

PEKING REVIEW

10

March 3, 1967

北
京
周
報

Cadres Must Be Treated Correctly

Hongqi editorial.

The "Quotations From Chairman Mao Tse-tung" Lights the Whole World

Shanghai Municipal Revolutionary Committee Holds Grand Meeting

Warmly hails the great leader Chairman Mao's latest instructions and issues draft resolution on the present situation and tasks of the great cultural revolution in Shanghai.

QUOTATIONS FROM CHAIRMAN MAO TSE-TUNG

Only when all the policies and tactics of the Party are on the correct path will it be possible for the Chinese revolution to win victory. Policy and tactics are the life of the Party; leading comrades at all levels must give them full attention and must never on any account be negligent.

A Circular on the Situation

* * *

Conditions are changing all the time, and to adapt one's thinking to the new conditions, one must study. Even those who have a better grasp of Marxism and are comparatively firm in their proletarian stand have to go on studying, have to absorb what is new and study new problems.

Speech at the Chinese Communist Party's National Conference on Propaganda Work (March 12, 1957)

* * *

If the U.S. monopoly capitalist groups persist in pushing their policies of aggression and war, the day is bound to come when they will be hanged by the people of the whole world. The same fate awaits the accomplices of the United States.

Speech at the Supreme State Conference (September 8, 1958)



Chairman Mao Tse-tung

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



Cadres Must Be Treated Correctly

HOW cadres should be treated is an important and key question in the struggle by the great alliance of the proletarian revolutionaries, under conditions of the dictatorship of the proletariat, to seize power from a handful of persons in the Party who are in authority and taking the capitalist road.

We must treat the cadres correctly in line with Mao Tse-tung's thought and the Party policy on cadres that Chairman Mao has consistently advocated. Only in this way will we be able to establish the core of leadership in the struggle to seize power, bring into being the great alliance of proletarian revolutionaries, form "three-in-one" provisional organs of power truly capable of exercising leadership, and establish or improve the particular bodies to lead the cultural revolution and to lead production and work, so as to grasp all kinds of work and truly take power in our hands.

Basic Assessment of Our Cadre Force

The test of the vigorous mass movement of the great proletarian cultural revolution for the past six months and more has proved that most of our cadres are good. In accordance with Chairman Mao's teachings, the editorial of *Hongqi*, No. 12, 1966, [see *Peking Review*, No. 39, 1966] entitled "Hold Fast to the Main Orientation in the Struggle" pointed out: "Our country is a state of the dictatorship of the proletariat. Fundamentally, those in power are the proletariat. Most of the cadres who are responsible for leadership at various levels in the various departments of the Party, government and armed forces and in industrial, agricultural, trade, educational and military circles, in general, support the Party and Chairman Mao and resolutely take the socialist road." "Only a handful of counter-revolutionary revisionists who are against the Party, against socialism and against Mao Tse-tung's thought have wormed their way into leading posts in the Party and the state." "These are the basic, objective facts of China's political life. Exactly because of this, our state power of the dictatorship of the proletariat is consolidated. Exactly because of this, it is possible in our country to hold high the great red banner of Mao Tse-tung's thought and score extremely brilliant successes on various fronts in the socialist revolution and socialist construction."

The facts have shown this basic assessment to be correct. The question of how cadres should be treated in the struggle for the seizure of power by the proletarian revolutionaries must be viewed from this basic assessment.

It must be soberly recognized that a handful of counter-revolutionary revisionists have indeed usurped Party and political power in some places or some departments and have exercised the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie. There is a social basis for this handful of persons in the Party who are in authority and taking the capitalist road. They are persons of the Khrushchov type and are at present our main enemy, the enemy of the proletariat. Unless they are overthrown, our country will change colour and return to colonial, semi-colonial and semi-feudal status. The seizure of power from them is the decisive battle waged by the proletariat against the bourgeoisie. Whoever denies this does not distinguish us from the enemy and negates the great proletarian cultural revolution.

At the same time, it must also be soberly recognized that most of the cadres are good, and that the alien class elements who have wormed their way into the ranks of the cadres are very few in number. Most of the cadres who have made mistakes, even serious mistakes, can make amends under the education of the Party and the masses. We must never overestimate the number of persons in authority taking the capitalist road and the alien class elements who have wormed their way into the ranks of the cadres. It would also mean not distinguishing ourselves from the enemy and would be very dangerous if the scope of attack were erroneously expanded and the spearhead of struggle were directed against broad mass of cadres.

In the course of the strong counter-offensive launched against the handful of persons in the Party who are in authority and taking the capitalist road during the past half year and more, a misconception has emerged among some people that all those in authority are no good and unreliable and should therefore, without exception, all be overthrown. This viewpoint is completely wrong. It is contrary to Marxism-Leninism, Mao Tse-tung's thought, and is not justified by the facts.

Marxism-Leninism, Mao Tse-tung's thought, teaches us that we must make a class analysis of everything in society. As a matter of course, we must also make a class analysis of the people in authority. A clear distinction must be drawn between the persons in authority belonging to the proletariat and the persons in authority taking the capitalist road. All revolutionary people must resolutely overthrow the handful of persons in authority taking the capitalist road, but firmly support the persons in authority who belong to the

proletariat. To refuse to make a class analysis of the persons in authority, and instead to suspect, negate, exclude and overthrow them all indiscriminately is an anarchist trend of thought.

In the 17 years since the founding of the People's Republic of China, the proletarian revolutionary line represented by Chairman Mao has been in the dominant position and the majority of the cadres and members of the Chinese Communist Party and the Chinese Communist Youth League have been carrying out this line. Iron-clad proof of this is provided by the great achievements made on various fronts in the past 17 years. The view of indiscriminately overthrowing all cadres negates the basic facts of the past 17 years and denies the great achievements made in those years.

The handful of persons in the Party who are in authority and taking the capitalist road and landlords, rich peasants, counter-revolutionaries, bad elements and Rightists clinging to their reactionary stand deliberately confuse the line of demarcation between the persons in authority belonging to the proletariat and the persons in authority taking the capitalist road, between revolutionaries and counter-revolutionaries. They incite the masses to switch the target of their struggle, direct the spearhead of the struggle against those cadres who are good or comparatively good, against Party and Youth League members in these two categories, in a vain attempt to reach their goal of opposing socialism, restoring capitalism, opposing the dictatorship of the proletariat and restoring the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie. All revolutionary comrades and all revolutionary mass organizations must maintain high vigilance and never allow themselves to be misled.

Integration of Revolutionary Cadres and Revolutionary Masses

Experience proves that a provisional organ of power of "three-in-one" combination must be established in those provinces and cities where power must be seized. This provisional "three-in-one" organ of power is formed by leading members of the revolutionary mass organizations that truly represent the broad masses, representatives of the P.L.A. units stationed in those areas and revolutionary leading cadres. In those industrial and mining enterprises where power must be seized, provisional organs of power of the "three-in-one" combination must also be established, integrating revolutionary cadres (leading cadres, ordinary cadres and technical personnel), workers' representatives (veteran workers and young workers) and representatives of the militia. In those Party and government organs where power must be seized, the principle of a combination of revolutionary leading cadres, revolutionary middle-ranking cadres and revolutionary masses must be carried out. In this way, a representative and authoritative leading body can be formed to lead the vast revolutionary masses in successfully accomplishing the fighting task of seizing power from the handful of persons in the Party who are in authority and are taking the capitalist road.

In establishing a provisional organ of power of "three-in-one" combination, it is, at present, imperative to lay stress on solving the problem of the correct treatment of revolutionary cadres.

Those leading cadres who follow the proletarian revolutionary line represented by Chairman Mao are treasure of the Party and the people. They may and can become the leading force in the struggle to seize power from the handful of persons in the Party who are in authority and are taking the capitalist road. These leading cadres should keep in close contact with the masses, pool the wisdom of the broad masses, and stand in the van of the mass movement. The revolutionary masses and the revolutionary mass organizations should support them.

Chairman Mao has said: **"The Chinese Communist Party is a Party leading a great revolutionary struggle in a nation several hundred million strong, and it cannot fulfil its historic task without a large number of leading cadres who combine ability with political integrity."** This is a great truth which has been proved by the historical experience of the Chinese revolution. Today, we must also have a large number of leading cadres, who combine ability with political integrity, to act as the core of the leadership in the great alliance of proletarian revolutionaries so that we can fulfil the new fighting tasks facing us.

The revolutionary leading cadres are more mature politically. They have greater organizational skill. They are more experienced in struggle. They have the ability to exercise power and administer work for the state of the proletariat. Experience proves that with these revolutionary leading cadres in the core of leadership and integrated with the broad revolutionary masses, it will be possible to carry out the struggle to seize power more smoothly, put their power into effect more quickly, grasp both revolution and production effectively, and act in accordance with the Party's policy. On the contrary, if the revolutionary leading cadres are excluded, no powerful core of leadership can be formed, the revolutionary masses and revolutionary mass organizations cannot be joined together into well organized and disciplined revolutionary battalions, with centralized leadership and unified command. Instead, there will be "no leader in a host of dragons" and each and every one of them will go his own way. The handful of persons in the Party who are in authority and are taking the capitalist road will seize the opportunity to make trouble. Under these circumstances, the proletarian revolutionaries will not be able to seize power and exercise it.

The broad masses of cadres in the Party and government organizations are good and they want to make revolution. The proletarian revolutionaries among them are the main force in the seizure of power in their own departments. They know best whether the power in their own departments should be seized, who the persons in authority taking the capitalist road are and from whom the power should be seized. They are familiar with every kind of work and the conditions of

the great proletarian cultural revolution in their own departments and with the conditions of the cadres and the masses there. Therefore in those departments where the power must be seized, it is essential to rely on them and, at the same time, to unite with and help those cadres whose consciousness is still not high in order to win over the great majority. Only in this way is it possible to really seize power from the handful of persons who are in authority and are taking the capitalist road and to do the work well. The revolutionary masses and revolutionary mass organizations from other departments should trust them, support them and give them the necessary assistance instead of excluding them and doing everything for them which they themselves should do. In the struggle to seize power in the Party and government organizations, it is utterly wrong and impracticable that the revolutionary cadres of those departments are excluded and that mass organizations from other departments should take things over instead. It is also utterly wrong and impracticable for the revolutionary mass organizations in these departments to exclude all leading cadres indiscriminately.

In some localities, a few persons have proposed that "all persons who can be classified as 'leading' cadres should step aside." This view is devoid of class analysis. It counterposes the masses to all cadres. It does not direct its spearhead against the handful of persons in authority who are taking the capitalist road but against the great number of cadres. It therefore runs counter to the basic spirit of the 16-point decision of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party concerning the great proletarian cultural revolution, to the general orientation of the struggle and to Mao Tse-tung's thought. To do things in this way is objectively helping the class enemy. Those comrades who committed such mistakes unconsciously should immediately correct them. It would be very dangerous for them to persist obstinately in their own view. With regard to comrades who committed such mistakes, provided that they correct them, all revolutionary cadres should welcome them and absolutely should not retaliate against them.

In his famous essay *Some Questions Concerning Methods of Leadership*, Chairman Mao pointed out that "however active the leading group may be, its activity will amount to fruitless effort by a handful of people unless combined with the activity of the masses. On the other hand, if the masses alone are active without a strong leading group to organize their activity properly, such activity cannot be sustained for long, or carried forward in the right direction, or raised to a high level." This is a universal truth. This principle of integration of revolutionary cadres and revolutionary masses must also be applied during the current struggle to seize power by the proletarian revolutionaries.

The Policy of "Learning From Past Mistakes to Avoid Future Ones" and "Curing the Sickness To Save the Patient" Should Be Applied to Cadres Who Have Committed Errors

The policy of "learning from past mistakes to avoid future ones" and "curing the sickness to save the pa-

tient," set forth by Chairman Mao, should be applied to cadres who have committed errors. This is the only correct policy, and it is an important development by Chairman Mao of the Marxist-Leninist theory of Party building. Knocking down in one fell swoop all cadres who have made errors runs counter to Marxism-Leninism, Mao Tse-tung's thought.

In 1942, Chairman Mao pointed out in his brilliant work *Rectify the Party's Style of Work*:

In opposing subjectivism, sectarianism and stereotyped Party writing we must have in mind two purposes: first, "learn from past mistakes to avoid future ones", and second, "cure the sickness to save the patient". The mistakes of the past must be exposed without sparing anyone's sensibilities; it is necessary to analyse and criticize what was bad in the past with a scientific attitude so that work in the future will be done more carefully and done better. This is what is meant by "learn from past mistakes to avoid future ones". But our aim in exposing errors and criticizing shortcomings, like that of a doctor curing a sickness, is solely to save the patient and not to doctor him to death. A person with appendicitis is saved when the surgeon removes his appendix. So long as a person who has made mistakes does not hide his sickness for fear of treatment or persist in his mistakes until he is beyond cure, so long as he honestly and sincerely wishes to be cured and to mend his ways, we should welcome him and cure his sickness so that he can become a good comrade. We can never succeed if we just let ourselves go and lash out at him. In treating an ideological or a political malady, one must never be rough and rash but must adopt the approach of "curing the sickness to save the patient", which is the only correct and effective method.

Precisely because our Party implements the policy of "learning from past mistakes to avoid future ones" and "curing the sickness to save the patient," it has been able to engage in ideological struggles correctly and achieve the twofold objective of clarity in ideology and unity among comrades. Likewise, it has been able to carry out Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line and lead the entire people to defeat powerful enemies. This constitutes the most valuable historical experience of our Party. We must bear this experience firmly in mind in the decisive battle now being waged between the two classes, the proletariat and the bourgeoisie, and in the struggle of the proletarian revolutionaries to seize power from the handful of persons in the Party who are in authority and taking the capitalist road. We should unswervingly implement the policy of "learning from past mistakes to avoid future ones" and "curing the sickness to save the patient" in dealing with cadres who have erred. We should encourage them to "get rid of the baggage," to free their minds of all misgivings, and come forward to rebel against the handful of persons who are in authority

and taking the capitalist road. Only by doing so, shall we be able to unite with the majority, isolate the enemy of the proletariat and defeat the bourgeoisie and its agents in the Party. Otherwise, we ourselves shall be isolated and our proletarian revolution will be in danger of failing.

In dealing with cadres who have erred, we should view them in accordance with the principle of "one divides into two," taking into account both their errors and their merits, both their behaviour during the great proletarian cultural revolution and how they have consistently acted over a long period of time. We should judge them by the facts. Chairman Mao teaches us: **"We must not confine our judgement to a short period or a single incident in a cadre's life, but should consider his life and work as a whole. This is the principal method of judging cadres."** It is a metaphysical approach, an approach opposed to dialectics, to attack someone for a single fault without considering the whole, and to seize only on his mistakes, wilfully exaggerate them and carelessly brand him with unwarranted labels. All revolutionary comrades should avoid such errors and correct them when they occur.

The policy of "learning from past mistakes to avoid future ones" and "curing the sickness to save the patient" must also be applied in dealing with comrades who implemented the bourgeois reactionary line in the course of the great proletarian cultural revolution. In 1944, Chairman Mao pointed out in the article *Our Study and the Current Situation* which is of great historic significance:

In the history of our Party there were great struggles against the erroneous lines of Chen Tu-hsiu and of Li Li-san, and they were absolutely necessary. But there were defects in the methods employed. For one thing, the cadres were not brought to a full ideological understanding of the causes of these errors, the circumstances in which they were committed and the detailed ways and means of correcting them, so that errors of a similar nature came to be repeated; and for another, too much stress was placed on the responsibility of individuals, so that we failed to unite as many people as we could have done for our common endeavour. We should take warning from these two defects. This time, in dealing with questions of Party history we should lay the stress not on the responsibility of certain individual comrades but on the analysis of the circumstances in which the errors were committed, on the content of the errors and on their social, historical and ideological roots, and this should be done in the spirit of "learning from past mistakes to avoid future ones" and "curing the sickness to save the patient", in order to achieve the twofold objective of clarity in ideology and unity among comrades. The adoption of a careful attitude in handling cases of individual comrades, neither glossing things over nor doing harm to comrades, is a sign that our Party is vigorous and flourishing.

These teachings of Chairman Mao are still applicable today for our dealing with the question of cadres in the struggle between the two lines.

Generally speaking, the contradictions between cadres who have committed mistakes in line on the one hand, and the Party and people on the other are contradictions among the people. This kind of contradiction must be solved in accordance with the formula set forth by Chairman Mao of **"starting from the desire for unity, distinguishing between right and wrong through criticism or struggle and arriving at a new unity on a new basis."** These cadres must not be regarded as enemies; they must not be dealt with the way contradictions between ourselves and the enemy are handled.

Cadres who have committed mistakes should be given the opportunity to admit, criticize and correct them. So long as they make a self-criticism, correct their mistakes and come over to the side of Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line, they can still be given appropriate leading posts. Many of them can even be drawn into the provisional organs of power in the joint seizure of power by the proletarian revolutionaries.

Even cadres who have committed very serious mistakes should be handled leniently after they are criticized and struggled against. According to Chairman Mao's instruction, **they should be allowed to correct their errors and be encouraged to make amends for their crimes by good deeds, unless they are anti-Party, anti-socialist elements who persist in their errors and refuse to correct them after repeated education.**

The policy of "learning from past mistakes to avoid future ones" and "curing the sickness to save the patient" is applicable to cadres at all levels and Communist Party and Communist Youth League members who commit errors. It is also applicable to young fighters. We must note that the young revolutionary fighters have made immortal contributions in the great proletarian cultural revolution. To negate this would be to negate the great proletarian cultural revolution. It is not surprising that some young revolutionary fighters have committed certain mistakes and even serious mistakes. Revolutionary cadres should, warm-heartedly and patiently, educate and help them, guide them in correcting their mistakes and carrying forward their good points, cherish their enthusiasm, enable them to mature more rapidly and healthily, and not simply blame them. It is absolutely impermissible for anybody to use our Party's stress on following the policy of "learning from past mistakes to avoid future ones" and "curing the sickness to save the patient" with regard to cadres who commit mistakes as a pretext to seize hold of the mistakes and shortcomings of young revolutionary fighters and attack them. Here we must be vigilant against the counter-attacks and class retaliation undertaken by the handful of persons in the Party who are in authority and taking the capitalist road and who avail themselves of this opportunity. We must protect the young revolu-

tionary fighters, otherwise we will commit monstrous mistakes.

We must persistently follow the Party's long-standing policy of "learning from past mistakes to avoid future ones" and "curing the sickness to save the patient," so that by the end of the movement we shall achieve the unity of more than 95 per cent of the cadres and more than 95 per cent of the masses and remain invincible.

Thoroughly Remould One's World Outlook in The Furnace of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution

The great proletarian cultural revolution is a rigorous test for cadres at all levels. In the current sharp struggle between the two classes and the two lines, cadres at all levels must use Mao Tse-tung's thought as a weapon to remould their world outlook consciously, seriously and constantly. The socialist revolution has now entered a new stage. If they fail to eliminate the bourgeois world outlook in their minds, it will be absolutely impossible for them to stand firmly on the side of socialism and the proletarian revolutionary line represented by Chairman Mao, and they will lose their bearings and go astray.

At present, the most essential difference between the proletarian world outlook and the bourgeois world outlook finds concentrated expression in the attitude towards the great proletarian cultural revolution and the mass movement in this revolution.

If one observes things from the bourgeois world outlook, one will take a totally negative attitude towards the great proletarian cultural revolution. Some comrades fail to see clearly the need, importance and urgency of carrying out this revolution and its profound and far-reaching significance. They fail to see clearly the essence and main current of the mass movement. They see only certain shortcomings and errors of the up-and-coming young revolutionary fighters and the revolutionary masses, while failing to see that their general revolutionary orientation is correct. This kind of mistake must be corrected.

In our cadres' ranks there is a group of persons whose world outlook remains basically a bourgeois one. An inescapable fundamental question confronts these cadres, that is, they have to pass the test of socialism.

Comrades who have made contributions to the people in the past must not rest on their past achievements, must not live off their past glory, but must take a correct attitude, take part in the great proletarian cultural revolution and temper themselves and remould their world outlook in the torrent of the mass movement. Only by doing so can they pass the test of socialism well and make new contributions to the people.

Cadres who have made mistakes must not refuse to remould their world outlook, refuse to accept criticism by the masses or even turn around to attack the revolutionary masses just because the Party has adopted

the policy of "learning from past mistakes to avoid future ones" and "curing the sickness to save the patient" towards them. If that is so, the nature of their contradiction with the Party and the masses will gradually change. It will develop from a non-antagonistic contradiction to an antagonistic contradiction and they themselves will become people who are "beyond cure."

Cadres who have made mistakes should raise their vigilance and make a clean break with the handful of persons within the Party who are in authority and taking the capitalist road, make a clean break with the bourgeois reactionary line and stand firmly on the side of the proletarian revolutionary line represented by Chairman Mao, stand on the side of the revolutionary masses and firmly support the great proletarian cultural revolution.

Veteran cadres should recognize the strong points of the young revolutionary fighters and should not make light of the latter. We believe the young generation nurtured by Mao Tse-tung's thought, will grow up. This is the great hope of our great socialist motherland. Of course, the young revolutionary fighters have their shortcomings and mistakes. They lack experience in struggle, are not yet mature politically and at crucial turning points in the course of the revolution, they frequently cannot see the direction clearly. In the final analysis, the tendencies of departmentalism, "small group" mentality, ultra-democracy, individualism, and anarchism, which have appeared among some young people, all come from a bourgeois world outlook. The young revolutionary fighters, too, must seriously remould their world outlook. This is a painful process of protracted ideological struggle. They must persevere in creatively studying and applying the works of Chairman Mao and remould themselves. Only by doing so will they gradually mature and be able to temper themselves into successors to the revolutionary cause of the proletariat and not be cast aside by the development of history.

At the key moment in the decisive battle between the two classes, these young people are the very people who have raised the question of getting rid of "self-interest" and the question of seizing power from the "self-interest" in their own minds as they seize power from the handful of persons within the Party who are in authority and taking the capitalist road. This points out a universal question of primary importance which is applicable to young people as well as to veteran cadres.

All revolutionary cadres, all cadres who have made mistakes and want to correct them and to make revolution, all young revolutionary fighters, Party and Communist Youth League members, revolutionary masses: let us unite under the great red banner of Mao Tse-tung's thought to form a great alliance of the proletarian revolutionaries and fight for the fulfilment of the great historical task of seizing power from the handful of persons within the Party who are in authority and taking the capitalist road!

("Hongqi" editorial, No. 4, 1967.)

Shanghai Municipal Revolutionary Committee Holds Grand Meeting

THE Shanghai Municipal Revolutionary Committee, the city's highest provisional organ of power, held a rally on February 24.

Chang Chun-chiao and Yao Wen-yuan, leading members of the committee, were at the rally.

Chang Chun-chiao spoke of his meeting with Chairman Mao to whom he reported on work, conveyed important instructions from Chairman Mao and the Party's Central Committee, and put forward the main tasks of the great proletarian cultural revolution in Shanghai.

He told Shanghai's proletarian revolutionaries and the revolutionary masses that **Chairman Mao, the most respected and beloved great leader of the Chinese people, was in excellent health. Again and again, the entire audience cheered: "Long live Chairman Mao! A long, long life to him!"**

With great emotion, people said that they drew immense encouragement and infinite strength from the recent important instructions of Chairman Mao. They pledged resolutely **to follow the teachings of the great leader Chairman Mao, carry out his latest instructions to the last word, further the struggle to seize power by the "three-in-one" combination, exercise power properly and carry the great proletarian cultural revolution through to the end.**

Before the rally, the Shanghai Municipal Revolutionary Committee called an enlarged committee meeting which reviewed the development of Shanghai's great proletarian cultural revolution movement since the "January Revolution"* in the light of Chairman Mao's instructions. It unanimously adopted a Draft Resolution on the Present Situation and Tasks of Shanghai's Great Cultural Revolution.

The Draft Resolution was read out at the rally for discussion and trial implementation by the revolutionary

* 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 began last January in the leading industrial centre Shanghai, east China. The city's revolutionary masses called it the great "January Revolution." It is a revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat. Our great leader Chairman Mao immediately expressed resolute support for it. The storm of the "January Revolution" is now sweeping the whole country.

organizations and revolutionary masses. The prolonged applause that greeted it was an expression of general approval.

The Draft Resolution said that under the guidance and encouragement of the proletarian revolutionary line represented by Chairman Mao, the proletarian revolutionaries in Shanghai had held aloft the great red banner of Mao Tse-tung's thought, forged a great alliance, concentrated their efforts on dragging out the handful of persons in the Party who were in authority and taking the capitalist road, bravely fought back to ward off the evil winds of counter-revolutionary economism, thoroughly smashed the new counter-attack by the bourgeois reactionary line, wrested all power from the handful of persons who were in authority and taking the capitalist road in the former Shanghai Municipal Party Committee and Municipal People's Council, and established the highest provisional organ of power in Shanghai. This was a great victory for the thought of Mao Tse-tung.

Following the establishment of the provisional organ of power, the great proletarian cultural revolution in Shanghai moved to a new high tide. It also gave great impetus to the carrying out of the policy of **"taking firm hold of the revolution and promoting production."** The situation was excellent.

The Draft Resolution added that the formation of the Shanghai municipal highest provisional organ of power in no way meant the end of the struggle.

The central strategic task confronting the proletarian revolutionaries was to resolutely implement the instructions of Chairman Mao and the Party's Central Committee, continue to arouse the masses boldly, have faith in them, rely on them, respect their initiative, unswervingly form the great alliance of proletarian revolutionaries, build the "three-in-one" combination, seize the Party, administrative, financial and cultural power that had been usurped by the handful of persons in the Party who were in authority and taking the capitalist road in the units and departments where power must be wrested, and exercise the power to good effect, take firm hold of the revolution and promote production, ceaselessly raise the proletarian consciousness of the masses, improve the revolutionary qualities, scientific approach and sense of organization and discipline of the proletarian revolutionaries, and turn Shanghai into a great school where Mao Tse-tung's thought was creatively studied and applied.

The Draft Resolution noted that the months of February, March and April were the crucial period for the fulfilment of these tasks. Therefore, the Shanghai Municipal Revolutionary Committee put forth the following tasks to be carried out by various revolutionary organizations and revolutionary people in the city:

In describing the first task, the Draft Resolution said: The great proletarian cultural revolution is a revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat. The revolutionary organizations of each unit, district or suburban county of the city should hold joint meetings to analyse concretely which class is holding power in their respective units, and then decide whether to seize power or not, how to seize it and how to use it after it has been seized. They should sum up their experience and decide what their tasks are.

In units where the seizing power by the "three-in-one" combination has been carried out or where power was originally in the hands of the proletarian revolutionaries, they should control and use it well. They should continue to boldly mobilize the masses, rely upon the proletarian revolutionary Left, unite with and win over the middle forces and complete the tasks of struggling (against and crushing those persons in the Party who are in authority and taking the capitalist road), criticizing and repudiating (the reactionary bourgeois academic "authorities" and the ideology of the bourgeoisie and all other exploiting classes) and transforming (education, literature and art and all other parts of the superstructure that do not correspond to the socialist economic base). They must strive to carry the revolution through to the end thoroughly.

After the seizure of power at city, district or suburban county level, proletarian revolutionaries of the various departments in the Party and government organizations, factories and enterprises should decide upon a certain form of the "three-in-one" combination to fit their own circumstances and establish a revolutionary committee or some other form of provisional organ of power.

The armed core of the militia, the People's Liberation Army and other people's forces are the strong pillars of the provisional organ of power at each level. They firmly back the revolutionary Left. No mass organization or individual can order the armed militia around himself.

With regard to cadres, we should carry out class analysis and persist in the policy of differentiating between cadres. The various revolutionary organizations must organize the revolutionary masses and the cadres at various levels to make a conscientious study of Chairman Mao's policy on cadres and other related documents.

Discussing the second task, the Draft Resolution said: To respond firmly to Chairman Mao's great call "to take firm hold of the revolution and promote production"; to firmly carry out Chairman Mao's policy of "preparedness against war, preparedness against natural

calamities and everything for the people"; and to carry through to the end the struggle against counter-revolutionary economism and fight for the fulfilment and overfulfilment of the industrial and agricultural production plan for 1967.

The Draft Resolution points out that proletarian revolutionaries must at all times be models in "taking firm hold of the revolution and promoting production." They must give first place to revolution and put it in command of production and other work. It should be in command of everything.

The Draft Resolution also calls on the revolutionary masses in the rural people's communes, factories and enterprises, and the departments of culture, education and health to pay attention to certain questions in production and to strive to win victories on every front.

The Draft Resolution pointed out that every mass organization and individual should strictly observe the state plan and the state regulations. No one is allowed to make free use of state property.

The third task set forth in the Draft Resolution is: To exert great efforts to strengthen the dictatorship of the proletariat, firmly support the struggle of proletarian revolutionaries to seize power, resolutely suppress the counter-revolutionaries, completely defeat the counter-attacks of the class enemy, and protect the socialist economy and the great proletarian cultural revolution;

All true proletarian revolutionaries on the public security, procuratorate and judicial fronts should form an alliance, co-ordinate closely with units of the Chinese People's Liberation Army stationed in Shanghai and combine with the revolutionary rebels and the broad revolutionary masses. They should exert great efforts to strengthen public security work, fully exert the role of the dictatorship of the proletariat, and resolutely suppress the counter-revolutionaries.

The fourth task set down in the Draft Resolution is that all organizations of proletarian revolutionaries and Red Guards should hold high the great red banner of Mao Tse-tung's thought, creatively study and apply Chairman Mao's works, readjust their organizations, and rectify their ideology and working style so that they can build the forces of the proletarian revolutionaries into a highly militant, revolutionized, great red contingent of the proletariat;

The Draft Resolution recommends that all revolutionary organizations openly carry out rectification campaigns. Chairman Mao teaches us: "We have the Marxist-Leninist weapon of criticism and self-criticism. We can get rid of a bad style and keep the good." The leaders of all revolutionary rebel organizations should take the lead in conscientiously carrying out criticism and self-criticism, in listening modestly to opinions of the masses and striving to become models in the creative study and application of Chairman Mao's works. In the rectification campaign, there should be a strict

differentiation between contradictions of two different natures. They must be handled according to Chairman Mao's principle on the correct handling of contradictions among the people, and never apply treatment of the enemy to the revolutionary masses.

The revolutionary rebels all over the city must enter into a great alliance on the basis of Mao Tse-tung's thought. They must firmly oppose anarchism, ultrademocracy, sectarianism, the guild mentality and "small group" mentality. On the prerequisite of unanimity on the general orientation of the struggle, the revolutionary organizations should seek common ground among themselves while reserving differences. They should not carry on endless quarrels over minor questions;

The proletarian revolutionaries should firmly carry out the great call issued by Chairman Mao to "practise economy in carrying out revolution," guard against attacks by the bourgeoisie's sugar-coated bullets, and prevent erosion of the revolutionary ranks by the class enemy. They should resolutely oppose extravagance and waste, ostentation and squandering of the wealth of the state.

In conclusion, the Draft Resolution pointed out that **the most fundamental thing in building up the forces of the proletarian revolutionaries is holding high the great red banner of Mao Tse-tung's thought and creative study and application of Chairman Mao's works.** The

(Continued on p. 17.)

Where Will Our Lu Hsun Corps Go?

— A Big-Character Poster Written by the Dongfanghong Fighting Group of the Lu Hsun Corps of the Revolutionary Rebel Headquarters of the Shanghai Sports Front

On February 26, "Renmin Ribao" reprinted a big-character poster — "Where Will Our Lu Hsun Corps Go?" — written by the Dongfanghong (East Is Red) Fighting Group of the Lu Hsun Corps of the Revolutionary Rebel Headquarters of the Shanghai Sports Front. In the same issue, it reprinted an article by Commentator published in Shanghai's "Tiyu Zhanbao" (Physical Culture Fighting Bulletin), entitled "Hail the Big-Character Poster by the Young Dongfanghong Fighters." These two articles raise some very important problems that emerge after proletarian revolutionaries have scored initial success in the struggle to seize power from the handful of persons in the Party who were in authority and taking the capitalist road. These problems are of general significance; they concern the continued development of the revolutionary cause and urgently await solution. These two articles are also good examples of the creative study and application of Chairman Mao's works. "Hongqi" published a short commentary on them, entitled "Recommending Two Excellent Articles." Following are excerpts from the big-character poster. — Ed.

THE unprecedented great proletarian cultural revolution, initiated and led by our great leader Chairman Mao himself, is developing in breadth and depth. Following Chairman Mao's great teachings, the proletarian revolutionaries are now forging a great alliance to wage the struggle to seize power from the handful of persons in the Party who are in authority and taking the capitalist road, to take firmly into their own hands the destiny of the great proletarian cultural revolution, of the dictatorship of the proletariat and of the socialist economy. The great proletarian cultural revolution has entered a new stage, and the revolutionary situation is getting better and better!

In eight months of tempestuous struggles, we have scored one great victory after another. But history now places still higher demands upon us, proletarian revolutionaries, and confronts us with new problems.

Chairman Mao teaches us: "With victory, certain moods may grow within the Party — arrogance, the airs of a self-styled hero, inertia and unwillingness to make progress, love of pleasure and distaste for continued hard living. With victory, the people will be grateful to us and the bourgeoisie will come forward to flatter us. It has been proved that the enemy cannot conquer us by force of arms. However, the flattery of the bourgeoisie may conquer the weak-willed in our ranks. There may be some Communists, who were not conquered by enemies with guns and were worthy of the name of heroes for standing up to these enemies, but who cannot withstand sugar-coated bullets; they will be defeated by sugar-coated bullets. We must guard against such a situation." A review of the ranks of our Lu Hsun Corps shows that in the recent period, there have indeed arisen some new problems, there have indeed developed certain erroneous trends of thought.

Oppose the Purely Military Viewpoint and Put Ideological Revolution to the Fore

The purely military viewpoint is rather strong among some comrades (including certain leading comrades) of the Lu Hsun Corps. The main manifestation of this purely military viewpoint is to concentrate attention and energy solely on "overthrowing so and so" and "dismissing so and so from office." It mistakenly holds that the ultimate purpose of this great proletarian cultural revolution is merely to drag out a number of counter-revolutionary revisionists. As a result, some

comrades in our Lu Hsun Corps have neglected ideological revolution, neglected political and ideological education among the cadres and the masses, and have slackened their efforts in their own political study and ideological remoulding.

Chairman Mao teaches us: "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." Those comrades who are obsessed by the purely "military viewpoint," in fact, have not yet fully understood the great and far-reaching significance of the great proletarian cultural revolution that is sweeping the country and shaking the whole world. The great proletarian cultural revolution is a great revolution which touches the very souls of the people; it is by no means a "revolution to dismiss people from office." China's great proletarian cultural revolution is the greatest revolution in the 60s of the 20th century; it is the most extensive, most profound revolutionary mass movement in history and is also the largest in scale; it is an extremely sharp and complicated class struggle; it is a great revolution which aims at remoulding the very souls of the people and promoting the revolutionization of man's thinking. The fundamental task of this great revolutionary movement is to oppose revisionism, prevent the rise of revisionism, thoroughly uproot revisionism, thoroughly smash the social basis for counter-revolutionary revisionism, liquidate its ideological influence, establish the supremacy of Mao Tse-tung's thought, and see to it that Mao Tse-tung's thought takes deep root among the people. At the same time, it is also tempering and training a large number of staunch successors to the proletarian revolutionary cause who are armed with Mao Tse-tung's thought. But the purely "military viewpoint" and simply "dismissing people from office" would make this great proletarian cultural revolution a mere formality resulting in the revisionists being dismissed from office organizationally, but not ideologically. The soil for the rise of revisionism would remain. The overthrow of one counter-revolutionary revisionist would be followed by the rise of another and we ourselves might even follow the bourgeois reactionary line. If things go in this way, capitalism might make a comeback and the state of the proletariat would still be in danger of changing colour. **Chairman Mao teaches us: "It will take a fairly long period of time to decide the issue in the ideological struggle between socialism and capitalism in our country. . . . If this is not sufficiently understood, or is not understood at all, the gravest mistakes will be made and the necessity of waging the struggle in the ideological field will be ignored."** Because the leadership in the sports department of our institute followed the capitalist road during the past decade and more and systematically carried out the revisionist line, our comrades who have lived in this revisionist "cozy nest" have been unconsciously influ-

enced to a greater or lesser degree by revisionism and our heads are filled to a greater or lesser extent with all kinds of bourgeois ideas. A change is needed in the world outlook of the broad masses and of ourselves. Today, when Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line is heading towards complete and all-round victory, we must study Chairman Mao's works all the more, let our souls be touched without fear, destroy "self-interest," foster devotion to the public interest and remould our ideology. 1967 is a year of the all-round development of class struggle throughout the country. We must all the more bear in mind Chairman Mao's teachings, never forget the class struggle, never forget to give prominence to politics and change the subjective world while changing the objective world. We will temper ourselves in the stormy waves of class struggle, and be staunch successors to the proletarian revolutionary cause.

Oppose Putting Collected Material in First Place, Fight a "People's War"

Chairman Mao teaches us: "The people, and the people alone, are the motive force in the making of world history."

Chairman Mao also says: "The revolutionary war is a war of the masses; it can be waged only by mobilizing the masses and relying on them."

The great proletarian cultural revolution of our country is the most extensive, deepest and largest-scale revolutionary mass movement in history and a new stage of our country's socialist revolution. It will be victorious only if we rely on Mao Tse-tung's thought and rely on hundreds of millions of people who go into action consciously to fight a "people's war." Only in this way can all the revisionist ideas and various manifestations of the bourgeois reactionary line be fully and deeply exposed, the handful of persons in the Party who are in authority and taking the capitalist road be pulled out, and the great proletarian cultural revolution carried out thoroughly.

A review of our Lu Hsun Corps shows that in the minds of some comrades there is the wrong trend of being interested only in collecting material on certain people. We rely on Mao Tse-tung's thought and the wisdom and strength of the masses to achieve success in this movement. Those who believe that such material decides everything stress the importance of this collected material alone. Some comrades concentrate their energy on getting such material. Once they get hold of some of this type of material, they regard themselves as "heroes" and "well informed." The masses are thus naturally relegated to the role of tailing behind, listening to reports, shouting slogans and cheering on the side. This being the case the masses cannot but take orders from those "in possession of collected material" and the leading nucleus is actually deprived of its powers.

The absurd theory and way of doing things of these comrades completely violate Chairman Mao's theory

on people's war and emasculate the essence of the 16-Point Decision—trust the masses, rely on them and boldly arouse them and let them educate, liberate and temper themselves in the struggle, distinguish between right and wrong and improve their abilities. They are actually doing everything for the masses which the masses themselves should do.

Smash Counter-Revolutionary Economism Completely, Practise Economy in Carrying Out Revolution

Chairman Mao says: "Corruption and waste are very great crimes."

Chairman Mao also teaches us: "Wherever we happen to be, we must treasure our manpower and material resources, and must not take a short view and indulge in wastefulness and extravagance."

An evil wind of counter-revolutionary economism has also risen within the ranks of our revolutionaries. Some comrades have been overcome by the sugar-coated bullets of the enemy and have begun to rest content with past achievements and go in for soft living. A genuine revolutionary fighter should in no circumstance waste state property. Extravagance, vainglory and pursuit of the bourgeois way of doing things are completely incompatible with the great proletarian cultural revolution. Further development along this line will make one fall into the trap of the bourgeoisie. Wantonly wasting state property means committing a crime against the people.

Some of our comrades have changed a bit compared with what they used to be. They chase after motor cycles, telephones and bicycles and they are careless with paper belonging to the state, saying that a little waste does not matter. They yearn after a high standard of living and material benefits. Many facts prove that this wrong trend exists in the Lu Hsun Corps. If this trend is allowed to develop, our revolutionary spirit is bound to be weakened until it completely vanishes and we step on to the evil road of revisionist economism.

Revolutionary comrades! We must follow Chairman Mao's teachings and insist on the "practice of economy in carrying out revolution." Only thus can we be politically invincible, win the support of the masses and always maintain and develop the revolutionary spirit of the proletariat.

Oppose Closed-Doorism, Unite With the Great Majority

Chairman Mao teaches us: "Who are our enemies? Who are our friends? This is a question of the first importance for the revolution."

Chairman Mao also tells us that genuine successors to the revolutionary cause of the proletariat "must be proletarian statesmen capable of uniting and working together with the overwhelming majority. Not only must they unite with those who agree with them, they must also be good at uniting with those who disagree and even with those who formerly opposed them and have since been proved wrong in practice. But they

must especially watch out for careerists and conspirators like Khrushchov and prevent such bad elements from usurping the leadership of the Party and the state at any level."

The proletarian revolutionaries, in the days when they were being suppressed, launched a vigorous counter-offensive against the bourgeois reactionary line and in defence of the proletarian revolutionary line represented by Chairman Mao. They encountered all kinds of resistance and pressure from the handful of persons in the Party who were in authority and taking the capitalist road and from the old force of habit in society; they had to fight an arduous struggle under conditions of a White terror. They were temporarily in the position of being the glorious minority.

At the present time, the situation has changed swiftly. Guided by the brilliant light of Mao Tse-tung's thought, the proletarian revolutionary line represented by Chairman Mao has been victorious. The proletarian revolutionaries have stood up. Some "royalist" organizations have collapsed. The masses who have been deceived have gradually seen the true features of the handful of persons in the Party who were in authority and taking the capitalist road. They are all rising to rebel. At this moment, how should we treat them?

Some of our comrades have become conceited and regard themselves as veteran revolutionaries, thinking that they have made some achievements in rebellion; therefore they look down upon others and adopt a closed-doorist attitude towards those people who made mistakes yet have the determination to correct them and want to take part in the struggle. On the pretext of "unity through struggle," some comrades turn the spearhead against the masses who were deceived, while paying no attention to the persons who were mainly responsible for carrying out the erroneous line. This tendency is extremely dangerous. We must overcome them in our Lu Hsun Corps.

We must realize that the majority of the deceived comrades want to make revolution. We must warmly help them so as to enable them to understand that their former standpoint was wrong and that they took the wrong direction. They must be helped to find the root causes of such mistakes. We must actively explain Mao Tse-tung's thought and the proletarian revolutionary line represented by him to such deceived comrades. We must help them to gain a profound understanding of the tremendous significance of this great revolution that touches people to their very souls and to see the essence of the bourgeois reactionary line. We must unite with them and fight together in the struggle. Chairman Mao teaches us: "The tactics required for this purpose are to develop the progressive forces, win over the middle forces and combat the diehard forces; these are three inseparable links." We must firmly follow the teachings of Chairman Mao, develop and expand the ranks of the revolutionary Left, win over the middle group and unite with the great majority. We must concentrate our forces on attacking and isolating the handful of persons in the Party who are in authority and taking the capitalist

road. Unity with the great majority is for the revolution. To make revolution it is necessary to unite with the great majority. This is one of the important strategic concepts of Chairman Mao. This is an important question which calls for attention in the great proletarian cultural revolution.

Rectify Mistaken Ideas, Eradicate "Self-Interest"

There are mistaken trends and ideas within our Lu Hsun Corps. How have these emerged? What is their nature? Some say: "These are minor internal problems." Others say: "These are questions of working methods and tactics." Still others say: "These are questions of the art of struggle." We do not agree with these views. **Chairman Mao teaches us: "Opposition and struggle between ideas of different kinds constantly occur within the Party; this is a reflection within the Party of contradictions between classes and between the new and the old in society."** Chairman Mao also says: "In class society everyone lives as a member of a particular class, and every kind of thinking, without exception, is stamped with the brand of a class." From the various mistaken trends and ideas within the Lu Hsun Corps, we see that in the final analysis they are struggles between two lines and between two different world outlooks.

It is not surprising that in the mass movement, especially in this unprecedented great proletarian cultural revolution which touches people's souls, there are struggles within the Lu Hsun Corps between two lines and between two different world outlooks. **Chairman Mao has said: "Inevitably, the bourgeoisie and petty bourgeoisie will give expression to their own ideologies. Inevitably, they will stubbornly express themselves on political and ideological questions by every possible means. You cannot expect them to do otherwise."** The requirements of the struggle brought members of the Lu Hsun Corps close together last October when the corps was suppressed, encircled and attacked. The struggle between two different kinds of ideas and two different world outlooks within the corps did not manifest itself in the face of this principal contradiction. Now, as the ranks have been expanded and victories have been won, closed-doorism, liberalism, the mountain-stronghold mentality, sectarianism, ultra-democracy and the tendency to seek the limelight, all of which existed below the surface in the corps, are gradually coming to light. These all run counter to Mao Tse-tung's thought and are as incompatible with the proletarian revolutionary line represented by Chairman Mao as fire and water. In the final analysis, it is bourgeois "self-interest" that is at the root of all these evils.

Chairman Mao teaches us: "In order to be able to shoulder this task more competently and work better together with all non-Party people who are actuated by high ideals and determined to institute reforms, we must conduct rectification movements both now and in the future, and constantly rid ourselves of whatever is wrong." The great proletarian cultural revolution is aimed not only to use Mao Tse-tung's thought

to criticize and smash the old world, but, at the same time, to train and organize a mighty, highly proletarian and militant army of cultural revolution armed with Mao Tse-tung's thought. Without this army, the great proletarian cultural revolution will not attain final victory. The historical task of uniting the masses to seize power from the handful of persons within the Party who are in authority and taking the capitalist road, and wrest final victory in the great cultural revolution, has now been gloriously placed on our shoulders, the shoulders of the proletarian revolutionaries. We of the Lu Hsun Corps must put things in order both ideologically and organizationally. Without building up a highly proletarian and militant force of the revolutionary Left, which is imbued with a thoroughgoing, proletarian revolutionary spirit, this glorious historical task cannot be fulfilled.

Chairman Mao teaches us: "Though the majority in our Party and in our ranks are clean and honest, we must in all seriousness put things in order both ideologically and organizationally if we are to develop the revolutionary movement more effectively and bring it to speedier success. To put things in order organizationally requires our first doing so ideologically, our launching a struggle of proletarian ideology against non-proletarian ideology." Just now, the Lu Hsun Corps badly needs to put things in order, badly needs an "open-door rectification." That is to say, through the study of Chairman Mao's works (mainly the "three constantly read articles" and *On Correcting Mistaken Ideas in the Party, Combat Liberalism and On the Reissue of the Three Main Rules of Discipline and the Eight Points for Attention — Instruction of the General Headquarters of the Chinese People's Liberation Army*), everyone and every fighting group of the corps should actively practise criticism and self-criticism, modestly listen to the opinions of the masses, and promptly correct shortcomings and mistakes.

We think that since we need an "open-door rectification," we should keep the door wide open, and not hide anything, not be afraid of washing our dirty linen in public. **Chairman Mao has said: "Thoroughgoing materialists are fearless." "The Communist Party does not fear criticism because we are Marxists, the truth is on our side, and the basic masses, the workers and peasants, are on our side."** If the Lu Hsun Corps is revolutionary, then no rectification will pull us down; otherwise, we are deserving of being pulled down. This is our attitude. At the present moment, some suggest that we should stop the battle for a while and take up rectification; some suggest that rectification should not begin until we have finished the battle. We say, we want rectification side by side with battle. The experience of our Party in the rectification campaigns in 1942 and 1957 has proved that not only is it possible to carry through rectification alongside the struggle, but the results are good. This is entirely applicable to our corps now. In this way, our Lu Hsun Corps will surely become stronger and our ranks will surely thrive.

Hail the Big-Character Poster by the Young Dongfanghong Fighters

by the Shanghai *Tiyu Zhanbao* Commentator

BRIMMING with proletarian revolutionary spirit, this big-character poster is a well-written article resulting from the creative study and application of Chairman Mao's works in the practice of struggle.

It is a well-written big-character poster because these young path-breakers, far from being conceited in the face of successive victories, have set themselves to examine and penetrate into existing problems in their own ranks and make revolution against themselves.

The Dongfanghong Fighting Group is composed of athletes and sportsmen in their sixteens and seventeens. Together with other fighters of the Lu Hsun Corps, these young fighters have followed Chairman Mao's teachings, defied the threats of those in authority taking the capitalist road, and, holding high the big banner "to rebel is justified," they have risen in revolt and performed distinguished service for the cultural revolution in Shanghai's sports world. These revolutionary young fighters are not in the least content with the brilliant achievements and fruitful results of their struggle; they promptly put forward the slogan "Let's start everything afresh for what has been achieved in the past is past." Using Mao Tse-tung's thought as a microscope, they began a penetrating examination and criticism of all kinds of non-proletarian thoughts in their own ranks and made revolution against themselves. This is a fine thoroughgoing revolutionary spirit!

Comrade Lin Piao has said: "We must regard ourselves as a part of the revolutionary force and, at the same time, constantly regard ourselves as a target of the revolution. In making revolution, we must likewise make revolution against ourselves. Failure to make revolution against ourselves means that this revolution cannot succeed." In the course of the cultural revolution, we must make revolution against the handful of persons in the Party who are in authority and taking the capitalist road, we must seize power from them and totally refute, discredit and overthrow them; but at the same time, we must make revolution against the bourgeois ideas in our own minds. The young fighters of the Dongfanghong Fighting Group have begun to do so and the broad masses of us proletarian revolutionary comrades-in-arms should also act in the same way. At present, there are still some comrades among us who do not sufficiently realize the significance of this question. They are not interested in making revolution against themselves, they have no strong desire for this, and there are even people who call themselves veteran revolutionaries, who consider themselves as firm, revolutionary Leftists and who neither intend to make revolu-

tion against themselves nor listen to any degree of criticism. This is not in accord with Mao Tse-tung's thought and to go on like this is very dangerous.

It is a well-written big-character poster also because the young fighters have not only made a timely examination of the problems in their own ranks in the face of the victories won, but are also bold enough to keep the door open, to make a sharp, pungent analysis of the problems and write them down on a big-character poster and have it posted for the public to read so as to subject themselves to the supervision and criticism of the broad masses.

This is also a fine point. **Our great leader Chairman Mao teaches us: "Communists must listen attentively to the views of people outside the Party."** If one is ready to make sharp and penetrating self-criticism when a problem crops up and dares to disclose it before the public for the broad masses to criticize and supervise, this will be very helpful to the remoulding of the subjective world of us proletarian, revolutionary comrades. Only in this way can we steadily win the confidence of the masses and remain invincible for ever.

However, some of our comrades now still have misgivings about this. They are afraid to exhibit the family skeleton; they fear that once the door is open and the problems are made known, the prestige of the revolutionaries will be affected. This kind of thinking is wrong too; it is a manifestation of their distrust of the masses. The practice of the Dongfanghong Fighting Group shows that after they posted the big-character poster criticizing their own ranks, not only have they not lost the confidence of the masses, but, on the contrary, they have won still greater confidence from the masses. Quite a few comrades, including those who in the past had their own way of looking at the young fighters, cried out from the bottom of their hearts that they wanted to learn well from the young fighters, whose prestige is thus even greater than before.

In short, we are of the opinion that under certain conditions, the remoulding of the subjective world of the revolutionary ranks is of decisive significance. At this moment when proletarian revolutionaries are winning initial victories in the struggle to seize power on the basis of a great alliance, we must first of all be daring and mercilessly open fire on the "self-interest" in our minds and in our own ranks and boldly make revolution against ourselves.

(An abridged translation)

Recommending Two Excellent Articles

THE big-character poster "Where Will Our Lu Hsun Corps Go?" by the Dongfanghong Fighting Group of the Lu Hsun Corps of the Revolutionary Rebel Headquarters of the Shanghai Sports Front, and the article by the commentator of the *Tiyu Zhanbao* "Hail the Big-Character Poster by the Young Dongfanghong Fighters," are two excellent articles. These are good examples of how to creatively study and apply Chairman Mao's works in the course of the great proletarian cultural revolution. They "shoot an arrow at a definite target." They closely integrate the universal truth of Mao Tse-tung's thought with the actual local conditions in the great proletarian cultural revolution. This is something young revolutionary fighters as well as revolutionary veteran cadres in all parts of China should emulate.

The two articles draw attention to the problems that emerge within the ranks of the proletarian revolutionaries and revolutionary mass organizations at this time, when the great proletarian cultural revolution is entering the new stage of seizing power from the handful of persons in the Party who are in authority and taking the capitalist road. These problems are common, and the articles point them out at the right moment and hit the nail on the head. In the final analysis, these problems are "self-interest," "individualism" and a bourgeois world outlook.

The young fighters of the Dongfanghong Fighting Group point out in their poster: "The great proletarian cultural revolution is a great revolution that touches the people to their very souls. It is not just 'a revolution to dismiss people from office.' Merely dismissing people from office 'would make this great proletarian cultural revolution just a formality, with the result that the revisionists would be dismissed organizationally, but not ideologically. The soil for the growth of revisionism would remain. When one counter-revolutionary revisionist was overthrown, another would rise and even we ourselves might follow the bourgeois reactionary line." This is very well expressed and very profound! All comrades should think deeply about this.

They also point out the correct method of solving these internal problems, that is: struggle while carrying out rectification; study Chairman Mao's works conscientiously and consciously use Mao Tse-tung's thought as the weapon to carry out rectification of working style so as to correct erroneous ideas within our own ranks.

Hiding nothing, they make open self-criticism. They make a clean breast of their own ideological problems and sincerely welcome criticism from the masses. In their relations with comrades-in-arms and fellow revolutionary fighting groups, instead of blaming and attacking each other, they help one another in a comradely way. They solve problems by faithfully following Chairman Mao's formula of "starting from the desire for unity, distinguishing between right and wrong through criticism or struggle and arriving at a new unity on a new basis." This is an education movement in Marxism-Leninism, Mao Tse-tung's thought within the ranks of proletarian revolutionaries. This is exactly what we want to advocate vigorously.

We believe that all mass organizations of the genuine revolutionary Left, by creatively studying and applying Chairman Mao's works, will be able to solve these ideological problems by themselves, free themselves from "self-interest," temper themselves to become more determined, and rapidly grow in political understanding.

Following Chairman Mao's teachings, these revolutionary young fighters have correctly raised at the right time the problems that exist in their own organizations, and have suggested methods to solve them. This fact again proves the correctness of the idea of "letting the masses educate themselves" and "letting the masses liberate themselves," proposed in the 16-point decision of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party concerning the great proletarian cultural revolution, an idea which is in sharp opposition to the bourgeois reactionary line.

"Let the masses educate themselves and liberate themselves." This is historical materialism and historical dialectics, and a universal Marxist-Leninist truth.

(Continued from p. 12.)

proletarian revolutionaries and revolutionary masses throughout the city should launch a new upsurge in the creative study and application of Chairman Mao's works in the great revolutionary movement of class struggle and the struggle for production. They must transform their own subjective world while transforming the objective world. They must have the courage to seize power from "self-interest" in their own minds, to make rev-

olution in the depth of their souls, and to set strict demands on themselves in accordance with the five requirements put forward by Chairman Mao for successors to the revolutionary cause of the proletariat. In the course of struggle, they must constantly raise their proletarian political consciousness, their level of understanding of policy and their skill in struggle so as to carry the great proletarian cultural revolution through to the end!

During this great proletarian cultural revolution which touches people to their very souls, it is even more necessary to let the masses "educate themselves and liberate themselves." This is an important component part of the proletarian revolutionary line represented by Chairman Mao.

In units where power must be seized, the position of proletarian revolutionaries changes after the seizure of power. Hence the question of how they should treat the masses under the new conditions. In their treatment of the masses, they must adhere to letting the masses educate and liberate themselves. It is not allowed to let a minority do everything for the masses which the latter should do themselves, still less should they suppress the masses.

Old China was a country with a vast number of people of petty bourgeois background. The emergence of some petty bourgeois and bourgeois thinking in the ranks of mass organizations of the Left is quite in conformity with objective law. There is nothing surprising about this. The question is, in dealing with the revolutionary masses we should give them active

and continual guidance with proletarian thinking, patiently and wholeheartedly help them correct their wrong ideas, raise their proletarian class consciousness, and intensify their revolutionary qualities, scientific approach and sense of organization and discipline. This is the correct attitude to be adopted by leading cadres who resolutely stand for the proletarian revolutionary line represented by Chairman Mao.

If we close our eyes to the fact that the revolutionary young fighters are correct in their general orientation and seize upon their errors and defects, exaggerate them at will, and attack these young people, then we will be placing ourselves on the opposite side in the great proletarian cultural revolution, and in opposition to proletarian revolutionaries.

Revolutionary young fighters! We must prove ourselves worthy of the proletariat and our great socialist motherland, put words into deeds, conscientiously and ceaselessly remould our world outlook with Mao Tse-tung's thought, and carry out the great proletarian cultural revolution still better.

(*"Hongqi" commentary, No. 4, 1967.*)

Tsingtao Revolutionary Rebel Committee's Decision

On Launching a Rectification Campaign Among the City's Revolutionary Rebel Organizations

A rectification campaign for the creative study and application of Chairman Mao's works was launched in mid February by the Revolutionary Rebel Committee in the city of Tsingtao, Shantung Province, east China.

At a meeting of 1,300 representatives from revolutionary rebel organizations, the committee called on the city's revolutionary rebel groups to respond resolutely to Comrade Lin Piao's call that they carry the mass movement for the creative study and application of Chairman Mao's works to a new stage and unfold a rectification campaign in order to eradicate all non-proletarian ideas and build up the ranks of the revolutionary rebels into an extremely proletarianized revolutionary contingent.

Following are excerpts from the committee's decision on launching a rectification campaign among the city's revolutionary rebel organizations. — Ed.

THE Revolutionary Rebel Committee of Tsingtao seized all vital power on January 22 from the handful of persons in the Party who are in authority in the city and taking the capitalist road, and waged a struggle for an all-round seizure of power throughout the city. The bourgeois reactionary line is in a state of total collapse and the handful of persons who have wormed their way into the Party and who are in author-

ity and taking the capitalist road are heading for extinction under the merciless pounding of the proletarian revolutionaries. The impetus of the excellent revolutionary situation has brought forth songs of triumph on the production front. The total value of industrial output in January surpassed the target of the original plan, while preparations for spring ploughing and sowing are already under way in the countryside. An excellent revolutionary situation now prevails in Tsingtao.

However, the class enemy is not reconciled to its defeat, and is now desperately engaging in new schemes and intrigues to sabotage the great alliance of the proletarian revolutionaries and disrupt production in an attempt to undermine the proletariat's new political power.

With successes and victories, feelings of conceit and complacency and the "small group" mentality and other erroneous ideas grew up among the proletarian revolutionaries in a number of organizations, especially among a number of their leading members. The enemy is exploiting these erroneous ideas to sow dissension and create splits among them. He creates confusion in the revolutionary camp, sabotages the struggle to seize power on the basis of a great alliance of the proletarian revolutionaries from the handful

of persons in the Party who are in authority and taking the capitalist road, and undermines the new political power we have already established.

A decision has been taken to launch an all-round rectification campaign among the city's revolutionary rebel organizations. Its aim is to consolidate and enlarge the great alliance of the revolutionary Left, strengthen its great unity, carry the struggle to seize power from the handful of persons in the Party who are in authority and taking the capitalist road through to victory and consolidate the new political power of the proletariat.

The content in rectification includes the thorough criticism and correction of "small group" mentality, excessive decentralism, sectarianism, non-organizational viewpoints, ultra-democracy, small departmentalism, individualism, anarchism, subjectivism, conceit and complacency and other erroneous tendencies of excluding, opposing and attacking all as well as the question of correct treatment of cadres.

The method in rectification is to give prominence to politics and put Mao Tse-tung's thought in command, to integrate theory with concrete practice and theory with the thoughts in one's mind, and repeatedly and conscientiously study Chairman Mao's *On Correcting Mistaken Ideas in the Party*, the "three constantly read articles" (*Serve the People*, *In Memory of Norman Bethune*, *The Foolish Old Man Who Removed the Mountains*) and "On the Proletarian Revolutionaries' Struggle to Seize Power," editorial of *Hongqi*, No. 3,

1967 (see *Peking Review*, No. 6). In studying, one should integrate theory with practice, have a deep understanding of the spirit of those articles and aim to destroy self-interest and promote the devotion to public interest from beginning to end.

According to the principles of "Learn from past mistakes to avoid future ones" and "cure the sickness to save the patient," and unity-criticism-unity, an open-door rectification campaign must be carried out, encouraging and welcoming the people to criticize the leadership. With an attitude of being strict with oneself but lenient with others and of showing kindness to others, leaders and comrades among themselves should adhere to the principle of "Say all you know and say it without reserve" and "Blame not the speaker but be warned by his words." They should carry out heart-to-heart talks and help each other. Stress must be laid on self-revolution, and on the rigorous removal of the "self-interest" from the depths of one's being.

This campaign involves the creative study and application of Chairman Mao's works in conjunction with the present struggle, it means eradicating "self-interest" and fostering devotion to the public interest. Throughout the campaign, it is imperative to hold high the great red banner of Mao Tse-tung's thought, put Mao Tse-tung's thought in command and make it the guide for the campaign.

Guided by Mao Tse-tung's thought, this campaign will surely be crowned with significant victories.

Experience of Kweichow Proletarian Revolutionaries in Their Struggle To Seize Power

In our issues Nos. 7 and 8, we reported on the seizure of power by the proletarian revolutionaries in Kweichow Province. Recently, the revolutionaries of that province, after full discussion and consultation, set up a provisional "three-in-one" organ of power—the Kweichow Provincial Revolutionary Committee, which comprises responsible members of the revolutionary mass organizations, responsible members of the People's Liberation Army units stationed in the area and revolutionary leading cadres of Party and government organizations. Following are excerpts from an article by the Kweichow Provincial Revolutionary Committee on experience acquired in the struggle to seize power which was printed in "Renmin Ribao" on February 23. — Ed.

CHAIRMAN MAO teaches us: "All revolutionary struggles in the world are aimed at seizing political power and consolidating it. The desperate struggles waged by counter-revolutionaries against revolutionary

forces are likewise solely for the sake of maintaining their political power."

The proletarian revolutionaries in Kweichow Province have formed a great alliance and seized Party, political, financial and cultural power from the handful of persons in authority taking the capitalist road in the Kweichow Provincial and Kweiyang Municipal Party Committees.

The seizure of power is an inevitable outcome of the development of the great proletarian cultural revolution and the great decisive battle waged by the proletarian revolutionary line to defeat thoroughly the bourgeois reactionary line.

Our experience is as follows:

When proletarian revolutionaries want to seize power and ensure victory in this struggle, they must form a great alliance, and a strong provisional organ

of power must be set up as the command centre to direct the seizure of power.

Chairman Mao teaches us: "It is up to us to organize the people. As for the reactionaries in China, it is up to us to organize the people to overthrow them. Everything reactionary is the same; if you don't hit it, it won't fall. This is also like sweeping the floor; as a rule, where the broom does not reach, the dust will not vanish of itself." The handful of counter-revolutionary revisionists in the Kweichow Provincial and Kweiyang Municipal Party Committees enforced a brutal dictatorship of the bourgeoisie over the people. Where there is oppression there is resistance. Through the struggle the vicious features of these counter-revolutionary revisionists have been exposed to the light of day. People have been organized and tempered in the fierce struggle between the two classes, two lines and two roads, and they have formed themselves into a powerful revolutionary contingent. This is the major force to ensure victory in seizing power, without which it is impossible to succeed.

In order to seize power a great alliance of the proletarian revolutionaries must be formed!

The seizure of power by the proletarian revolutionaries is a great revolution and a great decisive battle. After the forces have been organized it is also necessary to have a headquarters to direct the battle, a proletarian headquarters to unify thinking, to unify the fighting will and to co-ordinate actions. This headquarters is the nerve-centre from which to direct the battle.

The basic situation on the eve of the seizure of power by the Kweichow proletarian revolutionaries was as follows: fighting groups had been formed in many units and departments in industry, communications, capital construction, agriculture, forestry, finance, trade, culture, education and in provincial and municipal Party and government organizations, etc. Preliminary alliances of fighting groups had been achieved in these departments and fields. Citywide liaison organizations for the great alliance of the revolutionaries had also emerged. Most of these revolutionary organizations had already seized power in their own departments and basic units. This provided favourable conditions for the great alliance of the proletarian revolutionaries to seize power from the handful of persons in the Party who were in authority and taking the capitalist road.

". . . External causes are the condition of change and internal causes are the basis of change, and that external causes become operative through internal causes." In the course of the struggle to seize power the proletarian revolutionaries in Kweichow, closely following this teaching of the great leader Chairman Mao and upholding the principle of "integrating forces both within and outside the organizations concerned and relying mainly on forces within," firmly relied on the revolutionary Left in the provincial and municipal Party and government organizations and did not use any method of doing things on their behalf like a Saviour. This is another important factor in the successful seizure of power.

After the successful seizure of power, the foremost task which confronts proletarian revolutionaries is to consolidate it. The provisional body set up for the seizure of power should be quickly put on a sound footing, and a proletarian organ of power which is more comprehensive and is able to exercise its functions and powers in an all-round way must then be set up. This organ of power should be a leading body with full authority. Its general task should be to hold aloft the great red banner of Mao Tse-tung's thought and disseminate Mao Tse-tung's thought to the people throughout the province. At the present stage, it should be in charge of exercising all Party, political, financial and cultural power in the whole province. In the future, it will be a supervisory body. The principle on which the formation of this body is based is the "three-in-one" combination of responsible members of truly representative revolutionary mass organizations, responsible members of the People's Liberation Army units stationed in the area and revolutionary leading cadres of Party and government organizations. This is extremely important. Whether or not things are done in this way is the criterion for distinguishing a true seizure of power from a sham or an ultra-"Left" seizure of power. After full discussion and consultation, the Kweichow Provincial Revolutionary Committee was officially inaugurated on February 13. It was founded in accordance with the above principle.

Organizational form must conform to the political task. The organizational form of the revolutionary committee is a product of the new stage of the current great cultural revolution and it serves the great proletarian cultural revolution.

Chairman Mao has all along called for "better troops and simpler administration." In line with this, the organizations to be set up by the proletarian revolutionaries should be fewer but better and more efficient. Revolutionaries should continuously create new forms and sum up their experience in practice so as to make our revolutionary organizations more revolutionary and scientific.

Chairman Mao teaches us: "Classes struggle, some classes triumph, others are eliminated. Such is history, such is the history of civilization for thousands of years." The struggle to seize power is truly a serious class struggle. The proletarian revolutionaries want to rebel, to seize power. The handful of persons in the Party who are in authority and taking the capitalist road will of course resist to the very end. Landlords, rich peasants, counter-revolutionaries, bad elements and Rightists in society will naturally seize every chance to take action. At the vital juncture in the proletarian revolutionaries' struggle to seize power, these elements will take desperate action, collude with the handful of counter-revolutionary revisionists within the Provincial and Municipal Party Committees and hastily rig up a counter-revolutionary alliance to resist the great alliance of the revolutionaries in the vain hope of getting in first with a fake seizure of power.

Aware of this situation and the tasks facing them, the Kweichow proletarian revolutionaries, at the moment

they were seizing power from the handful of persons in authority taking the capitalist road in the Provincial and Municipal Party Committees and the Provincial and Municipal People's Councils, dispatched People's Liberation Army units to promptly and resolutely put down two counter-revolutionary groups and arrest their chief ringleaders. They promptly launched a powerful political offensive against another reactionary organization, struck at its ringleaders and split it up. Under this lightning attack, these organizations collapsed, their counter-revolutionary plots were shattered, and their reactionary arrogance was utterly crushed.

In this process, clear-cut support from the People's Liberation Army is a vital link in winning victory. **"Without a people's army the people have nothing."** Even with the dictatorship of the proletariat, the fact that **"political power grows out of the barrel of a gun"** remains a universal truth. This is precisely the reason why the Kweichow proletarian revolutionaries have been able to seize power successfully and keep the situation under control after the seizure of power.

Though the seizure of power by the alliance of proletarian revolutionaries is just a beginning, just the first step of a ten thousand *li* long march, its political impact is very great. Following it, the provisional organ of power should promptly put forward a definite political programme with principles and policies based on the local situation and embodying the revolutionary demands of the masses, and issue a "Notice to Reassure the Public."

Chairman Mao teaches us: "To be good at translating the Party's policy into action of the masses, to be good at getting not only the leading cadres but also the broad masses to understand and master every movement and every struggle we launch — this is an art of Marxist-Leninist leadership."

In the course of seizing power, the Kweichow proletarian revolutionaries issued a series of public notices and orders. Because these met the demands of the masses and were published in good time, they played a great role in boosting the morale of the revolutionary Left and deflating the arrogance of the class enemy. They played a considerable role in splitting and disintegrating reactionary organizations and in strengthening and expanding the ranks of the revolutionary Left. They played a salutary role in turning the tide and reassuring the people. These public notices and orders broadly embodied Mao Tse-tung's thought, the Party's principles and policies and the great might of the dictatorship of the proletariat. Therefore, they enjoyed the warm support of the revolutionary masses of various nationalities throughout the province. Take the order dealing with the question of cadres, for example. Because it correctly embodies the long-standing policy of our Party on making distinctions in handling cadres of different categories, those persons in authority who are proletarian revolutionaries felt the warmth and solicitude of the Party all the more strongly and so courageously stepped forward to take their stand



Proletarian revolutionaries! Unite and carry the great proletarian cultural revolution through to the end!

with the revolutionaries. They soon gained the confidence of the masses and actively plunged into the struggle of the proletarian revolutionaries to seize power on the basis of an alliance, and became the backbone or leaders in that struggle. Those cadres who had committed not very serious mistakes also saw their future clearly, got rid of their mental burdens, and indicated their willingness to correct their mistakes, return to Chairman Mao's revolutionary line and perform new meritorious services for the people. In this way, the proletarian revolutionaries received the hearty support of the great majority and the power which they have seized has become consolidated.

In the final analysis, of all principles, the principle of keeping Mao Tse-tung's thought in the forefront is of the first importance. A very profound experience gained by the Kweichow proletarian revolutionaries in their struggle to seize power is that wherever proletarian revolutionaries act in accordance with Chairman Mao's instructions, they succeed; where they act otherwise, they suffer setbacks or defeat. The struggle to seize power waged by the proletarian revolutionaries in Kweichow is now developing in depth; it is far from being over. We proletarian revolutionaries are still faced with arduous tasks. The historic mission of the great proletarian cultural revolution is entrusted to us. We are determined to ensure that every corner of the Kweichow plateau will be bathed in the brilliance of Mao Tse-tung's thought.

Arm People's Minds and Guide Revolution With Mao Tse-tung's Thought

— *Vanguard*, organ of the Australian Communist Party (Marxist-Leninist), stresses the far-reaching importance of studying quotations from Chairman Mao Tse-tung

VANGUARD, organ of the Australian Communist Party (Marxist-Leninist), in an article published in its first issue of this year, warmly praised Mao Tse-tung's thought as "Marxism-Leninism in the era of the collapse of imperialism and the victory of socialism," according to a Melbourne report.

Beginning from last year, the paper published in every issue quotations from Chairman Mao Tse-tung. It will continue to do so this year.

Entitled "Why *Vanguard* Publishes Quotations From the Works of Mao Tse-tung," the article says, "We

think it is a question of far-reaching and fundamental importance." The article calls on the Australian Communists to analyse, study and solve the question of revolution in Australia in accordance with Chairman Mao's teachings.

The article warmly praises the brilliant thought of Mao Tse-tung, saying that it "illuminates the path of world revolution." "Chinese experience showed that whenever the thought of Mao Tse-tung was departed from, the revolution suffered defeat. Whenever it was adhered to, the revolution was victorious. . . . World

Chinese Foreign Ministry Statement

(February 25, 1967)

- Resolutely supports the Cambodian Government's just stand.
- Strongly condemns U.S. imperialism and its vassals for their crimes of intrusion into Cambodia.

Since the beginning of this year, U.S. imperialism and its vassals, south Vietnam and Thailand, have continued to violate the sovereignty of the Kingdom of Cambodia and threaten its security by incessant armed provocations and armed intrusions. The Royal Government of Cambodia has on many occasions issued communiques and notes in strong protest. However, far from heeding the just voice of the Cambodian people, U.S. imperialism and its south Vietnamese puppets went still further and, between February 18 and 21, made a series of intrusions into the Kingdom of Cambodia from the air, ground and sea and repeatedly attacked the latter's defence forces and militia. The Chinese people are extremely indignant at this. We strongly condemn U.S. imperialism and its lackeys for their acts of aggression and resolutely support the just stand of the Royal Government of Cambodia.

Cambodia is a close neighbour of Vietnam. It has consistently upheld justice, adhered to a policy of peace and neutrality and resisted all kinds of pressure from U.S. imperialism. U.S. imperialism has all along regarded Cambodia as an obstacle to the expansion of its war of aggression against Vietnam and a thorn in its side. While carrying out war blackmail and intensifying preparations for expanding its aggression in Vietnam, U.S. imperialism is now resorting to even more undisguised means of high pressure and intimidation against

the Kingdom of Cambodia. All this fully shows that U.S. imperialism will never abandon its insensate plan of aggression against and enslavement of the peoples of Indo-China. What it calls "peace talks" and "respect" for the sovereignty and neutrality of other countries are all deceptive nonsense.

Chairman Mao Tse-tung has said: "When we say 'imperialism is ferocious,' we mean that its nature will never change, that the imperialists will never lay down their butcher knives, that they will never become bud-dhas, till their doom." The aggression and provocative actions against the Kingdom of Cambodia by U.S. imperialism and its lackeys have repeatedly borne out this brilliant thesis of Chairman Mao Tse-tung.

We warn U.S. imperialism and its partners: The Cambodian people love peace and do not fear brute force. Your aggression and provocation against the Kingdom of Cambodia can only arouse even more resolute resistance from the Cambodian people. You have done every evil in Indo-China and absolutely cannot escape the punishment that you deserve. The 700 million Chinese people firmly stand on the side of the Cambodian people and the peoples of the other Indo-Chinese states and will fight through to the end for the complete defeat of the U.S. imperialist plan of aggression and war.

experience is showing that if Mao Tse-tung's thought is departed from there will be defeat to the socialist revolution. If it is adhered to, there will be victory. On all questions of world revolution, Mao Tse-tung has been proved to be correct."

It goes on, "Imperialism is collapsing. U.S. imperialism is more isolated than ever. It is more riven by its own destructive contradictions than ever. The emergence of Soviet revisionism is a product of the attempt by imperialism to save itself from doom. But socialism is marching to victory. China is the mighty bulwark of socialism."

"Mao Tse-tung's thought is Marxism-Leninism in the era of the collapse of imperialism and the victory of socialism. Imperialism will not collapse of itself nor will the victory of socialism come by itself. Imperialism must be knocked over. The victory of socialism must be fought for. Mao Tse-tung's thought is the guiding light in that struggle."

The article concludes by saying: "Vanguard quotes from Mao Tse-tung precisely to arm the working class with Marxism-Leninism in the era of the collapse of imperialism and the victory of socialism." "Act in accordance with the correct guidance of the Marxism-Leninism of our era — the thought of Mao Tse-tung."

All True Marxist-Leninists Must Grasp Mao Tse-tung's Thought

— *La Voix du Peuple*, organ of the Belgian Communist Party, hails the distribution of *Quotations From Chairman Mao Tse-tung in Belgium*

THE Belgian labouring people warmly welcome the distribution in Belgium of the French edition of *Quotations From Chairman Mao Tse-tung*, according to a Brussels report.

A report in *La Voix du Peuple*, organ of the Belgian Communist Party, said that more than 3,000 copies of *Quotations From Chairman Mao Tse-tung* were sold in Belgium in January this year. All the copies of the *Quotations* in the first shipment to Belgium have already been sold out and more than 1,000 people have placed advance orders for the next shipment.

Welcoming the wide distribution of *Quotations From Chairman Mao Tse-tung* in Belgium, the weekly said: "There are new readers every day who come to realize the basic viewpoints of Marxism-Leninism." "Very good! The wider the propagation of Mao Tse-

tung's thought, the more resources the masses have in their struggle against the exploiters and for socialism."

In an article entitled "Long Live Leninism" published not long ago, the weekly praised Chairman Mao as the great teacher of the world proletarian revolution.

The article said: "In Lenin's time, all true Marxists were Marxist-Leninists."

"In the present era, Comrade Mao Tse-tung has brought Marxism-Leninism to a new peak."

"In the present era, all true Marxist-Leninists must grasp the thought of Mao Tse-tung. Our Comrade Mao Tse-tung is the great teacher not only of the Chinese revolution, but also of the world proletarian revolution."

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

Use "Quotations From Chairman Mao Tse-tung" As a Weapon in Struggle

—Call by the organ of the Union of the French Communist Youth (M.-L.)

RED GUARD, organ of the Union of the French Communist Youth (M.-L.), in an article published in No. 3 of the monthly, warmly praises *Quotations From Chairman Mao Tse-tung*. The thought of Mao Tse-tung embodied in the red book, it says, has enriched and developed Marxism-Leninism.

The article goes on, the publication of *Quotations From Chairman Mao Tse-tung* is "a remarkable historical event." "It means that the revolutionary masses themselves can directly assimilate Marxism-Leninism."

When Marxism-Leninism penetrates the masses, it will become a material force."

The article stresses that the red book "creatively and thoroughly embodies the principle of combining theory with practice. In this way, it is a development of Marxism-Leninism. Now, in China, a new era has opened in which the workers, peasants and soldiers assimilate Marxism-Leninism, and transform it into an invincible material force."

The article calls on all Marxist-Leninists to use *Quotations From Chairman Mao Tse-tung* as a weapon in their struggle.



The World's People Love Chairman Mao

The "Quotations From Chairman Mao Tse-tung" Lights the Whole World

The bright red-covered *Quotations From Chairman Mao Tse-tung* has become the invaluable and best-loved revolutionary handbook not only of the Chinese but of all the revolutionary peoples of the world. Editions in various foreign languages are being received abroad with unprecedented enthusiasm and are now the world's best-seller. Publishers in some countries have produced their own translations of this volume to meet the urgent demand of the reading public. Some foreign friends, because no printed translation yet exists in their own language, have got friends to make translations which they have copied down to study.

Many foreign revolutionary friends who visit China eagerly ask for copies of the *Quotations*. They describe it as a "most precious gift" and a "priceless treasure." There are quite a few progressive friends from abroad, who, like their Chinese comrades, take along their *Quotations* wherever they go, study them whenever opportunity offers and take them as their guide to action. It is a demonstration of their boundless love and admiration for our great leader Chairman Mao.

The *Quotations From Chairman Mao Tse-tung* enlightens the whole world. The following shows how people the world over warmly love this invaluable, red-bound book.

Powerful ideological weapon for opposing U.S. imperialism, the Japanese reactionaries and modern revisionism. The popularity of the *Quotations From Chairman Mao Tse-tung* among Japanese readers is far beyond that enjoyed by any other book ever published in Japan.

Four bookshops in the city sold more than 40,000 copies of the *Quotations* in 20 days, states one Tokyo bookshop manager.

A young woman of Nagoya said excitedly after she had bought a copy of the *Quotations*: "There are people who oppose Marxism and dread Mao Tse-tung's thought and do not want us to read *Quotations From Chairman Mao Tse-tung*, but my belief is that Mao Tse-tung's thought is true Marxism-Leninism." A couple of days later, she took her friends to the same shop to buy more copies of the *Quotations*.

One college student bought seven copies and said alatedly: "Our study group shared one copy of the

Quotations From Chairman Mao Tse-tung and all of us wanted to read it at once. Now each of us can have a copy of his own."

Publication of the *Quotations* in Japan has sparked a further upsurge of mass enthusiasm in the study of Chairman Mao's works. All over Japan there has been a rapid growth of societies and groups studying Chairman Mao's works.

With the *Quotations* in their hands the revolutionary masses of Japan have a powerful ideological weapon for fighting U.S. imperialism, the Japanese reactionaries and modern revisionism. A youth of Kyoto who has been battling those who are trying to wreck Japanese-Chinese friendship said: "Every word of Chairman Mao's is the truth. . . . Reading the *Quotations From Chairman Mao Tse-tung* gives me greater courage, confidence and strength in the struggle. I want to go further in linking up my study of the *Quotations* with the current struggle. I'll see to it that I really creatively study and apply these quotations and march forward under the guidance of Mao Tse-tung's thought."

Revolutionaries must consult this invaluable book at all times. Pakistan friends set great store by the *Quotations From Chairman Mao Tse-tung*. They hail this invaluable book as "indispensable to all revolutionaries."

After reading the *Quotations*, a Pakistan journalist said: "Every anti-imperialist and anti-colonialist revolutionary fighter should have his *Quotations From Chairman Mao Tse-tung* with him at all times for study and consultation, because this invaluable book is an inexhaustible source of spiritual wealth for all the world's revolutionaries."

In Rawalpindi, a social worker, having obtained a long desired copy of the *Quotations*, wrote to say that "in a concise and scientific way this book provides the solution for all problems in the contemporary revolutionary movement. Even those without much schooling can easily understand it."

Follow Chairman Mao's teachings for ever. Four Burmese workers received badges with Chairman Mao's portrait on them and copies of *Quotations From Chair-*

man Mao Tse-tung from their Chinese friends. In their letter of thanks they wrote: "We're most delighted to receive these priceless treasures. To you, our friends, we pledge always to follow Chairman Mao's teachings. . . . But for the People's Republic of China which holds high the red banner of Mao Tse-tung's thought, the Asian continent would be suffering uncurbed imperialist enslavement. That's why Asians love Chairman Mao as dearly as they do their own lives."

A young Burmese student recently acquired a copy of the *Quotations* in English which he and his schoolmates read through avidly and discussed. Later, they collectively translated the *Quotations* into Burmese. They said: "Mao Tse-tung's thought is the torch of revolution, the beacon light of revolution showing the young people the way forward."

Indispensable daily spiritual fare. The French edition of the *Quotations From Chairman Mao Tse-tung* arrived in Brazzaville only recently. As the news spread there was a rush of Congolese (B) friends to get copies of what they regard as every revolutionary's indispensable "daily bread."

One college student had for a long time been collecting for study clippings of quotations from Chairman Mao which he found in magazines and in the *Hsinhua News Agency Release*. When he finally got hold of a copy of the *Quotations* in French he was overjoyed. But presently, he thought of a good friend of his who for months past had been eagerly looking out for this precious handbook of revolution. He finally decided to give his copy to his friend who needed it even more than he did; in the meantime, he has gone on collecting clippings while he waits to get another copy of the *Quotations*.

A member of the youth organization of the Congolese (B) National Revolutionary Movement was so happy that he started reading at once when he came across a copy of the bright red-bound *Quotations From Chairman Mao Tse-tung* at the district headquarters of his organization. And soon he was deeply absorbed by these teachings which glitter with the light of truth. He began to copy the quotations one by one into his notebook. He says he studies these quotations every day: "We need Chairman Mao's teachings very much because they are so useful to our own revolutionary cause."

A revolutionary encyclopaedia. Malian friends welcomed the French edition of the *Quotations From Chairman Mao Tse-tung* with great enthusiasm.

One of them who had been to China said on receiving a copy: "This is a revolutionary encyclopaedia." Then he read out the following passage from the

Quotations: "People of the world, be courageous, dare to fight, defy difficulties and advance wave upon wave. Then the whole world will belong to the people. Monsters of all kinds shall be destroyed." The people of the whole world must follow this teaching of Chairman Mao's, he added.

Another Malian friend who had visited China was also very keen on reading Chairman Mao's works and even memorized many quotations from Chairman Mao by heart. Expressing his pleasure on receiving a copy of the *Quotations* in French, he said: "I'm a humble student of Chairman Mao's. This book will facilitate my studies of his works. Mao Tse-tung's thought is universal truth. In Asia, Africa and Latin America, as long as people follow Chairman Mao's teachings, they will be able to avoid making mistakes and make revolution successfully."

An all-round epitome of the revolutionary thinking of the world. This is "an outstanding red book written by Chairman Mao!" When some Tanzanian friends received the *Quotations From Chairman Mao Tse-tung* in English, they lost no time in spreading the great news among their friends so that they too could share their happiness.

One Tanzanian friend said: "Ever since I got this red book by Chairman Mao, I invariably look for an answer in it whenever I am confronted with problems I cannot solve. I find the answer there and so problems are solved without a hitch." So happy was another Tanzanian friend when he got his copy of the *Quotations* that he carefully put it into his left hand shirt pocket. And touching the pocket with his hand, he told a Chinese friend: "My heart is where this red book is!"



A singer of the Albanian State Song and Dance Ensemble, holding high the bright red-covered *Quotations From Chairman Mao Tse-tung*, sings in Chinese *We Must Have Faith in the Masses and We Must Have Faith in the Party*, words of Chairman Mao that have been set to music.



Young members of the Fifteenth Branch of the Congolese (B) National Revolutionary Movement studying *Quotations From Chairman Mao Tse-tung*

After reading the *Quotations*, a skilled worker in Zanzibar said to his mates: "Small as the size of this book is, it is an all-round epitome of the revolutionary thinking of the world. Anyone who wants to be a revolutionary must study this book."

He listed the following three points which he had learnt from the volume: 1, Serve the people heart and soul; 2, Think of *The Foolish Old Man Who Removed the Mountains* when there are difficulties; 3, When conditions grow complex, be sure to make a clear distinction between contradictions among the people and those between ourselves and the enemy. He fluently recited many quotations from Chairman Mao to illustrate these points.

Mfaume, a Zanzibari trade union leader, delighted to get a copy of *Quotations From Chairman Mao Tse-tung*, said: "Every revolutionary must read this book and act in accordance with Chairman Mao's instructions because all he says is correct."

Study it when problems crop up. During his visit to China, an Azanian (South African) freedom fighter found that in China, from Peking to the ChingKang Mountains, when anybody, Red Guard or old man, had problems to solve or difficulties in their work or struggle, or when different opinions arose in discussions they always took out their *Quotations From Chairman Mao Tse-tung* and tried to work out the right answer with its aid. Back in his own country he said with deep feeling: "This is the best method of studying Chairman Mao's writings and quotations."

Since then, he always carries an English edition of the *Quotations From Chairman Mao Tse-tung* with him and whenever a problem crops up he studies it and works out with its aid a solution.

Now he has memorized quite a number of quotations from Chairman Mao Tse-tung, and he is word perfect in some of them. He says, "When I ponder questions of the struggle here at home I immediately call to mind the passage **'Who are our enemies? Who are our friends? This is a question of the first importance for the revolution.'** When I run up against difficulties the image of the Foolish Old Man who removed the mountains comes before my eyes."

Classic for the revolutionary people. A youth from Kenya in East Africa asked a Chinese working personnel for a "classic for the people who are making revolution" and he added that the *Quotations From Chairman Mao Tse-tung* is such a classic. He had seen this precious red-covered book at his friend's home and found that all that Chairman Mao had written there was the revolutionary truth. He and his friend, he said, called the *Quotations*

From Chairman Mao Tse-tung the "Classic for the People Who Are Making Revolution," or the "Red Classic." He mentioned how much he wanted a copy of the *Quotations* and a badge with Chairman Mao's portrait. When his wish was fulfilled he said with enthusiasm: "Chairman Mao is our great leader."

Asked for the "precious book" five times. A youngster from Basutoland in southern Africa five times asked his Chinese friends for copies of the *Quotations From Chairman Mao Tse-tung*. When he got his first red-covered precious book, he read it together with a friend and discussed the African situation in the light of Chairman Mao's teachings. His friend was greatly impressed by Chairman Mao's penetrating and correct viewpoints and after repeated requests the book was given to him. His second, third and fourth copies were also given to friends in much the same way.

"The best present for mother." A Colombian boy living in Peking came to Peking Airport to meet his mother. He carried two copies of the *Quotations From Chairman Mao Tse-tung*, one in Chinese and one in English. Somebody asked him why he had two copies. Holding up the English edition, he said: "This copy of *Quotations From Chairman Mao Tse-tung* is for my mother. This is the best present I can give her when I meet her again." And then standing in the waiting room he recited in Chinese: "The force at the core leading our cause forward is the Chinese Communist Party. The theoretical basis guiding our thinking is Marxism-Leninism." His recitation, full of enthusiasm, was heartily applauded by all the travellers present.

(Continued on p. 31.)

Peking Review, No. 10

The Counter-Revolutionary Collaboration Between The New Tsars of Moscow and the Pope

Podgorny, one of the chieftains of the Soviet revisionist ruling clique, recently had the effrontery to visit the Vatican, which has always set itself against the Soviet people, and had long, intimate talks with Pope Paul VI. What outright treachery it is for a person who calls himself a "Marxist-Leninist" to run to the Vatican to pay "homage" to the Pope, the incarnation of reaction!

When one goes into it, one finds there was a reason for Podgorny's visit. It took place at a time when U.S. imperialism was finding itself in increasingly difficult straits on the south Vietnam battlefield and was going all out to put into effect its big scheme to "force peace talks through bombing," in a futile attempt to strangle the Vietnamese people's struggle against U.S. aggression and for national salvation. It took place just before Kosygin visited London for his sinister meetings with British Prime Minister Wilson to plan ways and means for serving the U.S. imperialist scheme for "peace talks." At this time too, the Pope was sanctimoniously singing his praises of and saying prayers for the U.S. aggressors' vicious plot to "force peace talks through bombing." Isn't it only too obvious what devilish machinations Podgorny was up to in his dealings with the Pope?

The Vatican is the mortal enemy of the Soviet people and of all the revolutionary people of the world. Even before the October Revolution, the Pope colluded with the tyrannical Tsar in rabidly suppressing the Russian people's revolutionary movements. After the October Revolution, the Vatican not only took an active part in the armed intervention against the Soviet Union but also used the church to carry out extensive counter-revolutionary activities within the Soviet Union. In 1930, the Vatican started its notorious "anti-Soviet crusade" in an attempt to strangle the young Soviet Socialist Republic. During World War II, the Vatican served as an accomplice of the fascist Axis countries, collaborating with Hitlerite Germany in frenzied anti-Soviet activities

.....

The Vatican has always worked hand in glove with the most reactionary forces in the world and under the cloak of religion has engaged in every conceivable anti-popular, counter-revolutionary deed. Its closest postwar collaborator, U.S. imperialism, has admitted that the Vatican's intelligence set-up is the best in the world.

Chairman Mao says: "Whoever sides with the revolutionary people is a revolutionary. Whoever sides with imperialism, feudalism and bureaucrat-capitalism is a counter-revolutionary." Now the chieftains of the Soviet revisionist leading clique openly side with the counter-revolutionaries and shake the Pope's hands, hands which are stained with the blood of the Soviet people and rev-

olutionaries everywhere. This fully exposes the ugly features of the Soviet revisionists who have betrayed Lenin, the Soviet people and revolutionary people the world over.

It is well remembered that, when Khrushchov was in power, he devoted great efforts to fostering "close relations" with the Pope, even shamelessly sending New Year greetings to him. Khrushchov sent his son-in-law, Alexei Adzhubei, and his daughter to pay a visit to the Pope. While Adzhubei bowed in veneration to the Pope, Khrushchov's daughter sickened people with her remark: "The Pope has big and good peasant's hands, just like my father." What glaring servility! But after all, even Khrushchov didn't have the audacity to visit the Pope himself. Yet his faithful successor Podgorny had no hesitations and went personally to "pay homage." The new Soviet revisionist leading clique has outstripped Khrushchov in evil doings and has slid even farther down the counter-revolutionary road.

Chairman Mao has repeatedly taught us: "There is absolutely no such thing in the world as love or hatred without reason or cause." Since the Soviet revisionist leading clique is collaborating so intimately with the enemies of the Soviet people and of the revolutionary people of the world, it is bound to set itself against the Soviet people at home and sell out the interests of revolutionary people abroad. We warn you, Brezhnev, Kosygin, Podgorny and company, you new Tsars of the Kremlin: Traitors never come to a good end. This was true of Kautsky, Bernstein and Khrushchov, and in the end you too cannot escape your destiny of being tried by the Soviet people and of total collapse.

*(Red Guards of the "East Is Red" Commune
of the Peking Engineering Institute)*



Absurd "Academician"

DIRECTED by the Soviet revisionist leading clique, some Soviet "academician" by the name of Yuri Frantsev has played a particularly energetic role in the wild chorus against China's great proletarian cultural revolution.

Frantsev's article, "Revolution and Culture," was published in the Soviet journal *Izvestia* last September. It should be pointed out that he and his kind are not at all qualified to talk about revolution and culture. Genuine socialist culture is trampled on and suppressed under Soviet revisionist rule, while decadent bourgeois culture, which serves as a tool for capitalist restoration, is rampant. What revolutionary flavour can there be in Soviet cultural life today? Yet Frantsev pours out nonsense about "revolution and culture." Is this not the height of absurdity?

Frantsev says China's great cultural revolution "does not lead the people to enrich cultural life to the maximum, but impoverishes and withers it." We would advise Mr. Frantsev to recall how you people in the last several years have "enriched" the people's "cultural life."

How can your "extremely popular" Soviet novels such as *The Fate of a Man* and *The Living and the Dead*, etc., enrich the people's cultural life, when they play up the horrors of war, "happiness" of the individual and advocate a traitor's philosophy?

Treasured as a masterpiece by people like you and your kind, the ballet *Swan Lake* has been going on and on for decades, but the performances remain the same. What can *Swan Lake* arouse in a revolutionary of this era in which the anti-imperialist struggle is sweeping the whole world except disgust for its corrosive role in leading people astray into a world far removed from real life?

As to the films you people have shown in the last several years, we really don't have the stomach to enumerate the poisonous trash portraying the "American way of life" and the scenes copied from Hollywood. If such things can "enrich cultural life" at all, they can only "enrich" the empty and ugly spiritual world of aristocratic overlords like yourselves.

One aspect of the great proletarian cultural revolution initiated and led by our great leader Chairman Mao is to sweep from the field of culture all the trash that poisons the minds of the people, so that literature, the film, drama, song and dance and all other art forms can serve proletarian politics, serve socialism, serve the workers, peasants and soldiers. Facts have proved that

revolutionized Peking opera, ballet and symphonic music get a warm welcome from the revolutionary people, and art and literature are given new life, with a bright future before them. Isn't it clear, then, who has led culture "into a dead end" and made cultural life more "impoverished and withered" every day? The slanderous attacks on China's great cultural revolution by Frantsev and his like only serve to prove that this handful of revisionist aristocrats have long divorced themselves from the proletarian revolutionary stand and become renegades to the proletariat!

Frantsev pulls a sanctimonious face when he asserts in his article that China's great cultural revolution will "isolate her from the culture of the whole of mankind."

What is the "culture of the whole of mankind"? In class society, there has never been a culture possessed and shared by the whole of mankind. In the world today, there is a socialist culture and a capitalist culture. The "culture of the whole mankind" which Frantsev and his like bow down to worship is nothing more than a one hundred per cent capitalist and imperialist culture. Take a look at the Soviet Union today, where abstract art, impressionism, modernism and fauvism flood the country, and rock'n roll and jazz are the rage everywhere. Yet you peddle such rotten decadent "culture" under the high-flown name of "culture of the whole of mankind." This is the height of shamefulness.

To be frank, we will not only "isolate" but will also smash all capitalist and revisionist culture which corrupts the revolutionary people in order to prepare them for a capitalist restoration. We will act resolutely according to Chairman Mao's teachings, sweep away all the decadent culture that serves the exploiting classes on the one hand, and absorb the cream of the culture created by generations of working people on the other. We are confident that through the great proletarian cultural revolution we shall create a most glorious socialist culture that will outshine anything in history.

Finally, we would like to say this to Frantsev: You and your kind can never damage China's great proletarian cultural revolution. The socialist system will ultimately replace the capitalist system. The great proletarian cultural revolution will break out in other countries sooner or later. The Soviet Union will be no exception. By that time, both Frantsev and the things Frantsev worships and ballyhoos will be repudiated by the Soviet people. History will prove this!

(A Red Guard of the "East Is Red" Commune of the Peking Geological Institute)

P.L.A. Called on to Aid Spring Farm Work

The Military Commission of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party on February 23 issued the "Directive to the Army to Give Localities All-Out Assistance and to Do a Good Job in Spring Farm Work." The directive called on all cadres and fighters of the People's Liberation Army to go into action immediately and, in accordance with our great leader Chairman Mao's instruction to "take firm hold of the revolution and promote production," bring into full play the army's glorious tradition of simultaneously being a fighting, working and production force, and energetically assist the rural people's communes and leading cadres at all levels in the localities where they were stationed to do a good job in spring farm work.

The directive pointed out that doing spring farm work well was an urgent task in which no time should be lost. It called on the leadership at all levels to pay great attention to this and see to it that a good job was done.

Army units stationed in various parts of the country were enjoined in the directive to vigorously publicize the strategic significance of the instruction to take firm hold of the revolution and promote production. They were asked that work should not lag behind the farming calendar and that an upsurge should be swiftly brought about in spring farm work. The directive urged that this work be given top priority in the current period and that assistance be given to the leading organizations and rural people's communes in the various localities in holding well-organized meetings on spring farm work and in making concrete arrangements for it. It also required the people's armed forces departments at all levels to call on all members of the people's militia to act as the core of the farm workforce and to fulfil the role of peo-

ple's militia organizations as shock brigades in production.

The directive urged that P.L.A. units stationed in different localities lose no time in giving vigorous assistance in manpower and technical force to the communes' spring farm work. It also demanded that in helping with this work, all army units should earnestly study and apply Chairman Mao's works in a creative way and energetically propagate Mao Tse-tung's thought and the excellent situation in the current great proletarian cultural revolution.

On February 25, *Jiefangjun Bao* (Liberation Army Daily) published an editorial entitled "Give Energetic Support to Revolutionary Peasants in Bringing About an Upsurge in Spring Farm Work."

Triumphant Return of Afro-Asian Writers' Bureau Delegations From Tour

Afro-Asian writers, journalists and anti-imperialist fighters in Peking and their colleagues and representatives of proletarian revolutionaries in China's literary and art circles held a reception in the capital on February 24 to welcome the two delegations of the Afro-Asian Writers' Bureau which had just returned after a successful tour of various countries in Asia and Africa. They enthusiastically hailed the Afro-Asian revolutionary writers who, holding high the great red banner of Mao Tse-tung's thought, had won tremendous victories in their struggle against imperialism and revisionism. They pointed out that the successful visits had been a mighty demonstration against U.S. imperialism and its No. 1 accomplice, the Soviet revisionist ruling clique, and a heavy blow at the capitulationist and splittist line persistently pursued by the Soviet revisionists in the Afro-Asian writers' movement and at the Soviet revisionist plot to convene a bogus "Third Conference of Afro-Asian Writers."

Presiding over the gathering was Ibrahim Isa who, in the absence of Secretary-General of the Afro-Asian Writers' Bureau R.D. Senanayake, had been the acting secretary-general. In his welcome speech, Ibrahim Isa said that the great success of the delegations' visits was inseparably linked with the successes of China's great proletarian cultural revolution and with the fact that Afro-Asian writers were upholding and would continue to hold high the great red banner of Mao Tse-tung's thought—the highest, most comprehensive and most developed revolutionary theory of the present era. He stressed that as long as the Afro-Asian writers and people held high the great red banner of Mao Tse-tung's thought, they would surely achieve still greater success in their work, smash the plots and schemes of the Soviet modern revisionists and win victories in the struggles against imperialism headed by the United States, against modern revisionism with the Soviet revisionist ruling clique as the centre and against all reactionaries.

Kuo Mo-jo, Chairman of the All-China Federation of Literary and Art Circles, also spoke. He quoted Chairman Mao's teaching: "We people of Asia, Africa and Latin America who love freedom and independence are all fighting against colonialism. . . . The colonialists wish to see us disunited, unco-operative and unfriendly with each other. We must answer them by strengthening our solidarity and friendly co-operation. We must force the colonialists' schemes to fall into complete bankruptcy." He said that the present primary task for the Afro-Asian people and writers was to unite the people who constitute over 90 per cent of the population of Asia and Africa and to unite the oppressed nations and peoples throughout the world to wage a tit-for-tat struggle against U.S. imperialism, Soviet modern revisionism and the reactionaries of all countries.

Kuo Mo-jo sternly denounced the Soviet leading clique for betraying the people of the world and the Soviet Union, safeguarding imperialist and colonialist rule in the capitalist world and restoring capitalism in the socialist world. He pointed out that the Soviet revisionists had become the No. 1 accomplice of U.S. imperialism and the common enemy of the people of Asia, Africa and the rest of the world. He added that to oppose U.S. imperialism, it was imperative to oppose revisionism and that this had become an irrefutable fact. Kuo Mo-jo said that **Chairman Mao had pointed out recently: "We are now in a great new era of world revolution. The revolutionary upheaval in Asia, Africa and Latin America is sure to deal the whole of the old world a decisive and crushing blow."** He added that the prairie fire of world revolution would eventually burn imperialism, modern revisionism and all reactionaries — which were all paper tigers — to ashes.

Guided by the proletarian revolutionary line represented by Chairman Mao and in the course of the surging struggles of our mighty army of revolutionaries, said Kuo Mo-jo, thousands upon thousands of successors to the proletarian revolutionary cause had come to the fore and highly revolutionized and militant literary and art fighters were being tempered. He said that in order to create a new culture and new literature and art which belonged to the broad masses of Afro-Asian people and which were anti-imperialist, revolutionary and national in character, and in order to make still better preparations for the Third Afro-Asian Writers' Conference to be held in Peking, all the revolutionary forces in China's literary and art circles would always follow Chairman Mao's instructions and fight together with all the progressive and revolutionary writers in Asia and Africa, strive unflinchingly to win new victories in the Afro-Asian writers' movement and struggle for the total liberation of Afro-Asian people and all the oppressed peoples of the world.

A representative of the revolutionaries of the Chinese Writ-

ers' Union, in his speech, expressed his warm welcome and firm support for the forthcoming Third Afro-Asian Writers' Conference in Peking. He said that this showed the great trust placed in the people and revolutionary writers of China by the Afro-Asian people and their writers. He expressed the determination of the revolutionaries in China's literary and art circles to hold the great red banner of Mao Tse-tung's thought still higher, rebel against imperialism, modern revisionism and all reactionaries, and do their utmost for the Afro-Asian people's revolutionary movement.

R.D. Senanayake pointed out that the Afro-Asian Writers' Bureau delegations had set out on their tour of Afro-Asian countries at a time when the struggle between the militant progressive line of the Afro-Asian writers and people and the capitulationist reactionary line of the Soviet revisionist ruling clique had entered a new stage. He added that while exposing the Soviet revisionists' capitulationist line, the delegations had strengthened the friendship and solidarity among the Afro-Asian writers and people against U.S.-led imperialism and old and new colonialism during their visits. The warm welcome and support extended by the writers, intellectuals and cultural workers of all the countries visited demonstrated the strong desire of the Afro-Asian people to intensify their struggle against U.S. imperialism, colonialism and modern revisionism.

Senanayake pointed out that all the schemes of the Soviet modern revisionists to undermine the Afro-Asian people's anti-imperialist cause would never succeed. As **Chairman Mao had said: These reactionaries and imperialists would "make trouble, fail, make trouble again, fail again . . . till their doom,"** while the people's cause would ultimately triumph.

Tunisian Government's "Two Chinas" Plot Condemned

Chinese Ambassador to Tunisia Yao Nien on February 16 handed a note to the Tunisian Foreign Minis-

try, most strongly protesting to the Tunisian Government and its leaders for openly advertising and trying to create "two Chinas," and for their gross interference in China's internal affairs and flagrant provocations against the Chinese people.

According to a report in the Tunisian paper *Al-Amal* on February 8, when Tunisian Foreign Minister Habib Bourguiba Jr. spoke about his government's abstention on the question of Chinese representation in the United Nations in an interview with the paper's correspondent, he went so far as to say: "We hold that to us there exist two Chinas: the People's China and Nationalist China."

The same paper also reported on the same day that the Government of the Republic of Tunisia recently sent an economic delegation to Taiwan which signed a so-called agreement on agricultural technical cooperation with the Chiang Kai-shek clique, running dog of U.S. imperialism and traitor to the Chinese people.

These two events fully show that in order to serve the anti-China scheme of U.S. imperialism, the Tunisian Government and leaders have not only advertised "two Chinas" in words, but have gone a step further by openly trying to create "two Chinas" in deeds.

The protest note said: "The Tunisian Government and its leaders have long been tailing after U.S. imperialism in opposing China. In the past two years, the Chinese Government has repeatedly offered advice and lodged protests. The Chinese Government has exercised restraint and shown patience because we set store by Sino-Tunisian friendship. However, it depends on the efforts of both sides whether or not Sino-Tunisian relations can develop and grow stronger. The Tunisian Government and its leaders must rein in on the verge of the precipice and stop the propaganda for 'two Chinas' in words and the attempt to create 'two Chinas' in deeds. Otherwise, the deterioration of the friendly relations between China and Tunisia is unavoidable. For this, the Tunisian Government and its leaders must be held fully responsible."

(Continued from p. 26.)

The revolutionary red book that links the hearts of revolutionaries. Progressives in France have warmly welcomed the French edition of the *Quotations From Chairman Mao Tse-tung*, which they affectionately call the "little red book." Four thousand copies were sold in ten days by one Paris bookshop alone.

Six Lille workers who were long-standing members of the French Communist Party but in opposition to revisionism withdrew from the Party at the end of last year. When one of them, representing the other five, got a copy of the *Quotations* in Paris, he gravely said that this was their weapon for fighting revisionism, and the biggest support for their struggle. With Mao Tse-tung's thought, they would be able to wage the struggle still more successfully, he declared.

French youth are anxious to get the *Quotations* which China's Red Guards always have in their hands. Colleges and youth organizations have often ordered copies by the score.

A recent issue of *l'Humanite nouvelle* noted that this red book of *Quotations From Chairman Mao Tse-tung* "proves that Mao Tse-tung's thought has made contributions of genius to the theory of Marxism-Leninism."

This red book, says the paper, links the hearts of real revolutionaries. "The Soviet police in Moscow openly trampled it underfoot, the reactionaries hate

it, but this only makes the French people treasure it the more."

Guide to action. The Belgian working people warmly welcomed the arrival in Brussels of the first shipment of the French edition of the *Quotations From Chairman Mao Tse-tung*. Every copy was sold out in a few days.

Now in the Belgian Communist Party, in the Belgian communist youth organization, and in student and other mass organizations, many workers and students are assiduously and enthusiastically studying and discussing the *Quotations*. They want to deepen their understanding of the great and invincible thought of Mao Tse-tung and take it as their guide in action and practice.

They have found the revolutionary truth. An increasing number of the British working people and progressives say they have found the revolutionary truth in the *Quotations From Chairman Mao Tse-tung*.

A worker has described the admiration which many workers in his factory have for this "red book" and how they have used quotations from Chairman Mao Tse-tung in their struggle. These quotations, he added, have provided excellent answers to their questions.

British progressives and revolutionary friends from many countries living in England are eager to possess Chairman Mao's writings. One London bookstore ordered from Peking a number of copies of the English edition of the *Quotations*. They were all sold out in two days. Many customers had placed orders with the bookstore and more copies had been ordered, said a salesman.

PEKING REVIEW

March 3, 1967
Vol. 10, No. 10

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

IN THIS ISSUE

ARTICLES AND DOCUMENTS

Cadres Must Be Treated Correctly — Hongqi editorial	5
Shanghai Municipal Revolutionary Committee Holds Grand Meeting	10
Where Will Our Lu Hsun Corps Go? — Dongfanghong Fighting Group of the Lu Hsun Corps	12
Hail the Big-Character Poster by the Young Dongfanghong Fighters — Shanghai Tiyu Zhanbao Commentator	16
Recommending Two Excellent Articles — Hongqi Commentary	17
Tsingtao Revolutionary Rebel Committee's Decision on Launching a Rectification Campaign Among the City's Revolutionary Rebel Organizations	18

Experience of Kweichow Proletarian Revolutionaries in Their Struggle to Seize Power	19
Chinese Foreign Ministry Statement	22
Arm People's Minds and Guide Revolution With Mao Tse-tung's Thought	22
All True Marxist-Leninists Must Grasp Mao Tse-tung's Thought	23
Use "Quotations From Chairman Mao Tse-tung" as a Weapon in Struggle	23
The World's People Love Chairman Mao	24
Red Guards Forum on World Events: The Counter-Revolutionary Collaboration Between the New Tsars of Moscow and the Pope; Absurd "Academician"	27
THE WEEK	29

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

March 3, 1967

31

RADIO PEKING'S

Daily English Language Transmissions

	Peking Time	Local Standard Time	Metre Bands
EAST AND SOUTH AFRICA	00:00-01:00	18:00-19:00 (Cape Town, Salisbury)	40,30,25
	01:00-02:00	19:00-20:00 (Dar-es-Salaam)	40,30,25
		19:00-20:00 (Cape Town, Salisbury)	
WEST AND NORTH AFRICA	03:30-04:30	20:00-21:00 (Dar-es-Salaam)	43,31,25
		18:45-19:45 (Monrovia)	
		19:30-20:30 (Accra, Freetown)	
	04:30-05:30	20:30-21:30 (Lagos)	43,31,25
		21:30-22:30 (Cairo)	
SOUTHEAST ASIA	20:00-21:00	19:45-20:45 (Monrovia)	252,224 32,31,25,19
		20:30-21:30 (Accra, Freetown)	
		21:30-22:30 (Lagos)	
	21:00-22:00	19:00-20:00 (Western Indonesia, Bangkok)	224,32 31,25,19
		19:30-20:30 (Singapore)	
		20:00-21:00 (Saigon, Manila)	
		18:30-19:30 (Rangoon)	
SOUTH ASIA	22:00-23:00	20:00-21:00 (Western Indonesia, Bangkok)	41,40,30
		20:30-21:30 (Singapore)	
		21:00-22:00 (Saigon, Manila)	
	23:00-24:00	19:30-20:30 (Rangoon)	41,40,30
		19:30-20:30 (Delhi, Colombo)	
		19:00-20:00 (West Pakistan)	
AUSTRALIA AND NEW ZEALAND	20:00-21:00 (East Pakistan)	25,19,16	
	19:40-20:40 (Kathmandu)		
	20:30-21:30 (Delhi, Colombo)		
EUROPE	16:30-17:30	20:00-21:00 (West Pakistan)	25,19,16
	17:30-18:30	21:00-22:00 (East Pakistan)	
NORTH AMERICA (EAST COAST)	18:30-19:30 (Aust. S.T.)	20:40-21:40 (Kathmandu)	47,45,42
	20:30-21:30 (N.Z.S.T.)	20:30-21:30 (G.M.T.)	
	19:30-20:30 (Aust. S.T.)	21:30-22:30 (Stockholm, Paris)	
NORTH AMERICA (WEST COAST)	21:30-22:30 (N.Z.S.T.)	21:30-22:30 (G.M.T.)	47,45,42
	04:30-05:30	22:30-23:30 (Stockholm, Paris)	
	05:30-06:30		
NORTH AMERICA (EAST COAST)	08:00-09:00	19:00-20:00 (E.S.T.)	19,16
	09:00-10:00	20:00-21:00 (E.S.T.)	25,24,19
	10:00-11:00	21:00-22:00 (E.S.T.)	25,24,19
NORTH AMERICA (WEST COAST)	11:00-12:00	19:00-20:00 (P.S.T.)	31,25,19
	12:00-13:00	20:00-21:00 (P.S.T.)	31,25,19