

PEKING REVIEW

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(Excerpts)

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Along the Socialist or the Capitalist Road?

by the Editorial Departments of *Hongqi* and *Renmin Ribao*

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QUOTATIONS FROM CHAIRMAN MAO TSE-TUNG

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.

This Year's Election (September 1933)

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One of our current important tasks on the ideological front is to unfold criticism of revisionism.

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

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The Afro-Americans will be victorious in their just struggle. The evil system of colonialism and imperialism arose and thrived with the enslavement of Negroes and the trade in Negroes, and it will surely come to its end with the complete emancipation of the Black people.

Statement Supporting the Afro-Americans in Their Just Struggle Against Racial Discrimination by U.S. Imperialism (August 1963)



Chairman Mao Tse-tung

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



C.P.C. Greets 28th Anniversary of Burmese C.P.

Firm Support for People's Revolutionary Armed Struggle Led by the Communist Party of Burma

Comrade Thakin Than Tun,

Chairman of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Burma,

The Communist Party of China and the Chinese people warmly greet the 28th anniversary of the founding of the Communist Party of Burma.

The Communist Party of Burma, headed by Comrade Thakin Than Tun, has held high the great red banner of Marxism-Leninism, Mao Tse-tung's thought. It has persevered in taking the revolutionary road of using the countryside to surround the cities and seizing political power by armed force. It has led the people of Burma in carrying out a protracted, heroic struggle against imperialism, feudalism and bureaucrat-capitalism.

The Communist Party of Burma has withstood all kinds of storms and tests. It has stood up to the pressure of the Soviet revisionist leading clique and China's top Party person in authority taking the capitalist road. It has overcome "Left" and Right opportunism in the Party and has adhered to the revolutionary line of Marxism-Leninism, Mao Tse-tung's thought. It has become the core leading the revolutionary cause of the people of all nationalities in Burma forward.

The Communist Party of Burma has carried out a policy of self-

reliance, and has persevered in armed struggle for almost 20 years. It has brought together and developed the revolutionary forces and has dealt heavy blows at the reactionary rule of imperialism and its lackeys in Burma. The armed struggle of the people of Burma has greatly fortified the high resolve of the revolutionary people and deflated the arrogance of imperialism, modern revisionism and the Burmese reactionaries.

Under the blows of the iron fists of the people's armed force led by the Communist Party of Burma, the reactionary Ne Win government is facing greater and greater difficulties. In order to save itself from its doom, the Ne Win clique has undisguisedly carried out the counter-revolutionary policy of dictatorship, national betrayal, and opposition to communism, China and the people. The frantic struggle of the Ne Win clique can only bring it more disastrous defeat.

The Chinese Communist Party and the Chinese people firmly support the people's revolutionary armed struggle led by the Communist Party of Burma. We regard such support as our bounden proletarian internationalist duty.

The Chinese Communist Party extends its heartfelt thanks to the Communist Party of Burma for its warm praise of the great proletarian cultural revolution in China and for

upholding and supporting Comrade Mao Tse-tung's proletarian revolutionary line.

Our two Parties and the peoples of our two countries have forged a profound friendship in long revolutionary struggle. Let us further consolidate and develop the militant friendship between our two Parties and the peoples of our two countries in the joint struggle to liquidate the counter-revolutionary revisionist line of the top person in authority in the Chinese Communist Party who takes the capitalist road.

It is our firm conviction that the Communist Party of Burma headed by Comrade Thakin Than Tun, which persists in the revolutionary line of "to win the war and seize political power," will assuredly further unite the whole Party and the people of all nationalities in Burma, overthrow the reactionary Ne Win government and win complete victory in the revolutionary war in Burma.

Long live the militant friendship between the Communist Parties and peoples of China and Burma!

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

**Central Committee of the
Communist Party of China**

August 14, 1967

(Continued on p. 36.)

Statement Supporting the Afro-Americans In Their Just Struggle Against Racial Discrimination by U.S. Imperialism

August 8, 1963

Mao Tse-tung

AN Afro-American leader now taking refuge in Cuba, Mr. Robert Williams, the former President of the Monroe, North Carolina, Chapter of the National Association for the Advancement of Coloured People, has twice this year asked me for a statement in support of the Afro-Americans' struggle against racial discrimination. On behalf of the Chinese people, I wish to take this opportunity to express our resolute support for the Afro-Americans in their struggle against racial discrimination and for freedom and equal rights.

There are more than 19 million Afro-Americans in the United States, or about 11 per cent of the total population. They are enslaved, oppressed and discriminated against—such is their position in society. The overwhelming majority are deprived of their right to vote. In general, only the most backbreaking and despised jobs are open to them. Their average wages are barely a third or a half those of the white people. The proportion of unemployment among the Afro-Americans is the highest. In many states they are forbidden to go to the same school, eat at the same table, or travel in the same section of a bus or train as the white people. Afro-Americans are often arrested, beaten up or murdered at will by the U.S. authorities at various levels and by members of the Ku Klux Klan and other racists. About half the Afro-Americans are concentrated in eleven southern states, where the discrimination and persecution they suffer are especially shocking.

The Afro-Americans are awakening and their resistance is growing stronger and stronger. Recent years have witnessed a continuous expansion of their mass struggle against racial discrimination and for freedom and equal rights.

In 1957 the Black people in Little Rock, Arkansas, waged a fierce struggle against the barring of their children from public schools. The

authorities used armed force against them, creating the Little Rock incident which shocked the world.

In 1960 Negroes in more than twenty states held "sit-in" demonstrations protesting against racial segregation in local restaurants, shops and other public places.

In 1961 the Negroes launched the "freedom riders" campaign to oppose racial segregation in public transportation, a campaign which rapidly spread to many states.

In 1962 the Negroes in Mississippi fought for the equal right to enrol in colleges and met with bloody suppression by the authorities.

This year, the American Negroes started their struggle early in April in Birmingham, Alabama. Unarmed and bare-handed Negro people were arrested en masse and most barbarously suppressed merely for holding meetings and parades against racial discrimination. On June 12 Mr. Medgar Evers, a leader of the Negro people in Mississippi, was murdered in cold blood. Defying brutality and violence, the indignant Black masses waged their struggle even more heroically and quickly won the support of Negroes and other people of various strata throughout the United States. A gigantic and vigorous nationwide struggle is going on in nearly every city and state, and the struggle is mounting. American Negro organizations have decided to start a "freedom march" on Washington on August 28, in which 250,000 people will take part.

The speedy development of the struggle of the Afro-Americans is a manifestation of sharpening class struggle and sharpening national struggle within the United States; it has been causing increasing anxiety among U.S. ruling circles. The Kennedy Administration is insidiously using dual tactics. On the one hand, it continues to connive at and take part in discrimination against Negroes and their persecution, and it even sends troops to sup-

press them. On the other hand, in the attempt to numb the fighting will of the Black people and deceive the masses of the country, the Kennedy Administration is parading as an advocate of "the defence of human rights" and "the protection of the civil rights of Negroes," calling upon the Negro people to exercise "restraint" and proposing the "civil rights legislation" to Congress. But more and more Afro-Americans are seeing through these tactics of the Kennedy Administration. The fascist atrocities of the U.S. imperialists against the Black people have exposed the true nature of so-called American democracy and freedom and revealed the inner link between the reactionary policies pursued by the U.S. Government at home and its policies of aggression abroad.

I call on the workers, peasants, revolutionary intellectuals, enlightened elements of the bourgeoisie and other enlightened persons of all colours in the world, whether white, black, yellow or brown, to unite to oppose the racial discrimination practised by U.S. imperialism and support the Black people in their struggle against racial discrimination. In the final analysis, national struggle is a

matter of class struggle. Among the whites in the United States it is only the reactionary ruling circles who oppress the Black people. They can in no way represent the workers, farmers, revolutionary intellectuals and other enlightened persons who comprise the overwhelming majority of the white people. At present, it is the handful of imperialists headed by the United States, and their supporters, the reactionaries in different countries, who are oppressing, committing aggression against and menacing the overwhelming majority of the nations and peoples of the world. We are in the majority and they are in the minority. At most, they make up less than 10 per cent of the 3,000 million population of the world. I am firmly convinced that, with the support of more than 90 per cent of the people of the world, the Afro-Americans will be victorious in their just struggle. The evil system of colonialism and imperialism arose and thrived with the enslavement of Negroes and the trade in Negroes, and it will surely come to its end with the complete emancipation of the Black people.

Note: We reprint this statement in commemoration of the fourth anniversary of the day Chairman Mao made it. — Peking Review Ltd.

Vice-Chairman Lin Piao's Inscription

高举毛泽东思想伟大红旗
在无产阶级文化大革命途中
立新功

林彪
一九六七年八月九日

Vice-Chairman Lin Piao's inscription for the conference of activists in the study of Chairman Mao's works in the Peking Garrison Area: Hold aloft the great red banner of Mao Tse-tung's thought and win new merit in the great proletarian cultural revolution.

Lin Piao
August 9, 1967

Resolution of 8th Plenary Session of 8th Central Committee of C.P.C. Concerning the Anti-Party Clique Headed by Peng Teh-huai

(Excerpts)

August 16, 1959

(1) In the period before the Central Committee of the Party convened an enlarged session of the Political Bureau at Lushan in July 1959 and during the Lushan Meeting, a fierce onslaught on the Party's general line, the great leap forward and the people's communes was made inside our Party by the Right opportunist anti-Party clique which was headed by Peng Teh-huai and which included a handful of others, such as Huang Ke-cheng, Chang Wen-tien and Chou Hsiao-chou. This onslaught came at a time when the reactionary forces at home and abroad were exploiting certain transient and partial shortcomings in our great movements — the great leap forward and the people's communes — to intensify their attack on our Party and people. An attack at such a juncture launched from inside the Party, particularly inside the Central Committee, is clearly more dangerous than an attack from outside the Party. The Eighth Plenary Session of the Eighth Central Committee of the Party holds that to take resolute action and crush the activities of the Right opportunist anti-Party clique headed by Peng Teh-huai is absolutely necessary not only for safeguarding the Party's general line, but also for safeguarding the leadership of the Party's Central Committee headed by Comrade Mao Tse-tung, the unity of the Party and the socialist cause of the Party and the people.

(2) The activities of the anti-Party clique headed by Peng Teh-huai aimed at splitting the Party have been going on for a long time. The letter setting out his views which Peng Teh-huai wrote to Comrade Mao Tse-tung on July 14, 1959, in the early stage of the Lushan Meeting and his speeches and remarks in the course of the meeting represent the platform of the Right opportunists in their attack on the Party. For all his outward pretensions of support for the general line and for Comrade Mao Tse-tung, in substance his letter, speeches and remarks incited those elements within our Party who have Rightist ideas or bear a grudge against the Party and those political speculators and alien class elements who have sneaked into the Party to rise up and launch a fierce onslaught on the Party's gen-

eral line and the leadership of the Central Committee and Comrade Mao Tse-tung in response to the slanders of the domestic and foreign reactionaries. Peng Teh-huai has collected those transient and partial shortcomings, which have either long since been or are rapidly being overcome, exaggerated them out of all proportion and painted a pitch-black picture of the present situation in the country. In essence he negates the victory of the general line and the achievements of the great leap forward, and is opposed to the high-speed development of the national economy, to the movement for high yields on the agricultural front, to the mass movement to make iron and steel, to the people's commune movement, to the mass movements in economic construction, and to Party leadership in socialist construction, that is, to "putting politics in command." In his letter he brazenly slandered as "petty-bourgeois fanaticism" the revolutionary zeal of the Party and of hundreds of millions of people. Time and again in his remarks he went so far as to assert that "if the Chinese workers and peasants were not as good as they are, a Hungarian incident would have occurred in China and it would have been necessary to invite Soviet troops in." It is obvious that the mistakes he has made are not in the nature of isolated mistakes, but are mistakes of a Right opportunist line, which in nature are against the Party, against the people and against socialism.

(3) The mass of facts brought to light at the Eighth Plenary Session of the Eighth Central Committee, including those admitted by Peng Teh-huai, Huang Ke-cheng, Chang Wen-tien, Chou Hsiao-chou and others and those disclosed by their accomplices and followers, prove that the activities of the anti-Party clique headed by Peng Teh-huai prior to and during the Lushan Meeting were purposive, prepared, planned and organized. They represent a continuation and development of the case of the anti-Party alliance of Kao Kang and Jao Shu-shih. Investigation has now established that Peng Teh-huai and Huang Ke-cheng long ago formed an anti-Party alliance with Kao Kang, of which they were important members. Chang Wen-tien, too, par-

ticipated in Kao Kang's factional activities. During the struggle against the Kao-Jao anti-Party alliance, the Central Committee of the Party was already in possession of certain facts about Peng Teh-huai's and Huang Ke-cheng's participation in that alliance. The Central Committee seriously criticized them, hoping that they would learn the lesson and repent, and it did not go deeply into the matter. Ostensibly Peng Teh-huai and Huang Ke-cheng made a self-criticism; actually, far from recognizing and rectifying their mistakes, for a long time they concealed from the Party certain important facts concerning their participation in the activities of the Kao-Jao anti-Party alliance and even continued to expand their divisive anti-Party activities. To realize his personal ambitions, Peng Teh-huai has long been making vicious attacks and spreading slanders inside the Party and the armed forces against Comrade Mao Tse-tung, the leader of the Party, and against other leading comrades of the Central Committee and its Military Commission. In his factional activities which were aimed at splitting the Party, he has resorted to such methods as promising official promotions, trafficking in flattery and favours, first attacking and then cajoling, creating dissension, and spreading rumours, lies and slanders. Since the great leap forward in 1958, the whole Party and people have been united as one and have been working hard. But Peng Teh-huai painstakingly schemed to undermine the leadership of the Central Committee, carried out anti-Party activities and, together with his accomplices and followers, looked for the opportune moment to launch an attack on the Party and Comrade Mao Tse-tung. He took the Lushan Meeting as the opportune moment. Because of his position in the Central Committee and in the People's Liberation Army, and also because of his tactics of feigning candour and frugality, Peng Teh-huai's activities could and did mislead a number of people; they are fraught with danger for the future of the Party and the People's Liberation Army. Precisely for this reason, it has necessarily become an important task of the Party and of all who are loyal to the Party, to the People's Liberation Army and the cause of socialism to expose this hypocrite, this careerist and conspirator, in his true colours and to put an end to his divisive anti-Party activities.

(4) Peng Teh-huai's present mistake is not accidental. It has deep social, historical and ideological roots. He and his accomplices and followers are essentially representatives of the bourgeoisie who joined our Party during the democratic revolution. Peng Teh-huai joined the Party and the revolutionary army led by the Party with the idea of "investing in a share." He only wants to lead others, to lead the collective, but does not want to

be led by others, to be led by the collective. He does not look upon the achievements in the revolutionary work for which he is responsible as achievements in the struggle conducted by the Party and the people, but instead takes all the credit himself. Indeed, his anti-Party activities reflect the kind of class struggle in which the Chinese bourgeoisie opposes the proletarian socialist revolution and attempts to remould the Party, the army and the world in its own bourgeois image. Since his world outlook is incompatible with revolutionary proletarian Marxism-Leninism and runs directly counter to it, inside the Party he is naturally unwilling to accept the Marxist-Leninist leadership represented by Comrade Mao Tse-tung. At several key junctures in the history of the Party, such as the periods of the Li Li-san line, the first Wang Ming line, the second Wang Ming line and the case of the Kao-Jao anti-Party alliance, he invariably sided with the wrong line and opposed the correct line represented by Comrade Mao Tse-tung. After the Party's Tsunyi Meeting established Comrade Mao Tse-tung's position of leadership throughout the Party and the army in January 1935, he still opposed Comrade Mao Tse-tung's leadership and engaged in divisive activities inside the Party and the army. During the War of Resistance Against Japan, he regarded the area under his charge as his independent kingdom and used it as capital to assert his "independence" from the Central Committee. Despite the fact that the Party had resolutely repudiated and corrected the mistake of the second Wang Ming line, he still stubbornly applied its wrong strategy and repeatedly held down the peasants' anti-feudal struggle in the Shansi-Hopei-Shantung-Honan area. Although in 1945 the Central Committee exposed and criticized the serious political and organizational mistakes he made while working in north China, he never recognized or corrected them. On the contrary, his anti-Party activities became more and more unbridled with the victory of the people's Liberation War and the transformation of the revolution from a bourgeois-democratic one into a proletarian socialist one. As soon as the socialist transformation of agriculture, handicraft and capitalist industry and commerce was begun, he joined Kao Kang in anti-Party activities. The Kao-Jao anti-Party alliance collapsed and the socialist revolution forged rapidly ahead on the economic and the ideological and political fronts. With the victories of the general line of the Party, the great leap forward and the people's commune movement, the capitalist and individual economies were clearly doomed. In these circumstances, the remnants of the Kao Kang clique and the other Right opportunist elements of every variety headed by Peng Teh-huai could wait no longer, seized on what they considered an opportune mo-

ment to stir up trouble and came out in opposition to the general line of the Party, the great leap forward and the people's communes, and to the leadership of the Central Committee and Comrade Mao Tse-tung. The true nature of their attack on the Party, therefore, is that, representing as they do the interests of the bourgeoisie and the upper strata of the petty bourgeoisie, they seek to sabotage the dictatorship of the proletariat and undermine the socialist revolution by splitting and demoralizing the vanguard of the proletariat and organizing opportunist factions.

(5) As stated above, the long-standing anti-Party activities of the Right opportunist anti-Party clique headed by Peng Teh-huai constitute a grave danger to the socialist cause of the Party and the people. The Eighth Plenary Session of the Eighth Central Committee holds that, in order to carry out its responsibilities with respect to the future of the Party and the People's Liberation Army and to the interests of the socialist cause of the proletariat and the labouring people, the Party must adopt a firm and serious attitude and smash all the activities of the Right opportunist anti-Party clique headed by Peng Teh-huai. The Party demands that Peng Teh-huai, Huang Ke-cheng, Chang Wen-tien, Chou Hsiao-chou and others admit and disclose all their mistakes before the Party and rectify them in action. There is no other way out for them. The Eighth Plenary Session of the Eighth Central Committee holds that the Party should continue to adopt an attitude of great sincerity and warmth towards Peng Teh-huai and help him recognize and rectify his

mistakes. Of course, it is essential to transfer Peng Teh-huai, Huang Ke-cheng, Chang Wen-tien, Chou Hsiao-chou and others from their posts in national defence, foreign affairs, provincial Party committee first secretaryship, etc. But they can still keep their membership or alternate membership of the Central Committee or of the Political Bureau, and we shall see how they behave in the future. History has many times proved the complete correctness of the policy regarding inner-Party struggle followed by the great Communist Party of China under the leadership of its Central Committee headed by Comrade Mao Tse-tung. Such inner-Party struggles have not weakened the Party, but on the contrary have strengthened it. The Eighth Plenary Session of the Eighth Central Committee firmly believes that the inner-Party struggle against Right opportunism headed by Peng Teh-huai waged at this crucial juncture for our country's socialist cause will definitely further strengthen the ranks of the Party and the people and heighten their militancy. The Eighth Plenary Session of the Eighth Central Committee calls on all Party comrades to unite under the banner of defence of the general line and opposition to Right opportunism and to unite under the leadership of the Central Committee of the Party and its great leader Comrade Mao Tse-tung; it calls on them to lead the 650 million brave and industrious Chinese people in advancing boldly and unswervingly and in carrying out the general line of "go all out and aim high to get greater, quicker, better and more economical results in building socialism," so as to battle on to the end for the triumph of socialism and for the sublime communist future.

ALONG THE SOCIALIST OR THE CAPITALIST ROAD?

by the Editorial Departments of "Hongqi" and "Renmin Ribao"

CHINA in the present era is the focal point of contradictions in the world, the storm centre of the world revolution.

Whither China? Will it take the socialist road or the capitalist road? This is not only a fundamental issue of Chinese politics, it concerns the destiny of the world proletarian revolution.

For some decades now, a fierce struggle has gone on within the Chinese Communist Party over this fundamental issue, a struggle between two diametrically opposed lines, at each historical stage of the develop-

ment of the Chinese revolution and at each crucial moment of revolutionary change.

One line maintains that the Chinese revolution must be led by the proletariat, that it must pass from the stage of the new democratic revolution to the stage of the socialist revolution, that the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat must be carried through to the end and that its ultimate goal is communism. This is the proletarian revolutionary line represented by our great leader Chairman Mao.

The other line liquidates the proletarian leadership of the Chinese revolution, practises bourgeois reformism,

and, in the stage of socialism, opposes the socialist revolution and the dictatorship of the proletariat and takes the capitalist road, that is, the dark, old road that would lead China back to semi-colonial, semi-feudal society. This is the bourgeois reactionary line pursued in succession by Chen Tu-hsiu, Chu Chiu-pai, Li Li-san, Wang Ming and Chang Kuo-tao right down to the top Party person in authority taking the capitalist road. And this person represents this reactionary line in its most concentrated form.

The two diametrically opposed lines lead to two entirely opposite prospects, two entirely opposite destinies for the Chinese revolution. It is precisely in the course of the struggle between these two lines that, guided by our great leader Chairman Mao, the Chinese revolution has hacked its way forward through all the difficulties and advanced victoriously.

The essence of this struggle has been the question of which road China should take. Its focal point has always been a matter of political power, a question of which class should exercise dictatorship.

(1)

Our great leader Chairman Mao teaches us: In the stage of the democratic revolution, the focal point of the programme of the Chinese Communist Party is the joint dictatorship of several revolutionary classes led by the proletariat; in the stage of the socialist revolution, the focal point of the programme of the Chinese Communist Party is the dictatorship of the proletariat in the form of the people's democratic dictatorship.

The question raised by Chairman Mao at the very beginning of his great work *On New Democracy* is: **Whither China?** In this brilliant Marxist-Leninist work, he sums up the historical experience of the Chinese revolution and the world revolution in an all-round, penetrating and systematic way, scientifically formulates the political, economic and cultural programmes for the new democratic revolution, and clearly and thoroughly charts the road of transition from the new democratic revolution to the socialist revolution. He says: **"The first step or stage in our revolution is definitely not, and cannot be, the establishment of a capitalist society under the dictatorship of the Chinese bourgeoisie, but will result in the establishment of a new-democratic society under the joint dictatorship of all the revolutionary classes of China headed by the Chinese proletariat. The revolution will then be carried forward to the second stage, in which a socialist society will be established in China."**

Chairman Mao sharply refuted the fallacious reactionary theory which calls for a futile attempt to establish the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie in China. He explicitly pointed out that, judging by China's international and internal situation, anyone who dreamed of establishing a capitalist society, a society under the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie, would eventually find himself in the lap of imperialism,

with the result that China would again become a colony or semi-colony and part of the reactionary world under imperialism. Here Chairman Mao was pungently refuting not merely the Right-opportunist Wang Ming whose notorious reputation had long been established but also the top Party person in authority taking the capitalist road who has now been exposed.

This top Party person in authority taking the capitalist road is a seasoned opportunist and revisionist, a representative of the bourgeoisie who has sneaked into our Party.

Back in the early twenties, he was already singing the very same tune as the renegade Chen Tu-hsiu. He viciously attacked the proletarian revolutionaries, saying that the seizure of political power "of course cannot be carried out right now by such a juvenile proletariat, judging by the present situation in China. Since it is a matter of the distant future, there is no need to waste words discussing it."¹

Soon after Chiang Kai-shek's "April 12" counter-revolutionary coup, he followed the renegade Chen Tu-hsiu in ordering the workers' pickets in Wuhan to hand thousands of rifles over to the Kuomintang. Furthermore, he himself appeared at a meeting called by the Workers' Affairs Department of the Central Committee of the Kuomintang and reported to it about the so-called "significance and course of the voluntary disbandment of workers' pickets by the Hupeh Provincial General Council of Trade Unions."²

After the publication of Chairman Mao's *On New Democracy*, he went out of his way to attack Chairman Mao directly, singing a tune entirely opposed to *On New Democracy*. He went so far as to praise Chiang Kai-shek as "the banner of the revolution" and declared: "I think that under the banner of the Three People's Principles of the Kuomintang the Chinese revolution will move ahead much more smoothly than under any other banner, at least at the present stage of the democratic revolution."³ He asked spitefully: "Why don't we say that we are carrying out the Three People's Principles instead of obstinately working out something else?"⁴ Here this old opportunist showed himself up completely as a renegade opposing and selling out the revolution!

After the War of Resistance Against Japan was won, U.S. imperialism made use of its lackey Chiang Kai-shek and tried to convert China into its own exclusive colony. At that juncture the Chinese people were engaged in a life-and-death struggle against imperialism, feudalism and bureaucrat-capitalism. This was a great battle that was decisive for the choice between the two destinies, two prospects for China. The question of state power confronted the proletariat in a still more acute way. In good time Chairman Mao pointed this out to the whole Party and the people throughout the country. In his brilliant speech *The Situation and Our Policy After the Victory in the War of Resistance Against Japan*, Chairman Mao pointed out: **"From now on the struggle will be, build what sort of country? To build a new-democratic country of**

the broad masses of the people under the leadership of the proletariat? Or to build a semi-colonial and semi-feudal country under the dictatorship of the big landlords and the big bourgeoisie? This will be a most complicated struggle. At present it takes the form of a struggle between Chiang Kai-shek who is trying to usurp the fruits of victory of the War of Resistance and ourselves who oppose his usurpation. If there is any opportunism during this period, it will lie in failing to struggle hard and in making a voluntary gift to Chiang Kai-shek of the fruits which should go to the people." Chairman Mao also pointed out: "Chiang Kai-shek always tries to wrest every ounce of power and every ounce of gain from the people. And we? Our policy is to give him tit for tat and to fight for every inch of land," and "as Chiang Kai-shek is now sharpening his swords, we must sharpen ours too."

It was none other than the top Party person in authority taking the capitalist road whom Chairman Mao was criticizing and repudiating here as representing opportunism. Once again this old opportunist had systematically set out his national capitulationist and class capitulationist line of opposing and selling out the revolution, at the historical juncture of the great battle decisive for the choice between two destinies, between two prospects, for China. He asserted that "at present the main form of the struggle of the Chinese revolution has become peaceful and parliamentary; it is a legal mass struggle and a parliamentary struggle."⁵ He wanted our Party to hand over all our armed forces and arms to Chiang Kai-shek so that they "become units of the national army, national defence army, security troops and self-defence forces" and "to liquidate Party organizations" in the army. He demanded that our Party "stop its direct leadership and command of the armed forces, which should be placed under the unified command of the ministry of national defence"⁶ (that is, the Kuomintang's ministry of national defence). In doing all this, what he really had in mind was to get slicked up and present himself to Chiang Kai-shek, hoping thereby to win favour in his eyes. He even had the effrontery to say that we should "be able to run for election and get people to vote for us" and that "we are now one of the government parties (that is, parties of the Kuomintang government); we are no longer in opposition but in power, and some people will enter the ranks of officialdom. We had some official positions in the central government in 1927 which were lost when they started fighting. This time the positions will not be lost if fighting starts."⁷ What a confession of his innermost secret desire!

Traitors to the proletariat, the Right-wing socialists and old-line revisionists, Bernstein and Kautsky and their like, all preached the parliamentary road, opposed revolution by violence, betrayed the interests of the proletariat and became ornaments and accomplices of the bourgeois reactionary regimes. The top Party person in authority taking the capitalist road is a bird of the same feather! If there is any difference, it is this — he was prepared to hand over the people's political power and the people's army with both hands at a

time when China's proletariat had an army of more than 1,200,000 and a people's regime was established in areas with a total population of more than 130 million. This makes his advocacy of wholesale capitulation and betrayal all the more despicable and vicious!

At the very moment when the top Party person in authority taking the capitalist road was attempting to sell out the fruits of victory in the War of Resistance Against Japan, leaders of the "communist parties" of France and Italy, such as Thorez and Togliatti, were making a political deal with the bourgeoisie by bartering away the fruits of victory won by the people at the cost of blood and sacrifice. They handed over to the bourgeoisie several hundred thousand weapons — the revolutionary arms of the proletariat — in exchange for vice-premierships and other such official positions of the bourgeois state, and became men who will go down in history as criminals! At this historical turning point, our great leader Chairman Mao told us: "**The arms of the people, every gun and every bullet, must all be kept, must not be handed over.**" "**The rights the people have won must never be lightly given up but must be defended by fighting.**" "**If they [the Kuomintang] fight, we will wipe them out completely.**" With heroic proletarian courage, our great leader Chairman Mao successfully resisted the worldwide adverse current of capitulationism — "the handing over of the guns" — and dared to fight on and win victory, so setting a brilliant example for proletarian revolutionaries throughout the world. Thus the invincible thought of Mao Tse-tung demonstrated its boundless power.

It was precisely under Chairman Mao's wise leadership that our Party, our people and our army took the correct direction, took firm hold of the gun, broke through all resistance, marched forward triumphantly along the high road of revolution, and finally won their great victory in the people's War of Liberation and founded the People's Republic of China. It was a merciless verdict passed by history on the class capitulationism and national capitulationism of the top Party person in authority taking the capitalist road!

(2)

The founding of the People's Republic of China pushed history forward to a new stage, that is, from that of the new democratic revolution to that of the socialist revolution. At that moment, the struggle between the two lines was focused on which road New China which was just founded should take — the socialist or the capitalist road? In the final analysis, this struggle was over the question of whether the dictatorship of the proletariat or the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie would be exercised in China.

On the eve of nationwide victory in the new democratic revolution, Chairman Mao pointed out clearly in his brilliant work *Report to the Second Plenary Session of the Seventh Central Committee of the Communist Party of China*: "**After the country-wide victory of the Chinese revolution and the solution of the land problem, two basic contradictions will still exist in**

China. The first is internal, that is, the contradiction between the working class and the bourgeoisie. The second is external, that is, the contradiction between China and the imperialist countries. Consequently, after the victory of the people's democratic revolution, the state power of the people's republic under the leadership of the working class must not be weakened but must be strengthened."

Later, in his speech on the Party's general line for the transition period Chairman Mao pointed out: **The founding of the People's Republic of China on October 1, 1949, marked the conclusion in the main of the stage of the new democratic revolution and the beginning of the stage of the socialist revolution. He said: "The general line and general task of the Party during this transition period is gradually to bring about the socialist industrialization of the country and the socialist transformation of agriculture, handicrafts and capitalist industry and commerce by the state over a fairly long period. This general line is the beacon light which illuminates all aspects of our work. If we depart from it in any aspect of our work, we will commit Right or 'Left' mistakes."**

At such a time of great new change, the top Party person in authority taking the capitalist road once again stepped forward as the spokesman of the bourgeoisie to pit himself against Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line. He went around flagrantly campaigning for the development of capitalism in town and country. He raised the slogan "struggle for the consolidation of the new democratic system."⁸ He talked nonsense, saying that "in China, there is not too much capitalism, but too little"; "it is necessary to develop capitalist exploitation, for such exploitation is progressive"⁹; "the more you exploit, the greater your merit will be" and "such historic merit will be engraved for all time."¹⁰ He stood for the development and long-term protection of the rich peasant economy in the rural areas. And he still put forward the reactionary line of developing capitalism and establishing the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie in China even after his plans for a bourgeois republic went completely bankrupt.

The top Party person in authority taking the capitalist road did his utmost to oppose China's taking the socialist road. He said: "It will be a very long time before China takes really serious socialist steps."¹¹ It would take 20 years, or 30 years, although there were different estimates, but in any case there would be some scores of years of collaboration with the capitalists, first to realize industrialization, then to undertake the nationalization of industry and the collectivization of agriculture. He said: "When in the future industrialization is realized and there are more factories and more products, that is when socialism should be embarked upon."¹² Summing it up, he said: "When in the future China has industrial over-production that will be the time for her to embark on socialism."¹³ "When in the future China has industrial over-production" — what a remark! Industrial over-production is a characteristic of capitalism. This remark of his right away exposed his ambition to develop capitalism. The

sort of things he peddled were actually not new, but a re-hash of the "theory of productive forces" rubbish put forward by the old-line revisionists including Trotsky, Bukharin and Rykov, and smashed by Lenin and Stalin at an early stage after the founding of the Soviet Union. He completely denied the role played by the dictatorship of the proletariat and the advanced socialist relations of production in promoting the growth of the productive forces. He completely denied the fact that the worker-peasant masses are the creators of social wealth and are the true motive force pushing forward the development of history. In his eyes there were only Messrs. Capitalists. With all his heart he desired to rely on them to achieve "immortal exploits" and to build his "utopia"!

What kind of "socialism" was he speaking about? Please note the following fantastic statement he made. He said: "Now, in the stage of new democracy, you capitalists can bring your initiative into full play. And what should you do in the future during the transition to socialism? Last time when I talked to Mr. Sung Fei-ching (Sung Fei-ching was manager of the Tungya Woollen Mill, a diehard counter-revolutionary whom the top Party person in authority taking the capitalist road lauded to the skies after liberation and who, shortly afterwards, fled abroad — *Ed.*), I said: 'Now you run only one factory. In the future, you can run two, three . . . eight factories. When the country makes the transition to socialism, you can hand the factories over to the state on the latter's order, or the state will buy them up; if the state has no money temporarily, it can issue bonds. Then, the state will still entrust the running of the eight factories to you and you will remain the manager, but a manager of state factories. As you are capable you will be given eight more factories, altogether you will be entrusted with 16 factories to run. Your salary will not be reduced but increased; however, you will have to run them well! Will you do this?' Mr. Sung said: 'Of course I will!' You will be called to a meeting to discuss how to carry through the transformation to socialism. You will certainly not frown, but all of you will come to the meeting with beaming faces."¹⁴

How wonderful! A capitalist sells eight factories to the state and gets back 16 factories from the state. And this is called "socialism"! At that time, a group of capitalists did indeed exclaim "with beaming faces": "In the past we couldn't fathom what the Communist Party had in mind but now we're beginning to learn." And the top Party person in authority taking the capitalist road said to them obsequiously: "I'll let you get to the bottom of what the Party has in mind and let you know what you want to know."¹⁵ What true servility! What a genuine offer of service! Haven't the old and new revisionists all talked about "growing into socialism peacefully"? Here indeed was a living sample. And it is they themselves who have truly "grown into" capitalism! Didn't the No. 1 agent of the bourgeoisie who "grew into" our Party thoroughly expose his own ugly face?

In order to hoodwink others, the top Party person in authority taking the capitalist road also hypocritically talked about the dictatorship of the proletariat, but his dictatorship of the proletariat is fake proletarian and genuine bourgeois dictatorship.

He was bitterly hostile to the working class. He once yelled: "There are also unreliable people in the working class" and "Don't assume there are no problems about relying on the working class."¹⁶ At one stroke he wrote off the class struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie, which mainly took the form of restriction and opposition to restriction [of capitalism]. He blatantly asserted: "There must be no restriction for seven or eight years. This is beneficial to the state, the workers and production."¹⁷ He went so far as to advocate: "State-owned and private enterprises should consult together on all questions, from raw materials to marketing, and should jointly decide on their allocation," and he added, "so that all can share in making money."¹⁸ He openly called on the bourgeoisie to "fight" the proletariat. He said: "You must fight the workers. If you fail to do so, don't blame the Communist Party if in the future the workers fight till your factories are ruined."¹⁹ There it is! In his eyes the state of the dictatorship of the proletariat led by the working class has the job of dealing not with the bourgeoisie but with the working class! What is more, he openly said: "Today we do not want dictatorship by one class. We should represent the entire people."²⁰ Is this not out-and-out betrayal of the dictatorship of the proletariat?

The top Party person in authority taking the capitalist road desperately opposed the socialist transformation of agriculture and sabotaged the development of agricultural co-operation. He disparaged those poor peasants who took the lead in raising the demand to organize themselves as bankrupt "poor peasants who are unable to farm individually."²¹ He described the proposal that the agricultural mutual-aid team should be developed into agricultural co-operatives as "erroneous and dangerous utopian agrarian socialism."²² In collusion with a handful of Right-wing opportunists, he cut down the number of co-operatives on a large scale, and altogether 200,000 agricultural co-operatives were dissolved. He said viciously: "What do we mean by laissez-faire? We mean allowing free hiring of farm hands and freedom for individual farming; if they all have three horses and a plough, that will be very fine. There can be no laissez-faire for those who do not permit the hiring of farm hands or freedom for individual farming! Those who interfere with the 'three horses' proposition are not to be allowed to do as they please!"²³ In this way he gave only to the rich peasants the freedom to develop exploitation, but refused to give the poor and lower-middle peasants the freedom to organize and engage in mutual aid and co-operation. And his futile purpose in all this was to hand the vast countryside over to the rich peasants and turn it into a base for the bourgeoisie to resist the proletariat.

Political power has always been the instrument by which one class oppresses another. If instead of developing socialism, the political power of the new China that had just come into being had developed capitalism, if instead of restricting the bourgeoisie it had restricted the proletariat, if instead of restricting the rich peasants it had restricted the poor peasants, and if instead of struggling against the bourgeoisie it had "struggled" against the proletariat and thereby completely abandoned the function it was called upon to fulfil—that of suppressing the resistance of the bourgeoisie and safeguarding the socialist revolution and socialist construction—would there not have been a fundamental change in the nature of the political power of New China? Chairman Mao hit the nail on the head when he said: "What will happen if our country fails to establish a socialist economy? It will turn into a country like Yugoslavia, a bourgeois state in effect, and the dictatorship of the proletariat will turn into a bourgeois dictatorship and, for that matter, into a reactionary, fascist dictatorship. This question very much warrants our vigilance and I hope comrades will give it serious consideration."

(3)

When the socialist transformation of the ownership of the means of production has in the main been completed, do classes and class struggle still exist in socialist society? Should the dictatorship of the proletariat be maintained and the socialist revolution carried through to the end, or should the dictatorship of the proletariat be abolished and the way be paved for the restoration of capitalism? These important theoretical and practical problems were previously unresolved in the history of the international communist movement.

Again, at this crucial historical turning point, our great leader Chairman Mao published his *On the Correct Handling of Contradictions Among the People*, his *Speech at the Chinese Communist Party's National Conference on Propaganda Work* and other works. These brilliant, epoch-making documents summarized the historical experience of the dictatorship of the proletariat in the world and—for the first time in the history of the development of Marxism—provided a scientific, systematic and penetrating exposition of contradictions, classes and class struggle in socialist society. This was an important landmark signifying that Marxism-Leninism had developed to a completely new stage—the stage of Mao Tse-tung's thought.

Chairman Mao clearly pointed out that in socialist society "the class struggle is by no means over. The class struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie, the class struggle between the different political forces, and the class struggle in the ideological field between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie will continue to be long and tortuous and at times will even become very acute." "There are still a number of people who vainly hope to restore the capitalist system

and fight the working class on every front, including the ideological one."

However, the top Party person in authority taking the capitalist road did his utmost to spread the idea of "the dying out of class struggle." He made such absurd statements as: "In our country, there are no more classes and class struggle. And "capitalists, landlords and rich peasants will all go into socialism."²⁴ "After that, there will be no revolutionary struggle, no land reform, nor socialist transformation," "there will be no battle ground for heroes to show their prowess, for there will be no landlord class or bourgeoisie for us to wipe out."²⁵

"The dying out of class struggle!" This is a sheer lie. It is the same stuff as "a state of the whole people" and "a party of the entire people" which Khrushchov and company used in usurping the leadership of the Party and the state. It is the most shameful, most thoroughgoing betrayal of the dictatorship of the proletariat! Under cover of "the dying out of class struggle," the top Party person in authority taking the capitalist road wanted to get the proletariat and other working people to lower their guard, so that landlords, rich peasants, counter-revolutionaries, bad elements and ghosts and monsters of all kinds could emerge and launch wild attacks on the proletariat, break up the socialist economic base, subvert the dictatorship of the proletariat and restore capitalism.

During this period, the top Party person in authority taking the capitalist road mounted one frenzied attack after another on socialism and the dictatorship of the proletariat, sometimes out in the open, sometimes behind the scenes. Just before the bourgeois Rightists began their fierce onslaught in 1957, he viciously attacked the socialist system by alleging that "there is no system which is absolutely good" and that "it is no good regarding only our system as good and all others as unsatisfactory."²⁶ He advocated the bourgeois "two-chamber system," saying: "The People's Political Consultative Conference and the National People's Congress are in a sense in the nature of an Upper and a Lower House," adding: "only this is not specified in the Constitution."²⁷ He wanted to turn the People's Political Consultative Conference and the National People's Congress into a bourgeois type of Upper and Lower House, in tune with the idea of a "political planning institute" put forward by the Chang Po-chun-Lo Lung-chi Alliance.

At the Lushan Meeting of the Party in 1959, he actively supported the big conspirator, careerist and warlord Peng Teh-huai, who styled himself a "Hai Jui," and had vain hopes of overthrowing the leadership of the Party Central Committee headed by Chairman Mao.

After Peng Teh-huai's case was brought to light at the meeting, he continued to act in co-ordination with Peng Teh-huai and, while instigating people from behind the scenes, plotted to tamper with the previously prepared summary of the meeting and turn it into a doc-

ument directed against the "Left deviation" to oppose Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line.

Later he openly attacked the Lushan Meeting and made absurd allegations such as that "the Lushan Meeting made a mistake"; "it should not have fought the Right deviation";²⁸ "it was wrong to combat the Right deviation"; "it left an aftermath throughout the country."²⁹

Especially during the three years of temporary difficulties, he ganged up with all kinds of ghosts and monsters at home and abroad and worked even more frantically for a counter-revolutionary restoration of capitalism. He viciously attacked the Party's general line for building socialism, the great leap forward and the people's communes. He clamoured that the economy was approaching the verge of bankruptcy; that "the situation is no excellent one";³⁰ "the economy is out of balance";³¹ "three parts natural calamities and seven parts man-made disasters"; "acute contradictions have arisen in the worker-peasant alliance." For his own ulterior motives, he demagogically proclaimed that the peasants "have no ease of mind," the workers "have no ease of mind," and the cadres, too, "cannot possibly have any ease of mind,"³² and so on and so forth.

He clamoured: "There should be an opposition; there should be an open opposition both among the people and within the Party."³³ This is how he prepared public opinion for the bourgeoisie to come to power.

He advocated the extension of plots for private use and of free markets, the increase of small enterprises with sole responsibility for their own profits or losses and the fixing of output quotas on the basis of households and actively encouraged "going it alone." He said: "Sufficient retreat should be made in industry and also in agriculture, even to the extent of fixing output quotas on the basis of households and of going it alone!"³⁴; "there is nothing to be frightened of if some bourgeois elements should emerge in society. There is no need to fear the flooding in of capitalism."³⁵

With regard to the international struggle, he beat the drum for capitulation to the imperialists, the modern revisionists and the reactionaries of different countries and favoured stamping out the flames of revolution in the world; he advocated liquidation of struggle in our relations with imperialism, the reactionaries and modern revisionism, and reduction of assistance and support to the revolutionary struggle of other peoples.

He said: "Even as regards the United States, we hope to improve our relationships with it too." He even aspired to "develop friendly relations"³⁶ with the U.S. He asserted that Khrushchov was "unable to restore capitalism in the Soviet Union," that Khrushchov was "truly" opposed to imperialism and that "we should unite with them," "seek common ground while reserving differences" and "together oppose imperialism."³⁷ He went so far as to tell the Communist Party of Burma to lay down its arms, alleging: "You can do without your weapons, you can bury them underground or you can reorganize your troops into the national defence

forces"³⁸; and "co-operate" with Ne Win, "to what end?" "To carry out a socialist revolution."³⁹

In August 1962, he again issued his sinister book on "self-cultivation," which betrays the dictatorship of the proletariat and leads people to become more revisionist the more they cultivate themselves according to it. The book became the "theme song" of the handful of counter-revolutionary revisionists in their attempts to create public opinion for the restoration of capitalism!

These shocking and revolting facts of the struggle show that after the capitalist economic base was in the main destroyed, the top Party person in authority taking the capitalist road daily and hourly engaged in criminal activities for the restoration of capitalism. Particularly during the three years of temporary difficulties, he bared his fangs and hoisted the black anti-Party ensign calling for "an opposition" and to turn the clock back. He launched an all-round attack against the Party and socialism on the political, economic and ideological-cultural fronts, thus presenting an extremely serious threat to the political power of the proletariat.

If things had developed according to his counter-revolutionary revisionist line, drastic class differentiation would have occurred in the countryside; new bourgeois elements would have appeared in great numbers in the cities; the masses of workers and poor and lower-middle peasants would have had a second dose of suffering and sunk back into the miserable life of slaves and beasts of burden; our country's socialist economic base would have been utterly destroyed; a complete change would have taken place in the nature of our proletarian state power and history would have been turned back on to the old road leading to a semi-colonial, semi-feudal society. What a dangerous thing this would have been!

At the Tenth Plenary Session of the Eighth Central Committee of the Party in 1962, our great leader Chairman Mao issued the great call "**never forget class struggle**" and sounded the clarion for the proletariat to launch an all-round mass counter-attack against the bourgeoisie. The top Party person in authority taking the capitalist road was now like "a locust in late autumn," approaching his doom with each passing day!

(4)

The history of the dictatorship of the proletariat tells us that political power remains the most fundamental of all questions in the class struggle under the dictatorship of the proletariat.

Summing up the rich historical experience of the dictatorship of the proletariat in the world and taking into account the grave fact that the top Party person in authority taking the capitalist road was plotting a restoration of capitalism, our great leader Chairman Mao personally aroused the hundreds of millions of the revolutionary people and led them in launching the great, unprecedented proletarian cultural revolution. Thus the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat

in our country enters a new, and still deeper and broader stage. It is a great and decisive battle between Chairman Mao's proletarian headquarters and the bourgeois headquarters of the top Party person in authority taking the capitalist road.

In that great historic document, the May 16, 1966 Circular of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party, Chairman Mao pointed out: "**Those representatives of the bourgeoisie who have sneaked into the Party, the government, the army and various cultural circles are a bunch of counter-revolutionary revisionists. Once conditions are ripe, they will seize political power and turn the dictatorship of the proletariat into a dictatorship of the bourgeoisie. Some of them we have already seen through, others we have not. Some are still trusted by us and are being trained as our successors, persons like Khrushchov, for example, who are still nestling beside us. Party committees at all levels must pay full attention to this matter.**" By "persons like Khrushchov" nestling beside us, Chairman Mao was referring to none other than the top Party person in authority taking the capitalist road and the bourgeois headquarters headed by him.

Why was Chairman Mao's revolutionary line resisted and opposed time and again over the past 17 years? Why did an undercurrent favouring a restoration of capitalism come to the surface again and again? Primarily it is because a bourgeois headquarters had entrenched itself in the apparatus of the dictatorship of the proletariat. And this bourgeois headquarters was the greatest menace to the dictatorship of the proletariat and the greatest danger to the socialist state.

The great proletarian cultural revolution has sounded the death-knell for the handful of Party persons in authority taking the capitalist road. Struggling in wild desperation as they saw their end approaching, the top Party person in authority taking the capitalist road, in collusion with another top Party person in authority taking the capitalist road, formulated and put into operation a bourgeois reactionary line. They countered Chairman Mao's directive by sending out a large number of work-teams to suppress the revolutionary mass movement. In Tsinghua University and at the No. 1 Middle School affiliated to the Peking Teachers' Training University, where the movement was directly under the guidance of China's Khrushchov, the spearhead of struggle was aimed at the revolutionary masses and a number of revolutionaries were labelled "counter-revolutionaries." As for the cadres, his policy was to hit hard at many in order to protect a handful. One issue of the bulletin of the work-team in Peking University, which was circulated with his approval, described a revolutionary incident as a counter-revolutionary incident, and he called on the whole country to follow suit and to impose a white terror, encircling and suppressing revolutionaries and instigating one section of the masses to fight another, and he did all this in a vain attempt to stamp out the raging flames of the great proletarian cultural revolution ignited by Chairman Mao himself.

At this crucial moment our great leader Chairman Mao convened the 11th Plenary Session of the Eighth Central Committee of the Party, published his big-character poster **"Bombard the Headquarters,"** a poster of great historic significance, and personally guided the drawing up of the **Decision of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party Concerning the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution.** This thoroughly exposed the bourgeois headquarters headed by the top Party person in authority taking the capitalist road, proclaimed the bankruptcy of the bourgeois reactionary line he had been pushing and announced the victory of Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line. This is another great contribution by Chairman Mao to the Marxist-Leninist theory of proletarian revolution and the dictatorship of the proletariat.

Led by the great supreme commander Chairman Mao himself, the revolutionary masses throughout the country have carried the great revolutionary mass movement to ever greater heights and they have finally dragged out this No. 1 agent of the bourgeoisie within the Party and his gang of scoundrels. In the upsurge of revolutionary mass criticism and repudiation which has been launched throughout the country, he and his gang are now caught in a net from which there is no escape, cast by the hundreds of millions of revolutionary armymen and people. They resemble the proverbial "rats scurrying across the street with everyone yelling: Beat them! Beat them!" What is this "monstrous creature," this top Party person in authority taking the capitalist road, actually like? His own criminal history of sham revolution and actual counter-revolution in the past forty years and more provides the irrefutable answer. The evidence of these crimes is conclusive. The iron-clad proofs pile up mountain high. Can he then absolve himself by deception, by denials or by resistance? **"Whither now the God of Plague may I ask? The flames of his funeral pyre light up the skies!"**

The great proletarian cultural revolution is a major event for our great people. In the brilliant light of Mao Tse-tung's thought the sea of red flags surges forward, the masses in their hundreds of millions are struggling and studying, and are criticizing and repudiating the bourgeoisie. Mao Tse-tung's thought has become their food, their weapon and their compass. They vow to be good fighters of Chairman Mao. They vow to ensure that the proletarian state will never change its colour! Mao Tse-tung's thought has united the hundreds of millions into an all-conquering, invincible material force that is shaking the old world and creating the new.

"Only socialism can save China!"

All through the past decades, our great teacher, great leader, great supreme commander and great helmsman Chairman Mao has commanded the mighty army of the revolution, and has directed it to pursue the tottering foe, to bind the Grey Dragon, and to make great plans and attack all that is corrupt and evil. He has steered the ship of the Chinese revolution forward

through the torrents, by-passing the hidden reefs, braving the winds and waves and advancing in triumph. He has brought Marxism-Leninism to a completely new stage—the stage of Mao Tse-tung's thought.

It is Chairman Mao who has taught us that the new democratic revolution is the necessary preparation for the socialist revolution and the socialist revolution is the inevitable sequel to the new democratic revolution. Following the victory of the new democratic revolution, it was necessary, without interruption, for the revolution to move on to the stage of socialism.

It is Chairman Mao who has taught us that political power grows out of the barrel of a gun and that only with guns can the old world under the rule of imperialism and all reaction be transformed.

It is Chairman Mao who has taught us that after seizing political power, the proletariat must persist in and consolidate the dictatorship of the proletariat and keep to the socialist road. No matter how many things we may have to do, we must never forget the dictatorship of the proletariat.

It is Chairman Mao who personally initiated the great and unprecedented proletarian cultural revolution, and who has taught us that classes and class struggle continue to exist throughout the historical period of socialist society, and that under the dictatorship of the proletariat, the revolution must be carried through to the end.

"The East is red; the sun rises; Mao Tse-tung has appeared in China."

The orientation given by Chairman Mao is the orientation for the revolutionary people of the whole world. The road which he has opened up is the road along which the revolutionary people of the whole world will advance.

Whither China? Whither the world? The wheel of history is moving in the direction pointed out by Mao Tse-tung's thought!

NOTES:

¹"Criticism of the Past Work and Plan for the Future Work of the Club," August 20, 1923.

²Hankow *Minkuo Daily*, July 5, 1927.

³"Strategy and Tactics of the Chinese Revolution," October 10, 1942.

⁴*ibid.*

⁵"A Report on the Situation," February 1, 1946.

⁶*ibid.*

⁷*ibid.*

⁸"Speech at the National Committee of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference," November 4, 1951.

⁹Quoted indirectly from "Patriotism or National Betrayal?" (See *Peking Review*, No. 15, 1967.)

¹⁰"Speech at the First National Congress of Youth," May 12, 1949.

¹¹"Speech at the First Session of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference," September 21, 1949.

¹²"Speech at the First National Congress of Youth," May 12, 1949.

¹³"Speech at a Discussion Among Industrialists and Businessmen," April 25, 1949.

- ¹⁴ *ibid.*
- ¹⁵ "Speech at the First National Congress of Youth," May 12, 1949.
- ¹⁶ "Directive for the Work in Tientsin," April 24, 1949.
- ¹⁷ "Speech at a Discussion Among Industrialists and Businessmen," April 25, 1949.
- ¹⁸ *ibid.*
- ¹⁹ *ibid.*
- ²⁰ "Directive for the Work in Tientsin," April 24, 1949.
- ²¹ "Instructions to An Tzu-wen and Others," January 23, 1950.
- ²² "Remarks on 'Raising Mutual-Aid Organizations a Step Higher in the Old Liberated Areas' by Shansi Provincial Party Committee," July 3, 1951.
- ²³ "Instructions to An Tzu-wen and Others," January 23, 1950.
- ²⁴ Talk with a foreign guest on July 13, 1956.
- ²⁵ "Speech at the Shanghai Party Cadres' Conference," April 27, 1957.
- ²⁶ Talk with foreigners on June 17, 1956.

- ²⁷ Speech at the Standing Committee Meeting of the National People's Congress on November 16, 1956.
- ²⁸ "Speech at Cadres' Forum of the Tsinan Military Area Command," July 9, 1964.
- ²⁹ "Speech at the Forum of Secretaries of the Regional Party Committees of Hopei Province," July 2, 1964.
- ³⁰ "Speech at the 18th Supreme State Conference," March 21, 1962.
- ³¹ "Instructions to the Shihchiachuang and Wusih Investigation Groups of the General Office of the Party's Central Committee," April 24, 1962.
- ³² "Speech at the Working Conference of the Party's Central Committee," May 31, 1961.
- ³³ "Speech at the Working Conference of the Party's Central Committee," February 8, 1962.
- ³⁴ Speech in June 1962.
- ³⁵ Speech on October 22, 1961.
- ³⁶ Talk with a foreign guest on March 6, 1963.
- ³⁷ Talk with foreign comrades on June 27, 1962.
- ³⁸ Talk with a foreigner on April 26, 1963.
- ³⁹ Talk with foreign comrades on July 20, 1963.



From the Defeat of Peng Teh-huai to The Bankruptcy of China's Khrushchov

THE publication of the "Resolution of the Eighth Plenary Session of the Eighth Central Committee of the Communist Party of China Concerning the Anti-Party Clique Headed by Peng Teh-huai" (excerpts) is of great significance, coming as it does in the midst of the high tide of mass criticism and repudiation of the handful of top Party persons in authority taking the capitalist road, in the midst of the great revolutionary advance to smash the bourgeois headquarters completely.

The Eighth Plenary Session of the Eighth Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party—the Lushan Meeting—was held at a time when China's socialist revolution was developing in depth and the class struggle at home and abroad was more acute than ever before. The greatest historical achievement of this meeting was that it crushed the plot of the anti-Party clique headed by Peng Teh-huai to usurp the leadership of the Party, safeguarded the Party's general line and safeguarded the proletarian headquarters headed by Chairman Mao. As the "Resolution" points out: "To take resolute action and crush the activities of the Right opportunist anti-Party clique headed by Peng Teh-huai is absolutely necessary not only for safeguarding the Party's general line, but also for safeguarding the leadership of the Party's Central Committee headed by Comrade Mao Tse-tung, the

unity of the Party, and the socialist cause of the Party and the people."

In 1958, after our country's socialist transformation of the ownership of the means of production had been completed in the main and a great victory had been won in the struggle against the bourgeois Rightists, our great leader Chairman Mao put forward the general line of **going all out, aiming high and achieving greater, quicker, better and more economical results in building socialism**. Under the brilliant guidance of the general line, the Chinese people created in the rural areas a brand-new form of social organization—the people's commune—and a vigorous great leap forward took place throughout China. The wholesome influence of socialism grew and spread to a high degree while the noxious influence of capitalism received a heavy blow. The immense success of the Party's general line, the great leap forward and the people's commune movement met with the most violent, foul and frenzied resistance from the class enemies at home and abroad.

It was in these conditions of class struggle that Peng Teh-huai, fugleman of the bourgeois headquarters headed by China's Khrushchov, came out in the open. He mustered a handful of anti-Party elements like Huang Ke-cheng, Chang Wen-tien and Chou Hsiao-chou and, at the Lushan Meeting, launched a wild at-

tack on the Party. He also dished up a so-called letter setting out his views, which contained an out-and-out counter-revolutionary programme.

Peng Teh-huai and his gang echoed Dulles, Khrushchov and their like. They viciously attacked the general line, calling it "Left" adventurism"; they described the great leap forward as "a rush of blood to the brain" and "running a high fever" and alleged that the people's communes were "set up too early" and were "a mess." They slandered as "petty-bourgeois fanaticism" the great mass movement in which several hundred million people took part and which was led by Chairman Mao. They clamoured for "simultaneous attention" to both economic measures and putting politics in command. What they called "simultaneous attention" was really designed to oppose giving prominence to politics and placing politics in command; what they wanted was to put money in command and encourage the use of material incentives. And they viciously attacked our greatest leader Chairman Mao.

In short, they vainly tried to negate the Party's general line for building socialism, to secure the abandonment of the people's communes and to revenge themselves on the great leap forward. They were against taking the socialist road and tried in vain to pull China into the orbit of revisionism.

The mass of facts brought to light at the Lushan Meeting proved that Peng Teh-huai and his gang were a clique of conspirators, which had a specific objective, had made preparations, and had ready plans and an organization for usurping Party and army leadership.

The "Resolution" points out that an attack "launched from inside the Party, particularly inside the Central Committee, is clearly more dangerous than an attack from outside the Party." The Lushan Meeting exposed the big conspiracy of Peng Teh-huai's anti-Party clique for usurping Party and army leadership and deprived them of their power. This was a great victory for Mao Tse-tung's thought.

After the Lushan Meeting, Comrade Lin Piao, the close comrade-in-arms of Chairman Mao and his best student, who has always held high the great red banner of Mao Tse-tung's thought, took charge of the work of the Military Commission of the Central Committee and thus military power was held more firmly in the hands of the proletarian headquarters. This greatly strengthened the proletarian headquarters and consolidated the dictatorship of the proletariat.

Peng Teh-huai always took a reactionary bourgeois stand and opposed Chairman Mao, the proletarian revolution and the dictatorship of the proletariat. In all the struggles with regard to line in the history of our Party, he took the side of opportunism and opposed Chairman Mao's correct line.

During the period of the Ten-Year Civil War, he opposed the only correct revolutionary road — Chairman Mao's revolutionary road of establishing rural bases and encircling the cities from the countryside — and faithfully carried out the adventurist and opportunist lines of Li Li-san and Wang Ming.

During the period of the War of Resistance Against Japan, he stubbornly pushed Wang Ming's capitulationist line and advocated "everything through the united front" and the liquidation of proletarian leadership. He opposed the seizure of political power by the proletariat. To the best of his ability he preached the extremely hypocritical bourgeois notion of "liberty, equality and fraternity," spread the doctrine of "do not do to others what you would not have them do to you," and was shameless enough to praise Chiang Kai-shek as "a wise leader guiding the War of Resistance." The fact that he used such nonsense to deceive and fool the masses at a time when the Chinese people were engaged in a life-and-death struggle against the national and class enemies in the War of Resistance Against Japan fully reveals him as an enemy of the revolutionary people.

When China entered the stage of socialist revolution, his anti-Party activities became all the more outrageous. In 1953, just when China was embarking on the three great socialist transformations [of agriculture, of handicrafts and of capitalist industry and commerce], he formed an anti-Party alliance with the big careerist Kao Kang and the counter-revolutionary element Jao Shu-shih. Actually Peng Teh-huai was the leader of the Kao-Jao alliance. They maintained illicit relations with foreign countries, engaged in double-dealing trickery and plotted to usurp Party and army leadership. As the "Resolution" points out, the anti-Party activities of Peng Teh-huai's anti-Party clique at the Lushan Meeting "represent a continuation and development of the case of the anti-Party alliance of Kao Kang and Jao Shu-shih."

At the Lushan Meeting Chairman Mao declared: **"This struggle at Lushan is a class struggle, a continuation of the life-and-death struggle between the two major antagonistic classes — the bourgeoisie and the proletariat — which has gone on all through the socialist revolution in the last ten years. This kind of struggle, it seems, will continue in China and in our Party for at least 20 years and possibly half a century. In short, the struggle will cease only when classes die out completely."**

These words of Chairman Mao provide an extremely profound explanation of the essence of the struggle between our Party and Peng Teh-huai's anti-Party clique. And the course of the class struggle since the Lushan Meeting, from the defeat of Peng Teh-huai to the bankruptcy of China's Khrushchov, has fully borne out this scientific thesis of genius advanced by Chairman Mao.

This struggle at the Lushan Meeting was a great clash in the struggle between the two classes, two roads, two lines and two headquarters.

Peng Teh-huai's anti-Party activities at the Lushan Meeting were actually carried out with the support and shelter of the bourgeois headquarters headed by China's Khrushchov. Peng Teh-huai's letter setting out his anti-Party views was in effect the counter-revolutionary programme of the bourgeois head-

quarters for the restoration of capitalism. Peng Teh-huai himself was the anti-Party fugleman of this bourgeois headquarters. At the time, thinking there was an opportunity to be seized, Peng Teh-huai dashed forth fiercely, while China's Khrushchov, personally hoisting the ensign of "combating the Left deviation," attacked the Party's general line for building socialism, the great leap forward and the people's communes. Peng Teh-huai's anti-Party clique was defeated after a test of strength. Seeing that things were going against them, China's Khrushchov hastily provided cover for Peng Teh-huai's retreat, and using counter-revolutionary double-dealing tactics, created confusion and conspired to undermine Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line.

Between 1960 and 1962, our country encountered temporary economic difficulties caused by the Khrushchov revisionists' perfidious sabotage of our economy and by natural calamities. Internationally, the imperialists, modern revisionists and all reactionaries knocked together a "Holy Alliance" and once again stirred up an adverse current against communism, China and the people. In the eyes of the overlords of the bourgeois headquarters headed by China's Khrushchov, the skies were about to fall, the land of China was about to sink, and the moment for them to restore capitalism had arrived. Accordingly they went all out to fan up evil winds and flames, urge ghosts and monsters to come out and feverishly create counter-revolutionary public opinion.

Wu Han, a scribbler in the pay of the U.S.-Chiang Kai-shek reactionaries and a guest of honour in the bourgeois headquarters, led the attack by calling for a reversal of the verdict on Peng Teh-huai. In the opera *Hai Jui Dismissed From Office*, a big poisonous weed, Wu Han voiced complaints and grievances about Peng Teh-huai's dismissal in the words "It's unjust to relieve me of my post." Wu Han praised him as "a hero that stands upright," "a great man towering to the skies," encouraged him "not to give in or lose heart," and "to make a fresh start after defeat," and clamoured: "I will re-establish order and discipline one day when I am in office again." All this was aimed at preparing public opinion for Peng Teh-huai's vengeance-seeking counter-attack.

The stalwarts of the bourgeois headquarters, Peng Chen, Lu Ting-yi, Chou Yang and their like, and the notorious despicable gang of the "Three-Family Village," promptly made a great to-do and went out of their way to laud *Hai Jui Dismissed From Office*. They tried to drum up an anti-Party, anti-socialist "Hai Jui spirit" throughout the country, trying to reverse the verdict on Peng Teh-huai and pave the way for the restoration of capitalism.

Amid this fanfare of counter-revolutionary public opinion, China's Khrushchov himself, the chief boss of the bourgeois headquarters, came on the stage. He openly tried to reverse the verdict on Peng Teh-huai at the enlarged Work Conference of the Party's Central Committee held in January 1962. He said in Peng

Teh-huai's defence that in Peng's anti-Party programme "much is in conformity with the facts" and "it shouldn't be regarded as a mistake." He viciously attacked the struggle led by Chairman Mao against Peng Teh-huai's anti-Party clique as "an erroneous struggle that over-stepped the limits." With powerful support and encouragement from China's Khrushchov, Peng Teh-huai brought out in June 1962 a document running into a full 80,000 words aimed at reversing the verdict passed on him. Echoing China's Khrushchov, Peng Teh-huai in this document once again viciously attacked our great leader Chairman Mao, attacked the general line, the great leap forward and the people's communes.

At the Tenth Plenary Session of the Party's Eighth Central Committee in 1962, our great leader Chairman Mao issued his call to battle: "**Never forget class struggle.**" Guided by his great theses on classes, class contradictions and class struggle, the people throughout the country have courageously risen to face the offensive launched by the bourgeois headquarters and dealt it heavy head-on blows.

In the latter half of 1965, Chairman Mao personally took in hand the question of criticizing and repudiating *Hai Jui Dismissed From Office*. He pointed out: "**The crux of *Hai Jui Dismissed From Office* is the question of dismissal from office. The Emperor Chia Ching [of the Ming Dynasty, 1522-1566] dismissed Hai Jui from office. In 1959 we dismissed Peng Teh-huai from office. And Peng Teh-huai is 'Hai Jui' too.**" This criticism made by Chairman Mao hit the mark not only with regard to *Hai Jui Dismissed From Office* but also with regard to the whole bourgeois headquarters.

Hai Jui Dismissed From Office was the point at which a breach was forced by the great proletarian cultural revolution, personally initiated and led by Chairman Mao, thereby exposing the counter-revolutionary revisionist Peng Chen, the behind-the-scenes boss of the "Three Family Village," and uncovering the counter-revolutionary revisionist clique of Peng Chen, Lu Ting-ching, Lu Ting-yi and Yang Shang-kun. On August 5, 1966, Chairman Mao wrote his big-character poster, "Bombard the Headquarters," and this lifted the lid still further in the struggle between the two lines and the two headquarters which had been going on for a long time inside the Party. Responding to Chairman Mao's call, the revolutionary masses in their hundreds of millions stormed the bourgeois headquarters and dug out the handful of top Party persons in authority taking the capitalist road. Revolutionary mass criticism and repudiation has been conducted against the counter-revolutionary revisionist line and its poisonous influence on every front. China's Khrushchov has gone bankrupt. This is the greatest and most brilliant of victories for our Party.

In April 1949, when the great People's Liberation Army crossed the Yangtse River, Chairman Mao wrote a magnificent poem filled with the heroic spirit that

(Continued on p. 35.)

Strive to Win New Merit in Serving The People

Commanders and fighters of the three services of the Chinese People's Liberation Army and proletarian revolutionaries throughout the country were tremendously inspired when they learnt from the press and radio about the inscription written by Vice-Chairman Lin Piao, our great leader Chairman Mao's close comrade-in-arms, for the conference of activists in the study of Chairman Mao's works in the Peking Garrison Area. The inscription reads: "Hold aloft the great red banner of Mao Tse-tung's thought and win new merit in the great proletarian cultural revolution." The P.L.A. men say that this is a fighting call for them to advance continuously and that it gives them infinite strength. They also say that they have the confidence as well as the determination to do a good job in the work of supporting the masses of the Left, assisting industrial and agricultural production, exercising military control and giving military and political training, and thus winning new merit in serving the people. Proletarian revolutionaries and revolutionary young fighters in all parts of the country expressed their determination to raise the great banner of "supporting the army and cherishing the people" still higher. They pledged to co-operate closely with the P.L.A., and together carry the great proletarian cultural revolution to complete victory.

The Peking Garrison Communist Party Committee on August 10 issued a decision on resolutely carrying out Vice-Chairman Lin Piao's instruction.

The P.L.A. units of the Peking Garrison held a celebration meeting on the 11th at which 10,000 members enthusiastically responded to Vice-Chairman Lin Piao's call and pledged to win new merit in serving the people.

"Renmin Ribao," "Jiefangjun Bao" and "Guangming Ribao" all published editorials on the 11th about Comrade Lin Piao's inscription. Following is the text of "Renmin Ribao's" editorial. — Ed.

At a time when the great proletarian cultural revolution is entering a new, victorious stage throughout the country, Comrade Lin Piao, the close comrade-in-arms of our great leader Chairman Mao, has issued a great call to the Chinese People's Liberation Army: "Hold aloft the great red banner of Mao Tse-tung's thought and win new merit in the great proletarian cultural revolution."

August 18, 1967

This shows the utmost solicitude for and faith in the P.L.A., and gives it the greatest encouragement.

It also expresses tremendous support and concern for the proletarian revolutionaries and revolutionary people of the whole country and greatly inspires them.

Chairman Mao says: "Without a people's army the people have nothing."

The Chinese People's Liberation Army, personally founded and led by Chairman Mao and under the direct command of Comrade Lin Piao, is a great army infinitely loyal to our great supreme commander Chairman Mao, to the Party, the people and the revolutionary cause of the proletariat. It is the strongest pillar of the proletarian dictatorship in our country. It defends our impregnable proletarian motherland.

In the course of the world-shaking great proletarian cultural revolution, the P.L.A. has responded to the great call of Chairman Mao and shouldered the glorious task of supporting the masses of the Left, assisting industrial and agricultural production, exercising military control and giving military and political training. It has given powerful support to the proletarian revolutionaries, guaranteed the victorious advance of the great proletarian cultural revolution and made important contributions to the people in this new historical period.

The militant task facing the army commanders and fighters at the present time is to respond to deputy supreme commander Lin Piao's great call, continue to hold aloft the great red banner of Mao Tse-tung's thought, firmly stand on the side of the proletarian revolutionaries and fight shoulder to shoulder with them, and win new merit in serving the people in the great proletarian cultural revolution.

Chairman Mao teaches us that the main target of revolution under the proletarian dictatorship is the bourgeois representatives who have sneaked into the apparatus of that dictatorship, the handful of Party persons in authority taking the capitalist road. They are the most dangerous enemy of the workers, peasants, soldiers, revolutionary cadres and revolutionary intellectuals. The P.L.A. should always direct its spearhead of struggle against this handful. In the current campaign of revolutionary mass criticism and repudia-

tion, the P.L.A. should join with proletarian revolutionaries throughout the country in repudiating China's Khrushchov politically, ideologically and theoretically. They should thoroughly repudiate the handful of Party persons in authority taking the capitalist road and completely destroy the bourgeois headquarters. Only by successfully fulfilling this great historic task can we guarantee that our Party and state will never change political colour and that the great proletarian cultural revolution will be carried through to the end.

The P.L.A. should further implement Chairman Mao's directive to **support the masses of the Left**, and regard its work of supporting, cherishing, helping and relying on the proletarian revolutionaries as the most important part of the army's duty to **cherish the people**. During the last few months, the P.L.A.'s experience in "supporting the Left" demonstrates that in order to give genuine support to the Left it is imperative to keep to the stand of the proletariat, understand and master Chairman Mao's method of class analysis and correctly ascertain which are the Left forces. When we judge whether or not a mass organization represents the revolutionary Left, the most fundamental thing is to see whether or not it genuinely supports Chairman Mao and his proletarian revolutionary line and firmly stands on the side of his proletarian headquarters. If we talk about class analysis divorced from the struggle between the two lines, the proletarian and the bourgeois, we cannot possibly grasp the essence of problems, the main aspect of things and the general orientation of the struggle, and we will make mistakes.

In the course of fulfilling these new and arduous tasks of supporting the masses of the Left, assisting

industrial and agricultural production, exercising military control and giving military and political training, the P.L.A. has been greatly tempered and tested and has formed a deep, militant friendship with the proletarian revolutionaries. In order to defend the great proletarian cultural revolution and support the proletarian revolutionaries, the commanders and fighters are dauntless and weather all tests without faltering. When there are shortcomings and mistakes in their work they are able to place the interests of the revolution first, modestly listen to criticism from the masses, make serious self-criticism and quickly correct their errors. This confirms that they genuinely act in accordance with Chairman Mao's words: "**In the interests of the people, we persist in doing what is right and correct what is wrong.**" It fully demonstrates the noble quality of our revolutionary fighters armed with Mao Tse-tung's thought.

Proletarian revolutionaries and the broad revolutionary masses must act in accordance with Chairman Mao's great teaching that we should "**have faith in and rely on the People's Liberation Army.**" They must cherish the P.L.A. like their own eyes and closely cooperate with it in order that, together, they will carry out the great proletarian cultural revolution still better.

We believe that the P.L.A. which has gained rich experience over the last year or so in the course of the great proletarian cultural revolution, will certainly hold still higher the great red banner of Mao Tse-tung's thought, take big strides forward most determinedly and strive to win new merit so as to guarantee complete victory in the great proletarian cultural revolution.

Great Cultural Revolution in Progress

Chinghai Provincial Revolutionary Committee Founded

PROLETARIAN revolutionaries of Chinghai Province in northwest China, closely following the guidance of the great leader Chairman Mao, have succeeded in forming a revolutionary great alliance and the "three-in-one" combination at a time when the revolutionary mass criticism and mass struggle is surging forward. The Chinghai Provincial Revolutionary Committee — the province's provisional organ of power — consisting of responsible members of revolutionary mass organizations, representatives of the People's Liberation Army units stationed in the Chinghai area and revolutionary leading cadres, was founded on August 12.

This event marks the victory of Chinghai's proletarian revolutionaries in their struggle to seize power from the handful of Party people in authority taking

the capitalist road, the great victory of the invincible thought of Mao Tse-tung, and the great victory of Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line on the Chinghai plateau.

On August 12, the ancient city of Sining atop the plateau became a sea of red banners and joyous people. From early morning, 120,000 proletarian revolutionaries, revolutionary masses and fully armed P.L.A. commanders and fighters, holding aloft red flags, carrying huge portraits of Chairman Mao and waving bright red copies of the *Quotations From Chairman Mao Tse-tung*, streamed to the site of the rally held to celebrate the occasion amidst the sound of gongs and cymbals.

The founding of the Chinghai Provincial Revolutionary Committee is the successful outcome of the heroic

fight by the "August 18" and other proletarian revolutionary organizations and revolutionary masses, under the guidance of Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line, against the handful of Party people in authority taking the capitalist road. The struggle between the two classes, two roads and two lines in Chinghai has been extremely sharp and complex. The handful of top Party persons in authority taking the capitalist road instructed the handful of agents they had planted in Chinghai to usurp Party and government power in that province. They vainly attempted to turn the province into their strategic base for a capitalist restoration. Over the past years, they have waved "red flags" to oppose the red flag; they have opposed Chairman Mao, the most respected and beloved great leader of the revolutionary people of all nationalities, and opposed the creative study and application of Chairman Mao's works by the masses of workers and peasants. They have implemented an out-and-out revisionist line on all fronts in a blatant attack against the proletariat. Since the great proletarian cultural revolution, they have made every effort to resist Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line, stood facts on their head and branded many revolutionary people and revolutionary cadres "counter-revolutionaries."

Throughout this period of white terror, however, the "August 18" and other proletarian revolutionary organizations defended Chairman Mao, the Party's Central Committee and Chairman Mao's revolutionary line with their life and blood. Powerfully backed by the P.L.A. units stationed in Chinghai, they have developed and grown stronger in the struggle.

In the last four months, these P.L.A. units sent out many propaganda teams of Mao Tse-tung's thought to the factories, schools, villages and government offices where they supported the "August 18" and other proletarian revolutionary organizations with the invincible thought of Mao Tse-tung. As a result, these revolutionary organizations and the broad masses of revolutionary people were able to carry out an extensive and penetrating exposure, criticism and repudiation and struggle against the handful of top Party persons in authority taking the capitalist road and their agents in Chinghai. This mass criticism and repudiation campaign speeded up the formation of the province's revolutionary great alliance and "three-in-one" combination and created most favourable conditions for the founding of Chinghai's provisional organ of power.

Speaking at the rally, Liu Hsien-chuan, Chairman of the Provincial Revolutionary Committee, stressed that just as the local revolutionaries relied on Mao Tse-tung's thought in seizing power, so they must rely on Mao Tse-tung's thought in exercising power. To keep the political power seized by the proletarian revolutionaries always bright red, Liu Hsien-chuan said, the most fundamental thing is to use Mao Tse-tung's thought to retain and exercise power effectively, that is, to follow Chairman Mao's teachings, act according to his instructions, firmly implement his revolutionary line and adhere to the general orientation of the struggle.

Also speaking at the rally were a responsible member of the P.L.A. units under the Lanchow Military Command, revolutionary rebel worker and student representatives of the "August 18" organization of Chinghai Province and representatives of the revolutionary leading cadres. They warmly acclaimed the formal establishment of the Chinghai Provincial Revolutionary Committee and pledged to do their best to consolidate and develop this victory.

A message of salute to our most deeply respected and beloved great leader Chairman Mao was endorsed by the rally amidst stormy applause and acclaim. (See p. 25.)

The new Provincial Revolutionary Committee published its first proclamation on August 12. The main points are:

1. From now on, all Party, government, financial and cultural power in the province belongs to the revolutionary committee.
2. Everyone should firmly keep to the general orientation of the struggle.
3. The two categories of contradictions, which are different in nature, should be differentiated and handled correctly.
4. Everyone should respond to Chairman Mao's great call "take firm hold of the revolution and promote production."
5. Everyone should respond to Chairman Mao's great call "support the army and cherish the people."
6. The dictatorship of the proletariat should be consolidated and strengthened, counter-revolutionaries must be resolutely suppressed and the class enemies' counter-attacks must be crushed.
7. The movement for the creative study and application of Chairman Mao's works should be carried to new heights.
8. All proclamations and orders previously issued by the P.L.A. Military Control Committee in Chinghai must be resolutely carried out.

The founding of the Chinghai Provincial Revolutionary Committee has tremendously inspired the revolutionary militancy of the army and people throughout the country. As the news of the establishment of the revolutionary committee reached them, the masses of proletarian revolutionaries in Hupeh, Hunan, Honan, Kiangsi, Szechuan and the Inner Mongolian Autonomous Region and the local P.L.A. commanders and fighters who firmly support the masses of the Left in these provinces were all greatly elated and encouraged, and activities to mark the occasion took place. Similar celebrations were held by proletarian revolutionaries, revolutionary masses and commanders and fighters of the P.L.A. in Peking, Shanghai, Shantung, Heilungkiang, Shansi and Kweichow.

Song of Triumph on Chinghai Plateau

ENJOYING the solicitous care of our great leader Chairman Mao Tse-tung, the Chinghai Provincial Revolutionary Committee has proclaimed its establishment. This comes at a time when an excellent situation exists in the great proletarian cultural revolution throughout the country, and an upsurge is taking place in the movement of mass criticism, repudiation and struggle by hundreds of millions of the revolutionary people to completely smash the bourgeois headquarters. This is a great new victory in the struggle of the proletarian revolutionaries to seize power following the stormy "January Revolution." This is a song of triumph for the proletarian revolutionary line represented by Chairman Mao thundering over the Chinghai plateau.

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 Chinghai Province, with the Left organization of "August 18" as their core, have passed severe tests in sharp, tense class struggles in order to seize power from the handful of Party persons in authority taking the capitalist road in the province. Holding high the great red banner of Mao Tse-tung's thought, and with vigorous support and help from the People's Liberation Army units stationed in the province, they have seized Party, government, financial and cultural power from the hands of the class enemy. They are worthy of the name of steeled fighters loyal to Chairman Mao, to Mao Tse-tung's thought and to his proletarian revolutionary line.

The People's Liberation Army units in Chinghai have held high the great red banner of Mao Tse-tung's thought, stood firmly on the side of Chairman Mao and his proletarian revolutionary line, carried out all the directives of Chairman Mao's proletarian headquarters resolutely and fully and, with a clear-cut stand, supported and protected the proletarian revolutionaries. They have played an important role in the proletarian revolutionaries' struggle to seize power.

There have been twists and turns in the great proletarian cultural revolution in Chinghai Province. This appears to be a bad thing but actually it is a very good thing because it has resulted in fuller exposure of the bourgeois reactionary line, demonstration of the mettle of the revolutionary forces and a clear-cut differentiation between the two lines. This is often the law of

things: Under certain conditions a bad thing is turned into a good thing. As a result of twists and turns, a problem is perceived more clearly and thus a solution is arrived at. The more fully the contradictions are exposed, the more thoroughly are they resolved. This is indeed the case in Chinghai.

Experience in the struggle for the seizure of power by the proletarian revolutionaries of Chinghai Province once again proves that so long as we act according to Chairman Mao's instructions we can be invincible everywhere.

It tells us that the establishment of the great alliance of proletarian revolutionaries is the most important guarantee of victory in the struggle for the seizure of power. The proletarian revolutionaries of Chinghai Province formed such a revolutionary alliance in the course of revolutionary mass criticism and repudiation. And this provided a solid mass basis and ideological basis for their struggle to seize power.

Chinghai's experience shows that the formation of the revolutionary "three-in-one" combination is the political and organizational guarantee for victory in the proletarian revolutionaries' struggle to seize power. Chairman Mao has said: **"In those places and organizations where power needs to be seized, the policy of the revolutionary 'three-in-one' combination must be carried out in establishing a provisional organ of power that is revolutionary and representative and has proletarian authority. This organ of power should preferably be called a revolutionary committee."** The proletarian revolutionaries of Chinghai Province formed a revolutionary "three-in-one" combination in their struggle to seize power and consolidated it in the course of revolutionary mass criticism and repudiation. This has ensured that the Chinghai Provincial Revolutionary Committee is a provisional organ of power which is revolutionary and representative and has proletarian authority.

Chinghai's experience also shows that it is necessary at all times to maintain a firm grip on the general orientation of the struggle, to carry out mass criticism, repudiation and struggle politically, ideologically and theoretically against the handful of top Party persons in authority taking the capitalist road. We cannot allow this mass criticism, repudiation and struggle to slacken off while we strive for a revolutionary alliance and revolutionary "three-in-one" combination, while we struggle to seize power, and while we hold and exercise

power. Only so is it possible to consolidate and strengthen the dictatorship of the proletariat and carry the great proletarian cultural revolution through to the end.

Chinghai's experience shows that it is necessary to bring into full play the role of revolutionary leading cadres as the nucleus and backbone. A number of revolutionary leading cadres have come forward in the struggle to seize power in Chinghai Province. They have stood staunchly on the side of Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line and have fought alongside the proletarian revolutionaries. In the course of revolutionary mass criticism and repudiation, they have clarified their position still further. Chairman Mao has said: **"Veteran cadres performed meritorious service in the past, but they must not rest on their past glory; they should temper and remould themselves well in the great proletarian cultural revolution, win new merit and make new contributions."**

Chinghai's experience shows that in the great proletarian cultural revolution it is necessary to carry out the policies of the Party's Central Committee in an exemplary way. It is an important policy of the Party to win over and educate the masses who have been misled and help them change their stand and rapidly return to the side of Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line. The proletarian revolutionaries of Chinghai have not asked the misled masses to make self-criticisms and clear themselves one by one and are not taking revenge on them. On the contrary, their attitude is one of re-

sponsibility to the revolution and to the people. Patiently and carefully they are helping and educating those among the masses who were misled, and enabling them to enhance their political consciousness in the course of the campaign of mass exposure, accusation, criticism and repudiation and mass struggle, so that these people can hit back at those who misled them and fight alongside the proletarian revolutionaries against the common enemy.

The situation in Chinghai is excellent and it is getting better and better. The founding of the Chinghai Provincial Revolutionary Committee shows that the great proletarian cultural revolution in that province has embarked on a great new voyage along the route opened up by Chairman Mao. The proletarian revolutionaries of Chinghai Province must hold still higher the great red banner of Mao Tse-tung's thought and give primary importance to the creative study and application of Chairman Mao's works. Along with their seizure of power from the capitalist roaders, they must relentlessly fight "self-interest" in their own minds and revolutionize their thinking. For only in this way will they be able to hold and exercise power for the proletariat successfully, conduct the great proletarian cultural revolution still better and create a new red Chinghai resplendent with the brilliance of Mao Tse-tung's thought.

("Renmin Ribao" editorial, August 13, slightly abridged.)

Message Saluting Chairman Mao Tse-tung

From the Rally to Found and Celebrate the Chinghai Provincial Revolutionary Committee

(Excerpts)

**Most respected and beloved great leader
Chairman Mao:**

Elatedly, we proletarian revolutionaries of Chinghai Province report to you, the very red sun that shines most brightly in our hearts, the inspiring news of the establishment of the Chinghai Provincial Revolutionary Committee.

This is yet another immense victory for the proletarian revolutionary line you represent!

It is yet another resounding song of triumph in our country's great proletarian cultural revolution!

It is a great victory for the great proletarian cultural revolution on the northwest China plateau!

Our cheers resound a thousand, nay, ten thousand times: Long live Chairman Mao! A long, long life to Chairman Mao!

Your great hand at the helm of the Chinese revolution has guided us from victory to victory.

With the courage and mettle of the greatest proletarian revolutionary of our time, you personally initiated the great proletarian cultural revolution and crushed the schemes of the class enemies at home and abroad aimed at restoring capitalism in China, and you have thus ensured that our socialist state will never change its political colour. You have personally written the most brilliant chapter in the history of the international communist movement, solved the theoretical and practical problems of carrying on the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat, and carried forward and developed Marxism to the new stage of Mao Tse-tung's thought.

The series of great instructions you have issued and the wise policy decisions you have made inspire

the hundreds of millions in the army of the cultural revolution in their all-out victorious general offensive against the bourgeois headquarters headed by China's Khrushchov.

Your great call has given us firm confidence in victory; it has inspired us to launch one assault after another on the handful of persons in authority taking the capitalist road within the Chinghai Provincial Party Committee and to clear away one of the stubborn strongholds for the restoration of capitalism.

You teach us: **"Even great storms are not to be feared. It is amid great storms that human society progresses."** During the past year, we have battled against stormy gales and broken through the encirclement created, ring upon ring, by the bourgeois reactionary line. Your revolutionary line has always guided us in our victorious advance and helped us to temper ourselves and mature in the tempestuous struggle.

You teach us: **"You must concern yourselves with state affairs and carry the great proletarian cultural revolution through to the end!"** We have beaten back the counter-revolutionary adverse current stirred up by the handful of persons in authority taking the capitalist road in Chinghai, defended your revolutionary line with our blood and lives and safeguarded your all-illuminating thought.

The situation in Chinghai is now excellent. The campaign of mass criticism, repudiation and struggle against China's Khrushchov is surging forward on the Chinghai plateau and developing vigorously.

Revolutionary practice has helped us to gain a profounder understanding of the truth you teach: **The basic problem in revolution is that of political power.** To prevent the restoration of capitalism, we must always keep class struggle and the dictatorship of the proletariat in mind and fight to the death in defence of the dictatorship of the proletariat. We pledge ourselves to follow your teachings, hold aloft your banner of revolutionary criticism, integrate criticism and repudiation of the top Party person in authority taking the capitalist road with that of his agents within the Party in Chinghai, and also integrate it with the struggle-criticism-transformation in each unit; we shall resolutely fulfil this glorious task of struggle-criticism-transformation with which you have entrusted us, carry the great proletarian cultural revolution through to the end and ensure that our impregnable state will never change colour.

We shall firmly implement and defend your policy of forming a "three-in-one" combination, enhance the great unity of the people of all nationalities in Chinghai and work for the rapid establishment of a proletarian revolutionary new order.

We shall never forget your admonitions and shall remain vigilant against schemes by the class enemy for "peaceful evolution." We shall prevent corruption by

bourgeois ideology, serve the people wholeheartedly, never for a moment divorce ourselves from the masses, carry forward the fine tradition of plain living and hard struggle, persist in the good style of criticism and self-criticism, always maintain and never turn aside from the revolutionary qualities of the proletariat, and always remain revolutionaries.

You always teach us to realize what Marx said, **that only by emancipating the whole of mankind can the proletariat finally emancipate itself.** We are resolved to do as you say, work according to your policies, correctly differentiate between and handle the two different types of contradictions, unite with all the forces that can be united, form a mighty revolutionary army and launch a general offensive against the top Party person in authority taking the capitalist road. We shall never forget our oppressed class brothers all over the world. We are ready at all times to assist the struggle against imperialism and revisionism in Asia, Africa and Latin America and make the great thought of Mao Tse-tung shine like the sun throughout the world for all the generations to come!

We shall carry out to the full your great policy of **"taking firm hold of the revolution and promoting production."**

We shall always learn from the People's Liberation Army and unite, fight and triumph along with it in energetically strengthening the dictatorship of the proletariat and resolutely suppressing all disruption and sabotage by any class enemy.

You are our wise helmsman and great leader. We vow to defend you, your revolutionary line and the proletarian headquarters which you represent. We shall always bear well in mind your teaching: **The present great cultural revolution is only the first; there will inevitably be many more in the future. The issue of who will win in the revolution can only be settled over a long historical period. If things are not properly handled, it is possible for a capitalist restoration to take place at any time.** We shall be highly vigilant against people of the Khrushchov type and always remain loyal to your thought. We shall overthrow whoever dares to oppose you. We shall rebel against whoever dares to defame your brilliant thought. We shall **smash** whoever dares to oppose the proletarian headquarters. We shall not stint our lives and blood to defend you. We shall for ever remain loyal to you. **Your great thought will for ever radiate its brilliant light like the sun and moon!**

We are most firmly resolved to respond to deputy supreme commander Lin Piao's call always to study your writings, follow your teachings, act according to your instructions and be your good fighters. We shall put your brilliant thought in command of everything and use it to propel things forward and transform things. We regard the study of your brilliant works as coming first, above everything else. We shall do our

utmost to remould our world outlook, thoroughly eliminate self-interest, establish the absolute authority of your brilliant thought in our minds, conquer all non-proletarian ideas and guide those with petty bourgeois thinking on to the path of the proletarian revolution. We shall enhance the proletarian revolutionary spirit, scientific approach and sense of organization and discipline and make Chinghai a great bright red school of

Mao Tse-tung's thought. May the great, all-illuminating thought of Mao Tse-tung shine for ever over the Chinghai plateau.

**Rally Held to Found and Celebrate
The Chinghai Provincial Revolutionary
Committee**

August 12, 1967

Politically and Ideologically, Overthrow Completely the Handful of Capitalist Roaders Within the Party

by the "Red Vanguard" of the Air Force Headquarters

OUR great leader 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 fundamental objective of the great proletarian cultural revolution, initiated and led by Chairman Mao, is to mobilize the hundreds of millions of the people to seize power from the handful of Party persons in authority taking the capitalist road.

This handful are the main and most dangerous enemy. They have sneaked into the apparatus of the proletarian political power and in certain localities and spheres set up a dictatorship of the bourgeoisie. This has resulted in a fierce struggle between two political powers and two headquarters. On the whole, of course, proletarian political power has held the dominant position in our country.

If we should allow this handful to exist and develop, then, as Chairman Mao says, "it would not take long, perhaps only several years or a decade, or several decades at most, before a counter-revolutionary restoration on a national scale inevitably occurred, the Marxist-Leninist Party would undoubtedly become a revisionist party or a fascist party, and the whole of China would change its colour."

Therefore, through this great cultural revolution we must crush this handful, of which China's Khrushchov is the general representative, and also destroy their bourgeois headquarters. This is an extremely complex, profound and fierce struggle between the two classes, two roads and two lines.

Chairman Mao says: "Basically, the socialist system has been established in our country. We have won

the basic victory in transforming the ownership of the means of production, but we have not yet won complete victory on the political and ideological fronts. In the ideological field, the question of who will win in the struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie has not been really settled yet. We still have to wage a protracted struggle against bourgeois and petty-bourgeois ideology."

Our struggle with this handful over the conquest of political power is bound to find strong expression in the political and ideological fields.

The exposure of this handful within the apparatus of the proletarian political power, their removal and dismissal from office, represent only the beginning, and not the end, of the struggle for the seizure of power. It calls for continuous, arduous struggle to expand the organizational victory so as to win a complete political and ideological victory.

Chairman Mao warns: "Just because we have won victory, we must never relax our vigilance against the frenzied plots for revenge by the imperialists and their running dogs. Whoever relaxes vigilance will disarm himself politically and land himself in a passive position."

Vice-Chairman Lin Piao has pointed out that the handful of Party persons in authority taking the capitalist road still exist and will not take their defeat lying down. Though they account for only a small fraction of the total population, they have great political influence and the impact of their resistance is proportionally much greater than their numbers.

Numerous facts have demonstrated that the overthrow of this handful organizationally does not mean their overthrow politically and ideologically. Their dismissal from office does not mean complete seizure of power from them. Since position and power are inter-

related, those who hold positions have power, but those who no longer hold positions may also still have power.

Power not only means authority to issue organizational and administrative commands, but also authority to issue political and ideological commands. When one has political influence among the masses, his commands will be heeded by some people and at the opportune moment this influence will turn into organizational and administrative authority to give commands.

The power of the handful of capitalist roaders in the political and ideological spheres has been mainly manifested by their influence among the masses. This is the result of the fraud they practised among the people, by taking advantage of their positions and waving "red flags" to oppose the red flag. It also results from their use of their propaganda machine, the pen and the positions they have usurped in the field of ideological education to create over the years counter-revolutionary public opinion among the people.

Their political-ideological power cannot be seized simply by organizational measures from above to remove and dismiss them from office. It can be seized only by unfolding from below a mass campaign to expose, criticize and repudiate them, with China's Khrushchov as their general representative. It can be done only by completely refuting and discrediting the crimes of this handful against the Party, socialism and Mao Tse-tung's thought and by eliminating their pernicious influence among the people. In this way nobody will be fooled by them again.

The overthrow of this handful and the seizure of power from them organizationally as well as politically and ideologically are two inseparable aspects of the struggle to seize power from them. Relatively speaking, the latter is more complicated and important than the former.

Without the guarantee of complete victory politically and ideologically, the organizational victory will not be consolidated. For an organization is formed by people and it is subject to the domination of their thinking and will.

Thoroughgoing criticism and repudiation of this handful of capitalist roaders within the Party politically and ideologically is the key to preventing our country from changing its political colour. Only in this way will they be prevented from rising up again. This will also sharpen the vigilance of the revolutionary masses and help them to detect and overthrow new capitalist roaders whenever they appear. We must root out the ideological and social foundation of counter-revolutionary revisionism and win complete victory in the cultural revolution.

Chairman Mao teaches us that **"the representatives of the exploiting classes, when finding themselves at a disadvantage, usually resort to the tactics of attack as a means of defence, to ensure their survival today and facilitate their growth tomorrow. . . . In short, they are always considering what tactics to use against**

us and 'spying out the land' in order to achieve their end. Sometimes they 'play possum,' waiting for the chance to 'counter-attack.'"

We must, therefore, always direct the spearhead of our attack at the handful of capitalist roaders both before and after they are fully exposed. Some people say that doing this after the capitalist roaders are fully exposed is tantamount to hitting at "dead tigers" and "wasting ammunition." They argue that only by aiming at "live tigers" is it possible to contribute to the revolution and keep to the main direction of the struggle. This is wrong.

As Chairman Mao teaches: **"The serpents infesting most of China, big or small, black or white, baring their poisonous fangs or assuming the guise of beautiful girls, are not yet frozen by the cold, although they already sense the threat of winter."**

Though some of the counter-revolutionary revisionists are "dead" organizationally, they are not "dead" politically and ideologically. They are "wounded tigers" or are "playing possum." Some are not even "dead" organizationally and are still biting people.

Those counter-revolutionary revisionists who have been exposed but not completely overthrown, are filled with an even more intense hatred for Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line and the revolutionary masses. They not only plan to take revenge in the future but are at this very moment seizing every opportunity to counter-attack by using their political and ideological influence. They are using direct or indirect trickery to sabotage the great cultural revolution. Their desperate struggles are even more frenzied and vicious than before they were exposed.

Should we fail to "kill" these "tigers," we may be devoured by them and the fruits so far gained in the great cultural revolution would be lost entirely.

In order to overthrow this handful completely, we must forge and consolidate the revolutionary great alliance and wage a vigorous people's war, using varied means of struggle and flexibly employing strategy and tactics to fight and defeat them. We must despise them strategically while taking them seriously tactically.

The fundamental guarantee for our victory in the overthrow of the handful of capitalist roaders within the Party and army, headed by China's Khrushchov, and the crushing of their bourgeois headquarters is the great, invincible thought of Mao Tse-tung, Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line, the revolutionary masses armed with Mao Tse-tung's thought and the proletarian political power established under Chairman Mao's leadership.

In the course of struggle, we must constantly stress the creative study and application of Chairman Mao's works, establish the absolute authority of Mao Tse-tung's thought, steel and temper our revolutionary class forces and strengthen the dictatorship of the proletariat. This is the fundamental guarantee for the complete victory of the great proletarian cultural revolution.

Afro-Americans' Just Struggle Will Triumph

— Commemorating the 4th Anniversary of the Publication of Chairman Mao's
"Statement Supporting the Afro-Americans in Their Just Struggle Against
Racial Discrimination by U.S. Imperialism"

FOUR years ago today our great leader Chairman Mao Tse-tung issued his "Statement Supporting the Afro-Americans in Their Just Struggle Against Racial Discrimination by U.S. Imperialism."

In this historic statement Chairman Mao condemned racial discrimination and racial oppression practised against the Afro-Americans by the reactionary U.S. rulers and exposed the inner link between the reactionary policies of the U.S. Government at home and its policies of aggression abroad. He stated the revolutionary truth that **the racial question is essentially a class question**, analysed the development of the movement of the Afro-Americans and expressed warm support for their just struggle.

In this statement Chairman Mao said: **"I call on the workers, peasants, revolutionary intellectuals, enlightened elements of the bourgeoisie and other enlightened persons of all colours in the world, whether white, black, yellow or brown, to unite to oppose the racial discrimination practised by U.S. imperialism and support the Black people in their struggle against racial discrimination."**

Chairman Mao's statement is a brilliant work of Marxism-Leninism, giving the Afro-American people's revolutionary struggle a powerful ideological and theoretical weapon.

It is a shining beacon lighting the road of liberation for the Afro-Americans and all oppressed peoples.

It is a mighty call to arms which greatly inspires Afro-Americans and all revolutionary people of the world in their struggles.

In the four years that have passed, there has been a further awakening of the Afro-American people who have been fighting back ever more powerfully. Their struggle has spread from limited areas to all parts of the United States. At first fighting with bare hands, they are now taking up arms to meet counter-revolu-

tionary violence with revolutionary violence. The Afro-American armed struggle against tyranny which broke out in Newark and Detroit this summer spread to more than 90 cities within a few days. The momentum and magnitude of this struggle is such as has never been witnessed before in the history of the United States. And the same is true of the panic shown by the Johnson Administration, which moved in tens of thousands of troops and used tanks and helicopters to crack down on the Afro-American armed struggle.

Chairman Mao pointed out in the statement: **"The speedy development of the struggle of the Afro-Americans is a manifestation of sharpening class struggle and sharpening national struggle within the United States. . . ."**

The rising armed struggle of Black Americans is the result of the sustained and ruthless exploitation, discrimination and persecution practised against them by the U.S. rulers, the result of their intensification of the policies of fascism at home and aggression and war abroad. Afro-Americans have been put at the very bottom of the social scale and are subjected to both class and national oppression. Their wages are the lowest and the rate of unemployment among them is the highest. Often they are indiscriminately arrested, tortured and murdered. The U.S. imperialist war of aggression against Vietnam has exacerbated their misery. The Johnson Administration has turned to them above all for cannon-fodder for the war; one in four of all the draftees in the country are Afro-Americans. There are a host of facts showing that the evil imperialist system, the tyrannical rule of U.S. monopoly capital, is the root cause of the sufferings of the Afro-Americans.

Chairman Mao teaches us: **"In the final analysis, national struggle is a matter of class struggle."** This is a vital principle of Marxism-Leninism, Mao Tse-tung's thought. It is most important for the Afro-Americans, and for all oppressed nations and peoples fighting for

their liberation, to understand this principle; it enables them to distinguish friends from foes, define the orientation of struggle and draw up correct strategy and tactics.

U.S. capitalism and imperialism have grown up on the ruthless exploitation of the Afro-Americans. And racial discrimination in the United States has always been a form of class oppression. The U.S. rulers have pushed racial discrimination to the most vicious lengths for the sole purpose of strengthening class exploitation and oppression. This barbarous institution not only yields them several billion dollars in super-profits annually, but provides them with a great labour reserve and also a weapon against the oppressed white people to force them to put up with the monopoly capitalists' exploitation and enslavement. To maintain the reactionary rule of monopoly capital, the U.S. rulers use racial discrimination to spread racial prejudice and hatred among the working people of different colours, to practise divide and rule, and to undermine the unity and struggle of the American working class and other labouring people.

Chairman Mao pointed out: **"Among the whites in the United States it is only the reactionary ruling circles who oppress the Black people. They can in no way represent the workers, farmers, revolutionary intellectuals and other enlightened persons who comprise the overwhelming majority of the white people."**

It is class and politics, not colour or race, that have always been the demarcation line between revolution and counter-revolution.

The handful of reactionary rulers in the United States are the exploiters and oppressors of the white labouring people as well as of the Black Americans. The Afro-Americans share identical interests with the white working masses but stand in fundamental antagonism to the reactionary U.S. ruling groups. The reactionary U.S. rulers are the common enemy of people of all colours in the United States.

Fundamentally speaking, it is the presence of classes and class oppression that gives rise to national oppression. To thoroughly eliminate national oppression, it is imperative to eliminate class oppression, overthrow the reactionary rule of monopoly capital and smash the imperialist system. Under imperialism, it is impossible for the Afro-American people alone to achieve complete liberation. Their complete liberation can be attained only when the proletariat of all colours in the United States unite, and the proletariat and all oppressed nations and peoples of the world unite, and wipe out U.S. imperialism.

Chairman Mao has said: **"The seizure of power by armed force, the settlement of the issue by war, is the central task and the highest form of revolution. This Marxist-Leninist principle of revolution holds good**

universally, for China and for all countries." The Afro-Americans and the entire American people also have to take this road to achieve their liberation. The Black masses have seen through the "Civil Rights Act" and the other frauds devised by U.S. ruling circles, and, breaking the "non-violence" barrier, have launched a struggle which uses violence. This is an important development in the Afro-American movement. By their armed struggle against tyranny the Afro-Americans are playing the important role of shock forces in the revolutionary struggle of the American people.

The revisionists of the C.P.U.S.A., who are pawns in the United States of the Soviet revisionist clique, are hysterically vilifying and opposing the Afro-American armed struggle against tyranny. Misusing the banner of "unity" between Black and white Americans, they are trying to control the struggle of the Afro-Americans and bring it into an orbit tolerable to U.S. monopoly capital. These running dogs of U.S. monopoly capital are traitors to the Afro-Americans and to all the working people of the U.S.A.

Chairman Mao pointed out: **"At present, it is the handful of imperialists headed by the United States, and their supporters, the reactionaries in different countries, who are oppressing, committing aggression against and menacing the overwhelming majority of the nations and peoples of the world. We are in the majority and they are in the minority."**

The Afro-Americans who have taken up arms in the struggle against tyranny are a militant force in the struggle of the people of the whole world against U.S. imperialism. The fact that they have risen up in rebellion in the very heart of U.S. imperialism represents powerful support for the anti-U.S. struggle of the people of all countries. And in turn, the Afro-Americans in their struggle have the support of the people of the whole world. The 700 million Chinese people stand firmly on their side.

The reactionary U.S. rulers give the appearance of a colossus but in fact are nothing but a paper tiger, outwardly strong but internally decayed. Abroad, they are besieged ring upon ring by the people of the world; at home, they are facing growing opposition from the American people. Their days are numbered. Supported by more than 90 per cent of the world's population, the just struggle of the Afro-Americans is sure to be victorious.

In his statement Chairman Mao pointed out: **"The evil system of colonialism and imperialism arose and thrived with the enslavement of Negroes and the trade in Negroes, and it will surely come to its end with the complete emancipation of the Black people."** This great prediction of Chairman Mao's will undoubtedly become a shining reality!

("Renmin Ribao" editorial, August 8.)



Mao Tse-tung's Thought

Lights the Whole World

Inspiration to Afro-American Struggle

August 8 was the 4th anniversary of Chairman Mao's statement supporting the Afro-Americans in their just struggle against racial discrimination by U.S. imperialism. In a statement, Afro-American leader Robert F. Williams said that Chairman Mao is the first world leader to elevate the Afro-American struggle to the fold of the world revolution. Inspired by Chairman Mao's statement, the Afro-American people are more and more turning to armed revolutionary resistance.

Williams' statement says that the nature and intensity of the present struggle of the oppressed Black people presents undeniable evidence of the impact of Mao Tse-tung's thought on the oppressed people of the world. The Afro-American people, like their oppressed brothers throughout the world, have been inspired to raise their level of struggle to a new revolutionary height.

"The phoney movement of passive resistance is being thoroughly discredited and more and more the oppressed Black people are turning to armed revolutionary resistance. As the Afro-American liberation movement engulfs and enflames major American cities, the Johnson Administration becomes ever more frantic and brutal in its desperate efforts to repress the heroic uprisings. It is resorting to arbitrary and vicious arrests of thousands of Black people and their leaders. It is dispatching thousands of troops armed with modern weapons of war to murder and maim the long suffering victims of its fascist tyranny."

"The tide of the Afro-American freedom struggle cannot be stemmed. Johnson's savage repressive measures amount to no more than: 'lifting a rock only to drop it on one's own feet.' The flames of people's war cannot be extinguished by tyrants."

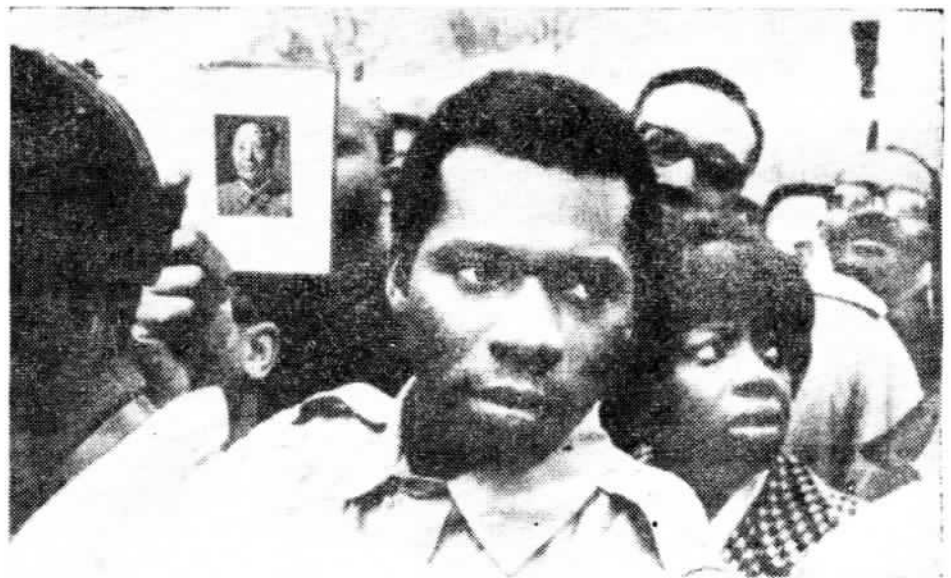
The statement points out: "This is the era of Mao Tse-tung, the era of world revolution, and the Afro-Americans' struggle for liberation is a part of an in-

vincible worldwide movement. . . . In keeping with the principles of people's war, wherein the great masses of exploited peoples of the world represent the rural masses surrounding the cities (the exploiting industrial countries), the Afro-American revolutionaries represent a mighty urban underground within the city. Our people will further develop and master people's warfare. Every battle will be a glorious monument to Chairman Mao's August 8, 1963 statement and we shall become ever more fierce in resisting the tyranny of racist U.S. imperialism. We shall ever be inspired by the fact that Chairman Mao has said:

' . . . The evil system of colonialism and imperialism arose and thrived with the enslavement of Negroes and the trade in Negroes, and it will surely come to its end with the complete emancipation of the Black people.'"

Two Examples of Studying and Applying Chairman Mao's Works Creatively

Vanguard, organ of the Australian Communist Party (Marxist-Leninist), has recently published a number of letters from readers which give some idea



Afro-American demonstrators carrying the Quotations From Chairman Mao Tse-tung

of how revolutionary Australian people study and apply Chairman Mao Tse-tung's works in a creative way. These letters show that more and more revolutionary Australians are using Mao Tse-tung's thought as a weapon in ideological remoulding and practical struggle.

A veteran revolutionary with thirty years' experience of struggle behind him wrote that he was once led astray by revisionist influence. "Ignoring the facts of Australian life, my own experiences in some bitter class struggles, I embraced the propositions of peaceful transition and peaceful coexistence and competition between countries of different social systems as the path to a socialist Australia," he wrote.

"The study of the writings of Mao Tse-tung, particularly *On Practice* and *On Contradiction*, and applying them to my past and present life confirmed that I was on the wrong road. Slowly . . . it dawned on me that the only step to take was to revolt."

These two philosophical works, he wrote, and the "three constantly read articles" [*Serve the People*, *In Memory of Norman Bethune* and *The Foolish Old Man Who Removed the Mountains*] had given him "an appreciation of the Communist Party and to love it."

One should study Chairman Mao's works, he said, not by just reading them, but more important than that, by taking part in revolutionary struggle. He also said that he would serve the Australian people every day, every hour, and not his own comfort and security.

"The thought of Mao Tse-tung has transformed my life and enables me in my small, but at the same time big way, to assist in the victory of communism," he stressed.

Song in Praise of Chairman Mao

by **Huong Dong Luu (Vietnam)**

A golden sun rises from the city of Peking,
The glorious beams light up my heart.
The red sun that shines in the hearts of the revolutionary people,
Facing you the imperialists, revisionists and reactionaries have no place to hide.
Chairman Mao, the leader of the world's people,
Mankind's happiness is inseparable from you.
Nurtured by the invincible thought of Mao Tse-tung,
We create a red new world.
We wish you, our great teacher, a long life,
A long, long life to you!

A man who does mass work wrote: "The thought of Mao Tse-tung helped me overcome difficulties and frustration I felt in mass work."

He quoted the following passage from Chairman Mao's work *Oppose Book Worship*: "**You can't solve a problem? Well, get down and investigate the present facts and its past history!**" After reading this, he said, he began an investigation of his work. This "helped me investigate my mass attitude and the level of my own understanding and that of the masses. This helped me understand why the mass organization would, on some issues advance, and on others, be backward.

"Previously, I felt only helplessness and frustration at the backward, elation at progress. Now I understand their interaction.

"I have only touched the surface in understanding mass work. It is necessary to carry out an extensive investigation and study and a more intense application of Mao Tse-tung's works."

Chairman Mao Is Waving to Us!

An amateur artist in Brazzaville recently spent four days painting a large oil portrait of Chairman Mao waving to the revolutionary masses. He used a photo in the magazine *China Pictorial* as his model.

He said: "When I saw this photo in *China Pictorial*, I was deeply moved. Chairman Mao—I thought to myself—represents the hope of all oppressed people for complete emancipation and his thought is the beacon leading mankind to happiness. At first, I was a bit hesitant about painting such a big picture. But the encouragement of my young neighbours gave me confidence. Thus I finally embarked on this ambitious project so that every passer-by can see Chairman Mao waving to us."

Getting a Red Book

A teenage student who came to the Chinese Embassy in Yugoslavia to ask for a copy of the *Quotations From Chairman Mao Tse-tung* was stopped by a Yugoslav policeman. A Chinese comrade from the Embassy who saw the incident approached the two. Unafraid of the policeman, the student told the Chinese comrade: "I'd like to get a red book."

Embarrassed by the presence of the Chinese, the policeman slunk away. As soon as he was out of sight, the Yugoslav youth said: "A friend of mine asked me to come and get a copy of the red book."

After the Chinese comrade fulfilled his request, the student thanked him several times and went away elated with his copy of *Quotations From Chairman Mao Tse-tung*.

Mao Tse-tung's Thought Is the Beacon Leading The Burmese Revolution to Victory

— Excerpts from an article by the Editorial Department of *People's Power*, organ of the Communist Party of Burma

CHINA'S great proletarian cultural revolution initiated and led personally by Chairman Mao Tse-tung, the great leader of the revolutionary people the world over, has been warmly hailed by *People's Power*, organ of the Communist Party of Burma, in an article by its Editorial Department. The article says: "China's great proletarian cultural revolution is the greatest historic event in the sixties of the 20th century." "This great revolution has brought the socialist revolution in China to a new stage and opened up a new chapter in the history of the world proletarian revolution."

It says: "China's great proletarian cultural revolution not only consolidates the dictatorship of the proletariat and guarantees that socialist China will never change colour, but also greatly reinforces the revolution of the world proletariat."

The article entitled "The World-Shaking Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution in China" is carried in the sixth issue of *People's Power* published in December 1966.

The article says: "In the Great October Socialist Revolution of Russia led by Lenin and Stalin, the proletariat smashed with its revolutionary war the state machine of the landlords and bourgeoisie and, particularly, wiped out the enemy armed forces, and established the dictatorship of the proletariat. It abolished the private ownership and the system of exploitation by the landlords and bourgeoisie and built the socialist system.

"However, Lenin and Stalin had not solved the question of who will win out, capitalism or socialism, and other questions such as how to consolidate the dictatorship of the proletariat and prevent a restoration of capitalism.

"After the death of Lenin and Stalin, Khrushchev and his ilk usurped Party and government power and carried out capitalist restoration in the socialist Soviet Union."

"Thus, the central issue of defending the dictatorship of the proletariat and preventing and crushing a capitalist restoration is raised before the world proletariat. China's great proletarian cultural revolution has set a new model for the proletariat the world over."

The article points out: "The international class struggle is now extremely acute and complicated but the crux of all questions is the question of political power.

"The question of the dictatorship of the proletariat is the quintessence of Marxism-Leninism and the cardinal question of the proletarian revolution. In the

entire historical epoch of transition from capitalism to communism, recognition or non-recognition of the dictatorship of the proletariat is the touchstone for distinguishing genuine Marxism-Leninism from sham ones.

"In a country where the people have not yet seized political power, the proletariat and revolutionary people must smash the bourgeois state machinery in accordance with Marx's and Lenin's theory of violent revolution and establish the dictatorship of the proletariat by armed revolution. In a country where the dictatorship of the proletariat has been set up, it is imperative to take firm hold of it to carry the socialist revolution through to the end; and necessary measures must be taken to prevent the restoration of capitalism and consolidate the dictatorship of the proletariat."

"Comrade Mao Tse-tung has greatly advanced the theory of the proletarian dictatorship by summing up the historical lessons of the Khrushchovite clique's betrayal of revolution and its restoration of capitalism in the homeland of Leninism, the Soviet Union, and of the historical experience of the international proletarian dictatorship as a whole." "Comrade Mao Tse-tung has pointed out that as classes and class struggle still exist in socialist society, it is necessary to carry the socialist revolution through to the end not only in the fields of politics and economy but also in the spheres of ideology and culture. The question of who will win out, socialism or capitalism, in the ideological field will take a long time to settle — maybe five or 10 generations, or even longer. Tens of millions of successors must be brought up to accomplish the revolutionary cause of the proletariat."

"Comrade Mao Tse-tung has personally led and taken part in the great proletarian cultural revolution with the millions upon millions of revolutionary masses, the Red Guards in particular.

"The main target of the great proletarian cultural revolution is the Party persons in authority taking the capitalist road.

"It is only natural that in the course of the great proletarian cultural revolution, the forces representing the bourgeois reactionary line should step forward to resist and oppose the proletarian revolutionary line represented by Comrade Mao Tse-tung. The 11th Plenary Session of the 8th Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party has thoroughly exposed the bourgeois reactionary line which is aimed at bringing about the restoration of capitalism and exercising bourgeois dictatorship, and at the same time proclaimed the victory

of the proletarian revolutionary line represented by Chairman Mao. This is another new triumph of Mao Tse-tung's thought!

"In today's China, the proletariat and bourgeoisie are waging a life-and-death struggle of the two classes, two ideologies and two lines. This is the essence of the whole situation."

"The Decision of the 11th Plenary Session of the 8th Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party concerning the great proletarian cultural revolution is a guiding programme to guarantee the success of the revolution. Mao Tse-tung's thought is fully embodied in it."

"Mao Tse-tung's thought is Marxism-Leninism in the era when imperialism is heading for total collapse and socialism is advancing to worldwide victory."

"Mao Tse-tung's thought is the guiding principle of all revolutionary work in Burma. Particularly, Comrade Mao Tse-tung's theories on the building of a proletarian Party, on the building of a proletarian army and on people's war are the beacon leading the Burmese revolution to victory."

"The line adopted by the Communist Party of Burma in 1964, namely, the line to win the war and seize political power, is completely in accordance with Marxism-Leninism, Mao Tse-tung's thought."

"In order to win the revolutionary war which is now going on, we must establish a revolutionary party of the proletariat, namely a Bolshevik party."

"The Burmese people, under the leadership of the proletariat, must overthrow their major enemy, the military dictatorial Ne Win government which enforces a dictatorship of the bourgeoisie, and must strive for

victory of the revolutionary war led by the Communist Party of Burma. The people led by the proletariat must seize political power and establish a people's democratic dictatorship which is in effect a dictatorship of the proletariat."

"The Central Committee meeting in 1964 pointed out that in order to win victory in Burma's revolution, win the war and seize political power, it is necessary to oppose the major danger of Right opportunism, revisionism."

"International and domestic class struggles are also reflected in our Party. It is natural that there is a fierce struggle of two ideologies and two lines between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie within our Party."

"This struggle is also the motive force for the development and growth of our Party and our revolution."

"All cadres of our Party must study Marxism-Leninism, Mao Tse-tung's thought hard in accordance with the resolution of the Party's Central Committee in 1964, and all those who uphold Marxism-Leninism, Mao Tse-tung's thought must unite. China's great proletarian cultural revolution tells us unequivocally and clearly that the struggle against Right opportunism, revisionism will be a protracted, arduous and complicated one. In order to smash the bourgeois reactionary line and strive for victory of the proletarian revolutionary line, the forces representing Marxism-Leninism, Mao Tse-tung's thought must wage a vigorous, extensive and unremitting struggle with the dauntless spirit of a Communist."

The article concludes with: "Long live Mao Tse-tung's thought — the acme of Marxism-Leninism of our era!"

Total Collaboration Between Soviet Revisionist Clique and Japanese Reactionaries

by "RENMIN RIBAO" COMMENTATOR

THE bosses of the Soviet revisionist clique and their lieutenants recently talked with Takeo Miki, Foreign Minister of the Sato government of Japan, behind closed doors in Moscow. They discussed questions of "co-operation" between the two parties in the political, economic and military fields. The Soviet revisionist clique is entering into complete collusion with the Japanese reactionaries.

The Soviet-Japanese talks in Moscow, following the Glassboro talks, are an important step towards a reinforced counter-revolutionary alliance of the United States, the Soviet Union and Japan in Asia.

The Soviet revisionist clique has always made alignment with the Japanese reactionaries an important policy in the pursuit of its counter-revolutionary general line of "Soviet-U.S. co-operation for world domination." Since their ascension to power, Brezhnev and Kosygin

have extolled the Japanese reactionaries as "a stabilizing force in Asia" and have quickened the pace of their collusion with Japanese militarism. Top-ranking Soviet revisionists and key members of the Japanese Government and big Japanese monopoly capitalists have interchanged visits one after the other. A series of political and economic transactions have hastily been concluded between the two countries. What is more, a joint economic commission has been set up, which meets once a year. It has also been agreed that the foreign ministers of the two countries should meet regularly for consultations each year.

The Soviet-Japanese alliance is actually an extension of the Soviet-U.S. alliance. The Soviet revisionist clique's policy in relation to Japan has been formulated in close co-ordination with U.S. imperialism's policy in relation to Japan.

Since World War II, U.S. imperialism has gained control over Japan, actively nurtured Japanese militarism, turned Japan into a U.S. arsenal and war base in Asia and has been using that country to "contain" China and to oppose the revolutions of the Asian peoples. In the economic field, U.S. imperialism, in close "co-operation" with Japanese monopoly capitalism, has used Japanese cheap labour to serve its economic penetration and plunder of Southeast Asia. In stepping up its collaboration with the Japanese reactionaries, the Soviet revisionist clique in reality seeks to help U.S. imperialism in making Japan serve its policy of aggression and war in Asia.

Like the U.S.-Japanese alliance, Soviet-Japanese collaboration is primarily directed against China. In the course of the Moscow talks, Kosygin and other Soviet revisionist bosses went so far as to tell Miki that they wished to "enter into co-operation" with Japanese militarism in "organizing counter-strikes against aggression." Is it not obvious whom they had in mind when saying this? Directed by U.S. imperialism, the Japanese reactionaries have long drawn up plans under the code names, "Operation Three Arrows" and "Operation Flying Dragon"—both military blueprints with China as the imaginary enemy made in anticipation of an armed attack on China some day. What the Soviet revisionist clique said about "organizing counter-strikes against aggression" was in fact a declaration that it is openly entering into a military alliance with U.S. imperialism and Japanese militarism to oppose socialist China.

Like the U.S.-Japanese alliance, the Soviet revisionist clique's collusion with Japanese reaction is aimed at using Japanese militarism to put down the revolutionary struggle of the Asian peoples. When Kosygin and his like babbled in the presence of the Japanese reactionaries about "eliminating local wars," what they actually meant was that all revolutionary wars should be "eliminated." And when they chattered about "settling the issue of the Vietnam war as soon as possible," what they wanted was to stamp out as quickly as possible the Vietnamese people's great war against U.S. aggression and for national salvation.

Economically, the Soviet revisionist clique and Japanese monopoly capitalism both want to utilize each other. After making a mess of the Soviet economy, the revisionist clique in the Kremlin wants to use Japanese capital and know-how for the so-called development of Siberia, while Japanese monopoly capitalism is only too happy to penetrate into the Soviet Union in an attempt to solve its own problem of "surplus" industrial production capacity. Thus, the so-called "joint development of Siberia" is in fact a project devised by the Soviet revisionist clique to provide outlets for Japanese monopoly capital.

It can therefore be clearly seen that the Soviet revisionist clique's policy towards Japan is to act in league with U.S. imperialism in fostering Japanese militarism, stabilizing the domination of U.S. imperialism and its flunkies in Japan and other areas in Asia and opposing socialist China and the revolutionary struggles of the Asian peoples.

Japanese militarism is the sworn enemy of the Soviet and Asian peoples. The traitorous Soviet revisionist clique is openly making a partner of Japanese militarism resuscitated under the patronage of U.S. imperialism and together they point their guns at the Chinese and other Asian peoples. This is a monstrous act of betrayal by the Soviet revisionist clique against the Soviet and Asian peoples.

Our great leader Chairman Mao Tse-tung has pointed out: **"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."**

An excellent revolutionary situation prevails in Asia today. It is simply a pipe-dream of U.S. imperialism, Soviet revisionism and Japanese reaction to think that by pooling their efforts, they can check the Asian peoples' revolutionary struggles. No counter-revolutionary force can escape its doom. The counter-revolutionary U.S.-Soviet-Japanese alliance will certainly be shattered by the Asian peoples' revolutionary tempest!

(August 10)

(Continued from p. 20.)

conquers mountains and rivers. The poem contains these four lines:

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

**In heroic triumph heaven and earth have been
overturned.**

**With power and to spare we must pursue the
tottering foe**

**And not ape Hsiang Yu the conqueror seeking
idle fame."**

As we re-read this poem in the high-tide of today's revolutionary mass criticism and repudiation, we feel all the more how relevant it is and how close to us.

August 18, 1967

Let us bring into still fuller play the thoroughgoing revolutionary spirit of the proletariat, enhance our revolutionary elan and unite the greatest number of the masses. Let us thoroughly settle accounts with Peng Teh-huai for his crimes against the Party, against socialism and against Chairman Mao; let us thoroughly settle accounts with China's Khrushchov for his crimes against the Party, against socialism and against Chairman Mao. We must utterly destroy the bourgeois headquarters headed by China's Khrushchov and unfold the revolutionary mass criticism and repudiation campaign in an all-round and penetrating way, and overthrow and completely discredit, politically, ideologically and theoretically, the handful of top Party persons in authority taking the capitalist road.

(*"Hongqi"* editorial, No. 13, 1967.)

(Continued from p. 5.)

Strongest Protest Against Burmese Government's Military Provocations

In a note to the Burmese Embassy in China on August 11, the Chinese Foreign Ministry protested in the strongest terms against the reactionary Ne Win government of Burma for its military provocations of continually sending troops and aircraft to intrude into the Chinese Province of Yunnan in flagrant violation of China's inviolable sovereignty over its land and air space.

According to reports from Chinese border defence forces, between October 1966 and July 1967 Burmese troops and aircraft continually intruded into China's Yunnan Province for reconnaissance, harassment and sabotage. Incomplete statistics show that Burmese aircraft have made six intrusions into China's air space in 43 sorties, and there have been two cases of Burmese troops firing into Chinese territory across the boundary for provocation purposes and 20 cases of Burmese armed forces crossing the boundary 263 men/times.

In some cases Burmese soldiers intruded into Chinese territory, robbed Chinese border inhabitants and beat them or shot at them. Sometimes, nearly a hundred fully armed troops intruded into Chinese territory looting and committing arson and murder.

Burmese troops and aircraft have continually intruded into Chinese territory and air space in the last few years. In this connection, the Chinese Government made serious representations to the Ne Win government on January 11 and May 11, 1965, and February 12 and December 13, 1966, demanding that measures be taken to prevent such intrusions. On more than one occasion, the Ne Win government admitted Burmese troop intrusions and assured the Chinese Government that it would order Burmese troops to respect the Sino-Burmese boundary and refrain from intruding into Chinese territory. But

the facts in the last few months have proved once again the hypocrisy and perfidy of the Ne Win government.

It is not accidental that the Ne Win government carries out these serious hostile actions. This is an important step taken by the Ne Win government in hiring itself out to U.S. imperialism and Soviet modern revisionism and serving as a shock force against China and overseas Chinese. Recently, the Ne Win government has further extended the nationwide anti-China and anti-Chinese tide it stirred up to the areas bordering on China. It has not only recklessly arrested and brutally persecuted overseas Chinese and Chinese border inhabitants, repeatedly held anti-China demonstrations in its border areas and stepped up its reconnaissance in the Chinese border areas, but it has also openly sent armed soldiers to intrude twice into Chinese territory on July 9 and 21. This is another grave provocation against the Chinese people.

In its note, the Chinese Government once again served a stern warning to the Ne Win government: the inviolable territory and air space of the People's Republic of China brook no violation whatsoever, and the 700 million Chinese people armed with Mao Tse-tung's thought are not to be bullied. In carrying out grave military provocations against the Chinese people, the Ne Win government will surely meet with severe punishment from the Chinese people and the Chinese People's Liberation Army.

In a note to the Burmese Embassy on August 10, the Chinese Foreign Ministry lodged the strongest protest with the reactionary Burmese Government for instigating its troops to commit fascist atrocities by killing seven innocent Chinese border inhabitants in Yingchiang County, Yunnan Province, in the last few months.

The Chinese Government sternly demanded that the reactionary Ne Win government: 1) immediately punish the culprits; 2) compensate for all the losses of the victims and give due relief to their family members; and 3) offer public apologies, immediately release the Chinese border inhabitants still unwarranted-

ly detained by the Burmese side and guarantee against the occurrence of similar incidents in the future.

Protest Against Mongolian Embassy Staff Member's Provocation

A responsible member of the Second Department of Asian Affairs of the Chinese Foreign Ministry summoned Mongolian Ambassador Dondogiin Tsevegmid on August 10, and handed him a note lodging the strongest protest with the Mongolian Government against a Mongolian embassy staff member for insulting the portrait of Chairman Mao, the great leader of the Chinese people and the revolutionary people of the world.

On the morning of August 9, Dashonolt, the staff member involved, outrageously insulted Chairman Mao, the reddest red sun in the hearts of the Chinese people, by stamping on a portrait of Chairman Mao in the car which he parked outside Friendship Store in Tunghuamen Street, Peking. This serious political provocation was a gross insult to the Chinese people and the revolutionary people of the world. When revolutionary Chinese people passing by noticed this, they at once pointed out to him that it was a grave crime, and they demanded that he admit it and apologize. Instead of doing so, he tried to tear up the portrait and flee in his car. Burning with indignation, the revolutionary Chinese took him to the public security.

The Chinese note pointed out that the grave anti-China political provocation was by no means an isolated incident. Owing to its reactionary class nature, the Mongolian revisionist leading clique had consistently followed Soviet revisionism and served as its pawn. With deep hatred for and mortal fear of the invincible thought of Mao Tse-tung and China's unprecedented, great proletarian cultural revolution, it had engineered a series of anti-China incidents. The present provocation was another proof that the Tsendenbal clique was bent on following Soviet revisionism in opposing China.

The note also said: "The Chinese Government and people once again warn the Mongolian authorities: The Chinese people will certainly settle accounts with you for the monstrous crimes you have committed against them. You can never get away with them, however hard you may try. U.S. imperialism will come to no good end in opposing China, neither will Soviet modern revisionism. The Tsedenbal leading clique will also come to no good end in following its master, Soviet revisionism, to oppose China!"

The Chinese Government has sternly demanded that the Mongolian Embassy in China immediately openly admit its guilt and apologize to the Chinese people, and guarantee against the recurrence of similar incidents in the future. The Chinese Government has decided to expel the criminal Dashonolt who had insulted the portrait of Chairman Mao, the great leader of the Chinese people and the revolutionary people of the world.

The revolutionary masses and young Red Guards in the capital demonstrated in front of the Mongolian Embassy, protesting most strongly against the anti-China crime of one of its staff members. The demonstrators shouted: "Down with the Mongolian revisionists!" and "Down with Tsedenbal, henchman of the U.S. imperialists and Soviet revisionists!"

Firm Rebuff to Soviet Revisionism's Anti-China Provocation

A responsible member of the Soviet Union and East European Affairs Department of the Chinese Foreign Ministry on August 13 summoned A.A. Brezhnev, Charge d'Affaires ad interim of the Soviet Embassy in China, and handed him a note lodging the strongest protest with the Soviet Government against the serious provocative incident in which the Soviet revisionist leading clique instructed the crew of the Soviet freighter *Svirsk* to wilfully insult badges with the profile of Chairman Mao, the great leader of the Chinese people.

On August 6, second mate Stanislav Ivanov and another crew member of the *Svirsk*, which was at anchor in Port Talien in northeast China, on their own initiative asked for badges with the profile of Chairman Mao, the great leader of the Chinese people, from a Chinese frontier guard inspector and then in front of the inspector insulted the badges and threw one of them into the sea. This is an intolerable, outrageous act towards Chairman Mao, the great leader of the Chinese people and the revolutionary people of the whole world, an open insult to the socialist People's Republic of China and the 700 million great Chinese people, and an extremely serious provocation against China.

After the incident, the Chinese department concerned twice ordered the captain of the Soviet ship, Viktor Korzhov, to hand over the offenders immediately to the Chinese department concerned for summons and trial. Refusing to comply with the order, Korzhov said that he was following orders from the Soviet Embassy in China. This fully proved that the grave political provocation was made on instructions from the Soviet Embassy, with the purpose of further worsening relations between China and the Soviet Union and stepping up the Soviet revisionist leading clique's collaboration with U.S. imperialism in a worldwide anti-China campaign.

The note pointed out that the world had now entered the era of Mao Tse-tung's thought and that the attacks and abuse by the Soviet revisionist leading clique against our great leader were no more than the buzzing of a few dying flies which could not in the least obscure the illumination of Mao Tse-tung's thought. On the contrary, its attacks and abuse were added proof of the greatness and correctness of Chairman Mao, the Lenin of our era, and would further increase the enormous love of the masses of Soviet people for Chairman Mao, and would all the more expedite the process of the grasping of Mao Tse-tung's thought by the Soviet people and the revolutionary people of the world.

The note said that the Chinese authorities concerned had decided to

drive Korzhov and Ivanov out of China and never allow them to return, and to force the *Svirsk* to leave Chinese territorial waters under armed escort.

The Chinese Government solemnly warned the Soviet Government: Should you continue to instigate your men to create similar incidents on Chinese territory in the future, the Chinese authorities concerned will mete out severe punishment to them.

This serious anti-China incident aroused the revolutionary masses and young Red Guards in Lushun-Talien to great indignation. They held a rally on the afternoon of August 13 to denounce the anti-China criminals Korzhov and Ivanov. Terror-stricken before the revolutionary masses and young Red Guards, the two bowed their heads and acknowledged their crimes.

Kwangtung Workers Make Hongkong British Authorities Admit Their Wrongs

Transport workers in Man Kam To in Poon County, Kwangtung Province, have waged a tit-for-tat struggle against the British imperialists.

Man Kam To is a Chinese centre handling imports and exports with Hongkong and Kowloon; every day Chinese workers handcart goods across a bridge to the other side. On August 4, the British side stealthily tore down slogans and posters which the workers had put up around the British police station and customs office.

The next morning, 27 transport workers, holding red flags and portraits of the great leader Chairman Mao high, marched in formation across the bridge to take the British police officer to task. With bare hands, they disarmed the officer and one of the British mercenaries who tried to intimidate them with their tommy guns.

After rounds of struggle, some senior British officials finally had to bow their heads and admit that they were wrong by signing a certificate of guarantee, in Chinese and English. The certificate guarantees: (1) that the posters will remain intact from

now on; (2) people working in Man Kam To, including workers and lorry drivers from Hongkong, must be protected at all times; (3) workers in the area can meet with workers from Hongkong and propagate and discuss the thought of Mao Tse-tung free from disturbance.

But, the Hongkong British authorities at Man Kam To went back on their word on August 9 when they again stealthily tore down the workers' slogans and posters and obstructed traffic by putting up barbed wire at the head of the Man Kam To bridge. As a result, a worker was injured on the following day when his cart overturned. The workers went to the British police station in the locality to argue things out. A struggle went on until ten o'clock at night when a British army officer drew his pistol ready to fire. He was immediately disarmed. The workers also took away all the light and heavy machine-guns and other weapons from the British troops and police who had threatened to fire. The workers then surrounded the British officials to get them to carry on the talks. By two in the morning on August 11, British official Trevor Bedford and army and police officers once again bowed their heads and signed a statement admitting their wrongs and making further guarantees. The statement undertakes, among other things, to strictly observe the three guarantees signed on August 5 and remove the barbed wire obstructing traffic.

After their provocation at Man Kam To failed, the British authorities in Hongkong once again perfidiously tore up the written pledge they had just made by declaring the closing of the entire border except at Lo Hu on August 11. On that day, when our peasants in Lo Fang crossed the border for farming according to their customary practice, British soldiers and policemen fired at them and flung more than twenty tear gas bombs, one of which was thrown over to our side, wounding three of our people.

Since their July 8 armed provocation in Sha Tau Kok, the British authorities have failed to meet the three demands raised in the Chinese Government's July 9 note (see

Peking Review, No. 29, 1967). They have, moreover, repeatedly committed provocations to undermine the normal state of affairs on the border, thus creating grave tension there. The Chinese Government once again lodged the most serious and strongest protest with the British Government against this. The protest was made in a note from the Chinese Foreign Ministry handed to the Office of the British Charge d'Affaires in China on August 14.

The note says: The British Government must instruct the British authorities in Hongkong to immediately cancel all measures for sealing off the border, stop provocations, effectively guarantee the normal coming and going and personal safety of the border inhabitants, and respect the rights of our masses and the residents in Hongkong and Kowloon to study and propagate the great thought of Mao Tse-tung and to put up slogans and big-character posters, etc. Otherwise, the British Government must be held responsible for all the consequences arising therefrom.

Protest Against Kidnapping of Patriotic Newsmen by Hongkong British Authorities

The All-China Journalists' Association, *Renmin Ribao* and Hsinhua News Agency issued a joint statement on August 12, strongly protesting against the Hongkong British authorities' fascist outrage in kidnapping leading members of patriotic newspapers in Hongkong.

The statement says that the fascist British authorities in Hongkong, following their unwarranted arrest of 14 patriotic journalists in Hongkong and Kowloon, kidnapped on the morning of August 9 five more people in charge of the *Hongkong Evening News*, the *Tin Fung Daily News*, the *Hongkong Commercial Daily*, and the Nam Cheung Printing Co. Ltd, which prints the three newspapers. The British authorities are also resorting to "legal" measures to persecute the Hongkong *Ta Kung Pao* and *Ching Po* on the charge of "slander."

In the current struggle against British imperialism and violence, the

statement points out, the patriotic newspapers and journalists in Hongkong, holding aloft the great red banner of Mao Tse-tung's thought and displaying revolutionary militancy, always stand in the forefront of the struggle. They have made outstanding contributions to mobilizing and organizing the masses and in exposing and striking at the enemy. This is why the fascist British authorities in Hongkong are continuously expanding their barbarous persecution of patriotic newspapers and journalists in Hongkong, in a vain attempt to suppress the dissemination of the great thought of Mao Tse-tung and to stamp out the flames of the struggle of our patriotic fellow countrymen in Hongkong and Kowloon against British brutality so as to save themselves from their doom. The statement sternly warns the Hongkong British authorities that they have utterly miscalculated!

The statement quotes the following teaching of the great leader Chairman Mao: "Historically, all reactionary forces on the verge of extinction invariably conduct a last desperate struggle against the revolutionary forces." It notes that the frenzied attack on the patriotic Chinese and patriotic journalists in Hongkong by the British authorities is a sign that this is the last desperate struggle of reactionary forces on the verge of extinction.

We Chinese journalists, together with the nation's 700 million people, vow to strongly back the patriotic fellow countrymen and patriotic journalists in Hongkong and Kowloon and resolutely support the righteous struggle of these Hongkong-Kowloon journalists till final victory, the statement declares.

The statement demands the Hongkong British authorities immediately stop their white terror, their attack on the patriotic Chinese press, immediately release all Hongkong-Kowloon patriotic journalists and other Chinese patriots under arrest, compensate them for all their losses and guarantee that no similar incidents occur in future. Otherwise, the Hongkong British authorities will be held responsible for all the serious consequences.

ROUND THE WORLD

PEOPLE'S FORCES IN THAILAND

Steeled in Battle

Experience in the class struggle in the era of imperialism teaches us that it is only by the power of the gun that the working class and the labouring masses can defeat the armed bourgeoisie and landlords; in this sense we may say that only with guns can the whole world be transformed.

— Mao Tse-tung

A police patrol had marched to None Hi Village in Nakorn Phanom Province, northeast Thailand. As usual, these butchers were riding roughshod over the peasants and massacring patriots. But they got what they least expected — a surprise attack from the people's forces. A police corporal was killed and the colonel who led the patrol was seriously wounded. The rest ran for their lives. When the reactionary government heard what had happened and helicoptered hundreds of police to the scene, the people's forces had long since disappeared.

This took place on August 7 two years ago. It was the first shot fired in the Thai people's armed struggle. Since then, led by the Communist Party of Thailand, the people's forces have smashed repeated "mopping-up" operations launched by the Thanom-Praphas clique. They have dealt U.S. imperialism and its lackeys heavy blows and have grown in strength. In two years, they have fought over 500 battles and wiped out more than 1,000 enemies. Of these 977 were killed or wounded and 26 captured.

Recently, the people's forces successfully defeated the "dry season mopping-up" campaign of which U.S. advisors took personal command and in which U.S. air commandos played a direct part. From November last to June 4, they fought 172 battles with the reactionary troops and police, attacked and ambushed the enemy on 62 occasions and wiped out 258 of them, including some local

reactionary officials. In addition, they killed or wounded 81 secret agents. They also seized from the enemy a large quantity of weapons which they used to equip themselves.

The people's forces have learnt how to wage war in the course of war and they have brought into full play the mobility and flexibility typical of guerrilla warfare to deal blows at the enemy. On August 1, they ambushed in the hilly regions of Prachuab Kirian Province, central Thailand, an "expeditionary force" sent to suppress the local people. A jeep with the unit was blown up by a land mine. Ten policemen were put out of action. Lieutenant-Colonel Kambang Krishnakaset, deputy commander of the provincial police, was killed.

In November last year, the people's forces of Dong E Num Village, Nakorn Phanom Province, displayed great heroism and remarkable tenacity when defeating a "mopping-up" campaign launched by two regiments of the reactionary police troops — a 1,000-strong force commanded by U.S. officers. In a 21-hour-long battle, they beat back many frontal attacks despite the fact the enemy was supported by helicopters and artillery. Finally they made a surprise appearance in the enemy's rear, destroyed his headquarters and successfully broke the encirclement. In this battle alone, the people's forces put out of action 87 enemy soldiers, including two U.S. officers killed.

"A single spark can start a prairie fire." In two years, the guerrilla war

has spread over the northern, northeastern, southern and central parts of Thailand to include 25 of the country's 71 provinces. Now the people's forces are mobilizing the peasant masses for the development and expansion of the guerrilla bases. The peasants are supplying them with grain. They have also led the masses in struggling against thugs and local despots. This has won the peasants' hearty support.

Chairman Mao's brilliant theories on the establishment of rural bases and using the villages to surround the cities and "**political power grows out of the barrel of a gun**" have shown their great vitality in Thailand. From their own experience, the Thai people have come to see that they can liberate themselves only by taking up arms and fighting a people's war. As the December 1, 1966, declaration of the Communist Party of Thailand stated, "In the struggle against the reactionary ruling classes which are armed to the teeth, if the people do not have their own armed forces, they cannot defeat the enemy but only place themselves at the enemy's mercy. The revolutionary struggle of the Thai people should be one of seizing political power through people's armed struggle and firmly opposing and defeating counter-revolutionary violence with revolutionary violence. This is the only way to relieve the people of their suffering and solve the nation's problems."

MEETING IN BANGKOK

Puny Counter-Revolutionary Alliance

Bangkok was during August 5-8 a meeting place for the reactionaries of Indonesia, Thailand, the Philippines, Singapore and "Malaysia," that is, the handful of U.S. imperialism's running dogs in Southeast Asia. There, with Washington pulling the wires, they conspired and formally knocked together a so-called "Association of Southeast Asian Nations" (ASEAN). This set-up is an out-and-out counter-revolutionary alliance rigged up to oppose China, commu-

nism and the people, another instrument fashioned by U.S. imperialism and Soviet revisionism for pursuing neo-colonialist ends in Asia.

ASEAN declared that its aims and purposes are to "accelerate the economic growth, social progress and cultural development in the region." Indonesia's Foreign Minister Malik, one of that country's top reactionaries, disclosed as early as May that the "regional co-operation" of this proposed organization could be interpreted as covering "a defence arrangement." More outspoken, some of Indonesia's Right-wing military men underlined ASEAN's true function. They called for a "joint defence organization of Southeast Asia" to meet what they called "the threat from China." In its joint declaration issued on August 8, this alliance of U.S. stooges openly supported the existence of the U.S. military bases in Southeast Asia, not even bothering to make any excuses for them. All

this proves that this reactionary association formed in the name of "economic co-operation" is a military alliance directed specifically against China.

U.S. imperialism has long been trying to build up a "crescent" to contain China. Now it has joined hands with the Kremlin to form a "full moon" to encircle China. But "crescent" or "full moon," this new anti-China ring in the shape of ASEAN is a tattered and tottering alliance, no stronger than a twist of straw.

U.S. imperialism's record of rigging up aggressive military blocs in Asia has been one of failure following failure. The Baghdad Treaty Organization was set up and then collapsed. CENTO which replaced it is now split at the seams. In the southeastern part of the continent, U.S. imperialism has fared no better where SEATO today exists in name only.

Hence a revamped version and the birth of ASEAN.

The new line-up of the U.S. lackeys in Asia is not an indication of strength but of weakness. The flames of the people's revolutionary struggle are burning strongly in these countries and regions where reactionary regimes are being shaken to their foundation. It is futile for them to try to stem the people's revolutionary movement or to try their strength against mighty socialist China. They are doomed. No banding together under the aegis of U.S. imperialism and its No. 1 accomplice, Soviet revisionism, can save them from destruction.

Our great leader Chairman Mao Tse-tung has said: "Make trouble, fail, make trouble again, fail again . . . till their doom; that is the logic of the imperialists and all reactionaries the world over in dealing with the people's cause, and they will never go against this logic."

北京周报第三十四期（一九六七年八月十八日出版）邮政代号：二一九二

PEKING REVIEW

Vol. 10, No. 34
August 18, 1967

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

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