

PEKING REVIEW

47

November 17, 1967

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The Situation Is Better Than Ever Before

Unprecedentedly excellent situation prevails in the great
proletarian cultural revolution.

Some Tentative Programmes for Revolutionizing Education

*Big Farce Put On by Renegades
To October Revolution*

QUOTATIONS FROM CHAIRMAN MAO TSE-TUNG

The situation in the great proletarian cultural revolution throughout the country is not just good but excellent. The entire situation is better than ever before. The important feature of this excellent situation is the full mobilization of the masses. Never before in any mass movement have the masses been mobilized so broadly and so deeply as in this one.

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The period of schooling should be shortened, education should be revolutionized, and the domination of our schools by bourgeois intellectuals should by no means be allowed to continue.

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

Speech at the Meeting of the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R. in Celebration of the 40th Anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution
(November 1957)



Chairman Mao Tse-tung

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

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Chairman Mao Receives P.L.A. Activists In the Study of His Works



When Chairman Mao, Vice-Chairman Lin Piao and the other leading comrades enter the reception hall, everyone shouted again and again with great emotion: "Long live Chairman Mao! A long, long life to Chairman Mao!"

CHAIRMAN MAO, our most respected and beloved great leader, and Vice-Chairman Lin Piao, his close comrade-in-arms, and Comrades Chou En-lai, Chen Po-ta, Kang Sheng, Li Fu-chun, Chiang Ching, Chang Chun-chiao, Chi Pen-yu and Yao Wen-yuan on the afternoon of November 13 received delegates attending the meeting of representatives of activists in the study of Chairman Mao's works in Chinese People's Liberation Army units stationed in Peking; delegates attending the meeting of representatives of activists in the study of Chairman Mao's works in P.L.A. air force units stationed in Peking; comrades attending the plenary session of the Air Force Committee of the Chinese Communist Party; and comrades who have taken part in the work of receiving the revolutionary masses during the great proletarian cultural revolution.

Present on the occasion were Comrades Chen Yi, Li Hsien-nien, Hsu Hsiang-chien, Nieh Jung-chen, Yeh Chien-ying, Hsieh Fu-chih, Yang Cheng-wu, Su Yu, Wu Fa-hsien, Yu Li-chin, Cheng Wei-shan, Fu Chung-pi, Wang Tung-hsing, Yeh Chun, Li Hsueh-feng, Liu Ning-I and Yu Chiu-li.

At 6 p.m., our great teacher, great leader, great supreme commander and great helmsman Chairman Mao who was in high spirits entered the reception hall together with Vice-Chairman Lin Piao and the other leading comrades, and cordially greeted all those present.

The hall was at once filled with great joy. Showing their boundless loyalty to Chairman Mao and their boundless faith in Mao Tse-tung's thought, the revolutionary fighters turned happily towards

Chairman Mao and, waving their shining red copies of the treasured revolutionary book *Quotations From Chairman Mao Tse-tung*, shouted again and again: "Long live Chairman Mao! A long, long life to Chairman Mao!"

Smiling, the great leader Chairman Mao kept waving back to them and applauding. Vice-Chairman Lin Piao and Comrades Chou En-lai, Chen Po-ta, Kang Sheng, Li Fu-chun and Chiang Ching waved their copies of *Quotations From Chairman*

Mao Tse-tung as they also cordially greeted all present.

When the reception came to an end, those who had been received shouted again and again with great feeling: "Long live Chairman Mao! A long, long life to him!" Then they burst into the songs *Sailing the Seas Depends on the Helmsman*, and *Dear as Our Parents Are to Us, Chairman Mao Is Dearer Still*. They all wished a long, long life to Chairman Mao, the reddest red sun in our hearts.

50th Anniversary of October Revolution Commemorated

The 50th anniversary of the October Socialist Revolution was marked in Peking on November 6 at a rally at which Comrade Lin Piao, the close comrade-in-arms of our great leader Chairman Mao, made a very important speech. (See *Peking Review* No. 46.) In Shanghai, Shenyang, Tientsin, Wuhan, Sian, Chengtu and Kwangchow, rallies were also held to celebrate the anniversary. Filled with reverence for Lenin, the creator of the October Revolution, and his successor Stalin, armymen and civilians attended these rallies. They enthusiastically hailed the fact that the world had entered a new revolutionary era with Mao Tse-tung's thought as its great banner. They expressed their determination to carry through to the end the struggle against imperialism headed by the United States, and against modern revisionism with the Soviet revisionist renegade clique as its centre.

Comrade Lin Piao's speech at the Peking rally has given tremendous inspiration to the 700 million Chinese people. Proletarian revolutionaries, revolutionary masses, young Red Guards and commanders and fighters of the People's Liberation Army throughout the country have conscientiously studied and discussed the speech and the important article "Advance Along the Road Opened Up by the October Socialist Revolution" by the editorial departments of *Renmin Ribao*, *Hongqi* and *Jiefangjun Bao* (see *Peking Review* No. 46). They warmly acclaim that, in the past 50 years, earth-shaking changes have taken place in the world, the flames of the October Revolution are

raging all over the globe, and the situation in the world revolution is excellent. With great indignation they condemn the towering crimes of the Soviet revisionist renegade clique for shamelessly trampling on the great banner of Leninism, betraying the cause of the dictatorship of the proletariat and restoring capitalism in all respects in the Soviet Union. They all express the determination to respond to Comrade Lin Piao's call, hold still higher the great banner of the October Revolution and the great banner of Marxism-Leninism, Mao Tse-tung's thought, and carry the great proletarian cultural revolution through to the end. They are also resolved to build our great motherland into a still more powerful base of world revolution, give increasing support to the proletariat and people of all countries in their revolutionary struggles against imperialism, modern revisionism and reaction, propagate Mao Tse-tung's thought more widely and make the great cause of the dictatorship of the proletariat — created by the October Revolution — triumph throughout the world.

Acclaiming that the world today has entered a new revolutionary era with Mao Tse-tung's thought as its great banner, proletarian revolutionaries and P.L.A. commanders and fighters in various parts of the country declare that our great leader Chairman Mao has creatively and with genius developed Marxism-Leninism, put forward the great theory of continued revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat, personally initiated and led the first great proletarian cultural revolution in human history, and raised

Marxism-Leninism to a completely new stage, the stage of Mao Tse-tung's thought. In commemorating the 50th anniversary of the Great October Revolution today, they say, the most fundamental and most important task is to study still harder and grasp Mao Tse-tung's thought which is Marxism-Leninism at its highest of the present era, thoroughly establish the absolute authority of Chairman Mao and Mao Tse-tung's thought, propagate the invincible thought of Mao Tse-tung more widely in the world and strive valiantly to realize Chairman Mao's great call to overthrow imperialism, modern revisionism and reaction in all countries, and build a new world without imperialism, without capitalism and without exploitation of man by man.

Comrade Hill Arrives In Peking

Comrade E.F. Hill, Chairman of the Australian Communist Party (Marxist-Leninist), arrived in Peking on November 7 on a friendly visit to China at the invitation of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party. He was accompanied by Comrade N.L. Gallagher.

Among those who warmly greeted them at the airport were Comrades Chou En-lai and Kang Sheng, Members of the Standing Committee of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party, and Comrade Liu Ning-I, Member of the Secretariat of the Party's Central Committee. Comrade Frank Johnson of the Australian Communist Party (Marxist-Leninist)

(Continued on p. 38.)

Peking Review, No. 47

Do a Good Job of Education on The Current Situation

IN the high tide of the study of Chairman Mao's latest instructions, many units of our army are giving close attention to education on the current situation. Taking closely into account what people are thinking about now, they have thorough discussions on the unprecedentedly excellent situation in the great proletarian cultural revolution and the great victories won by Mao Tse-tung's thought and Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line. The results are fine. This method merits attention and popularization.

A correct principle, policy and plan stem from a correct analysis of the political situation and a correct assessment of class forces. The series of latest instructions from Chairman Mao are based precisely on his most scientific and profound analysis of the situation in the great proletarian cultural revolution. Only by doing a good job of education on the current situation so as to enable the broad masses to see more clearly the unprecedentedly excellent situation in the great proletarian cultural revolution, is it possible for them to understand more profoundly the great significance of Chairman Mao's latest instructions and to carry out Chairman Mao's brilliant instructions still more consciously and effectively. On the contrary, if the assessment of the situation is incorrect, it is impossible to reach a correct understanding of the principles, policies and plans of Chairman Mao and the Party Central Committee. It will lead to a number of incorrect actions and may even result in losing one's bearings and going astray.

Under the guidance of the great thought of Mao Tse-tung, a very rapid development of the situation in the great proletarian cultural revolution movement is taking place. Chairman Mao says: **"What are the characteristics of the present movement? What are its laws? How is it to be directed? These are all practical questions."** **"The movement is developing, new things have yet to emerge and they are emerging in an endless stream. To study this movement in its entirety and in its development is a great task claiming our constant attention."** We must constantly carry on education among the army units on the current situation so that they can always keep a clear mind and maintain a correct orientation, and closely follow Chairman Mao, Mao Tse-tung's thought and Chairman Mao's great strategic plan. We should constantly use Mao Tse-tung's thought to analyse and sum up new trends, new achievements, new experiences and new problems which arise in the movement, carry out timely education among the broad masses of commanders and fighters

so that their ideas keep pace with the developing new situation.

The fundamental question in education on the current situation is to help the masses to use Mao Tse-tung's thought as a telescope and microscope to observe the complex situation in the class struggle, and to use Mao Tse-tung's thought to unify people's understanding of the situation, to see through the class enemy's sowing of discord and provocation and to eradicate the influences of all kinds of non-proletarian ideology, either from the Right or the "Left."

In his latest instructions, Chairman Mao teaches us: **"The situation in the great proletarian cultural revolution throughout the country is not just good but excellent. The entire situation is better than ever before. The important feature of this excellent situation is the full mobilization of the masses. Never before in any mass movement have the masses been mobilized so broadly and so deeply as in this one."**

Using Mao Tse-tung's thought to observe and analyse the situation means, first of all, keeping the masses always in mind in accordance with this teaching of Chairman Mao's. The masses are the makers of history and the masters of history. How the masses are moving decides the nature of the revolutionary situation. Whether the situation of our revolution is favourable or unfavourable depends on how broadly and deeply the masses have been mobilized by using Mao Tse-tung's thought, on the level of their consciousness and their organization. Experience gained in the practice of the great proletarian cultural revolution proves that once Mao Tse-tung's thought is integrated with the masses in their hundreds of millions and everybody — except the renegades, secret agents, the diehard Party persons in authority taking the capitalist road, and the ghosts and monsters in society (landlords, rich peasants, counter-revolutionaries, bad elements and the Rightists who have not sufficiently remoulded themselves) — concerns himself with the affairs of the state and rises up in revolution, then the class enemy cannot escape his doom no matter how he may rampage for a time and how sinister and sly he may be and no matter what difficulties stand in the way, all will be overcome. It was precisely in the process of mobilizing the hundreds of millions of the revolutionary masses that the counter-revolutionary bourgeois headquarters headed by China's Khrushchov was smashed.

In studying a situation, we must be good at distinguishing between the main aspects and the minor

aspects, and not be misled by any superficial phenomena at a particular time or in a particular place. We should not magnify isolated, temporary, partial phenomena into general, long-standing, all-embracing problems. Thus we shall be able to see the far-reaching **significance** of the unparalleled, tremendous victories **gained** in the great proletarian cultural revolution, the **great** revolutionary spirit and creative power of the **masses** and the vigorous new things which are constantly emerging in the mass movement, and always be filled with revolutionary optimism.

To do a good job of education on the current situation and to help the army units apply Mao Tse-tung's thought in observing and analysing the situation, we must adhere to the mass line. The practice of the

struggle of millions upon millions of the revolutionary masses in the great cultural revolution is a rich living textbook. We must draw nourishment from society in various forms and extensively and arouse every comrade in the army to use Mao Tse-tung's thought as the guide to analyse the excellent situation in the great cultural revolution in the light of one's own experience, so as to inspire and educate each other. In this way, it is possible to carry on lively and animated education on the current situation and effectively enhance the army's political consciousness, thus enabling it to grasp Mao Tse-tung's thought still better and make still better progress in the direction pointed out by Chairman Mao.

(*"Jiefangjun Bao"* editorial, Nov. 9.)

The Situation Is Better Than Ever Before

by JEN LI-HSIN

DURING his inspection tour of north, central-south and east China, our great leader Chairman Mao issued a number of extremely **important** instructions on the situation and tasks in the **current** great proletarian cultural revolution.

Chairman Mao emphatically pointed out: **"The situation in the great proletarian cultural revolution throughout the country is not just good but excellent. The entire situation is better than ever before. The important feature of this excellent situation is the full mobilization of the masses. Never before in any mass movement have the masses been mobilized so broadly and so deeply as in this one."**

This analysis of the situation is the most accurate and inspiring summation of the vigorous mass movement of the cultural revolution over the past year and more.

As Chairman Mao has pointed out, the current cultural revolution has really mobilized the masses. In China today, discussions on the cultural revolution are going on everywhere, in all factories, villages, government organizations, schools and army units. With the exception of renegades, secret agents, diehard Party persons in authority taking the capitalist road, and ghosts and monsters of society (those landlords, rich peasants, counter-revolutionaries, bad elements and Rightists who have not sufficiently remoulded themselves), everyone concerns himself with affairs of state, with the consolidation of the state power of the proletariat and with the prospects and future of the people of China and the world.

Even within a family, father and son, brother and sister, husband and wife, youngsters in their early teens and grey-haired women engage in debate. We are justified to say that this is something unknown in history. It is our Chairman Mao alone, with his great courage

and profound Marxist-Leninist wisdom, who has dared to trust the masses to such an extent, rely on them, respect their initiative and fully mobilize them, and who dared to launch, on such a scale, this revolutionary mass movement that shakes the whole of China and the whole world.

The cultural revolution of the past year and more is an unprecedented movement to popularize and spread Marxism-Leninism, Mao Tse-tung's thought, in a big way. Mao Tse-tung's thought is now more extensively embraced by hundreds of millions of revolutionary people. A new era has begun in which the working people directly grasp and apply Marxism-Leninism, Mao Tse-tung's thought.

Hundreds of millions of working people support Mao Tse-tung's thought. This is an excellent situation not only for China but for the whole world. To study Chairman Mao's writings, follow his teachings and act according to his instructions has become a necessity for every revolutionary in his life and struggle. Taking **"fight self-interest, repudiate revisionism"** as the guiding principle, proletarian revolutionaries and the revolutionary masses throughout China have launched a self-education campaign to thoroughly establish the absolute authority of Mao Tse-tung's thought. Nurtured in Mao Tse-tung's thought and tempered in the cultural revolution, a galaxy of new revolutionary talent has emerged.

The study and application of Mao Tse-tung's thought by the broad masses is a momentous event of far-reaching significance. It is the fundamental guarantee that revisionism will be prevented from usurping the leadership of the Party and state and the restoration of capitalism will be prevented, and that our socialist state under the dictatorship of the proletariat will never change its political colour.

(Continued on p. 20.)

While their [the students'] main task is to study, they should in addition to their studies, learn other things, that is, industrial work, farming and military affairs. They should also criticize the bourgeoisie. The period of schooling should be shortened, education should be revolutionized, and the domination of our schools by bourgeois intellectuals should by no means be allowed to continue.

— MAO TSE-TUNG

May 7, 1966

Some Tentative Programmes for Revolutionizing Education

The call issued by Chairman Mao and the Central Committee of the Party for all colleges, middle schools and primary schools to resume classes while carrying on the revolution has received warm response from the revolutionary masses, revolutionary Red Guards and revolutionary teachers and students throughout the country.

On November 3, "Renmin Ribao" published the following tentative proposals worked out by Tongji University in Shanghai and two other higher educational institutions to revolutionize education. The paper's accompanying editor's note called for widespread discussion of these proposals in order to "advance the revolution in education."

"These programmes," noted the paper, "still need to be tested in revolutionary practice."

"Chairman Mao recently gave us this advice: **The proletarian revolution in education should be carried out by relying on the mass of revolutionary students, teachers and workers in the schools, by relying on the activists among them, namely, those proletarian revolutionaries who are determined to carry the great proletarian cultural revolution through to the end.** We hope that revolutionary cadres and the revolutionary masses throughout the country will resolutely implement this instruction and strive for great victories in the proletarian educational revolution." — P.R. Editor.

Tongji University's Proposals For Transforming Education

In accordance with Chairman Mao's May 7, 1966 instruction, Shanghai's Tongji University sent more than 100 people in groups to factories and construction sites in August and September this year to make in-

vestigations and study the question of transforming education. Bold proposals have been worked out for the reorganization of the university.

It is proposed to transform Tongji University into the "May 7th" Commune consisting of a tutorial unit, a designing unit and a building unit, an integrated whole having three-fold function of tuition, designing and building. This will change the present phenomenon of education being divorced from production.

The "May 7th" Commune will abolish existing departments and teaching research groups and set up in their place a number of specialized committees each composed of personnel from the tutorial unit, the designing unit and the production unit. Each committee will have a number of classes under its direction with teachers, students, workers, engineering and technical personnel organized along military lines.

The commune will implement two types of "three-in-one" combination: one is the "three-in-one" combination of revolutionary leading cadres, and leaders of the revolutionary mass organizations and the militia; the other is the combination of tuition, designing and building.

The commune will operate a rotation system whereby a part of its teaching staff will be enabled to be tempered and remoulded by practical participation in production at fixed intervals.

The "May 7th" Commune will set up political work departments in its organizations at all levels. Every specialized committee will be provided with political instructors and each class with political workers.

The period of schooling will be shortened to three years. Apart from courses in Mao Tse-tung's thought and military affairs, the time allocated to specialized

theoretical subjects will be proportionally increased each year. All students in each academic year will be required to take part in productive labour. In the first year, half the time will be assigned to building and engineering work. In the second year, two-thirds of the time will be used for learning the basic knowledge about designing through practical work under the guidance of technical workers or teachers. In the third year, stress will be put on the study of specialized courses while the student continues to spend part of his time in productive labour.

In the course of keen debates on the programme, the revolutionary teachers and students of Tongji University have come to see that the "May 7th" Commune project is a concrete way for engineering institutes to implement Chairman Mao's May 7th instruction. They list its following merits:

(1) Leadership of the university is placed firmly in the hands of the proletarian revolutionaries and the institute will not be dominated, as it was formerly, by bourgeois intellectuals.

(2) Chairman Mao's policy of combining education with productive labour will be carried out. This will enrich the content of teaching and study, and promote the development of the struggle for production and scientific experiment.

(3) Since the content of teaching and study is linked with actual construction projects, it can be streamlined and concentrated, and so end overlapping in the curriculum, and keep it from being overly academic and overburdened with superfluous material.

(4) It is conducive to the ideological remoulding of intellectuals and to the elimination of the differences between town and country, between the worker and the peasant, and between mental and manual labour.

The Shanghai Municipal Revolutionary Committee attaches great importance to this programme. It has assigned some staff workers to work together with teachers and students of the university on the programme. It plans to send 150 teachers, students and staff workers of Tongji University along with members of the East China Institute of Industrial Design to try the programme out at a construction site.

Proposals From the Peking Forestry Institute

Since formally resuming studies on October 23, the revolutionary teachers and students of the Peking Forestry Institute have put daring above all and advanced bold proposals for transforming education in their institute. They have abolished teaching research groups in all its departments and formed "three-in-one" specialized companies based on specialized branches of study. In this way they have brought together teachers of the foundation courses and those of the specialized courses. Formerly, problems relating to teaching and study were studied on the basis of the tutorial needs of each class. Now they are studied on the basis of

specialized branches of study. The 17 teaching research groups under the former Department of Forestry have been reorganized into four specialized companies—forestry, forest protection, forest economics and water and soil conservation. The seven teaching research groups of the former Department of Forest Industry have now been reorganized into three specialized companies—forest machinery, wood working and forest chemistry. In order to strengthen collective leadership, each company has established a "three-in-one" leading body consisting of revolutionary cadres, revolutionary teachers and young revolutionary students. This leading body assumes leadership over the work of struggle-criticism-transformation and also over teaching. It is responsible for both political work and vocational studies. These specialized companies have shown their advantage in the following four ways:

1. They have shattered the set-up designed to implement the old educational system.

2. They have put an end to the former tendency whereby teaching research groups were controlled by bourgeois professors and academic authorities and the teachers were isolated from the students and paid little attention to political and ideological work.

3. Teaching research based on specialized studies facilitates the reform of education as well as teaching and study. Now that classes have been resumed, the different companies will see to it that the foundation courses are integrated with the specialized courses and that specialized studies are integrated with practical work so that all aspects of teaching are closely linked together like a chain. This method is helping to change the situation in which the different teaching research groups all acted on their own without consulting one another and without co-ordinating their efforts in teaching, and in which theory was divorced from practice.

4. Reorganization of the teaching research groups and tuition on the basis of specialized company makes it possible to greatly reduce the number of teachers.

Proposals From the Peking Teachers' University on Examinations and Other Questions

One. On Examinations

Chairman Mao once pointed out: "Examinations at present are like tackling enemies. They are surprise attacks, full of catch questions and obscure questions. They are nothing but a method of testing official stereotyped writing."* This established examination

* Official stereotyped writing refers to an essay form with a set pattern of eight sections. Mostly empty rhetoric, it was a set piece in the imperial examinations for scholars. Introduced in the 15th century and designed to shackle the thinking of intellectuals, its basic form remained unchanged till late in the 19th century.

method must be abolished. New examination methods must be so designed that they put proletarian politics to the fore, are linked with practical work, pay special attention to a student's ability to analyse and solve problems, and encourage students to form their own ideas and judgment of things.

Examinations are aimed to promote study. They should not be a test of memory but of the power of reasoning. Mechanical repetition of teaching material should be opposed. Students should be encouraged to study creatively, to apply what they have learnt and to expound their own ideas. There should not be too many examinations and an end should be put to surprise tests. Examinations may be done away with altogether in some subjects. Examinations can take various forms: Students may be given a choice of questions to answer; they may be allowed the use of textbooks, notes and reference material during examinations; or they may be examined while engaged in some practical work. Examinations should be so designed as to give full play to the student's ability to reason things out. They should be allowed to discuss the questions together and use reference books.

Two. Promotion to a Higher Class or Leaving a Student to Spend a Second Year in the Same Class

There should be a stop to the practice of leaving a student to spend another year in the same class if he fails the examinations. Schools should put proletarian politics to the fore and bring into full play the students' initiative in study. The teachers' sense of responsibility should be strengthened.

Three. Going Up the Educational Ladder

The class line should be carried out in admitting new students. Schools should open their gates wide to the children of workers, peasants and soldiers.

The former system of entrance examinations should be abolished. A method combining recommendation and selection should be used in admitting new students. Young people who are good both politically and scholastically should be selected from among the graduating students and from among the workers, peasants and soldiers for admittance to schools of a higher grade.

Young people should be allowed to go to middle schools or colleges for advanced study after studying in spare-time schools of different levels and types.

New students may be admitted to classes other than the first-year class. No age limits should be placed on such students.

GREAT CULTURAL REVOLUTION IN PROGRESS

Art Students Denounce Revisionist Educational Line

IN the current deep-going development of the great proletarian cultural revolution, people throughout the country are intensifying their criticism of China's Khrushchov. At Peking's Central Academy of Fine Arts, the revolutionary students and teachers are denouncing his revisionist line in education.

The academy, a leading institution in the field of the fine arts, provides a vivid example of how the current phase of the cultural revolution, known as the revolutionary mass criticism campaign, is proceeding all over China today.

Facts revealed during this campaign show that a handful of Party persons in authority taking the capitalist road were entrenched in the academy. Accusations raised by some of the graduating seniors are sharply critical. They began their studies in the first form of the middle school attached to the academy and have been in the academy for a total of eleven years. From their own experience they have shown how the handful of capitalist roaders acted as agents of China's Khrush-

chov in promoting a revisionist educational line in the academy.

These capitalist roaders, they reveal, worked in collusion with various bourgeois reactionary "authorities" to exercise a bourgeois dictatorship; they opposed the Party's class line and discriminated against students from the families of workers and peasants. They did this under the pretext of wishing to "give equal opportunity to everybody."

Party policy in enrolling students is to give priority to students from worker and peasant families. But the capitalist roaders insisted on enrolling students mainly from the big cities. They accepted the absurd and metaphysical bourgeois idea that students from the big cities are cleverer, and they acted accordingly. Reluctant to accept students from families of the working people, they gave preference to the children of bourgeois intellectuals, fallaciously claiming that they had inherent talent and were "good sprouts" to be developed into good artists. As a result, very few students from worker or peasant families were given this "equal opportunity" and admitted to the academy. The real intention of the capitalist roaders was to oppose the Party's class line.

Our great leader Chairman Mao teaches that education must serve proletarian politics and be combined with productive labour. This has been proved to be the only correct policy for socialist education in China. The capitalist roaders however opposed this.

Their opposition took many forms. One was the "studio tutelage system," introduced in 1962 under the pretext of "aiming at higher quality." In operating this system, the academy established 13 studios. Each was under a studio director who was, in fact, a bourgeois "authority." Every student, from his third year till graduation, was under the personal tutelage of an assigned studio director. The studio director was given a wide range of powers. He decided questions of promotion and demotion of students; his words carried much weight in the allocation of work for graduates and in the admission of students into the Communist Youth League or the Party. Some directors even demanded that they be given the "right" to choose the Party branch secretary.

This was a typical example of a "school run by experts" as advocated by the bourgeois Rightists. It did away at the academy with the Party leadership and the principle of giving prominence to proletarian politics.

The bourgeois "authorities" banned Mao Tse-tung's thought and political study, declaring it "irrelevant in the realm of art." Students described the atmosphere in the studios as decadent. There was an absence of revolutionary enthusiasm, and they were taught to hanker after fame and position. They were not trained to be successors to the proletarian revolutionary cause.

The fundamental task of socialist education in China is to arm students with Mao Tse-tung's thought, but the capitalist roaders at the academy opposed giving prominence to Mao Tse-tung's thought. The bourgeois "authorities" even opposed posters with quotations from Chairman Mao and would not allow them to be put up in the classrooms. Students who studied Chairman Mao's works in their spare time were ridiculed as "trying to take up another profession" and "trying to be politicians."

But on the other hand, the list of books for compulsory reading in the academy's middle school included such feudal and bourgeois works as the old Chinese drama *Romance of the West Chamber*, *La Dame aux Camélias* by Alexandre Dumas, jr., and *Eugenie Grandet* by Honore de Balzac.

Under instructions from China's Khrushchov, an advocate of bourgeois individualism, the capitalist roaders taught the students: "You must first have high aspirations. Our aim is to develop you into master painters of the traditional Chinese school, master oil painters and master sculptors." They opposed Chairman Mao's teaching that "our educational policy must enable everyone who receives an education to develop morally, intellectually and physically and become a worker with both socialist consciousness and culture."

Under the pretext of awarding marks "on artistic merits alone, without political considerations," one studio director gave the full-mark of "5" to a painting by a student who had tried to prettify his father, a capitalist, by depicting the portly gentleman, walking-stick in hand, taking a leisurely stroll with his son.

Another student portrayed his brother, a model peasant, surveying the farmland against the background of a rising sun shedding its brilliance over a Chinese countryside. In addition to its political message, this painting has the merit of being full of life and vitality. Yet this same studio director was reluctant to award it even the second best mark, "4."

Chairman Mao teaches that art and literature should serve the workers, peasants and soldiers. The academy of fine arts should therefore train students to meet this requirement, but the "authorities" opposed students making contacts with the workers, peasants and soldiers. They prescribed a rigid elementary training course which they claimed had taken them 20 years to master.

They demanded that the students copy, uncritically, impressionist, expressionist and fauvist works and worship ancient Chinese and foreign painters.

One student voiced this criticism: "Although they sometimes organized trips for us to sketch landscapes, trips which sometimes lasted several months, these were merely sight-seeing tours of famous mountains and picturesque spots. They never allowed us to get in touch with the workers, peasants and soldiers or with the socialist revolution. How could we identify ourselves with the masses in this way?"

The young revolutionary students inspired by the thought of Mao Tse-tung, became dissatisfied with this kind of life and study which isolated them from the outside world and struggle. On a number of occasions, they rebelled. During vacations they went to factories and farms and took part in manual labour, in order to get to know the workers, peasants and soldiers better and to paint them. A group of students has recalled how, in the big leap forward movement in 1958, they went out to factories and villages and painted murals reflecting the soaring revolutionary enthusiasm of the people. Students also started their own steel smelting furnace, a paper mill, a print shop and a workshop for making marionettes.

These creative efforts reflected their determination to break with the old school system and its restrictions, and to search out the best way of responding to Chairman Mao's directive that education must serve proletarian politics and be combined with productive labour.

This revolution in the field of education, however, was stopped short by China's Khrushchov and his henchmen under the pretext that "such activities would interfere with and lower academic standards." The students were forced to close down their workshops.

In their criticisms levelled against the revisionists, the students said: "When our academy was under the rule of the bourgeois educational line put forward by China's Khrushchov, we were victims of bourgeois education. We have had enough of this! Our own experience made us realize the profound significance of the statement by our great leader Chairman Mao that 'the period of schooling should be shortened, education should be revolutionized, and the domination of our schools by bourgeois intellectuals should by no means be allowed to continue.'"

"During the unprecedented great proletarian cultural revolution we overcame obstacle after obstacle

placed in our way by the handful of top Party persons in authority taking the capitalist road; we beat the bourgeois reactionary line; we broke through all the restraints of the old educational system so that we could take part in the struggle raging in our society. Only then did we really enter the classroom of class struggle."

Speaking in the mass criticism campaign in the academy, the revolutionary students and teachers have declared: "We are determined to smash the shackles of bourgeois education imposed on us by China's Khrushchov. We will turn the Central Academy of Fine Arts into a great school of Mao Tse-tung's thought."

INTERNATIONAL COMMUNIST MOVEMENT

Marxism-Leninism, Mao Tse-tung's Thought Will Surely Triumph! Modern Revisionism Will Surely Collapse!

— Statement of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Burma on the occasion of the 50th anniversary of the Great October Revolution

I

Long Live the Great October Revolution!

The dictatorship of the proletariat was established in Russia on November 7, 1917, becoming the beacon of the oppressed peoples the world over.

It was a great victory of the heroic people of Russia, a great victory won with the working class, under the leadership of the Bolshevik Party headed by the great Lenin, standing and fighting in the forefront.

The Great October Revolution shook the entire world. It clearly pointed out the road of liberation for the oppressed peoples of the world. It taught in practice that the oppressed peoples can face up to, overthrow and triumph over the violent rule of the exploiting classes only by violence.

Long live the Great October Revolution!

Long live the heroic people of the Soviet Union!

With deepest sincerity we extend our red salute to the then Communist Party of the Soviet Union which was glorious when it was personally led by the great Lenin and Stalin.

November 17, 1967

II

Down With the Revisionist Clique Centred Around The Renegades Khrushchov, Brezhnev and Kosygin!

Today the clique centred around the renegades Khrushchov, Brezhnev and Kosygin has destroyed the fruits of the Great October Revolution which belong not only to the people of the Soviet Union but also to the people of the whole world. They have destroyed the dictatorship of the proletariat in the Soviet Union built with the blood of the heroic people of the Soviet Union. They are building capitalism under the cloak of Marxism-Leninism. These traitors have also sabotaged the revolutions of the proletariat and other oppressed classes in various countries.

These traitors are denying the universal truth of Marxism-Leninism that the bourgeois state cannot be superseded by the proletarian state (the dictatorship of the proletariat) through the process of "withering away," but, as a general rule, only through a violent revolution; they are trying to substitute in its stead parliamentary means. They are doing their utmost to blunt the revolutionary spirit of the people of the world and are working to prolong the regimes of all reactionary forces.

The heroic Soviet people will, by no means, tolerate the heinous deeds of these traitors who are following

the capitalist road under the cloak of Marxism-Leninism. It is perfectly certain that the Soviet people will firmly unite with the proletariat of the world, fight against and triumph over these renegades.

Down with the modern revisionist clique of the traitors — Khrushchov, Brezhnev and Kosygin!

III

Long Live China's Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution Led by Chairman Mao!

While the revisionist clique centring around the traitors — Khrushchov, Brezhnev and Kosygin — is cunningly destroying Marxism-Leninism, the Communist Party of China led by Chairman Mao has been resolutely defending Marxism-Leninism.

In practice it has been clearly shown that the great thought of Mao Tse-tung is the acme of Marxism-Leninism of our era.

Thus the centre of the world proletariat has shifted from Moscow to Peking.

China's great proletarian cultural revolution, initiated and led personally by Chairman Mao Tse-tung, has developed Marxism-Leninism on the questions of carrying on the socialist revolution to the end under the dictatorship of the proletariat and further consolidating the dictatorship of the proletariat. It has raised Marxism-Leninism to a completely new stage.

It has also immensely strengthened the revolutionary struggles all over the world.

Long live the great proletarian cultural revolution of China which has made a tremendous contribution to the proletariat and the oppressed peoples of all lands!

Long live the vanguard of the international proletariat, the Communist Party of China headed by Chairman Mao Tse-tung!

Long live the invincible thought of Mao Tse-tung!

Long live our respected and beloved Chairman Mao Tse-tung!

IV

The People's Democratic Revolution of Burma Will Certainly Triumph!

In commemorating the 50th anniversary of the Great October Revolution, we, members of the Communist Party of Burma, people's army and guerrilla fighters and people's militia as well as all those who wish to liberate themselves, will creatively study and apply Marxism-Leninism more than ever before.

With complete devotion and trust, we will creatively study and apply more than ever the great thought of Mao Tse-tung, the acme of Marxism-Leninism of our era.

In monolithic unity with the great Communist Party of China, the glorious Party of Labour of Albania, the Marxist-Leninist Parties and the fraternal proletariat of all lands, we shall fight the revisionist clique of the traitors Khrushchov, Brezhnev and Kosygin till its total collapse.

We shall overthrow the national traitor Ne Win, the Burmese Chiang Kai-shek, who is supported and encouraged by those renegades and the imperialists. We shall build in Burma a people's democratic state which will solve all the basic problems of the present stage in accord with the ardent desires of the Burmese people.

Let us hail the 50th anniversary of the Great October Revolution with the deepest and heartfelt respect!

Long live the Great October Revolution!

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

**The Central Committee of the
Communist Party of Burma**

October 24, 1967

Chairman Mao Is the True Inheritor and Developer of Marxism-Leninism

— Article by E.F. Hill, Chairman of the Communist Party of Australia (M-L)

CHAIRMAN MAO "is the true inheritor and developer of Marxism-Leninism" and "stands as a champion of the October Revolution," said E.F. Hill, Chairman of the Communist Party of Australia (Marxist-Leninist), in an article published in the November 2 issue of *Vanguard*.

Under the title "China Carries on the Tradition of October," the article said that this year all revolutionaries celebrate the 50th anniversary of the Great October Revolution. Fifty years ago, the Russian work-

ers, peasants and soldiers seized state power. The central questions of the October Revolution were the armed seizure of power by the working class, the smashing of the capitalist state machine and the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat.

The October Revolution, stated the article, proved the absolute correctness of Lenin's views. However, the Soviet revisionists have betrayed the cause and ideas of Lenin.

Referring to the recent "statement" of the Soviet revisionist ruling clique on the 50th anniversary of the October Revolution, the article stated that it "is a pitiful mish-mash such as only utter renegades could produce. They go down on their hands and knees, crawl on their bellies, to make themselves respectable to the bourgeoisie."

The article went on to say that the traditions of the October Revolution are held aloft by the Chinese people with their dictatorship of the proletariat. The ideas of Lenin are being upheld and really creatively developed by Chairman Mao.

It said that "Mao Tse-tung has shown that classes do exist in socialist society, that the class struggle must be waged, that the proletariat must continue to seize power from the remnant capitalist and feudal classes and from the regenerating capitalist class."

The article pointed out that it is precisely the capitalist class' vilification against China and Chairman Mao that proves that they are correct and that they uphold the October Revolution.

"The great proletarian cultural revolution in China," the article said, "is a true and profound development of the October Revolution."

It pointed out that in contrast to the restoration of capitalism in the Soviet Union, the Chinese people have continued to wage the battle for socialism. "They have consolidated the dictatorship of the proletariat. They have fought in bitter class struggles the Khrushchov of China and his followers. They have laid firm foundations against a return to capitalism. This is the greatest loyalty and greatest service to the October Revolution," the article said.

It went on to say that all revolutionaries celebrate with boundless joy the victory of the October Revolution because its spirit lives and inspires us despite its betrayal by the Soviet revisionist clique. China and Chairman Mao have provided the guarantee that the spirit of the October Revolution lives on and spreads. All the people of the world will follow its example, the article concluded.

Chairman Mao Tse-tung Guides the World Revolution With Matchless Genius

— Speech by N. Sanmugathan, Member of the Secretariat of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Ceylon, at mass rally in Colombo commemorating October Revolution

THE Communist Party of Ceylon strongly denounced the Soviet revisionist ruling clique for its betrayal of the October Revolution at a mass meeting held in Colombo on November 7 to mark the 50th anniversary of the October Socialist Revolution.

N. Sanmugathan, Member of the Political Bureau and of the Secretariat of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Ceylon, made a speech at the meeting entitled "Lessons of October Revolution and Betrayal of Soviet Revisionists." He said that the greatest lesson of the October Revolution for the revolutionary and progressive movement in Ceylon is that the exploiting classes will never voluntarily retire from the stage of history and that the exploitation by landlords and capitalists can be overthrown only by revolution.

If the proletarian revolution is to succeed, it must be led by a Bolshevik Party as fashioned by Lenin. Such a Party, as Comrade Mao Tse-tung has pointed out, should be a **well-disciplined Party, armed with the theory of Marxism-Leninism, using the method of self-criticism and linked with the masses of the people.** Without such a Party no revolution can succeed, he said.

After the modern revisionists usurped power in the land of the October Revolution, they have adopted a series of measures to restore capitalism in an all-round way. It is a bitter experience for all Marxist-Leninists and genuine revolutionaries, he added.

In international affairs, he said, the Soviet revisionists are strengthening their collaboration with the U.S. imperialists. On the Vietnam question, they are running errands for U.S. imperialism and acting as a fire brigade to put down the raging fires of the people's war waged by the heroic Vietnamese people against U.S. aggression. In the Middle East, the Soviet revisionists betrayed the Arab people when they were victims of U.S.-backed Israeli aggression.

Sanmugathan stressed that the centre of world revolution has shifted to Peking, capital of China, where Comrade Mao Tse-tung resides and guides the world revolution with matchless genius. The only way to commemorate the great October Revolution is to resolve to follow in its revolutionary footsteps, he concluded.

A Great Victory for the World's Revolutionary People

by IBRAHIM ISA (INDONESIA)

I

A year ago when China's great proletarian cultural revolution started, there were indeed many comrades, myself included, who did not have a correct, deep understanding of the great historic significance of this revolution initiated and led personally by Chairman Mao Tse-tung. At that time we failed to realize that China's great proletarian cultural revolution concerned not only the future and fate of the People's Republic of China, but also the fate of the proletarian revolution throughout the world and of the liberation of the oppressed and exploited people everywhere. We did not then understand clearly that the great proletarian cultural revolution is a serious, life-and-death class struggle between the two classes and two lines — between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie.

We studied the documents of the Eleventh Plenary Session of the Eighth Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party and the speeches made by Comrades Lin Piao and Chou En-Lai at the mass rally held on August 18 last year in celebration of the great proletarian cultural revolution, read the important articles on the great proletarian cultural revolution published by *Renmin Ribao*, *Jiefangjun Bao* and the journal *Hongqi* and personally exchanged opinions with China's Red Guards and other revolutionary masses. Most important of all, we took part in meetings of the great proletarian cultural revolution. After all this, we have come to have a deeper understanding of the tremendous historic significance of the great proletarian cultural revolution, and have gradually come to realize that this revolution carried on in China is an extremely great and joyous event for the people of all lands and the proletarian revolution throughout the world.

The great proletarian cultural revolution has saved the world proletarian revolution and the revolution of the world's people from betrayal by the revisionists headed by the leading clique of the Soviet Communist Party. Herein lies the great significance of China's great proletarian cultural revolution. Why is it said that the great proletarian cultural revolution saved the revolution of the world's people? Why is it said that the great proletarian cultural revolution is a great, joyous event for the world's people?

There are many reasons. But the most important are the following: 1. The thought of Mao Tse-tung, the acme of Marxism-Leninism in the present era, has spread to the whole world and began to be grasped by the people of the world; 2. The bourgeois headquarters headed by China's Khrushchov has been destroyed and the dream, nursed day and night by imperialism, modern revisionism and the reactionaries of every country, of a capitalist restoration in China has been shattered; 3. China, the base of the world revolution,

will always remain bright red and is being steadily consolidated; 4. The future of the world revolution shines forth more brightly than ever. In my opinion, these are the reasons why China's great proletarian cultural revolution is a great, joyous event for the world's people. These are the reasons why this great proletarian cultural revolution is the business not only of the 700 million people of China but also of the world's people. Likewise, it is for precisely these same reasons that the revolutionary people throughout the world welcome and support with tremendous enthusiasm the great proletarian cultural revolution and hail the great victories it has scored one after another.

II

Prior to the great proletarian cultural revolution, China's Khrushchov and his accomplices tried their best to prevent the dissemination and publicizing of Mao Tse-tung's thought among the 700 million people of China and the people throughout the world. This is an unpardonable crime against the world's people. Since the launching and unfolding of the great proletarian cultural revolution, the barriers created by the handful of top persons in authority, headed by China's Khrushchov, who took the capitalist road within the Chinese Communist Party, have been removed, and the movement to disseminate, publicize, study and apply Mao Tse-tung's thought has been carried out vigorously. The revolutionary people in Asia, Africa, Latin America and elsewhere are all studying and applying what is the sharpest weapon in struggle, Mao Tse-tung's thought, and are determined to take China's road, the road of people's war, the only road to liberation. This has become a historical trend which no force can hold back. It is the first great victory for the great proletarian cultural revolution and is also a great victory for the people throughout the world.

The correctness of Chairman Mao's teachings has been proved in practice by the Chinese revolution and by the people's revolution throughout the world. It has been proved by the experience gained from the successes of the revolution and struggle of the world's people and by the lessons drawn from their failures. Chairman Mao has led the Marxist-Leninists of the world on questions of theory and practice. He personally initiated and is leading China's great proletarian cultural revolution. All this proves that Chairman Mao is the most outstanding proletarian leader of the present era, is the greatest and wisest genius of our times.

Unquestionably, it is precisely due to the leadership of Chairman Mao and the guidance of Mao Tse-tung's invincible thought that it has been possible for China to launch the great proletarian cultural revolution, which is aimed at preventing the restoration of capital-

ism, uprooting revisionism and consolidating the dictatorship of the proletariat. Without the leadership of Chairman Mao, without Mao Tse-tung's thought — the sharpest weapon in the hands of the Chinese people — without the Chinese People's Liberation Army led by Chairman Mao and armed with Mao Tse-tung's thought, it would be impossible to carry out the great proletarian cultural revolution. It is inconceivable for the great proletarian cultural revolution to have taken place without Chairman Mao and Mao Tse-tung's thought. Chairman Mao's closest comrade-in-arms, Comrade Lin Biao, has said: "On what do we rely to make this great cultural revolution successful? We rely on the great thought of Mao Tse-tung as well as on the wisdom and strength of the masses of the people."

On the other hand, the great proletarian cultural revolution is an unprecedentedly great movement in which several hundred million people are studying and applying Mao Tse-tung's thought, using Mao Tse-tung's thought as the weapon in struggle and the guiding principle for every action; it is the great cause of firmly establishing the ascendancy of the thought of Mao Tse-tung. In the international communist movement, the great proletarian cultural revolution is a great movement without parallel in history that is enabling several hundred million people to grasp Mao Tse-tung's thought and put Mao Tse-tung's thought in command on all ideological fronts, thus turning it into a tremendous material force which is capable of destroying the old, smashing the moribund and reactionary, striking down those in authority taking the capitalist road and establishing proletarian ideas. This great movement itself constitutes a brilliant victory for Mao Tse-tung's thought.

The great proletarian cultural revolution not only spreads Mao Tse-tung's thought among the 700 million people of China, but disseminates and propagates Mao Tse-tung's thought among the revolutionary people throughout the world. Through the practice of their own struggle, people the world over understand and recognize that Chairman Mao has inherited, defended and developed Marxism-Leninism with genius, creatively and in an all-round way, raising Marxism-Leninism to a completely new stage. Mao Tse-tung's thought is Marxism-Leninism in the era in which imperialism is heading for total collapse and socialism is advancing to worldwide victory.

The Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Indonesian Communist Party, in its statement of May 23, 1967, clearly and correctly pointed out in respect to the great proletarian cultural revolution: "The Indonesian revolutionary people together with the revolutionary peoples of the world exultantly hail this great victory of the Chinese people and of Mao Tse-tung's thought. Mao Tse-tung's thought has solved a series of theoretical and practical problems of class struggle in socialist society, ensured the consolidation of the proletarian dictatorship and the socialist system and prevented the restoration of capitalism. Thus, Comrade Mao Tse-tung has developed Marxism-Leninism to a completely new stage. Mao Tse-tung's

thought, the peak of Marxism-Leninism in the present era, is the beacon-light for the world revolutionary peoples in their struggle to achieve liberation and socialism. Mao Tse-tung's thought gives inspiration to the oppressed peoples in their struggles, and is the supreme guidance for the world Marxist-Leninists in the great struggle against modern revisionism. The Indonesian Marxist-Leninists unhesitatingly recognize Mao Tse-tung's thought as the peak of Marxism-Leninism in the present era, and are determined to study and use it as an effective weapon in the struggle for the liberation of Indonesia, which inevitably will have to follow the road of people's war as shown by Comrade Mao Tse-tung."

The statement of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Indonesian Communist Party fully reflects the feelings and aspirations of the people of Indonesia, who, under the leadership of the Marxist-Leninist Communist Party of Indonesia, are conducting a prolonged armed struggle to overthrow the Suharto-Nasution fascist regime. The statement makes it clearer that the Indonesian people under the leadership of the Marxist-Leninist Communist Party of Indonesia have drawn the conclusion that to win the victory of the revolution, they must hold high the great red banner of the invincible thought of Mao Tse-tung and they are unanimously determined to do this. This constitutes a great victory for the Marxist-Leninists in Indonesia and for the Indonesian people. The special significance of this is that the victory won by Mao Tse-tung's thought in the Communist Party of Indonesia through the sharp struggle waged by the Indonesian Marxist-Leninists is also a victory for the great proletarian cultural revolution and a great contribution by it to the people of Indonesia.

III

In the course of the great proletarian cultural revolution, the revolutionary masses of China exposed and finally smashed the bourgeois headquarters headed by China's Khrushchov, a renegade and old counter-revolutionary hidden within the Chinese Party and state organizations. This is a great victory, a triumph for Mao Tse-tung's thought and for all the revolutionary people of the world. It is a new important contribution to the international communist movement and to the people's revolution throughout the world.

China's Khrushchov, ringleader of this hidden bourgeois headquarters, has consistently opposed the proletarian headquarters headed by Chairman Mao Tse-tung and is the most dangerous enemy of the Chinese people and of the dictatorship of the proletariat in China. He and his kind, as Chairman Mao puts it, are "persons like Khrushchov, for example, who are still nestling beside us." As pointed out by Chairman Mao, if the Khrushchov of China and his partners were not exposed and completely repudiated and discredited, then "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 in-

evitably occurred, the Marxist-Leninist party would undoubtedly become a revisionist party or a fascist party, and the whole of China would change colour." We can see from this how important the great proletarian cultural revolution is and how momentous its main task. In order to achieve the object of preventing capitalist restoration and eradicating revisionism, it is imperative to destroy completely the bourgeois headquarters headed by China's Khrushchov.

This task laid down by Chairman Mao and the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party and the sharp and complicated struggle initiated by the proletarian headquarters led by Chairman Mao Tse-tung are his greatest creative contribution to the Marxist-Leninist theory of the dictatorship of the proletariat and a creative development of this theory.

The conspiratorial activities of the bourgeois headquarters headed by China's Khrushchov are not only monstrous crimes against the proletariat and people of China, but are in fact also towering crimes against the revolutionary cause and revolutionary struggle of the people of the world. The bourgeois headquarters led by China's Khrushchov, in opposing the proletarian headquarters led by Chairman Mao and Mao Tse-tung's thought, in fact opposes the revolution, truth and the cause of the liberation of mankind.

The ringleader of this bourgeois headquarters, China's Khrushchov, not only carried out intensive activities to restore capitalism in China and to serve as a "red" comprador, but also wanted to put out the flames of the people's revolution throughout the world. He and his bourgeois headquarters spread all sorts of discredited fallacies about the so-called "peaceful" road towards socialism, circulated various kinds of renegade theories and vilified armed struggle. He also propagated renegade theories for co-operating with the reactionaries and capitulating to imperialism and its flunkies. He wanted the Burmese people to lay down their arms and surrender to the Burmese reactionaries.

When China's Khrushchov visited Indonesia in April 1963, he highly praised the Indonesian Communist Party's policy of class collaboration and trailing behind the bourgeoisie, as manifested in the "NASAKOM" road. He even declared that "it is a good thing" for the Indonesian Communist Party "to have more of its members serve as government ministers because in this way it can gain some more experience in state administration." He also paid glowing tribute to the tripartite reactionary alliance of the Malayan, Philippine and Indonesian reactionaries which was just in the making at that time.

China's Khrushchov and the Soviet Union's Khrushchov are actually birds of a feather. But in actual practice, China's Khrushchov is more dangerous, because for a long time he waved "red flags" to oppose the red flag. Resorting to guile, he opposed Chairman Mao's wise theses such as "all reactionaries are paper tigers"; "political power grows out of the barrel of a gun"; "without a people's army the people have nothing"; and "revolutions and revolutionary wars are in-

evitable in class society, and without them it is impossible to accomplish any leap in social development. . . ." He energetically peddled his renegade philosophy everywhere.

Using Mao Tse-tung's thought as their most incisive weapon, the great Chinese people and all revolutionary people in the world have exposed, criticized and repudiated China's Khrushchov, and denounced and rejected his revisionist trash. This is another victory of the great proletarian cultural revolution. The thorough exposure of China's Khrushchov has completely shattered the fond dreams nursed by imperialism, modern revisionism and reaction in all countries of restoring capitalism in China.

IV

Having usurped Party and state leadership in the Soviet Union, Khrushchov capitulated to U.S. imperialism abroad and restored capitalism at home. He has betrayed Marxism-Leninism, the great Lenin and proletarian internationalism; he has betrayed the revolutionary cause of the international proletariat and the oppressed peoples and nations and the interests of the great Soviet people and the revolutionary people of the world.

Under the leadership of Lenin and Stalin, the Soviet Union was the first state of the dictatorship of the proletariat in the world; it was the hope of, and a force trusted by, the proletariat and the oppressed peoples throughout the world. The Soviet revisionist leading clique has now changed the colour of the Soviet Union and turned the dictatorship of the proletariat in that country into a dictatorship of the bourgeoisie. In addition to Washington, the Soviet revisionist leading clique in Moscow is a centre of counter-revolution. Those countries which follow Soviet modern revisionism have changed their socialist colour and degenerated into countries where capitalism has been restored. A number of Communist Parties, such as those of France, Italy, India and the United States, have degenerated into Khrushchov's lackeys and revisionist parties.

In these circumstances, the great Chinese Communist Party, under the leadership of Chairman Mao, holds high the banner of Marxism-Leninism, the banner of revolution and the militant banner of combating imperialism and its lackeys, and it stands in the van of the struggle, leading the Marxist-Leninists and the people of the world to combat the acts of betrayal committed by the modern revisionists headed by the C.P.S.U. leading clique. The creative contributions of Chairman Mao to the world communist movement are immeasurable. In the circumstances, if it were not for Chairman Mao Tse-tung, if it were not for the great thought of Mao Tse-tung and the powerful People's Republic of China, it would be difficult to imagine what would happen to the world and to the fate of the world revolution.

The great proletarian cultural revolution that has been going on vigorously has strengthened the Marxist-Leninists' fierce counter-blows at the modern revision-

ists. It once again shows that China is the centre and the base of world revolution. It has launched a large-scale struggle of great historic significance against the reactionaries and modern revisionists on two fronts: on the home front, the struggle against the persons in authority taking the capitalist road headed by China's Khrushchov; on the international front, the struggle against the imperialists headed by U.S. imperialism and the revisionists headed by Soviet revisionism. This unprecedented struggle has inspired the people of the world with the courage to rebel and to win victory. It has inspired them with the courage to rebel against imperialism and reaction headed by U.S. imperialism and against the revisionists headed by the Brezhnev-Kosygin clique.

In its statement on May 23, 1967, the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Indonesian Communist Party pointed out with great joy and pride: "The tremendous successes of the great proletarian cultural revolution in China are today's greatest international event of great historic significance. Under the guidance of the great thought of Mao Tse-tung, the Chinese people have achieved brilliant successes in the great proletarian cultural revolution, swept away the modern revisionists who are taking the capitalist road from within the Chinese Communist Party, the state organs and the cultural institutions, and consolidated socialist China as the most powerful and reliable bastion of the world revolution."

China is the most powerful and reliable bastion of the world revolution. Mao Tse-tung's thought is the guiding thought for the proletariat and the oppressed peoples in their struggle for liberation. This is an indisputable historical fact.

It is precisely because Chairman Mao is the great teacher, great leader, great supreme commander and great helmsman of the revolutionary people of the world, precisely because Mao Tse-tung's thought is the guiding thought and invincible weapon for the proletariat and the oppressed peoples of the world in their struggle for liberation and socialism and communism, precisely because the Communist Party of China is the vanguard of the international communist movement and world revolution, and precisely because China is a powerful and the most reliable bulwark and centre of world revolution that the attitude towards Chairman Mao, Mao Tse-tung's thought and the Communist Party of China constitutes the yardstick for sizing up every revolutionary and every revolutionary party. Every revolutionary and every genuine revolutionary party cannot but sincerely and wholeheartedly recognize Mao Tse-tung's thought as the acme of Marxism-Leninism in the present era, recognize Chairman Mao as the most outstanding leader of the proletariat in the present era and the greatest and most brilliant genius in the present era, recognize the Communist Party of China as the vanguard of the international communist movement and world revolution and China as the centre and base of world revolution, because all this is the objective reality of history.

Seeing this historical fact, imperialism led by the United States, modern revisionism headed by the C.P.S.U. leading clique and reaction of all countries do everything possible to mobilize all forces to oppose Chairman Mao, Mao Tse-tung's thought and China. But their attempt is futile. Like fools, they are lifting a rock only to drop it on their own feet. The Communiqué of the Eleventh Plenary Session of the Eighth Central Committee of the Communist Party of China rightly said: "This counter-revolutionary 'holy alliance' is doomed to bankruptcy and is already in the process of disintegration."

V

The great proletarian cultural revolution has sounded the battle drum of victory for the Chinese proletariat and the Chinese people and sounded the battle drum of victory for the Marxist-Leninists and revolutionary people the world over. The drumbeats of the victory of Mao Tse-tung's thought have resounded far and wide; with one voice, Marxist-Leninists and the revolutionary people of the world hail the great victory of the great proletarian cultural revolution.

The great proletarian cultural revolution has issued the call, in the voice of a giant: "Rebellion is justified." This has struck panic into the hearts of the reactionaries of the world. At the same time, the great proletarian cultural revolution has sounded the death knell for imperialism led by the United States, modern revisionism headed by the C.P.S.U. leading clique and the reactionaries of all countries.

The tremendous successes won in the great proletarian cultural revolution have made the prospects of world revolution ever brighter and kept China brilliantly red. The great red banner of Mao Tse-tung's thought is flying high over the base of world revolution — China — and is being planted by the world revolutionary peoples in their own countries. Led by Chairman Mao, the world proletarian revolution will march firmly forward towards final victory. This is the general trend in the situation in the present era and in the development of the world.

The statement of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Indonesia on May 23, 1967 pointed out: "The process of the inevitable and total collapse of imperialism is being demonstrated by the fact that in Asian, African and Latin American countries, which give imperialism its source of life, the revolutions for national liberation are advancing to storm the fortresses of imperialism. Revolutionary peoples in many countries are taking up arms and waging people's war as the only road to liberation. U.S. imperialism, the chieftain of world imperialism, reactionaries and dark forces, is suffering heavy blows which continually weaken its strength. The brilliant victories of the people's war launched by the Vietnamese people against U.S. imperialist aggression and for national salvation clearly show that U.S. imperialism is facing its downfall." The statement also pointed out: "The dirty counter-revolutionary role of the Soviet modern revisionism is being exposed."

sionist clique has been further exposed before the revolutionary peoples of the world. The total collapse of imperialism will also mean the collapse of its most faithful accomplice, the modern revisionist clique of the Soviet Union."

In the struggle between the two lines, that is, between the revolutionary line of Mao Tse-tung's thought and the line of the revisionist or opportunist "peaceful road" peddled by the Soviet Union's Khrushchov and China's Khrushchov, China's great proletarian cultural revolution has also given the revolutionary people of Indonesia a profound education. After intense struggles, the revolutionary line, that is, the line of the people's war, of Mao Tse-tung's thought, has finally won victory. The "self-criticism" of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Indonesia is the first victory for Indonesian Marxist-Leninists, and the May 23, 1967 statement of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Indonesia is another victory following immediately on the first. The two documents clearly show that the Marxist-Leninist Communist Party of Indonesia, after correcting past serious mistakes of revisionism or opportunism, can certainly lead the heroic Indonesian

people on to the revolutionary road as taught by Chairman Mao. The May 23, 1967 statement of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Indonesia points out that the Party, with firm determination and full confidence, is courageously holding high the great red banner of Marxism-Leninism, Mao Tse-tung's thought and is valiantly marching forward, and will certainly overthrow the fascist regime headed by Suharto and achieve final victory. Under the leadership of the Marxist-Leninist Communist Party of Indonesia holding high the red banner of Mao Tse-tung's thought, the Indonesian people, who have now started armed struggle, will inevitably launch a great people's war and bury the Indonesian reactionaries headed by Suharto-Nasution.

The brilliant victories scored in the great proletarian cultural revolution led by Chairman Mao have consolidated China still more and made it still more powerful. The future of the world revolution shines forth ever more brightly, and so does the future of the Indonesian revolution.

Let us be resolute, hold high the banner of Marxism-Leninism, Mao Tse-tung's thought and continue our march forward along the road of revolution!

(Continued from p. 8.)

In sizing up the situation it is necessary to make comparisons. Last year, China's Khrushchov and his agents still had considerable power. Today, after only a little more than a year, their counter-revolutionary front has crumbled. Their conspiracy to usurp the leadership of the Party and restore capitalism has been smashed.

Under the great banner of Mao Tse-tung's thought, the revolutionary mass organizations have forged extensive alliances politically, ideologically and organizationally. Large numbers of revolutionary cadres have stepped forward and integrated themselves with the revolutionary masses. An entirely new proletarian relationship is taking shape between the cadres and the masses. The campaign of revolutionary mass criticism is beginning to merge with the tasks of struggle-criticism-transformation in each unit. A vigorous mass campaign to bring about the proletarian revolution in education has begun.

The proletarian revolutionary line represented by Chairman Mao has won great, decisive victory. The great proletarian cultural revolution has won great, decisive victory.

Chairman Mao has said: "Never before have the masses of the people been so inspired, so militant and so daring as at present. The former exploiting classes are engulfed in the ocean of the working people; they must change whether they want to or not. There are undoubtedly some who will never change and would prefer to keep their heads as hard as rocks till their dying day, but this does not affect the general situation. All decadent ideologies and other unsuitable parts of the superstructure are daily crumbl-

ing. It will still take time to clear this refuse away completely but there can be no doubt that these things will disintegrate."

This vivid statement is an apt description of the current situation.

In sizing up the situation we should grasp the essence and the main current of the cultural revolution.

In some places there was some disorder recently. The fact was that the enemy was in disorder while the masses were tempered. When we size up the situation we should assess such temporary "disorders" correctly. With disorder, contradictions are fully revealed, the class enemy is more exposed than before, both the correct and the erroneous sides are in full view and problems can be solved more thoroughly. From the standpoint of Marxism-Leninism, Mao Tse-tung's thought, the main aspect of such "disorder" is that the enemy, the handful of Party persons in authority taking the capitalist road and the other bourgeois agents inside the Party, are badly beaten and in disorder. Such "disorder" is a big victory for the cultural revolution.

In the present excellent situation, we must remain sober-minded, keep our eyes open for the handful of class enemies and be prepared for twists and turns. The more favourable the situation, the more desperate will our enemies struggle as they face total collapse, and the more will they try in every way to undermine the cultural revolution. Every proletarian revolutionary fighter must under no circumstances relax vigilance.

As we look at the broad horizon before us, we can say with full confidence that the whole situation will become better and better.

(Slightly abridged translation of an article in "Renmin Ribao," November 10.)



Mao Tse-tung's Thought

Lights the Whole World

The Radiance of Mao Tse-tung's Thought Illuminates the Path of the Soviet People's Revolution

THE revolutionary people of the Soviet Union who were taught by great Lenin and Stalin and who have behind them the glorious traditions of the October Revolution, cherish boundless love for Chairman Mao, the greatest teacher of the world proletariat, and have boundless faith in the invincible thought of Mao Tse-tung at a time when they are living under the white terror of the Soviet revisionist renegade group and waging a severe class struggle against them. They rejoice that the brilliance of Mao Tse-tung's thought, which is Marxism-Leninism at its highest in our era, has lit up the path of revolution for the Soviet people who are resolved to wage a valiant struggle to put an end to the dark rule of the revisionist group and raise the great banner of Marxism-Leninism, Mao Tse-tung's thought high above the Kremlin.

"Mao Tse-tung Is Our Lenin"

In the Soviet Union today where the revisionist leadership has established a reign of white terror, many revolutionary people have, in the presence of Chinese comrades and in spite of the surveillance of secret agents, shouted boldly and with heartfelt emotion: "Mao Tse-tung — Lenin!" They did so to express their deep respect for the memory of the great teacher Lenin and their infinite love and respect for the great leader Chairman Mao.

Once a young Soviet worker met a Chinese comrade. Affectionately touching the Chairman Mao badge which the Chinese comrade was wearing, he said firmly: "Mao Tse-tung is our Lenin!" A man from Georgia said to Chinese comrades: "We all know that Mao Tse-tung has defended Leninism. All the people in our place respect and love Mao Tse-tung." Taking out a portrait of Chairman Mao which he had painted himself, he said "the Georgian people's love for Mao Tse-tung will never change. We pin our hopes on the Chinese people!" A technician from Kiev stated: "Mao Tse-tung and Lenin are the greatest leaders. We all cherish ardent love for them." "Mao Tse-tung is the hope of the Soviet people," he added with confidence. Once when several Chinese comrades chatted with a few aged miners in a park in Kadiyevka, they talked about Chairman Mao's theories on the building of communism and on world revolution. One miner said to

the others in a tone full of admiration and approval: "These are truly Lenin's principles. They are truly Marxist-Leninist viewpoints."

On one occasion, the Soviet revisionist clique had the portraits of Brezhnev, Kosygin and other revisionist chieftains hung in Lenin Square in Voronezh. A Soviet citizen pointed at the portraits and said contemptuously: "I don't know who they are. I know only the portraits of Lenin, Stalin and Mao Tse-tung!" This shows that the Soviet people have bitter hatred for the revisionist ruling clique, cherish profoundly the memory of Lenin and Stalin and have infinite confidence in Chairman Mao.

"We Insist On Loving Chairman Mao Ardently"

Mao Tse-tung is the most glorious name in the world today and one for which the Soviet people cherish the deepest affection. When an old man met Chinese comrades in Moscow's Red Square, he excitedly raised his thumb and cheered "Mao Tse-tung, Mao Tse-tung!" When the police dragged him aside and viciously scolded him, he continued to shout loudly "Mao Tse-tung!" Then he ran over to the Chinese comrades and stood close to them and asked them to pose for a photograph with him. He severely denounced the Khrushchov revisionist clique. An old worker in Moscow said: "They forbid us to shout 'Long live Mao Tse-tung!' but we shout it in our hearts. We are shouting it all the time." In Leningrad, a grey haired worker always shouted "Long live Mao Tse-tung!" in Chinese whenever he met a Chinese comrade. He said enthusiastically: "I love Mao Tse-tung. He lives in my heart." Sometimes Chinese comrades heard the shout of "Mao Tse-tung" in the streets in Soviet cities but could not see who was shouting. Once a Chinese comrade met a Soviet citizen in a Kharkov street. The Soviet comrade asked: "Are you a Chinese?" When he got an affirmative answer, he immediately said in Chinese "Long live Chairman Mao!"

The Soviet people express their profound feelings and infinite love for Chairman Mao by various means. Once a Chinese comrade in the Soviet Union received a postcard signed by an ordinary Soviet citizen. The postcard had fortunately escaped the notice of the Soviet authorities who had withheld innumerable let-

ters of this kind. Written on the postcard was: "Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party, please convey best wishes to Comrade Mao Tse-tung. Comrade Mao Tse-tung is the greatest leader who has always unwaveringly opposed the betrayal of the teachings of Lenin and Stalin." On another occasion, a Chinese comrade in the Soviet Union received a telephone call. The caller said: "Salute Mao Tse-tung! Long live the friendship between the Soviet and Chinese peoples!" Someone put up a poster opposite a Moscow department store with the words, "I love China, particularly love. . . ." When one person standing in front of the poster saw some Chinese comrades they pointed to the words written on it with their thumbs up and said: "Love Mao Tse-tung, Mao Tse-tung!"

When Chinese comrades appeared in the streets wearing Chairman Mao badges, many Soviet people often gazed at it with deep affection. They pointed at the badge and then at their own chests to express their boundless love and respect for Chairman Mao. In Moscow a young man about 20 gripped the hand of a Chinese comrade in the street, looking affectionately all the while at the badge he was wearing. He kissed the hand of the Chinese comrade again and again and only went away reluctantly. When Soviet people got a picture of Chairman Mao or a badge with his profile, their faces, without exception, would beam with boundless happiness or they would cheer. At an oilfield in the sea off Baku, the Chinese comrades presented the oil workers with Chairman Mao badges and pictures of Chairman Mao receiving the Chinese Red Guards. One of the oil workers raised the badge above his head, joyously shouting: "Long live Mao Tse-tung!" Others put the badges carefully in the pockets of their inner shirts, touching them again and again. A Soviet couple proudly pinned the glittering Chairman Mao badges on their coats. When Soviet special agents saw this, they forced them after repeated threats to take off the badges. But, no sooner had the agents gone than the couple pinned the badges carefully on their coats again. They said with iron determination: "We insist on loving Chairman Mao ardently!"

"Mao Tse-tung's Thought Will Help Us Make the Second Revolution"

The labouring people of the Soviet Union have infinite admiration for Mao Tse-tung's thought and speak highly of his works. A Soviet citizen told a Chinese comrade: "The works of Chairman Mao are of great significance for the world revolutionary struggle." A student in Moscow said: "Lenin led the October Revolution. After his death, Stalin led the Soviet people in building socialism. We are now relying on Mao Tse-tung. Therefore, it is imperative for us to study his works assiduously." In order to study Chairman Mao's works, a Soviet worker tried in every possible way to buy copies of them. After two years of arduous search, he finally succeeded in getting a Russian edition of the *Selected Works of Mao Tse-tung*. A Soviet engineer told a Chinese conductor on an international

train: "Chairman Mao is the great Marxist-Leninist of the present era and the great leader of the people the world over. We respect him as we do Lenin and Stalin. We do need the works of Mao Tse-tung!" After he got two copies of *Quotations From Chairman Mao Tse-tung* and three Chairman Mao badges, he said sincerely: "I shall study the works of Chairman Mao together with my wife. I want to teach my children to love Mao Tse-tung warmly!" A young man from an Ukrainian village pointed out: "Mao Tse-tung's words are most correct. Mao Tse-tung's works are truth itself. He leads the people in building communism, eliminating private ownership and opposing imperialism. We need Mao Tse-tung's thought!" A Soviet youth met some Chinese comrades at the Red Square in Moscow. After he had asked for and received the *Quotations From Chairman Mao Tse-tung* from the Chinese comrades, he pointed to the Kremlin where the revisionist clique has today entrenched itself and said indignantly "bad! bad!" Then he felt the red-covered treasure book and said: "The Soviet people need this book!" When the Soviet revisionist clique unreasonably drove out the Chinese students, many Soviet people told them: "The Soviet Government can drive you out, but Mao Tse-tung's thought now rooted in the hearts of the Soviet people cannot be driven out!" An old worker said: "The Soviet people must make a second revolution." He added confidently: "Mao Tse-tung's thought will help us to make it."

China's great proletarian cultural revolution initiated and led by Chairman Mao himself has won the warmest praises from the Soviet people. A driver said: "Mao Tse-tung is leading the great cultural revolution to liquidate bourgeois ideology. China is building communism while the Soviet Union is building capitalism." While commenting on China's great proletarian cultural revolution, an old professor in Moscow said: "It proves that Mao Tse-tung is the most brilliant leader and the Chinese Communist Party is a genuine Marxist-Leninist Party." A postgraduate student said: "I have always supported Mao Tse-tung's thought which has enriched the treasure house of Marxism-Leninism. May China's great cultural revolution win greater victory!" A Soviet citizen said with deep feeling: "Lenin led the great October Revolution and his name is known throughout the world; today, Comrade Mao Tse-tung is leading China's great proletarian cultural revolution and his name is also known throughout the world. Like the October Revolution, the influence of China's great cultural revolution will spread to the Soviet Union and to all parts of the world!"

Be Chairman Mao's Fighters and Rebel Against Soviet Revisionist Clique

A Soviet revolutionary youth, in a letter voicing the strong revolutionary will of the broad masses of the Soviet people, solemnly pledged to Chairman Mao, the greatest teacher of the proletariat in the present era: "Dear Comrade Mao Tse-tung, I am determined to become your fighter and pledge to fight to the end

against modern revisionism with the leading group of the Soviet Communist Party as its centre! I pledge to work for the realization of your thought in our country. I will spare nothing, even my own life! I pledge to strive for the radiance of Marxism-Leninism to illuminate our country again! I am convinced that your thought will certainly become the guide for all branches of work in our country. In the future, the people of the whole world will see that the banner of your thought, genuine Marxism-Leninism, will be hoisted high above the Kremlin!"

This is not an ordinary letter. It represents the militant heart beats of the heroic people of Lenin's homeland! It is a powerful proclamation of warning to the scabs

and renegades! A declaration of war against modern revisionism! The approaching thunder! In its wake will come a powerful storm that will sweep away from the soil of the Soviet Union all monsters and ghosts!

The boundless love and infinite respect cherished by the great Soviet people towards Chairman Mao and Mao Tse-tung's thought and their determination to struggle to the end against the Soviet revisionist renegade clique, have proved and will continue to prove the correctness of the brilliant thesis of Chairman Mao, the most outstanding leader of the proletariat in the present era: **"The masses of the Soviet people and Party members and cadres are good, they want revolution and rule by revisionism will not last long."**

Big Farce Put On by the Renegades To the October Revolution

by **"RENMIN RIBAO" COMMENTATOR**

AFTER much fanfare, the big farce staged by the group of Soviet revisionist renegades to "commemorate" the 50th anniversary of the October Revolution has ended.

Brezhnev, Kosygin and their bunch of renegades busily occupied themselves for exactly a full year in producing this show. They imported consumer goods for the festival and sent out invitation cards; they refurbished their premises and did a lot of publicity for themselves. And, in the festival days, they put on a really big farce, now awarding people with medals and prizes, now walking to the podium to make speeches. Sparing no expense, they did their best to make their show a great attraction, for it was their attempt to swindle people and cover up their acts of betrayal by exploiting the respect of the people of the world for the Soviet people who had kindled the torch of the October Revolution.

But, as our great leader Chairman Mao has said, **"As in a performance, some actors play the role of a negative character well, but, as is always the case, play the role of a positive character not so well, being affected and unnatural."**

The Soviet revisionist group, in spite of their strenuous efforts, failed to produce the stage effect they wanted. In the eyes of the people of the whole world, this shoddy masquerade of theirs was most disgusting. Brezhnev, Kosygin and the pack of renegades to the October Revolution, no matter how much make-

up they wear, can never conceal their true colours of negative characters.

The 50th anniversary of the great October Revolution is the revolutionary festival of the proletariat. But the Soviet revisionist renegade group actually made use of it to carry on a big counter-revolutionary collusion. Those renegades and scabs, like Tito and Dange, plus Indira Gandhi, chief of the Indian reactionaries, were all Moscow's "distinguished guests" during the festival. Ringleaders of U.S. imperialism too came out to pay compliments to the Soviet revisionist group, praising U.S.-Soviet "coexistence." It is an utterly intolerable insult to the great October Revolution that the Soviet revisionist renegades went to the lengths of "honeymooning" with U.S. imperialism during the festival!

The Soviet revisionist group had the impudence to say that they were reviewing the path traversed by the Soviet people "at the peak of the past half-century" and shamelessly disguised themselves as the "successors" to the October Revolution. For this despicable purpose, they played, as the Chinese saying goes, the tactic of adding a dog's tail to the sable coat, by confounding the Soviet Union's 30 and more years of glorious history under the wise leadership of Lenin and Stalin with the 10-odd years of ugly history following the usurpation of state power by the Khrushchov revisionist group. What is more, they adulterated and distorted the history of the first three decades and more in accordance with their own revisionist point of view.

In their words, the Great October Socialist Revolution which ushered in a new era in human history was not a revolution in which the proletariat, using violence, smashed the state apparatus of the bourgeoisie and established the dictatorship of the proletariat, but was what they called the result of using both "legal and illegal, peaceful and non-peaceful" forms of struggle." In their words, there existed in the period of socialist transformation and socialist construction in the Soviet Union not an acute and complicated class struggle but "the community of economic, social, political and ideological interests" of all classes. In their words, the great Patriotic War fought by the Soviet people under Stalin's leadership to repel Hitlerite fascism did not make immortal and historic contributions to the whole of mankind but was a catastrophe full of "grief . . . beyond compare," in which "no sight was more heartrending." According to them, there is no such thing as the glorious history of the October Revolution, nor the great merits of the Soviet people. In trampling on Soviet history in such a shameful manner, the Soviet revisionist group has provided the best proof that they are renegades to the October Revolution.

This bunch of renegades, Brezhnev and company, while waving the flag of "commemorating" the October Revolution, are actually working against the October Revolution. Both their "theses" "in commemoration" of the October Revolution and the "report" made by Brezhnev are big poisonous revisionist weeds through and through.

In their "theses" and "report," they openly repudiated the principle of violent revolution, trumpeted for the so-called "multifarious" roads and preached "peaceful transition." Denying class struggle and betraying the proletarian dictatorship, they publicized "the state of the whole people" to conceal the Soviet revisionist group's dictatorship of the bourgeoisie. They bragged about the "system of economic stimulation" and insisted on an all-round capitalist restoration. Betraying proletarian internationalism, they summed up Soviet foreign policy as one to avoid "a world thermo-nuclear war," while preaching "general and complete disarmament" and "peaceful coexistence." They went all out to oppose Marxism-Leninism, completely reaffirmed the Khrushchov revisionist line worked out at the 20th, 22nd and 23rd Congresses of the Soviet Communist Party and clung tightly to its revisionist programme. This once again shows that Brezhnev and his like are the faithful successors to Khrushchov whose mantle they have taken in its entirety.

In their activities "commemorating" the October Revolution, the Soviet revisionist group rabidly attacked the Chinese Communist Party and China's great

proletarian cultural revolution and openly attacked our great leader Chairman Mao by name. That we are wildly opposed by the renegades to the October Revolution and to Marxism-Leninism shows precisely that we are the genuine successors to the October Revolution, the firm defenders of Marxism-Leninism; it shows precisely that Comrade Mao Tse-tung is the greatest Marxist-Leninist of our time, the very red sun that shines most brightly in the hearts of the people of the whole world.

The victory of China's great proletarian cultural revolution has shaken the "throne" of the Soviet revisionist group and the sunshine of Mao Tse-tung's great thought has left all monsters no place to hide themselves. Small wonder that this has incurred the bitter hatred of Brezhnev, Kosygin and this tiny handful of renegades who uttered such abuses in a frenzy.

This performance by the Soviet revisionist group has not only further exposed their counter-revolutionary features but also fully shows up the very difficult situation which they are in and lays bare their very nature that can be likened to a "silvery spearhead made of wax," as another Chinese saying has it.

Making great efforts to peddle the complete set of Khrushchov revisionist ware, they nevertheless took great care not to admit that they are Khrushchov's faithful disciples. The "theses" of the Soviet revisionist group and Brezhnev's "report" didn't even dare mention the "illustrious" name of their "apostle" Khrushchov, as if this notorious clown simply did not exist at all in the political history of the Soviet Union. What a dilemma they must have been in!

To make things look nice and raise their own courage, Brezhnev, Kosygin and company used this festive occasion to step up preparations for an anti-China, counter-revolutionary sinister meeting. But, having talked themselves hoarse, they could not form a decent-looking line-up with only a few hangers-on coming along in disorderly array. From the splittist Moscow conference in March 1965 to the conference of Europe's new scabs in April this year, the Soviet revisionist group has taken great pains to plot for this sinister meeting, but to date it still remains a thing of uncertainty. This brings into focus the numerous difficulties besetting the Soviet revisionist group and shows that the going is getting rougher for them.

The curtain on this ugly show put up by the Soviet revisionist group during the festival has now fallen, but the complete farce has not come to an end; they will continue to stage it act by act. However, the day will come when the storm of a new "October Revolution" will eventually throw this pack of renegades off the stage of history!

(*Renmin Ribao*, November 13.)

Renegades to the October Revolution Will Never Escape Punishment by History

THE so-called "celebrations" for the 50th anniversary of the October Revolution so painstakingly worked out by the Soviet revisionist leading clique have now been hurried through. In this farce, Brezhnev, Kosygin and company shamelessly and demagogically posed as "successors" to the cause of the October Revolution, vainly attempting to cover up their ugly features as betrayers of Marxism-Leninism, escape from the predicament in their domestic and foreign policies, maintain their tottering "throne" and continue to pursue the Khrushchov revisionist line. However, these renegades are just playing a clumsy trick in spite of their desire to be smart. The more these renegades try to hide their betrayal, the more starkly it is exposed.

The Soviet revisionist leading clique has busily prepared for nearly a whole year for this ignominious performance. The whole thing started on January 4 this year, when, in the name of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union it adopted a resolution on preparations for "celebration" of the 50th anniversary of the October Revolution. On June 25 it published the "theses" for the "celebrations." On the eve of the festival, it doled out awards and decorations to curry favour with the people. Between November 3 and 7 all the members of this revisionist leading clique came out in force and busied themselves organizing "celebration" rallies, military reviews and parades in Moscow, Leningrad and other places. They also set their propaganda machine going full blast, turning out wordy and lengthy editorials, articles and pamphlets all for the purpose of deception. They also organized all kinds of "international meetings" and "academic forums" to enlist support.

An important item in this fraud carefully plotted by the Soviet revisionist clique was the lengthy and stinking report made by Brezhnev at the "celebration" meeting in the Kremlin on November 3. In this report Brezhnev peddled the whole set of revisionist wares of the 20th-23rd Congresses and the "Programme" of the C.P.S.U. The report is a sinister document which rabidly opposes Marxism-Leninism, Mao Tse-tung's thought, and which violently opposes communism, China, the people, revolution and socialism. It is a confession by the Soviet revisionist leading clique of its betrayal of the path of the October Revolution and Marxism-Leninism, and of its continued efforts in pursuing its counter-revolutionary revisionist line of all-round restoration of capitalism in the Soviet Union and defending imperialist and colonialist rule in the international arena.

In his report Brezhnev brazenly tampered with and distorted the history of the October Revolution led by the great Lenin. He tried in every possible way to negate and oppose violent proletarian revolution and the seizure of political power by armed force. He did his best to get away from the fact that the Russian proletariat seized political power through violent revolution under the leadership of Lenin. On the contrary, with ulterior motives, he talked at great length about "peaceful and non-peaceful forms of struggle" and "various forms of struggle" and "flexible tactics" in the transition to socialism. He said, "During the 50 years that have passed since the October Revolution the world revolutionary movement" has accumulated experience "which has broadened out the notions of the ways and means of revolutionary struggle." The October Revolution "showed that the working class could achieve victory . . . no matter in what forms." He vainly tried in this way to smuggle in the counter-revolutionary line of "peaceful transition" and impose it on the proletariat of other countries.

Brezhnev, in his report, voiced unbridled opposition to the Marxist-Leninist theories on the dictatorship of the proletariat and on socialism and communism. He completely avoided mentioning the necessity for the proletariat to smash the state apparatus of the bourgeoisie and establish its own dictatorship. On the contrary, he tried by every possible means to defend the Soviet revisionist ruling clique's crimes of abolishing the dictatorship of the proletariat and exercising the ruthless dictatorship of the bourgeoisie in the Soviet Union. He said that in the Soviet Union, "social and national antagonisms" had "for ever departed" and that social classes were "welded together by a community of interests, objectives and ideals." Therefore, he said, the Soviet Union, "which originally was a state of the dictatorship of the proletariat," has "become a state of the whole people" and "a political organization of the whole people." The report tries painstakingly to cover up the fact that the Soviet revisionists have brought about an all-round capitalist restoration in the Soviet Union; it ignores the daily-growing, bitter class struggle between the working people and the bourgeois privileged stratum in the Soviet Union, and tells the fairy tale that the Soviet Union launched a "cultural revolution" right after the October Revolution and that there are "no privileged classes or estates" in that country. The report lauds to the skies the sham communism of the Khrushchov revisionists, describing as the "principle of socialist economic management" the "economic system" with the capitalist principle of profit-seeking as its core now being

U.S. Imperialism, Soviet Revisionism Join in Love Feast

U.S. imperialism and the Soviet revisionist renegade clique joined in a love feast on the occasion of the 50th anniversary of the October Revolution when the revolutionary people the world over indignantly condemned this renegade clique.

On November 7, Lyndon Johnson, chieftain of U.S. imperialism, sent his "best wishes" in a message of greetings to Nikolai Podgorny, one of the Soviet revisionist chieftains. In that message Johnson openly called for increased counter-revolutionary global collusion between U.S. imperialism and Soviet revisionism through "joint efforts towards the achievement of a stable and enduring peace throughout the world."

What especially attracted attention was that U.S. Secretary of State Dean Rusk himself attended a reception given on November 7 by the Soviet Embassy in Washington to "celebrate the 50th anniversary of the October Revolution." A Western news agency reported that it was the first time Rusk attended such a reception. Officials of the Soviet revisionists' Embassy "were obviously pleased about Rusk's presence." Servilely, Soviet Ambassador Anatoly Dobrynin "warmly greeted" Rusk and clinked glasses with him. Rusk told a newsman that the United States and

the Soviet Union would remain "at peace with each other."

On November 7, U.S. Ambassador in Moscow L. Thompson attended a Red Square meeting held by the Soviet revisionist clique. When the Soviet Minister of National Defence repeated the trick of sham support and genuine betrayal on the Vietnam question and hypocritically denounced the United States, Thompson, apparently knowing the true intention of the Soviet revisionist clique, did not walk out of the gathering. On the same day, Thompson also attended a reception given by the Soviet revisionist clique and toasted the "well-being" of that clique.

The Soviet revisionist renegade clique, in dismal plight in face of severe condemnation by the world's revolutionary people, feels overwhelmingly flattered by U.S. imperialism's unusual expressions of "affection." A Western news agency reported that a staff member of the Soviet Embassy in Washington was so happy that he exclaimed, "How nice it is to have the Secretary of State with us tonight." These few words glaringly expose the ugly soul of the Soviet revisionist ruling clique as traitors to the October Revolution and its servility as an accomplice of U.S. imperialism.

carried out in the various fields of the national economy in the Soviet Union.

Internationally, Brezhnev energetically advocated such revisionist nonsense as "peaceful coexistence," "peaceful transition" and "peaceful competition." He did his best to play up the so-called holocaust of nuclear and rocket war, indiscriminately called war "the greatest scourge" and opposed the armed struggle for liberation being waged by oppressed people and nations. As before he resorted to the trick of sham support for revolutionary struggles, sham opposition to imperialism and sham revolution. He had the audacity to declare that the Soviet revisionist clique's foreign policy was "internationalist" and "thoroughly revolutionary in its entire content." He went so far as to assert that the Soviet revisionist rulers "have resolutely broken with the methods of secret diplomacy and the policy of collusion behind the backs of nations" and so on and so forth. In making these shop-worn remarks, Brezhnev had no other purpose than to cover up the Soviet revisionist clique's vicious acts in thoroughly betraying proletarian internationalism, plotting for extensive counter-revolutionary collaboration with U.S. imperialism on a global scale, energetically serving as U.S. imperialism's No. 1 accomplice and stamping out the revolutionary struggle of the people the world over.

From beginning to end a sinister anti-China line runs through the Brezhnev-Kosygin clique's activities to "celebrate" the 50th anniversary of the October Revolution. At the "celebration" meeting on November 3, Brezhnev took the lead in raving against China. Many

times in his report, he viciously attacked by name Comrade Mao Tse-tung, the greatest Marxist-Leninist of the present era, and the ever-victorious thought of Mao Tse-tung. China's great proletarian cultural revolution personally initiated and led by Chairman Mao has thoroughly smashed the handful of top Party persons in authority taking the capitalist road headed by China's Khrushchov and has shaken the reactionary rule of the Soviet revisionist ruling clique. Brezhnev, therefore, in his report cursed the Chinese cultural revolution bitterly and he tried to raise the ghosts of the handful of counter-revolutionary revisionists in China who have already been overthrown and exhorted them to put up a death-bed struggle. He also smeared as "chauvinism" or "big-nation chauvinism" the acts of the Chinese Communist Party and the Chinese people who hold aloft the banner of proletarian internationalism, oppose imperialism headed by the United States and modern revisionism with the Soviet revisionist ruling clique as its centre. He vilified the Chinese people's principled stand of consistently supporting the Vietnamese people's struggle against U.S. aggression and for national salvation and attacked China for not taking "co-ordinated action" on the Vietnam question with his pack of renegades. This was an attempt to cover up the counter-revolutionary features of the Soviet revisionist clique in betraying the Vietnamese people and acting as the No. 1 accomplice of U.S. imperialism.

Brezhnev originally intended to use this anti-China prelude of his as a means of getting a group of his lackeys to perform an anti-China chorus. But con-

trary to his wish, this time only a few dared to step forward and utter anti-China cries according to his tune, such as Tito, the notorious loyal lackey of U.S. imperialism and big renegade, S.A. Dange, the servile flunkiey of the Indian reactionaries, W. Gomulka and Z. Zhivkov. A poor show indeed!

The anti-China activities of the Soviet revisionist clique will never impair the great Soviet people's profound friendship for the Chinese people, nor will they prevent the Soviet people from having a boundless and ardent love for the great leader Chairman Mao Tse-tung. On November 7 when a parade was held in Moscow for the occasion, an old Soviet citizen of over 60 eagerly asked a Chinese comrade by the roadside: "How is Chairman Mao?" The Chinese comrade told him that Chairman Mao is in very good health and the old man replied: "That's fine!" When the Chinese comrade offered him festival greetings, the old man said smilingly: "Thank you! Please convey my respects to Mao Tse-tung!" Two Soviet young men taking part in the parade approached some Chinese comrades near the Red Square and asked them for Chairman Mao badges. The Chinese comrades immediately satisfied their requests. At this juncture, some special agents of the Soviet revisionist clique stepped forward to interfere, but they were immediately told off by many people in the parade column.

The Soviet revisionist clique originally intended to avail itself of the opportunity offered by the October Revolution "celebrations" to call a meeting of renegades and scabs the world over. Before this, the clique had been working hard all the time to call such a

sinister, anti-communist, anti-China, anti-people, counter-revolutionary meeting. In his report on November 3, Brezhnev made another strenuous effort to drum up support for this sinister meeting of renegades and scabs and expressed his readiness "to do everything" he could for it. Only a small number of his followers, however, gave him outright support, but even they struck a discordant note in their statements. This once again reveals the fact that the modern revisionists are bad bed-fellows beset with innumerable contradictions.

Our great leader Chairman Mao has said, "Disguised counter-revolutionaries conceal their true features by giving a false impression. But since they oppose the revolution, it is impossible for them to cover up their true features completely." All these out-and-out renegades and scabs in the Kremlin vainly tried to prettify themselves by means of the October Revolution "celebration" activities. But their counter-revolutionary nature cannot be altered. They can never deceive the Soviet people and the world's revolutionary people. Under the signboard of the October Revolution "celebrations," these renegades carried out sinister counter-revolutionary activities. This is the biggest insult to the Great October Socialist Revolution. None of those who betray the October Revolution can ever escape punishment by history. Khrushchov has been toppled. The days of the Brezhnev-Kosygin clique, which pursues in an intensified way a policy of betrayal, are also numbered. The Soviet people will certainly raise aloft the glorious banner of the October Revolution, rebel against the revisionist ruling clique and smash it to smithereens.

Western Press Applauds Soviet Revisionists for Betraying the Road of October Revolution

THE ruling Soviet revisionist clique has shamelessly tried to pass itself off as "successors" to the great cause of Lenin in putting on a noisy show of "celebrating" the 50th anniversary of the October Revolution. It has drawn lavish praise from the Western press, which precisely serves to reveal this handful of counter-revolutionary revisionists as shameless renegades to the great cause of Lenin.

In connection with the 50th anniversary of the October Revolution, the Western bourgeois papers have published many articles and editorials applauding the ruling Soviet revisionist clique for its foreign policy of capitulation to imperialism and hostility to China, and its policy of restoring capitalism in an all-round way at home. The French paper *Combat* said that the Soviet revisionists had become "respectable" among the capitalist countries and that even those "papers with the purest capitalist spirit have also sent their congratulations to the Kremlin." Britain's *Guardian* made no attempt to hide its satisfaction with the policies carried

out by the Soviet revisionist clique. It said that the Soviet and U.S. foreign policies had grown to "match one another" and that the Soviet Union had grown "more like the United States in economic organization." The Danish paper *Kristeligt Dagblad* said that the attitude of the West for many years in the past in considering the Soviet Union as an enemy "has quite definitely changed."

Alexander Kerensky, former premier of the Russian bourgeois counter-revolutionary provisional government before the October Revolution and a national outcast who found a haven in the United States, heaved a sigh of relief over the developments brought about by the Soviet revisionists. He said: "The time has come to abandon our pessimism in our evaluation of trends in the Soviet Union. The basic trend is the thrust toward freedom." He added that the Soviet revisionists are no longer concerned with "promoting world revolution."

Using the Great Thought of Mao Tse-tung to Combat Self-Interest

— Report on the Hongjing Brigade in the mass movement to study Chairman Mao's works

The Hongjing Production Brigade of the Shazi People's Commune in Taitsang County, Kiangsu Province, is an outstanding unit in studying Chairman Mao's works. We have twice published articles by Ku Ah-tao, member of this brigade and a woman activist in studying Chairman Mao's works (see "Peking Review," No. 42, p. 17, 1966 and No. 33, p. 15, 1967). During the great proletarian cultural revolution, the brigade has persevered in putting the creative study and application of Chairman Mao's works at the head of all activities, in using Mao Tse-tung's thought to command and guide everything, in using the great thought of Mao Tse-tung to fight self-interest and repudiate revisionism, and to destroy self-interest and foster devotion to the public interest. It has achieved remarkable successes in remoulding its members' outlook and building the new socialist countryside. The following report about Hongjing gives a down-to-earth understanding of the nationwide, vigorously developing mass movement to creatively study and apply Chairman Mao's works; it

tells how people are using Mao Tse-tung's thought to remould their world outlook. — Ed.

Diligently Study the "Three Constantly Read Articles" To Remould One's World Outlook

Chairman Mao has said: "This change in world outlook is something fundamental." "In the matter of world outlook, however, today there are basically only two schools, the proletarian and the bourgeois." The core of the proletarian world outlook is "public interest" and that of the bourgeois world outlook is "self-interest." To guide the peasants in making a diligent study of Chairman Mao's works and so achieve the complete ascendancy of Mao Tse-tung's thought, the basic thing is to bring about a change in their world outlook, energetically destroying self-interest and promoting devotion to the public interest.

Members and cadres of Taitsang County's Hongjing brigade from the very beginning took remoulding

Western papers have voiced their satisfaction with the foreign policy pursued by the Soviet revisionist clique of renegades in allying themselves with the United States to oppose China and betraying world revolution. The American newspaper *International Herald Tribune* said that the Soviet Union now regards China as its enemy No. 1, and has entered into closer relations with the United States. "Today, when Soviet spokesmen talk of foreign affairs, they speak not of the cause of international revolution, they talk in terms of great power diplomacy," it said.

In addition, a number of newspapers reported with obvious glee the all-round revival of capitalism and the establishment of the dictatorship of the new privileged bourgeois stratum over the broad masses of the labouring people in the Soviet Union. The British paper, *Yorkshire Post*, stressed that the new privileged stratum "have no interest" in Marxism, which "gets in the way." It said, "they press . . . for the revision of Marxism to accord with" their interests.

Writing on the basis of his experience in the Soviet Union, the Moscow correspondent of the Italian newspaper, *Il Corriere della Sera*, said that he had come to

the conclusion that "whatever your opinions on the present regime, it has become something radically different from the revolutionary ideal." He added that by reading the "theses" published by the Central Committee of the C.P.S.U. for the jubilee celebration of the October Revolution, one can "see the depth to which it (the regime) has sunk."

While extolling the "peaceful evolution" of the Soviet Union into capitalism, some Western bourgeois papers could hardly suppress their anxiety over the prospect that the Soviet people with their glorious revolutionary tradition would not permit that tiny group of renegades — the ruling revisionist clique — to carry on its perverse rule much longer. The *Il Corriere della Sera* correspondent noted that "there should be no illusion on our part" that the Soviet people will tolerate the "reintroduction" of capitalism in their country. The London paper, *Daily Mirror*, said with a note of uneasiness that "the loyalty of the Soviet people (to the communist ideal) has been tested by blood, famine and fire"; while the *Il Corriere della Sera* correspondent wrote that he had often heard Soviet people talking about Stalin with love and respect and angrily repudiating the ruling revisionist clique.

of their world outlook as the basic goal in their study of Chairman Mao's works. Using the "three constantly read articles" (*Serve the People*, *In Memory of Norman Bethune* and *The Foolish Old Man Who Removed the Mountains*) as their weapon, they fiercely attacked the self-interest in their minds.

The question of "work points" is a focal one in the struggle between public interest and self-interest in brigade members' minds. In the past, the concept of private ownership misled certain peasants into thinking that "earning work points" was the goal of participation in collective labour. Some held the view that "the purpose of farming is to make a living."

Hongjing's poor and lower-middle peasants studied the "three constantly read articles" bearing in mind this problem of what they were farming for. In *Serve the People* Chairman Mao points out: **"These battalions of ours are wholly dedicated to the liberation of the people and work entirely in the people's interests."** They have repeatedly studied Chairman Mao's concept of wholehearted service to the people, applied this to their problem and found an entirely new answer to this question: They are "farming for the revolution." Thus the public interest of "farming for the revolution" is overcoming the self-interest of "farming for work points." enthusiasm in working for collective production is growing steadily and many brigade members vie with each other to do heavy or difficult jobs without asking for higher rewards.

After the Hongjing brigade had reaped rich harvests of grain for several years in succession, some members proposed the following: "The brigade's grain output is fairly high, its contribution to the state is fairly large, and the members have more than enough food grain for their personal needs. Since cotton commands a better price than grain, wouldn't it be more profitable to stretch the state plan a bit by increasing cotton acreage at the expense of grain?"

Such selfish considerations in handling the relation between the state and the collective were also overcome by conscientious study of the "three constantly read articles." Chairman Mao teaches us to have **"utter devotion to others without any thought of self"** and to learn the spirit of **"absolute selflessness."** Seriously examining their thinking in the light of these teachings, and understanding that in making plans, handling affairs or considering problems, one must proceed from and never forget the interests of China's 700 million people, the poor and lower-middle peasants of Hongjing refused to accept any idea that takes account of only one brigade's interests. In the past two years the brigade has strictly followed state plans for its grain acreage.

Some cadres of the Hongjing brigade had been unwilling to take up their functions because they thought this would lead to material "loss" to them personally. But Chairman Mao has taught us: **"Comrade Bethune's spirit, his utter devotion to others without any thought of self, was shown in his boundless sense of responsibility in his work and his boundless warm-**

heartedness towards all comrades and the people." **"We must all learn the spirit of absolute selflessness from him. With this spirit everyone can be very useful to the people."** After having studied the "three constantly read articles," with these problems in mind, such cadres waged a sharp mental struggle. They asked themselves: Should I be selfish or try to be a very useful person to the people? What sort of thinking is it to want to be a cadre who is out for "gain" and is afraid to "lose"? The more they studied, the more they felt that there was something wrong in their world outlook and a radical change was needed. They finally came to the conclusion that to work for the masses and to serve the people is their bounden duty and an honour and has absolutely nothing to do with "losses."

In the great proletarian cultural revolution, Hongjing's poor and lower-middle peasants have kept up their diligent study of the "three constantly read articles," and raised to a new high their struggle in their souls to destroy self-interest and promote devotion to the public interest. This revolution, they understand, is a great decisive battle between the two classes, two roads and two lines and is a matter of first importance to the future of the state. They are determined to wipe out self-interest and promote devotion to the public interest. They have come to understand that boundless devotion to Chairman Mao and his revolutionary line is the highest public interest. Proceeding from this point, they rebelled against the Party people in authority taking the capitalist road.

Hongjing's poor and lower-middle peasants understand that to remould one's world outlook involves arduous struggles which call for the spirit of the Foolish Old Man who removed the mountains. They are determined to use that sharpest of weapons — Mao Tse-tung's thought — to wipe out bourgeois ideas and effectively foster proletarian ideas.

Surmounting Many Difficulties

The poor and lower-middle peasants of Hongjing have overcome many difficulties in their efforts to grasp the great truth of Mao Tse-tung's thought, and to get everyone studying his works and persevering in this study over a long period.

The first difficulty comes from lack of schooling. The evil old society bequeathed this difficulty to the poor and lower-middle peasants. Middle-aged and older members of the Hongjing brigade in general cannot read much. But this did not deter Hongjing's poor and lower-middle peasants, who have deep class feelings towards Chairman Mao's works. They said: "We have ears to listen with, mouths to question with and brains to think with and remember. So long as we are firmly determined, lack of schooling cannot scare us."

They organized study groups in production teams, work groups or families and elected instructors. In the study groups the instructors explain things and then members of the study groups read and discuss together until they can recite, remember well and have a good understanding of what they have studied. Those who

can read and those who cannot, get together as they think best, one teaching the other to read or reading while the other follows to repeat.

Each Hongjing team has set up an evening school to study Chairman Mao's works and write out passages from Chairman Mao's works, thus integrating the study of Chairman Mao's works with the battle for literacy.

Production tasks in the Hongjing brigade are rather heavy because it grows both grain and cotton. Members must work in the fields almost all the year round. So its poor and lower-middle peasants, instead of studying only during the slack farming season, persevere in their studies throughout the busy seasons. They study several quotations from Chairman Mao's works before and after work or during work breaks. As they work, they recite the quotations they have learnt.

Another difficulty comes from having to attend to household chores. But these have not prevented Hongjing's poor and lower-middle peasants from carrying on their studies. Whenever they can make the time and no matter where they are — they study. They study in the evening schools, review what they have learnt before going to bed and read as they feed the stove with stalks. Some even find a way of studying as they wash rice or clothes or do needle work.

Turning Families Into Classrooms

Class struggle in society is inevitably reflected in the family and contradictions between the public interest and self-interest constantly appear in the daily life of the family. How can the proletarian ideas overcome the bourgeois ideas? How can the public interest triumph over self-interest? Hongjing's poor and lower-middle peasants give the answer in practice: The most fundamental method is to use Mao Tse-tung's thought to examine and solve all family problems.

Many Hongjing families have organized study groups for studying Chairman Mao's works and devised a number of practical methods for study: Some have elected one of the heads of the family as leader of the study group and a literate younger member as the instructor responsible for organizing and guiding study; some set relatively fixed times (not interfering with

production work, meetings or household work) such as before or after meals, for study. Some hold family meetings once or twice a month at which members discuss how they are applying what they have learnt. At these meetings they examine what took place in the class struggle, in production and in daily life over the period in review according to Chairman Mao's teachings, praise whatever conforms to Mao Tse-tung's thought, and engage in criticism and self-criticism regarding what goes counter to Mao Tse-tung's thought. In these family study groups, stress is put on telling stories of family and village history. This enables both old and young in the family to keep fresh in mind the sufferings of the oppressed class and hatred for the bitter past, thereby teaching them always to follow the Party.

By turning the family into a classroom for the study of Mao Tse-tung's thought, the old out-of-date ways of rural families are being wiped out one by one. Entirely new relations in the family are emerging. The family, the basic cell in society, is plunging into the practical class struggle and the revolution. The family is being transformed from a unit concerned only with itself into one that is concerned with the collective, the state and the great proletarian cultural revolution.

Vigorously Carry On the Mass Movement

The Party branch of the Hongjing brigade has worked hard and consistently to ensure organizationally that the peasants are imbued with Mao Tse-tung's thought. It has insisted on the principle of carrying this out vigorously as a mass movement. They organize and arouse the masses and let the masses educate themselves by many methods. These include activities to recall past sufferings and discuss present happiness, and to emulate heroes and model workers and people outstanding in the study of Chairman Mao's works. The study of Chairman Mao's works has now become a conscious activity of the Hongjing masses. The brigade members "always have Chairman Mao's works at their side, Chairman Mao's words inspire their speech, Mao Tse-tung's thought guides their thinking and they act according to his teachings."

Chairman Mao's Good Soldier — Nien Ssu-wang

THE great thought of Mao Tse-tung has nurtured tens of millions of good soldiers of Chairman Mao. People's Liberation Army fighter Nien Ssu-wang is another outstanding representative. The revolutionary masses and young Red Guards all over the land are learning from him, holding him up as their living model of the relentless combating of selfish thoughts.

Nien Ssu-wang, a fighter in an engineers' unit of the General Logistics Department of the P.L.A. stationed in Shansi Province, north China, has always been a diligent and loyal student of Chairman Mao's works. Since joining the P.L.A. in January 1966 he has studied Chairman Mao's works and applied what he has learnt to remoulding his world outlook and



especially to fighting self-interest. He would not ignore the slightest selfish thought that flashed through his mind.

On the last evening of 1966 he suffered a serious brain injury when he risked his life to save a trainload of revolutionary workers and Red Guards. He has now completely recovered.

At a time when the great proletarian cultural revolution is advancing victoriously under the guidance of Chairman Mao's latest instruction that it is imperative to fight self-interest and repudiate revisionism, the newspapers of Peking and other parts of the country are widely reporting his action, calling on the people to be like Nien Ssu-wang in determinedly combating self-interest and to be loyal soldiers of Chairman Mao.

Mao Tse-tung — The Never-Setting Red Sun In the Hearts of Heroes

December 31, 1966. Dusk was falling as Nien Ssu-wang hurried back from the town of Tatung to the army barracks for the New Year's Eve party. As he came to a railway bridge, he heard a train approaching and, at that very moment he spotted a suspicious figure on the lines ahead. He ran forward and saw a large rock lying across the rails. "Saboteur!" he shouted. He sprang on the fellow and grappled with him. The train kept on. Nien Ssu-wang saw that it was only about 30 metres from the rock.

At this instant, Chairman Mao's teaching, "When we die for the people it is a worthy death," flashed through his mind. With all the class hatred in his be-

ing concentrated in his fist, he knocked the saboteur down and ran for the rock.

The locomotive, with its smoke and dazzling headlight, rushed upon him. With extraordinary courage and calmness he quickly rolled the big rock from the rails. The train roared past, throwing Nien Ssu-wang to the ground. . . .

The train stopped. Nien Ssu-wang was immediately rushed to hospital and experienced surgeons were brought by plane to attend to him.

When Nien regained consciousness four days later, his memory was seriously affected. He could not even recognize fellow fighters who came to see him. A nurse pointed to a portrait of Chairman Mao on the wall and said to him: "Look, there's Chairman Mao."

Nien Ssu-wang opened his eyes, fixed his gaze on the portrait and with a great effort, said in a low voice: "Chair — Man — Mao."

Then he lost consciousness again. Several days later when he was again conscious the nurse was so happy that she suggested to him that they sing together *The East Is Red*, a song in praise of Chairman Mao.

*The east is red, the sun rises,
China has brought forth a Mao Tse-tung. . . .*

Though his voice faltered and he often stumbled for the words, he finished the song. Every word, every line the hero sang expressed his profound love for our great leader Chairman Mao.

Though he had several relapses, Nien Ssu-wang's condition steadily improved and he was soon able to speak and eat. One morning a doctor brought him pencil and paper. "Write something, your name if you like," he said to Nien Ssu-wang.

Nien Ssu-wang thought for a while and then wrote with great care, "Chairman Mao."

But he was still not fully recovered and his memory was poor. He did not recognize his closest comrades from his own squad. Trying to test his memory, his company leader said: "Ssu-wang, try, try your best and tell me about your family."

After thinking for a while, the soldier said: "I have Chairman Mao." Asked where his home was, he replied, "Peking."

When Nien Ssu-wang left for Peking to receive further treatment, his comrades-in-arms came to see him off. The company political instructor said: "Comrade Ssu-wang, I hope you will be patient in hospital and **'Be resolute. . . .'**" Nien Ssu-wang finished for him this quotation from Chairman Mao: ". . . **fear no sacrifice and surmount every difficulty to win victory.**"

The young hero's love for and loyalty to Chairman Mao our great leader is boundless. At that crucial moment when people's lives and state property were in danger, he acted according to Chairman Mao's teaching and, by his heroic action, performed a glorious deed of service to the people. Although he was badly injured and his memory impaired, he still remembered Chairman Mao. In his heart is a never-setting red sun

—our most respected and beloved great leader Chairman Mao!

Grew Up Nurtured on Mao Tse-tung's Thought

Nien Ssu-wang was born in a poor peasant family in Anhwei Province, east China. For generations his forebears worked as hired hands for landlords. He had to go begging with his sister when he was three and they suffered untold oppression and humiliation.

His home village was liberated in 1948. When he received his first volume of Chairman Mao's works he wrote this vow: Never forget the past sufferings of our class and the happiness that came with liberation.

With boundless love for Chairman Mao and with the unwavering determination to defend him and our socialist land, Nien Ssu-wang in 1966 joined the P.L.A., a great school of Mao Tse-tung's thought. He has since studied Chairman Mao's works still more assiduously, never letting a day pass without studying, whether away on a mission, or late at night after sentry duty. He resumed his study in hospital when he regained the ability to read.

He said: "If we stop studying Chairman Mao's writings even for a single day, we will fail to grasp the revolutionary situation and may go astray."

In August 1966, Chairman Mao issued his great call, "You must concern yourselves with state affairs and carry the great proletarian cultural revolution through to the end."

Nien Ssu-wang was so excited that he wrote in his diary, "We will concern ourselves with state affairs and follow Chairman Mao in carrying the cultural revolution through to the end."

It was at this time that the world-shaking Red Guard movement arose in China, and Nien Ssu-wang developed a warm love for the Red Guards. When they came to see him in hospital, he invariably encouraged them to study Chairman Mao's works, follow his teachings and carry the cultural revolution through to the end.

As soon as his health permitted, he plunged into the mass campaign of revolutionary criticism and repudiation of China's Khrushchov and the other top capitalist roaders. Despite acute pain he wrote critical articles through the night.

Chairman Mao teaches us: "This change in world outlook is something fundamental." Vice-Chairman Lin Piao instructs: "We should regard ourselves as a part of the strength in the revolution and, at the same time make ourselves a target of the revolution. We should revolutionize ourselves in the revolution. Without doing this it is impossible to make the revolution a success."

Nien Ssu-wang has most faithfully adhered to these teachings and striven to combat self-interest in his mind. He is distinguished by his ability to seize firm hold of the slightest selfish thoughts that flash through his mind and firmly eradicate them.

One day a Force 7 wind was blowing when he was working on a high scaffolding. The idea that he might

fall and get killed occurred to him. But when he recalled Chairman Mao's teaching that "when we die for the people it is a worthy death," he carried on the work with striking courage and determination.

Later his achievements were depicted in a set of lantern slides which were shown to his comrades. They congratulated him, but he felt uneasy about his momentary wavering. At a squad meeting that evening he again studied Chairman Mao's article *Serve the People* and he made a self-criticism concerning this selfish thought which had flashed through his mind and which nobody else knew about. This is how Nien Ssu-wang deals with his own shortcomings without mercy to himself.

On National Day this year, Nien Ssu-wang's long-cherished dream came true. Fully recovered, he went on to the Tien An Men rostrum and met our great leader Chairman Mao. As Chairman Mao gently shook hands with him, Nien Ssu-wang, with tears in his eyes, shouted: "Long live Chairman Mao! A long, long life to you!"

Back from the National Day celebrations in Peking, Nien Ssu-wang, in response to Chairman Mao's latest call, pledged himself to be a path-breaker in combating self-interest and repudiating revisionism and to establish the absolute authority of Mao Tse-tung's thought in his mind.

The Whole Nation Learns From the Hero

News of Nien Ssu-wang's action spread from the province to the whole nation. Members of the P.L.A. and young Red Guards and revolutionary masses all began learning from him.

On October 11, the *Jiefangjun Bao* editorial on Nien Ssu-wang's deed said:

"How is it that Comrade Nien Ssu-wang could become a good soldier loyal to Chairman Mao? It was because he bravely uses Mao Tse-tung's thought to carry out a resolute struggle against self-interest and continuously eradicate self-interest and foster devotion to public interest.

"Chairman Mao recently instructed us: **It is imperative to fight self-interest and repudiate revisionism.**

"Self-interest is the core of all exploiting class ideology. It is the soil in which revisionism grows and develops. It is the root cause of all evil. Self-interest must be done away with altogether and only then can revisionism be thoroughly criticized and repudiated and a capitalist restoration be effectively prevented. Only when self-interest is done away with altogether can one be boundlessly loyal to Chairman Mao, boundlessly loyal to Mao Tse-tung's thought, boundlessly loyal to Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line.

"To combat self-interest, one must be like Comrade Nien Ssu-wang, diligently and assiduously study and apply Chairman Mao's works in a living way, study and apply diligently 'the three constantly read articles.' [*Serve the People, In Memory of Norman Bethune and The Foolish Old Man Who Removed the Mountains.*] Always use Mao Tse-tung's thought, the

(Continued on p. 39.)

A Reactionary Capitulationist Programme

— Refuting the Theory of "A New Stage of Peace and Democracy" Which Negates Violent Revolution

by JEN LI-HSIN

THE torrent of the great proletarian cultural revolution has pushed the No. 1 Party person in authority taking the capitalist road before the tribunal of history.

Removing his cloak of a "veteran revolutionary," people immediately see on his person the hallmark of the old brand revisionism of Bernstein, Kautsky and their like. More than 20 years ago, when the Chinese people won the War of Resistance Against Japan after eight years of hard fighting, China's Khrushchov had already clearly shown his ugly features as a veteran counter-revolutionary by advancing his theory of "a new stage of peace and democracy."

After the victory of the War of Resistance Against Japan, China was confronted with a decisive battle between two different destinies and two futures, namely:

"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?"

On this fundamental issue which concerns the Chinese revolution and the world revolution there existed within the Chinese Communist Party two diametrically opposed lines.

The proletarian revolutionary line represented by Chairman Mao stood for boldly mobilizing the masses, increasing the strength of the people, and waging a tit-for-tat struggle against the U.S.-Chiang Kai-shek reactionaries to complete the democratic revolution and so build a country of the people's democratic dictatorship under the leadership of the proletariat.

The Right capitulationist line represented by the No. 1 Party person in authority taking the capitalist road opposed violent revolution, denied the need for armed struggle, urged retreat before the unbridled attack of the U.S.-Chiang reactionaries, and advocated "the building of the country in co-operation" with Chiang Kai-shek through the legal "parliamentary road," so that the Chinese people, who had just broken off the colonial fetters of the Japanese fascists and stood up, should be plunged once again into the abyss of semi-colonialism and semi-feudalism.

The theory of "a new stage of peace and democracy" preached by China's Khrushchov was an out-

and-out revisionist political programme, a reactionary programme of out-and-out class capitulationism and national capitulationism.

A Pacifist Myth

Soon after World War II, China's Khrushchov got busy making speeches and writing articles. In his "Report to Comrades Leaving for Work in the Northeast," "The Present Situation and Our Tasks" and "Report on the Current Situation," he created a pacifist myth.

He maintained that, after the war, "the whole world is a world of peace, democracy and unity," and that "the stage of peaceful construction in the whole world has come. There will no longer be war, but peace, indeed, lasting peace."

He believed that imperialism had not only changed its aggressive and bellicose nature but had become willing to sympathize with and help the people's revolutions. He said that the U.S. Government "also needs" peace, "nor is the U.S. willing to see China in a civil war," and that the U.S., too, would "assist China's democratic movement."

He held that the Chinese people had no need to fight a revolutionary civil war to overthrow the reactionary Kuomintang regime but should carry out "peaceful national construction" together with Chiang Kai-shek. He preached everywhere: "There won't be any more civil war," "the three major political parties are going to co-operate," Chiang Kai-shek, too, wanted "real consultation on a number of questions," "the three major strata among the Chinese people want democracy," and so on and so forth.

Did things really develop as China's Khrushchov imagined? We need to look back at the history of the late 1940's to expose these lies.

After World War II, Chairman Mao made a penetrating analysis of the world situation when he said:

"This does not mean that there will be no more struggles after the defeat of the fascist aggressor countries, the end of World War II and the establishment of international peace. The remnant forces of fascism which are still widespread will certainly continue to make trouble, while within the camp now fighting fascist aggression there are forces which oppose democracy and oppress other nations, and they will con-

tinue to oppress the people in various countries and in the colonies and semi-colonies. Therefore, after international peace is established, there will still be numerous struggles over the greater part of the world — between the anti-fascist masses and the remnants of fascism, between democracy and anti-democracy, between national liberation and national oppression.”

For imperialism, peace is only a continuation of its wartime policies. It maintains peace by plundering the colonies and semi-colonies in successive wars. In order to achieve genuine peace the revolutionary people must use revolutionary, just war to oppose counter-revolutionary, unjust war. So long as imperialism exists, revolutionary wars cannot halt, even for a single day.

Doesn't the theory of a worldwide “lasting peace” concocted by China's Khrushchov mean that the imperialists have laid down their butcher's knives and become buddhas? Does it not mean that the people of the colonies and semi-colonies should not launch national-liberation wars and that the proletariat of the capitalist countries should not wage revolutionary civil wars?

It is crystal-clear that the theory of a worldwide “lasting peace” is an out-and-out reactionary theory for the liquidation of revolution. It is intended not only to deceive the proletariat but also to serve the counter-revolutionary double-dealing policies of imperialism.

While chanting the “peace” sutra, China's Khrushchov acted as a mouthpiece for the U.S. Government, declaring that it “needs” peace and “will assist China's democratic movement.” Let us take a look at the so-called “U.S. assistance” that China's Khrushchov liked to talk about.

From September 1945 to June 1946, the United States helped Chiang Kai-shek transport 540,000 troops to encircle and attack the Liberated Areas. The military aid it gave to Chiang Kai-shek from 1945 to 1949 totalled more than 5,900 million U.S. dollars. During the same period it helped Chiang equip 840,000 troops. Besides all this, U.S. imperialism also sent its own troops to invade China.

This is what he called “U.S. assistance”! This “assistance” was all given to Chiang for waging a counter-revolutionary civil war and slaughtering the Chinese people. The assertion that the “U.S. Government . . . will assist China's democratic movement” was a sheer lie.

It was obviously naked U.S. imperialist aggression, but China's Khrushchov claimed that the U.S. “needs” peace. It was obviously a case of U.S. imperialism supplying money and guns to support Chiang Kai-shek in a civil war, but China's Khrushchov said “nor is the U.S. willing to see China in a civil war.” What should all this be called if not shameless national betrayal?

China's Khrushchov was not only an advocate of bourgeois pacifism but a liquidator of revolutionary civil war. He played every opportunist trick in the bag and flung out peace smoke bombs one after another.

One of them was: “peaceful national construction.” To construct a country of the bourgeoisie, or of the proletariat? If he was talking about a country of the bourgeoisie, then the big landlords and big bourgeoisie represented by Chiang Kai-shek had already seized state power long ago. If he meant a country of the dictatorship of the proletariat, then violence must be used to seize power. How could there be any talk of “peace”?

The second one was: “There won't be any more civil war.” This was pure wishful thinking on the part of China's Khrushchov. At the very time he was singing the song of peace to prettify Chiang Kai-shek, Chiang was manoeuvring his troops for an all-out attack on the Liberated Areas. Were these sanguinary facts proof that “there won't be any more civil war”?

The third one was: “The three major political parties are going to co-operate,” and this would be “long-term co-operation,” and Chiang Kai-shek, too, wanted “real consultation on a number of questions.” This was typical class capitulationism! How could the Chinese Communist Party which represented the proletariat and the interests of the toiling masses enter into “long-term co-operation” with the Kuomintang reactionaries who represented the interests of the big landlords and big bourgeoisie and who were subservient to imperialism? How could we forget about the sanguinary massacre of April 12 in 1927 by the Kuomintang reactionaries? How could we forget that the Kuomintang reactionaries dragged the people into a blood-bath of ten years of civil war? How could we forget the three anti-communist onslaughts launched by the Kuomintang reactionaries during the anti-Japanese war period? How could there be a common language for “consultation” between the revolutionary people and Chiang Kai-shek — traitor, dictator and civil war fomenter all in one?

The fourth one was: “The three major strata among the Chinese people want democracy — the working people, the middle section of the middle bourgeoisie and part of the big bourgeoisie want democracy in China.” Here China's Khrushchov once again preached the reactionary rubbish of “general democracy” of Kautsky and his like.

Marxism tells us that democracy always has a class character. Can the big landlords and the big bourgeoisie share “general democracy” with the proletariat and the labouring people? No! The so-called democracy of the big landlords and the big bourgeoisie would mean oppression and dictatorship over the proletariat and the working people. It would mean the fascist dictatorship of Kuomintang one-party rule. In the eyes of China's Khrushchov, the big landlords and big bourgeoisie, too, had become the “people.” What an insult to the Chinese people!

China's Khrushchov argued glibly: “The people need peace.” Yes, the people indeed need peace. But the kind of peace the people wanted was, in essence, different from the peace he talked about. The people

fully understood that genuine peace could be won only by struggle, not through begging.

Despicable Betrayer of Violent Revolution

The theory of Marxism-Leninism, Mao Tse-tung's thought, concerning violent revolution cast its brilliance far and wide throughout the great practice of the Chinese people's eight-year War of Resistance.

As soon as the War of Resistance ended, Chairman Mao sounded the warning to the whole Party and the people of the whole country. He pointed out that Chiang Kai-shek **"always tries to impose war on the people, one sword in his left hand and another in his right. We take up swords, too, following his example."**

The Chinese Communist Party then led an army of one million and a militia force of two million. At that critical moment when Chiang Kai-shek was about to start an all-out civil war, the only correct road for the Chinese Communist Party and the Chinese people to win victory in the proletarian revolution was to persist in defeating armed counter-revolution by armed revolution.

On this fundamental question of armed struggle, what role did the No. 1 Party person in authority taking the capitalist road play?

Just look at him! When the U.S.-Chiang reactionaries were sharpening their swords, he played his hackneyed tune of the "theory of conditions for armed struggle." He said that after the victory of the War of Resistance Against Japan, "the main form of struggle in the Chinese revolution at present has been transformed from armed struggle into unarmed, mass and parliamentary struggle," and that "armed struggle in general has come to a stop."

Just look at him! Like a slave on his knees before his master, he did all in his power to abolish our Party's leadership in the army and hand over the people's arms to Chiang Kai-shek, that tyrant and traitor to the people.

He said: "Our army will soon be reorganized into an official national army, local security forces and self-defence corps, etc. In the reorganized army, political commissars, Party branches and Party affairs committees will soon be abolished. The Party will stop its direct leadership of the army (to become effective after several months) and will no longer issue direct orders to the army."

On the eve of the victory of the War of Resistance, Chiang Kai-shek had said: "The Communist Party will have legal status after it hands over its army." With these words still ringing in his ears, China's Khrushchov agreed. He said:

"The relationship between our Party and army will be modelled after that between the Kuomintang and its army." "Only with this change will this army founded by our Party 18 years ago become legal and be preserved."

This indeed shows that what the master said the slave echoed, and that birds of a feather flocked to-

gether! The astonishing remarks China's Khrushchov made in opposing armed struggle are a fine confession of how he sold himself body and soul to the big landlords and the big bourgeoisie.

Marxism-Leninism tells us that violent revolution is a universal law in proletarian revolution. To recognize this or not has always been a watershed dividing proletarian revolutionaries from all renegades to the proletariat.

Our great leader Chairman Mao has developed with genius and creatively the Marxist-Leninist theory of violent revolution.

He specially stressed that **"the principal means or form of the Chinese revolution must be armed struggle, not peaceful struggle"** and that **"without armed struggle neither the proletariat, nor the people, nor the Communist Party would have any standing at all in China"** and **"it would be impossible for the revolution to triumph. . . . Comrades throughout the Party must never forget this experience for which we have paid in blood."**

The No. 1 Party person in authority taking the capitalist road clung to his view that "armed struggle has in general come to a stop." In other words, he was declaring that the basic Marxist-Leninist tenet on violent revolution had become outmoded. He had abandoned this great Marxist-Leninist theory and become a despicable renegade to proletarian violent revolution.

In "On the Chungking Negotiations," our great leader Chairman Mao clearly pointed out: **"The arms of the people, every gun and every bullet, must all be kept, must not be handed over."**

If we had halted the armed struggle of the revolutionary people in the face of the armed offensive of several million Chiang Kai-shek reactionary troops, wouldn't it have meant that we were inviting our own destruction? Under such circumstances, if we had abandoned our Party's leadership over the army and handed over the people's arms, wouldn't this have meant giving swords to Chiang Kai-shek and then inviting him to behead us?

The proposal that the army should be "reorganized" and "nationalized," put forward by the No. 1 Party person in authority taking the capitalist road, actually meant to reorganize the people's army led by our Party into Chiang Kai-shek's "National Army" and to turn the people's army into the property of the Kuomintang reactionary government. This corresponds exactly to the clamour of Chiang Kai-shek, the fascist ring-leader, who cried: "Hand over the army first, then I'll give you democracy."

This faithful spokesman of the U.S.-Chiang reactionaries said in philistine language: "If the army retreats a step in concession, the whole country will take a big stride forward," and "it is worthwhile making this concession; it'll bring in profits."

Just look at him! What he worked for was unmistakably a big step backward historically, but he de-

scribed it as "a big stride forward." What he worked for was unmistakably a big political sell-out, but he said that it was "worthwhile" and would bring in "profits."

"Worthwhile" and "profits" indeed! These are **nothing but** the stock-in-trade of political profiteers.

A Blind Alley for the Revolution

The No. 1 Party person in authority taking the **capitalist** road had the bitterest hatred for violent **revolution**. What then did he hanker after?

Let us see how he answers this himself!

In his two notorious speeches made on one and the same day in February 1946, China's Khrushchov repeatedly stressed these points: "The main form of struggle in the Chinese revolution has now become peaceful and parliamentary; this is a legal mass struggle and parliamentary struggle," and "all political issues should be solved peacefully." In China, he declared, "it is possible to win the democratic revolution without resorting again to civil war. Basic success can be won through the constitution and the establishment of a parliament."

With an eye to the main chance, this fellow was always on the lookout to pick up the left-overs of the U.S.-Chiang reactionaries. He hysterically orated: "It is necessary to be good at propaganda work, at making speeches and at campaigning in elections so as to get votes from everybody." "We did not fight our way into Peiping and Tientsin with the gun. We can get in by votes if we handle things well in parliamentary struggle." His mouth watering for power, he gloated: "After the political consultative conference . . . ours [the C.P.C.] will become one of the government parties; it will be in power, not in opposition. Some of us will become officials . . . officials of the central government . . . there is the possibility of participating [in the government] for a long time."

Enough! Enough! China's Khrushchov is an utterly rabid devotee of parliamentarianism!

As China's Khrushchov saw it, the convening of the old political consultative conference "forced Chiang Kai-shek and the Kuomintang to abandon the one-party dictatorship and start implementing national democracy." The work of the whole Party, therefore, should and could be "transformed into unarmed, mass and parliamentary struggle." In the eyes of this devotee of parliamentarianism, the "parliamentary road" became the sovereign formula for winning victory in the Chinese revolution.

Facts cannot be distorted and history cannot be tampered with! All those who try to falsify history are bound to end up as criminals in history.

Our great leader Chairman Mao long ago pointed out that the old China under the brutal rule of the U.S.-Chiang reactionaries "internally has no democracy but is under feudal oppression and . . . in her external relations she has no national independence but is oppressed by imperialism. It follows that we have no parliament to make use of and no legal right to organize

the workers to strike. Basically, the task of the Communist Party here is not to go through a long period of legal struggle before launching insurrection and war, and not to seize the big cities first and then occupy the countryside, but the reverse."

From the Marxist-Leninist point of view, parliament is nothing but an adornment of the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie and its instrument in ruling the proletariat. The so-called parliamentary road was a reactionary political proposition put forward by traitors to the proletariat to cater to the needs of the bourgeoisie. It is out-and-out revisionist nonsense.

After the victory of the War of Resistance Against Japan, where could one find in China a world of tranquillity and prosperity replete with an atmosphere of "peace, democracy and unity," as China's Khrushchov described? Where could one find the least sincerity on the part of the Kuomintang reactionaries to "abandon the one-party dictatorship" and implement national democracy?

The Chiang Kai-shek reactionary government exercised a dictatorship of the big landlords and the big bourgeoisie over the people. The main component of its state apparatus was not a parliament but a reactionary military force several million-strong armed to the teeth with U.S. equipment. To advocate winning revolutionary victory through the "parliamentary road" under Chiang Kai-shek's fascist dictatorship was a despicable attempt to deceive the proletariat and the revolutionary people. As Lenin said, "limiting the class struggle to the parliamentary struggle, or regarding the latter as the highest and decisive form, to which all the other forms of struggle are subordinate, is actually desertion to the side of the bourgeoisie against the proletariat."

China's Khrushchov went to a deal of trouble to compose such a rhapsody to the "palace of parliament." But it was simply the raving of a madman in delirium!

How could it be imagined that relying on one's eloquence, under the fascist dictatorship of the U.S.-Chiang reactionaries, a so-called democratic election campaign could be launched or a constitution embodying the will of the proletariat be drawn up?

Even if one or two positions were gained in the official world and a few votes were won at the expense of relinquishing the Party's leadership and giving up the people's arms, could the empire of the Chiang clan be shaken one jot or tittle by those few votes and official positions?

Lenin long ago denounced opportunist clowns of this kind. He said: "**Only scoundrels or simpletons can think that the proletariat must first win a majority in elections carried out under the yoke of the bourgeoisie, under the yoke of wage-slavery, and then win power. This is the height of stupidity or hypocrisy; it is substituting elections, under the old system and with the old power, for class struggle and revolution.**"

China's Khrushchov is precisely the kind of scoundrel Lenin referred to.

Had we acted according to his ideas, it would have meant surrender to the U.S.-Chiang reactionaries. Our Party would have become an electoral and parliamentary party, a pitiful tool for upholding the rule of the bourgeoisie.

Had we acted according to his ideas, the Chinese revolution would have been abandoned half-way. China would have remained for ever the old China in abysmal darkness under the dictatorship of the big landlords and the big bourgeoisie; it could never have become the bright New China as it is today under the dictatorship of the proletariat.

Seeking a fig-leaf for his capitulationist line, the No. 1 Party person in authority taking the capitalist road went so far as to ape Kautsky and Trotsky. He blamed our Party for "adopting an attitude of scepticism and committing the error of narrow, 'Left' close-door-ism, as a result of not believing that Chiang Kai-shek's Kuomintang, under pressure from all sides, can also carry out democratic reforms and continue to cooperate with our Party in national construction, and not believing that a new stage of peace and democracy has arrived." He ranted that "this is a dangerous tendency."

This was calling black white.

According to this logic of China's Khrushchov, whoever acted contrary to his ideas and did not want to become an official of the Kuomintang reactionary government was "narrow," whoever opposed his handing over the people's army, abandoning armed struggle and making dirty political deals was a "Left" opportunist. Likewise, whoever turned a deaf ear to his nonsense and did not allow the Kuomintang and other parties to carry out such activities in the Liberated Areas as setting up news agencies, running newspapers, setting up party branch offices and advertising so-called unity, and whoever refused "to join our government" was a "close-door-ist."

Is it the Chinese Communist Party led by Chairman Mao that persisted in the Marxist-Leninist line, or is it you, China's Khrushchov, who suffered from the incurable chronic disease of Right capitulationism?

No additional evidence is necessary. History long ago drew the correct conclusions.

Historical Lessons

It is by no means an isolated, fortuitous event that the No. 1 Party person in authority taking the capitalist road advocated the reactionary absurdity of a "new stage of peace and democracy" and pushed the class capitulationist and national capitulationist line with such vigour and frenzy.

When criticizing the revisionists in the Second International, Lenin said: ". . . **opportunism is no chance occurrence, sin, slip or treachery on the part of individuals, but a social product of an entire period of history.**"

During World War II, at the same time as it achieved tremendous growth the international communist movement produced its own opposite — an adverse current of counter-revolutionary revisionism. The main

characteristic of this adverse current was the rejection of violent revolution and the advocacy of the parliamentary road. It brought tremendous losses to the international communist movement. Typical were the setbacks in the French and Italian revolutions.

During the period of the anti-fascist war, the French Communist Party organized people's armed forces half a million strong which at one time liberated Paris.

But to Thorez, the then general secretary of the French Communist Party, the people's armed forces were a dreadful monster. In November 1944, this coward, who had hidden himself abroad for a long time, returned to France and handed over the people's armed forces on a silver platter in exchange for an official post, the vice-premiership. In November 1945, the French Communist Party took part in the election of the first National Assembly sponsored by the de Gaulle government; at one time it formed the "Left majority" in the assembly. But the French bourgeoisie easily revised the electoral law. As a result, in the National Assembly election of 1958, the number of seats obtained by the French Communist Party dropped to a mere ten.

As an awakened French Communist Party member remarked, the French bourgeoisie treated the Communist Party like a lemon, to be squeezed dry and then thrown away.

So it was in Italy. The people's armed struggle in Italy had developed vigorously. By the end of World War II, there was an armed force of 256,000 guerrillas and insurgent workers. They liberated Milan, Venice and more than 200 other large and small cities, captured the fascist chieftain Mussolini and executed him.

But Palmiro Togliatti, the then general secretary of the Italian Communist Party who had just returned to Italy after 18 years abroad, advanced a capitulationist line which was supposed to realize socialism, "not by resorting to force and insurrections" but by reforming the social structure. He forced the guerrilla detachments in north Italy to accept the united command of the reactionary Badoglio government and the "allied armies" and disarmed the guerrillas and the patriotic police. Togliatti sold out the fundamental interests of the proletariat in exchange for the portfolio of minister and vice-premier, while the fruits of victory gained by the Italian people in their anti-fascist armed struggle were brought to naught.

Similar things have happened in a number of other European and Asian countries in addition to France and Italy. The blood of countless revolutionary martyrs became wine in the enemy's cup!

Comrades, please think this over. Confronted by the butcher's knives of the U.S.-Chiang reactionaries, if our Party and the Chinese people had believed in the myth of "a new stage of peace and democracy" concocted by China's Khrushchov and had also taken the "parliamentary road," how grave would have been the consequences!

History has ruthlessly mocked at the "devotees of parliamentarianism," Thorez, Togliatti, China's Khrushchov and their like. Tragic lessons of history have made

Marxist-Leninists all over the world clear-sighted. From their own experiences in struggle, the revolutionary people of various countries have gained an ever-deepening understanding that: guns in the people's hands are the life blood of the people's revolution. The road of armed struggle is the only correct road to the seizure of state power by the proletariat. Whoever denies violent revolution betrays the very basis of Marxism-Leninism and sells out the cause of the proletarian revolution. Whoever is obsessed by the "parliamentary road" will inevitably come to an ignominious end, like Thorez, Togliatti and their like.

As Stalin said: "To think that such a revolution can be carried out peacefully, within the framework of bourgeois democracy, which is adapted to the rule of the bourgeoisie, means that one has either gone out of one's mind and lost normal human understanding, or has grossly and openly repudiated the proletarian revolution."

The new and old revisionists and their trumped-up theory of the "parliamentary road" are simply snowmen

in the sun. Once they are put to the test by history, they melt away. Yet the Marxist-Leninist theory of violent revolution stands evergreen like the sturdy pine and cypress.

It is the greatest happiness of the Chinese people to have Chairman Mao at the helm of the ship of revolution. At the crucial moment when evil winds were blowing and mist covered the waters, the Chinese Communist Party headed by Chairman Mao led the Chinese people in resolutely repulsing the adverse current of "handing over the guns" and in smashing China's Khrushchov's reactionary line of class capitulation and national capitulation. Holding high the great revolutionary banner of armed struggle, the great, glorious and correct Chinese Communist Party won the great victory of the Chinese revolution and set up an eternal landmark in the history of the international communist movement.

(A slightly abridged translation of the original published in "Renmin Ribao" on Sept. 19.)

(Continued from p. 6.)

and his wife who were in Peking were also at the airport.

On November 10, Comrades Chou En-lai and Kang Sheng gave a banquet in honour of Comrades Hill and Gallagher. Before the banquet, Comrades Chou En-lai and Kang Sheng had a most cordial conversation with the Australian comrades.

Let the World Be Turned Into A Red Sea of Mao Tse-tung's Thought

Comrade Hill and Comrade Gallagher, accompanied by Comrade Liu Ning-I, received a warm welcome on November 12 when they visited the Peking Teachers' University which is in the surging tide of the educational revolution.

Comrade Hill made an enthusiastic speech to the revolutionary teachers and students. He said: "We join with you in the struggle for the absolute supremacy of Mao Tse-tung's thought. We join with you in the struggle to criticize and repudiate China's Khrushchov."

Today, he continued, the struggle between the two lines is going on both in China and throughout the world. Wherever the thought of Mao Tse-tung wins victory and Chair-

man Mao's revolutionary line is followed, the revolutionary initiative of the masses of the people is released and developed, and there is splendid victory for socialism.

"Guided by Mao Tse-tung's thought," said Comrade Hill, "socialist China is the great base of the world revolution. China has given great support to the world revolution." He added: "The thought of Mao Tse-tung gives radiant and brilliant guidance to the people of the world. Let all the working people throughout the world be armed with Mao Tse-tung's thought and turned into a red sea of Mao Tse-tung's thought—a sea in which the imperialists, modern revisionists and reactionaries of all countries will be drowned."

Leading members of the revolutionary committee and young Red Guards of the university held a discussion meeting with Comrade Hill and the other comrades. Leading members of the university's revolutionary committee gave an account of the great proletarian cultural revolution in the university and, on behalf of all the revolutionary teachers and students, presented the guests with a small statue of Chairman Mao and glittering red Chairman Mao badges.

Chairman Mao's Red Experts And Technicians Return From Burma to Peking

The 412 Chinese red experts and technicians, who had forged a deep friendship with the Burmese people while helping them with their economic construction, returned on November 6 to Peking, close to our most respected and beloved great leader Chairman Mao. They received a tremendous welcome from leading members of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party and the Cultural Revolution Group Under the Party's Central Committee, including Chou En-lai, Li Fu-chun, Chen Yi, Li Hsien-nien, Hsieh Fuchih, Chang Chun-chiao and Chi Pen-yu, as well as thousands of revolutionary people.

Armed with the great and invincible thought of Mao Tse-tung and consistently abiding by the teachings of our great leader Chairman Mao during their stay in Burma, these experts and technicians had, in accordance with the Sino-Burmese agreement on economic and technical co-operation, shared weal and woe with the Burmese people, earnestly served them and enthusiastically helped them with their economic construction, thereby winning praise

from them. But, going a step further in embracing U.S. imperialism and Soviet revisionism, the reactionary Ne Win government carried out rabid anti-China and anti-Chinese activities. It unleashed a savage, fascist persecution of Chinese experts and technicians and brazenly expelled them from Burma. The Ne Win government's reactionary actions seriously undermined the friendship between the Chinese and Burmese people and utterly exposed the ferocious features of its persistent opposition to China.

The welcoming crowds at the airport, including revolutionary masses, young Red Guards and commanders and fighters of the Chinese People's Liberation Army, held aloft portraits of our great leader Chairman Mao and placards with quotations from his works, sang revolutionary songs and shouted "Down with U.S. imperialism! Down with Soviet revisionism! Down with the reac-

tionaries of all countries!" "The Ne Win government which opposes China will come to no good end!" and "Long live the militant friendship between the Chinese and Burmese peoples!" They strongly protested against the reactionary Ne Win government's monstrous anti-China and anti-Chinese crimes and expressed firm support for the Burmese people's revolutionary struggle.

Holding high portraits of Chairman Mao and waving their copies of *Quotations From Chairman Mao Tse-tung*, the experts and technicians shouted "Long live Chairman Mao!" as they alighted from the planes. The welcoming crowds burst forth singing *A long life to Chairman Mao* and, waving their copies of *Quotations From Chairman Mao Tse-tung*, shouted: "Salute our experts and technicians who have helped with Burma's construction and who have defied brutality and waged a resolute struggle!" Chou En-lai and the other

comrades went up to shake hands with them and express their solicitude. Representatives of the revolutionary masses then presented them with copies of the treasured book *Quotations From Chairman Mao Tse-tung* and, together with the returned experts and technicians, read in unison the following quotation from Chairman Mao: "Lifting a rock only to drop it on one's own feet' is a Chinese folk saying to describe the behaviour of certain fools. The reactionaries in all countries are fools of this kind. In the final analysis, their persecution of the revolutionary people only serves to accelerate the people's revolutions on a broader and more intense scale."

Then Chou En-lai and the other comrades accompanied the experts and technicians as they went round the airport to greet their welcomers. At that moment, the airport rang with shouts of "Long live Chairman Mao! A long, long life to him!"

(Continued from p. 32.)

sharpest weapon, and apply Chairman Mao's teaching on serving the people 'devotedly and wholly' to examine one's innermost soul, strive hard to liberate oneself from the age-old influence of the exploiting classes, and become a fighter for communism who is utterly devoted to others and without any thought of self.

"To combat self-interest, one must be like Comrade Nien Ssu-wang, take the initiative and consciously launch an offensive against it and mercilessly criticize

and repudiate even the slightest flash of self-interest in one's mind."

The Party Committee of the General Logistics Department of the Chinese People's Liberation Army has adopted a resolution calling on all members to take Comrade Nien Ssu-wang as their model, be path-breakers in fighting self-interest and repudiating revisionism, set up a new high tide of creatively studying and applying the works of Chairman Mao, and turn the General Logistics Department into a red, red school of Mao Tse-tung's thought.

PEKING REVIEW

Vol. 10, No. 47
Nov. 17, 1967

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

IN THIS ISSUE

THE WEEK

Chairman Mao Receives P.L.A. Activists in the Study of His Works 5

ARTICLES AND DOCUMENTS

Do a Good Job of Education on the Current Situation — *Jiefangjun Bao* editorial 7

The Situation Is Better Than Ever Before — Jen Li-hsin 8

Some Tentative Programmes for Revolutionizing Education 9

Great Cultural Revolution in Progress: 11

Art Students Denounce Revisionist Educational Line 11

Marxism-Leninism, Mao Tse-tung's Thought Will Surely Triumph! Modern Revisionism Will Surely Collapse! — Statement of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Burma 13

Chairman Mao Is the True Inheritor and Developer of Marxism-Leninism — E.F. Hill 14

Chairman Mao Tse-tung Guides the World Revolution With Matchless Genius — N. Sanmugathasan 15

A Great Victory for the World's Revolutionary People — Ibrahim Isa 16

Mao Tse-tung's Thought Lights the Whole World 21

Big Farce Put On by the Renegades to the October Revolution — *Renmin Ribao* Commentator 23

Renegades to the October Revolution Will Never Escape Punishment by History 25

U.S. Imperialism, Soviet Revisionism Join in Love Feast 26

Western Press Applauds Soviet Revisionists for Betraying the Road of October Revolution 27

Using the Great Thought of Mao Tse-tung to Combat Self-Interest 28

Chairman Mao's Good Soldier — Nien Ssu-wang 30

A Reactionary Capitulationist Programme — Jen Li-hsin 33

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