

# PEKING REVIEW

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# QUOTATIONS FROM CHAIRMAN MAO TSE-TUNG

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

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

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It is still necessary to have universities; here I refer mainly to colleges of science and engineering. However, it is essential to shorten the length of schooling, revolutionize education, put proletarian politics in command and take the road of the Shanghai Machine Tools Plant in training technicians from among the workers. Students should be selected from among workers and peasants with practical experience, and they should return to production after a few years' study.

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There are three elements in the basic experience of the revolutionary committee: It embraces representatives of the revolutionary cadres, representatives of the armed forces and representatives of the revolutionary masses, constituting a revolutionary "three-in-one" combination. The revolutionary committee should exercise unified leadership, eliminate duplication in the administrative structure, follow the policy of "better troops and simpler administration" and organize a revolutionized leading group which links itself with the masses.

# Long Live the All-Round Victory in the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution!

—Hailing the Establishment of Revolutionary Committees in All The Provinces, Municipalities and Autonomous Regions (With the Exception of Taiwan Province) in China

EDITORIAL OF "RENMIN RIBAO" AND "JIEFANGJUN BAO"

SONGS of triumph ring out north and south of the Tienshan Mountains, and the sun shines brightly over the Tibetan Plateau. At a time when hundreds of millions of armymen and civilians throughout the country are marching from victory to victory under the inspiration of Chairman Mao's latest instructions, revolutionary committees have been established simultaneously in the Tibet Autonomous Region and the Sinkiang Uighur Autonomous Region, China's southwestern and northwestern outposts in the battle against imperialism and revisionism!

Revolutionary committees have now been set up in all the provinces, municipalities and autonomous regions of the country with the exception of Taiwan Province. This extremely magnificent spectacle—the whole country is red—is an important event in the seizing of all-round victory in the great cultural revolution. It indicates that the whole movement has entered the stage of struggle-criticism-transformation on a nationwide scale. This is a great victory for the invincible thought of Mao Tse-tung, a great victory for Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line and an event of great joy in the political life of the 700 million people of our country!

We extend our hearty congratulations to the revolutionary people of all nationalities in Tibet and Sinkiang, to all the commanders and fighters of the Chinese People's Liberation Army units stationed in Tibet and Sinkiang and to the fighters working on the state farms reclaimed by the Production and Construction Corps Under the Sinkiang Military Area Command!

We extend our warm and militant salutations to the proletarian revolutionary comrades-in-arms all over the country who have closely followed Chairman Mao's revolutionary line and forged ahead courageously during the last two years!

In the great proletarian cultural revolution, the proletarian revolutionaries and the revolutionary masses of all nationalities in Tibet and Sinkiang have stood firmly on the side of Chairman Mao's revolutionary line and have conscientiously carried out Chairman Mao's latest instructions. With the firm and strong support

of the People's Liberation Army, they have, after repeated trials of strength and tenacious struggles against the class enemies, finally dug out the agents of China's Khrushchov in Sinkiang—Wu Kuang, Lu Chien-jen, Chang Chung-han, Iminov and Burhan Shahidi—and his agents in Tibet—Chou Jen-shan and Wang Chi-mei—who are a handful of renegades, U.S.-Chiang Kai-shek special agents, special agents of the Soviet revisionists and of Britain, counter-revolutionary revisionists and national splittists. Thus the daydream of these class enemies to restore capitalism and undermine the unification of the motherland has been completely smashed and a heavy blow has been dealt to the schemes of the imperialists, modern revisionists and counter-revolutionaries for carrying out subversion and sabotage in the Tibet and Sinkiang regions.

In the great struggle during the 20 months from the outburst of the storm of the "January Revolution" in Shanghai to the establishment of the two revolutionary committees in Tibet and Sinkiang, armymen and civilians throughout the country have fulfilled Chairman Mao's great call: "Proletarian revolutionaries, unite and seize power from the handful of Party persons in authority taking the capitalist road," and they have won decisive victory in the great proletarian cultural revolution across the land.

Chairman Mao has taught us: "The aim of every revolutionary struggle in the world is the seizure and consolidation of political power." The class struggle under the dictatorship of the proletariat is, in essence, still a question of political power. The bourgeoisie wants to overthrow the dictatorship of the proletariat, whereas the proletariat wants to consolidate it. The handful of capitalist roaders in the Party are representatives of the bourgeoisie in the Party. The proletariat's seizing back of that portion of power of the Party, government, finance and culture which the handful of capitalist roaders usurped is a serious struggle in which the bourgeoisie attempts to restore capitalism while the proletariat opposes its doing so. It is a continuation of the proletarian revolution and a great political revolution made by the proletariat against the bourgeoisie and all other exploiting classes.

The establishment of revolutionary committees in the provinces, municipalities and autonomous regions throughout the country proclaims the complete bankruptcy of the counter-revolutionary plot of China's Khrushchov and his agents everywhere to turn the dictatorship of the proletariat into the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie. It has completely smashed all the counter-revolutionary rumours spread by U.S. imperialism and Soviet modern revisionism and dashed to pieces the wishful thinking of imperialism and modern revisionism to bring about "peaceful evolution" in China.

The establishment of revolutionary committees in the provinces, municipalities and autonomous regions throughout the country demonstrates the unparalleled might of the invincible thought of Mao Tse-tung when it is grasped by hundreds of millions of revolutionary people. It has greatly strengthened the dictatorship of the proletariat and greatly enriched and developed Marxism-Leninism.

We heartily and warmly hail the great victory won by the revolutionary people under the leadership of the proletarian headquarters headed by Chairman Mao and with Vice-Chairman Lin Piao as its deputy leader.

We will resolutely bring into full play the proletariat's thoroughgoing revolutionary spirit, closely follow Chairman Mao's great strategic plan, and consolidate and develop this victory through consistent and untiring struggle!

Chairman Mao recently issued to the whole country the great call: **"Carry out the tasks of struggle-criticism-transformation conscientiously."** He pointed out: **"Struggle-criticism-transformation in a factory, on the whole, goes through the following stages: establishing a three-in-one revolutionary committee; carrying out mass criticism and repudiation; purifying the class ranks; consolidating the Party organization; and simplifying the administrative structure, changing irrational rules and regulations and sending office workers to the workshops."**

Chairman Mao's latest instructions reflect the objective law of the advance of the great proletarian cultural revolution to the stage of struggle-criticism-transformation. It expresses in concentrated form the pressing demands of the working class and the revolutionary masses and indicates in a clear-cut way the central tasks confronting the revolutionary committees at all levels.

Doing a good job of struggle-criticism-transformation in each unit and each department is basic to the socialist revolution and socialist construction. It is of primary and lasting importance to preventing the restoration of capitalism and consolidating and developing the dictatorship of the proletariat. This is a battle to win all-round victory in the great proletarian cultural revolution. The revolutionary committees at all levels must vigorously grasp struggle-criticism-transformation and, in fulfilling this great historic task, bring their revolutionary might into fuller play and consolidate and develop the revolutionary committees.

In order to fight the battle of struggle-criticism-transformation well, it is imperative to uphold working-class leadership and **"bring into full play the leading role of the working class in the great cultural revolution and in all fields of work."** And it should be seen to that every instruction of the great leader Chairman Mao and every order issued by the proletarian headquarters is carried out swiftly and smoothly; the reactionary bourgeois theory of "many centres," that is, the theory of "no centre," must be resolutely opposed, and our thinking must be unified and our steps and actions must be co-ordinated at the call of the proletarian headquarters headed by Chairman Mao and with Vice-Chairman Lin Piao as its deputy leader. At the same time, it is essential to arm the workers with the invincible thought of Mao Tse-tung, make constant efforts to raise the political consciousness of the working class so that it will be able to undertake still better its great historical mission of exercising leadership in everything, in the educational revolution, in the struggle-criticism-transformation in all spheres of the superstructure and in every task for carrying out Chairman Mao's great strategic plan.

In order to fight well in the battle of struggle-criticism-transformation, it is imperative to strengthen ideological and political work, conscientiously do a good job of investigation and study and be good at seizing on typical examples. The revolutionary committees at all levels must firmly carry out all the proletarian policies put forward in the editorial note of the journal *Hongqi*, published in the newspapers on September 5 (see p. 13). These policies are the voice of the great leader Chairman Mao. Responsible members of the revolutionary committees must themselves select some particular points where they will gain experience and use this experience for guiding their overall work, and report the results to the Party's Central Committee. They must forge close links with the masses, listen to the opinions of the masses and pay special attention to overcoming all tendencies to divorce themselves from the masses.

Chairman Mao has said: **"Just because we have won victory, we must never relax our vigilance against the frenzied plots for revenge by the imperialists and their running dogs."** We must conduct deep-going and sustained revolutionary mass criticism, take the initiative and mount fierce attacks against the class enemy, do a good job of purifying our class ranks, hit steadily, accurately and relentlessly at the handful of renegades, enemy agents, diehard capitalist roaders and the landlords, rich peasants, counter-revolutionaries, bad elements and Rightists who have not reformed themselves, and uncover all the counter-revolutionaries who are hiding in dark corners to make trouble and engage in sabotage. We must strengthen the unity between the army and the people, step up preparedness against war, strengthen our border defences and our coastal and air defences, and be ready at all times to liberate Taiwan and defend our country's socialist revolution and socialist construction. Should the enemy dare to touch

China's sacred territory and launch an armed invasion, we will wipe him out resolutely, thoroughly, wholly and completely.

Let us closely follow the great strategic plan of the great leader Chairman Mao and march forward in giant strides to successfully accomplish the great historic tasks of struggle-criticism-transformation. Lighted by the radiance of Mao Tse-tung's thought, our great

socialist motherland will surely emerge even more majestic before the people of the whole world!

Long live the victory of Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line!

Long live the all-round victory in the great proletarian cultural revolution!

(September 7)

# Peking Rally of Armymen and Civilians Warmly Celebrates Founding of Revolutionary Committees All Over China

ONE hundred thousand armymen and civilians in Peking held a grand rally on September 7 enthusiastically celebrating the establishment of revolutionary committees in all the provinces, municipalities and autonomous regions of China (with the exception of Taiwan Province). They acclaimed this as a great victory for the invincible thought of Mao Tse-tung and for Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line. They pledged to follow closely Chairman Mao's great strategic plan and advance from victory to victory in successfully fulfilling the great historic tasks of struggle-criticism-transformation.

Present on the occasion were leading comrades of the Party Central Committee and the Cultural Revolution Group under it and of other departments, including Chou En-lai, Chen Po-ta, Kang Sheng, Chiang Ching, Yao Wen-yuan, Hsieh Fu-chih, Huang Yung-sheng, Wu Fa-hsien, Yeh Chun, Wang Tung-hsing and Wen Yu-cheng.

Peking, the capital of our great motherland, has been a magnificent scene of revolutionary festivities in the last few days. At this rally, which was held at the Peking Workers' Stadium, the 100,000 people present hailed with deep emotion the fact that the whole nation shines red with the great brilliance of Mao Tse-tung's thought. They cheered again and again: "Long live Chairman Mao!" "We wish Chairman Mao a long, long life!"

Comrades Chou En-lai and Chiang Ching made important speeches at the rally (see p. 6 and p. 8).

Their speeches were punctuated by thunderous and enthusiastic applause.

The rally was presided over by Comrade Hsieh Fu-chih, Chairman of the Peking Municipal Revolutionary Committee. Comrade Wu Teh, Vice-Chairman of the committee, also spoke at the rally.

Among the other speakers were representatives of Peking's worker, poor and lower-middle peasant, and Red Guard organizations, the Peking workers' Mao Tse-tung's thought propaganda teams, and the Chinese People's Liberation Army units stationed in Peking. They unanimously pledged to respond to the wise call of the great leader Chairman Mao, **carry out the tasks of struggle-criticism-transformation conscientiously**. They declared that they would make still greater efforts to creatively study and apply Mao Tse-tung's thought, resolutely carry out every one of the latest instructions of Chairman Mao, firmly implement all the fighting calls of the proletarian headquarters, continue to develop the excellent revolutionary situation and seize all-round victory in the great proletarian cultural revolution.

The rally adopted amidst thunderous applause a message of salute to Chairman Mao, the red sun in our hearts.

This mass rally was a scene of great revolutionary militancy. Again and again, the 100,000 armymen and civilians shouted: "Be boundlessly loyal to the great leader Chairman Mao!" "Be boundlessly loyal to the invincible thought of Mao Tse-tung!" "Be boundlessly loyal to Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line!" "Thoroughly repudiate the reactionary bourgeois 'theory of many centres!'" "The working class must exercise leadership in everything!" "Closely follow

Chairman Mao's great strategic plan, carry out the tasks of struggle-criticism-transformation conscientiously!" "Vigorously grasp revolution and promote production! Bring about a new high tide in both revolution and production! Welcome the National Day with actual deeds!" "Down with U.S. imperialism!" "Down with Soviet revisionism!" "Down with reaction in all countries!" "Taiwan must be liberated!" "Long live the all-round victory of the great proletarian cultural revolution!" "Long live the victory of Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line!" "Long live the

invincible thought of Mao Tse-tung!" "Long live our great leader Chairman Mao! A long life, a long, long life to him!"

Present at the rally were leading comrades of the P.L.A. Peking Military Area Command, the Peking Municipal Revolutionary Committee and the Peking Garrison, as well as members of the Peking Municipal Revolutionary Committee.

The rally ended with the singing of *Sailing the Seas Depends on the Helmsman* and *The Internationale*.

## At Peking Rally of Revolutionary Masses

# Premier Chou En-lai's Speech

Comrades, comrade workers, comrade poor and lower-middle peasants, comrade commanders and fighters of the Chinese People's Liberation Army, comrade proletarian revolutionaries, young Red Guard fighters, I extend the militant greetings of the victory of the great proletarian cultural revolution to you! *(The masses shout: Long live Chairman Mao! Long live the all-round victory of the great proletarian cultural revolution!)*

Today Peking is holding a rally here celebrating the establishment of the Revolutionary Committees of the Tibet Autonomous Region and the Sinkiang Uighur Autonomous Region, celebrating the establishment of the revolutionary committees in 29 provinces, municipalities and autonomous regions throughout the country. At this rally, let me first extend regards to you and congratulate you on behalf of our great leader Chairman Mao and his close comrade-in-arms Vice-Chairman Lin Piao, the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party, the State Council, the Military Commission of the Party's Central Committee and the Cultural Revolution Group Under the Party's Central Committee! *(Warm applause. The masses shout: Long live Chairman Mao! A long, long life to Chairman Mao!)* I also congratulate the people of all nationalities of our country!

We all say that now the whole country is red. Twenty months have elapsed since the "January Storm" of 1967 when the Shanghai working class took the initiative to seize power from the capitalist roaders. Now, revolutionary committees have been established in our 29 provinces, municipalities and autonomous regions. Now we can declare that through repeated struggles during the past 20 months we have finally smashed the plot of the handful of top Party persons in authority taking the capitalist road — counter-revolutionary revisionists — renegades, enemy agents and traitors headed by China's Khrushchov to restore capitalism *(applause)*, and fulfilled the great call issued by our

great leader Chairman Mao: **"Proletarian revolutionaries, unite and seize power from the handful of Party persons in authority taking the capitalist road!"** *(Applause. The masses shout: Long live the victory of Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line!)* This is a tremendous victory for the great proletarian cultural revolution, a great victory for the invincible thought of Mao Tse-tung. *(The masses shout: Long live the invincible thought of Mao Tse-tung!)*

In the meantime, we should firmly bear in mind that apart from the 29 provinces, municipalities and autonomous regions, Taiwan Province remains to be liberated. We will liberate Taiwan without fail. *(Warm applause. The masses shout: We will liberate Taiwan without fail! We will liberate Taiwan without fail! We will liberate Taiwan without fail! We will liberate Taiwan without fail!)*

As you all know, the domestic and foreign enemies will not take their defeat in China lying down. They are bound to struggle and to try to stage a counter-attack. Therefore, we should respond to the call of the great leader Chairman Mao and, under the unified leadership of the proletarian headquarters headed by Chairman Mao and with Vice-Chairman Lin Piao as its deputy leader, unify our understanding, co-ordinate our steps and concert our actions. All units should act according to this instruction from our great leader Chairman Mao: **"Struggle-criticism-transformation in a factory, on the whole, goes through the following stages: establishing a three-in-one revolutionary committee; carrying out mass criticism and repudiation; purifying the class ranks; consolidating the Party organization; and simplifying the administrative structure, changing irrational rules and regulations and sending office workers to the workshops."** In all units, that is to say, in such places as enterprises and other undertakings, schools and government offices, the struggle-criticism-transformation should also go through these stages.



In the excellent situation that the whole country is red, we must hold high the great red banner of Mao Tse-tung's thought, be well prepared to meet the new high tide of struggle-criticism-transformation we are now launching, completely discredit and overthrow the handful of top capitalist roaders in the Party and their agents in various places and units. At the same time, under our organizational form of revolutionary great alliance and revolutionary "three-in-one" combination, we should purify the class ranks and uncover the bad elements in all units. It is necessary to continue to criticize and repudiate all reactionary ideas, counter-revolutionary revisionism, reactionary academic authorities and technical authorities, and so on.

It is necessary to simplify the administrative structure in all our units and change all irrational rules and regulations and send those people who are thus spared to grass-roots levels and to production.

Young people should also respond to the call of our great leader Chairman Mao, go to the grass-roots levels, to the masses and to production, settle in the mountainous areas and the countryside, and take part in physical work in factories, mines and villages. (*Applause.*)

Our great leader Chairman Mao recently issued the call that **the working class must exercise leadership in everything**. This is our fundamental principle of Marxism, Leninism, Mao Tse-tung's thought. Our Communist Party is the vanguard of the working class. We should call on the revolutionary people all over the country to accept working-class leadership. So we have begun to organize workers' Mao Tse-tung's thought propaganda teams. Backed by the People's Liberation Army and in co-ordination with P.L.A. fighters, the propaganda teams have entered colleges and schools to promote the revolutionary great alliance in places where this has not been done. They will combine with the activists among the students, teachers, staff members and workers in colleges, schools and other units, and lead the struggle-criticism-transformation there. It is essential that we should act according to Mao Tse-tung's thought and stand on the side of Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line so as to temper ourselves gradually and continuously into proletarian revolutionaries. We have only one group, that is, the proletarian revolutionary group; we have only one thought, that is, Mao Tse-tung's thought; we have only one line, that is, Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line. (*Applause.*)

We shall be able to carry out our revolution in education well by conducting struggle-criticism-transformation in this way. We should send Mao Tse-tung's thought propaganda teams of the working class and Liberation Army fighters not only to the schools, but to enterprises, undertakings and government offices and all other places where the revolutionary great alliance and revolutionary "three-in-one" combination have not been brought about successfully or the tasks of struggle-criticism-transformation have not been carried out

well. The propaganda teams and Liberation Army men should help people there and lead them. (*Applause.*) Only in this way can we really win the all-round victory in the great proletarian cultural revolution.

Now, internationally, the enemy rots with each passing day while for us things are daily getting better. It is very clear that the imperialist camp headed by U.S. imperialists is disintegrating and is beset with internal and external difficulties; the revisionist countries with the Soviet revisionist renegade clique as their centre are distrusting each other and are at mutual strife. Hence the reactionaries of all countries who are following U.S. imperialism and Soviet revisionism are also finding it hard to carry on. We can say with certainty that the old world is going to collapse. (*Applause.*) It is also certain that our proletarian socialist revolution is advancing to worldwide victory. However, before the advent of victory, the enemies throughout the world will surely put up last-ditch struggles and launch counter-attacks. Therefore, our present great proletarian cultural revolution is a most extensive, thorough-going and all-round political and military mobilization. Should enemies from abroad dare to invade China, we will, in response to the call of our great leader Chairman Mao, wipe them out resolutely, thoroughly, wholly and completely! (*Applause. The masses shout: Down with U.S. imperialism! Down with modern revisionism with the Soviet revisionist leading clique as its centre! Down with the reactionaries of all countries! We will liberate Taiwan without fail!*)

Long live the all-round victory of the great proletarian cultural revolution!

Long live the victory of Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line!

Long live the victory of the invincible, great thought of Mao Tse-tung!

Down with the handful of capitalist roaders in the Party, renegades and traitors!

Down with U.S. imperialism!

Down with Soviet revisionism!

Long live the Chinese working class!

Long live the Chinese people's communes!

Long live the Chinese People's Liberation Army!

Long live the Chinese Red Guards!

Long live the Chinese proletarian revolutionaries!

Long live the revolutionary people of all nationalities of China!

Long live the revolutionary people of the world!

Long live the victory of the dictatorship of the proletariat!

Long live the great Communist Party of China!

Long live our great leader Chairman Mao! A long, long life to him! (*Applause.*)

## Comrade Chiang Ching's Speech

It was this morning that I learnt of the plan to call such a grand rally in celebration of the establishment of revolutionary committees in all of China's provinces, municipalities and autonomous regions [with the exception of Taiwan Province]. I was told at short notice to say a few words here. (Applause.)

Proletarian revolutionary comrades, commanders and fighters of the People's Liberation Army, and young Red Guard fighters (applause), I extend greetings of the great proletarian cultural revolution to you! (Applause. The masses shout: Learn from Comrade Chiang Ching! Salute to Comrade Chiang Ching! Comrade Chiang Ching shouts in return: Learn from you, comrades! Salute to you, comrades!)

I cannot find any better language to express the joy in my heart. (Applause.)

Recalling the great proletarian cultural revolution over the past two years and more, we see what tempestuous storms we have come through. By following our great leader Chairman Mao in pressing ahead courageously, we have finally thoroughly smashed the counter-revolutionary revisionist line headed by China's Khrushchov in the Party. (Applause. The masses shout: Long live all-round victory in the great proletarian cultural revolution! Long live the victory of Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line!)

We must not forget that the revolutionary youth and the young Red Guard fighters have made tremendous contributions at the initial and middle stages of the revolution. (Applause. The masses shout: Long live the invincible thought of Mao Tse-tung! A long, long life to Chairman Mao!)

Now, among the young fighters there are a few individuals who have committed mistakes of this kind or that. We have the duty to help them correct these mistakes. (Applause. The masses shout: Long live Chairman Mao! A long, long life to him!) It is quite ridiculous that clashes with each other should occur in a few units. This is, of course, a bad thing, which

divorces them from the broad masses including the masses in their own units. This is not a good thing and we are opposed to it. But, a bad thing can be turned into a good thing, that is, lessons can be drawn, young revolutionary fighters tempered (applause), and enemies exposed. (Applause.)

At the command of our great leader Chairman Mao, the working class, that main force, ascended the stage of struggle-criticism-transformation of the superstructure on July 27. (Applause. The masses shout: The working class must exercise leadership in everything!) The People's Liberation Army gave it backing. (Applause.) The young Red Guard fighters and all teachers and staff who are willing to make revolution should welcome this act of the working class (applause) and follow its leadership. (Applause.) We must not allow the few bad elements to make trouble. We must drag out these bad elements who sabotage struggle-criticism-transformation. (Applause.) Being the leading class, the working class, however, should do well to protect the young Red Guard fighters (applause), help them and educate them. Therefore, I suggest that you should also earnestly study the editorial note of the journal *Hongqi* [see p. 13] which appeared in *Renmin Ribao* on the 5th of this month. This editorial note represents the voice of our great leader Chairman Mao. (Applause. The masses shout: Long live Chairman Mao! A long, long life to him!)

We still have a lot of work to do, a lot indeed — struggle-criticism-transformation, consolidating and building the Party, and purifying the class ranks. We will still encounter many things which we do not yet understand. Therefore, we must follow the teaching of our great leader Chairman Mao to guard against arrogance and rashness, hold high the great red banner of Mao Tse-tung's thought and advance triumphantly! (Applause.)

I conclude my speech here. (Applause. The masses shout: Long live Chairman Mao! A long, long life to him!)



# Revolutionary Committees of Tibet and Sinkiang Simultaneously Established

THE Revolutionary Committees of the Tibet Autonomous Region and the Sinkiang Uighur Autonomous Region, two outpost regions in the southwest and northwest of our country in the struggle against imperialism and revisionism, were victoriously and simultaneously established on September 5, at a time when the nation's army men and civilians in their hundreds of millions are advancing from victory to victory, inspired by Chairman Mao's latest instructions. Thus all the provinces, municipalities and autonomous regions throughout the country, except Taiwan Province, have now set up their revolutionary committees. The whole country is red! This signifies that the great proletarian cultural revolution has entered the stage of struggle-criticism-transformation on a nationwide scale. This is a great victory for the invincible thought of Mao Tse-tung and for Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line! This is a joyous event of major importance in the political life of the 700 million people of China!

## The Sunlight of Mao Tse-tung's Thought Shines Over The Motherland's Southwest and Northwest Border Regions

Throughout the 17 years since its peaceful liberation, there has been a very sharp and complex struggle between the two classes, the two roads and the two lines in Tibet. The revolutionary people of the various nationalities in Tibet and the People's Liberation Army units stationed in the region have waged prolonged and repeated struggles against the class enemies, both at home and abroad. They drove the imperialist forces out of Tibet, overthrew the rule of the reactionary serf-owning class and thoroughly smashed the criminal schemes of the reactionary serf-owners represented by the Dalai and Panchen, who, in collusion with the U.S. and British imperialists, the Soviet revisionists, the Chiang Kai-shek bandit gang and the Indian reactionaries, tried to split the unity of the motherland, opposed socialism and attempted to restore feudal serfdom.

At every key moment during the great cultural revolution, our great leader Chairman Mao gave the most timely and wisest instructions to the revolutionary people of the various nationalities in Tibet. Answering the great call given by Chairman Mao in his big-character poster "**Bombard the Headquarters,**" the first generation of workers, the revolutionary people of various nationalities and the revolutionary young Red Guard

fighters in Tibet launched a sustained and fierce attack against China's Khrushchov and his agents in Tibet Chou Jen-shan and Wang Chi-mei and the rest of the handful of renegades, enemy agents and diehard capitalist roaders. They smashed the plots of this handful who worked hand in glove with the Dalai and Panchen traitorous cliques and the remnants of the Kuomintang reactionaries in a futile attempt to restore serfdom and capitalism in Tibet and have thus achieved their decisive victory in the great cultural revolution. This great victory has dealt a heavy blow at the U.S. and British imperialists, the Soviet modern revisionists and the Indian reactionaries and greatly consolidated the border defence of southwest China.

Situated in the frontiers of northwest China, Sinkiang occupies an extremely important strategic position. The Soviet revisionists, the Mongolian revisionists, the U.S. imperialists and the Indian reactionaries have engaged in provocations from without, and, inside the region, splitters of national unity, persons who have illicit relations with foreign countries, remnants of the Kuomintang reactionaries and unreformed landlords, rich peasants, counter-revolutionaries, bad elements and Rightists have engaged in sabotage. The class struggle there is extremely acute and complex. Over a long period of time, China's Khrushchov and the rest of the handful of top capitalist roaders in the Party and their agents in northwest China and Sinkiang Hsi Chung-hsun and Liu Lantao and Wu Kuang, Lu Chien-jen, Chang Chung-han, Iminov and Burhan Shahidi, ganging up with the domestic and foreign class enemies, tried in vain to restore capitalism in Sinkiang. During the great cultural revolution, the proletarian revolutionaries and the revolutionary masses of different nationalities in the region, guided by Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line and holding high the great revolutionary banner — "**It is right to rebel against reactionaries,**" mounted a fierce and sustained offensive against this handful of class enemies who represented the interests of U.S. imperialism, Soviet revisionism, the Kuomintang reactionaries and the landlords, rich peasants, counter-revolutionaries, bad elements and Rightists. They shattered the cherished counter-revolutionary dream of these class enemies of restoring capitalism in Sinkiang and have thus won the decisive victory in the great proletarian cultural revolution.

Chairman Mao teaches us: "**If the army and the people are united as one, who in the world can match them?**" During the great cultural revolution, the com-

manders and fighters of the P.L.A. units stationed in Tibet and Sinkiang and the Production and Construction Corps under the Sinkiang Military Area Command have shouldered the glorious task of helping the Left, helping industry and agriculture, exercising military control and giving military and political training. The broad masses of commanders and fighters have used the great thought of Mao Tse-tung to do propaganda work among the masses and to organize and arm them. As a result, they have made tremendous contributions to defending the southwest and northwest frontiers of the motherland and the great cultural revolution in Tibet and Sinkiang.

### Grand Rallies Held in Lhasa and Urumchi On Same Day

On September 5, the million and more emancipated serfs on the Tibetan Plateau and 8 million revolutionary people of different nationalities in Sinkiang were filled with joy. In their different tongues they expressed the common wish—"We wish Chairman Mao, the red sun in the hearts of the people of different nationalities, a long, long life! A long, long life to him!"

That day, Lhasa, capital of Tibet, was in festive mood. Over 50,000 army men and civilians gathered at a grand rally in the city's stadium to celebrate the establishment of the Revolutionary Committees of the Tibet Autonomous Region and the Lhasa Municipality.

Addressing the rally, Comrade Tseng Yung-ya, Chairman of the Revolutionary Committee of the Tibet Autonomous Region, declared that after its founding the revolutionary committee must follow Chairman Mao's teaching "**never forget class struggle**" and take firm hold of the struggle between the two classes, the two roads and the two lines. It must thoroughly repudiate and completely overthrow and discredit China's Khrushchov and the rest of the handful of top capitalist roaders in the Party and their agents in Tibet, and eliminate the pernicious influence of the counter-revolutionary revisionist line pushed by them. Following Chairman Mao's teachings, the revolutionary committees at all levels must conscientiously carry out the policy of "better troops and simpler administration," and turn themselves into militant commands which put proletarian politics to the fore and enjoy proletarian authority. He said: After its establishment, the most fundamental and important task of the region's revolutionary committee is to hold still higher the great red banner of Mao Tse-tung's thought, deepen and broaden the mass movement for the creative study and application of Mao Tse-tung's thought, promote people's ideological revolutionization, and build Tibet into a great red school of Mao Tse-tung's thought.

In conclusion, he declared: In work of every kind, it is essential to bring into full play the leading role of Tibet's working class. It is necessary to ensure that the working class leads everything, rely firmly on the working class, further implement Chairman Mao's latest series of instructions, carry out the tasks of struggle-

criticism-transformation conscientiously, and seize all-round victory in the great proletarian cultural revolution.

On September 5, a joyous, festive atmosphere prevailed in Urumchi, the region's capital at the foot of the Tianshan Mountains. Two hundred thousand army men and people of various nationalities met in its People's Square to enthusiastically celebrate the successful founding of the Revolutionary Committees of the Sinkiang Uighur Autonomous Region and Urumchi Municipality.

Addressing the celebration rally, Comrade Lung Shu-chin, Chairman of the Revolutionary Committee of the Sinkiang Uighur Autonomous Region, said that of all the work to be done following the establishment of the region's revolutionary committee, the most fundamental task was the creative study and application of Chairman Mao's works and his latest series of instructions. It was essential to unfold the mass movement for the creative study and application of Mao Tse-tung's thought still more extensively and deeply, continue to run vigorously various types of Mao Tse-tung's thought study classes, and to unify our understanding, co-ordinate our steps and concert our actions under the battle orders of the proletarian headquarters headed by Chairman Mao and with Vice-Chairman Lin Piao as its deputy leader.

He stressed: We must continue to develop revolutionary mass criticism and repudiation, conscientiously purify the class ranks and deal sure, accurate and relentless blows at the handful of class enemies. We must enhance our awareness of the enemy's presence, make further efforts to carry out the campaign to "**support the army and cherish the people**" and "**support the government and cherish the people**," strengthen the unity between the army and the people, between the army and the government, and among the various nationalities, be vigilant against and smash all disruptive activities carried out by enemies at home and abroad, consolidate our border defence and defend our great socialist motherland.

In conclusion, he said: Sinkiang has 500,000 industrial workers and we should bring into full play the leading role of the working class, carry out the tasks of struggle-criticism-transformation conscientiously, and seize all-round victory in the great proletarian cultural revolution.

In the celebration rallies at Lhasa and Urumchi, Comrade Jen Jung, Vice-Chairman of the Revolutionary Committee of the Tibet Autonomous Region and a leading member of the Tibet Military Area Command, and Comrade Kuo Peng, Vice-Chairman of the Revolutionary Committee of the Sinkiang Uighur Autonomous Region and deputy commander of the Sinkiang Military Area Command, spoke on behalf of the army units stationed respectively in the two autonomous regions. They both stressed: We must strengthen the unity between the army and the people, between the army and

(Continued on p. 17.)

# Message From Comrades Hoxha and Shehu To Chairman Mao, Vice-Chairman Lin Piao And Premier Chou En-lai

## Most Ardently Congratulating Them on Establishment of Revolutionary Committees Throughout China

- The creation of revolutionary committees throughout great China marks the final triumph of the Marxist-Leninist ideas of the outstanding leader, Chairman Mao Tse-tung, over the counter-revolutionary reactionary line of China's Khrushchov. This brilliant victory of the thought, line and strategy of the great Marxist-Leninist Comrade Mao Tse-tung marks the final defeat and bankruptcy of the big counter-revolutionary plot of China's Khrushchov aimed at transforming the dictatorship of the proletariat into the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie and restoring capitalism in China.
- The triumph of China's great proletarian cultural revolution is a terrible deadly blow to the imperialists led by U.S. imperialism, to the modern revisionists led by Soviet revisionism and other reactionaries. Let the enemies of the peoples and revolution shiver before this tremendous victory. Their doom is certain and Marxism-Leninism will triumph.

Comrade Enver Hoxha, First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Albanian Party of Labour, and Comrade Mehmet Shehu, Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the People's Republic of Albania, on September 9 sent a message to Comrade Mao Tse-tung, Chairman of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China, Comrade Lin Piao, Vice-Chairman of the Central Committee of the C.P.C., and Comrade Chou En-lai, Premier of the State Council of the People's Republic of China, most ardently congratulating them on the establishment of revolutionary committees in all the provinces, municipalities and autonomous regions (with the exception of Taiwan Province) in China.

The full text of the message reads:

**Comrade Mao Tse-tung**, Chairman of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China,

**Comrade Lin Piao**, Vice-Chairman of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China,

**Comrade Chou En-lai**, Premier of the State Council of the People's Republic of China,

The Albanian people have learnt with very great joy of the establishment of revolutionary committees in the Tibet Autonomous Region and the Sinkiang Uighur Autonomous Region. This has brought to completion

the establishment throughout great People's China of revolutionary committees which are the organs of revolutionary power of the dictatorship of the proletariat. The red banner of China's great proletarian cultural revolution, which is guided by the Marxist-Leninist ideas of Comrade Mao Tse-tung, today victoriously flutters in all parts of your glorious country, with the exception of the province of Taiwan which is still occupied by the U.S. imperialists.

On the occasion of this victory of great historic importance not only to the Chinese people but to the whole of the progressive mankind, on behalf of the Albanian people, the Central Committee of the Albanian Party of Labour and the Government of the People's Republic of Albania, we are very happy to convey to you, dear comrades, and, through you, to the fraternal Chinese people, to the glorious Communist Party of China, to the Cultural Revolution Group Under the Central Committee of the Party and the Government of the People's Republic of China our most ardent congratulations and revolutionary greetings.

The creation of revolutionary committees throughout great China marks the final triumph of the Marxist-Leninist ideas of the outstanding leader, Chairman Mao Tse-tung, over the counter-revolutionary reactionary line of China's Khrushchov. This brilliant victory of the thought, line and strategy of the great Marxist-Leninist Comrade Mao Tse-tung marks the final defeat and bankruptcy of the big counter-revolutionary plot of China's Khrushchov aimed at transforming the dictatorship of the proletariat into the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie and restoring capitalism in China.

The plans and hopes of the U.S. imperialists, the Soviet revisionists and other reactionaries to prevent People's China from advancing on the road of socialism and revolution, as well as their plots and attempts to turn back the wheel of history, have failed ignominiously and have been smashed by the might and irresistible revolutionary vigour of the great Chinese people. The triumph of China's great proletarian cultural revolution is a terrible deadly blow to the imperialists led by U.S. imperialism, to the modern revisionists led by Soviet revisionism and other reactionaries. Let the enemies of the peoples and revolution shiver before this tremendous victory. Their doom is certain and Marxism-Leninism will triumph.

Today when the U.S. imperialists and their Khrushchovite revisionist allies, infuriated by the defeats which they have suffered one after another, have become more aggressive than ever, the eyes, hearts and minds of the peoples suffering under the heel of imperialism and revisionism are turned to the People's Republic of China which is a powerful and faithful defender of the peoples and an insurmountable

obstacle to the aggressive plans of the United States of America and the Soviet revisionist renegade clique. United hand in hand in the ill-famed Soviet-U.S. alliance and implementing their imperialist plans for the division of the world into spheres of influence, the U.S. imperialists and their servitors, the Khrushchovite revisionists, are seeking to hoodwink and dominate the peoples through demagoguery and armed force. With the most thoroughgoing cynicism they commit aggressions against sovereign peoples and states and deprive them of their freedom and national independence. However, despite their vicious attempts, they will never be able to quell the struggle of the peoples for freedom. On the contrary, they will suffer a sure defeat and the raging flames of the revolutionary movement that have broken out throughout the world will wipe them out completely from the face of the earth.

The Albanian people who have forged a great fraternal friendship with the glorious Chinese people, look upon the creation of revolutionary committees throughout China as their own great victory, as a historic victory of Marxism-Leninism and of the cause of the world proletarian revolution. The Albanian people and the great Chinese people and our two Parties, in steel-like unity, will constantly strengthen their alliance and everlasting friendship, will always march ahead firmly, will defeat and smash every imperialist-revisionist plot, and will continually achieve new successes in their struggle for the defence of the supreme interests of their countries and for the great cause of the triumph of socialism and communism throughout the world.

Once more greeting the creation of the revolutionary committees throughout China and the magnificent victory of great historic importance for the destiny of mankind, we wholeheartedly wish the great, heroic Chinese people, under the leadership of the Communist Party of China headed by the great leader Comrade Mao Tse-tung, ever greater successes on their glorious road of revolution and in their struggle for socialism and communism.

Long live the great, unbreakable and militant Albanian-Chinese friendship!

Long live the all-round victory of China's great proletarian cultural revolution!

**Enver Hoxha**, First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Albanian Party of Labour,

**Mehmet Shehu**, Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the People's Republic of Albania.

September 9, 1968, Tirana

*Peking Review*, No. 37

# The Revolution in Education in Colleges of Science And Engineering as Reflected in the Struggle Between the Two Lines at the Shanghai Institute of Mechanical Engineering

(Report of an Investigation)

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**“Hongqi” (Red Flag) Editor’s Note:** This is another investigation report from Shanghai, now published for reference. What is the situation as regards the engineering and technical personnel in factories in our big, medium-sized and small industrial cities throughout the country? How is the revolution in education going in the colleges and secondary schools of science and engineering? We hope that the revolutionary committees in all parts of the country will send out people to make some typical investigations and report the results to the Party Central Committee. This journal will select significant reports for publication. Here we wish to raise the question of giving attention to re-educating the large numbers of college and secondary school graduates who started work quite some time ago as well as those who have just begun to work, so that they will integrate with the workers and peasants. Some of them are sure to make a success of this integration and achieve something in regard to inventions and innovations. Mention should be made of these people as encouragement. Those who are really impossible, that is, the diehard capitalist roaders and bourgeois technical authorities who have incurred the extreme wrath of the masses and therefore must be overthrown, are very few in number. Even they should be given a way out. To do otherwise is not the policy of the proletariat. The above-mentioned policies should be applied to both new and old intellectuals, whether working in the arts or sciences.

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## It Is Good to Select Students From Among Workers and Peasants With Practical Experience

**I**N the investigation report, “The Road for Training Engineering and Technical Personnel Indicated by the Shanghai Machine Tools Plant,” [see *Peking Review*, No. 31—*P.R. Ed.*] mention is made of the Shanghai Technical School for Machine-Building, predecessor of the present Shanghai Institute of Mechanical Engineering. Founded directly under the First Ministry of Machine-Building of the Central People’s Government in 1952, the school was later transformed into an institute of mechanical engineer-

ing to make it part of the “regular school system.” The changes in this school provide much food for thought.

When the school was founded, it admitted 2,181 entrants who were all workers, peasants or cadres in rural grass-roots units to train technicians from among the working people to meet the needs of the nation’s large-scale economic construction. These worker and peasant students had been steeled in the class struggle during the *san fan* and *wu fan* campaigns [the *san fan* was the campaign against corruption, waste and bureaucracy in 1952. The *wu fan* campaign was against capitalist bribery of government workers, tax evasion, theft of state property, cheating on government contracts and stealing economic information from

government sources, also in 1952] and the land reform and had some practical experience in production. Selected from among workers and peasants with practical experience, these students showed the following merits:

First, the worker and peasant students studied for a definite purpose. They said: "The bourgeois intellectuals yell at us: 'The workers and peasants don't know very much. They haven't learnt their ABC, so how can they learn designing.' We must follow Chairman Mao's teachings. The working people must be the masters of science and culture." After they came to the school, these worker and peasant students put forward fighting slogans, "Be a credit to Chairman Mao" and "Do not let a single class brother drop out." On their own initiative, they organized mutual-help teams and instituted a system of student-teachers. Each team consisted of three students. The one who knew most would teach the other two, and they all helped and learnt from one another. For instance, many students found it difficult to memorize the symbols for the elements in the chemistry course so they composed songs about the chemical elements which made memorizing easy.

Second, the worker and peasant students have a high class consciousness and dare to look down on bourgeois intellectuals and bourgeois academic "authorities." There was a teacher in the school who had returned from Germany with a "doctorate" in electricity. The teachers who blindly worshipped things foreign set him up as an idol. When this "doctor" came to lecture on electricity, bringing a pile of thick volumes with him, he merely echoed what the books said. The worker and peasant students did not want to listen to things far removed from actual production. They asked him two questions about motors, practical questions which had arisen in production, and he was stumped. To save face, he beat about the bush and tried to sidetrack the students with a rigmarole of "theory" which no one could follow. But the students would not let go. They pressed for answers. The "doctor" mumbled in reply: "I really haven't read any technical journals for more than ten years!" Later, the worker and peasant students chased this "big noise" off the lecture platform.

Third, they attacked the old educational system, the content of the lectures and teaching methods. These remained as they had been. In the main, power was in the hands of the bourgeois intellectuals. However, as the worker and peasant students made up more than 90 per cent of the student body, teaching staff and workers at the school, this numerical superiority overwhelmed the bourgeois intellectuals and kept the old educational system under constant fire. To keep the worker and peasant students in check, the school leadership then introduced a system of establishing a teacher in charge of each class. The worker and peasant students resisted, and the system existed in name only. On the other hand, the student Party branch and the Youth League branch and the student council enjoyed supreme authority. For one mid-term

examination in mathematics, the bourgeois intellectuals gave difficult catch questions so that nearly half of the more than 2,000 students in the school failed to get the passing mark. The worker and peasant students were furious. Each class sent representatives to argue the matter out at the dean's office and the struggle forced the school to declare the examination null and void.

Fourth, the object of the worker and peasant students was to apply in production what they learnt. When they went from the school to do practical work in a factory in Wusih, Kiangsu Province, they immediately put on greasy overalls and worked alongside the workers, discussing technical production problems with them. The students quickly applied the theoretical knowledge they had acquired to production and made over 120 proposals for technical innovations in the factory. Over 30 of these were immediately adopted by the factory. In contrast, a group of students from a certain college in Shanghai, who were doing practical work at the factory at the same time, spent all day jotting down technical processes and regulations in their notebooks wherever they went and did nothing original. The factory workers said: "The worker students pull their weight and make good use of what they have learnt." After these students graduated and went to production units, they were credited with many inventions and innovations. Comrade Wang Teh-fa of the Shanghai Machine Tools Plant, who was in charge of the designing of a huge surface grinding machine, which is up to advanced international standards, is a graduate of the institute. The worker technician who had made the fourth important technical innovation on the liquid-pressure gear box for the precision grinding machine at the Shanghai Machine Tools Plant is also a graduate of the institute. The person responsible for trial producing China's first electron microscope with a magnification of 200,000 times is also a graduate of the institute's worker-peasant class.

## A Sharp Struggle Between the Two Lines

Choosing students from among workers and peasants with practical experience and training working-class intellectuals hit at the heart of the revisionist educational line of China's Khrushchov. For the last ten years or so, a life-and-death struggle on the question of how to treat the worker and peasant students has been taking place on the educational front, between the two classes, the two roads and the two lines.

When the first group of worker and peasant students entered the school in 1952, the working class of Shanghai was highly pleased. They said: "We workers should not only become the masters in political life but also in science and technology. We want intellectuals of the working class to be trained." At that time, the factories gave farewell parties for workers going to the school. They beat drums and gongs and pinned



big red flowers on them with the same pride they show when they send youths off to join the army.

However, the handful of capitalist roaders and bourgeois intellectuals in the school cried: "This is terrible." "It is inconceivable for things to be done this way." They outrageously said: "The worker and peasant students are stupid. They are hard to teach because of their different levels." "The worker and peasant students are always critical and don't respect their teachers." "It isn't worthwhile training worker and peasant students," and so on. Taking advantage of their control over education, they flagrantly pushed the revisionist educational line of China's Khrushchov and exercised the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie over the worker and peasant students.

These capitalist roaders tried in every way to oppose and restrict the admission of workers and peasants. The institute took in students from among the workers and peasants, including the 2,181 enrolled in 1952, only on three occasions. The handful of capitalist roaders and bourgeois intellectuals regarded them as a "burden." In a report summing up the work, written in March 1955, they attacked and slandered the worker and peasant students in a hundred and one ways. A policy of a "drastic reduction" was adopted, and only 173 worker and peasant students were accepted that year. Under the pretext, "equal opportunity to everyone according to results in the entrance examination," the institute in 1960 practically shut its doors to the children of workers and peasants and opened its doors wide to children of the bourgeoisie. As a result, only 17 worker and peasant students were admitted. From then on, it became as difficult for workers and peasants with practical experience to enter the institute as it is to climb to the stars.

In teaching, the capitalist roaders and bourgeois intellectuals tripped up, attacked and persecuted the worker and peasant students. For example, technical drawing is easy for engineering workers. But the bourgeois lords rigidly insisted that worker and peasant students learn projective geometry first and tried to trip them up by such terms as intersecting bodies and the curve of intersection. In this way, more than 40 of the 170-odd worker and peasant students failed in an examination in 1957 and remained in the same grade. The bourgeois lords racked their brains to deliberately mark down the work done by a student who was a grade five (middle grade) engineering worker and labour hero from Hunan Province. He was given 59, one point below the pass mark, and they insisted that he stay back in the same grade another year. The worker and peasant students said: "The marking system is a handicap to workers and peasants and helps restore capitalism." Suffering under the bourgeois examination system, 14 of the 17 worker and peasant students accepted in 1960 were forced to leave. They left with immense hatred for the revisionist educational system. A fine worker from the Shanghai No. 3 Print-

ing House who studied in the institute only a year and a half was forced to remain in the same grade because he failed in examinations in physical culture, foreign language and physics. Later he had to leave. He went to the institute leadership to criticize the system of promoting or holding back students. The capitalist roaders viciously replied: "Under this system, everyone is equal and the worker and peasant students cannot be excepted." But they used many tricks to promote a young student of bourgeois origin to a higher grade, although he had failed to pass five subjects.

Guided by the brilliant light of Chairman Mao's thinking on revolutionizing education, the revolutionary teachers and students of the institute in 1958 launched a fierce attack on the revisionist line in education. Many new revolutionary things emerged in the institute, such as workers giving lectures, teaching on the basis of a three-in-one combination of workers, teachers and students, and the school running a factory. Comrade Kang Sheng made an inspection tour of the institute on November 12 of that year. He stressed that workers should take the lecture platform. They were the forces that could really be relied on in the schools; it was they who had the true ability. Some of the college graduates could only talk well but could do nothing. Comrade Ko Ching-shih also gave important instructions that year on training technicians from among the workers. He gave the instruction that workers be selected to do advanced scientific research. These instructions greatly raised the morale of the worker and peasant students. However, in the upsurge of the vigorous educational revolution, Chen Pei-hsien, an agent of China's Khrushchov in Shanghai, went to the institute and gave all kinds of poisonous orders, backing up the capitalist roaders and bourgeois intellectuals of the institute and encouraging them to reject the important instructions from the proletarian headquarters headed by Chairman Mao. They forbade workers to take the lecture platform, but permitted the bourgeois intellectuals to go on exercising dictatorship over worker and peasant students. They blatantly countered Comrade Ko Ching-shih's instruction on selecting students from among workers and peasants who were good both politically and vocationally to take part in scientific research and arbitrarily withdrew 10 of 30 such students chosen. Among the 21 worker students who were either Party or Youth League members and who stayed on at the institute after graduation in 1959, only one became a teacher; the great majority of them were sent to the factory attached to the institute to become workers. Li Fu-hsing, a Party member, was a grade five worker before going to the institute. But after four years of study, he was assigned to work as a helper in the technological laboratory. It was said that he was not qualified to be a lab assistant, to say nothing of taking the lecture platform.

At the same time, cadres of worker and peasant origin were squeezed out. There were 44 worker and peasant graduates of 1956 working in the institute and most of them were Communist Party members; 29 were

later thrown out of the institute. The capitalist roaders said to cadres of worker and peasant origin who worked in the institute as political instructors after graduation: "You graduates of secondary vocational schools are useless; only university graduates are capable of working as instructors to university students."

They also mechanically copied the Soviet revisionist educational system in an attempt to push the worker and peasant students into the quagmire of revisionism. In order to borrow from the stock of wares of Soviet revisionism in its entirety, they began inviting a number of foreign experts to the institute in 1954. In accordance with the sinister instruction of China's Khrushchov, "don't consider the results before you've copied the whole lot," they copied the whole Soviet revisionist system, from special course arrangements, training goals, teaching plans, syllabuses, text books, teaching methods and teaching organization to rules and regulations, including what was called "six links," "seven kinds of plans," "twenty-four kinds of graphs," "the system of promoting or holding back students," etc. A glaring example is the physical training course. In imitation of the Soviet Union, they made ball-room dancing a vogue in a stubborn effort to drive the worker and peasant students on to the road to revisionism.

Meanwhile, closely following the orders of their evil master Lu Ting-yi, they raised the slogan, "learn from Chiao Tung University and overtake the Harbin Engineering Institute," borrowed from the capitalist and revisionist "tradition of running schools," and put stress on "high-grade, precision and advanced" and the "big, foreign and all-inclusive," aiming to train the students to become bourgeois engineers and designers divorced from proletarian politics, from the worker-peasant masses and from production. In the name of seeking "to do everything on a big scale and to be all-inclusive and up to date," these elements set up massive, overlapping and bureaucratic organizations and systems. The number of students remained something over two thousand, but the apparatus grew from only two departments and two offices in 1952 to seven departments, two offices and 22 teaching research groups in 1960; the number of teachers, staff and workers rose sharply from something over 300 to more than 800; the total amount spent on teaching equipment shot up from one million yuan to more than eight million yuan. During the revolution in education in 1958, the factory attached to the institute served teaching and industrial and agricultural production; but afterwards, it was put under capitalist management and profits were put in command, so that it became a source of income for the capitalist roaders' extravagance and waste.

### **How to Take the Road Shown by the Shanghai Machine Tools Plant**

The sharp struggle between the two classes, the two roads and the two lines which was waged in the Shang-

hai Institute of Mechanical Engineering from the time it was established was a struggle in which the bourgeoisie tried to stage a come-back and the proletariat opposed this. The central question in the struggle was one of political power.

Recently, after summing up the positive and negative experiences since the establishment of the institute, some engineering and technical personnel of the Shanghai Machine Tools Plant who graduated from the institute, workers in the factory attached to it and revolutionary teachers and students gave the following views and concepts concerning the revolution in education in colleges of science and engineering:

(1) Chairman Mao recently pointed out: **"It is still necessary to have universities; here I refer mainly to colleges of science and engineering. However, it is essential to shorten the length of schooling, revolutionize education, put proletarian politics in command and take the road of the Shanghai Machine Tools Plant in training technicians from among the workers. Students should be selected from among workers and peasants with practical experience, and they should return to production after a few years' study."** This latest instruction of Chairman Mao's sets forth the basic orientation for colleges of science and engineering in carrying out the proletarian revolution in education. These colleges must solve the problem of which class will exercise leadership, before they can take the road of the Shanghai Machine Tools Plant. This refers, first of all, to power in the political and organizational fields. Chairman Mao's sending of members of the working class into the colleges and universities to occupy the education front is the crucial guarantee that the working class will always retain in its hands the leadership of the colleges and universities whose doors will always remain open to workers and peasants with practical experience. Why did the Shanghai Institute of Mechanical Engineering, which at first took in students from among workers and peasants with practical experience, close its doors to them later on? The reason is that the problem of "power" had not been solved. We must draw a lesson from this. Second, there is the question of "power" in the ideological field. If the education front is not occupied by Mao Tse-tung's thought, it is bound to be submerged by bourgeois ideology. The lesson to be drawn from the fact that the handful of capitalist roaders in the Party in the Shanghai Institute of Mechanical Engineering for a long time exercised the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie over the worker and peasant students shows that the mass revolutionary criticism and repudiation of the revisionist educational line must be deepened and the crimes committed by the bourgeois intellectuals in ruling the schools must be criticized, as must the anti-proletarian idea of looking down on the workers and peasants and belittling practice, and the bourgeois notions of seeking personal fame and wealth. Mao Tse-tung's thought must be established in the dominant position in the schools, or the educational position will be lost again.

(2) The length of schooling in colleges of science and engineering should preferably be two to three years. In the arrangement of courses, their former division into foundation subjects and basic technical and specialized courses must be done away with. These three can be integrated into an organic whole through the study of a typical machine and typical parts in the actual production process. Empty theorizing and scholasticism divorced from production practice must be thoroughly eliminated. As far as the content of teaching is concerned the principle that the courses should be fewer and better must be followed, so that the essence can be grasped and content fully mastered. On-the-spot teaching should be developed extensively for education to be combined with productive labour. After being transformed the colleges of science and engineering will be not only schools but also factories and scientific research units. Students should have in mind the diverse and difficult problems they have encountered in the course of production. Production departments and scientific research units should propose topics to the colleges from an educational point of view and in a planned and purposeful way, so as to help the students concentrate on improving their analytical powers and ability in solving problems in the course of production, study and research, thus making education serve productive labour.

(3) Colleges of science and engineering should also undertake the task of successfully giving spare-time technical education. The principle should be co-operation between factories and colleges — courses should be run by factories with the aid of the colleges. This is yet another important road for persisting in the mass line to train large numbers of engineering and technical

personnel of the working class. In line with the needs of the proletarian industrial revolution and proceeding from the reality of production, the teaching principle of "running whatever schools are needed, learning whatever actual work calls for and providing whatever is wanting" should be adopted in running well a large number of spare-time technical schools and short-term training classes of all types.

(4) A contingent of proletarian teachers must be formed. The present ranks of teachers are unable to educate worker and peasant students with practical experience and, therefore, must be rectified, transformed and reconstituted. In the future, the ranks of teachers should be a "three-in-one" combination, comprising workers with a high proletarian political consciousness and practical experience, worker and peasant students with practical experience and revolutionary intellectuals. The vast numbers of workers and technicians who have made inventions or innovations should go to the colleges periodically in a planned way to give lectures. The workers who undertake the work of teaching may either be full-time or part-time teachers, but the great majority should be part-time. The main role of the full-time teachers should be to arrange an organic link among the colleges, factories and scientific research units, which will help the students raise their practical knowledge to the theoretical level and then apply it in practice. The students may go to the lecture platform to exchange the practical experience they have. The present teachers should go among the workers and peasants in groups one after another and take the road of integrating themselves with the workers and peasants.

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(Continued from p. 10.)

the government and among the various nationalities, unite in the common fight against the enemy, and consolidate the border defence so as to turn the country's southwest and northwest border areas into impregnable Great Walls of steel. Should the imperialists, revisionists and Indian reactionaries dare to invade China's sacred territory, we will annihilate them resolutely, thoroughly, wholly and completely.

The celebration rallies in the capitals of the two autonomous regions adopted messages of salute to our great leader Chairman Mao amid stormy cheers and applause. Each rally was followed by a grand celebration parade.

When the happy news of the successful founding of the revolutionary committees of the two autonomous regions, Tibet and Sinkiang, reached the other parts of the country, everywhere a festive mood prevailed enlivened by the roar of firecrackers, drums and gongs. The hundreds of millions of armymen and civilians en-

thusiastically acclaim the founding of revolutionary committees in all the provinces, municipalities and autonomous regions of the country, with the exception of Taiwan Province. They hail this success as a great victory of the invincible thought of Mao Tse-tung and of Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line. Grand celebration meetings and parades were held in 27 big and medium-sized cities including Peking, Shanghai, Tientsin, Shenyang, Wuhan, Kwangchow, Chengtu and Sian. Armymen and civilians said with deep emotion: This universal founding of revolutionary committees at the provincial, municipal and autonomous regional level signifies that the great proletarian cultural revolution movement has entered the great stage of struggle-criticism-transformation on a nationwide scale. Under the leadership of the proletarian headquarters headed by Chairman Mao, they are determined to carry forward the spirit of thoroughgoing revolution, win the battle of struggle-criticism-transformation and seize all-round victory in the great cultural revolution so that Mao Tse-tung's thought shall shine still more brilliantly over the motherland.

So long as the world is divided into classes, the press will remain an instrument of class struggle.

— MAO TSE-TUNG

# Carry the Great Revolution on the Journalistic Front Through to the End

—Repudiating the Counter-Revolutionary Revisionist Line  
On Journalism of China's Khrushchov

by THE EDITORIAL DEPARTMENTS OF "RENMIN RIBAO,"  
"HONGQI" AND "JIEFANGJUN BAO"

**D**URING the great proletarian cultural revolution, there has been and still is an extremely fierce class struggle on the front of journalism.

The various branches of journalism, including the newspapers, the periodicals, the radio and the news agencies, are all instruments of class struggle. Their propaganda influences the thinking, sentiments and political orientation of the masses. The grave struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie for seizing the leadership of the position of journalism is a life-and-death struggle between them on the ideological front.

Chairman Mao has always attached great importance to proletarian journalism. He pointed out as far back as 20 years ago: "To run a newspaper well . . . this is an important question of principle in our Party's work which is not to be taken lightly."<sup>1</sup> Chairman Mao has laid down a comprehensive proletarian line on journalism during the protracted class struggle of the Chinese revolution. This line demands that proletarian journalism serve the political line of the proletariat and be a powerful weapon for the proletarian revolution and for the dictatorship of the proletariat.

China's Khrushchov and the rest of the handful of top capitalist roaders in the Party have always been hostile to Chairman Mao's proletarian line on journalism and have always opposed it. Representing the interests of imperialism, the Kuomintang reactionaries and the landlords, rich peasants, counter-revolutionaries, bad elements and Rightists, they frenziedly pushed a counter-revolutionary bourgeois line on journalism and placed renegades, enemy agents and capitalist roaders in various journalistic units, vainly attempting to

turn journalism into an instrument for subverting the dictatorship of the proletariat and restoring capitalism.

In the tempestuous great proletarian cultural revolution, the press, almost without exception, has been a focus of the struggle everywhere between various political forces. As a result of this struggle, China's Khrushchov and his agents in the field of journalism have been ferreted out. The bourgeois line on journalism they pushed has gone utterly bankrupt. Nevertheless, the class struggle is by no means over; the struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie to seize the leadership of the press is by no means over. Therefore, we are faced with the important task of energetically promoting Chairman Mao's proletarian line on journalism and completely liquidating the counter-revolutionary revisionist line on journalism.

## Should the Press Cheer and Shout for the Socialist Revolution, or Should It Clear The Way for Capitalism?

On October 1, 1949, New China emerged like the red sun in the East. With the democratic revolution concluded in the main, the great socialist revolution began.

Earlier, in April 1948, Chairman Mao pointed out in his brilliant work *A Talk to the Editorial Staff of the "Shansi-Suiyuan Daily"*: "You comrades are newspapermen. Your job is to educate the masses, to enable the masses to know their own interests, their own tasks and the Party's general and specific policies." "Teach the people to know the truth and arouse them to fight for their own emancipation." Therefore, as an instru-

ment of public opinion for the dictatorship of the proletariat, journalism in New China must clear the way for the change-over from the democratic revolution to the socialist revolution.

China's Khrushchov did his utmost to oppose this change-over. He ranted that it was necessary to "let capitalists remain and develop for a number of decades."<sup>2</sup> He demanded that the press beat the drum and clear the way for capitalism in China.

Six months after Chairman Mao gave his talk to the editorial staff of the *Shansi-Suiyuan Daily*, China's Khrushchov came up with his big poisonous weed, "Talk to the North China Group of Newsmen," in open opposition to Chairman Mao's thinking on the press.

In this talk, China's Khrushchov raised the supra-class, bourgeois slogan: "serve the readers." He alleged: "You serve your readers, those who read your newspapers. If your readers say your newspapers are good, then your work has been well done."<sup>3</sup>

"Readers" fall into different classes. Readers of different classes definitely do not share the same likes and dislikes. To what class do the "readers" whom China's Khrushchov wanted to "serve" belong? If we take a look at his speeches after the Second Plenary Session of the Seventh Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party, a meeting of great historic significance, we shall see very clearly.

In April 1949, shortly after the Second Plenary Session of the Party's Seventh Central Committee, he rushed to Tientsin where he cried out on behalf of the bourgeoisie: "At present our newspapers in their propaganda do not give the liberal bourgeoisie even fourth place. The emphasis is not on unity but on attacking. This is quite inappropriate."<sup>4</sup> He clamoured: "The liberal bourgeoisie should have its place in propaganda!"<sup>5</sup>

In May, he said with a bitter note of complaint in Peking: The newspapers "report good news about the workers every day, but are not friendly to the capitalists and do not report good news about them."<sup>6</sup> He exerted himself pleading for the capitalists, saying: "The capitalists said that our newspapers are no good. I say they are indeed not so good. I admit this mistake. Our newspapers are somewhat biased. In the future we should adopt this attitude: right is right and wrong is wrong, good is good and bad is bad"; "if there is anything good about the capitalists, we should say it's good; if there is anything bad about the workers, we should say so, too!"<sup>7</sup>

In August, he went to northeast China. Speaking in the tone of the capitalists, he said: "The capitalists feel like this: you often say you treat us fine, but the papers say we are bad. The papers report what is good about the workers but what is bad about the capitalists."<sup>8</sup>

To what enormous pains did China's Khrushchov go to plead again and again for a place for the capitalist class! The "readers" this No. 1 agent of the bour-

geoisie had in mind were precisely his masters, the capitalist class!

Chairman Mao pointed out in his report to the Second Plenary Session of the Party's Seventh Central Committee that, **after the countrywide victory of the Chinese revolution and the solution of the land problem, the basic contradiction internally was "the contradiction between the working class and the bourgeoisie."** Where the bourgeoisie holds a place, the proletariat has no place; where capitalism holds a place, socialism has no place. The aim of China's Khrushchov in trying to win a "place" in the papers for the capitalists was precisely to overthrow proletarian leadership and develop capitalism in China. As a matter of fact, "My Dream Has Come True!", a feature prettifying Sung Fei-ching, a good friend of China's Khrushchov's and a big capitalist in Tientsin, was broadcast. The bad editorial, "Fight for a Rich Life for the Peasants of North China," which blatantly advocated the development of capitalism in the countryside, and such slogans backing up the spontaneous forces of capitalism in the countryside as "work diligently to become prosperous and engage in production to get rich" and "grow cotton if you want to get prosperous," were all carried in the newspapers.

The capitalists were beside themselves with joy and the landlords and rich peasants were all smiles; their agent had indeed brought them "good news" about developing capitalism!

China's Khrushchov had decided views on what he referred to as "right and wrong" and "good and bad." He was very unhappy that our newspapers were "biased" in favour of the proletariat and socialism; when the capitalists frowned, he hastened to admit "mistakes" and went to the extremes of servility. What a faithful lackey of the capitalists! And those lackeys of this lackey, the counter-revolutionary revisionist Lu Ting-yi and his like, went so far as to assert that "our Party papers and journals should adapt themselves to the needs of all classes, including the bourgeoisie," and they issued orders that Party papers at all levels "do not have to proclaim themselves as organs of the Chinese Communist Party, nor need they say they are organs of the government; let them be called such and such a paper of this or that place."<sup>9</sup> They were really thoroughgoing, abandoning even the name of the Communist Party, in order to curry favour with the capitalists and to change the Party's news media smoothly into a tool for capitalism. What downright shamelessness!

Chairman Mao says: **"The birth of a new social system is always accompanied by shouting and uproar, that is, the propagation of the superiority of the new system and the repudiation of the backwardness of the old."**<sup>10</sup> China's Khrushchov did quite the opposite; he did his best to reverse the wheels of proletarian journalism and to make it a reactionary tool for stemming the tide of socialism and developing the capitalist system. **"Opportunists who want to stem the tide are to be found almost everywhere, but the tide can never**

be stemmed. Socialism is everywhere advancing triumphantly, leaving all obstructions behind."<sup>11</sup> Guided by Chairman Mao's revolutionary line, the great Chinese socialist revolution has broken through one set of obstructions after another put up by the capitalist roaders and advanced swiftly and vigorously.

### China's Khrushchov's Policy for Liberalization And the Attack by the Bourgeois Rightists

In 1956, just as the socialist transformation of the ownership of the means of production on China's economic front had in the main been completed, the bourgeoisie and its agents, who were not reconciled to stepping down from the stage of history, took advantage of the large-scale emergence and spreading of modern revisionism following the "Twentieth Congress" of the Soviet Communist Party to launch vengeful political counter-attacks in a vain effort to recapture the positions they had lost. At that point, China's Khrushchov, thinking that the climate was suitable for a "comeback," called together a handful of capitalist roaders in journalistic circles on three consecutive occasions within a short period of some three weeks between May and June, issued reactionary instructions and drew up a reactionary programme, with the aim of placing the instruments of journalism under his control and making them raise a clamour to serve his attempt to restore capitalism.

These talks were vile and long-winded, so full of absurdities that they need not be refuted point by point. They all boiled down to one thing: opposing Chairman Mao's proletarian line on journalism, flagrantly advocating bourgeois liberalization and clearing the way for frenzied attacks by the Rightists all over the country. We select just three main fallacies from these talks for exposure before the public:

First: "What would be better for Hsinhua, to be a state news agency, or an unofficial one? In my view, it is better to be an unofficial news agency, not a state one."<sup>12</sup> Why? Choking with anger, he said: "Everything is now being officially run, even the agricultural co-operatives"; the Hsinhua News Agency should be "unofficially run," "should not always stress its official status, still less rigidly bind itself."<sup>13</sup> What he called "officially run" was actually the dictatorship of the proletariat. Thinking that the dictatorship of the proletariat "binds" the bourgeois journalistic line, he demanded "freedom" to oppose the dictatorship of the proletariat and restore capitalism. Chairman Mao teaches us that **before classes are abolished, the newspapers, the periodicals, the radio and the news agencies all have their class character and all serve particular classes.**<sup>14</sup> Journalism must be led by, or "bound" to, a particular class, and journalism supposedly free of any "bonds" simply does not exist. It is either bound to the proletariat or to the bourgeoisie — one or the other. Where are there newspapers in the world today that are above classes?

The bourgeoisie long ago advertised their press as "independent," "free from party affiliations," and "untrammelled by party connections."<sup>15</sup> But more than a

century has passed, and those newspapers that wear the "independent" label are nothing but tools for particular parties or financial groups. What China's Khrushchov advocated as being "independently run" and "unofficial" was a mere camouflage, a means by which he tried to wrest "freedom" and "rights" from the proletariat for the bourgeoisie and demanded the removal of "bonds." It can be seen that what he called being "independently run" meant abolition of leadership by the proletariat and by the Communist Party. In a word, it meant being run by the bourgeoisie.

Second: "Journalists in other countries stress that their news reporting is objective, truthful and impartial; objective, truthful and impartial reporting is their slogan. If we dare not stress objective and truthful reporting, but only stress standpoint, then, our reporting will be subjective and one-sided."<sup>16</sup> Take a look at that! China's Khrushchov — this out-and-out slave of foreigners who prostrated himself in admiration before "foreign" bourgeois journalists — went so far as to demand that proletarian newspapers should take over "their slogan" in full.

Journalism has class character and partisanship, and supra-class "objective reporting" does not exist. To deceive the people and maintain the criminal rule of their own class, bourgeois newspapers constantly reverse right and wrong and confuse black and white, distorting objective facts at will and slandering the revolutionary people without scruple. How can they talk of being "objective," "truthful" and "impartial"! Beguiling words like "objective," "truthful" and "impartial" are but so many soiled fig-leaves to hide the fact that they are serving the bourgeoisie and safeguarding its interests!

The proletariat never conceals its views. The whole purpose of proletarian journalism is to reflect the demands of the proletariat and the revolutionary people and to serve the interests of the overwhelming majority of people. Relying on that sharpest of weapons. Marxism-Leninism, Mao Tse-tung's thought, proletarian journalists are not only able to comprehend the essence and laws of objective things but dare to reveal this essence and these laws in reporting. Only when one takes a clear-cut proletarian stand can one reflect objective reality accurately. China's Khrushchov tried in vain to substitute the bourgeois slogan of "objectivity," "truthfulness" and "impartiality" for the partisanship and class character of the proletarian press. He alleged: "News reporting nowadays is biased — it mentions only what is good, and so is one-sided. It is necessary to mention both what is good and what is not good," "to report what people there (in capitalist countries) say good about us and what they say to revile us,"<sup>17</sup> "not only to report about imperialism as it is but also to report about the mistakes of Communist Parties as they are."<sup>18</sup> This sermonizing, which appeared to be "impartial," suited the interests of the handful of reactionaries exactly and it could be welcomed only by the bourgeoisie and imperialism. He spoke about "taking no stand" but in fact he stood



on the side of the enemies of the proletariat. What was described as "objective," "impartial" and so forth was in fact a pack of lies, pure and simple!

Third: In the press "there should be a number of different views. Here is the place to 'Let a hundred schools of thought contend.'"<sup>19</sup> It should be pointed out that within the ranks of the people, we do allow different views to be raised in free discussion in the press, **"so that the advanced people can educate the backward people by the method of democracy and persuasion and backward ideas and systems can be conquered."**<sup>20</sup> But, with regard to all reactionaries, we must have unanimity of public opinion and we do not allow them to voice "different views" and must not give them any freedom. Lenin put it well: **"We do not intend to make our publication a mere storehouse of various views. On the contrary, we shall conduct it in the spirit of a strictly defined tendency. This tendency can be expressed by the word Marxism."**<sup>21</sup> The proletarian press must struggle in a clear-cut way against various reactionary classes, reactionary groups and reactionary trends of thought which oppose Marxism-Leninism, Mao Tse-tung's thought. Without waging such struggles, the proletarian press would lose its revolutionary character.

Using crafty tactics, China's Khrushchov negated the class content of the revolutionary policy **"Let a hundred schools of thought contend"** and vainly tried to replace it with "a number of different views." As Chairman Mao has pointed out time and again, the "hundred schools" are in reality two schools, the proletarian and the bourgeois. The political tendency of a newspaper, in the last analysis, represents either the views of the proletariat or those of the bourgeoisie; it propagates either Marxism-Leninism, Mao Tse-tung's thought, or bourgeois, revisionist ideas. China's Khrushchov went the length of declaring that "it would be better if the Hsinhua News Agency opened its doors wide," "I stand for opening the doors wide"<sup>22</sup>; "the press is allowed a bit of liberalism."<sup>23</sup> It is crystal clear that, in preaching the idea that "there should be a number of different views," he aimed at "opening the doors wide" to all sorts of bourgeois ideas and letting them run rife, while depriving Marxism-Leninism, Mao Tse-tung's thought, of its right to speak.

These were the set of liberalistic, revisionist policies for running the press worked out by China's Khrushchov, policies for "opening the doors wide" to the bourgeoisie. Chairman Mao time and again dealt this evil tendency of bourgeois liberalization head-on blows. In May 1957, Chairman Mao made a concentrated exposure and repudiation of this quite serious revisionist idea in the Party. He pointed out: **"They deny the Party spirit and class nature of the press, they try to obliterate the differences of principle between proletarian and bourgeois journalism, and they confuse journalism reflecting the collective economy of the socialist countries with journalism reflecting the anarchic economy of the capitalist countries with its inter-group competition. They admire bourgeois liberalism and oppose the leadership of the Party. They favour democracy and**

**oppose centralism. They oppose the necessary, but not over-centralized, leadership, planning and control of culture and education (including journalism), which are indispensable to a planned economy. Close as brothers, they and the Right-wing intellectuals in society support each other and work in unison."**<sup>24</sup>

It was precisely the policies of China's Khrushchov for bourgeois liberalization that became the general programme for action of the handful of Party capitalist roaders and bourgeois Rightists in journalistic circles for usurping proletarian positions in journalism and opposing the Party and socialism, that became the mobilization orders of the bourgeois Rightists in launching their wild attacks in 1957.

Shortly after the three talks given by China's Khrushchov and as a result of the concrete plotting of the counter-revolutionary revisionists Teng To, Wu Leng-hsi, Mei Yi and company, a series of "changes in format" and "reforms" were carried out in the press, radio and news agencies. They wanted to turn these organs of public opinion serving the dictatorship of the proletariat into "weapons of the public" and "society's organs of opinion,"<sup>25</sup> in order to "allow people with different views" to "voice different opinions."<sup>26</sup> The Rightists in journalism also barked like mad dogs. They vilified the Party press as "the papers of officialdom," as "the one and only"; they wanted to "set up more non-Party newspapers," alleging that "newspapers run by groups of colleagues should be turned into 'democratic parties' in the field of the press," and they went so far as to raise a hullabaloo that "it is permissible for newspapers under socialism to put on rival shows and to attack on minor issues and support on major ones."<sup>27</sup> For a time it appeared as if the "city might crumble under the weight of dark clouds" and the reactionary bourgeois line in journalism came out into the open. The handful of Party capitalist roaders in journalism, forging an alliance with the bourgeois Rightists, usurped the leadership of some newspapers and used these positions in journalism to launch furious attacks on socialism. Special mention should be made of the old *Wenhui Bao* which was controlled by that notorious Rightist Hsu Chu-cheng. This paper — a great favourite of China's Khrushchov and a self-styled "disinterested," "unofficial" paper in which "men of letters discuss politics" and "discuss but do not interfere in politics" — became an anti-Party, anti-socialist shock force in 1957. Putting up China's Khrushchov's signboard of "objectivity" and "impartiality," it reported a host of reactionary items which ran counter to the facts, printed a host of reactionary statements and used a host of reactionary methods in layout, stirring up storms and churning up waves so as to throw the country into confusion, topple the Communist Party and put the bourgeois Rightists in its place. Countless facts show that the dark clouds menacing journalistic circles in 1957 had their source in the three talks that China's Khrushchov gave in 1956.

From the very beginning, Chairman Mao saw that class struggle between the bourgeoisie and the prole-

tariat on the political-ideological front was inevitable. In early 1957, in his famous works *On the Correct Handling of Contradictions Among the People* and *Speech at the Chinese Communist Party's National Conference on Propaganda Work*, Chairman Mao made a scientific, systematic and incisive analysis of the contradictions, classes and class struggle in socialist society, expounded the laws governing class struggle in socialist society, advanced the theory, principles and policies for distinguishing contradictions between the enemy and ourselves from contradictions among the people and for handling these two types of contradictions correctly, and set forth the great revolutionary policy of the proletariat, "Let a hundred flowers blossom and a hundred schools of thought contend." In connection with the political situation of the time, Chairman Mao firmly declared: "We must not be afraid of opening wide, nor should we be afraid of criticism and poisonous weeds."<sup>28</sup> "Only when ghosts and monsters are allowed to come out into the open can they be wiped out; only when poisonous weeds are allowed to come out of the ground can they be uprooted."<sup>29</sup> But, Teng To, an agent of China's Khrushchov, had the audacity to withhold Chairman Mao's words from the Party paper, refusing to publicize Chairman Mao's great strategic plan and keeping the Party's policy secret. On the contrary, he gave some non-Party papers controlled by the bourgeois Rightists a free hand to make distorted propaganda in order to prevent the poisonous weeds from being exposed in the press, and thus interfered with and undermined the great struggle to counter-attack the bourgeois Rightists. Chairman Mao issued an extremely sharp criticism, saying: **The Party press should promptly give publicity to the Party's policies. It was a mistake not to report the conference on propaganda work. The conference was attended by both Party and non-Party people, why then has it not been reported in the press? Why is there no editorial on the Supreme State Conference? Why are the Party's policies being kept secret? There is a ghost here; where is this ghost? We used to say that it was the pedants who ran the papers, now we should say it is the dead. More often than not you sing against the Central Committee's policies. You dislike, you oppose, you disapprove of these policies.**<sup>30</sup>

The plots and tricks of all the counter-revolutionary revisionists were futile in the long run. On July 1 that year, Chairman Mao himself wrote an important editorial for *Renmin Ribao* — "The Bourgeois Orientation of *Wenhui Bao* Should Be Repudiated." In this brilliant article and a series of related instructions, Chairman Mao made a highly concentrated generalization of the life-and-death struggle between the two classes on the political-ideological front (particularly in journalistic circles) in our country in 1957, sharply and penetratingly criticized and repudiated all the policies of China's Khrushchov for bourgeois liberalization, and swept away the dark clouds over journalistic circles. Those Rightist ghosts and freaks who were so cocky and noisy for a time met their doom

under the impact of the mighty revolutionary power of Mao Tse-tung's thought.

## A Counter-Revolutionary Tactic for Creating Public Opinion for Capitalist Restoration

At the Lushan Meeting in August 1959, the Peng Teh-huai anti-Party clique which was under the wing of China's Khrushchov sprang out in wild opposition to the general line, the big leap forward and the people's communes, and attempted to overthrow the proletarian headquarters headed by Chairman Mao. But their conspiracy failed. The great red banner of Mao Tse-tung's thought flew high and the Right opportunists were dismissed from office.

The Ninth Plenary Session of the Party's Eighth Central Committee held in 1961 under the direct guidance of Chairman Mao re-affirmed that "the Party's general line for socialist construction, the big leap forward and the people's communes suit the actual conditions of China," and it pointed out sharply: "An extremely small number of unreformed landlord and bourgeois elements, accounting for only a few per cent of the population, are always attempting to stage a come-back . . . have taken advantage of the difficulties caused by natural calamities and of some shortcomings in the work at the primary levels to carry out sabotage activities."

China's Khrushchov, who always dreamed of restoring capitalism, once again extended his sinister hand into journalistic circles. During this period, a handful of capitalist roaders groomed by China's Khrushchov were already in control of many press units. Soon after the Ninth Plenary Session of the Eighth Central Committee, China's Khrushchov told his agents in press circles: "Don't link news coverage too closely with current reality. If you link them closely and report the concrete work and struggles of the moment, you are liable to make mistakes. You should learn to maintain links with current reality while keeping a certain distance from it. Don't restrict yourselves to realities of the moment; you can also report things less closely connected with current struggles."<sup>31</sup>

To "keep a certain distance from current reality" on the one hand and "report things less closely connected with current struggles" on the other — here was an even more sinister and cunning new tactic adopted by China's Khrushchov in the new situation. In the words of his henchmen, this tactic was "fighting a battle in a turning manoeuvre," or "stressing no direct co-ordination" but using the method of "dealing with a small subject to show a big idea" and, from "different angles" and in "different forms," and "with reservations," treating "themes" opposing the Party, socialism and Mao Tse-tung's thought in a "round-about" style of writing, so as to act in indirect "co-ordination"<sup>32</sup> with activities to restore capitalism.

This was an absolutely vicious counter-revolutionary tactic! The agents of China's Khrushchov in

journalistic circles had a deep understanding of it. They came out with it plainly when they said: "It is politically necessary to write travelogues and essays imparting knowledge!" That notorious big renegade Teng To went so far as to exclaim with delight at a "meeting of the gods" sponsored by four Peking newspapers and journals that he would rely on this tactic to "strive to blaze a new trail!"<sup>33</sup>

Well, what "new trail" did they in fact blaze? Wu Leng-hsi came forward to put in the Party paper a special column entitled "The Long and the Short" for the purpose of "reforming current abuses"; on the heels of the column "Evening Chats at Yenshan" came the "Three-Family Village" gangster inn jointly sponsored by Teng To, Wu Han and Liao Mo-sha; special programmes such as "Historical Tales" and "Reading and Appreciation" were put on by the radio; special columns imparting "knowledge" like "Rambling Talks Beneath the Clouds of Yunnan" and "Rambling Chats at Lihsia" appeared one after another in many local newspapers, and so on and so forth.

It was precisely along this "new trail" that those renegades, enemy agents, scum of all sorts, ghosts and monsters, survivals of the feudal class, bourgeois "scholars" and "authorities" first raised their heads and looked around and then swaggered into press circles, becoming counter-revolutionary hatchetmen of China's Khrushchov and his agents. They collaborated with each other, used one another, and for their common "political needs," resorted to every possible plot and stratagem, such as using ancient things to satirize the present, reviling one thing while pointing at another, attacking by innuendo and "sailing the seas under a false flag" in an all-out counter-revolutionary campaign.

"Keep a certain distance from current reality"? What an out-and-out fraud! Just see how they brought out such corpses from feudal times as Hai Jui, Yu Chien and Li San-tsai and openly complained on behalf of Peng Teh-huai and his gang, who had been dismissed from office at the Lushan Meeting, and encouraged them. Was this "keeping a certain distance" from reality? They used all kinds of "stories," "fables" and "metaphors" to make unscrupulous attacks on the proletarian headquarters of the Party Central Committee headed by Chairman Mao and on Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line. Was this "keeping a certain distance" from reality? Under cover of "getting useful knowledge from ancient and present times," they tried desperately to sell the rotten ideas of the landlord and capitalist classes, in order to poison people's minds, undermine people's fighting morale and push "peaceful evolution" in an all-round way. Was this "keeping a certain distance" from reality? In point of fact, it was during this very period that big counter-revolutionary poisonous weeds were running wild in "reality." The activities of China's Khrushchov and company were very closely linked with "reality." Mei Yi, who worked with a will peddling the concept of "keeping a certain distance," betrayed the essence of this "theory" in a

single statement. He said: "It may look as though it's unconnected with reality, but this is actually the best way to link up with reality. Not linking up means a link too, for it is linked with the big reality."<sup>34</sup> Wasn't this so-called "big reality" the "reality" of China's Khrushchov's attempt to restore capitalism!

"Things less closely connected with current struggles"? Not at all! This was a soul-stirring class struggle. Hiding behind the screen of "things less closely connected with current struggles," they bent every effort to create counter-revolutionary public opinion in the ideological sphere. Their method was to "decapitate with a soft knife." They were a gang of murderers who killed people without drawing blood. When the conditions were ripe, they would overthrow the dictatorship of the proletariat.

Suddenly came a clap of spring thunder. Just as these man-eating demons bared their fangs and unsheathed their claws, our great supreme commander Chairman Mao, at the Tenth Plenary Session of the Party's Eighth Central Committee, issued this earth-shaking call: **Never forget class struggle!** Chairman Mao wisely pointed out in this statement: **"To overthrow a political power, it is always necessary first of all to create public opinion, to do work in the ideological sphere. This is true for the revolutionary class as well as for the counter-revolutionary class."** Chairman Mao's brilliant concept educated the whole Party and the people throughout the country and dealt a crushing blow to the criminal activities of China's Khrushchov in using the positions of public opinion for restoring capitalism.

### **China's Khrushchov Was the Chief Culprit Opposing the Propagation of Mao Tse-tung's Thought**

On the initiative and under the guidance of Comrade Lin Piao, close comrade-in-arms of Chairman Mao, a mass movement for the creative study and application of Chairman Mao's works developed throughout the country. Comrade Lin Piao many times instructed the press to propagate Mao Tse-tung's thought energetically and, "to hold aloft the great red banner of Mao Tse-tung's thought and to run newspapers in the spirit of Chairman Mao's instructions."<sup>35</sup> It was at this juncture, namely, in 1964, that China's Khrushchov could no longer hold in check his mortal hatred for the propagation of Mao Tse-tung's thought. He sprang out to condemn newspapers for propagating Mao Tse-tung's thought "too much," ranting that "a certain danger is involved in doing too much."<sup>36</sup> At their master's voice, a hundred responses came from the lackeys. The agents of China's Khrushchov in journalism lost no time in brandishing three big sticks—"formalism," "oversimplification" and "vulgarization"—to block in every way the dissemination of the great thought of Mao Tse-tung and the reporting of the mass movement of the creative study and application of Chairman Mao's

works by workers, peasants and soldiers. They frantically blustered: "It's impossible for the workers, peasants and soldiers to get quick results from their study of Chairman Mao's works,"<sup>37</sup> and that the propagation of Mao Tse-tung's thought "shouldn't be done with a big hullabaloo." They openly issued the order: "There has been a lot of publicity for some time about learning from the People's Liberation Army and about studying the *Selected Works of Mao Tse-tung*. Now there is no need to report it so intensively and give it such prominence,"<sup>38</sup> and "no mention of a 'great upsurge' should be made in regard to the study of Chairman Mao's works."<sup>39</sup> Acting on the instructions of China's Khrushchov, the gang of counter-revolutionary revisionists who usurped the leadership in China's journalistic circles, cut to a bare minimum the dissemination of Mao Tse-tung's thought. Whenever the phrase "holding high the great red banner of Mao Tse-tung's thought" or "guided by the thought of Mao Tse-tung" appeared in a story, they would delete it. They would either suppress arbitrarily stories about workers, peasants and soldiers studying Chairman Mao's works or use reactionary tricks in layout to play them down.

This prompts the question: Since China's Khrushchov and his agents in journalism shudder at seeing Mao Tse-tung's thought disseminated in the newspapers and are stung to make mad attacks on seeing reports featuring outstanding heroes armed with the thought of Mao Tse-tung, what then is the difference between them and the imperialists, the modern revisionists and the reactionaries who panic and call up the police and troops to make raids and beat up people as soon as they catch sight of a copy of *Quotations From Chairman Mao Tse-tung* or a Chairman Mao badge?!

Ours is a new era which has Mao Tse-tung's thought as its great banner.

The Eleventh Plenary Session of the Party's Eighth Central Committee stressed that "the most reliable and fundamental guarantee against revisionism and the restoration of capitalism and for the victory of our socialist and communist cause is to arm the masses of workers, peasants and soldiers, revolutionary intellectuals and cadres with Mao Tse-tung's thought and to promote the revolutionizing of people's ideology."

Therefore, whether to propagate the great thought of Mao Tse-tung, or not to propagate it, or even to make counter-propaganda against it, is the watershed between the proletarian press and the bourgeois press, as well as a touchstone for distinguishing a Marxist-Leninist from a counter-revolutionary revisionist.

The most fundamental and most important task of the proletarian press is to propagate Mao Tse-tung's thought energetically and use Mao Tse-tung's thought to command everything, to examine everything critically and to transform everything.

Mao Tse-tung's thought is Marxism-Leninism of the present era. By propagating Mao Tse-tung's

thought well, our newspapers will be able to help the masses free themselves from the ideological influences and shackles of the exploiting classes, resist corruption by revisionist and bourgeois ideology and promote the ideological revolutionization of people.

Mao Tse-tung's thought is a powerful ideological weapon for opposing imperialism and for opposing revisionism and dogmatism. As an instrument of the dictatorship of the proletariat, socialist journalism energetically propagating Mao Tse-tung's thought and using Mao Tse-tung's thought to criticize and repudiate the counter-revolutionary ideology of the bourgeoisie and all other exploiting classes constitutes an important aspect of the dictatorship of the proletariat over the bourgeoisie in the superstructure, including all spheres of culture. This is of extremely great significance in defending the political power of the proletariat and preventing the repetition in China of the restoration of capitalism which has taken place in the Soviet Union.

Mao Tse-tung's thought is the great theory of continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat. It is the guiding principle for all the work of the Party and the nation. By holding high the great red banner of Mao Tse-tung's thought and persisting in giving prominence to Mao Tse-tung's thought in all our propaganda, our newspapers will be able to give correct guidance to the three great revolutionary movements of class struggle, the struggle for production and scientific experiment, and to organize and inspire the revolutionary people in their hundreds of millions to carry the socialist revolution through to the end along the route charted by Chairman Mao.

Mao Tse-tung's thought is the soul of our proletarian press. Only by propagating Mao Tse-tung's thought well, can our press, in the course of protracted struggle to consolidate the dictatorship of the proletariat and to prevent the restoration of capitalism, play to the full "a tremendous role . . . it organizes, encourages, stimulates, criticizes and promotes."<sup>40</sup> Our highest criterion for running our newspapers well is the successful propagation of Mao Tse-tung's thought. China's Khrushchov and his agents in the field of journalism frenziedly sabotaged the propagation of Mao Tse-tung's thought and tried to check the wide dissemination and popularization of Mao Tse-tung's thought. But this was all in vain. The vigorous study and application of Mao Tse-tung's thought by the masses of revolutionary people has become a great trend in our era. The brilliance of Mao Tse-tung's thought is illuminating all China and the whole world.

### **The Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution And the Bankruptcy of the Bourgeois Line Of China's Khrushchov on Journalism**

Like a clap of thunder, the great proletarian cultural revolution, which Chairman Mao initiated and is

leading, blasted open the counter-revolutionary independent kingdom of the press controlled by China's Khrushchov and his agents, and shook the vast land of China. China's Khrushchov and his pack of lackeys Peng Chen, Lo Jui-ching, Lu Ting-yi, Chou Yang and company were thrown into confusion and their battle formation disrupted. To save themselves from their doom, they hastily cooked up the counter-revolutionary "February Outline Report on the Current Academic Discussion" which reversed right and wrong, confused black and white and tried to suppress the revolution and shield villains. They used a host of schemes and stratagems to maintain their control over the press in a futile effort to stamp out the raging flames of the revolution, shift the target of attack and cover their own retreat.

The May 16, 1966 Circular of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party—an epoch-making document worked out under the personal guidance of Chairman Mao—dealt China's Khrushchov and company a devastating blow. Chairman Mao called on the whole Party to **hold high the great banner of the proletarian cultural revolution, "thoroughly criticize and repudiate reactionary bourgeois ideas in the spheres of academic work, education, journalism, literature and art and publishing, and seize the leadership in these cultural spheres."** In January 1967, the proletarian revolutionaries of *Wenhui Bao* in Shanghai rose to seize the leadership from the handful of Party persons in authority taking the capitalist road; thus the great storm of the "January Revolution" was set off first of all in journalistic circles. Chairman Mao gave a very high appraisal to the seizure of power in *Wenhui Bao* when he pointed out: **This is a great revolution, a great revolution in which one class overthrows another.**

The great cultural revolution on the journalistic front, just as on other fronts, entered the new stage of waging the struggle to seize power from the handful of capitalist roaders in the Party. The forces of China's Khrushchov dominating press circles totally collapsed. Those poison-spreading and rumour-mongering old newspapers, such as *Yangcheng Wanbao* and *Nanfang Ribao*, one after another were closed down or stormed, and their leadership seized by revolutionaries. Very good! Very good, indeed! This is a mighty victory for the great proletarian cultural revolution, a great victory for the invincible thought of Mao Tse-tung!

The sharp and bitter class struggle on the front of journalism over the past 18 years has provided us with extremely rich and valuable experience and lessons.

First, the unswerving and consistent propagation of Mao Tse-tung's thought is the fundamental task of the proletarian press, radio and news agencies. The proletarian press must regard the spreading of Mao Tse-tung's thought as its most sacred duty. Efforts must be made to turn the press into a great

school for the study, dissemination and popularization of Mao Tse-tung's thought, and Mao Tse-tung's thought must be put in command of every aspect of news reporting, and the voice of Chairman Mao must be relayed most promptly and accurately, so that the worker, peasant and soldier masses are imbued with Mao Tse-tung's thought, translate it into their conscious action and make it an inexhaustible force for transforming the world. There must be accuracy in the propagation of Mao Tse-tung's thought. Any word or action which distorts, tampers with or runs counter to Mao Tse-tung's thought, especially the base tactic of opposing the red flag by waving "red flags," must be resolutely resisted, firmly opposed and thoroughly criticized and repudiated, whether it comes from the Right or from the extreme "Left." Preventing Chairman Mao's voice from being heard is the common low trick used by all the counter-revolutionary revisionists. Our press must act resolutely in the opposite way. Thus our press will be able to hold aloft the great red banner of Mao Tse-tung's thought and very clearly point out the orientation of struggle to the revolutionary masses at every stage.

In disseminating Mao Tse-tung's thought, it is imperative to persist in a tit-for-tat struggle against all reactionary ideas that oppose Marxism-Leninism, oppose Mao Tse-tung's thought. At present, we must continue the mass exposure and mass criticism and repudiation of modern revisionism internationally. We must make further efforts to criticize and repudiate the counter-revolutionary revisionist line of China's Khrushchov, criticize and repudiate the bourgeois reactionary theory of "many centres," criticize and repudiate all manifestations of the reactionary bourgeois world outlook, such as the mountain-stronghold mentality, sectarianism and individualism, and criticize and repudiate all reactionary views that oppose the proletariat. Put destruction first, and in the process you have construction. It is in the course of the struggle against all sorts of bourgeois reactionary ideas that Mao Tse-tung's thought has developed.

**Second, so long as the world is divided into classes, the press will remain an instrument of class struggle.<sup>41</sup>** This is the basic viewpoint of Chairman Mao on the work of the press. The proletariat wants to keep the leadership of the press in its own hands and make it an instrument of the dictatorship of the proletariat; the bourgeoisie tries hard to seize the leadership of the press and turn it into an instrument for subverting the dictatorship of the proletariat—this has been the focus of the struggle between the two classes on the front of journalism in our country over the past 18 years. This struggle does not end with the seizure of power by the proletarian revolutionaries. The representatives of the bourgeoisie will still continue plotting to contend with the proletariat for the leadership in journalism by every vile means. Therefore, an important task for journalistic circles at present is conscientiously to purify the class ranks, so as to clear out the handful

of diehard capitalist roaders, renegades, enemy agents and reactionary men of letters as well as the landlords, rich peasants, counter-revolutionaries, bad elements and Rightists. Only when this work is done well can a contingent of proletarian journalists be created, and the magnificent fruits of the great proletarian cultural revolution be consolidated and developed organizationally. Journalistic units at all levels should all set up their own revolutionized, vigorous and militant leading group and boldly promote a host of newborn forces of the proletariat to responsible posts, so as to guarantee that the leadership of journalism in our country remains firmly in the hands of proletarian revolutionaries who are loyal to Mao Tse-tung's thought, put proletarian politics to the fore and are full of revolutionary vigour. Attention must be paid to the fact that people may change, and therefore it is necessary constantly to clear out those elements who have become corrupt, and not allow them to get hold of newspapers or any other news medium.

Third, criticism and repudiation of the reactionary bourgeois line on journalism must be conducted in a deep-going and sustained way, so that its poisonous influence will be completely eliminated and the struggle between the two lines in journalistic circles carried through to the end. In addition to overall criticism and repudiation of the bourgeois line on journalism historically, special attention must be paid at present to criticizing and repudiating the utterly wrong practices of using the news media to serve a particular bourgeois or petty-bourgeois faction only. The newspapers, radio and other news media everywhere must resolutely carry out all directives from the proletarian headquarters headed by Chairman Mao and with Vice-Chairman Lin Piao as its deputy leader, and criticize and repudiate bourgeois liberalism. To avert their doom, the handful of class enemies are trying by hook or by crook to spread rumours and slanders, fabricate "grape-vine news," disseminate all kinds of stories and gossip in a vain effort to palm off falsehood as truth and create confusion so as to interfere with the great strategic plan of Chairman Mao and undermine the great proletarian cultural revolution. We must resolutely expose such counter-revolutionary activities as these and strike hard at them. The revolutionary masses should be good at distinguishing truth from falsehood in the complicated class struggle and at seeing through the enemy's intrigues and plots. There are still some comrades in our own ranks who, with an eye to the selfish interests of their narrow faction, interpret the instructions of the proletarian headquarters out of context to meet their own needs, and release sensational news and pictures to create a certain public opinion; or, disregarding the overall situation and the interests of the proletariat, wilfully make public various materials and documents, thus causing serious cases of divulging Party and state secrets. All this is utterly wrong and is a vicious expression of the poisonous influence of the bourgeois line on journalism during the great cultural revolution, and this must be corrected resolutely. Chairman Mao has

admonished us: "What to publicize in the press depends on whether or not it benefits the people."<sup>42</sup> "Striving to suit the tastes of our enemies, of imperialism, in speaking and writing means deceiving the masses, with the result that our enemies are gratified while our own class is misled." We advise those who have been poisoned by the bourgeois line in journalism and who have still not awakened, to study this great teaching of Chairman Mao's earnestly.

A Talk to the Editorial Staff of the "Shansi-Suiyuan Daily" by Chairman Mao and his series of consistent instructions on journalistic work represent the sole correct guiding principle for us, the proletariat, in running newspapers, the radio, the news agencies and all other journalistic undertakings, and they also serve as our powerful weapon for criticism and repudiation of the reactionary bourgeois line on journalism. We must resolutely implement in action Chairman Mao's line on journalism and foster a serious, scientific and militant proletarian working style.

Fourth, journalistic organizations must take the road of "better troops and simpler administration," firmly adhere to the mass line and maintain close ties with the working class and the working masses.

Chairman Mao has taught us: To run a newspaper well the fundamental issue is to revolutionize the ideology of its staff.<sup>43</sup> "Newspapermen must frequently go down and breathe fresh air and must not stay in Peking all the time. Those who go down should do other work as well as reporting."<sup>44</sup>

Chairman Mao also has said: "With our newspapers, too, we must rely on everybody, on the masses of the people, on the whole Party to run them, not merely on a few persons working behind closed doors."<sup>45</sup>

Chairman Mao again pointed out recently: "Newspapers must not be run behind closed doors. They must face the masses and must have the correct general orientation and at the same time be fresh and lively."

All journalistic organizations must resolutely follow the great teachings of Chairman Mao, courageously break the shackles of all sorts of old conventions and habits, face the masses and implement the policy of "better troops and simpler administration."

Why have so many people to run newspapers and periodicals? It is imperative to have "better troops and simpler administration," strengthen the ties between journalists and the masses and effect a great revolution, so as completely to change the bourgeois overlords' style of work characterized by looking down on workers and peasants and running newspapers behind closed doors, and to carry out still better Chairman Mao's line of relying on the masses to run newspapers. "Better troops and simpler administration" is an extremely important organizational guarantee at present for running the proletarian newspapers well. Workers with proletarian consciousness and practical experience in pro-



duction should be drawn on to the newspapers' staffs, and large numbers of worker and peasant correspondents who remain in production should be trained so as to put an end to the situation in which intellectuals work in concentrated groups.

People working in journalism must go among the worker, peasant and soldier masses, must integrate themselves with the working people. They must take the proletarian stand and carry out thorough investigations and studies. They must be good at promptly reflecting typical cases of advanced things that have emerged from among the revolutionary masses and at promptly reflecting the voices among the proletarian revolutionaries and the masses of revolutionary people who call for advance. They must carry out the line of "from the masses, to the masses," concentrating the correct ideas of the masses and persevering in them and carrying them through, as Chairman Mao has always taught us to do. Without solving this question, a proletarian newspaper cannot be run well and the power of leadership can be lost very easily. This is a question that needs to be solved more fully.

Let us hold high the great red banner of Mao Tse-tung's thought, closely follow Chairman Mao's great strategic plan, continue our victorious advance and carry the great revolution on the journalistic front through to the end!

## NOTES

<sup>1</sup> "A Talk to the Editorial Staff of the 'Shansi-Suiyuan Daily,'" April 2, 1948.

<sup>2</sup> "Speech at the Congress of Workers and Staff in Tientsin," April 28, 1949.

<sup>3</sup> "Talk to the North China Group of Newsmen," October 2, 1948.

<sup>4</sup> "First Comments on the Work in Tientsin," April 18, 1949.

<sup>5</sup> "Directive on the Work in Tientsin," April 24, 1949.

<sup>6</sup> "Speech at the First National Congress of Youth," May 12, 1949.

<sup>7</sup> "Speech at the Meeting of Peking Cadres," May 19, 1949.

<sup>8</sup> "Speech at the Meeting of Cadres of the Northeast China Bureau (of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party)," August 28, 1949.

<sup>9</sup> "Directive on Not Publicizing the Status of Party Papers at Various Levels in the Future" issued by the old Propaganda Department of the Party's Central Committee, December 1949.

<sup>10</sup> "Introductory Note to 'Strengthening the Co-op — A Good Example,'" 1955.

<sup>11</sup> Mao Tse-tung, "Introductory Note to 'The Enthusiasm of Workers' Families Is Very High During the Co-operative Movement,'" 1955.

<sup>12</sup> "Directive on the Work of the Hsinhua News Agency," May 28, 1956.

<sup>13</sup> "Second Directive on the Work of the Hsinhua News Agency," June 19, 1956.

<sup>14</sup> "Talk at the Reception for Some of the Journalists and Publishers Attending the Chinese Communist Party's National Conference on Propaganda Work," March 10, 1957.

<sup>15</sup> "The Principles of Journalism," by Casper S. Yost.

<sup>16</sup> "Directive on the Work of the Hsinhua News Agency," May 28, 1956.

<sup>17</sup> *ibid.*

<sup>18</sup> "Second Directive on the Work of the Hsinhua News Agency," June 19, 1956.

<sup>19</sup> "Directive on the Work of the Hsinhua News Agency," May 28, 1956.

<sup>20</sup> Mao Tse-tung, "Introductory Note to the 'Second Set of Material About the Hu Feng Counter-Revolutionary Clique,'" 1955.

<sup>21</sup> "Declaration of the Editorial Board of 'Iskra,'" September 1900.

<sup>22</sup> "Directive on the Work of the Hsinhua News Agency," May 28, 1956.

<sup>23</sup> "Second Directive on the Work of the Hsinhua News Agency," June 19, 1956.

<sup>24</sup> "Things Are Undergoing a Change," May 1957.

<sup>25</sup> "To the Readers," an editorial in *Renmin Ribao* on the change in format, July 1, 1956.

<sup>26</sup> Mei Yi's talk at the Fourth National Conference on Radio Broadcasting, August 16, 1956.

<sup>27</sup> All quoted from the speeches at the first forum of journalists in Peking in May 1957.

<sup>28</sup> "Speech at the Chinese Communist Party's National Conference on Propaganda Work," March 12, 1957.

<sup>29</sup> "The Bourgeois Orientation of 'Wenhui Bao' Should Be Repudiated," July 1, 1957.

<sup>30</sup> "Criticism of 'Renmin Ribao,'" April 1957.

<sup>31</sup> "Directive on the Work of *Renmin Ribao*," 1961.

<sup>32</sup> All quotations cited from "Comments by the Editorial Committee of *Renmin Ribao* in Discussing the Special Column 'The Long and the Short,'" 1962.

<sup>33</sup> Teng To's talk on July 28, 1961.

<sup>34</sup> Mei Yi's talk on June 18, 1962.

<sup>35</sup> "Directive on Running Newspapers Well," December 1960.

<sup>36</sup> A talk in 1964.

<sup>37</sup> A talk by Wu Leng-hsi in 1964 to members of the reporting department and theoretical department of *Renmin Ribao*.

<sup>38</sup> A talk by Wu Leng-hsi during April or May of 1964.

<sup>39</sup> A talk by Wu Leng-hsi in 1966 to a joint conference of leading members of the Peking press.

<sup>40</sup> Mao Tse-tung, "Letter to Comrades Liu Chien-hsun and Wei Kuo-ching," January 12, 1958.

<sup>41</sup> Quoted from "The Bourgeois Orientation of 'Wenhui Bao' Over a Period of Time," an article by the editorial department of "Renmin Ribao," June 14, 1957.

<sup>42</sup> Talk at a forum of heads of propaganda, cultural and educational departments of nine provinces and municipalities, March 6, 1957.

<sup>43</sup> A talk given in January 1964.

<sup>44</sup> A talk concerning "Renmin Ribao" given in January 1958.

<sup>45</sup> "A Talk to the Editorial Staff of the 'Shansi-Suiyuan Daily,'" April 2, 1948.



# Comrade Chang Szu-teh As I Remember Him

by CHEN YAO

*We published the first instalment of the article "Comrade Chang Szu-teh As I Remember Him" in "Peking Review" No. 36. Following is the second instalment. — P.R. Ed.*

## There Is Revolutionary Work Everywhere

Comrade Chang Szu-teh never paid any attention to personal loss and gain. All the time I was with him I never heard him demand anything for himself, and never saw him worried by private preoccupations. He constantly thought of his comrades, of the people, and did all he could to help his comrades-in-arms make progress. Always considerate, he showed sincere, warm-hearted concern for others.

One summer day in 1941, when the rest of us were taking a nap at noon and Chang was absorbed in reading, the battalion commander came in with an urgent message to be delivered to the Third Company at Yangchialing, about eight *li* away. Instead of waking one of us, Chang quietly took the message and set off. The midsummer sun was scorching; the dirt roads and mountain paths in Yen-an were baking hot. Disregarding the heat Chang broke into a run. He arrived at Yangchialing panting and wet with sweat. But when he entered the company headquarters to hand in the message, he found the commanders were still sleeping. Then, he thought the message was urgent, but since he had run all the way there was enough time for them to finish their rest. So he decided to wait outside until the commanders woke up.

That summer, the Yenho River rose suddenly. The roaring water surged against the banks. Chang was on his way back from a mission when he spotted two basketball back-boards on the sports ground by the river. "Which unit do they belong to?" he wondered.

"They are in danger of being swept away. Public property mustn't be lost." With this in mind, he ran back to our squad, and, hurriedly putting down his rifle, called us to help save the back-boards. Just when we were about to pick one up, the sports ground was flooded. Though fully clad Chang Szu-teh plunged forward to grab it at the risk of his life. The fast-flowing water swept him away gripping the back-board over a considerable distance, but he wouldn't let go and finally succeeded in bringing it ashore. The other comrades, spurred by his example, dragged the other back-board to safety. Not knowing how to swim, I stood on the shore and watched, very stirred by Chang's heroic deed. I recalled what he had said at the time when we were making charcoal at Tuhuangkou. A bridge there was broken, causing great inconvenience to the peasants. He got us to repair it, saying: "There's revolutionary work everywhere. We must have the initiative to take it up."

What a lofty revolutionary sense of responsibility these words revealed! Precisely because he was guided by such correct thinking, Chang always took the initiative in doing all sorts of other work in his spare time after fulfilling his assigned task, no matter how difficult the circumstances or how intense the struggle.

He helped the mess squad to tend the fire or fetch water. He often read the newspaper to the comrades in that squad and taught them new characters. Chang also helped the stockmen cut fodder, read the newspaper to them too and told them stories of the Long March. They used to tell us proudly: "Chang Szu-teh is not only your squad leader but our squad leader too."

On Sundays Chang was busier than ever, mending clothes or making straw sandals for the soldiers or helping the peasants in the fields. In summer we were

plagued by mosquitoes, and because we had no mosquito nets they kept us awake at night. So Chang went up into the hills one Sunday and gathered artemisia. He plaited this into ropes which he dried in the sun. Then he gave these to us to smoke out the mosquitoes.

At that time there were not enough quilts. We shared one between two. Later we had one apiece but no mattresses; so usually two men pooled theirs, using one as a quilt and the other as a mattress. Chang and I often shared one quilt. He always let me have most of it and washed it when it got dirty. Sometimes the dirty clothes we had changed out of disappeared, and we found that Chang had washed them for us. When anyone fell ill, Chang nursed him more carefully than his own family could have done. Once a comrade was too ill to get up, Chang carried him on his back every day to the latrine.

Liu Ho-chung, a youngster in the orderly squad, was not keen on study and did not work too well, but he never missed a chance to play basketball. When Chang urged him to work better and study harder, Liu scowled at him and demanded, "Is it any business of yours? You're not my squad leader." With that he ran off. But Chang did not mind being snubbed. He learnt that Liu was the youngest child in his family and rather spoiled. So he began to get together with him more every day and help him by example to do his work better. Gradually, they became good friends. Chang often talked with the youngster, patiently teaching him: "A man should study hard when he is young. We can't serve the people really well now or meet the needs of the revolution later, unless we master some skills." Chang gave Liu a notebook which he had kept carefully for several years. Later on, Liu turned out a good fighter.

### **The First to Bear Hardships, The Last to Enjoy Comforts**

Chang lived very simply and frugally. His padded tunic was almost too ragged to be patched again. Everybody urged him to draw a new one. But he said, "No need. I can patch it and wear it for another two years." And patch it he did, stitch by stitch, making do with it for two more years.

Our shoes wore out very quickly because the dirt roads and mountain paths in Yen-an were so stony and we were often carrying messages or working in the hills. Yet every time new shoes were issued, Chang refused them, saying, "I can make sandals myself. If I take one pair less, that will mean one pair less for the villagers to make." Actually his cloth shoes were a mass of patches, with straw or bark stuffed in the holes. To save shoes he often worked barefoot.

Chang had an enamel bowl which he had used during the Long March. Most of the enamel had been chipped off and the bowl was badly dented, but still he would not throw it away. On one occasion, when new bowls were issued, he gave his to somebody else and kept his old one. Chang also had an old fountain-pen, the nib of which was very blunt after much use. But he used it all the same. When the nib became too blunt he sharpened it. He treasured this pen so much that he made a small cloth pouch for it.

The years 1941 and 1942 were the most difficult period for the anti-Japanese bases in the enemy rear. We were short of grain, and at one time we did not even have millet, but sprouting wheat kernels. Since the food we got from the cookhouse was never enough, Chang would often pick up a bucket to fetch boiled water during a meal so that the other comrades could have his share. Once he said to me, "Our comrades are new to the army. They're young and still growing. Better let them eat a bit more and keep fit for fighting. It makes no difference to me having a little less." We had very few vegetables, sometimes none at all. During



the break Chang often dug up wild herbs, picked berries or shot pheasants in an effort to improve our mess. One Sunday he went to a pool scores of *li* away and caught a number of fish. He dried them in the sun, baked them and served these as a "feast" which everybody enjoyed. But Chang as usual went off with the bucket for water.

We were very much impressed by Chang's hard work, frugality and consideration for others. We often asked him, "What makes you so thrifty? Why do you wear such patched clothes?" He explained, "My life in the past was much harder than our life today. Following Chairman Mao and being a Red Army soldier, I feel very happy." Sometimes he answered with these words, "There are still many people more poorly dressed than we are. There are tens of millions of working people in our country who have not been liberated yet. The revolution still faces many difficulties. If everybody economizes it can be a great help to the revolution. Besides, we are Communist Party members. We should do as Chairman Mao teaches us, that is, we should be the first to bear hardships and the last to enjoy comforts. We should think more about the people and do more work, without thought of our personal comfort."

I remember when the Eighth Route Army Hall was completed, the Yen-an Peking Opera Theatre came to give a performance for the benefit of the builders. Our squad had taken part in the construction, and Chang had done outstanding work, for which he had been commended. That day, we trooped into the hall and walked to the front and took our seats. Chang sat down in the very last row. I urged him several times to come up front with us, but he always refused.

"We're Communist Party members, servants of the people," he said to me afterwards. "When there's work to be done, we should step to the front. But when it's time for pleasure and enjoyment, we ought to give way to other comrades."

I was deeply moved by Chang's high level of revolutionary consciousness, and deeply ashamed that I made such low demands on myself, compared with him.

Always thinking of others—that was one of his noblest qualities.

Chairman Mao teaches us: **"Our cadres must show concern for every soldier, and all people in the revolutionary ranks must care for each other, must love and help each other."**

That is precisely what Chang did.

### **Use Our Own Hands to Provide Ample Food And Clothing**

In the late autumn of 1941, our guards battalion arrived at Nanniwan. In response to Chairman Mao's call to provide ourselves with ample food and clothing by our own efforts, we resolved to wrest grain from the barren mountains and thus overcame the serious

difficulties caused by the economic blockade of Japanese imperialism and the Kuomintang reactionaries.

Nanniwan, over ninety *li* from Yen-an, was surrounded by high mountains. Only a few families lived at the foot of the mountains. When we first arrived we had nowhere to stay. Chang gave the lead in building a conical shed with branches and cut grass to spread on the ground. At night we huddled together in this shelter. We could see the stars as we lay there. The food situation was bad. We had no vegetables at all and not enough salt. Chang used to tell us, "We have nowhere to live in and very little to eat, but so long as we have the correct leadership of our respected and beloved leader Chairman Mao, we can surmount every difficulty."

It was much colder in Nanniwan than in Yen-an. Though it was only late autumn, the nights were piercingly cold. Our commanders instructed every company to move into caves before winter. An expert at digging caves, Chang acted as our technical adviser. The red clay of the Nanniwan hills was very hard. Our picks clanged as they struck it, jarring and hurting our hands. Chang kept on swinging his pick, even when his hands were covered with blisters. If someone took his pick away, he immediately started to push a wheelbarrow. Some chunks of clay were too unwieldy for the barrow, and he would ask us to put them on his back to carry off and throw into the ditch. After the mouth of the cave was made he was the first to go inside to work. The clay mixed with his sweat clung to his body. By the time we knocked off Chang looked like a clay figure.

Apart from virgin forests Nanniwan abounded in large tracts of brambles. We decided to reclaim these, first cutting down the brambles and then setting them on fire. The flames, fanned by the wind, licked over the hills. When the fire subsided, blackened ground remained. Then we started to turn up the fertile loess and to sow. Our tools were of the crudest. We had only picks, so it was hard work to reclaim the bare hills. But Chang would put fresh heart into us by saying, "Opening up wasteland and growing more grain aren't simply to improve our living conditions. The big thing about them is that we are actively responding to Chairman Mao's call to provide ourselves with ample food and clothing through our own efforts and so defeat the enemy's economic blockade." Chang conscientiously practised what he preached. The pick he used was one passed over by others. But in opening up the wasteland nobody could compete with him. On the very first day he surpassed the target set by the leadership and was commended.

We went up to the hills at daybreak to reclaim the virgin soil, and the valleys resounded to the ring of our picks. Our hard work was rewarded that year with a bumper harvest. When the comrades of our unit were eating the golden millet, Comrade Chang Szu-teh said with elation: "This is the fruit of our persistence in following Chairman Mao's teachings and acting according to his instructions."

*(To be continued.)*

## Vice-Premier Chen Yi Condemns U.S. Imperialism and Soviet Revisionism For Collaborating in Vain Effort To Redivide the World

Kim Jai Sook, Charge d'Affaires ad interim of the Korean Embassy in China, gave a reception in Peking on the evening of September 9 to celebrate the 20th anniversary of the founding of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea.

Among those present on the occasion were Tung Pi-wu, Vice-Chairman of the People's Republic of China; Chen Yi, Vice-Premier; and Kuo Mo-jo, Vice-Chairman of the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress.

Both Charge d'Affaires ad interim Kim Jai Sook and Vice-Premier Chen Yi spoke at the reception.

In his speech, Kim Jai Sook recapitulated the struggle of the Korean people for independence and their achievements in building their country.

Referring to the occupation of south Korea by U.S. imperialism, he said: As a result of the colonial enslavement policy pursued by the U.S. imperialists, south Korea has now been completely turned into their colony and military base; the national economy of south Korea has gone bankrupt and, under the most brutal fascist rule of terror, the south Korean people's right to live is constantly threatened. By cooking up the criminal "south Korea-Japan treaty," the U.S. imperialists have brought the Japanese imperialists, the sworn enemy of the Korean people, into south Korea and instigated them to step up their collaboration with the Pak Jung Hi puppet clique in an attempt to make the Japanese militarists their shock-brigade in aggression against Korea and Asia. Kim Jai Sook expressed

the determination of the Korean people to liberate south Korea and realize the reunification of their fatherland.

Kim Jai Sook condemned U.S. imperialism for occupying Taiwan, the sacred territory of the People's Republic of China. The Chinese people would surely smash U.S. imperialism's aggressive manoeuvres and liberate their sacred territory, he said.

On behalf of the Chinese people and the Chinese Government, Vice-Premier Chen Yi extended his warm congratulations to the fraternal Korean people and the Korean Government. He affirmed anew that the Chinese people would, as always, resolutely support the fraternal Korean people in their just struggle against U.S. imperialism and Japanese militarism and for the reunification of Korea.

The Vice-Premier laid emphasis on exposing the fascist crimes of the Soviet Union in sending troops to occupy Czechoslovakia, the reactionary social-imperialist nature of the Soviet revisionist renegade clique and the scheme of U.S. imperialism and Soviet revisionism which are colluding in a vain effort to redivide the world. He said: The Soviet revisionist renegade clique is trying hard to prove that, like the sending of troops by the Soviet Union to suppress the counter-revolutionary rebellion in Hungary in 1956, its fascist aggression against Czechoslovakia is necessitated by what it calls "the defence of the socialist community." But there is no analogy at all between the two. In 1956, Khrushchov revisionism was only beginning to raise

its head in the Soviet Union, and it had not yet embarked on the road of collaboration with imperialism, while in Hungary there was indeed a counter-revolutionary armed rebellion in which imperialism took a direct hand. But now, as a result of the continued practice of Khrushchov revisionism by the Soviet revisionist renegade clique, socialist gains have long been forfeited in both the Soviet Union and Czechoslovakia. To put it bluntly, "the socialist community" on the lips of the Soviet revisionist renegade clique today is simply a synonym for Soviet revisionism's sphere of influence.

Vice-Premier Chen Yi added: The occupation of Czechoslovakia by Soviet revisionism with the tacit understanding of U.S. imperialism is a signal of their intensified counter-revolutionary collaboration on a global scale. It must be pointed out here in particular that, in the Asian people's struggle against U.S. imperialism and Japanese militarism, the Soviet revisionist renegade clique has likewise played the role of the No. 1 accomplice of U.S. imperialism. The Soviet revisionist renegade clique not only has done its utmost to invite Japanese militarism to "exploit" the resources of Siberia, but, fully in tune with U.S. imperialism, is brazenly advertising that Japanese militarism is "peace-loving" and "a stable force in Asia." On the question of the reunification of Korea, the Soviet revisionist renegade clique has been striving for many years to bring the question into the orbit of U.S.-Soviet "cooperation" through the United Nations while shutting its eyes to U.S. imperialism's forcible occupation of south Korea and its provocative activities in conniving at the return of Japanese militarism to Korea. As a matter of fact, Soviet revisionism has long tacitly recognized south Korea as in the sphere of influence of U.S. imperialism.

The Soviet revisionists, the Vice-Premier continued, have shown by

their evil deeds that they and the U.S. imperialists are jackals from the same lair. The great leader of the Chinese people Chairman Mao has said. **"The U.S. imperialists and all other such vermin have already created their own grave-diggers; the day of their burial is not far off."** We are firmly convinced that, under the guidance of Marxism, Leninism and Mao Tse-tung's thought, the day will come when the people of all countries will bury once and for all imperialism headed by the United States and modern revisionism with Soviet revisionism as its centre.

Chen Yi said: At present, the situation in the great proletarian

cultural revolution in China is excellent and an invigorating revolutionary atmosphere prevails everywhere. Revolutionary committees have been set up in all the provinces, municipalities and autonomous regions (with the exception of Taiwan Province) in our country, and the whole country is now red. This is a great victory for the invincible thought of Mao Tse-tung, a great victory for Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line, a great event in the seizing of all-round victory in the great proletarian cultural revolution, and a matter for great rejoicing in the political life of our 700 million people! It has proclaimed the com-

plete bankruptcy of the counter-revolutionary schemes of China's Khrushchov and his agents everywhere and has totally exploded all the counter-revolutionary lies fabricated by U.S. imperialism and Soviet revisionism, shattering all their fond dreams for bringing about "peaceful evolution" in China.

Vice-Premier Chen Yi said: The revolutionary people of all countries may rest assured that the Chinese people, tempered in the great proletarian cultural revolution, will forever remain their staunch and most reliable revolutionary comrades-in-arms in their struggle against imperialism, modern revisionism and all reaction.

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