military viewpoint are:

1. A low political level. From this flows the failure to recognize the role of political leadership in the army and to recognize that the Red Army and the White army are fundamentally different.

2. The mentality of mercenaries. Many prisoners captured in past battles have joined the Red Army, and such elements bring with them a markedly mercenary outlook, thereby providing a basis in the lower ranks for the purely military viewpoint.

3. From the two preceding causes there arises a third, over-confidence in military strength and absence of confidence in the strength of the masses of the people.

4. The Party's failure actively to attend to and discuss military work is also a reason for the emer-

gence of the purely military viewpoint among a number of comrades.

The methods of correction are as follows:

1. Raise the political level in the Party by means of education, destroy the theoretical roots of the purely military viewpoint, and be clear on the fundamental difference between the Red Army and the White army. At the same time, eliminate the remnants of opportunism and putschism and break down the selfish departmentalism of the Fourth Army.

2. Intensify the political training of officers and men and especially the education of ex-prisoners. At the same time, as far as possible let the local governments select workers and peasants experienced in struggle to join the Red Army, thus organizationally weakening or even eradicating the purely military viewpoint.

3. Arouse the local Party organizations to criticize the Party organizations in the Red Army and the organs of mass political power to criticize the Red Army itself, in order to influence the Party organizations and the officers and men of the Red Army.

4. The Party must actively attend to and discuss military work. All the work must be discussed and decided upon by the Party before being carried out by the rank and file.

5. Draw up Red Army rules and regulations which clearly define its tasks, the relationship between its military and its political apparatus, the relationship between the Red Army and the masses of the people, and the powers and functions of the soldiers' committees and their relationship with the military and political organizations.

On Ultra-Democracy

Since the Fourth Army of the Red Army accepted the directives of the Central Committee, there has been a great decrease in the manifestations of ultra-democracy. For example, Party decisions are now carried out fairly well; and no longer does anyone bring up such erroneous demands as that the Red Army should apply "democratic centralism from the bottom to the top" or should "let the lower levels discuss all problems first, and then let the higher levels decide". Actually, however, this decrease is only temporary and superficial and does not mean that ultra-democratic ideas have already been eliminated. In other words, ultra-democracy is still deep-rooted in the minds of many comrades.

Witness the various expressions of reluctance to carry out Party decisions.

The methods of correction are as follows:

1. In the sphere of theory, destroy the roots of ultra-democracy. First, it should be pointed out that the danger of ultra-democracy lies in the fact that it damages or even completely wrecks the Party organization and weakens or even completely undermines the Party's fighting capacity, rendering the Party incapable of fulfilling its fighting tasks and thereby causing the defeat of the revolution. Next, it should be pointed out that the source of ultra-democracy consists in the petty bourgeoisie's individualistic aversion to discipline. When this characteristic is brought into the Party, it develops into ultra-democratic ideas politically and organizationally. These ideas are utterly incompatible with the fighting tasks of the proletariat.

2. In the sphere of organization, ensure democracy under centralized guidance. It should be done on the following lines:

(1) The leading bodies of the Party must give a correct line of guidance and find solutions when problems arise, in order to establish themselves as centres of leadership.

(2) The higher bodies must be familiar with the situation in the lower bodies and with the life of the masses so as to have an objective basis for correct guidance.

(3) No Party organization at any level should make casual decisions in solving problems. Once a decision is reached, it must be firmly carried out.

(4) All decisions of any importance made by the Party's higher bodies must be promptly transmitted to the lower bodies and the Party rank and file. The method is to call meetings of activists or general membership meetings of the Party branches or even of the columns (when circumstances permit) and to assign people to make reports at such meetings.

(5) The lower bodies of the Party and the Party rank and file must discuss the higher bodies' directives in detail in order to understand their meaning thoroughly and decide on the methods of carrying them out.

On the Disregard of Organizational Discipline

Disregard of organizational discipline in the Party organization in the Fourth Army manifests itself as follows:

A. Failure of the minority to submit to the majority. For example, when a minority finds its motion voted down, it does not sincerely carry out the Party decisions.

The methods of correction are as follows:

1. At meetings, all participants should be encouraged to voice their opinions as fully as possible. The rights and wrongs in any controversy should be clarified without compromise or glossing over. In order to reach a clear-cut conclusion, what cannot be settled at one meeting should be discussed at another, provided there is no interference with the work.

2. One requirement of Party discipline is that the minority should submit to the majority. If the view of the minority has been rejected, it must support the decision passed by the majority. If necessary, it can bring up the matter for reconsideration at the next meeting, but apart from that it must not act against the decision in any way.

B. Criticism made without regard to organizational discipline:

1. Inner-Party criticism is a weapon for strengthening the Party organization and increasing its fighting capacity. In the Party organization of the Red Army, however, criticism is not always of this character, and sometimes turns into personal attack. As a result, it damages the Party organization as well as individuals. This is a manifestation of petty-bourgeois individualism. The method of correction is to help Party members understand that the purpose of criticism is to increase the Party's fighting capacity in order to achieve victory in the class struggle and that it should not be used as a means of personal attack.

2. Many Party members make their criticisms not inside, but outside, the Party. The reason is that the general membership has not yet grasped the importance of the Party organization (its meetings and so forth), and sees no difference between criticism inside and outside the organization. The method of correction is to educate Party members so that they understand the importance of Party organization and make their criticisms of Party committees or comrades at Party meetings.

On Absolute Equalitarianism

Absolute equalitarianism became quite serious in the Red Army at one time. Here are some examples. On the matter of allowances to wounded soldiers, there were objections to differentiating between light and serious cases, and the demand was

raised for equal allowances for all. When officers rode on horseback, it was regarded not as something necessary for performing their duties but as a sign of inequality. Absolutely equal distribution of supplies was demanded, and there was objection to somewhat larger allotments in special cases. In the hauling of rice, the demand was made that all should carry the same load on their backs, irrespective of age or physical condition. Equality was demanded in the allotment of billets, and the Headquarters would be abused for occupying larger rooms. Equality was demanded in the assignment of fatigue duties, and there was unwillingness to do a little more than the next man. It even went so far that when there were two wounded men but only one stretcher, neither could be carried away because each refused to yield priority to the other. Absolute equalitarianism, as shown in these examples, is still very serious among officers and soldiers of the Red Army.

Absolute equalitarianism, like ultra-democracy in political matters, is the product of a handicraft and small peasant economy—the only difference being that the one manifests itself in material affairs, while the other manifests itself in political affairs.

The method of correction: We should point out that, before the abolition of capitalism, absolute equalitarianism is a mere illusion of peasants as small proprietors, and that even under socialism there can be no absolute equality, for material things will then be distributed on the principle of “from each according to his ability, to each according to his work” as well as on that of meeting the needs of the work. The distribution of material things in the Red Army must be more or less equal, as in the case of equal pay for officers and men, because this is required by the present circumstances of the struggle. But absolute equalitarianism beyond reason must be opposed because it is not required by the struggle; on the contrary, it hinders the struggle.

On Subjectivism

Subjectivism exists to a serious degree among some Party members, causing great harm to the analysis of the political situation and the guidance of the work. The reason is that subjective analysis of a political situation and subjective guidance of work inevitably result either in opportunism or in putschism. As for subjective criticism, loose and groundless talk or suspiciousness, such practices inside the Party often breed unprincipled disputes and undermine the Party organization.

Another point that should be mentioned in connection with inner-Party criticism is that some com-

rades ignore the major issues and confine their attention to minor points when they make their criticism. They do not understand that the main task of criticism is to point out political and organizational mistakes. As to personal shortcomings, unless they are related to political and organizational mistakes, there is no need to be overcritical or the comrades concerned will be at a loss as to what to do. Moreover, once such criticism develops, there is the great danger that within the Party attention will be concentrated exclusively on minor faults, and everyone will become timid and overcautious and forget the Party's political tasks.

The main method of correction is to educate Party members so that a political and scientific spirit pervades their thinking and their Party life. To this end we must: (1) teach Party members to apply the Marxist-Leninist method in analysing a political situation and appraising the class forces, instead of making a subjective analysis and appraisal; (2) direct the attention of Party members to social and economic investigation and study, so as to determine the tactics of struggle and methods of work, and help comrades to understand that without investigation of actual conditions they will fall into the pit of fantasy and putschism; and (3) in inner-Party criticism, guard against subjectivism, arbitrariness and the vulgarization of criticism; statements should be based on facts and criticism should stress the political side.

On Individualism

The tendency towards individualism in the Red Army Party organization manifests itself as follows:

1. Retaliation. Some comrades, after being criticized inside the Party by a soldier comrade, look for opportunities to retaliate outside the Party, and one way is to beat or abuse the comrade in question. They also seek to retaliate within the Party. “You have criticized me at this meeting, so I'll find some way to pay you back at the next.” Such retaliation arises from purely personal considerations, to the neglect of the interests of the class and of the Party as a whole. Its target is not the enemy class, but individuals in our own ranks. It is a corrosive which weakens the organization and its fighting capacity.

2. The “small group” mentality. Some comrades consider only the interests of their own small group and ignore the general interest. Although on the surface this does not seem to be the pursuit of personal interests, in reality it exemplifies the narrowest individualism and has a strong corrosive and centrifugal effect. The “small group” mentality used to be rife in the Red Army, and although there has been some improvement as a result of criticism,

there are still survivals and further effort is needed to overcome it.

3. The "employee" mentality. Some comrades do not understand that the Party and the Red Army, of which they are members, are both instruments for carrying out the tasks of the revolution. They do not realize that they themselves are makers of the revolution, but think that their responsibility is merely to their individual superiors and not to the revolution. This passive mentality of an "employee" of the revolution is also a manifestation of individualism. It explains why there are not very many activists who work unconditionally for the revolution. Unless it is eliminated, the number of activists will not grow and the heavy burden of the revolution will remain on the shoulders of a small number of people, much to the detriment of the struggle.

4. Pleasure-seeking. In the Red Army there are also quite a few people whose individualism finds expression in pleasure-seeking. They always hope that their unit will march into big cities. They want to go there not to work but to enjoy themselves. The last thing they want is to work in the Red areas where life is hard.

5. Passivity. Some comrades become passive and stop working whenever anything goes against their wishes. This is mainly due to lack of education, though sometimes it is also due to the leadership's improper conduct of affairs, assignment of work or enforcement of discipline.

6. The desire to leave the army. The number of people who ask for transfers from the Red Army to local work is on the increase. The reason for this does not lie entirely with the individuals but also with: (1) the material hardships of life in the Red Army, (2) exhaustion after long struggle, and (3) the leadership's improper conduct of affairs, assignment of work or enforcement of discipline.

The method of correction is primarily to strengthen education so as to rectify individualism ideologically. Next, it is to conduct affairs, make assignments and enforce discipline in a proper way. In addition, ways must be found to improve the material life of the Red Army, and every available opportunity must be utilized for rest and rehabilitation in order to improve material conditions. In our educational work we must explain that in its social origin individualism is a reflection within the Party of petty-bourgeois and bourgeois ideas.

On the Ideology of Roving Rebel Bands

The political ideology of roving rebel bands has emerged in the Red Army because the proportion

of vagabond elements is large and because there are great masses of vagabonds in China, especially in the southern provinces. This ideology manifests itself as follows: (1) Some people want to increase our political influence only by means of roving guerrilla actions, but are unwilling to increase it by undertaking the arduous task of building up base areas and establishing the people's political power. (2) In expanding the Red Army, some people follow the line of "hiring men and buying horses" and "recruiting deserters and accepting mutineers", rather than the line of expanding the local Red Guards and the local troops and thus developing the main forces of the Red Army. (3) Some people lack the patience to carry on arduous struggles together with the masses, and only want to go to the big cities to eat and drink to their hearts' content. All these manifestations of the ideology of roving rebels seriously hamper the Red Army in performing its proper tasks; consequently its eradication is an important objective in the ideological struggle within the Red Army Party organization. It must be understood that the ways of roving rebels of the Huang Chao or Li Chuang type are not permissible under present-day conditions.

The methods of correction are as follows:

1. Intensify education, criticize incorrect ideas, and eradicate the ideology of roving rebel bands.
2. Intensify education among the basic sections of the Red Army and among recently recruited captives to counter the vagabond outlook.
3. Draw active workers and peasants experienced in struggle into the ranks of the Red Army so as to change its composition.
4. Create new units of the Red Army from among the masses of militant workers and peasants.

On the Remnants of Putschism

The Party organization in the Red Army has already waged struggles against putschism, but not yet to a sufficient extent. Therefore, remnants of this ideology still exist in the Red Army. Their manifestations are: (1) blind action regardless of subjective and objective conditions; (2) inadequate and irresolute application of the Party's policies for the cities; (3) slack military discipline, especially in moments of defeat; (4) acts of house-burning by some units; and (5) the practices of shooting deserters and of inflicting corporal punishment, both of which smack of putschism. In its social origins, putschism

is a combination of *lumpen*-proletarian and petty-bourgeois ideology.

The methods of correction are as follows:

1. Eradicate putschism ideologically.
2. Correct putschist behaviour through rules, regulations and policies.

In reprinting the above work on January 28, "Renmin Ribao" carried the following editorial note:

This brilliant work written 37 years ago by our great teacher, great leader, great supreme commander and great helmsman Chairman Mao is the programme for building both the Chinese People's Liberation Army and the Chinese Communist Party. The principles it puts forward are still today of great practical significance.

The great proletarian cultural revolution has now entered a new stage. Our great leader Chairman Mao has given a militant call: Proletarian revolutionaries unite and seize power from the handful of persons in the Party who are in authority and taking the capitalist road! In order to fulfil this great task, we must have a highly proletarian and militant revolutionary force.

In our revolutionary mass organizations there are certain mistaken tendencies which hinder the formation of a great alliance of proletarian revolutionaries. These include selfish departmentalism, the "small group" mentality, ultra-democracy, disregard of organizational discipline, subjectivism and individualism. All these are bourgeois and petty-bourgeois trends of thought. Only by firmly correcting these mistaken tendencies can we become staunch and strong proletarian revolutionaries and from start to finish carry out unwaveringly the proletarian revolutionary line represented by Chairman Mao.

In this work Chairman Mao made a scientific analysis of the various kinds of mistaken tendencies mentioned above and proposed methods for correcting them. Every revolutionary comrade should make a serious study of this work of Chairman Mao. He should approach it with problems in mind, study and apply it in a creative way, and link it up with his own thinking and with the concrete practice of struggle. The revolutionary masses, the activists and the leading members of revolutionary mass organizations should develop themselves further in their thinking as proletarian revolutionaries, and unite still more closely under the great banner of Mao Tse-tung's thought. They should launch a general offensive against the bourgeois reactionary line which is facing total collapse and take back into proletarian hands the Party power, political power and financial power which have been usurped in certain places and departments by a handful of persons in the Party who are in authority and taking the capitalist road.

We are confident that when the vast numbers of revolutionary path-breakers who have come forward in the great proletarian cultural revolution arm their minds still better with Mao Tse-tung's thought and enhance still more their proletarian revolutionary spirit, strengthen their scientific approach and sense of organization and discipline, they will certainly be able to become mature politically, unite the broad masses of the people and advance from victory to victory.

红旗
HONGQI

On the Proletarian Revolutionaries' Struggle to Seize Power

PROLETARIAN revolutionaries are uniting to seize power from the handful of persons within the Party who are in authority and taking the capitalist road. This is the strategic task for the new stage of the great proletarian cultural revolution. It is the decisive battle between the proletariat and the masses of working people on the one hand and the bourgeoisie and its agents in the Party on the other.

This mighty revolutionary storm started in Shanghai. The revolutionary masses in Shanghai have called it the great "January Revolution." Our great leader Chairman Mao immediately expressed resolute support for it. He called on the workers, peasants, revolutionary students, revolutionary intellectuals and revolutionary cadres to study the experience of the revolutionary rebels of Shanghai and he called on the People's Liberation Army actively to support and assist the proletarian revolutionaries in their struggle to seize power.

Chairman Mao's great call received an immediate enthusiastic response from the revolutionary masses and the commanders and fighters of the People's Liberation Army. The proletarian revolutionaries who have formed a mighty force are capturing one citadel after another in certain places and units, where the handful of persons within the Party who are in authority and taking the capitalist road have been entrenched, and are then consolidating these captured positions one by one. The storm of the "January Revolution" is now sweeping the whole country.

The ranks of the handful of persons within the Party who are in authority and taking the capitalist road have been badly battered. However, like all reactionaries, they will never be reconciled to their own extinction. And like all reactionaries, they "will never lay down their butcher knives . . . they will never become buddhas."

A Quotation From Chairman Mao Tse-tung

The world is ours, the country is ours and society is ours. If we don't speak, then who will? If we don't act, then who will?

Chairman Mao has pointed out: "Make trouble, fail, make trouble again, fail again . . . till their doom; that is the logic of the imperialists and all reactionaries the world over in dealing with the people's cause, and they will never go against this logic." This is also true of the handful of persons within the Party who are in authority and taking the capitalist road. We must "cast away illusions, prepare for struggle" in accordance with Chairman Mao's teaching.

The experience of the city of Shanghai, Shansi Province and other places tells us that in the course of the struggle to seize power, we must pay great attention to the following questions:

(1)

When they were in power, the handful of persons within the Party who were in authority and taking the capitalist road always used their power to counter the proletarian revolutionary line represented by Chairman Mao and to suppress the revolutionary masses. When they are stripped of power by the revolutionary masses, they still do their utmost to stage a counter seizure of power in a vain attempt to counter-attack in revenge and to recapture their lost power.

In some places, these reactionary elements are reorganizing their reactionary ranks. They are gathering together landlords, rich peasants, counter-revolutionaries, bad elements and Rightists, and collecting the dregs of society to stage counter-attacks against the proletarian revolutionaries and seize power from them.

In some places, these reactionary elements have resorted to the method of worming their way in [to the ranks of the revolutionaries] and pulling people out [of the revolutionary ranks] in a vain attempt to split up the great alliance of the proletarian revolutionaries, and usurp the leadership of the revolutionary rebel organizations. In this way they hope to shift the general orientation of the struggle.

In some places, these reactionary elements instigate their collaborators who still hold the leadership of a factory, a workshop, a unit, or a production brigade to sabotage production, disrupt communications and transport and destroy state and collective property, in a vain attempt to disturb the economic life of the state so as to achieve their political aim of staging a counter-seizure of power against the proletarian revolutionaries.

Chairman Mao teaches us: "Strategically we should despise all our enemies, but tactically we should take them all seriously." The handful of persons within

the Party who are in authority and taking the capitalist road will never succeed in their schemes, which are doomed to failure. We should despise them. However, we must deal with them seriously, and must never treat them casually or lightly.

Proletarian revolutionaries must fully understand that the struggle to seize power and counter-seize power between us and the handful of persons within the Party who are in authority and taking the capitalist road is a life-and-death struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie. It is a contradiction between ourselves and the enemy.

The general orientation for proletarian revolutionaries is to form an alliance and seize power from the handful of persons within the Party who are in authority and taking the capitalist road. All revolutionary comrades should take this general orientation as their starting point and adhere to it in considering and handling all matters. If not, they will embark on the wrong road and may go over to the opposite side.

In places and organizations where the great proletarian cultural revolution has been vigorously carried out for more than half a year, the revolutionary masses have become clear as to who are the chief figures among those in the Party who are in authority and taking the capitalist road. In the struggle to seize power, the proletarian revolutionaries must focus on their target and deal the enemy heavy blows. A strict distinction must be made between contradictions between ourselves and the enemy and those among the people. We must not treat contradictions among the people as contradictions between ourselves and the enemy and blast away indiscriminately. Otherwise, the struggle to seize power from the handful of persons within the Party who are in authority and taking the capitalist road will be hindered and errors on questions of orientation will be committed and will be used by the class enemy.

(2)

Resolutely build the great alliance of the proletarian revolutionaries and unite the broad masses. This is the most important condition for victory in the struggle to seize power from the handful of persons within the Party who are in authority and taking the capitalist road.

Now that the great proletarian cultural revolution has reached the stage of the struggle to seize power in an all-round way from the handful of persons within

the Party who are in authority and taking the capitalist road, it is essential for revolutionary mass organizations to forge a great alliance. Without a great alliance of proletarian revolutionaries, the struggle to seize power cannot be completed successfully; even if some power has been seized, it may be lost again.

To form and consolidate the great alliance of proletarian revolutionaries, it is necessary to study and apply Chairman Mao's works **creatively** in the course of struggle, to straighten out the ranks ideologically and organizationally and strengthen the proletarian sense of organization and discipline. It is necessary to use Mao Tse-tung's thought as the weapon to correct such erroneous tendencies as departmentalism, "small group" mentality (considering the interests of a particular group rather than the overall interest), excessive decentralization, the disregard of organizational discipline, ultra-democracy, liberalism, subjectivism and individualism in people's minds and in their organizations. All of these ideas and actions that run counter to Chairman Mao's teachings and hamper the great alliance of the proletarian revolutionaries are an expression of the bourgeois world outlook, a reflection of the current acute class struggle in the revolutionary ranks. These questions fall within the category of contradictions among the people, which must be solved in line with the policy of "learning from past mistakes to avoid future ones" and "curing the sickness to save the patient" and the formula of unity-criticism-unity, all of which Chairman Mao has always advocated. Do more self-criticism, and don't attack one another. The erroneous, non-proletarian ideas and actions cited above must not be allowed to develop or they will be made use of by the class enemy. If anyone clings to these erroneous ideas and persists in taking these erroneous actions and lets them develop, the non-antagonistic contradictions can turn into antagonistic ones.

Once the revolutionary mass organizations have seized power in a particular department, their own position alters. At this time, the bourgeois ideas and petty-bourgeois ideas in the minds of certain comrades easily come to the fore. We must be highly vigilant. We must rid ourselves of all selfish ideas and personal considerations and make a revolution to the depth of our souls. Everything must proceed from the fundamental interests of the proletariat. We must attach the utmost importance to the interests of the whole instead of concerning ourselves with personal prestige and position. We must firmly respond to Chairman Mao's call to **"practise economy in carrying out revolution"** and not show off, spend money without measure and waste state property. We must not fall victim to the "sugar-coated bullets" of the bourgeoisie.

Revolutionary mass organizations which have seized power and the leaders of these organizations should adopt the principle of unity towards the masses and the mass organizations holding different views. They should win over the majority instead of excluding the majority. This helps to isolate to the maximum the handful of persons within the Party who are in authori-

ty and taking the capitalist road and deal them blows, and it helps to establish the new proletarian revolutionary order.

Everyone, in the course of the struggle to seize power and after coming to power, has to undergo new tests. We hope that the revolutionary path-breakers who come to the fore during the movement will always be loyal to the proletariat, to Chairman Mao, and to the proletarian revolutionary line represented by Chairman Mao, and that they will become politically mature in the course of time rather than be like those who just flash across the stage of history. The only way one can live up to this hope is to study Mao Tse-tung's thought conscientiously, to integrate oneself with the masses of workers and peasants and to make serious efforts to remould one's own non-proletarian world outlook. There is no other way.

(3)

Adequate attention must be paid to the role of revolutionary cadres in the struggle to seize power. Leading cadres who have firmly adhered to the proletarian revolutionary line are the treasure of the Party. They can become the backbone of the struggle to seize power and can become leaders in this struggle.

Such leading comrades have, for quite a long time in the past, waged struggles within the Party against the handful of people in authority taking the capitalist road. They have now stepped out before the masses and have proclaimed to the masses that they stand on the side of the proletarian revolutionaries and will integrate themselves with the revolutionary masses and fight together with them. The workers, peasants, revolutionary students and revolutionary intellectuals should trust them. A clear distinction must be drawn between those in authority who belong to the proletariat and those who belong to the bourgeoisie, between those who support and carry out the proletarian revolutionary line and those who support and carry out the bourgeois reactionary line. To regard all persons in authority as untrustworthy is wrong. To oppose, exclude and overthrow all indiscriminately runs counter to the class viewpoint of Marxism-Leninism, Mao Tse-tung's thought.

When the revolutionary leading cadres rise up to join the masses in seizing power from the handful of persons within the Party who are in authority and taking the capitalist road, the revolutionary mass organizations should support them. It must be recognized that they are more experienced in struggle, they are more mature politically and they have greater organizational skill. The seizure and retention of power will be helped immeasurably by their inclusion in the core of leadership.

Cadres who have made errors should be treated correctly and should not be overthrown indiscriminately. All those who are not anti-Party, anti-socialist elements, and do not persist in their errors or refuse to

correct them after repeated education, should be allowed to correct their errors and be encouraged to make amends for their crimes by good deeds. To learn from past mistakes to avoid future ones and to cure the sickness to save the patient is a long-standing policy of the Party. Only thus can those who commit errors submit willingly; and only in this way can the proletarian revolutionaries get hearty support from the great majority of the people and remain invincible. Otherwise, there is great danger.

The overwhelming majority of the ordinary cadres in the Party and government organizations, enterprises and undertakings are good and want to make revolution. The proletarian revolutionary rebels among them are the vital force for seizing power in these organizations. This is the point which must not be neglected.

Cadres at all levels have to undergo the test of the great proletarian cultural revolution and make new contributions to the revolution. They should not rest on their past achievements, think that they are so wonderful and lightly regard the young revolutionary fighters who have now come to the fore. The following concepts are completely wrong and must be corrected: to see only one's own past merits but not the general orientation of the revolution today and to see only the shortcomings and mistakes of the newly emerged young revolutionary fighters, but not to recognize the fact that their general orientation in the revolution is correct.

(4)

The current seizure of power from the handful of persons within the Party who are in authority and taking the capitalist road is not effected by dismissal and reorganization from above, but from below by the mass movement called for and supported by Chairman Mao himself. Only in this way can the leading organizations of our Party and state, enterprises and undertakings, cultural organizations and schools be regenerated and the old bourgeois practices be thoroughly eradicated.

Experience proves that in the course of the struggle for the seizure of power, it is necessary, through exchange of views and consultations among leading members of revolutionary mass organizations, leading members of local People's Liberation Army units and revolutionary leading cadres of Party and government organizations, to establish provisional organs of power to take up the responsibility of leading this struggle. These provisional organs of power must **"take firm hold of the revolution and promote production,"** put the system of production into normal operation, direct the existing set-ups in administrative and professional work (they should be readjusted where necessary) to carry on with their tasks, and organize the revolutionary masses to supervise these set-ups. These provisional organs of power must also shoulder the task of giving unified direction in suppressing counter-revolutionary organizations and counter-revolutionaries. Such provisional organs of power must be set up; this is essential and extremely important. Through a period of transi-

tion, the wisdom of the broad masses will be brought into full play and a completely new organizational form of political power better suited to the socialist economic base will be created.

A number of units, where a handful of persons within the Party who are in authority and taking the capitalist road have entrenched themselves over a long period, have become rotten. There these persons have been exercising bourgeois dictatorship, not proletarian dictatorship. The Marxist principle of smashing the existing state machine must be put into practice in the struggle for the seizure of power in these units.

In summing up the experience of the Paris Commune, Marx pointed out that the proletariat must not take over the existing bourgeois state machine but must thoroughly smash it. Practice in the international communist movement has proved this to be a great truth. Since a number of units, in which a handful of persons within the Party who are in authority and taking the capitalist road have entrenched themselves, have been turned into organs for bourgeois dictatorship, naturally we must not take them over ready-made, resort to reformism, combine two into one and effect peaceful transition. We must smash them thoroughly.

The great mass movement to seize power from the handful of persons within the Party who are in authority and taking the capitalist road has begun to create and will continue to create new organizational forms for the state organs of the proletarian dictatorship. Here, we must respect the initiative of the masses and boldly adopt the new forms, full of vitality, that emerge in the mass movement to replace the old practices of the exploiting classes and in fact to replace all old practices that do not correspond to the socialist economic base. It is absolutely impermissible to merely take over power while letting things remain the same and operating according to old rules.

On June 1 last year, Chairman Mao described the first Marxist-Leninist big-character poster in the country, which came from Peking University, as the Manifesto of the Peking People's Commune of the sixties in the 20th century. Chairman Mao showed his wisdom and genius in predicting even then that our state organs would take on completely new forms.

To arouse hundreds of millions of people from below to seize power from the handful of persons within the Party who are in authority and taking the capitalist road, to smash the old practices and create new forms, opens up a new era in the international history of proletarian revolution and in the international history of the dictatorship of the proletariat. It will greatly enrich and develop the experience of the Paris Commune, greatly enrich and develop the experience of the Soviets, and greatly enrich and develop Marxism-Leninism.

(5)

The struggle by the proletarian revolutionaries to seize power from the handful of persons within the

Party who are in authority and taking the capitalist road is being carried out under the dictatorship of the proletariat. In the course of the seizure of power, the dictatorship of the proletariat must be strengthened. This is an indispensable condition for the establishment of the new proletarian revolutionary order.

In the present stage of the decisive struggle being waged by the proletariat against the bourgeoisie and its handful of agents within the Party, the landlords and rich peasants, who persist in their reactionary stand, the bourgeois Rightists, bad elements, counter-revolutionary revisionists and the U.S.-Chiang Kai-shek special agents all emerge. These ghosts and monsters spread rumours to confuse the people, and deceive and mislead those who are not aware of the true facts into forming counter-revolutionary organizations to carry out frenzied counter-revolutionary activities. For example, the so-called "Worker-Peasant Red Flag Army of China," "Rong Fu Jun," "United Action Committee" and a number of other organizations set up by the revisionists, which call themselves "revolutionary" but are actually royalist organizations, are reactionary organizations of this kind. The majority of the masses in these organizations have been duped and should be won over by education. However, the handful of ringleaders of these reactionary organizations have schemed and used every kind of trick to bombard the proletarian revolutionary headquarters, to seize power from the proletarian revolutionaries and raid the revolutionary mass organizations. They have stabbed the revolutionary people in the back, bought over workers and staff, halted production, interrupted communications and transport, wrecked and looted state property. They have stirred up trouble to serve their own ends and have been indulging in vain hopes of a come-back. Some of these organizations are carrying out counter-revolutionary activities on the orders of those in authority who persist in taking the capitalist road. These counter-revolutionary organizations are built on sand. Once the masses see through them, they immediately collapse, and the handful of ringleaders are dragged out by the masses.

It is a very good thing that all the ghosts and monsters come out into the open. This provides us with an opportunity for a good spring-cleaning to "sweep away all pests."

We must be firm in exercising dictatorship over these counter-revolutionaries.

In his noted treatise *On the People's Democratic Dictatorship*, Chairman Mao says that in dealing with the reactionaries, we must "enforce dictatorship . . . suppress them, allow them only to behave themselves and not to be unruly in word or deed. If they speak or act in an unruly way, they will be promptly stopped and punished."

"Revolutionary dictatorship and counter-revolutionary dictatorship are by nature opposites, but the former was learned from the latter. Such learning is very important. If the revolutionary people do not master this method of ruling over the counter-revolu-

tionary classes, they will not be able to maintain their state power, domestic and foreign reaction will overthrow that power and restore its own rule over China, and disaster will befall the revolutionary people."

All revolutionary comrades must firmly bear in mind these teachings of Chairman Mao. For the reactionaries, even limited democracy is not allowed, not to speak of extensive democracy, not one iota. Towards them, only dictatorship should be carried out!

A group of ghosts and monsters have now come out to set up counter-revolutionary organizations and carry out counter-revolutionary activities. These counter-revolutionary organizations must be resolutely eliminated. Counter-revolutionaries must be dealt with in accordance with the law without hesitation.

Chairman Mao has called on the People's Liberation Army to actively support and assist the genuine proletarian revolutionaries and to oppose the Rightists resolutely. The great People's Liberation Army created by Chairman Mao himself has heartily responded to his call. The People's Liberation Army is making new, great contributions to the cause of socialism in the great proletarian cultural revolution. This is the glorious task of the People's Liberation Army.

In certain places, the counter-revolutionary organizations have been fully exposed. It is entirely correct that the P.L.A. units stationed there, the revolutionary masses and the public security bodies in the hands of the proletarian revolutionaries take action to suppress these counter-revolutionary organizations. The handling of the reactionary "Rong Fu Jun" in Harbin by the P.L.A. units stationed there, the revolutionary masses and the committee for taking over the municipal public security bureau has provided useful experience. Immediately after encircling the "Rong Fu Jun," they launched a political offensive which awakened those who had been hoodwinked, and turned the scene of this counter-revolutionary incident into a meeting place for accusing the counter-revolutionaries. Those who had been deceived then handed over their chieftains and the "Rong Fu Jun" quickly disintegrated. All this dealt heavy blows to the counter-revolutionaries who are extremely few in number, and won over those who were duped.

In suppressing counter-revolutionary organizations and counter-revolutionaries, the instruments of dictatorship must work closely with the revolutionary masses. For counter-revolutionaries, this is an escape-proof net.

All revolutionary mass organizations and all revolutionary comrades must increase their revolutionary vigilance to prevent counter-revolutionaries from sneaking in to make trouble. They must co-ordinate with the instruments of dictatorship under a unified command to safeguard the proletarian dictatorship.

As the War of Liberation entered the stage of a general counter-offensive against the Chiang Kai-shek reactionary clique, Chairman Mao issued a call to the whole Party, the whole army and the people of the whole country when he said: "The army advances, produc-

tion increases. When our sense of discipline is strengthened, we are ever-victorious in the revolution."

Today, when the great army of the proletarian revolution is seizing power from the handful of persons within the Party who are in authority and taking the capitalist road, and is launching a general counter-offensive against the bourgeoisie and its agents in the Party, we must also take firm hold of the revolution and

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RENMIN RIBAO

Practise Economy in Carrying Out Revolution; Protect State Property

OUR great leader Chairman Mao recently gave us this instruction: "Economy must be practised in carrying out revolution."

This instruction of Chairman Mao's is extremely important. All true proletarian revolutionaries should firmly, earnestly and consciously implement it.

On the verge of collapse, the handful of persons within the Party who are in authority and are taking the capitalist road, are engaging in economism in a big way. This scheme of theirs is aimed at corrupting the revolutionary masses, at disintegrating the revolutionary mass organizations and at the same time undermining the socialist economy. If we do not foster the concept of "practising economy in carrying out revolution," we shall not be able to resist the corrosive effect of economism, we shall be hit by the "sugar-coated bullets" of economism, and we will not be able to maintain the resolute will of the proletarian revolution, overthrow economism and repulse the latest counter-attacks of the bourgeois reactionary line.

Economy and waste reflect the fundamental antagonism between the proletarian world outlook and the bourgeois world outlook. Thrift and frugality are the qualities of the proletariat, and extravagance and waste are characteristics of the bourgeoisie. Practising economy is an important principle of the proletarian revolution. A true proletarian revolutionary fighter must in no circumstances squander his country's wealth. Squandering the material wealth created by the working people, negligence with regard to the property of the proletarian state or the collective, free spending, ostentation and extravagance — all these are absolutely opposed to the great proletarian cultural revolution. If these tendencies are allowed to develop, the proletarian revolutionaries will end up in the capitalist trap.

The great proletarian cultural revolution has now entered a new stage in which power is being seized from the handful of persons within the Party who are in authority and are taking the capitalist road. At this

promote production, and strengthen our sense of discipline. In this way, we shall also be ever-victorious in the present struggle.

"But now that the cock has crowed and all under heaven is bright." Let us heartily welcome the decisive victory of the great proletarian cultural revolution!

(*"Hongqi" editorial, No. 3, 1967.*)

moment, we should pay particular attention to the practice of economy and the protection of our state property.

When the proletarian revolutionaries take financial power into their own hands, they must be thrifty and must not authorize expenditure rashly. To grasp power in the fields of politics and production, it is necessary for us to persist in implementing the principle of economy. Only in this way can we make a good job of running our enterprises and develop production. Only in this way can we make our political position impregnable. Only in this way can we win the support of the broad masses. Only in this way can we keep up and encourage the proletarian revolutionary spirit. The handful of persons within the Party who are in authority and are taking the capitalist road have been hit by the bourgeoisie's "sugar-coated bullets." They live a corrupt and decadent life and in the field of politics they engage in counter-revolutionary revisionism. We must always bear this lesson in mind. Revolutionary comrades, never forget this, never!

In the course of the proletarian revolutionaries' current struggle to seize power, the handful of persons within the Party who are in authority and are taking the capitalist road and all the monsters and ghosts in society are bound to fight back like cornered beasts, they are bound to engage in sabotage. We must keep up our vigilance. It is the responsibility of all proletarian revolutionaries to safeguard their own state property. The People's Liberation Army have the great obligation to safeguard state property and should dispatch troops to protect all those units which may be in need of protection. Active counter-revolutionaries who damage state property should be subjected to resolute measures of suppression.

Proletarian revolutionary comrades: Give an enthusiastic response to Chairman Mao's call, act firmly according to Chairman Mao's instructions!

(*"Renmin Ribao" editorial, January 26.*)

Take Concrete Action to Give Full Support to The Proletarian Revolutionaries

Responding to our great supreme commander Chairman Mao's great call to the People's Liberation Army to give active support to the broad masses of the Left, an army unit in Harbin in the northeast set out without delay on January 25 to suppress the counter-revolutionaries. This revolutionary action has been enthusiastically acclaimed by the revolutionary masses.

Throughout the country at this moment, the broad masses of commanders and fighters of the P.L.A. are staging mighty demonstrations and parades expressing their most enthusiastic response to the great call of Chairman Mao. Their actions have greatly aided the proletarian revolutionaries' struggle to seize power.

Following is a "Jiefangjun Bao" (Liberation Army Daily) editorial (January 26) hailing the revolutionary action of the Harbin army unit. — Ed.

AS the great proletarian cultural revolution moves toward the crucial moment of the seizure of power, our great supreme commander Chairman Mao has issued the militant call to the entire People's Liberation Army to actively support the broad masses of the Left. This great call gives voice to what is in the hearts of the comrades of the whole army. The commanders and fighters of the entire army most firmly and warmly respond to this call!

The commanders and fighters of a unit stationed in Harbin set the first example by taking action as soon as they heard this great call. At a critical moment when the proletarian revolutionary Left was being encircled and attacked by the reactionary organization "Rong Fu Jun," the armymen acting under orders set out promptly, mounted a counter-encirclement against the "Rong Fu Jun," and compelled that organization's handful of reactionaries to surrender. This action deflated the arrogance of the Rightists and boosted the morale of the Left. This is truly heartening, fine, very fine, indeed!

Chairman Mao has taught us: "The enemy will not perish of himself. Neither the Chinese reactionaries nor the aggressive forces of U.S. imperialism in China will step down from the stage of history of their own accord."

The proletarian revolutionaries are now joining forces in a great alliance and with tremendous momentum are launching the struggle to seize power. The alignment of forces is clear, with the ranks of the Left daily expanding and the conservatives facing total collapse. However, the handful of persons within the Party who are in authority and taking the capitalist road and the very few diehards who stubbornly cling to the bourgeois reactionary line are not reconciled to extinction and are waging a last ditch struggle. They have called forth monsters and ghosts and reac-

tionary organizations in society to stage frenzied counter-attacks. In this great class struggle, we of the People's Liberation Army must maintain a firm and clear-cut stand and resolutely take our place at the side of the proletarian revolutionary Left. We must not, nor can we take a so-called neutral position.

The action of the Harbin unit in aiding the revolutionary Left has forcefully defended the great proletarian cultural revolution and Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line; it has actively supported the proletarian revolutionary rebels' struggle to seize power; it has fulfilled the glorious duty of our people's army.

At the present moment, class struggle is extremely complicated. In a number of reactionary organizations the majority of people have been hoodwinked. When taking action, our army is, in the main, doing political work to awaken those who have been hoodwinked so as to disrupt the reactionary organizations and attack the chief culprits. After its encirclement of the "Rong Fu Jun," the Harbin army unit first of all launched a political offensive to awaken those who were deceived; on the very site of the incident engineered by the counter-revolutionaries a rally was held to condemn them. Those who had been deceived handed over their ringleaders and the "Rong Fu Jun" promptly collapsed. Thus, the armymen succeeded in striking a blow at the small minority of counter-revolutionaries, and also they won over those who had been deceived. Their actions were completely right! Completely correct!

Our army is a proletarian revolutionary army founded by Chairman Mao himself and is the pillar of the dictatorship of the proletariat. In the past, led by our great leader Chairman Mao, we used guns to seize political power from the hands of the Chiang Kai-shek reactionaries. Now, since leadership in some places and departments has been usurped by a handful of counter-revolutionary revisionists, the broad masses of revolutionary Left have been rising up heroically to recapture all the Party, political and financial power that has been usurped. In this sharp, fierce struggle to seize power, our people's army should make important contributions and do new meritorious deeds for the socialist cause. We must immediately give full support to all genuine proletarian revolutionaries who ask for our army's help.

Comrades-in-arms of the proletarian revolutionary rebels, let us unite, fight and win victory together under the great banner of the thought of Mao Tse-tung!

Defend the proletarian revolutionary line represented by Chairman Mao!

Long live the dictatorship of proletariat!

Long live the great teacher, great leader, great supreme commander and great helmsman Chairman Mao! Long, long life to him!

Shansi Revolutionary Rebel General Headquarters' Public Notice No. 1

CHAIRMAN MAO has taught us: "In the last analysis, all the truths of Marxism can be summed up in one sentence: 'To rebel is justified.'"

The unprecedented, world-shaking great proletarian cultural revolution means making rebellion. In order to achieve complete victory in the great proletarian cultural revolution, it is imperative to make rebellion to the end and completely overthrow those people in the Party who are in authority and are taking the capitalist road and the diehards who cling to the bourgeois reactionary line.

The handful of people in authority in the Shansi Provincial Committee of the Party who are taking the capitalist road have committed towering crimes against Chairman Mao, the Party and the people!

During the past few years, they have acted according to the will of their counter-revolutionary revisionist clique in an attempt to turn Shansi into a strategic base for the restoration of capitalism in China.

Since the start of the great cultural revolution, they have been actively implementing and developing the bourgeois reactionary line. In an attempt to strangle the great proletarian cultural revolution in Shansi, they carried out a frenzied counter-revolutionary encirclement and suppression of the revolutionaries and branded large numbers of revolutionary path-breakers "counter-revolutionaries," "anti-Party elements," "self-seekers" and "careerists."

It is this handful of scoundrels who personally mustered big and small special agents to set up secret information networks and install eavesdropping microphones; they sent agents specializing in spying on the various revolutionary organizations, classified these organizations into three categories and made a list of their leaders in order to crack down on them in the near future.

It is this same handful who hid large amounts of black list information in the departments of the Provincial Party Committee and refuse to hand them over even now. They have thus wildly opposed the emergency directive of the Military Commission of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China, which was endorsed by the Party's Central Committee, and the additional regulation of the Central Committee of the Party.

It is this same handful who set up an underground headquarters in one of the buildings of the Provincial People's Council and flocked there every day to secretly plot their actions.

It is this same handful of scoundrels who formed a number of royalist organizations to openly and desperately make trouble against the revolutionary rebels, etc, etc.

In the recent period, the revolutionary masses in Shansi mounted a powerful offensive against this handful of scoundrels and the bourgeois reactionary line which they energetically pursued, and won tremendous victories. The cultural revolution has entered a new stage. To save themselves from destruction, a handful of sinister gangsters resorted to still more vile means, that is, economic warfare. They vied with one another in supplying some organizations with many houses, motor-cars and unlimited funds. Some organizations' money flowed out by the thousands and tens of thousands, and recently reached an uncontrollable state, thereby gravely damaging Shansi's finances and economy and corrupting the revolutionary organizations.

At their instigation or under their control, repeated incidents occurred recently in which big crowds of people who did not know the truth encircled and attacked revolutionary rebels; some incidents even developed into struggles involving force. Great numbers of workers have continuously left for "exchanging revolutionary experiences."

A few days ago, these gangsters, like cornered dogs, went to the length of inciting about 10,000 workers to encircle and attack the revolutionary rebels, with the result that operations in many enterprises were suspended, production seriously affected, and they even caused grave transport accidents.

Revolutionary comrades! The great proletarian cultural revolution in Shansi Province has arrived at a new turning point! In order to resolutely carry out Chairman Mao's policy of "taking firm hold of the revolution and promoting production," and in order to ensure that Shansi's great cultural revolution advances along the proletarian revolutionary line represented by Chairman Mao, we, 25 revolutionary rebel organizations, jointly convened a conference and unanimously agreed on the forming of the "Shansi Revolutionary Rebel General Headquarters" which immediately went into action.

We hereby solemnly declare that, as from today, all leadership power of the former Shansi Provincial Party Committee over the great cultural revolution is taken over by this General Headquarters. In order to defend the dictatorship of the proletariat and prevent any counter-revolutionary coup, we seized power in

the Party and government organs, including the Shansi Provincial Party Committee, the Shansi Provincial People's Council, the Taiyuan City Party Committee and the Taiyuan City People's Council, on the evening of January 12 and searched the homes of some bad eggs. Many hidden guns, ammunition and black list information were uncovered. The nests of the anti-Party elements were levelled to the ground. This rebellion is good, very good indeed!

We make this urgent appeal:

1. All workers, peasants, and functionaries must firmly bear in mind Chairman Mao's instruction to "take firm hold of the revolution and promote production" and carry on work as usual. We revolutionary rebels, while actively taking part in rebellion, must at the same time remain at our posts in production, fulfilling and overfulfilling our production tasks and become examples in "taking firm hold of the revolution and promoting production."

2. Strengthen the organs of the dictatorship of the proletariat. Those who are opposed to Chairman Mao, to Vice-Chairman Lin Piao, and the Party Central Committee's Cultural Revolution Group and those who sabotage the great cultural revolution and production are active counter-revolutionaries, and should be immediately dealt with by the public security departments in accordance with the law. No mass organization, and no person may use weapons or ammunition or divulge state secrets. Offences must be investigated and the offenders dealt with according to law.

3. Corruption and waste have been rampant recently. We hereby order the Cultural Revolution Reception Centre of the Shansi Province to freeze all circulating funds as of today, stop issuing any type of vehicles and conduct investigations and make adjustments. Apart from necessary and proper funds, the

circulating funds of all organizations, factories, mines and other undertakings must be frozen from today. Financial departments must carry this out under the joint supervision of the revolutionary rebels and revolutionary masses.

4. We hope that the revolutionary rebel organizations will widely publicize and assist in carrying out the above points. Those who act against these points are, after investigation with the assistance of the related departments, to be immediately punished on charges of sabotaging the great cultural revolution.

Down with eclecticism! Down with economism! The decisive battle has just begun and victory is just ahead. We are resolved to really defend Chairman Mao, the reddest sun in our hearts, and to carry the great proletarian cultural revolution through to the end, even at the cost of our lives! We are deeply convinced that our ranks will develop and grow in the coming revolutionary struggles.

"Do not say that the strong pass is guarded with iron,

This very day in one step we shall pass its summit."

Revolutionary rebels, all revolutionary comrades, let us unite under the great red banner of Mao Tse-tung's thought!

Thoroughly smash the new counter-attack of the bourgeois reactionary line! All power to the revolutionary rebels!

Long live the great Communist Party of China!

Long live our greatest leader Chairman Mao! Long life, long life to him!

Shansi Revolutionary Rebel General Headquarters

January 14, 1967

A Great Victory in the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution in Shansi Province

The City, a tiger crouching, a dragon curling, outshines its ancient glories;

In heroic triumph heaven and earth have been overturned.

Another peal of spring thunder has roared across the horizon. Enjoying the close attention and support of our most deeply respected and beloved great leader Chairman Mao, the proletarian revolutionary organizations and representatives in Shansi Province have united and seized back the power usurped by the handful of persons in authority in the Provincial Party Committee who are taking the capitalist road! The proletariat and the vast mass of working people in Shansi Province

have reclaimed the seals of power and have become the masters of their own affairs.

Following the victory of the seizure of power by the proletarian revolutionary rebels in Shanghai, this is a great victory in the province-wide struggles to seize power from a handful of persons in the Party who are in authority and are taking the capitalist road. This is a great victory for the proletarian revolutionary line represented by Chairman Mao and a new, great victory for the invincible thought of Mao Tse-tung!

Where there is oppression, there is resistance; and where the oppression is heaviest, there the resistance is strongest. The handful of persons in authority in the

Shansi Provincial Party Committee who are taking the capitalist road and the diehards in that committee who persist in following the bourgeois reactionary line colluded for a long time with each other and with certain persons both above and below, forming cliques to foster their private interests in an attempt to turn Shansi into an independent kingdom for the restoration of capitalism. During the present great proletarian cultural revolution, they redoubled their efforts and obstinately pushed ahead with the bourgeois reactionary line. They adopted two-faced tactics, while making a show of "self-criticism" and "admitting their guilt," they secretly stirred up an evil wind, launched underhand attacks on people and seized on various schemes to encircle and suppress the revolutionaries. Recently, cornered, finding themselves heavily besieged by the revolutionary masses and in danger of utter defeat, they tried a desperate move, resorting to even more underhand and cunning means — counter-revolutionary economism — in an attempt to save themselves from total annihilation.

Chairman Mao teaches us: "The reactionaries in all countries are fools of this kind. In the final analysis, their persecution of the revolutionary people only serves to accelerate the people's revolutions on a broader and more intense scale." In the Shansi Provincial Party Committee, a handful of persons in authority who are taking the capitalist road are just such fools. By their vicious encirclements and counter-attacks against the revolutionaries, they were digging their own graves. The Shansi proletarian rebels have risen in rebellion against them, dismissed them from office, and seized power from them. This is fine!

In their struggles against the handful of persons in the Party who are in authority and taking the capitalist road, the Shansi proletarian revolutionary rebels are good at class analysis and at grasping Chairman Mao's tactical thought; they have continuously discovered and expanded the ranks of the Left. They have united not only the proletarian revolutionary rebels

among the workers, peasants and revolutionary students, army men and intellectuals into an alliance, but also those leading cadres who stand on the side of the proletarian revolutionary line represented by Chairman Mao, thus forming the army of the proletarian cultural revolution on an ever broader scale.

At the crucial moment in the life-and-death struggle between the proletarian revolutionary line and the bourgeois reactionary line, the revolutionary leading cadres in the Shansi Provincial Party Committee took their stand on the side of the proletarian revolutionary line represented by Chairman Mao, on the side of the revolutionary rebels and united with the revolutionary workers, peasants and students. Acting in co-ordination and attacking from within, they joined in the general, all-round offensive against the handful of persons in the Party who are in authority and are taking the capitalist road.

The People's Liberation Army units in the Shansi Military Area stood firm on the side of the proletarian revolutionary line represented by Chairman Mao, firmly supported and aided the proletarian revolutionaries, and unequivocally and wholeheartedly backed the proletarian revolutionary rebels in the crucial moment of their seizure of power, thus making an immense contribution to the great proletarian cultural revolution.

The revolutionary rebels in Shansi Province have created new experience for proletarian revolutionary rebels throughout the country struggling to seize power. The revolutionary leading cadres in the Shansi Provincial Party Committee have set a fine example for revolutionary leading cadres all over the country. The P.L.A. units in the Shansi Military Area have raised a bright red banner for P.L.A. commanders and fighters everywhere.

(Excerpts from "Renmin Ribao" editorial, January 25.)

Telegram Saluting Chairman Mao

From All Members of the Shansi Revolutionary Rebel General Headquarters

The revolutionary rebel groups in Shansi Province on the night of January 12 recaptured power in the Party and government organizations in that province and its capital city Taiyuan which had been usurped by a handful of persons in the Party who were in authority and had taken the capitalist road. This great victory has tremendously inspired the proletarian revolutionary groups and revolutionary people throughout the country who have declared that they will emulate Shansi's experience, form a great alliance of the proletarian revolu-

tionary groups and launch an all-out struggle to seize power.

The proletariat and the masses of Shansi who regained power held a mass rally on January 25. The more than 100,000 people present pledged their resolve to continue their victorious march, launch an all-out general offensive on the handful of persons in the Party who are in authority and are taking the capitalist road and those diehards who are clinging to the bourgeois reactionary line, and recapture all power from them and

February 3, 1967

put this power firmly in the hands of the proletarian revolutionaries. A representative of the Shansi Revolutionary Rebel General Headquarters at the rally read out a telegram saluting Chairman Mao. The full text follows. — Ed.

Most Respected and Beloved Leader Chairman Mao:

All members of the Shansi Revolutionary Rebel General Headquarters give you — the reddest of red suns in our hearts — the loftiest fighting salute, in the name of the great proletarian cultural revolution!

When we heard the Public Notice No. 1 issued by our General Headquarters broadcast by the Central People's Broadcasting Station, and read the *Renmin Ribao's* editorial "A Great Victory in the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution in Shansi Province," we were tremendously elated. In this you have shown the greatest concern and support for us, and given us the greatest inspiration and encouragement! It was guided by your great thought that we revolutionary rebels in Shansi seized power from the counter-revolutionary revisionist clique formed by the handful of persons in authority in the Shansi Provincial Committee of the Party who took the capitalist road! Even if we shout "Long live Chairman Mao" a thousand, ten thousand times, we cannot adequately express our boundless love for you. Even if we sing *The East Is Red* a thousand, ten thousand times, we cannot adequately voice our determination to follow you for ever in making revolution.

The counter-revolutionary revisionist clique, formed by a handful of persons in authority in the Shansi Provincial Party Committee who took the capitalist road, in furthering the schemes of their sinister commander for the restoration of capitalism in China, have for a long time been turning Shansi into their own watertight and impenetrable independent kingdom. They have attacked and persecuted revolutionary cadres and revolutionary people and cruelly carried out the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie. During this great proletarian cultural revolution, they have followed their sinister commander closely, have been going from bad to worse in stubbornly pursuing the bourgeois reactionary line, suppressing the mass movement and encircling and attacking the revolutionary rebels. Recently, in an attempt to undermine the socialist economy, the dictatorship of the proletariat and the great proletarian cultural revolution, they again took up the battered weapon of economism to resist the policy of "taking firm hold of the revolution and promoting production" put forward by you.

*"Only heroes can quell tigers and leopards
And wild bears never daunt the brave."*

Guided by your brilliant thought and in the course of the great proletarian cultural revolution launched and led by you, the revolutionary rebels in Shansi formed a great alliance, rallied the broad masses of the revolutionary people, dealt the counter-revolutionary revision-

ist clique telling, head-on blows, smashed its encirclement and suppression, defeated its attempts to corrupt by economism, firmly implemented your revolutionary line, carried out your brilliant directive of "taking firm hold of the revolution and promoting production" and beat back its counter-attacks. A new and excellent revolutionary situation has emerged.

Holding aloft your banner, we revolutionary rebels of the workers, peasants, students and cadres, have closely united with the revolutionary rebels from among the leading cadres. With the full support of the Shansi command of the People's Liberation Army we have seized power from the counter-revolutionary revisionist clique, exercised dictatorship over it and founded the Shansi Revolutionary Rebel General Headquarters.

As we recall, when the young shoots had just emerged, they were attacked repeatedly by evil storms; the class enemy stretched his claws towards these young shoots. . . .

The class enemy is in mortal fear of the close unity between us revolutionary rebel groups and the revolutionary leading cadres, so he tries his best to blur the line of demarcation between revolution and counter-revolution among the leading cadres, and attacks us as "sinister organizations" controlled by opportunism.

The class enemy is mortally afraid of the close unity between us revolutionary rebel groups and the People's Liberation Army, so he resorts to a magic weapon — "non-intervention" in the great cultural revolution among civilians — and attacks our struggle as "sectarianism" and us as a tool in the service of a "counter-revolutionary" restoration.

However, we are firmly convinced that the common fight of the revolutionary leading cadres and ourselves is completely in line with your instruction: "You should put politics in command, go to the masses and be one with them and carry on the great proletarian cultural revolution even better."

We are firmly convinced that the fact that the People's Liberation Army stands on the side of our revolutionary rebel groups is also in line with your instruction: "The sole purpose of this army is to stand firmly with the Chinese people and to serve them wholeheartedly."

As we study your instructions our hearts are redder and our eyes brighter. We become increasingly convinced that our action is completely in line with your thought. We shall raise the great banners of alliance and of seizing power, and courageously plunge into the mighty storm of struggle. Your red-covered book, so precious to us, tells us that the future belongs to us!

Chairman Mao! It is you who guides us in dispersing the murky clouds, in finding our correct orientation and in taking a firm stand. Whenever we think of this, how can we not shout "Long live Chairman Mao!" over and over again and repeatedly sing *The East Is Red!*

We know very well that this great cultural revolution, initiated and led by you, is a gigantic revolutionary struggle unprecedented in the history of mankind. What we are now doing has never been undertaken before. The enemies who confront us include not only the handful of bad eggs in Shansi Province but the entire old world. We have unshakable faith that, with you leading the way, we proletarian revolutionary rebel groups will be able to clean up the mire and wipe out

all pests and use our iron fists to fight for a red communist new Shansi, a new China and a new world!

Finally, we of the Shansi Revolutionary Rebel General Headquarters most heartily wish you long, long life!

**All Members of the Shansi Revolutionary
Rebel General Headquarters**

January 25, 1967

Chinese Foreign Ministry Statement

Strongest and Most Vehement Protest Against Fanatic Suppression by Soviet Revisionists of Chinese Students Returning From Europe

LISTEN! You chieftains of Soviet revisionism, Brezhnev, Kosygin and the like: All those who suppress student movements, all those who enforce fascist rule over the people and all those who betray the revolution will come to no good end! Get this into your heads: The revolutionary students and youths and the 700 million people of China armed with Mao Tse-tung's thought are not to be trifled with! All the debts you owe must be repaid in full!

Chairman Mao Tse-tung said:

"The socialist system will eventually replace the capitalist system; this is an objective law independent of man's will. However much the reactionaries try to hold back the wheel of history, sooner or later revolution will take place and will inevitably triumph."

On January 25, 1967, with feelings of boundless respect for the great revolutionary teacher of the proletariat Lenin and the great Marxist-Leninist Stalin, 69 Chinese students returning from Europe via Moscow proceeded in an orderly and neat column to Lenin's Mausoleum and Stalin's tomb to lay wreaths. They read out quotations from Chairman Mao Tse-tung, the reddest, reddest red sun in the hearts of the revolutionary people of the world to express their boundless faith in and boundless love for Marxism-Leninism, Mao Tse-tung's thought.

This action of the Chinese students is an entirely revolutionary one. It is fine! All revolutionary students, youths and people of China and the world, including those of the Soviet Union, will warmly support and praise them.

However, these Chinese students were subjected to barbarous suppression by the Soviet revisionist ruling

clique. When they were reading out quotations from Chairman Mao Tse-tung, the Soviet Government called out the two or three hundred soldiers, policemen and plain-clothesmen planted there in advance to encircle and savagely assault them, injuring over 30 of them with four seriously wounded, of whom one is in a critical state with broken ribs.

The Chinese Government and people express the utmost indignation at this fascist atrocity by the Soviet revisionist ruling clique and lodge the most, most vehement protest against it.

In wildly suppressing the Chinese students before Lenin's Mausoleum and Stalin's tomb, the Soviet revisionist ruling clique has once again revealed their features as renegades from Marxism-Leninism. Listen, you chieftains of Soviet revisionism Brezhnev, Kosygin and the like: All those who suppress student movements, all those who enforce fascist rule over the people and all those who betray the revolution will come to no good end! The German, Italian and Japanese fascists came to no good end. Chiang Kai-shek came to no good end. The Czar of Russia came to no good end. Kautsky came to no good end. Khrushchov came to no good end. And you will definitely come to no good end either! This is not the first time that Chinese students have shed their blood on the streets of Moscow. A new debt has been incurred before the

Warm Regards From Chairman Mao, Comrade Lin Piao, The Party's Central Committee and the State Council

Comrades Chou En-lai and Chen Yi Send Message to the Chinese Students

Dear Students:

We extend heartfelt regards to you on behalf of our great leader Chairman Mao and his close comrade-in-arms Comrade Lin Piao and of the Central Committee of the Party and the State Council.

While going to pay homage to Lenin's Mausoleum and Stalin's tomb, you were subjected to bloody suppression by the Soviet revisionist ruling clique. Undaunted in the face of perils and persisting in struggle, you have stood a severe test in international class struggle. This fully demonstrates the heroic mettle of Chinese youth

armed with Mao Tse-tung's thought. You are indeed worthy pupils of Chairman Mao.

We are eagerly awaiting your triumphant return, the return of our valiant anti-revisionist fighters.

We extend to you militant salutations of the great proletarian cultural revolution!

January 26, 1967

Chou En-lai

Chen Yi

old ones are cleared. All these debts must be repaid in full!

This sanguinary atrocity of the Soviet revisionist ruling clique is by no means accidental. Ever since the great proletarian cultural revolution was unfolded in China, the Soviet revisionist ruling clique, working in collusion with U.S. imperialism, has set its entire propaganda machine in motion turning out a torrent of slanderous attacks. The chieftains of Soviet revisionism have been running hither and thither and barking furiously and incessantly at socialist China, the great Chinese Communist Party and the great leader Chairman Mao Tse-tung. This shows that while dealing blows at the handful of persons within the Chinese Communist Party who are in authority and are taking the capitalist road, the great proletarian cultural revolution in China pains the Soviet revisionist ruling clique and U.S. imperialism to the quick, touching them to their very souls and hitting them where it hurts most. That is why they have hastily come forward with blatant counter-attacks to stir up a new anti-Chinese tide.

A small contingent of sixty and more students had hardly read two passages from the bright red booklet *Quotations From Chairman Mao Tse-tung* in their hands, before you were frightened out of your wits and went so far as to call out two or three hundred fully-armed soldiers, policemen and special agents to suppress them by force. This demonstrates most graphically how powerful the great thought of Mao Tse-tung is and how miserably flabby you revisionists

are. Like U.S. imperialism, you are paper tigers, pure and simple.

To tell you bluntly, the revolutionary students and youths and the 700 million people of China armed with Mao Tse-tung's thought are not to be trifled with! **"Only heroes can quell tigers and leopards, and wild bears never daunt the brave."** Since we dread neither heaven nor earth, neither devils nor gods, how can we possibly dread you, a few flies freezing to death in the whirling snow? You revisionist overlords! Come out with all the tricks you may still have! Your momentary rampancy indicates that far from strong, you are already in your death throes and that the people are gradually approaching victory. **Chairman Mao has said: "Lifting a rock only to drop it on one's own feet" is a Chinese folk saying to describe the behaviour of certain fools. The reactionaries in all countries are fools of this kind. In the final analysis, their persecution of the revolutionary people only serves to accelerate the people's revolutions on a broader and more intense scale.** The present era is one in which the great ever-victorious Marxism-Leninism, Mao Tse-tung's thought is shining with its radiance all over the globe, and world revolution is surging forward vigorously. Although the sky over the Soviet Union is temporarily covered with dark clouds, we are deeply convinced that they will be dispersed by the storm of revolution, that the great Soviet people, with the glorious tradition of the October Revolution, will never tolerate such tyranny of the revisionist ruling clique and that the day is bound

to arrive when they will rise in rebellion against the revisionist rulers, dismiss them from office, seize power from them and smash the revisionist rule to smithereens. A brilliantly red, new and revolutionary Soviet Union will certainly emerge before the people of the whole world!

The Soviet revisionist ruling clique is bound to be defeated!

Marxism-Leninism, Mao Tse-tung's thought is sure to triumph!

January 26, 1967

人民日报
RENMIN RIBAO

Hit Back Hard at the Rabid Provocations Of the Filthy Soviet Revisionist Swine!

ON January 25, a shocking and bloody incident took place in front of the great Lenin Mausoleum in Moscow's Red Square when Soviet troops, police and plain-clothes men savagely attacked a group of Chinese students passing through the Soviet Union on their way home. This is a rabid provocation against the Chinese people by the Soviet counter-revolutionary revisionist leading clique and a new debt of blood which this clique now owes the Chinese people. The Chinese people protest most strongly and vehemently against this fascist outrage of the Soviet revisionists. Listen, you handful of filthy Soviet revisionist swine! The Chinese people, who are armed with Mao Tse-tung's thought, are not to be bullied! The debt of blood you owe must be paid! We will hit back resolutely at your provocations!

What crime did these returning Chinese students commit? They laid wreaths in homage to Lenin, the great teacher of the world proletarian revolution, and to Stalin, the great Marxist-Leninist. In front of the Lenin Mausoleum, they read *Quotations From Chairman Mao Tse-tung*, declaring that the socialist system will eventually replace the capitalist system. This is an entirely revolutionary act. But you treated the Chinese students as enemies and savagely beat them up. This shows you up completely as betrayers of Lenin, of socialism, of the Soviet people and of the world revolution!

You fraternize with imperialists and reactionaries and leave the door wide open to capitalist culture. But you have an inveterate hatred for the revolutionary people and revolutionary thought and are in mortal fear of them. How closely does your atrocious, bloody repression against the Chinese students resemble the atrocities committed by the Czar, by Hitler and by the Ku Klux Klan! This clearly shows that what you are practising in the Soviet Union is in fact the most reactionary and most savage fascist dictatorship.

China's great proletarian cultural revolution is now entering a new stage, a stage in which the revolutionary rebels in a great alliance are seizing power from those who are in authority and are taking the capitalist road. It is no accident that the Soviet revisionists have created such a provocative political incident at this time. The proletariat of our country is launching a general attack against the bourgeoisie; the class enemy is in a situation of total collapse on all fronts. This situation causes the gentlemen in the Kremlin to pale and shake with fear day and night. This bloody incident engineered by the Soviet revisionists is, in essence, a class reprisal by the international class enemy against the revolutionary people. It is a concentrated reflection of the bitter hatred and deep fear which imperialism, revisionism and the reactionaries have for China's great proletarian cultural revolution and the great thought of Mao Tse-tung.

What does this handful of Soviet revisionist renegades fear? In a word, they are afraid that the impact of the great proletarian cultural revolution in China and Mao Tse-tung's thought will hasten the Soviet people's awakening to rise in rebellion against them, to seize their power, to make them the targets of the revolution, to shatter their revisionist order and break up their cannibal feast!

Chairman Mao has taught us: "We should support whatever the enemy opposes and oppose whatever the enemy supports." The more violently the Soviet revisionists oppose the great Chinese proletarian cultural revolution, the more conclusive is the proof that we have done the right thing and done it well, and that we must therefore carry the great proletarian cultural revolution through to the end. And the more violently they oppose the great thought of Mao Tse-tung, the more conclusive is the proof that Mao Tse-tung's thought is revolutionary truth and that therefore we

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must hold still higher the great red banner of Mao Tse-tung's thought.

Unafraid of brute force and upholding truth, the 69 returning Chinese students waged a heroic struggle against the fascist thugs. They are worthy to be called the best sons and daughters of the Chinese people who are armed with Mao Tse-tung's thought. We extend our most affectionate solicitude and, in the name of the great proletarian cultural revolution, our militant greetings to the 69 heroic anti-revisionist fighters! We are eagerly awaiting their triumphant return!

As they stood in front of the Lenin Mausoleum, the Chinese students read this quotation from our great leader Chairman Mao: "The socialist system will eventually replace the capitalist system; this is an objective law independent of man's will. However much the reactionaries try to hold back the wheel of history, sooner or later revolution will take place and will inevitably triumph." What a fine quotation they read!

The Soviet people are a great people, taught by Lenin and Stalin and with a glorious revolutionary

tradition. Under no circumstances will they tolerate for long the dark rule of revisionism. They will eventually rise in rebellion against revisionism and put the Soviet Union back on to the socialist road. Today the sparks of revolutionary rebellion are glittering on Soviet soil. The days of the Soviet revisionist leading clique are numbered. The Chinese people will resolutely stand together with the Soviet revolutionary people. We believe that the brilliant red banner of Marxism-Leninism, the thought of Mao Tse-tung, will one day flutter high over Red Square and in the homeland of the October Revolution!

Down with modern revisionism!

Long live the revolutionary rebel spirit of the proletariat!

Long live the great proletarian cultural revolution!

Long live the all-conquering thought of Mao Tse-tung!

(*Renmin Ribao* editorial, January 27.)

Chinese Students Beaten Up in Red Square

Chinese People Denounce Soviet Revisionists' Fascist Atrocities

PEKING is cold and snow is on the ground, but contingent after contingent of demonstrators march to the Soviet Embassy. The furious sound of slogans roars through the city. Braving the wintry weather, thousands upon thousands of the revolutionary masses assemble before the embassy grounds to voice their strong protest against the Soviet revisionist ruling clique for savagely beating up Chinese students in Moscow on their way home from Europe.

People received the news with anger on January 26. Instantly street corners in the capital were splashed with slogans: "Down with Soviet revisionism!" "Down with Brezhnev!" "Down with Kosygin!" The walls of the Soviet Embassy and both sides of Anti-Revisionist Road where the Soviet Embassy is located were alive with posters and slogans: "The Chinese people are not to be bullied!" "Blood debts must be repaid with blood!" "Opposing China means coming to no good end!" On the trees in front of the Soviet Embassy hung the effigies of Brezhnev and Kosygin, indicating the wrath of the demonstrators. From morning to dusk, column after column of revolutionary workers, peasants, People's Liberation Army fighters, Red Guards and revolutionary students and teachers and government cadres continued to augment the demonstrators' ranks. At the time of writing, the protest march enters the fifth day, with a million people taking part. This includes all

the Chinese personnel, a force close to 100 — cooks, chauffeurs, boiler men, electricians, cleaning workers and gardeners — in the Soviet Embassy. They had gone on strike in protest and taken their stand with their fellow demonstrators. Mass protest rallies and demonstrations were being staged in various parts of the country.

Also filled with anger, revolutionary foreign friends working and studying in China ignored the cold and snow and joined the great mass of revolutionary marchers, hand in hand and shoulder to shoulder, before the Soviet Embassy to express their strong protest against the Soviet revisionist ruling clique's savagery.

Bloodbath in Red Square

On January 25, sixty-nine Chinese students returning home from Europe via Moscow to take part in the great proletarian cultural revolution proceeded to Red Square at 12:45 p.m. to lay wreaths at the Lenin Mausoleum and Stalin's tomb. The Soviet authorities concerned had been informed beforehand by the Chinese Embassy in the Soviet Union of the Chinese students' intention to pay homage at the tombs of Lenin and Stalin. They were led into Red Square by a major in the Soviet armed forces and several police. Behind the Chinese students stood several hundred troops, police guards and plain-clothesmen.

The students walked towards Lenin's tomb in perfect order, put down two wreaths and removed their hats to observe a moment's silence. Then just as one of them was about to lead the rest in reciting quotations from Chairman Mao, the great leader of the Chinese people, he was forcibly taken away by two Soviet policemen. His comrades took up the reading of Chairman Mao's quotation together: "The socialist system will eventually replace the capitalist system; this is an objective law independent of man's will. However much the reactionaries try to hold back the wheel of history, sooner or later revolution will take place and will inevitably triumph."

They continued to read another passage, which says: "Stalin is the true friend of the cause of liberation of the Chinese people. No attempt to sow dissension, no lies and calumnies, can affect the Chinese people's wholehearted love and respect for Stalin and our genuine friendship for the Soviet Union."

As they were reading the quotations, the Soviet major started bullying, pushing and pulling the Chinese women students. They carried on and began to sing the *Internationale*. The major beckoned to the large number of armed police and plain-clothesmen gathered behind the Chinese students. These toughs pounced on the students, broke up the assembly of the students, and the Chinese Embassy staff and the Hsinhua correspondent accompanying them, and surrounded them individually. Then they began to shove and beat the Chinese with their fists and with weapons concealed in their fists. Blood gushed from wounds inflicted on the heads and faces of many students as well as from the Chinese Embassy staff and the Hsinhua correspondent.

However, the students, who were locked hand in hand, continued singing the *Internationale* to the end. Some were thrown to the ground and trampled by the Soviet troops, police and plain-clothesmen; their clothes were torn, their spectacles crushed and their personal effects stolen. Many of the women students were pushed down and dragged along the ground with such force that they couldn't rise. Initial estimates show that more than 30 persons were injured, of whom over 10 sustained injuries from which blood poured out, and four of them were seriously injured. Four lost consciousness as a result of severe beatings. Student Huang Chien-tung, who was kicked and injured in the right ribs, found difficulty in breathing and his life is in danger. The embassy staff and the Hsinhua correspondent were all badly beaten. Some received facial injuries, while others sustained bloody leg wounds. Many Soviet people in Red Square at the time shouted "Don't beat them, you must not beat them!" Some showed their sympathy and support by waving to the Chinese students. Tears rolled down the cheeks of some of the older ones.

At this point, the completely unarmed Chinese students were locked hand in hand, shouting "Long live the great Lenin!" "Long live Leninism!" "Long live Stalin!" "Long live the friendship between the

Chinese and Soviet people!" "Long live the great leader Chairman Mao!" "Down with modern revisionism!" They read aloud the quotation from Chairman Mao: "Be resolute, fear no sacrifice and surmount every difficulty to win victory."

For half an hour the Chinese students were man-handled and beaten up in Red Square by Soviet troops, police and plain-clothesmen now under the command of a lieutenant-colonel and the major. As a result, they failed to get a glance of Lenin's remains. Still more detestable is the fact that the plain-clothesmen stamped on and destroyed the wreath placed at Lenin's tomb. The wreath for Stalin disappeared altogether.

Strongest Protest

On January 26 the Chinese Ministry of Foreign Affairs lodged the strongest and most vehement protest with the Soviet revisionist ruling clique against the fascist atrocities committed by the troops, police and plain-clothesmen called out to suppress the Chinese students who had gone to pay homage and lay wreaths at the tombs of Lenin and Stalin (see p. 21).

The same day, Comrades Chou En-lai and Chen Yi, on behalf of our great leader Chairman Mao and his close comrade-in-arms Comrade Lin Piao, the Party's Central Committee and the State Council, cabled a message conveying warm regards to the Chinese students who had been subjected to bloody suppression by the Soviet revisionist filthy swine (see p. 22).

In Moscow, the Chinese Embassy lodged a protest with the Soviet Foreign Ministry in the strongest and most serious terms following the violence. The protest note pointed out that the bloody suppression of the Chinese students by the military, police and plain-clothesmen of Soviet revisionism was a grave incident planned and engineered beforehand by the Soviet Government. It demanded that the Soviet Government apologize publicly, punish the culprits and assume responsibility for all consequences arising therefrom. Because justice was not on its side and it was short of arguments, the Soviet Foreign Ministry at first refused to receive the Chinese Charge d'Affaires ad interim and took refuge in stalling tactics. The Chinese Charge d'Affaires insisted and Soviet Vice-Foreign Minister Firyubin finally had to agree to an interview. Firyubin did not have a leg to stand on in face of ironclad facts and lamely threatened that the Soviet side would "prohibit Chinese citizens from travelling via the Soviet Union." The Chinese Charge d'Affaires threw this back in his teeth.

In the evening, the entire staff of the Chinese Embassy held a meeting to denounce the Soviet revisionists for their bloody suppression of the Chinese students returning from Europe. Charge d'Affaires An Chih-yuan pointed out in his speech that it was an entirely correct, revolutionary act for our students to lay wreaths at the tombs of Lenin and Stalin and to sing the *Internationale*. The fact that the Soviet authorities moved in troops, police and plain-clothesmen against the Chinese revolutionary students, he

said, does not at all show that they are strong. On the contrary, it shows that they are extremely weak, that they are paper tigers! It shows that they are afraid of Mao Tse-tung's thought, of truth, of the *Internationale*, and that they are afraid of revolution, afraid that the Soviet people will acquire Mao Tse-tung's thought and rebel against them! But, he stressed, truth cannot be held back. The thought of Mao Tse-tung will cross the oceans and reach all corners of the world.

On January 28, the Press Attache of the Chinese Embassy in Moscow held a press conference, vehemently denouncing and accusing the Soviet authorities of their crime. He told the gathering that it was futile for the Soviet press to fall back on the malicious dispatches of the United Press International to absolve the Soviet revisionist ruling clique of its monstrous crime in Red Square. It just could not get away with it.

Anti-Revisionist Fighters Homeward Bound

Apart from nine students who had to stay behind for medical treatment because they had been seriously injured, the rest, 60 in all, left Moscow by train on January 26. Even at the time of their departure, the Soviet revisionist ruling clique, which was afraid of the truth and was bent on anti-China activities, called out large numbers of troops and police to throw a tight security cordon round the railway station, with police vans and black Marias standing by, as though it was confronted by a mortal enemy. Difficulties were

deliberately created by cutting down the number of porters and luggage carts at the Yaroslavl station that day; porters' service badges were taken away. However, some Soviet working-class brothers overcame these obstacles and took out some big luggage carts to carry the students' luggage to the train.

Enroute, the students, with the deepest feelings, sent a message conveying their respect to Chairman Mao in which they expressed their sincere thanks to the great leader for his great concern for them. Part of the message read: "You are our red commander and we are your most faithful red soldiers. You have taught us: **We should support whatever the enemy opposes and oppose whatever the enemy supports, and be resolute, fear no sacrifice and surmount every difficulty to win victory.** We shall vigorously combat modern revisionist clowns like Brezhnev and Kosygin. We shall vigorously and fiercely combat all monsters and ogres. We shall strike them down so that they will never rise again. We shall smash the old world to bits and create a red new world, so that the great thought of Mao Tse-tung will radiate brightly over the world for ever."

The day will certainly come when Soviet modern revisionism will be burnt to ashes in the raging flames kindled by the revolutionary people of the Soviet Union in rebellion. The day will certainly come when Marxism-Leninism, Mao Tse-tung's thought, will radiate brilliantly over a new red Soviet Union in rebirth.

INTERNATIONAL COMMUNIST MOVEMENT

Why Do Imperialism and Revisionism Unite in Wildly Attacking the Chinese Communist Party and China's Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution?

by the Editorial Board of the Albanian paper *Zeri i Popullit*

This is the third and final instalment of the article published in the Albanian paper "Zeri i Popullit" on December 29, 1966. The first two instalments appeared in "P.R." Nos. 4 and 5. — Ed.

A Great Contribution to the Struggle Against Imperialism and Modern Revisionism and to the Victory of the Revolution and Socialism on a Worldwide Scale

The successful development of China's great proletarian cultural revolution is a major event of great historic significance. It is a great victory not only

for the triumph of socialism in the People's Republic of China but also for the world's people's revolution, socialism and liberation. This is quite natural because the People's Republic of China is now the main bulwark of socialism in the world and the most powerful pillar of the world revolution and the struggle for liberation.

Furthermore, China's great cultural revolution marks a further development in the theory and practice of the building of socialism and enriches the revolutionary experience of international communism. It is a great example from which all Marxist-Leninists in the world can and should learn. In the light of condi-

tions in their own countries they should learn its valuable lessons so as to advance the socialist revolution.

The great proletarian cultural revolution, while persevering in and consolidating the correct internationalist revolutionary line represented by Comrade Mao Tse-tung, has made tremendous contributions to the struggle against world imperialism headed by the United States and international modern revisionism with the traitorous Soviet leadership as its centre, and to the victory of the world's people's revolution, socialism and the cause of freedom.

One of the basic aims of China's great proletarian cultural revolution internationally is precisely the further strengthening and development of the struggle against world imperialism and primarily against U.S. imperialism. The Communiqué of the Eleventh Plenary Session of the Eighth Central Committee of the Communist Party of China points out that "U.S. imperialism is the most ferocious common enemy of the peoples of the whole world. In order to isolate U.S. imperialism to the maximum and deal blows to it, the broadest possible international united front must be established against U.S. imperialism and its lackeys." The People's Republic of China adheres to this unswerving anti-imperialist revolutionary line and wages a tit-for-tat struggle against U.S. imperialism. It mercilessly exposes and resolutely opposes U.S. imperialism's policy of aggression, war and enslavement. It has become an insurmountable obstacle in the way of U.S. imperialism's frenzied plans for world hegemony.

China's great proletarian cultural revolution also has the international aim of further strengthening the struggle against modern revisionism and, first of all, against the Soviet revisionist leadership. As the Communiqué of the Plenary Session of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China points out, the Soviet revisionist leading clique "has betrayed Marxism-Leninism, betrayed the great Lenin, betrayed the road of the Great October Revolution, betrayed proletarian internationalism, betrayed the revolutionary cause of the international proletariat and the oppressed peoples and oppressed nations, and betrayed the interests of the great Soviet people and the people of the socialist countries. . . . [It is] pursuing a policy of Soviet-U.S. collaboration for world domination and has been conducting splittist, disruptive and subversive activities within the international communist movement and the national-liberation movement in the active service of U.S. imperialism." The Plenary Session clearly pointed out further that "to oppose imperialism, it is imperative to oppose modern revisionism." The Plenary Session fully agreed with the line of resolute

and uncompromising struggle under the direct leadership of Comrade Mao Tse-tung against Khrushchov modern revisionism. The Plenary Session emphatically declared: There is no middle road whatsoever in the struggle between Marxism-Leninism and modern revisionism. A clear line of demarcation must be drawn in dealing with the revisionist groups with the leadership of the C.P.S.U. as the centre, and it is imperative resolutely to expose their true features as renegades. It is impossible to have "united action" with them. The anti-imperialist united front of the people of the world must not include the Khrushchov revisionists and their accomplices. It must unite all the revolutionary forces of Marxism-Leninism and carry through to the end the struggle against modern revisionism. This Marxist-Leninist revolutionary line has the warm support of the several hundred million working people of China who are determined to carry the great proletarian cultural revolution forward.

China's great proletarian cultural revolution is surging forward holding high the banner of proletarian internationalism, which is the supreme guiding principle of the foreign policy of the People's Republic of China, and the banner of resolutely and unreservedly supporting the revolutionary people of the world who are struggling for national liberation from the imperialist oppressors and resisting armed aggression by U.S. imperialism and the other imperialists. The hundreds of millions of people taking part in this revolution have expressed their firm support for the Vietnamese people in their just struggle to resist and completely and thoroughly wipe out the U.S. aggressors and liberate and defend their country. One of the fundamental and most outstanding characteristics in the development of China's great proletarian cultural revolution is to educate all the working people in the spirit of proletarian internationalism, in the spirit of subordinating everything to the cause of the revolution and the victory of socialism throughout the world, and to do everything possible, use various means and defy all sacrifices to give timely support to the struggle of the revolutionary forces and the people of the various countries.

In general, the fundamental aim of China's great proletarian cultural revolution internationally is to wage a selfless, resolute struggle for the steady development and victory of the world revolution. It is a most significant component part of the world revolution today and also an illustrious example for revolutionaries throughout the world and the people of all countries. China's great proletarian cultural revolution shows how to dare to break the old, how to dare to struggle and dare to defeat all kinds of enemies. This resolute revolutionary aim is one of the basic reasons

for the following: China's great proletarian cultural revolution and the Chinese Communist Party and Comrade Mao Tse-tung leading this great cultural revolution enjoy the sympathy and ardent support of the revolutionaries and peoples of the world and at the same time has the deep hatred of the imperialists and modern revisionists and the reactionaries of various countries.

The great thought of Comrade Mao Tse-tung, the outstanding Marxist-Leninist who is successfully leading this revolution, is the red beacon illuminating the road of advance of this revolution. The revolutionary spirit, noble aim and tremendous success of this revolution have filled the revisionists with fury and that is why they are most viciously attacking and vilifying Comrade Mao Tse-tung. Such hatred is understandable. Who has ever seen revolutionaries enjoying the sympathy and affection of the class enemy? The revisionists have become mad with anger. The Marxist-Leninist revolutionary line defended and carried out by Comrade Mao Tse-tung, that is, the line of resolute struggle against imperialism and revisionism and of pushing ahead China's socialist cause and the world revolution, has made the revisionists tremble with fear. This is because this line, through the proletarian cultural revolution, has dashed to pieces all the fond hopes of the Khrushchov revisionists and their agents in China to get the Chinese Communist Party and the People's Republic of China to abandon the correct line.

No matter how the revisionists may curse and cavil, they cannot detract one iota from Comrade Mao Tse-tung's great image. Comrade Mao Tse-tung is the trail blazer and great teacher of the Chinese Communist Party and the 700 million Chinese people, the esteemed, beloved and outstanding teacher of the international proletariat and the world revolutionary movement, the respected successor to the cause of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin. The thought of Mao Tse-tung is the shining model of revolutionary Marxism-Leninism and creative application of the fundamental teachings of Marxism-Leninism to the practice of China's great revolution and the socialist construction in the People's Republic of China.

Comrade Mao Tse-tung has made great contributions to the development of Marxism-Leninism and the theory of scientific socialism. His many important theories, for instance, on the questions of strategy and tactics of people's revolutionary war, contradictions in socialist society, the development of revolutionary democracy, the mass line, the existence of class struggle in socialist society, and on the question of the measures taken to block the road leading to revisionism and the

restoration of capitalism, and other theories—all this has given concrete expression to Marxism-Leninism and enriched Marxism-Leninism. These theories have extremely great significance on the revolution in China, the world revolution, and on the cause of socialism.

In the People's Republic of China, the intensive study of Comrade Mao Tse-tung's works as the guide to action in struggle and actual work has become a momentous movement, with millions and tens of millions of workers, peasants, soldiers, and great masses of youth, women and people's intellectuals taking part. Therefore, the Marxist-Leninist thought of Mao Tse-tung, which is accepted by the masses and spurs the revolutionization of their thinking, has turned into an immense material force remaking nature and society. Mao Tse-tung's thought has become a mighty motive power propelling the wheels of revolution and socialist construction in the great People's Republic of China for ever and ever.

At present, the reactionaries of all countries with the U.S. imperialists at their head and the modern revisionists with the traitorous Soviet leadership at the head, behaving like wild animals, are growling and shouting themselves hoarse at People's China, the Chinese Communist Party and Comrade Mao Tse-tung. They are trying with all their power to malign China's great cultural revolution and to isolate People's China by spreading the vilest lies against this revolution, and are engineering a vicious conspiracy against the People's Republic of China, which is the main bastion of the world revolution and socialism. Therefore, the present task before the world's Marxist-Leninists and true revolutionaries is to stand in rock-like unity to defend Mao Tse-tung's China, strengthen unity with China, expose before the people of all countries the slanderous anti-China propaganda by the imperialists and modern revisionists and make sure that they completely fail. **In his report to the Fifth Congress of the Albanian Party of Labour Comrade Enver Hoxha said: "To support People's China and safeguard her against invasion by the imperialists and their lackeys, the revisionists, are the historical task and a matter of life and death for all revolutionary and freedom-loving forces and peoples. The people of our country, our Party and government march on with the great people and Communist Party of China along the common revolutionary road and will stand shoulder to shoulder with them for ever in days of peace as well as in times of great storm, marching on together in the struggle against imperialism and modern revisionism and for the victory of the revolution and socialism."**

Strong Protest Against Indian Intrusions in 1966

The Foreign Ministry of the People's Republic of China, in a note on January 16 to the Indian Embassy in China, gave the details of numerous Indian intrusions into China's territory and air space in 1966 along the Sino-Indian border and the China-Sikkim boundary, and lodged a strong protest with the Indian Government against these serious provocations.

The note said that in 1966 there had been altogether 73 cases of Indian troop intrusions into Chinese territory across the line of actual control along the Sino-Indian border and across the China-Sikkim boundary. Indian planes intruded into China's air space in 71 sorties.

Along the western sector of the Sino-Indian border, the Indian side made as many as 24 ground intrusions into Sinkiang's Hot Springs area alone in the second half of last year, and in some cases the intrusions lasted as long as five or six hours.

Along the eastern sector of the Sino-Indian border, apart from maintaining their military works for aggression at Hsialinkung Terrace, Indian troops made as many as 12 intrusions into the Hsiao area alone north of the line of actual control.

Along the China-Sikkim boundary, during the eight months between May and December last year, Indian troops made as many as 13 intrusions into Chinese territory from across Natu La for reconnaissance and harassment, and repaired the wire entanglements left by the Indian troops who had withdrawn and fled from there in September 1965. Indian troops also repeatedly carried out

provocative actions at Natu La and fired at the Chinese sentries there. At Tagi La, intruding Indian troops threatened a local Chinese herdsman and burnt down a Chinese herdsman's cattle shed in the Dongnan grassland.

The note pointed out that the facts cited above showed that the Indian side had continued to create tension and tried to provoke border incidents. Recently, the Indian Government, in a number of notes, had even falsely accused China of "intrusions" in order to cover up its own proven intrusions. But the facts were all there; in vainly trying to confuse the public by turning things upside down, the Indian Government considered itself very clever while actually it was very stupid.

In conclusion, the note sternly pointed out that in continuing to oppose China by using the Sino-Indian boundary question, the Indian Government was simply hoping to curry favour with imperialism and modern revisionism and find a way out of its difficult position at home and abroad. But in the past year, far from improving its position, the Indian Government had discredited itself still more abroad, and had aroused even stronger opposition from the people at home. If the Indian Government still refused to repent and if it insisted on opposing China and continued to create tension by provocative intrusions into China along the border, it would only sink deeper and deeper in the quagmire. **As the great leader of the Chinese people Chairman Mao had said: "Starting with the aim of injuring others only to end up by ruining oneself — such is the law of development which governs all reactionary policies."** The Indian Gov-

ernment's anti-Chinese policy would inevitably be governed by this law.

Soviet Revisionist Crime Against Chinese Students In Iraq

Ten Chinese students studying in Iraq went to the Soviet Embassy in Baghdad on January 28 to deliver a letter protesting the fascist atrocity perpetrated in Moscow three days earlier by the Soviet revisionist ruling clique in sanguinarily suppressing Chinese students returning from Europe. The Soviet Embassy, with Counsellor A.S. Novikov in the lead, mustered over 30 of its thugs to savagely beat up the Chinese students and the correspondent of the Hsinhua News Agency. Five of the Chinese students were injured and the correspondent was seriously injured and his camera smashed.

On January 30, the Chinese Foreign Ministry sent a note to the Soviet Embassy in China lodging the strongest and most vehement protest against the incident. This, said the note, was a "continuation and development of . . . bloodshed created by the Soviet revisionists on the Red Square of Moscow," and was "one more proof of the crimes of the Soviet revisionist ruling clique in uniting with the United States against China and in being hostile to and opposing China's great proletarian cultural revolution." "Your Embassy has already become a lair for a mob of fascist hooligans in perpetrating counter-revolutionary atrocities. This constitutes not only another grave provocation against the Chinese people but also a serious provocation against the people of Asia and the world," the note added.

It concluded by quoting Chairman Mao's teachings: "All reactionaries are paper tigers." "In the final analysis, their persecution of the revolutionary

people only serves to accelerate the people's revolutions on a broader and more intense scale."

On the same day Comrade Chen Yi sent a cable to the Chinese students and the Hsinhua correspondent in Iraq resolutely supporting their revolutionary action and expressing his heartfelt sympathy to these comrades who "have demonstrated the revolutionary heroic mettle of Chinese youth in the era of Mao Tse-tung."

Chinese Students' Valiant Struggle in Paris

Forty-nine Chinese students who had studied in Rennes, France, made their way to the Soviet Embassy in Paris on the evening of January 27 to lodge a protest against Soviet revisionism's January 25 bloody suppression in Moscow of Chinese students. Before they reached the Embassy, the French police authorities called in about 200 policemen to launch a surprise raid on the students who were surrounded on the sidewalk from three sides and arrested by force. The French policemen brutally dragged the men students by their necks or ears and the women students by their hair or plaits into a police van. The students defended themselves heroically. All 49 of them, 19 of them were women, were beaten up by the police. Some received head wounds and bled, while others suffered internal injuries.

Violating the Chinese students' deep feelings for Chairman Mao Tse-tung, the most respected and beloved leader of the Chinese people, the police tore up his portraits and trampled on copies of *Quotations From Chairman Mao Tse-tung*.

Yi Su-chih, First Secretary of the Chinese Embassy in France, lodged a protest with Etienne Manach, Director of the Asian Department of the French Foreign Ministry. Because justice was not on his side, Manach had nothing to say and did not dare

reject the verbal protest of the Chinese side. All the arrested Chinese students were released at three o'clock on the afternoon of January 28.

When they came out of the place of detention they held their heads high and sang the *Internationale*. Returning to their lodgings in a police car, the students waved their red-covered *Quotations From Chairman Mao Tse-tung* as they sang revolutionary songs. Many Parisians sympathetically waved at them with thumbs raised; some were even moved to tears. One French policeman told the Chinese students: "France was wrong in doing this. I've never seen such heroic and unyielding foreign students in my life."

Comrade Chen Yi on January 31 sent a message to the Chinese students to express his support and sympathy for them.

On the same day, Peking's revolutionary masses, including workers and young Red Guards, angrily demonstrated in front of the French Embassy to voice their protest. Holding portraits of Chairman Mao and red-covered copies of *Quotations From Chairman Mao Tse-tung*, the demonstrators warned the Paris authorities that the Chinese people, armed with Mao Tse-tung's thought were not to be trifled with and that those who worked with the Soviet revisionists against China would come to no good end. They also lodged the strongest protest against the criminal French police action of tearing up Chairman Mao's portraits and trampling on the *Quotations*. The walls of the embassy building and the grounds outside were posted with the slogans: "Down with imperialism!" "Down with modern revisionism!" "Rebel against whoever is hostile to the Chinese people!" and "Bash in the French thugs' heads!"

Strong Protest Against Yugoslavia's Political Provocation

A responsible member of the Department of Soviet Union and East

European Affairs of the Chinese Ministry of Foreign Affairs summoned I. Golob, Charge d'Affaires ad interim of the Yugoslav Embassy in Peking, on January 28 and handed him a note strongly protesting against the Yugoslav Government's connivance in the smashing of the news display case of the Chinese Embassy in Yugoslavia by ruffians, thereby deliberately creating a serious political provocation.

The note said that on the evening of January 20, when the Embassy of the People's Republic of China in Yugoslavia was giving a reception for Asian and African students, the Embassy's news display case showing photographs of Chairman Mao Tse-tung, the most respected and beloved great leader of the Chinese people, was completely smashed. This is an extremely serious political provocation disrupting the Embassy's normal diplomatic functions, violating China's sovereign rights and endangering the Embassy's security, and it is an incident aimed at sowing discord in the friendly relations between China and other Asian and African countries. In particular, the insult and attack on the photographs of Chairman Mao is an insult and attack on the People's Republic of China and the 700 million Chinese people, and this is something which the Chinese people absolutely cannot tolerate. The Chinese Government lodged a strong protest with the Yugoslav Government against this and demanded that the Yugoslav Government publicly admit this to be a grave anti-Chinese political incident, severely punish the culprits and guarantee against the recurrence of similar incidents in the future.

The note pointed out that this anti-Chinese incident was by no means fortuitous or isolated. It said: "You have been tailing after your masters, U.S. imperialism and Soviet revisionism, in making frenzied attacks on China's domestic and foreign policies, and particularly on the great proletarian cultural revolution led personally by the Chinese people's great leader Chairman Mao Tse-tung."

Your state leaders and press have poured out an unending torrent of anti-Chinese outcries in an attempt to hoodwink the Yugoslav people and divert them from their objective of rising up in rebellion against you and overthrowing your rule. To tell you bluntly, by opposing China you are lifting a rock only to drop it on your own feet and you will definitely come to no good end."

Demonstrations in front of the Yugoslav Embassy in Peking lasted from 2 p.m. on January 29 till late in the night. Revolutionary masses from all over the city took part. They shouted: "Down with U.S. imperialism! Down with Soviet modern revisionism! Bash in Tito's head!"

Victory for the Patriotic Anti-Imperialist Struggle By Compatriots in Macao

On January 29, the Portuguese authorities in Macao signed a document admitting their bloody crimes of last November 15 and December 3 (see *Peking Review*, No. 50, 1966) and a protocol on the implementation of demands raised by our side. The Portuguese authorities thus fully admitted their crimes of brutally massacring and persecuting Chinese in Macao and accepted in full the four-point demand put forward in the statement by the director of the Foreign Affairs Bureau of the Kwangtung Provincial People's Council and the six-point demand raised by Chinese compatriots in Macao. This is a victory won by Chinese compatriots in Macao in their patriotic anti-imperialist struggle in which they held high the great red banner of Mao Tse-tung's thought and had the firm support of the people and Red Guards of their great socialist motherland and the mighty Chinese People's Liberation Army.

The Portuguese authorities in Macao on November 15 brutally persecuted Chinese residents of Taipa Island (Macao), resulting in more than 40 Chinese injured from severe beatings by armed police. On Decem-

ber 3 and 4, they again sent large groups of armed police and troops against Chinese residents, as a result of which many Chinese were injured and several were killed. For more than the last two months, patriotic Chinese from all trades and professions in Macao rose as one in resistance to the Portuguese authorities. They held more than 410 meetings to fight against persecution and exposed the vile schemes of the Portuguese authorities who tried to deny their crimes. Rising in concerted action to carry out sanctions, Chinese residents launched a mighty mass movement against imperialism. The Portuguese authorities, engulfed in a sea of people, faced boycott everywhere. With the support of their great socialist motherland, the Chinese in Macao finally compelled them to admit their crimes, thereby smashing the schemes of the U.S. and British imperialists and the Chiang Kai-shek gang to meddle in the affairs of Macao and exposing the shameless rumours and slanders of the traitorous Soviet modern revisionist leading clique.

In their document of admission to their crimes which was handed over to Chinese compatriots in Macao, the Portuguese authorities admitted that they had committed serious crimes in the November 15 and December 3 massacres. They said that they would bear full responsibility for these crimes, punish the chief culprits and pay indemnity for all losses incurred in the incidents, admit their crimes and apologize to all the Chinese in Macao, and truly guarantee the safety of Chinese lives and property and the protection of their legitimate interests. In their protocol to the Foreign Affairs Bureau of the Kwangtung Provincial People's Council, the Portuguese authorities gave assurances that they would banish all Chiang Kai-shek bandit organizations and personnel in Macao, prohibit the use of the sign and the name of the Chiang Kai-shek gang, such as the hanging or the use of its flag and emblem in Macao, prohibit Chiang Kai-shek gang organizations and personnel to carry out any activity against the

People's Republic of China, and drive them all out of Macao. Should any agents of the Chiang Kai-shek gang turn up in Macao and carry out activities in the future, the Portuguese authorities would arrest them immediately and turn them over to the department concerned in the Kwangtung Provincial People's Council.

The ceremonies of handing over the document of admission and the protocol by the Portuguese authorities were held in Macao and in Kungpei in Chuhai County, Kwangtung Province, respectively. Huge portraits of Chairman Mao were hung at the front of the auditoriums in both places and there were quotations from Chairman Mao on the walls. At 2 p.m. on January 29, Jose Nobre de Carvalho, the Portuguese "governor" of Macao, signed the document of admission before delegates of various Chinese circles in Macao and handed it to Liang Pei, their representative. Before the signing, Mesquita Borges, "secretary-general of the Portuguese governor's office," read out the text on behalf of the Portuguese "governor." On behalf of Jose Nobre de Carvalho, Borges then went to Kungpei and handed the protocol to a representative of the Foreign Affairs Bureau of the Kwangtung Provincial People's Council. Thirteen representatives of Chinese compatriots from all circles in Macao were present at the Kungpei ceremony.

During their anti-imperialist patriotic struggle, Chinese compatriots in Macao showed boundless love for the great leader Chairman Mao and followed his teachings most firmly. They said: "Sailing the seas depends on the helmsman, and the growth of everything depends on the sun. We rely on the all-conquering thought of Mao Tse-tung in our anti-imperialist patriotic struggle. Every word of Chairman Mao's is the truth and never for a moment did we forget his teachings in our struggle. Every victory of ours is a victory for Mao Tse-tung's thought. People armed with Mao Tse-tung's thought are capable of overcoming all difficulties and vanquishing all monsters and demons."

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