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Hold High the Proletarian Revolutionary Banner of Criticism and Repudiation

Renmin Ribao editorial.

The Nation's Revolutionary Masses Repudiate China's Khrushchov

***Soviet Revisionism's "New System" for
All-Round Capitalist Restoration***

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

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

Quoted in On Khrushchov's Phoney Communism and Its Historical Lessons for the World

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People of the world, unite and defeat the U.S. aggressors and all their running dogs! People of the world, be courageous, dare to fight, defy difficulties and advance wave upon wave. Then the whole world will belong to the people. Monsters of all kinds shall be destroyed.

Statement Supporting the People of the Congo (L.) Against U.S. Aggression



Chairman Mao Tse-tung

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



Hold High the Proletarian Revolutionary Banner of Criticism and Repudiation

AMID the songs of victory of the proletarian revolutionaries' struggle to seize power, a great new campaign has begun.

The hundreds of millions of the revolutionary masses in China, wrathfully wielding their massive cudgels and using their pens as weapons, have started a mighty general offensive against the No. 1 Party person in authority taking the capitalist road. They have begun all-out revolutionary criticism and repudiation of the bourgeois reactionary line that he put forward and of that big poisonous weed, the book on the self-cultivation of Communists which he wrote.

The clarion call for this great campaign was sounded by three articles published in the *Hongqi* (Red Flag) — "The Bourgeois Reactionary Line on the Question of Cadres Must Be Criticized and Repudiated," "Hit Hard at Many in Order to Protect a Handful' Is a Component Part of the Bourgeois Reactionary Line," and "Patriotism or National Betrayal?" written by Comrade Chi Pen-yu. [See *Peking Review*, No. 15, 1967.]

As early as May last year, Chairman Mao already pointed out: **"The representatives of the bourgeoisie who have sneaked into the Party, the government, the armed forces and various cultural circles are a batch of counter-revolutionary revisionists; once the opportunity comes, they will seize political power and turn the proletarian dictatorship into a bourgeois dictatorship. We have already seen through some of these people, but there are others that we have not yet seen through; some are still trusted by us and are being trained as our successors, people like Khrushchov, for example, who are still lying by our sides. The Party committees at all levels must give full attention to this."** The top Party person in authority taking the capitalist road is just such a person of the Khrushchov type.

Penetrating criticism, thorough repudiation and complete discrediting of the No. 1 Party person in authority taking the capitalist road and of the bourgeois reactionary line will assuredly deal a mortal blow to the handful of Party people in authority taking the capitalist road, promote the great alliance of proleta-

rian revolutionaries, bring about the revolutionary "three-in-one" combination, advance the proletarian revolutionaries' struggle to seize power, push forward the struggle to crush the adverse current of a capitalist counter-revolutionary restoration, and bring new victories to the great proletarian cultural revolution!

The struggle of the proletarian revolutionaries to seize power is now at the stage of decisive battle. In criticizing and repudiating the No. 1 Party person in authority taking the capitalist road, we must put the emphasis on criticizing and repudiating his bourgeois reactionary line on the question of cadres, on criticizing and repudiating "hitting hard at many in order to protect a handful," which is a component part of this reactionary line, thoroughly eliminate its poisonous influence, and liberate the large numbers of revolutionary cadres who were persecuted and attacked because of the bourgeois reactionary line.

On the question of cadres, the proletarian revolutionary line represented by Chairman Mao has always stood in sharp opposition to the bourgeois reactionary line represented by the No. 1 Party person in authority taking the capitalist road. The 23-article document and the 16-point decision drawn up under the personal guidance of Chairman Mao both clearly pointed out that the great majority of cadres are good or comparatively good; unity with more than 95 per cent of the cadres should be gradually achieved; the policy of "learning from past mistakes to avoid future ones, curing the sickness to save the patient" should be adopted towards cadres who have committed mistakes; and the main target of attack is the handful of Party people in authority taking the capitalist road. But the No. 1 Party person in authority taking the capitalist road, colluding with another top Party person in authority taking the capitalist road, unleashed the bourgeois reactionary line and pushed ahead along a diametrically opposed course. They branded large numbers of revolutionary cadres members of "sinister gangs" and "anti-Party elements" and did their best to prevent the cadres from rising in revolution and set the cadres and the masses sharply against each other. Even today such a situation is still to a very serious extent obstructing

the formation of revolutionary "three-in-one" combinations and undermining the proletarian revolutionaries' struggle to seize power.

In this great struggle of criticism and repudiation, the cadres who have been persecuted and attacked by the bourgeois reactionary line should step forward courageously to make revolution. Those cadres who implemented the wrong line should immediately draw a line of distinction between themselves on the one hand and the handful of Party people in authority taking the capitalist road and the bourgeois reactionary line on the other. All cadres who want to make revolution should give firm support to the broad masses of the revolutionary people and, together with them, thoroughly criticize and repudiate the bourgeois reactionary line of "hitting hard at many in order to protect a handful" and concentrate their fire on exposing and attacking the handful of counter-revolutionary revisionists and the No. 1 Party person in authority taking the capitalist road who supports them from behind. A revolutionary "three-in-one" combination is formed in the storm and stress of class struggle. The revolutionary cadres taking part in the "three-in-one" combination are those who have passed the test in the mighty sweep and surge of the mass movement.

We must link our criticism and repudiation of the No. 1 Party person in authority taking the capitalist road closely with the tasks of struggling [against and overthrowing those persons in authority who are taking the capitalist road], criticizing and repudiating [the reactionary bourgeois academic "authorities" and the ideology of the bourgeoisie and all other exploiting classes], and transforming [education, literature and art and all other parts of the superstructure not in correspondence with the socialist economic base] in the various areas, departments and units. In the past 17 years it is none other than this Chinese Khrushchov who has fostered and protected a handful of Party people in authority taking the capitalist road and a handful of reactionary bourgeois academic "authorities" and spread a great deal of revisionist poison in the fields of literature, history, philosophy, political economy, education, journalism, etc., as well as in Party, government, army, industrial, agricultural, commercial and educational circles. At every crucial moment, these ghosts and monsters, instigated by their boss behind the scenes, invariably come out one after another to launch frantic attacks against the Party. It is this handful of Party people, big and small, in authority taking the capitalist road and this handful of all kinds of reactionary bourgeois academic "authorities" who form the backbone of the force of this Chinese Khrushchov in carrying out the counter-revolutionary revisionist line. It must be understood that when the proletarian revolutionaries and the revolu-

tionary masses concentrate their fire to struggle against the handful of Party people in authority taking the capitalist road in their areas, departments and units, they are cutting off the sinister hand extended into various fields by the No. 1 Party person in authority taking the capitalist road, and that thorough criticism and repudiation of the No. 1 Party person in authority taking the capitalist road will raise the struggle, criticism and repudiation and transformation in the various units to a still higher level.

In criticizing and repudiating the No. 1 Party person in authority taking the capitalist road, we must thoroughly liquidate the bourgeois reactionary line represented by him in the past 17 years.

In these past 17 years, the proletarian revolutionary line represented by Chairman Mao has held the dominant position in the Party. It runs like a red thread through all the years following the founding of the People's Republic of China. Under the guidance of this revolutionary line, socialist revolution and socialist construction in our country have gained one great victory after another.

However, sober account must be taken of the fact that the struggle between the two lines in the Party has existed for a long time and has never ceased. In the past 17 years there have been sharp and complex struggles in the Party between the proletarian revolutionary line represented by Chairman Mao and the bourgeois reactionary line represented by the No. 1 Party person in authority taking the capitalist road. The question of which road China should take is the focus of the struggle between these two lines.

The proletarian revolutionaries headed by Chairman Mao represent the fundamental interests of the broad masses of the Chinese working people and the revolutionary people of the world, and resolutely lead the Chinese people along the socialist road.

Chairman Mao points out: **"When the people overthrew the rule of imperialism, feudalism and bureaucrat-capitalism, [many were not clear as to] which way China should head—towards capitalism or towards socialism. Facts have now provided the answer: only socialism can save China."**

Representing the interests of the Chinese bourgeoisie and catering to the needs of imperialism and all the reactionaries, the No. 1 Party person in authority taking the capitalist road pipes a tune contrary to the teachings of Chairman Mao in a vain attempt to bring about a great retrogression in Chinese history. He is the one who sang the praises of exploitation by the capitalists and applauded the rich-peasant economy. He is the one who opposed the socialist transformation of agriculture, handicrafts and capitalist industry and commerce put forward by Chairman Mao, and wildly ad-

vocated the "four freedoms" [freedom of usury, of hiring labour, land sale and private enterprise]. He is the one who propagated the "theory of the dying out of class struggle," and advocated class conciliation. He is the one who opposed the Party's general line for building socialism, the people's communes and the big leap forward and did his utmost advocating "the liquidation of struggle in our relations with imperialism, the reactionaries and modern revisionism, and reduction of assistance and support to the revolutionary struggle of other peoples" and "the extension of plots for private use and of free markets, the increase in the numbers of small enterprises with sole responsibility for their own profits or losses, and the fixing of output quotas based on the household." He is the one who in the socialist education movement pushed through the opportunist line which was "Left" in form but Right in essence. He is the one who cleared the way for the reactionary bourgeoisie to launch frenzied attacks on the proletariat in politics, economy, culture, education and other fields. This man's ambition is to develop capitalism and bring about a capitalist restoration in China, that is, to pull China back to the old semi-feudal and semi-colonial path.

Therefore, to thoroughly criticize and liquidate the bourgeois reactionary line of the last 17 years represented by the No. 1 Party person in authority taking the capitalist road is a militant task confronting proletarian revolutionaries and the broad masses of the revolutionary people.

The current struggle between the two lines in the great proletarian cultural revolution is the continuation and development of the struggle between the two lines over the past 17 years. Only by thoroughly criticizing and liquidating the bourgeois reactionary line of the last 17 years and its pernicious influence in all fields can the broad masses of the revolutionary people gain an understanding of the acuteness, necessity and arduousness of the struggle between the two lines, draw experience and lessons from it, still more consciously adhere to the proletarian revolutionary line of Chairman Mao and carry the great proletarian cultural revolution through to the end.

In criticizing and repudiating the No. 1 Party person in authority taking the capitalist road, we should in particular make a penetrating criticism and repudiation of his deceitful book on the self-cultivation of Communists. This book provides the theoretical and ideological basis for his pushing through the bourgeois reactionary line. The criticism and repudiation of this book is an important part of the criticism and repudiation of the bourgeois reactionary line.

This book on self-cultivation is completely divorced from the living class struggle, from the revolution and from the political struggle; it never talks about the question of political power as the fundamental question of

revolution. It wants bourgeois "self-cultivation" and rejects the dictatorship of the proletariat. It propagates idealism, advocates bourgeois individualism and preaches slavishness. It is against Marxism-Leninism and against Mao Tse-tung's thought. "Cultivating" oneself comfortably shut away in a small room as prescribed by this book can only result in comfortably evolving into revisionism. The printing and reprinting of this book has spread poison not only throughout the Party and the country, but even abroad; it has done grave harm to people. During the great proletarian cultural revolution, some cadres, deceived and poisoned by this book on the self-cultivation of Communists, were prevented from plunging themselves actively into the revolutionary mass movement; instead they blindly carried out the bourgeois reactionary line.

Comrades who have been hoodwinked and poisoned, never again be taken in by this book! You must plunge yourselves wholeheartedly into the intense struggle of the mass movement to brave the storm and face the world and to test, temper and remould yourselves in struggle. In thoroughly criticizing and repudiating this book, one must link criticism with one's own thinking, touch oneself to the depths of one's soul, vigorously destroy the bourgeois world outlook and smash the spiritual shackles put on one by the No. 1 Party person in authority taking the capitalist road. This is a revolution to destroy the concept of self-interest and foster devotion to the public interest, a revolution in which the thought of Mao Tse-tung is used to defeat the ideology of the bourgeoisie and all other exploiting classes. Only by smashing these spiritual shackles can one advance relieved of burdens, really make a clean break with the bourgeois reactionary line, and come over to the side of the proletarian revolutionary line represented by Chairman Mao.

Chairman Mao teaches us: **"There can be no differentiation without contrast. There can be no development without differentiation and struggle. Truth develops through its struggle against falsehood. This is how Marxism develops. Marxism develops in the struggle against bourgeois and petty-bourgeois ideology, and it is only through struggle that it can develop."**

This great mass movement of criticism and repudiation is a revolutionary mass movement to vigorously eradicate bourgeois ideas and establish the supremacy of Mao Tse-tung's thought. In the course of criticizing and repudiating the No. 1 Party person in authority taking the capitalist road and the revisionist poison spread by the counter-revolutionary revisionists, the hundreds of millions of the masses will assuredly be able to grasp and apply the fighting weapon of Mao Tse-tung's thought still more effectively and bring about a new upsurge in the mass movement to study and apply Chairman Mao's writings creatively!

("Renmin Ribao" editorial, April 8.)

Fight for the Thorough Criticism and Repudiation of the Top Party Person in Authority Taking the Capitalist Road

OUR great supreme commander Chairman Mao has taught us that we "must especially watch out for careerists and conspirators like Khrushchov and prevent such bad elements from usurping the leadership of the Party and the state at any level."

The great proletarian cultural revolution personally initiated and led by Chairman Mao is a struggle to carry the socialist revolution through to the end, a great political movement to uproot revisionism, prevent capitalist restoration, and ensure that our Party will not degenerate and our country will never change political colour. In this movement, a handful of Party persons in authority taking the capitalist road have been exposed, as well as the top Party person in authority taking the capitalist road, their chief boss behind-the-scenes. This is a great victory for Mao Tse-tung's thought, a great victory of the proletarian revolutionary line Chairman Mao represents.

The bugle call for the thorough criticism and repudiation of the top Party person in authority taking the capitalist road was sounded by the three articles published in *Hongqi*: "Patriotism or National Betrayal?", "The Bourgeois Reactionary Line on the Question of Cadres Must Be Criticized and Repudiated" and "Hit Hard at Many in Order to Protect a Handful' Is a Component Part of the Bourgeois Reactionary Line." A mass movement to thoroughly criticize and repudiate the top Party person in authority taking the capitalist road is now developing both in breadth and in depth throughout the country and the army.

The top Party person in authority taking the capitalist road, obstinately taking a reactionary stand, opposes the Party, socialism and Mao Tse-tung's thought. In the period of the democratic revolution, time and again he pursued the line of capitulation to the bourgeoisie. As early as on the eve of the War of Resistance Against Japan, he vociferously propagated the philosophy of survival above all, and of the turncoat, ordering some "Communists" in jail to surrender to the class enemy. Later, he shielded them, recruiting deserters and accepting traitors and forming cliques for the pursuit of his own selfish interests. He allowed them to steal their way into important positions. After victory in the War of Resistance Against Japan, he loudly advertised the "new stage of peace and democracy," preparing to go down on his knees and capitulate to U.S. imperialism and the Kuomintang. Following the liberation

of the whole country and the seizure of state power by the proletariat, he did his utmost to oppose the socialist revolution and advocated putting capitalism into operation. In 1949, he put forward the idea of welcoming capitalist exploitation and developing capitalism. In 1950, he called the traitorous reactionary film *Inside Story of the Ching Court* "patriotic"; he advocated vigorous efforts to foster the type of rich peasant "who owns three horses, a plough and a cart" and opposed labour-exchange teams, mutual-aid teams and the development of the collective economy, raising a cry for "the consolidation of the New Democratic order." In 1951 and 1952, he advocated the development of a rich-peasant economy and capitalism and the "four freedoms" (freedom of usury, of hiring labour, land sale, and private enterprise). Later, he also opposed the socialist transformation of capitalist industry and commerce, opposed agricultural co-operation and slashed the number of agricultural co-operatives. In 1956, accommodating himself to the international revisionist trend of thought, he wildly talked about the dying out of class struggle. In 1962, he energetically publicized the idea of individual peasant farms, advocated the "extension of plots for private use and of free markets, the increase of small enterprises with sole responsibility for their own profits or losses, the fixing of output quotas based on the household" and "the liquidation of struggle in our relations with imperialism, the reactionaries and modern revisionism, and reduction of assistance and support to the revolutionary struggle of other peoples," and opposed the general line for building socialism, the great leap forward and the people's communes, while publishing and putting on sale large numbers of his book on self-cultivation. In 1964, pursuing an opportunist line which was "Left" in form but Right in essence, he sabotaged the socialist education movement. During the great proletarian cultural revolution, he advanced and pursued the bourgeois reactionary line in collusion with another top Party person in authority taking the capitalist road. All this fully shows that over a long period of time he has opposed Mao Tse-tung's thought and the proletarian revolutionary line represented by Chairman Mao, and that he is not a Marxist at all. He is the most important representative of the bourgeoisie within our Party, a Khrushchov lying right beside us.

The sharp struggle between the two lines during the past 17 years has been a struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie, between Marxism-Leninism,

Mao Tse-tung's thought and revisionist ideology, and between capitalist restoration and the proletarian counter-restoration. In the last analysis, it is a struggle as to what road China should take, the socialist road or the capitalist road.

Chairman Mao has taught us that socialist society is a fairly long historical stage. In this historical stage there are still classes, class contradictions and class struggle, the struggle between the socialist and capitalist roads, and the danger of a capitalist restoration. Although the bourgeoisie has been overthrown, members of this class are still living and they are not reconciled to defeat. We have confiscated their property, but we have not confiscated, nor can we confiscate, their reactionary ideas. Every hour and every minute they are trying to stage a come-back. Using the means of "sneaking into our ranks" and "luring people out" they do their utmost to get representatives in our Party. There are some within the proletariat and its vanguard who are liable to be hit by the sugar-coated bullets of the bourgeoisie and degenerate into new bourgeois elements. In short, since there are classes and class struggle in socialist society, there exists the possibility for a capitalist restoration. As long as the bourgeoisie exists in society, its members will infiltrate into the superstructure, into our Party and the state power and form a handful of persons in the Party who are in authority and taking the capitalist road. This is the objective law of class struggle. It is not strange at all, and is independent of man's will.

The top Party person in authority taking the capitalist road is the chief backer of a handful of counter-revolutionary revisionists inside the Party and is actually the commander-in-chief who directs the attacks of the bourgeoisie against us. If he is not exposed and his schemes are allowed to succeed, our Party and country will change colour, a nationwide counter-revolutionary restoration will occur, and our socialist system will evolve into a capitalist system as happened in the Soviet Union; then tens of millions of people will lose their lives and we will suffer for the second time and return to the old path, thereby greatly prolonging the course of both the Chinese revolution and the world revolution. We have now brought to light the top Party person in authority taking the capitalist road; this is a victory of great historic significance which affects the destiny and future of our Party and state. However, the top Party person in authority taking the capitalist road and the overthrown classes he represents will never reconcile themselves to their doom. To recapture all positions where they have long entrenched themselves and eliminate all the counter-revolutionary revisionist poisonous effects exerted by this top Party person in authority taking the capitalist road remains a serious struggle. **"With power and to spare we must pursue the tottering foe and not ape Hsiang Yu the conqueror seeking idle fame."** We must deeply and thoroughly criticize and repudiate in the political, ideological, and theoretical fields the top Party person in authority taking the capitalist road.

Our People's Liberation Army is a revolutionary army of the proletariat, founded and fostered by our great supreme commander Chairman Mao himself, and under the direct leadership of his close comrade-in-arms, deputy supreme commander Lin Piao, and is the principal instrument for the dictatorship of the proletariat. We are infinitely loyal to the great leader Chairman Mao, to Mao Tse-tung's thought and to the proletarian revolutionary line represented by Chairman Mao. The top Party person in authority taking the capitalist road wildly opposes Chairman Mao, the very red sun which shines most brightly in our hearts, opposes the great thought of Mao Tse-tung and opposes the proletarian revolutionary line represented by Chairman Mao. We revolutionary fighters will absolutely not allow him to do so! We must stand at the forefront of the struggle and, together with the broad revolutionary masses of workers and peasants, young revolutionary fighters and revolutionary cadres, aim telling blows at, vehemently denounce and resolutely overthrow the top Party person in authority taking the capitalist road.

We must raise high the revolutionary banner of criticism and repudiation, the banner of Mao Tse-tung's thought and, with Mao Tse-tung's thought as the weapon, thoroughly expose the heinous crimes of the top Party person in authority taking the capitalist road, remove his mask of a so-called "veteran revolutionary" and of "being always in the right," thoroughly criticize and repudiate his bourgeois reactionary line and his revisionist "masterpiece" on self-cultivation, and expose his reactionary features to the bright light of day.

Chairman Mao teaches us that there is no construction without destruction, no flowing without damming and no motion without rest; destruction means criticism and revolution; destruction comes first and construction comes in the course of destruction. To thoroughly criticize and repudiate the top Party person in authority taking the capitalist road is a process of vigorously destroying bourgeois ideas and establishing the supremacy of Mao Tse-tung's thought. Through criticism and repudiation of this top Party person in authority taking the capitalist road and by carrying out the great proletarian cultural revolution, we must let the great thought of Mao Tse-tung occupy all ideological positions, cause it to take deeper root among the whole Party, the whole army and the whole nation and make it the guiding principle for action by the whole Party, all commanders and fighters and the revolutionary people all over the country. This is the most fundamental guarantee that our Party and country will never change colour.

Let us raise still higher the great red banner of Mao Tse-tung's thought and forge ahead victoriously under the guidance of the proletarian revolutionary line of Chairman Mao!

(Abridged translation of the editorial in "Jiefang-jun Bao" [Liberation Army Daily], April 11.)

The Nation's Revolutionary Masses Repudiate China's Khrushchov

PUBLICATION of the articles "The Bourgeois Reactionary Line on the Question of Cadres Must Be Criticized and Repudiated" by *Hongqi* Commentator and "Patriotism or National Betrayal?" by Comrade Chi Pen-yu met with a tremendous response throughout China. Launching a general offensive against the top Party person in authority taking the capitalist road, many newspapers published editorials. Workers, peasants, soldiers and revolutionary cadres at their different posts held meetings or wrote articles criticizing and repudiating him. From many different angles and out of their own experience they made plain the great significance of unearthing this chief backer of revisionism in China and expressed their unshakable militant determination to carry the great proletarian cultural revolution through to the end.

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On April 2, the Shanghai *Jiefang Ribao* (Liberation Daily) carried an editorial which pointed out: Publication of the two *Hongqi* articles has "deeply exposed the series of monstrous crimes committed by the top Party person in authority taking the capitalist road, the man who put forward the bourgeois reactionary line, the frantic steps he took for a capitalist restoration and his rabid opposition to our great leader Chairman Mao and the great thought of Mao Tse-tung. The articles showed that he is by no means a 'veteran revolutionary,' but a pseudo-revolutionary, a counter-revolutionary. That such a careerist of the Khrushchov type in China has been exposed is a great and fortunate event for the revolutionary people of the whole country; it is another great victory for Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line and we enthusiastically acclaim it!"

"Quite apart from a series of grave crimes committed before and after the War of Resistance Against Japan, this top Party person in authority taking the capitalist road has, since the founding of the People's Republic of China 17 years ago, spread his poisonous revisionist influence far and wide in the political, economic, cultural and educational fields; he owes a big debt to the proletariat and the revolutionary people. It is high time that we make a final reckoning with him."

The Shanghai *Wenhui Bao* on April 2 published an editorial entitled "Thoroughly Criticize and Repudiate China's Khrushchov." It declared: "The heinous crimes of China's Khrushchov are too numerous to list. He is the mortal foe of the entire Party and the entire peo-

ple. Our enemies are before us, and we must overthrow them completely. We will start a people's war and drown them in the ocean of people's war! **Chairman Mao has said: 'The revolutionary war is a war of the masses; it can be waged only by mobilizing the masses and relying on them.'** Comrades working on every front and in every sphere, in the factories, villages, armed forces, schools, government offices and shops and stores, should rise in urgent mobilization against the top Party person in authority taking the capitalist road. Let the whole Party and the whole nation denounce and punish him!"

On April 8, the *Guangming Ribao*, in its editorial entitled "Thoroughly Criticize and Discredit China's Khrushchov," said: In the 17 years since the founding of New China, the No. 1 Party person in authority taking the capitalist road, making use of the important positions he usurped in the Party and the government, has pushed forward the counter-revolutionary revisionist line with redoubled energy and furiously opposed the Party, socialism and Mao Tse-tung's thought. The series of criminal activities he has engaged in are focussed on restoring capitalism, usurping power in the Party and in the government, and seizing power from the proletariat so as to impose a dictatorship over it. If his schemes were allowed to succeed, the people's land would change colour, tens of millions of people would be killed, the Marxist-Leninist Party would become a revisionist party, a fascist party, and the fruits of victory won by countless revolutionary martyrs with their blood would be lost.

The editorial continued: Like all reactionaries in history, China's Khrushchov, too, won't fall if you don't hit him. We must pursue and hit him mercilessly until he is utterly down and out.

Editorials were also published by the *Shansi Ribao*, *Heilungkiang Ribao* and other provincial papers.

An article written by Hsieh Yueh, an activist in the study of Chairman Mao's works at the Taiyuan Textile Mill in Shansi Province and an outstanding worker of the textile industry, said:

"In the 17 years since the liberation, the No. 1 Party person in authority taking the capitalist road has instructed and supported his hangers-on in carrying on activities everywhere for a capitalist restoration. Our Taiyuan Textile Mill has also been one of their strongholds for carrying out this restoration. Since

our mill opened eight years ago, it was nominally a socialist enterprise but actually a testing ground for revisionism. The handful of Party people in authority taking the capitalist road in the province and in our mill opposed our running enterprises according to Mao Tse-tung's thought and frenziedly pushed their revisionist wares. They tied the workers hand and foot with their endless rules and regulations and used material incentives to corrupt them. Whoever opposed them were branded 'anti-Party elements' and 'counter-revolutionaries.' I myself was discriminated against and persecuted by them."

"The great proletarian cultural revolution personally initiated and led by our great teacher, great leader, great supreme commander and great helmsman Chairman Mao has uncovered the handful of counter-revolutionary revisionists and the No. 1 Party person in authority taking the capitalist road who supports them from behind. This is a great victory for Mao Tse-tung's thought. We of the working class hail it a thousand times over and applaud it with the greatest satisfaction!"

Wang Kuo-fan, a national model peasant, said:

"The No. 1 Party person in authority taking the capitalist road wildly opposes the proletarian revolutionary line of our most respected and beloved great leader Chairman Mao. He has said the most preposterous things to create a reactionary public opinion for the restoration of capitalism. He publicized and fostered the capitalist economy and advocated the 'four freedoms' [freedom of usury, hiring labour, land sale, and private enterprise]; he opposed agricultural co-operation and slashed the number of agricultural co-operatives, propagated 'the extension of plots for private use and of free markets, the increase of small enterprises with sole responsibility for their own profits or losses and the fixing of output quotas based on the household'; he stirred up in the countryside the ill wind of 'going it alone.' He was hand in glove with the landlords and rich peasants in vainly attempting to overthrow the socialist state."

"Ruthless exploitation by landlords and rich peasants in the old society destroyed the lives of countless working people. With the liberation, Chairman Mao led us in 'turning over' and in taking the socialist road. Our Jianming People's Commune—once called the 'Paupers' Co-operative'—started off owning only a three-quarter share of a donkey and had to use manpower to pull its ploughs. Now we have farm machinery and have basically achieved mechanization. We poor and lower-middle peasants are now leading happy lives. We are firmly launched on the socialist road. Nobody can block this road! Never! Never!"

Air force combat hero Chang Chi-hui said: "The fact that the No. 1 Party person in authority taking the capitalist road applauded the reactionary film *Inside Story of the Ching Court* completely reveals his most despicable obsequious features as a worshipper of impe-

rialism. Can the imperialists help the Chinese people? Can the imperialists really give the people peace? I took part in the War to Resist U.S. Aggression and Aid Korea and saw for myself how the vile U.S. bandits killed countless innocent Koreans, how homes were bombed and reduced to rubble and great tracts of farmland were laid waste. Was this the kind of 'peace' practised by the U.S. imperialists? Was this the kind of 'aid' given the Korean people by the U.S. imperialists? The crime of the No. 1 Party person in authority taking the capitalist road and the handful of counter-revolutionary revisionists in embellishing imperialism is a big exposure of their 'philosophy of survival.' Our army's experience in its test of strength with the U.S. aggressors on the Korean battlefield shows that complete victory can be won only by waging a tit-for-tat struggle against the enemy."

Kuai Ta-fu, deputy head of the leading group of the Congress of Red Guards of Peking's Universities and Colleges and leader of the Chingkuang Mountains Corps of Tsinghua University, declared: "I have the deepest hatred for the book on the self-cultivation of Communists written by the No. 1 Party person in authority taking the capitalist road. This poisonous book talks about 'self-cultivation' completely divorced from the class struggle, from the revolution and from the political struggle; it has spread its poison widely and must be thoroughly criticized and discredited politically."

"This book is a big poisonous arrow aimed against Marxism-Leninism and Mao Tse-tung's thought. Some people, poisoned by this book, separate ideological remoulding from revolutionary struggles, pay no attention to state affairs and vacillate politically."

On April 3, the Congress of Red Guards of Peking's Universities and Colleges held a mass rally to thoroughly criticize and repudiate the reactionary essence of this book on the self-cultivation of Communists and indignantly denounce the No. 1 Party person in authority taking the capitalist road for his heinous crime of using his book to poison great masses of Party members and revolutionary people. Under the disguise of Marxism-Leninism, the rally pointed out, this book peddles counter-revolutionary revisionist stuff to clear the way for a restoration of capitalism; it is through and through a big poisonous weed which is against the Party, against socialism and against Mao Tse-tung's thought. In the current new stage of the great proletarian cultural revolution, we proletarian revolutionaries must hold high the great red banner of Mao Tse-tung's thought and the revolutionary banner of criticism and repudiation, thoroughly criticize, repudiate and discredit this big poisonous weed, and completely overthrow the No. 1 Party person in authority taking the capitalist road.

On the evening of April 3, proletarian revolutionaries of factories, enterprises, schools, government organs and shops in Tsingtao, Shantung Province, held a mass rally to criticize and repudiate the big poisonous weed, the book on the self-cultivation of Communists. Deeply

indignant, proletarian revolutionaries from many fronts used the invincible thought of Mao Tse-tung as their weapon to sternly criticize and repudiate this book written by the No. 1 Party person in authority taking the capitalist road, which is a big poisonous weed negating revolution and class struggle, ignoring the dictatorship of the proletariat, opposing Mao Tse-tung's thought and propagating the decadent world outlook of the bourgeoisie.

Many literary and art workers of army units stationed in Peking held a forum on April 4. With deep indignation, they too exposed the towering crimes of the top Party person in authority taking the capitalist road. They unanimously expressed their determination to completely smash the scheme of restoring capitalism in China cooked up by this chief backer of revisionism hidden in our Party, this Khrushchov lying right among us. They pledged to put Mao Tse-tung's thought in control of every position and ensure that our great motherland will never change its colour.

All those who took part in the forum were of this opinion: In the past 17 years, the revolutionary line of Chairman Mao in literature and art has held the dominant position in literary and art work in the army. However, through a handful of counter-revolutionary

revisionists, the top Party person in authority taking the capitalist road vigorously spread the theory of the dying out of class struggle and spread around such nonsense as that the "question of orientation existed no longer" in the army's literary and art work and there only remained the "question of raising the artistic level." At the same time, on the literary and art front, they spared no efforts to promote "big, foreign and ancient" works and stage "feudal, capitalist and revisionist" repertoires. Under the impact of this sinister bourgeois literary and art line, some literary and art units had become divorced from the workers, peasants, and soldiers, had not served proletarian politics, and devoted their efforts to propagating mishmash of feudalism, capitalism and revisionism, and so preparing public opinion for a capitalist restoration.

The participants in the forum unanimously declared that fearless of death by a thousand cuts, they would unflinchingly unhorse the top Party person in authority taking the capitalist road and make him stand aside; they would completely overthrow the chief backer of counter-revolutionary revisionism, smash the bourgeois reactionary line to smithereens, completely eliminate all his and his henchmen's poisonous influences and utterly suppress their last-ditch struggles.

Red Guards' Forum

Bury the Slave Mentality Advocated by China's Khrushchov

IN the course of the great proletarian cultural revolution, many revolutionary pathbreakers, following Chairman Mao's teachings, have proclaimed the slogan "To rebel is justified" and launched a fierce attack on the handful of Party people in authority taking the capitalist road. During this very same period, the No. 1 Party person in authority taking the capitalist road has made great efforts to spread the idea of slavishness so as to resist the great call of Chairman Mao.

Our great, respected and beloved leader Chairman Mao has always opposed slavishness. As early as 1930, Chairman Mao taught us that, with regard to the directives of a higher organ of leadership "it is quite wrong to take a formalistic attitude and blindly carry out directives without discussing and examining them in the light of actual conditions simply because they come from a higher organ."

During the rectification movement in 1942, Chairman Mao again emphasized that: "(they) should take a sniff at everything and distinguish the good from the bad before they decide whether to welcome it or boycott it. Communists must always go into the whys and wherefores of anything, use their own heads and care-

fully think over whether or not it corresponds to reality and is really well founded; on no account should they follow blindly and encourage slavishness."

Chairman Mao also recently said this: "Erroneous leadership which brings harm to the revolution should not be accepted unconditionally but should be resisted resolutely."

In the great cultural revolution, these profound teachings of Chairman Mao have educated one group of revolutionary pathbreakers after another. Today, these teachings are again providing us with powerful weapons to wage the struggle against slave mentality.

Slavishness is a product of the system of exploitation of man by man. For thousands of years, the exploiting classes have assumed the airs of born "overlords" and vilified revolutionary rebels as criminal "offenders against their superiors." The philosophy of slavishness which serves the needs of the exploiting classes is a reactionary philosophy for suppressing the revolution. It erodes revolutionary determination.

China's Khrushchov, the No. 1 Party person in authority taking the capitalist road, is precisely the No. 1 salesman of this reactionary philosophy. Through

his book on self-cultivation for Communists — a big, poisonous weed — and a whole series of statements and acts, he persistently introduced the whole concept of slavishness into the Party, eroded the fighting spirit of Communists over the years, violated the Party's revolutionary principles, poisoned the body of the Party and prepared public opinion and conditions for realizing his scheme to usurp power in the Party and the state. In doing this he has committed an unpardonable crime.

We must hold aloft the great red banner of Mao Tse-tung's thought, do away completely with the counter-revolutionary slavishness advocated by China's Khrushchov, shatter his scheme for usurping power in the Party and the state, resolutely unseat him and make him step aside!

Refute the Reactionary Fallacy of "Absolute Obedience in the Organizational Sphere"

Chairman Mao teaches us that every political party is "an instrument of class struggle." "If there is to be revolution, there must be a revolutionary party. Without a revolutionary party, without a party built on the Marxist-Leninist revolutionary theory and in the Marxist-Leninist revolutionary style, it is impossible to lead the working class and the broad masses of the people in defeating imperialism and its running dogs."

Today, the reason why we must have a Communist Party is precisely to enable the proletariat to attain its political goal of overthrowing capitalism and building socialism and communism. All political parties are merely forms of organization to realize the political aims of a certain class. Therefore, a party's organizational line should be subordinate to its political line and should become an instrument for or guarantee the implementation and realization of its political line.

But the No. 1 Party person in authority taking the capitalist road frenziedly and openly opposes Chairman Mao's principle of Party building, loudly advocates that organizational principles should take precedence over everything and that the political line should be subordinate to the organizational line. He advocates unconditional and blind, absolute obedience in the organizational sphere.

He declared: "Organizationally, we advocate absolute obedience."

Some people say: "I am willing to subordinate myself to my superiors and to the majority but my superiors and the majority must first be correct politically and in principle. However, if they are wrong politically I will not subordinate myself to them." He criticized this viewpoint, saying, "This makes the correctness or otherwise of the majority or the superiors or the Party's Central Committee the condition for subordination. It is wrong to stipulate such a condition."

These views so loudly proclaimed by China's Khrushchov are utterly reactionary fallacies. More

than forty years ago, Lenin was exactly right when he sharply pointed out: Without "the correctness of the [Party's] political leadership, the correctness of its political strategy and tactics," "discipline in a revolutionary party really capable of being the party of the advanced class, whose mission it is to overthrow the bourgeoisie and transform the whole of society, cannot be achieved." But China's Khrushchov propagated so-called "absolute obedience": No matter whether a thing is correct or not politically, people should blindly subordinate themselves to it. What this means in essence is that people are required to carry out his counter-revolutionary revisionist line blindly and faithfully and to offer their services in furthering his usurpation of power in the Party and the state and in bringing about a counter-revolutionary restoration.

With the full intention of deceiving, he said that he advocated "obedience regardless of right or wrong," and that it was for the sake of "upholding the unity of the Party." But it is just as Lenin pointed out: "Unity is a great thing and a great slogan. But what the workers' cause needs is the unity of Marxists, not unity between Marxists, and opponents and distorters of Marxism." When discussing the purification of our Party's ranks, Chairman Mao said: "To put things in order organizationally requires our first doing so ideologically, our launching a struggle of proletarian ideology against non-proletarian ideology."

Therefore the unity of the Party that we want to maintain, first and foremost, is its unity on the basis of Marxism-Leninism, Mao Tse-tung's thought, its unity on the basis of active ideological struggle, struggle against all words and deeds that run counter to Mao Tse-tung's thought. The history of our Party and of the international communist movement shows that it has always been the opportunists and revisionists of various kinds who have opposed and distorted Marxism, who have sabotaged the unity of the Party and caused splits in its ranks. Therefore it will never do to try and lay the charge of sabotaging Party unity at the door of the revolutionaries who refused to dance obediently to the waving of his baton.

For quite a long period, this No. 1 Party person in authority taking the capitalist road spared no efforts in propagating his idea of slavishness, that is, the so-called "absolute obedience in the organizational sphere," which had caused very serious loss to the Party and the cause of revolution. A striking example of this is that on the eve of the War of Resistance Against Japan, he who regarded himself as the embodiment of the Party organization, told others to betray the Communist Party and to surrender to the Kuomintang. The slavishness that he advocates regarding "absolute obedience in the organizational sphere" precisely serves his reactionary class capitulationist ideas.

Slavishness Must Not Be Passed off as the Party's Democratic Centralism

In order to peddle his ideas on slavishness, the No. 1 Party person in authority taking the capitalist road

does not hesitate to trample on the Party's principle of democratic centralism and pass off slavishness as our Party's democratic centralism.

Democratic centralism is the basic organizational principle of our Party. This democratic centralism is centralism on the basis of democracy and democracy under centralized guidance.

Chairman Mao has taught us: "In the sphere of organization, ensure democracy under centralized guidance." And that "the leading bodies of the Party must give a correct line of guidance" is the first thing that should be done.

Lenin rightly said that "it is impossible to carry out work exclusively by means of a mechanical majority over people with whom we have no common Party ground." All this stipulates that the prerequisite and condition for democratic centralism is a correct guiding thought and guiding line. This correct guiding thought is the great thought of Mao Tse-tung and the correct guiding line is Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line. There can be no doubt about this.

But this No. 1 Party person in authority taking the capitalist road, divorced from that correct guiding thought, said that "it is absolute and unconditional that one should obey the organization, the majority and one's superior." He stressed with a lordly air in his book on self-cultivation for Communists that "so long as it is passed and decided by the majority, by the superior or by the Central Committee, it has to be obeyed, even if it is wrong. It is precisely at this time particularly that discipline has to be observed, the majority obeyed and the superior or the Central Committee obeyed, regardless of whether they are right or wrong." He even said that "the minority must obey the majority" even at the time when "truth lies with the minority while what the majority stands for is not truth."

Obedience! Absolute obedience! Unconditional obedience! The minority, though correct, must submit to the majority that is wrong; the subordinate, though correct, must submit to the superior who is wrong; and the individual, though correct, must absolutely submit to the organization that is wrong. This is nothing but counter-revolutionary discipline imposed on the revolutionary masses by the No. 1 Party person in authority taking the capitalist road in order to maintain his reactionary rule. As everyone knows, there is a distinction between a real and a false Communist Party, between Marxism-Leninism and revisionism. Discipline also has different class contents. There is a distinction between the discipline of the proletariat and that of the bourgeoisie, between revolutionary and counter-revolutionary discipline.

As for us proletarian revolutionary fighters, what we want strictly to adhere to is the proletarian revolutionary discipline of the Chinese Communist Party armed with Mao Tse-tung's thought; what we accept unconditionally is the correct leadership of the Party's Central Committee headed by Chairman Mao. As for all wrong leadership that runs counter to Mao Tse-tung's

thought and Chairman Mao's revolutionary line, it should not be accepted unconditionally but should be resolutely resisted. As for the discipline of the bourgeoisie, it should be smashed to smithereens.

Another vicious aim that China's Khrushchov had in advocating unconditional submission to the majority was, in co-ordination with Khrushchov revisionism's attack on our Party, vainly to attempt to force our Party to yield to the will of Soviet revisionism, to dance to the baton wielded by Khrushchov and to surrender to revisionism. But our great leader Chairman Mao, raising high the revolutionary banner of Marxism-Leninism, has resolutely smashed the plot of the Khrushchov revisionists and the No. 1 Party person in authority taking the capitalist road.

It was clearly pointed out in the seventh comment on the open letter of the Central Committee of the C.P.S.U.: "Where the fundamental principles of Marxism-Leninism are concerned, the problem of exactly who is right and who is wrong cannot in every case be judged by who has the majority." This thoroughly refuted the Soviet revisionists who had vainly attempted to impose on our Party the charge of "frustrating the will of the majority" and "violating international discipline," and frustrated the criminal attempt of the No. 1 Party person in authority taking the capitalist road.

Smash the Reactionary Theory of Being "Docile Tools"

China's Khrushchov has resorted to a still cunning device in peddling the idea of slavishness. He said that the "aspirations of a Communist" should be to serve as a "docile tool of the Party." He said: "Should one be a docile tool or an unruly tool? A tool easy to control or difficult to control? Naturally one should be a docile tool, a tool easy to control." As for the slavishness he advocates, politically, it is revisionism which disregards revolutionary principles; organizationally, it is absolute commandism; in the treatment of the mass of Party members it exhibits the brainless "tool" mentality! This is reactionary nonsense through-and-through, diametrically opposed to the thought of Mao Tse-tung.

Chairman Mao tells us: "The supreme test of the words and deeds of a Communist is whether they conform with the highest interests and enjoy the support of the overwhelming majority of the people." This teaching of Chairman Mao's expresses the only correct aspiration of every Communist.

Chairman Mao has called on us to "get rid of the baggage and start up the machinery" [which means to free the mind of encumbrances and make good use of the organ of thought—*Tr.*]; to enhance our revolutionary consciousness and avoid acting blindly. Chairman Mao has spoken of this revolutionary consciousness in the following way: **"This initiative must be demonstrated concretely in the ability of the leading bodies, the cadres and the Party rank and file to work**

creatively, in their readiness to assume responsibility, in the exuberant vigour they show in their work, in their courage and ability to raise questions, voice opinions and criticize defects, and in the comradely supervision that is maintained over the leading bodies and the leading cadres." In the minds of the advocates of slavishness, on the contrary, a Communist should not display revolutionary initiative and every Party member should become "a fine tool," a mindless machine.

Such a servile theory of being docile tools is in effect obscurantism. According to this theory, there is no need for the Party to arm the mass of Party members with Mao Tse-tung's thought, to publicize its policies among them, to carry out political and ideological education among them, and to enhance their revolutionary consciousness; what is needed is solely to give them a training in the organizational method of "absolute obedience." These advocates of the slave mentality are outright historical idealists. They regard themselves as Chukeh Liang,* able to transform the world, and treat the masses as slaves who are at the mercy of others, thus crushing the working people's revolutionary rebel spirit by this reactionary policy of obscurantism. This is a fascist theory from top to bottom!

More important, China's Khrushchov here deliberately dodged a very important question of principle: To be "docile tools" for what kind of a party? For a party armed with Marxism-Leninism, Mao Tse-tung's thought, or a revisionist party? For the proletarian headquarters headed by Chairman Mao, or the bourgeois headquarters headed by this No. 1 Party person in authority taking the capitalist road? He has stridently advocated: "You must obey even if the majority, or the superiors, or the Central Committee are actually wrong, and carry out the erroneous (orders) first." To act according to his logic, one should serve as his "docile tool" whatever the circumstances, and be a "very handy and convenient" tool at that. This servile theory of docile tools was expressly designed by him to make preparations in the fields of public opinion and organization for the restoration of capitalism.

The Counter-Revolutionary Nature of Slavishness

Having torn off the various masks from the slavishness advocated by China's Khrushchov, we can see through to its counter-revolutionary nature.

This No. 1 Party person in authority taking the capitalist road is the chief criminal undermining the Party's principles and organizational discipline. He frenziedly opposes our most respected and beloved great leader Chairman Mao, opposes Mao Tse-tung's thought, which is the highest guiding thought of our Party, op-

* Chukeh Liang was a statesman and strategist in the period of the Three Kingdoms (221-265), who became a symbol of resourcefulness and wisdom in Chinese folklore. — Ed.

poses the correct leadership of the Party's Central Committee headed by Chairman Mao and opposes Chairman Mao's revolutionary line. He sabotages the Party's democratic centralism and proletarian discipline.

Another vicious purpose of China's Khrushchov in advocating slavishness is to smother the revolution and suppress the revolutionary masses who have risen up to rebel against him—the boss behind-the-scenes of the counter-revolutionary revisionists—and the handful of Party persons in authority taking the capitalist road.

During the great proletarian cultural revolution, he, in collusion with another top Party person in authority taking the capitalist road, has vainly attempted to use slavishness to extinguish the revolutionary flames. This pair claimed to be the incarnation of the Party and clamoured that the revolutionary masses, when the latter were rising to rebel, should submit to their revisionist "Party leadership."

When some revolutionary pathbreakers were about to throw off the shackles of slavishness and launched a fierce attack against the Party persons in authority taking the capitalist road, the No. 1 Party person in authority taking the capitalist road and his followers once again picked up the blunted weapon contained in the book on self-cultivation for Communists. That book says: "The Party's cadres and leaders are the living embodiment of the general interests of the Party and the proletariat." In accordance with this absurd theory, these Party persons in authority taking the capitalist road, the self-styled incarnation of the Party, labelled anyone who opposed them as anti-Party, and condemned a large number of revolutionary pathbreakers, who had risen up to rebel against them, as "counter-revolutionary," "anti-Party," "fake Leftist but real Rightist," and vilified them as having "bombarded the command posts of the proletariat."

As Chairman Mao has taught us, **the reactionaries' "persecution of the revolutionary people only serves to accelerate the people's revolutions on a broader and more intense scale."** With the guidance of Chairman Mao's revolutionary line, the revolutionary masses have smashed the criminal conspiracy of this No. 1 Party person in authority taking the capitalist road and have exposed his true counter-revolutionary, revisionist nature. Now this scoundrel and his followers are under heavy siege by the revolutionary masses. The revolutionary Chinese people will certainly relegate the counter-revolutionary concept of slavishness and its advocate to the dust-bin of history! Let us hold high for ever the great red banner of Mao Tse-tung's thought and courageously march forward, so that the spirit of revolutionary rebellion, full of youth and vitality, will sweep through the whole world!

(Abridged translation of a "Renmin Ribao" [April 6] article by the Red Guards Regiment in the Mao Tse-tung's Thought Philosophy and Social Sciences Department of the Chinese Academy of Sciences.)

Soviet Revisionism's "New System" for All-Round Capitalist Restoration

THE Soviet revisionist leading group is speeding up the introduction of a "new system" into Soviet industrial and other state-run enterprises, a system whose core is the capitalist principle of profit and which aims at a total restoration of capitalism.

According to Soviet press reports, the "new system" of economic management, a further step towards capitalist restoration, was officially and widely introduced to the whole country beginning from January last year. Entering its "most important phase" this year, it will be completed in 1968. By the end of last year, the "new system" had come to stay in 673 iron and steel, metallurgical, petroleum, chemical, machine-building and other major industrial enterprises, as well as many enterprises in the fields of railways and motor transport, inland water and sea transport, air transport, post and tele-communications and trade. "Today," boasted the Soviet press, "the scope of such reform is expanding immeasurably: such reform is taking place not in several hundred but several thousand enterprises, and in the whole of many industrial branches."

This programme for all-round capitalist restoration in industrial enterprises was advanced as early as the days of the Khrushchov regime. To influence public opinion, E. Liberman, a Soviet professor of economics, prompted by the Soviet revisionist leaders, proposed a reform "based on profit" through a *Pravda* article in September 1962. This was followed by many more articles in Soviet publications strongly recommending it. In defiance of the opposition of the broad masses, the Soviet leaders then started introducing this new measure, which is a further step to restore capitalism, into a number of light industrial enterprises by way of "experimentation."

Turning Socialist Enterprises Into Capitalist Ones

Having assumed power, the new Soviet leadership lost no time in quickening the pace of all-round capitalist restoration in the different branches of the national economy. Great efforts were made to make the "new system" to completely restore capitalism prevail in industrial and other state-run enterprises.

Towards the end of 1964, the new Soviet leadership decided to extend the system of marketing units directly placing orders with factories—a system which Khrushchov first introduced to two tailoring firms—to 400 light industrial enterprises. In early 1965, profit was made the main norm in heavy industry; this measure was later extended to motor transport, trading, catering establishments and the food industry. In September and October of the same year, a plenary session of the Central Committee of the C.P.S.U. and a Supreme Soviet conference were held which resulted in the promulgation of the so-called "Regulations on Socialist State-Run

Productive Enterprises." The regulations systematized these much-vaunted experimental measures to move back to capitalism and worked out a "new system" for all-round capitalist restoration. They were put into force throughout the country in the form of a Party resolution and government decree.

Preparations to Extend It to Every Aspect of Life

This "new system" undisguisedly makes the capitalist principle of profit the "locomotive" to set all economic activities in motion. Kosygin has asserted that profit-seeking is "the best way of making enterprises raise their efficiency," and that profit is an important criterion for appraising an enterprise's "contributions" and is the "source" of material incentive. Guided by this principle of putting profit in command, the Soviet revisionist leading group has decided to abolish the series of important norms originally set by the state so that those enterprises under the "new system" can seek high profits without restraint. To give the enterprises more ways to make money, the Soviet revisionist leaders go all out to encourage "extensive development of direct contacts between the supplying and marketing enterprises" in accordance with the law of free competition in the capitalist market economy. The "new system" endows the leaders of enterprises with still greater and still more privileges, and, under the condition that they hand over profits to the state, they have the right to handle practically all affairs of the enterprise at their own discretion. But the masses of workers and staff members are deprived of all rights and reduced to mere employed slaves selling their labour power.

The introduction of this "new system" of industrial management, which makes putting profits in command the core, has gone far beyond the confines of industry; it has in fact been extended to all state-run enterprises. The so-called "Regulations on Socialist State-Run Productive Enterprises" clearly lay down that the regulations, aimed at putting the "new system" into effect, are applicable not only in state-run industrial enterprises but in building, farming, transportation, and in post and tele-communication enterprises as well. At a Supreme Soviet meeting, last August 3, Kosygin further stressed the need to "continuously extend the economic reform to all branches of the national economy."

Initiated by the Soviet leaders, there has been a new wave of enforcing the capitalist "principle of profit" in every aspect of life in the Soviet Union. A proposal was adopted at the All-Union Academic Conference that "profit-making plans should be drawn up for the institutes of scientific research and designing," and that profit should "become the source of bonus and development funds." Some leaders of institutes of higher learning have published articles in *Pravda* advocating

Putting Rubles in Command

THE Soviet revisionist leading group is pushing ahead, in double-quick time, what it calls a "new system" in different branches of the Soviet national economy. The core of this "new system" is to put rubles in command, to seek profit only, and to make the principle of profit the highest principle in all economic activities.

This is the criminal move the Soviet revisionist turncoats are making to completely undermine the socialist economic base, to completely bury the gains of the October Revolution and to completely restore capitalism by means of the state authority which they have usurped.

Profit-seeking is the absolute law of capitalism. The Soviet revisionist group now has copied this down as its own axiom, making profit the basic motive force in production; enterprises are allowed to adjust production in the light of the ups and downs of the market, while planned economy is replaced by free competition. Going the capitalist way as the Soviet revisionists obviously are, they have the audacity to boast that this is a "new creation" to "strengthen and develop socialism." They really don't know the meaning of shame!

Moreover, the Soviet revisionist group is fanatically introducing the principle of profit in all other aspects of life in the Soviet Union. The ruble is put in command of different fields, such as in literature and art, institutes of learning and education, and in scientific research. Small wonder that the official publications of the Soviet revisionists also have found it difficult to cover this up: "Rubles, rubles, money and business . . . this is all you read in the newspapers and hear on the radio nowadays."

Frederick Engels said: **"For it (the bourgeoisie) nothing exists in this world, except for the sake of money, itself not excluded. It knows no bliss save that of rapid gain. . . ."** This too best portrays the Soviet revisionist group and the Soviet bourgeois privileged stratum whom they represent.

The betrayals by the Soviet revisionists for the purpose of all-round capitalist restoration have won imperialism's loud applause. In spring 1966, when they set out to push this "new system" forward, in the United States the *Wall Street Journal* for one cheered their "learning" from capitalism and extended a "welcome to join our club." By now, the Soviet revisionist group should be well qualified to join the monopoly capitalist groups' "club" and merge with imperialism into an integrated whole.

("Renmin Ribao" commentary, April 10.)

the application of "economic principles" such as "material interests" to the larger institutes of higher learning. One opera house and ballet theatre manager suggested in the press that "new principles and methods of leadership" in the spirit of "the reform by the state of the entire system of leadership in the national economy" be applied to theatres. The Soviet press also published articles repeatedly advocating the implementation of the profit principle of the "new system" in film studios with a view to encouraging the production of films with "box office value."

Rejected and Opposed by the Soviet People

The "new system" for capitalist restoration introduced by the Soviet revisionist leading group was rejected and opposed by the Soviet people at the very outset.

There have been traces of the Soviet people's dissatisfaction and protest in the press, over which the Soviet revisionist leading group exercises tight control. One reader wrote to the *Literaturnaya Gazeta* to say: "Rubles, rubles, money and business . . . this is all you read in the newspapers and hear on the radio nowadays. For fifty years, we have been taught to deal with people and functionaries in an unselfish and humane manner, refusing to soil our hands with cash, and now suddenly people can think of saying: 'I've all the respect in the world for you, as long as you bring me profit.'" "In our place profit and material incentive are beginning to push the high standards set by one's moral integrity into the background."

There are people who exposed the essence of this reactionary line of complete capitalist restoration at the very time the Liberman "proposal" was brought up. They pointed out that these measures, if taken, would cause serious damage to the balance in the national economy, and it would signify the forfeiting of a planned national economy and the socialist gains of the October Revolution. By its overall introduction of the "new system," the Soviet revisionist leading group has provoked the Soviet people to still stronger opposition. This has caused the former to feel more and more uneasy. When the "new system" was first put into effect, the Soviet revisionist leaders already spoke a great deal about sweeping away "obstacles"; of late, they are resorting to high-handed and open means of repression through "administrative measures."

Chairman Mao has said: **"The socialist system will eventually replace the capitalist system; this is an objective law independent of man's will. However much the reactionaries try to hold back the wheel of history, sooner or later revolution will take place and will inevitably triumph."** It is certain that the Soviet people, with the glorious tradition of the Great October Revolution, will vigorously rise and struggle resolutely against the Soviet revisionist leading group.

In Soviet society, which the great Lenin himself created, in spite of temporary zigzags and an adverse current in its historical course, sooner or later it will break through barrier after barrier and forge ahead. The Soviet revisionist group of turncoats, vainly trying to stay its progress, will certainly be completely crushed by the wheel of history.

"RENMIN RIBAO" COMMENTARIES

Soviet Revisionists' "Honoured Guests"

The Soviet revisionist ruling clique is quite used to sitting at the same table with the south Korean puppets and their like at various kinds of conferences. Yet it seems that these revisionists do not think that they have gone far enough to befriend the U.S. imperialist stooges. Now they have gone further, agreeing to welcome a delegation of the Pak Jung Hi clique to Moscow in the autumn for the so-called "Inter-Parliamentary Union Meeting."

Aren't the Soviet revisionist chieftains fond of saying that they are the "reliable, faithful and true friends" of the Korean people? And yet they are going out of their way to hobnob with hangmen and traitors whose hands are dripping with the blood of the Korean people.

Aren't these revisionist masters fond of saying that they "truly support" the Vietnamese people's struggle against U.S. aggression and for national salvation? And yet they are fraternizing with the Pak clique which is an accomplice of U.S. imperialism in its war of aggression against Vietnam and which has sent tens of thousands of troops to massacre the Vietnamese people.

Aren't these Moscow bigwigs fond of saying that they want to make common cause with the Asian people against imperialism? And yet they are carrying out extensive "international co-operation" with U.S. imperialism's pawns for aggression in Asia.

Such is the hypocrisy and shamelessness of the Soviet revisionist ruling clique!

But there is nothing strange in all this.

Since those in the Kremlin regard the No. 1 enemy of the people of the world — U.S. imperialism — as their bosom friend, it is only natural that they see all of Washington's lackeys, valets and puppets as their good friends too.

Since the Soviet revisionists want "all-round co-operation" with U.S. imperialism, which is the nerve-centre of all reactionary forces in the world, and thus establish a counter-revolutionary "holy alliance," it is only natural that they find it expedient to rally round themselves all of the world's most decadent and reactionary forces.

Since they themselves are the worst betrayers of the Soviet people and all the people of the world, it is only natural that they associate with the national betrayers, political dregs and social scum of every description of all countries.

This same Soviet revisionist ruling clique has been vigorously plumping for "united action," which means nothing other than unity with U.S. imperialism and its running dogs to oppose the revolutionary people of all lands.

Some self-styled "Marxist-Leninists" have invented quite a few "theories" to justify the formation of a so-

called "anti-U.S. united front" with the Soviet revisionists. Isn't the behaviour of the Soviet revisionist renegade group a stinging mockery of the "theories" invented by these people?

(April 2)

Clumsy Slander

The Soviet revisionist ruling clique has been rather busy spreading anti-China rumours concerning the Vietnam question for some time.

The absurdity and crudeness of these rumours have become quite startling. For instance, these rumour-mongers say that the Chinese people and the U.S. imperialists belong to "the same group" because, while the United States wants to expand "the war in Vietnam," the Chinese people back the Vietnamese people in their "protracted war." What a fantastic piece of information! U.S. imperialism is the aggressor and the Vietnamese people the victim of aggression. The Chinese people stand fast in their support of the Vietnamese people to fight the U.S. aggressors to the end. How then can they possibly be lumped with U.S. imperialism as belonging to "the same group"? This is a downright travesty of the truth. What the Soviet revisionists are driving at is quite clear — the Vietnamese people should not have resisted the U.S. imperialist aggression in the first place; they should have laid down their arms. The people of other countries throughout the world should not have supported the Vietnamese people to resist the U.S. aggressors; they should have brought pressure on them to give in to the U.S. aggressors. Actually, the Soviet revisionist renegades only expose their ugly features when they try their best to slander the Chinese people.

What can be more preposterous than the story they concocted that China has reached a "tacit agreement" with the United States. Of course people the world over can only laugh at such idiocy. Everybody knows the stand of the Chinese people in aiding Vietnam to resist U.S. aggression and U.S. imperialism is in no way confused about this either. It is no one else but the Soviet renegades themselves who have ganged up with the U.S. aggressors, who have reached a tacit agreement with them and who have openly and actively collaborated with them. The Soviet renegades rack their brains fabricating rumours to smear China. But they are only thieves crying "stop thief!"

Why has this Soviet band of revisionist traitors been so vehement in vilifying and slandering China in regard to the Vietnam question?

The reasons are not far to seek.

This renegade group's sham support and real betrayal of the Vietnamese people has been exposed. In order to continue their despicable course, they seek cover behind anti-China lies.

The attempts of the Soviet revisionists, who are collaborating with the U.S. imperialists to cajole and coerce the Vietnamese people to go down on their knees

and surrender, have failed in rapid succession. So they try to sow discord between the Chinese and Vietnamese people, their aim being to put additional pressure on the Vietnamese people to induce them or impel them to surrender.

In a word, these renegades' violent anti-China slander campaign is designed to meet the U.S. aggressors' present need to carry through their big plot of forcing "peace talks" through war.

Facts have once again shown that the Soviet revisionist ruling clique is U.S. imperialism's No. 1 accomplice in its aggression against Vietnam.

(April 3)

Sham Opposition but Real Support

The customary tactics of the Soviet revisionist ruling clique in dealing with the revolutionary people are sham support but real betrayal, while its policy towards the reactionaries is sham opposition but real support. The March 26 article on Indonesia in *Pravda* is another instance of such dirty work.

Purporting to accuse Indonesia's Suharto regime of carrying out "militant anti-communism," the article asserts that this "cannot but harm" its "cause of friendship and co-operation" with the Soviet Union.

Very well said! But this is nothing but affectation, a lie wrapped up in nice words to deceive people.

Since the Indonesian Right-wing militarists usurped power more than a year ago, you Soviet revisionists have worked hand in glove with the U.S. imperialists, grooming and backing up this fascist regime in all conceivable ways and aiding and abetting U.S. imperialism and Indonesian reaction in their efforts to put down the Indonesian people's revolution. How can the heinous crimes you have committed against the Indonesian people be cancelled by an empty, officially-inspired article?

The following questions should be put to the Soviet revisionists:

If you are really opposed to the "militant anti-communism" of the Indonesian Right-wing militarists, why do you so revoltingly praise as "national leader" and "leader of the revolution" the fascist ringleader whose hands are dripping with the blood of the Indonesian people? Why do you shamelessly describe the Indonesian reactionary regime in the pay and service of U.S. imperialism as a government "determined to continue the struggle against imperialism and colonialism"?

If you are really opposed to the "militant anti-communism" of the Indonesian fascists, why have you repeatedly expressed your wish to "further develop friendly relations" with them? Why did you invite this fascist regime's foreign minister Malik to Moscow and lionize him as your guest of honour?

If you are really opposed to their "militant anti-communism," why then are you so zealous in rushing

economic aid to these fascists to prop up their counter-revolutionary rule? Why are you furnishing them with a continuous and massive supply of arms to help them massacre patriotic Indonesians?

The irony is that your lie has been exposed by none other than your good friend Malik. He said bluntly that the *Pravda* article purporting to accuse the Suharto government would not harm the good relations between Indonesia and the Soviet Union. Apparently the Indonesian reactionaries are perfectly clear that your policy towards them is sham opposition but real support.

The reason why the Soviet revisionist ruling clique had this article published is as clear as day. The counter-revolutionary activities of the Soviet revisionists in Indonesia have become too open and undisguised and some subterfuges are in order so as to hoodwink the people of the Soviet Union and Indonesia as well as all other revolutionary people of the world. But the more they try to hide, the more they reveal.

(April 4)

Thuggery Awarded

Under revisionist rule in the Soviet Union today, anti-China activities are considered merits and medals are awarded on that account.

The Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R., in a recent decree, awarded a batch of anti-Chinese thugs on the staff of Soviet diplomatic and other organizations in China the orders of "Red Banner of Labour" and "Labour Merit" and medals for "Labour Valour" and "Labour Excellence" in recognition of their notorious services.

It is said that these people were decorated for their "courage" and "valour." But what kind of "courage" and "valour" did they display? "Courage" in shameful anti-Chinese activities and "valour" in counter-revolutionary performances! According to these standards, such medals should go first of all to Brezhnev, Kosygin and the other Soviet revisionist chieftains themselves. And, by an extension of this logic, should not these medals also be conferred on U.S. imperialist chieftains like Johnson and his kind and the reactionaries of all countries?

It is not at all surprising that such things are happening in the Soviet Union of today. For the Soviet revisionist ruling clique long ago betrayed Lenin, socialism, the Soviet and the other people of the world and effected the counter-revolutionary restoration of capitalism. Since the arch renegades Khrushchov, Brezhnev, Kosygin and their like wear "Orders of Lenin" on their coats, why shouldn't those anti-Chinese thugs, who distinguished themselves, though in a lesser manner, be decorated with the "Red Banner of Labour" or "Labour Merit"?

But this farcical conferring of medals points up one thing — opposition to China is becoming extremely

unpopular in the Soviet Union. That is why the revisionist ruling clique has to stoop to the despicable practice of recruiting turncoats and renegades and instigating anti-Chinese activities with "heavy rewards."
(Abridged, April 5)

Open Betrayal

The Soviet revisionist renegade group's attitude towards the people's revolutionary struggles is real betrayal disguised as support or downright betrayal without even verbal support. Their attitude towards the struggle of the people of Palestine who oppose Israel, the U.S. imperialist tool, and are striving to return to their homeland is a case of open betrayal without even their customary lip-service.

At the bogus "Third Conference of Afro-Asian Writers" illegally convened by the Soviet revisionists at Beirut, the Soviet delegates deliberately avoided mentioning the substance of the Palestine people's anti-imperialist struggle and dared not condemn U.S. imperialism's crimes of aggression. They collaborated with the Indian delegates in exerting every effort to prevent the conference from adopting a resolution supporting the Palestine people's just struggle. This once more exposes the Soviet revisionist group's foul betrayal of the people of Palestine and the interests of all other Arab people.

The Soviet revisionists at the conference quibbled that they took this stand because they had "made no study" of the Palestine question. What nonsense! It is not at all a question of having "made no study" of the Palestine question; it is precisely because they have

made a good "study" of it that they have persistently opposed, at all international conferences, support for the Palestine people's struggle to return to their homeland. The renegade behaviour of the Soviet revisionists can never be concealed by their absurd statements to evade the Palestine question.

Israel is a tool for aggression fashioned and fostered by imperialism, a dagger stuck into the Arab region by the old and new colonialists and a sworn enemy of the Arab people. In face of this ferocious enemy armed to the teeth by U.S. and British imperialism, the Palestine people are resolved to wage armed struggle to liberate their homeland. Their just struggle enjoys the support of the people of the Afro-Asian countries and all other people of the world. But the Soviet revisionist renegade group has never stopped flirting and collaborating with Israel. They have gone so far as to help U.S. imperialism with its manoeuvres of enforcing "reconciliation" on the Palestine question. They have energetically called for the application of the "Tashkent spirit" in solving the disputes between Israel and the Arab countries. This in fact is aimed at depriving the Palestine people of their sacred right to liberate their homeland and force them to lay down their arms, call off their struggle and recognize the status quo in Israel, so that U.S. imperialism can extend its tentacles to all parts of the Middle East.

Thus, on the Palestine question, the Soviet revisionist ruling group is playing the role of out-and-out accomplice of U.S. imperialism and its tool, Israel. To oppose the two, it is, therefore, imperative to oppose their partner and fellow conspirator, the Soviet revisionist ruling clique.

(April 8)

U.S. Imperialism's Neo-Colonialist Drive In the Congo (Leopoldville)

IN the past year and more since the Mobutu puppet regime seized power in the Congo (Leopoldville), it has been selling out the interests of the nation and imposing a fascist rule on the people in pursuance of Washington's neo-colonialist policy. This reactionary regime is the tool which the United States uses to oppress and enslave the Congolese (L) people.

Joseph Mobutu, at one time a lackey of the Belgian colonialists and later in the pay of the subversive U.S. Central Intelligence Agency, is of late busily trying to give himself a new look so that he can continue to repress the patriotic forces. This traitor Mobutu, whose hands are stained with the blood of Congolese patriots, has recently ordered a monument to be built in honour of Patrice Lumumba, passing himself off as the "successor" of the national hero whom he had murdered. In foreign relations, in an attempt to free himself from

his isolation and prevent the other African countries from giving assistance to the patriotic armed struggle in the Congo (L), Mobutu now professes "friendship with Africa" and "normalization of diplomatic relations with fraternal African states." In economic affairs, he talks loudly about restoring "economic sovereignty to the Congo" and "fighting for economic independence." While making a show of combating the colonialist forces, he is in fact energetically serving U.S. neo-colonialism's effort to take the place of the former Belgian colonialists in the Congo (L). As Chairman Mao has said: **"In Africa, U.S. imperialism is stepping up its neo-colonialist policies and actively seeking to replace the old colonialists, plunder and enslave the peoples of Africa, and undermine and stamp out their national-liberation movements."**

The U.S. imperialists have sent large quantities of weapons and many military "experts" to their stooge

Mobutu. Fully supported and instigated by his American masters, Mobutu has intensified repression against the nation's patriotic armed forces. According to press reports, preceded by a group of U.S. poison gas "experts," a U.S. military "specialist" named Adams arrived in the Congo (L) in May last year to train puppet officers in the "art" of "mopping up" patriotic armed forces. Between July and August, the United States gave Mobutu's men a number of C-47 planes, 37 military trucks and a consignment of war materiel. An unending supply of other American-made weapons has also been shipped to the Congo (L). Reports have confirmed that the United States now provides Mobutu's puppet troops and mercenaries with practically all the arms and technical personnel they use in attacking the patriotic armed forces. As disclosed in an article in the January 13 *La Voix du Peuple*, organ of the Belgian Communist Party, the U.S. Government has agreed to hand out a grant of 324 million CFA francs to Mobutu's puppet police bureau and send six American police "experts" to the Congo (L). Mobutu's police force is completely equipped with U.S. arms while many police officers have gone to the United States for training.

Chairman Mao has said: **The nature of imperialism is to plunder; the policy of the imperialist countries in time of "peace" all along serves the aim of plunder.** What has been done by the U.S. imperialists in the Congo (L) fully testifies to this. In the name of "aid" to an "underdeveloped" country, U.S. imperialism has extended the Mobutu puppet regime economic and other forms of "aid" which was actually used for economic infiltration and plunder. Shortly after Mobutu assumed office, the United States was reported to have given his regime "aid" to the tune of one million U.S. dollars. This was followed by a series of "aid" agreements between the two parties. In 1965 alone, U.S. "aid" exceeded 50 million dollars, the bulk of which was earmarked to buy American corn, flour, rice, coffee and cotton. As a result, the Congo (L), hitherto an exporter of such items as rice, coffee and cotton, has been turned into an important market flooded with U.S. "surplus" farm produce to the great detriment of its own agricultural production.

U.S. monopoly capital is using the same methods to exploit the rich mineral resources of the country. Under a so-called aid and barter agreement signed in December 1965, the United States supplied the Congo (L) with 5,000 tons of grain in exchange for diamonds valued at 20 million dollars. The Congo (L)'s "industrial diamonds have thus gone into the American defence stockpile," said a press report.

Putting still more of the Congo (L)'s national interests up for sale, the Mobutu puppet regime, through its "ambassador" to Washington, urged U.S. financial magnates to invest in the Congo (L). Jean Litho, Mobutu's "minister of finance," himself went to the United States to solicit American capital for the building of a television station for the Congo (L). Mobutu's

policy of "economic independence" which caters to the interests of U.S. imperialism has pleased his Washington overlords. Martin Jacobs, commercial attache of the U.S. "embassy" in Leopoldville, speaking plainly in a report on the economic state of the Congo (L), noted that its economic prospects were promising [for the U.S.] and that an opportunity faces American businessmen.

In reality, the Congo (L) under the Mobutu puppet regime has already been converted into an American colony. An article in the American magazine, *U.S. News and World Report*, last year said: "Six years after the Congo got its independence, this country, in effect, still is a dependent colony. The difference is that, instead of Belgians running things, it is Americans, along with the Belgians, who are largely in control."

As a result of the Mobutu regime's policy of national betrayal, the Congo (L)'s national debt has increased to 20,000 million Congolese francs; production has been seriously affected; the supply of consumer goods falls acutely short of demand; prices have skyrocketed; the people are seething with resentment. More and more people in the territory under the puppet regime, where life is hard, are joining the struggle against imperialist oppression and exploitation. Thus, mass demonstrations and strikes have been breaking out one after another in different parts of the country.

The traitor Mobutu has resorted to ruthless repression of the people. He has banned strikes throughout the country, dissolved all youth organizations and prohibited their activities. In December last year, activities of the General Confederation of Congolese Workers were also banned. Those who show the slightest sign of dissatisfaction with Mobutu's traitorous dictatorship are instantly arrested. It has been reported that on one occasion Mobutu's puppet police rounded up more than 3,180 people in Bandalungwa district, Leopoldville, alone. Prisons in the Congo (L) are packed with "political prisoners."

But where there is oppression, there is resistance. The heroic Congolese (L) people are not to be intimidated nor overwhelmed by force. The patriotic armed forces on the country's western front have issued a call to mobilize the masses on a broad scale to intensify the armed struggle against U.S. imperialism and its lackeys until their motherland is liberated. No matter what tactics U.S. imperialism and its lackeys use, neither deception nor brutal repression will save them from destruction. The Congolese (L) people are bound to win final victory in their just struggle.

The latest farce put on by Mobutu will greatly help the Congolese (L) and other African people see through the intrigues of U.S. neo-colonialism. The African people know that they must be on guard and harbour no illusions regarding U.S. imperialism and its henchman Mobutu. They know this concerns not only the fundamental interests of the Congolese (L) people, but also those of the people of Africa as a whole.



Mao Tse-tung's Thought

Lights the Whole World

Beacon of the Armed Struggle

After reading Chairman Mao's brilliant work *On Correcting Mistaken Ideas in the Party*, Amagnis, a Congolese (L) revolutionary leader fighting in the heart of Africa told a Hsinhua correspondent that "it's as if Chairman Mao wrote this great article in our own country for our struggle. This important article is like the sun for the fighting people of the Congo (L) and the beacon of our armed struggle for national liberation."

He stressed, "The study of this work will enable the revolution in China as well as in Asia, Africa and Latin America to achieve complete victory."

Amagnis pointed out that the barbarous suppression by the imperialists headed by the United States, and especially the sabotage by the Soviet modern revisionists, caused serious damage to the Congolese (L) armed struggle in 1964.

Referring to some mistaken ideas existing in the Congolese (L) patriotic armed forces, such as "the purely military viewpoint," "putschism," "disregard of organizational discipline" and "individualism," Amagnis emphasized that: "In order to fight against the imperialists, revisionists and their influence, we must overcome all our weak points and correct all these errors among ourselves, as Chairman Mao wisely pointed out in his great, brilliant article."

He said that in order to defeat the imperialists and modern revisionists and to win victory in the national-liberation struggle of the people in Asia, Africa and Latin America, all revolutionary people should creatively study and apply this article of Chairman Mao's on a large scale.

French Working People's Letters

A veteran French railway worker has twice written to send his respects to Chairman Mao. He wrote in one letter: "You belong not only to the Chinese people but also to the people of the world who are looking to you for liberation." He continued: "You have won the boundless affection of all true Marxist-Leninists. The Soviet revisionist renegades, who are sinking deeper and deeper in their betrayal and ignominious behaviour by collaborating with class enemies, have been thrown into the dust-bin of history by the people of all countries." He said: "All true Marxist-Leninists as well as the proletariat and the poor in the world will always be

on your side, holding ever higher the invincible and glorious red banner of world revolution, which is crimson with the blood of revolutionary heroes."

A young woman worker has written several letters warmly extolling Chairman Mao and China's great proletarian cultural revolution. She indignantly denounced the French revisionists for helping the bourgeoisie dull the class consciousness of the working class and undermine its militant spirit. She stated that this had for a time thrown her into despair but after studying Chairman Mao's works she is again filled with vigour and confidence.

She said: "This profound understanding of China, the Communist Party of China and the thought of your genius and great revolutionary leader Mao Tse-tung... has made me take up the struggle again with fervour and greater seriousness." Chairman Mao, she said, is "the valiant pilot of genius of all the genuine revolutionaries in the world."

Dealing Mortal Blows at the Revisionists

Burmese writer Thakin Mya Than in a recent interview with Hsinhua said that Chairman Mao's thought and teachings are the "beacon light not only for the revolution of China but also for the revolution of the people of the world." He stressed that Chairman Mao has become the great leader of the international communist movement.

The Burmese writer pointed out that no matter how venomously the Soviet revisionist leading group, which had embarked on the counter-revolutionary road, slandered Chairman Mao, the great leader of the world's revolutionary people, it could in no way destroy the profound love and respect for Chairman Mao in the hearts of the people of the world.

"The great leader Lenin resisted the attacks by the anti-Marxist renegades of the Second International against Marxism and revolution. Chairman Mao and Mao Tse-tung's thought are dealing mortal blows to the revisionists who undermine the foundations of Marxism-Leninism and the revolutionary movements," he concluded.

A Completely Different Answer

After a visit to the National Institute of the Peasant Movement in Kwangchow, an African friend took out a

book entitled *Socialist Thinking in Africa*, and indignantly told his Chinese comrades: "You see, it says in this book that 'if Africa wants to be strong and prosper it must get foreign aid.' This is nonsense!" Then he opened the *Quotations From Chairman Mao Tse-tung*,

turned to the chapter "Self-Reliance and Arduous Struggle," and said: "Chairman Mao tells us here: 'On what basis should our policy rest? It should rest on our own strength. . . .' This is a most powerful weapon for our struggle against imperialism."

World's Revolutionary People Eagerly Study "Quotations From Chairman Mao Tse-tung"

A veteran Algerian guerrilla fighter makes a point of remembering Chairman Mao's words. An officer who had been in guerrilla warfare for a long period of time in the Aures mountain region, a well-known revolutionary base area in Algeria, told a Hsinhua correspondent that he reads *Quotations From Chairman Mao Tse-tung* every day, and often discusses it with his friends. He said: Veteran guerrilla fighters of Algeria have immense love for Chairman Mao Tse-tung. In the early stage of the Algerian war of national liberation, the guerrilla fighters had begun to apply Chairman Mao's famous thesis on people's war to deal blows at the French colonialists. At that time, it was difficult to obtain Chairman Mao's works. So they mimeographed or copied quotations from Chairman Mao Tse-tung's works and passed them around among the guerrilla fighters.

Taking out a small notebook about the size of a cigarette case, he turned to the first page bearing the title "1967" and pointed to a few lines of closely written words. He said: "These are quotations from Chairman Mao Tse-tung which I have copied down: **The enemy advances, we retreat; the enemy camps, we harass; the enemy tires, we attack; the enemy retreats, we pursue.**" He said that every year when he changed his notebooks, he would copy some quotations from Chairman Mao so as to commit them to memory.

"Chairman Mao's thinking on people's war," he continued, "has played an inestimable role in the people's liberation movements of our time. Today the Vietnamese people are successfully applying the thinking on people's war, and fighting tactically and flexibly to wipe out the U.S. troops. If the U.S. forces refuse to withdraw from Vietnam, they will be completely wiped out sooner or later. Vietnam will surely win — this is the only conclusion."

Every sentence in the Quotations is the truth. A Tanzanian friend who works in a mass organization told a Hsinhua correspondent: "Every sentence in the *Quotations From Chairman Mao Tse-tung* is the truth. I learnt a lot from every page I read. The thought of Mao Tse-tung is not only an inheritance from but also a development of Marxism-Leninism."

He said: "Chairman Mao has taught us that **all correct leadership is necessarily from the masses, to the masses.**" By following Chairman Mao's teachings, I've improved my methods of work and made progress."

Discussing the benefits from studying the *Quotations From Chairman Mao Tse-tung*, he said that

Chairman Mao's thesis that wars are divided into two kinds, just and unjust, is completely correct. It is very important to distinguish the nature of wars. A revolutionary, he said, should give support to the just wars of the oppressed people against imperialist aggression, and should oppose the unjust and aggressive wars of the imperialists. At present, we should support the Vietnamese people's struggle to resist U.S. aggression and save their country.

Mao Tse-tung's thought, a spiritual atom bomb. A Cuban woman professor had just got a copy of the Spanish version of *Quotations From Chairman Mao Tse-tung* from a Chinese friend. "Mao Tse-tung's thought is like a spiritual atom bomb," she said, holding the *Quotations* over her head. "In China's great proletarian cultural revolution, the Red Guards use Mao Tse-tung's thought as their weapon to overthrow the handful of people in authority who are taking the capitalist road. The Chinese students also used it to fight against the fascist atrocities committed by the Soviet revisionist leaders in Red Square, Moscow. We will also use it as the weapon in our fight."

All the world's revolutionary people place their hopes on Chairman Mao. An Iranian revolutionary had waited a long time for a copy of the *Quotations*. When he got it, he said excitedly, "This valuable red book is the guide in our struggle against U.S. imperialism and for national liberation. It is a symbol of victory."

The Khrushchov revisionists — Brezhnev, Kosygin and their kind — have long discarded all the principles of world revolution, he said. At present, all the revolutionary people in the world are placing their hopes on Chairman Mao Tse-tung who has always stood firmly by their side and persisted in carrying the world revolution through to the end.

Explaining problems in accordance with the teachings in the Quotations. A Pakistan friend in Lahore said: "Whenever I cite some quotations from Chairman Mao Tse-tung in discussions on various subjects with my colleagues, they always listen attentively and with admiration, and they want to read my treasured book."

"Mao Tse-tung's thought is indeed a great ideological treasure shared by all progressive people in the world. Mao Tse-tung's thought, which is the authentic source of the brilliant successes achieved by the Chinese people, becomes the guiding line for all the revolutionary people of the world in their struggles," he said.

China's Great Cultural Revolution Has Opened the Channel to Communism

by SIDNEY RITTENBERG*

(I)

WHEN I arrived in China, I did not know what Mao Tse-tung's thinking was at all. I did not understand anything about it, or about the line, orientation or policy of the Communist Party of China. It was all too different from what went on in the American Communist Party. It took quite a time before my mind began to adjust. And I began to understand and to recognize the difference between real Marxism-Leninism and phony Marxism-Leninism. I began to understand that the Communist Party of China was a genuine Marxist-Leninist revolutionary Party.

I had a very high respect for Chairman Mao. When I was a boy and worked in a cotton mill, our trade union used to meet on the second floor of a building, in a dilapidated room above a store. There was only one picture on the wall and that was of Mao Tse-tung. So at that time I already knew that there was a Mao Tse-tung. And I knew that Mao Tse-tung was the Chinese Lenin.

After I got to Yen-an, Chairman Mao had several talks with me. We did not talk for very long, but each time it left a deep impression. After each talk I used to wonder why Chairman Mao put something the way he did? Why was it, I thought, that he presented problems quite differently from the way I would look at them?

During China's war of liberation, I began to develop the idea that the solution to the problems of the American revolution lay in the earthen caves and the little flat-roof mud houses of China. Despite the great differences in the actual situation in America and China, I felt that the American revolution had to follow the road derived from Mao Tse-tung's thinking.

Last June I re-visited Yen-an, and talked with some old comrades there and also some young people. In the course of our conversation I described how our Communist Party in the southern parts of the United

States used to be very small but very powerful. Almost all the members of the Party in the south were beaten or jailed or persecuted in other ways in the course of their revolutionary activities, but the organization was never broken. It persisted, kept working and, to some extent, was even able to grow. So Ku Klux Klan persecution could not destroy the Party, government suppression could not destroy it, and all the spies and agents sent in to wreck it could not destroy it. Yet later, the Party and the mass organizations around it were all destroyed. This was after the American Communist Party became revisionist. And the order came from on top that we ourselves should dissolve our Party.

After I came to China, every time I thought of it I was furious. Because our Party was smashed not by the forces of imperialism working from the outside but by revisionism developed by the enemy from within.

In those days we knew nothing about how to combat slavish obedience. We did not understand the difference between blind bourgeois discipline and the conscious proletarian discipline that is based on understanding, and we did not understand that we had to rebel against the former. So of course we were not able to hold out against the counter-revolutionary backlash of revisionism.

What fundamental way was there to prevent revisionism from taking hold of a party? I was never able to find a clear solution to this problem.

During and right after China's liberation, the idea began to form itself in my mind that the fundamental way was to integrate Mao Tse-tung's thinking, the truth of Marxism-Leninism, with the actual situation of the revolution in one's own country. That was the way to prevent revisionism, or to counter it and overthrow it if it developed. At that time, I can say, I had only a theoretical comprehension of the problem.

However, during the great proletarian cultural revolution, my understanding of this problem has grown, not only theoretically but in practice.

So the cultural revolution has given me a kind of rebirth. I feel 20 years younger. The cultural revolution

*An American journalist working in China.

has shown the way to prevent and combat revisionism. With the appearance of the young Red Guards of China, with the revolutionary youth growing up under the influence of Mao Tse-tung's thinking, I feel that the future of the world revolution is in absolutely safe hands. China's great proletarian cultural revolution is decisive for the future of the world revolution.

(II)

The world picture today is that of a global struggle between the labouring people and all who love freedom on the one side, and the most vicious enemy of mankind, the U.S. imperialists and the reactionaries of all countries on the other side. We can call it a worldwide class war.

U.S. imperialism wants to dominate the globe. It is suppressing the revolutionary movement everywhere. The Soviet revisionist leading clique has allied itself with U.S. imperialism and is openly bearing down on the revolutionary masses, selling them out and working for U.S. imperialism. The great proletarian cultural revolution in China has dealt U.S. imperialism, revisionism and all reaction a devastating blow.

The cultural revolution has sharply placed before the revolutionary people of the whole world the question of the leader of the world revolution, its guiding concepts and its centre, in such a way that it has given proletarian revolutionaries everywhere a clear guiding light. Here is the key to success or failure in revolution. The Chinese proletarian cultural revolution has opened a new chapter in the world revolution.

I believe that one of the most serious blows struck by the Khrushchov revisionists at the world revolution was their propaganda about so-called opposition to the cult of the individual. This criminal move of Khrushchov's caused the greatest damage to the revolutionary movement all over the world. It gave rise to a counter-revolutionary current which, if not beaten back, would prevent the revolution from advancing and winning victory, because to deny the proletariat its revolutionary leader is, in effect, to affirm the bourgeois leaders.

The Afro-Americans in the United States have risen in struggle, and it is very easy for them to see the point. I have seen some of their little mimeographed papers — very sharp politically — and they affirm: "Mao Tse-tung! Mao Tse-tung! Mao Tse-tung!" The Afro-American people are at the bottom of society in the United States. They have the highest class consciousness and, with the addition of the national oppression which they suffer, their political sensitivity is all the more acute. Their point of departure is very simple: U.S. imperialism is their most vicious enemy and U.S. imperialism reserves its strongest opposition for Mao Tse-tung. Therefore, Mao Tse-tung must be right, he must be the most correct of all. So they do everything possible to get hold of his books and writings and,

when they read them, find them very close to their own hearts. They feel these are written for them, show them their own path of struggle, and so they are quite clear as to who is their leader and their teacher.

They proceed from one of the fundamental points in **Mao Tse-tung's teachings**: "We should support whatever the enemy opposes and oppose whatever the enemy supports." They shout "Long live Mao Tse-tung" from the bottom of their hearts.

A friend who works in Peking was in America recently. At one meeting he attended a discussion arose on the use of the phrase "Chairman Mao is the red sun in the hearts of revolutionary people everywhere." A young Afro-American got up and said: "I don't understand a lot of the theory you people have been arguing about, but on this point, as far as I am concerned, there is nothing to discuss. Chairman Mao is the red sun in my heart."

Chairman Mao is the greatest Marxist-Leninist of our time, the great genius of the world revolution and its great standard-bearer. The cultural revolution has made it abundantly clear that when things are done according to Chairman Mao's teachings the revolution advances, and when one departs from Chairman Mao's teachings the revolution is defeated. This is true of China and it is true for revolutionaries all over the world.

Chairman Mao has inherited, defended and developed Marxism-Leninism with great genius and creativeness and in a comprehensive way, so that Marxism-Leninism has been advanced to a new stage. Mao Tse-tung's thought is Marxism-Leninism in the period in which imperialism is heading for collapse all along the line and in which socialism is moving towards world victory. Mao Tse-tung's thinking is the only Marxist-Leninist doctrine of our time which can give correct guidance to the revolution and lead it to victory.

The great proletarian cultural revolution in China has solved the question of the leader of the world revolution, its guiding concepts and the centre of the world revolution, and it has clarified these problems, as never before, in the minds of revolutionary people everywhere.

This is a most fundamental contribution to the world revolution. All genuine proletarian revolutionaries are raising high the banner of Mao Tse-tung's thinking, raising high the banner of Chairman Mao as the leader of the world revolution and, regardless of all the persecution coming from the reactionaries, are going boldly forward. With tremendous feeling for the thought of Mao Tse-tung, they are making greater and greater contributions to the revolution in their own countries.

(III)

The great proletarian cultural revolution in China has solved a tremendously important problem for the

whole proletarian revolution in our time, and that is the problem of how to guard against the restoration of capitalism after the proletariat has taken power, how to consolidate and develop the dictatorship of the proletariat and socialist system, and, furthermore, how to open the way forward to communism. The solution to this problem creates a new picture in the whole world revolutionary movement and begins a new stage, the stage in which imperialism will be smashed all over the world and the cause of socialism and communism will be victorious.

The Paris Commune of 1871 provided us with some experience of proletarian seizure of power. The Russian revolution of October, 1917, carried this experience further. But the only experience we had on consolidating and developing this power was how to resist armed attack from the outside and how to fight civil war within the country to defend the new political power, the new regime.

Another question that remained to be solved was how to avoid the emergence of revisionism after the proletariat has seized political power. How can you prevent a capitalist restoration? How can you be sure that proletarian power will continue to advance and the revolution will be carried on to the end? How can you continue to develop the victorious socialist state so that the proletarian revolution moves steadily forward and the socialist state becomes the base of world revolution? How can you defend the proletarian revolution?

This tremendously important problem was never solved, but a clear-cut solution has been found through China's cultural revolution.

After the proletariat seizes political power, it must continue to rebel against the bourgeoisie. It must continue to rebel against revisionism and against all the ideology of the exploiting classes. It must smash the bourgeois world outlook and arm the broad masses of the people with the proletarian world outlook.

The proletariat seizes political power through armed force; that is a universal law. After seizing power, it must arouse the masses of the people, so that coming up from below a proletarian cultural revolution is unleashed, sweeping away the ideology of the bourgeoisie and thus accomplishing a second seizure of power. That is also a universal law.

But it is something that was unknown in the past. Now it is something which we not only know in theory but of which we already have practical experience.

After the seizure of political power, we must continue to seize power over the bourgeois ideology in our minds. Otherwise, we shall not be able to thoroughly smash the old world and, therefore, not be able to create the new world.

That book on self-cultivation by Communists has done a great deal of harm. I am one of those who

was harmed. I could denounce it for days on end. It is really a poisonous weed. It trains people to be slaves. If you act according to that book, if you fail to resist it, it will simply lead you to become a climber. And whenever you make a mistake, it teaches you how to cover up, dodge criticism and get by. The book advocates "taking small losses for the sake of big gains." In other words, if you carry out this kind of "self-cultivation," it is for your personal advantage and for the advantage of the little group you belong to. This is out-and-out bourgeois exploiter ideology.

That book on "self-cultivation" goes flatly contrary to Mao Tse-tung's thinking. Chairman Mao advocates establishing the proletarian world outlook, the concept of complete and wholehearted service to the people with no thought of personal gain. Concern for the benefit of others is the only concern. The concept of service to the people is used to test each person in the struggle.

We all used to place our faith in the Soviet Union. The red star on top of the Kremlin was our hope. But that light went out.

We could not help wondering about the Chinese revolution. It had great youth and vigour and it supported revolutionaries of all lands. But what guarantee was there that it, too, would not change?

Comrades from Asia, Africa and Latin America often raised this question as soon as they arrived in China. In 1963, when Chairman Mao issued a statement in support of the Afro-American people of the United States, he invited two of us Americans and 18 African delegates. One delegate from the Cameroons got up and said:

"I have something to say which I find embarrassing, but the young revolutionaries in my country entrusted me to say it. They told me to ask how can we be sure that China which supports us today will not withdraw its support tomorrow?"

The cultural revolution has delivered a clear-cut reply to this question. It is the guarantee that socialist China will retain its revolutionary youthfulness for ever, the pledge that the revolution will be carried through to the end. The cultural revolution tells us to rest assured about the question of whether or not China will change.

The revolutionary youth and all the revolutionary masses of China who have passed through these storms of class struggle and who have been steeled in them are the guarantee. Chairman Mao's thinking is the guarantee.

Just as the revolution is being carried forward to its conclusion in China, so the revolution is bound to go forward to the end throughout the world. China's great proletarian cultural revolution has once again

broken open the channel to communism which was blocked by Khrushchov revisionism.

(IV)

The great victory of China's proletarian cultural revolution has dealt a heavy blow at imperialism, modern revisionism and all the reactionaries. With great daring, it spreads the idea that all reactionaries are paper tigers, and links this idea with another one, that is, with the idea of strategically scorning imperialism, revisionism and all the reactionaries. And the "five dares" put this strategic scorn into practice. Once we realize the enemy is a paper tiger, what should we do? The answer is to apply the spirit of the "five dares": dare to think, dare to speak out, dare to act, dare to break new ground and dare to make revolution.

The finest example has been provided by China's cultural revolution. The heroic young Red Guards are a model. In the cultural revolution, the spirit of the "five dares," the idea that revolutionary rebellion is right, has been given first place.

The idea that revolutionary rebellion is always right—and the spread of this idea to the revolutionaries of all countries—is of tremendous importance for the advancement of the world revolution. China's great cultural revolution is giving powerful support to proletarian revolutionaries all over the world, political and other support. This has badly frightened imperialism and revisionism. A *New York Times* reporter named Durdin, one of their special agent reporters who has made a study of China, wrote an article at the beginning of the cultural revolution in which he said that hopes were being placed on the second generation after Mao Tse-tung, but it now appeared that that generation might be tougher than the first.

China's cultural revolution provides the strategy and tactics for combating and preventing revisionism, and in itself is a great rehearsal for this.

The Soviet revisionist leading clique fully understands this and is therefore desperately fighting it. Especially since the "January Revolution" took place in Shanghai, the Soviet revisionists have thrown themselves recklessly into the struggle against it.

Kosygin vilified China and the cultural revolution in the presence of the Queen of England, and, without any sense of shame, publicly pleaded for understanding from the imperialists, begging them to give him aid and support.

It is because China's cultural revolution has stirred the revolutionary people all over the world, including the people of the Soviet Union, and has exposed what is really at the bottom of Soviet revisionism, that the

revisionists have become terribly frightened and are spreading all sorts of rumours and slanders.

They are putting out a lot of rubbish saying that the proletarian cultural revolution is neither proletarian nor cultural, had nothing to do with culture and is not a revolution, and even that it is a counter-revolution. In all this, the Soviet revisionist ruling clique is vilifying China worse than the imperialists are doing because it feels itself weak.

The revisionists are especially afraid of slogans like "Down with servility!" "Down with those in authority in the Party taking the capitalist road!" and "Proletarian revolutionary rebellion is always right!" They are mortally afraid of these resounding slogans.

The Chinese people in the cultural revolution have raised high the great red banner of Mao Tse-tung's thought, and Chairman Mao has become the red sun in the hearts of the revolutionary people all over the world. That is making life harder for the Soviet revisionists. Those revisionist gentlemen are shouting and screaming that the cultural revolution has ulterior motives. We can tell them frankly what the motives are. The motives are to dig out the roots of revisionism in China. And China's cultural revolution has strengthened the fighting spirit and confidence of the people in the revisionist countries, who are bound to carry out their own revolutionary rebellion, using whatever methods they find necessary.

Why did Durdin write such an article? Why is it that whenever the imperialists speak of Vietnam, they tie it up with the cultural revolution in China? The answer is that the reactionary class character of imperialism forces it to pay attention to the cultural revolution. For this revolution has blocked the way to the so-called peaceful evolution which the imperialists and revisionists were planning for China and has dealt a telling blow to the global designs of U.S. imperialism. In doing so, it has given powerful support to the revolutionary people of all countries.

The great achievements of China's proletarian cultural revolution are an inspiration to revolutionaries everywhere. As this base for the whole world revolution grows stronger day by day, it strengthens the fighting spirit and confidence of the revolutionary people everywhere.

Comrade Anna Louise Strong is full of life and spirit these days. She said to me: "I'm already over 81 years old, but can still do revolutionary propaganda. New things are taking place around me every day. I now think I shall probably witness events far beyond what I ever expected in the development of China's revolution and the world revolution. What wonderful vistas for an old revolutionary!"

I am sure that her feelings are shared by many revolutionaries abroad, and especially by the young revolutionaries.

ROUND THE WORLD

D.R.V. HITS BACK

U.S. Artillery Base Shelled

Long-range guns from the Vinh Linh area in north Vietnam shelled the American artillery base in Doc Mieu, Gio Linh District, in Quang Tri Province south of the 17th Parallel from the night of March 20 to the following morning. This was just punishment for the U.S. aggressors who have criminally escalated the war by bombarding populated areas in the north. A total of 1,070 U.S. aggressor troops were put out of action, 17 guns, 57 military vehicles and five helicopters were destroyed. A petrol dump and military supplies were hit and set on fire.

To offset their defeats in the war, the U.S. aggressors have recently stepped up their air strikes and naval bombardment against north Vietnam. What is more, they have since February 22 poured long-range artillery fire from south of the 17th Parallel into the populated areas in Vinh Linh and the demilitarized zone. After round-the-clock shelling during the period from March 10 to 15, the U.S. aggressors renewed their bombardment on March 18 and 19.

To punish the gangsters for this crime, the liberation forces in Quang Tri Province on several occasions launched surprise attacks and rained mortar fire on the U.S. marine artillery positions and encampment.

On the afternoon of March 20, the U.S. aggressors again opened long-range artillery fire on places north of the 17th Parallel. That night they got back more than they had given.

SOVIET REVISIONISM AND "MALAYSIA"

Renegade and U.S. Pawn

After two weeks' stay in Malaya, a Soviet "trade delegation" on April 3 issued a joint communique with the "Malaysian" puppet clique which declared that the two sides had agreed in principle to an exchange of diplomatic missions and would establish

"normal diplomatic relations." They also signed a trade agreement providing for most favoured nation treatment in matters of trade and shipping and for reciprocal trade representation. While in Kuala Lumpur, head of the Soviet delegation Spandaryan told reporters that his country was willing to follow the U.S. example and send a "peace corps" to Malaya.

"Malaysia" is a neo-colonialist product of the U.S. and British imperialists and is their instrument for undermining the national-liberation movements in Southeast Asia. The Rahman puppet group has brutally suppressed the national independence struggles of the Malayan, Sabah and Sarawak peoples. It is a willing pawn serving U.S. imperialist aggression against Asia. It has helped the U.S. aggressors train large numbers of south Vietnamese puppet troops. All this is well known. Even the Soviet revisionist group has stated many times in the past that "Malaysia" is "a reliable bastion of the colonialists in Southeast Asia," is "one of the hotbeds of tension in Southeast Asia," and is "a rear for [the U.S. imperialists] adventurist actions in south Vietnam and interventionist activities in Laos." Yet it has now turned a somersault and is getting on famously with this same "Malaysia."

Commenting on "Malaysia's" agreement to establish diplomatic relations with the Soviet Union, *Pravda* said on April 7 that it is a "radical turn in Malaysia's foreign policy. It shows that the Malaysian government takes a realistic view of the situation that has developed in the international arena." As a matter of fact, the "Malaysian" puppet clique has not changed one iota. What is different now is that both U.S. imperialism and Soviet revisionism are working hand in glove even more closely and energetically to build an anti-China encirclement. Big or small, all the henchmen of U.S. imperialism in Asia — including the Sato government of Japan, the

Right-wing militarist clique of Indonesia and the Thanom clique of Thailand — are running errands for the conspirators. The Soviet revisionists gang up with "Malaysia" at such a time precisely because it serves the interests of U.S. imperialism's policy of aggression in Asia and promotes the counter-revolutionary "holy alliance" jointly sponsored by the United States and the Soviet Union.

The Soviet revisionists try to cover up their traitorous activities with high-sounding words. But they only expose their true nature as renegades and the top accomplices of U.S. imperialism.

AUSTRALIA

Working Hard to Build Anti-China Encirclement

Still another lackey who works overtime to help his U.S. masters to form a ring of encirclement against China is the Australian Prime Minister Holt. He was in Taiwan early this month to ally himself openly with the Chiang Kai-shek gang which has long been repudiated by the Chinese people.

Since January last year when Holt came into office, the Australian Government has become even more reactionary and subservient to Washington. It has opened the door still wider to American capital penetrating into Australia. It has agreed to the establishment by the United States of military bases in Australia. Moreover, it has become an active participant in the U.S. strategic shift eastward, in the U.S. plot to encircle China and in U.S. aggression in Vietnam. Last year, Holt had his foreign minister call on Taiwan. Soon afterwards he sent an "ambassador" to the Chiang gang. Defying the strong opposition of the Australian people, he has boosted Australia's troop strength in south Vietnam from 1,000 to more than 6,000. And he has sent a squadron of bombers and a missile-launching destroyer to help massacre the Vietnamese people. Clearly, by visiting Taiwan and Southeast Asia so soon after the Guam conference, Holt is assisting

U.S. imperialism in its plot to widen its aggressive war in Vietnam and step up its anti-China activities.

Like the Thai reactionary chieftain Thanom who was recently in Taiwan to chum up with the Chiang gang, Holt will come to a bad end. Those who tail after U.S. imperialism and engage in acts of hostility against the Chinese and other peoples of Asia are incurring debts which must one day be paid.

BOGUS "THIRD AFRO-ASIAN WRITERS' CONFERENCE"

Soviet Revisionism Exposed

The bogus "third Afro-Asian writers' conference" held on March 25-29 in Beirut, capital of Lebanon, was a Soviet-engineered splittist meeting. It has thoroughly exposed the Soviet revisionists as renegades who have gone over completely to the side of U.S. imperialism and who are openly undermining the Afro-Asian writers' movement and the Afro-Asian people's revolutionary cause of solidarity against imperialism.

When the Afro-Asian Writers' Emergency Meeting was held in Peking last June, representatives from 53 countries and regions attended. It was decided then to hold the Third Afro-Asian Writers' Conference in Peking this year. The Soviet revisionists, however, are terribly afraid of this conference taking place in China in the midst of the great proletarian cultural revolution which is unprecedented in history. They are frightened to death that, after the conference, the Afro-Asian writers' movement will hold still higher the banner of opposition to U.S.-led imperialism and of support for the Afro-Asian people's revolutionary struggles and that their capitulationist and conciliationist line will become utterly bankrupt. So they shamelessly sought financial help from UNESCO—a U.S. imperialist tool—and hoodwinked some confused people and stage-managed the bogus "3rd Afro-Asian writers' conference."

During the meeting, the Soviet revisionists went all-out in their anti-China activities, spreading lies and rumours. The conference's "general

declaration," whose keynote was set by the Soviet revisionists, attacked by insinuation China's great proletarian cultural revolution, mouthing such nonsense as the "attempt to isolate and remove from the general ranks one culture and to depreciate other cultures leads in the long run to shameful racism" and "plays into the hands of the bitterest enemies of mankind, the imperialists and the colonialists." On the day the splittist meeting was opened, Konstantin Chugunov, Secretary of the Soviet Afro-Asian Writers' Liaison Committee, published an article in the Lebanese paper *Al Anwar* in which he brazenly misrepresented the Chinese people's correct stand of opposition to U.S.-led imperialism as an attempt to "make the Afro-Asian literary movement serve [China's] narrow political purposes and interests."

The renegade features of the Soviet revisionist ruling clique as an accomplice of U.S. imperialism were likewise fully exposed on the questions of Vietnam and Palestine. The "general report" at the beginning of the conference and the "general declaration" at the end, as well as the Soviet delegate's speech, all avoided the essence of the Vietnamese and Palestinian peoples' anti-imperialist struggles. Neither did they dare denounce the criminal acts of aggression of U.S. imperialism.

On the Vietnam question, the Soviet revisionists did not say a word on the four-point stand of the D.R.V. and the five-part statement of the South Vietnam National Front for Liberation. Instead, by advocating "an immediate end to the barbarous bombings and to the escalation of the U.S. aggression in Vietnam," they were rendering service to the U.S. aggressors who seek to "induce peace talks through a bombing pause" in Vietnam.

The Soviet delegation also tried to water down the importance of the Palestine question, but met with strong opposition from delegates of the Arab countries. The Soviet delegation then resorted to a subterfuge, stating that it had not studied the Palestine question and that it was interested only in literature and

poetry, not politics. Actually the Soviet revisionists' real intention was to export the "Tashkent Spirit" to the Middle East and make the Arab people "coexist peacefully" with Israel so that the U.S. imperialists can stretch out their claws freely in the region.

The Soviet revisionists used the conference as a platform to advocate their traitorous "Soviet-American co-operation" and their line of capitulation. The beatnik "poet" Yevtushenko who was a member of the Soviet delegation said with cynical candour: "The West is not the West of the past and the East is also not like the past; they have already come together." In an effort to lull the vigilance of the Asian and African peoples and undermine their anti-imperialist and anti-colonialist struggle, the Soviet delegation talked glibly about humanitarianism in literature and preached their line of capitulation to U.S. imperialism in the name of literature.

The schismatic conference proceeded in a shameful manner. Chaos prevailed in and outside the conference rooms. Discriminating against some African delegations, the stage-managers of the conference did not even bother to seek their opinion about the agenda and the order of speakers. The Lebanese paper *Le Jour* commented that "it was whispered that the third conference had started on the wrong foot and that no one should be astonished by its results."

Before and during the conference, the Soviet revisionists libellously attacked China and the revolutionary writers of Asia and Africa, particularly R.D. Senanayake, Secretary-General of the Afro-Asian Writers' Bureau. But it is they themselves who are really isolated. Having seen through the traitorous tricks of the Soviet revisionists, many revolutionary writers of Asia and Africa boycotted this splittist conference. Tanzania, Mali, Guinea, Congo (B), Pakistan, and Cambodia were not represented. Of the 100-odd participants, more than half were members of the Soviet and one or two other delegations. Quite a number of them were not writers at all.

China Protests Against Bloody Anti-Chinese Incident In East Java

A responsible member of the Chinese Foreign Ministry on April 11 summoned Baron Sutadisastra, Charge d'Affaires ad interim of the Indonesian Embassy in China, and lodged the strongest protest with the Indonesian Government for the robbing of Chinese nationals of their property on April 6 by the military and administrative authorities of Situbondo, East Java, and for the bloody incident that day in which one Chinese was killed and two others wounded. He demanded that the Indonesian Government settle the matter in a satisfactory manner and reply promptly.

The Chinese Embassy in Indonesia, in a note to the Indonesian Foreign Ministry on April 8, lodged the most serious and strongest protest with the Indonesian Government against this bloody incident. The note pointed out that the district headquarters in Situbondo had ruthlessly enforced anti-China and anti-Chinese decrees, forcibly taken over Chinese shops and cut off the water and electricity to the homes of Chinese nationals. Twenty-four innocent Chinese were unwarrantedly arrested on April 4 and 5. When their relatives went at the appointed time on April 6 to the district commander for negotiations and to see their kinsmen, he went back on his word and refused to meet them. Moreover, when the relatives of those arrested demanded an explanation, fully-armed Indonesian troops, who were posted there beforehand, flagrantly opened fire at the unarmed people. Huang Chien-min, a Chinese national, was hit in the chest three times and died immediately, while Yang Ching-jung and Chen Yung-chen were seriously wounded. Two other Chinese who went to their aid were savagely beaten and then thrown into prison.

The note pointed out that it was quite obvious that the bloody incident was premeditated and carefully

planned by the Indonesian Government, and that this crime would be justly condemned by the people of the world.

It stressed that the wilder the persecution of Chinese nationals by the Indonesian authorities, the more extensive and stronger would be the resistance from the Chinese. The note said: "The broad masses of the Chinese nationals who are armed with Mao Tse-tung's thought will never yield to oppression or be cowed. The Chinese people will absolutely not tolerate the savage atrocity of murdering their compatriots. Blood debts must be paid in blood."

The note firmly demanded that the Indonesian Government immediately make an open apology for this bloody incident, severely punish the culprits and their instigators, compensate the family of the murdered Chinese, bear the medical expenses for the injured, immediately release all the arrested Chinese, and rescind the four anti-China and anti-Chinese decrees issued by the East Java authorities. The Chinese Embassy decided to send consular officials immediately to attend the burial ceremony for the murdered Chinese and to convey their regards and sympathy to the families of the murdered and victimized Chinese nationals.

Honorary Title Conferred on P.L.A. Company

The National Defence Ministry, in a recent order, has conferred the title of "Political Border Defence Model Company" on the Third Company of a unit under the Kunming Command of the Chinese People's Liberation Army.

In the arduous tasks which it performs as a garrison force defending and building up the frontier area, the Third Company, the order says, has raised high the great red banner of Mao Tse-tung's thought, worked perseveringly in building itself according to Mao Tse-tung's thought and promoted the revolutionization of its

thinking. In sharp and complex class struggles, every man in the company is clear-cut in what he loves and hates, has a firm stand and fights bravely and uncompromisingly against the enemy. The company's personnel firmly implement the policy laid down by the Party's Central Committee and the Military Commission of the Party's Central Committee concerning the building of frontier defence politically; fully arouse the masses, trust and rely on them and unite with the people of the fraternal nationalities. By firmly grasping classes and class struggle as the key link, they actively propagate Mao Tse-tung's thought among the masses, arm the people of the fraternal nationalities with Mao Tse-tung's thought and radically raise the level of political consciousness of the masses. The company's commanders and fighters work in co-operation with the local government in carrying out social reforms, and are making big efforts to put the work of the militia on a solid basis organizationally, politically and militarily; they have trained a contingent of cadres from among the national minorities for the work of building up a new socialist frontier area, helped the local fraternal nationalities develop the collective economy to bring about marked improvements in the well-being of the masses and they have established a firm and solid joint defence of the army and the people, smashing the schemes and disruptive activities of the class enemy and building the frontier into a strong, red bastion.

The order calls upon all army units, and especially coast and frontier guards, to emulate the revolutionary spirit of the Third Company and conscientiously carry out Vice-Chairman Lin Piao's instructions on successfully building the frontier defence politically; it calls on them to strengthen the coastal and frontier defences, do work in relation to the minority nationalities well, build close contacts between army and

people, do a good job in creating a military and civilian joint defence and so turn our national defence into a real bulwark of steel.

The *Jiefangjun Bao* (Liberation Army Daily) accompanied publication of this National Defence Ministry order with an editorial entitled "Building Our Political Border Defence With Mao Tse-tung's Thought." The order will become a tremendous force impelling the broad masses of frontier guards to defend and build up the frontier areas still better, says this editorial.

New Crimes by U.S. Warships

Warships of the U.S. brigands recently deliberately rammed, damaged and strafed Chinese fishing vessels on the high seas. These new grave crimes by U.S. imperialism have aroused great wrath among the Chinese people.

Eyewitness accounts of the outrages have been given by Chinese fishermen on their return. On March 14, while a Chinese vessel was fishing on the high seas west of Hainan Island, over a dozen U.S. warships, including an aircraft carrier, repeatedly carried out harassing activities in the vicinity. Towards dusk, disregarding signals sent out by the Chinese fishing vessel, the aircraft carrier put on speed and sailed directly towards it. The boat was damaged and its mast broken, while the fishermen on board were thrown into the sea. Immediately after this, the aircraft carrier sent more than 20 fighter planes to carry out provocations against the fishermen. The next day, a number of U.S. military aircraft committed provocations against another Chinese fishing vessel in the same area, and one of the aircraft strafed it.

In spite of repeated warnings by the Chinese people, the Johnson Administration has time and again sent warships and military aircraft to in-

trude into China's territorial waters and air space to engage in military provocations. In this connection, a leading member of the Chinese department concerned quoted the following teaching of Chairman Mao: "Riding roughshod everywhere, U.S. imperialism has made itself the enemy of the people of the world and has increasingly isolated itself. Those who refuse to be enslaved will never be cowed by the atom bombs and hydrogen bombs in the hands of the U.S. imperialists. The raging tide of the people of the world against the U.S. aggressors is irresistible." This responsible member sternly warned the U.S. aggressors that the great Chinese people, armed with the invincible thought of Mao Tse-tung, could not be intimidated by any enemy. He added that the Chinese people had long seen through the flabby nature of U.S. imperialism and had made every preparation. All provocations against them would come to no good end.

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