

PEKING REVIEW

18

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Chairman Mao Receives Leaders of Revolutionary Committees of Six Provinces And Municipalities

The great leader also attends a performance of "The White-Haired Girl," a revolutionary ballet on contemporary theme.

Peking Municipal Revolutionary Committee Established

QUOTATIONS FROM CHAIRMAN MAO TSE-TUNG

In order to attack the forces of the counter-revolution, what the revolutionary forces need today is to organize millions upon millions of the masses and move a mighty revolutionary army into action.

On Tactics Against Japanese Imperialism

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Revolutionary dictatorship and counter-revolutionary dictatorship are by nature opposites, but the former was learned from the latter. Such learning is very important. If the revolutionary people do not master this method of ruling over the counter-revolutionary classes, they will not be able to maintain their state power, domestic and foreign reaction will overthrow that power and restore its own rule over China, and disaster will befall the revolutionary people.

On the People's Democratic Dictatorship

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Historically, all reactionary forces on the verge of extinction invariably conduct a last desperate struggle against the revolutionary forces.

The Turning Point in World War II



Chairman Mao Tse-tung

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





Chairman Mao, smiling, stands with Vice-Chairman Lin Piao and others for a picture with the dancers of *The White-Haired Girl* ballet

Chairman Mao Receives Leading Members of Six Provincial and Municipal Revolutionary Committees and Attends a Performance Of *The White-Haired Girl*, a Revolutionary Ballet on Contemporary Theme

Our great leader Chairman Mao on the evening of April 24 received leading members of the revolutionary committees of the Shanghai Municipality, Shansi, Kweichow, Heilungkiang and Shantung Provinces, and the Peking Municipality.

Vice-Chairman Lin Piao and Comrades Chou En-lai, Chen Po-ta, Kang Sheng and Li Fu-chun, Members of the Standing Committee of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party, were present at the reception.

The leading members of the revolutionary committees received were: Comrades Chang Chun-chiao, Yao

Wen-yuan, Liu Ke-ping, Chang Jih-ching, Li Tsai-han, Ho Kuang-yu, Pan Fu-sheng, Wang Chia-tao, Wang Hsiao-yu and Hsieh Fu-chih.

Among those also present on the occasion were Comrade Chiang Ching, first deputy leader of the Cultural Revolution Group Under the Party's Central Committee, and Comrades Wang Li, Kuan Feng and Chi Pen-yu, members of the Cultural Revolution Group.

Later Chairman Mao, Comrades Lin Piao and Chou En-lai and the other leading comrades attended a performance of *The White-Haired Girl*, a revolutionary ballet on con-

temporary theme presented by the Shanghai School of Dancing.

At the end of the performance, the orchestra played *Sailing the Seas Depends on the Helmsman* and the dancers rushed to the front of the stage, enthusiastically cheering: "Long live Chairman Mao!" "Long live Chairman Mao! A long, long life to him!"

Smiling, Chairman Mao clapped, as did Vice-Chairman Lin Piao, Premier Chou En-lai and the other leading comrades. Chairman Mao and Vice-Chairman Lin Piao went on stage and posed for photographs with the performers.

Colour Documentary on China's 17th National Day Anniversary

Chairman Mao Is the Red Sun in Our Hearts—In Celebration of the 17th Anniversary of the Founding of the Chinese People's Republic, a full-length documentary in colour, started showing in the Chinese capital and other parts of the country on April 18.

This marks another victory for Mao Tse-tung's thought and is a great, joyous event for the country's revolutionary people.

In producing the film, a handful of Party people in authority taking the capitalist road abused their power in order to prettify in the film the top Party person in authority taking the capitalist road and prettify the bourgeois reactionary line. They did this in a wild attempt to belittle the great image of our most respected and beloved great leader Chairman Mao.

But, their scheme came to nothing because the proletarian revolutionaries promptly rose in rebellion and seized the power of editing and producing this film from them. After overcoming all kinds of difficulties, the proletarian revolutionaries succeeded in producing a work shining with the splendour of Mao Tse-tung's thought.

The film successfully brings out the vigorous tempo of China's great proletarian cultural revolution and the successive victories scored by the proletarian revolutionary line represented by Chairman Mao.

As *The East Is Red* is played, our great teacher, great leader, great supreme commander and great helmsman Chairman Mao and his close comrade-in-arms Comrade Lin Piao walk up on to the Tien An Men rostrum to review more than one and a half million young revolutionary fighters and revolutionary people from all over the country.

The people jump for joy and many shed happy tears to see their beloved and respected great leader in such excellent health that he remains on the rostrum throughout the six-hour-long parade. Again and again they wish him a long, long life.

Twice on this day Chairman Mao walks down from the rostrum to join the crowds on parade and extend festival greetings to them, showing his complete faith in the masses and his wholehearted support for the revolutionary mass movement that is sweeping China.

The film also features Comrade Lin Piao, Chairman Mao's close comrade-in-arms, addressing the revolutionary masses at the review.

It also shows representatives of Chinese workers, peasants, soldiers, revolutionary students and teachers and national minorities as well as

foreign friends addressing the celebration rally from the Tien An Men rostrum. Regardless of profession, race and nationality, the speakers express the common mood of the revolutionary people the world over: Chairman Mao is the red sun in our hearts; follow Chairman Mao Tse-tung in making revolution for ever; follow Chairman Mao Tse-tung in building communism throughout the world.

This film was made by the Central Newsreel and Documentary Film Studio and the "August First" Film Studio, with enthusiastic assistance from young Red Guards.

Afro-Asian Journalists Day in Peking

Chinese and Afro-Asian journalists in Peking held a meeting in the afternoon of April 24 to mark Afro-Asian Journalists Day. The sponsoring organizations were the Afro-Asian Journalists' Association and the All-China Journalists' Association, represented respectively by Secretary-General Djawoto and Vice-President Tang Ping-chu.

The highlights of the six speeches delivered at the meeting were: Firm support must be given to the Vietnamese people in their struggle against U.S. aggression and for national salvation, the struggle against imperialism must be coupled with the fight against modern revisionism, and Mao Tse-tung's thought is the powerful ideological weapon for the people of all countries in their struggle against imperialism, modern revisionism and all reactionaries.

Djawoto who spoke first said that there were two roads in dealing with the question of imperialism. One was to collaborate with imperialism against the people, while the other was to unite with the people against imperialism and its stooges. "As a revolutionary organization of Asian and African journalists," the A.A.J.A. Secretary-General said, "the Afro-Asian Journalists' Association takes the latter road." Warm ap-

plause greeted his reference to the celebration of this Day in Peking at a time when China was carrying out the great proletarian cultural revolution under the leadership of Chairman Mao who, he pointed out, "has inherited, defended and developed Marxism-Leninism with genius, creatively and in an all-round way,



Chairman

Chairman Mao, Vice-Chairman Lin and Premier Chou Receive Vietnamese Ambassador

Chairman Mao, our most respected and beloved great leader, and his close comrade-in-arms Comrade Lin Piao and Comrade Chou En-lai have received Ngo Minh Loan, Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipo-

tentiary of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam to China.

Chairman Mao, Vice-Chairman Lin and Premier Chou had a very cordial and friendly conversation with the envoy of the heroic Vietnamese people who had come from the frontline

of the struggle against U.S. imperialism.

The new Vietnamese Ambassador presented his credentials to Vice-Chairman Soong Ching Ling on April 11.

and has brought it to a higher and completely new stage."

Tang Ping-chu declared that Chinese journalists were determined to hold high the great red banner of the invincible thought of Mao Tse-tung and use it as the powerful ideological weapon to mobilize, educate and unite the people, and to defeat U.S. imperialism, its chief accomplice Soviet revisionism, and the reactionaries of all countries.

R.D. Senanayake, Secretary-General of the Afro-Asian Writers' Bureau, acclaimed the A.A.J.A. as "an organization armed with the invincible

thought of Mao Tse-tung, the great leader of the revolutionary people of the world."

Ahmed Kheir, Sudanese revolutionary journalist, said that "the brilliant thought of Mao Tse-tung—Marxism-Leninism at its peak—has penetrated every corner of the world like the piercing rays of the sun at noon." It was his belief that the people in African and Arab countries would raise even higher the banner of struggle against imperialism, modern revisionism, the banner of liberation and the banner of the thought of Mao Tse-tung.

Sidney Rittenberg, American revolutionary journalist, said that Chairman Mao, the greatest Marxist-Leninist, had launched the great cultural revolution in China to make sure that this quarter of humanity would not slide back towards capitalism and abandon the world revolution but instead would go forward and score a breakthrough towards a communist future for the whole world. "The red star of world revolution that went over the Kremlin tower," he declared, "shines for ever over the portrait of

(Continued on p. 32.)



Mao, Vice-Chairman Lin Piao and others with the dancers of *The White-Haired Girl* ballet

Message Saluting Chairman Mao Tse-tung

From the Rally to Found and Celebrate the Peking Municipal Revolutionary Committee

Most respected and beloved great leader
Chairman Mao:

In the midst of our great struggle against and vigorous criticism and repudiation of the top Party person in authority taking the capitalist road, we proletarian revolutionaries of the capital, with great elation, report to you, the reddest red sun in our hearts, the exciting news that the Peking Municipal Revolutionary Committee has been set up. This is another paean of victory for your brilliant thought soaring to the skies! This is another great victory for the proletarian revolutionary line you represent!

On this grandest festival of proletarian revolutionaries, we cheer and sing, in one voice from thousands of hearts: Long live Chairman Mao! A long, long life to Chairman Mao!

Chairman Mao! When we think back over the inspiring course of the Chinese revolution, words cannot express our boundless loyalty to you, neither song nor music is expressive enough to sing your praise, oceans are not vast enough to contain our boundless respect and love for you.

It is you who integrated Marxism-Leninism with the workers' movement, founded the great Chinese Communist Party, and creatively developed Marxism-Leninism.

It is you who lit the single spark on the Chingjang Mountains, and opened the way for the victory of the Chinese revolution.

It is you who commanded the Chinese Workers' and Peasants' Red Army in its successful world-famous 25,000-li Long March across mountains and rivers.

It is you who ended the domination of the "Leftist" and Rightist opportunist lines in the Party and laid the foundation for the victory of the Chinese revolution at the Tsunyi Meeting which will go down for ever in the annals of history.

It is you who, from Yenan, the sacred heartland of the revolution, pointed the way forward in the Anti-Japanese War.

It is you who commanded the mighty forces of the people's army to march into Peking, bringing a new spring to that ancient capital.

It is you who hoisted the first five-star red flag on Tien An Men Square and founded our great people's republic.

In those long years of fighting and on those great revolutionary expeditions, you led us in overcoming difficulties and passing through fierce storms, to bring

our calamity-ridden land out of darkness into light. Our country rose like a giant in the East, bringing the hope of victory to the people of the world. It rose above the horizon like the red sun, lighting the road to liberation for the proletariat and the oppressed nations of the world.

Chairman Mao! In order to guarantee that our socialist country will never change colour, you personally initiated and led the unprecedented great proletarian cultural revolution and are leading us in a new long march.

It is you who lifted the black curtain hiding the old Peking Municipal Committee of the Chinese Communist Party and the old Peking Municipal People's Council, thereby smashing the fond dream of restoring capitalism cherished by the handful of careerists hidden there.

It is you who personally decided to broadcast the contents of the first Marxist-Leninist big-character poster in the country, thus kindling the raging flames of the great proletarian cultural revolution.

It is you who presided over the drawing up of the "Decision of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party Concerning the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution," thus proclaiming the bankruptcy of the bourgeois reactionary line and showing the correct direction for the great proletarian cultural revolution.

It is you who, with penetrating insight, discovered and enthusiastically supported the Red Guards movement that has shaken the world. Guided by your proletarian revolutionary line, the young Red Guards have performed immortal feats for the great proletarian cultural revolution.

It is you who reviewed in Peking more than ten million members of the great cultural revolutionary army from all parts of the country, a great new creation in the history of the international communist movement.

It is you who, in Peking, issued the order for the proletarian revolutionaries to forge the great alliance and seize power from the handful of Party people in authority taking the capitalist road, and thus pushed the great proletarian cultural revolution forward to a completely new stage.

It is you who have resolutely supported the proletarian revolutionaries in launching a general offensive against the top Party person in authority taking the capitalist road, thus sounding the bugle call for a new and mighty campaign in the great proletarian cultural revolution.

These moving scenes, these soul-stirring pictures present the magnificent prospect of the complete victory of the great proletarian cultural revolution; compose an ode to your brilliant thought, record the most gallant chapter in the history of the international communist movement and open a new era in the history of mankind.

Respected and beloved Chairman Mao, you have taught us that **"before a brand-new social system can be built on the site of the old, the site must first be swept clean."** A handful of counter-revolutionary revisionists in the old Peking Municipal Party Committee and the old Peking Municipal People's Council, supported and protected by the top Party person in authority taking the capitalist road, turned Peking into a "water-tight and impenetrable" independent kingdom, in a vain attempt to change Peking into a base for restoring capitalism in our country. For more than a decade, they have been frantically engaged in criminal activities against the Party, socialism and Mao Tse-tung's thought. As eye-witnesses of their monstrous crimes, how could we not feel wrathful?! How could we not rebel?! How could we not seize power?! Cherishing the determination to defy death to defend you and the Party Central Committee and with immense hatred for the class enemy, we launched a fierce onslaught against the counter-revolutionary revisionist clique in the old Peking Municipal Party Committee and the old Peking Municipal People's Council. When we had just fired the first shot the top Party person in authority taking the capitalist road immediately set going the bourgeois reactionary line, vainly attempting to strangle the great proletarian cultural revolution right here in our great capital. To defend your illustrious thought and your proletarian revolutionary line, we have rebelled against the bourgeois reactionary line and have exposed the one who formulated this reactionary line, that Khrushchov of China. Guided by your proletarian revolutionary line, we have broken through all kinds of resistance, swept aside all kinds of obstacles and have categorically determined resolutely and thoroughly to smash the counter-revolutionary revisionist line of the old Peking Municipal Party Committee and the old Peking Municipal People's Council, and resolutely and thoroughly to criticize and repudiate the top Party person in authority taking the capitalist road and throw him into the dust-bin of history! We are determined to integrate the criticism and repudiation of the top Party person in authority taking the capitalist road with the struggle to smash completely the counter-revolutionary revisionist clique of the old Peking Municipal Committee of the Party and the old Peking Municipal People's Council. We are also determined to integrate this criticism and repudiation with the task of struggling (against and overthrowing those persons in authority taking the capitalist road), criticizing and repudiating (the reactionary bourgeois academic "authorities" and the ideology of the bourgeoisie and all other exploiting classes) and transforming (education, literature and art and all

other parts of the superstructure that do not correspond to the socialist economic base) in our own departments so as to chop off the sinister tentacles, which the top Party person in authority taking the capitalist road stretched into every sphere!

Respected and beloved Chairman Mao! You have taught us: **"All reactionary forces on the verge of extinction invariably conduct a last desperate struggle against the revolutionary forces."** The handful of Party people in authority taking the capitalist road have not given up yet and are making a futile attempt to reverse the verdict passed on them. They are not resigned to their defeat and are launching vengeful counter-attacks, thus stirring up an adverse current aimed at a capitalist restoration. Their chief boss behind the scenes is the top Party person in authority taking the capitalist road. We shall keep in mind your teachings: **"With power and to spare we must pursue the tottering foe and not ape Hsiang Yu the conqueror seeking idle fame."** Holding high the great red banner of your illustrious thought, we shall launch a general offensive against the top Party person in authority taking the capitalist road and penetratingly criticize, thoroughly repudiate and completely discredit the bourgeois reactionary line he represents together with his book on "self-cultivation" of Communists, a big poisonous weed, which he has painstakingly manufactured. We shall refute, overthrow and completely discredit the handful of Party people in authority taking the capitalist road; we shall completely smash the adverse current aimed at a restoration of capitalism; we shall firmly fulfil the great historic mission with which you have entrusted us, namely, first, to struggle (against and overthrow those persons in authority taking the capitalist road), second, to criticize and repudiate (the reactionary bourgeois academic "authorities" and the ideology of the bourgeoisie and all other exploiting classes), and third, to transform (education, literature and art and all other parts of the superstructure not in correspondence with the socialist economic base); and we shall unswervingly carry the great proletarian cultural revolution through to the end!

Respected and beloved Chairman Mao! **"Take firm hold of the revolution and promote production" is a great policy advanced by you.** We shall certainly carry it out to the letter. We shall certainly place the revolution in the first place, put the revolution in command of production and energetically grasp the revolution and vigorously promote production, thus sparking off a new upsurge in building socialism with greater, faster, better and more economical results, and winning certain victory in both revolution and production!

Respected and beloved Chairman Mao! We shall resolutely carry out and defend the policy of the revolutionary "three-in-one" combination you have advanced. In the course of the struggle to thoroughly criticize and repudiate the top Party person in authority taking the capitalist road as well as his bourgeois reactionary line on the question of cadres, that of "hitting

hard at many in order to protect a handful," we shall hasten the formation of the great alliance of proletarian revolutionaries and realize the revolutionary "three-in-one" combination. We shall resolutely smash the plot of the handful of Party people in authority taking the capitalist road, who, masquerading as revolutionaries, are making vain attempts to worm their way into the revolutionary "three-in-one" provisional organs of power and carry out activities aimed at a counter-revolutionary restoration. We shall not fail to make a good job of seizing power, handling power and exercising power.

At the crucial moment in the decisive battle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie, you issued the militant call to the Chinese People's Liberation Army that it should actively support the broad masses of the Left. This manifests your deepest solicitude and very great support for us. The People's Liberation Army is a proletarian revolutionary army built by you personally and led directly by Comrade Lin Piao. It is the main pillar of the dictatorship of the proletariat. We must determinedly smash the plot of the class enemy to direct the spearhead of its attack against the Chinese People's Liberation Army. We are resolved to earnestly learn from the Liberation Army, unite with it and fight alongside it, make great efforts to strengthen the dictatorship of the proletariat, resolutely suppress all the class enemy's disruptive and sabotage activities and build the people's capital as firm as rock and as strong as steel.

Chairman Mao! You are our supreme commander and our most brilliant helmsman. We will always follow you in making revolution and in marching forward valiantly through great storms! We will rebel against whoever dares to oppose you, defame your illustrious thought and oppose your proletarian revolutionary line, we will overthrow him and never allow him to rise again!

Respected and beloved Chairman Mao, we vow to you: We will always study your writings, follow your teachings, act according to your instructions and be your good fighters. We will study the "three constantly read articles," and *On Correcting Mistaken Ideas in the Party, Combat Liberalism*, and others of your brilliant writings as maxims, make revolution in the depths of our being by destroying self-interest and fostering devotion to the public interest and make energetic efforts to seize power from the "selfishness" in our minds. We will firmly adhere to your teachings and carry out rectification campaigns while we engage in struggle. We will energetically oppose anarchism and thoroughly overcome the mountain-stronghold mentality, the small group mentality, sectarianism, ultra-democracy and disregard of organizational discipline. We will strengthen the proletarian revolutionary spirit, scientific approach and sense of organization and discipline, establish the proletarian revolutionary new order, consolidate the great alliance of the proletarian revolutionaries and build our ranks into an extremely proletarianized and extremely militant army.

Peking is the capital of our great motherland and is the hope and beacon of the world's revolutionary people. Under your wise leadership, we proletarian revolutionaries in the capital, full of confidence and high spirits, will assuredly build Peking into the reddest of proletarian revolutionary cities, always shining with the splendour of Mao Tse-tung's thought, and into the red socialist bulwark standing four-square against imperialism and revisionism of the world.

We most heartily wish a long, long life to you, the very red sun that shines most brightly in our hearts!

**Rally Held to Found and Celebrate
the Peking Municipal Revolutionary
Committee**

April 20, 1967

With the Guidance and Solicitous Concern of Chairman Mao

Peking Municipal Revolutionary Committee Established

THE Peking Municipal Revolutionary Committee, a revolutionary "three-in-one" provisional organ of power, was set up in the capital on April 20 under the guidance and with the solicitous concern of our great leader Chairman Mao.

The chairman of the Committee is Hsieh Fu-chih*; Wu Teh, Cheng Wei-shan, Fu Chung-pi and Nieh Yuan-tzu are its vice-chairmen.

* Hsieh Fu-chih is a Vice-Premier of the State Council.

The founding of the Peking Municipal Revolutionary Committee proclaimed the total collapse of the old Peking Municipal Committee of the Chinese Communist Party and People's Council, an important stronghold of the handful of top Party persons in authority taking the capitalist road for the restoration of capitalism; it proclaimed the complete downfall of the counter-revolutionary revisionist clique of the old Peking Municipal Party Committee. Coming after the 1966 decision of Chairman Mao and the Party's Central Committee to



Peking's revolutionary masses cheer the birth of the Peking Municipal Revolutionary Committee, a great victory for Mao Tse-tung's thought.

reorganize the Peking Municipal Party Committee, it was a new great leap in the struggle of the capital's proletarian revolutionaries to seize power. The founding of the Peking Municipal Revolutionary Committee has carried the great proletarian cultural revolution in the capital to a completely new stage and set a fine example for people throughout the country. It shows that the great cultural revolution has solved a most important new problem in the proletarian revolution of our era; it has provided new experience in preventing a capitalist restoration after the seizure of power by the proletariat, and in consolidating and developing the dictatorship of the proletariat and carrying the socialist revolution through to the end. It has thus enriched and developed the Marxist theory of scientific socialism and added an immortal page to the annals of the international communist movement.

On that day, a soaring spirit of revolutionary enthusiasm prevailed among the millions of the revolutionary people of the capital. It was a joyous, gala day for them. A hundred thousand people gathered

in the capital's Workers' Stadium for the rally founding and celebrating the Revolutionary Committee.

Comrade Chou En-lai, Standing Committee Member of the Political Bureau of the Party's Central Committee and Premier of the State Council, came to offer warm congratulations on behalf of the great leader Chairman Mao and his close comrade-in-arms Comrade Lin Biao, the Party's Central Committee, the State Council and the Military Commission of the Party's Central Committee. In his important speech he declared that the Party's Central Committee had approved the establishment of the Peking Municipal Revolutionary Committee. (For full text see p. 14.)

A huge portrait in colour of the great leader Chairman Mao stood in the middle of the rostrum. Red flags flew over the stadium. Opposite the rostrum were placards inscribed with quotations from Chairman Mao: "We are not only good at destroying the old world, we are also good at building the new," and "All revolutionary struggles in the world are aimed at seizing political power and consolidating it. The desperate struggles waged by counter-revolutionaries against revolutionary forces are likewise solely for the sake of maintaining their political power." Before start of the rally, the great crowd of revolutionary workers and staff, poor and lower-middle peasants, commanders and fighters of the People's Liberation Army, revolutionary students and teachers, revolutionary cadres and revolutionary Peking residents, red-covered *Quotations From Chairman Mao Tse-tung* in hand, read aloud in unison Chairman Mao's teachings. Big balloons floating overhead carried the slogans: "Long live the dictatorship of the proletariat!" "Hold high the great red banner of Mao Tse-tung's thought and carry the great proletarian cultural revolution through to the end!" "Proletarian revolutionaries of all China, unite!" "Workers of the world, unite!" "Long live our great teacher, great leader, great supreme commander and great helmsman Chairman Mao! A long, long life to him!"

A "Message Saluting Chairman Mao" (full text on p. 8) was adopted by the rally amidst enthusiastic cheers of "Long live Chairman Mao!" "A long, long life to Chairman Mao!"

Among those who attended the rally were: Chen Po-ta, Standing Committee Member of the Political Bureau of the Party's Central Committee and leader of the Cultural Revolution Group Under the Central Committee; Kang Sheng, Standing Committee Member of the Political Bureau of the Party's Central Committee and Advisor to the Cultural Revolution Group Under

the Central Committee; Li Fu-chun, Standing Committee Member of the Political Bureau of the Party's Central Committee and Vice-Premier of the State Council; Chiang Ching, First Deputy Leader of the Cultural Revolution Group Under the Party's Central Committee; Hsiao Hua, Member of the Party's Central Committee, Deputy Leader of the Cultural Revolution Group Under the Military Commission of the Party's Central Committee and Director of the General Political Department of the Chinese People's Liberation Army; Yang Cheng-wu, Alternate Member of the Party's Central Committee, Deputy Leader of the Cultural Revolution Group Under the Military Commission of the Party's Central Committee and Acting Chief of the General Staff of the P.L.A.; and members of the Cultural Revolution Group Under the Party's Central Committee.

Chiang Ching and Hsieh Fu-chih addressed the rally. (Excerpts on p. 16 and p. 17.)

Chang Chun-chiao, a deputy leader of the Cultural Revolution Group Under the Party's Central Committee and a responsible member of the Shanghai Municipal Revolutionary Committee, spoke on behalf of the delegations from Shanghai, Shansi, Kweichow, Heilungkiang and Shantung which attended the rally. He declared: Peking is where our great leader Chairman Mao lives; it is the capital of our great motherland and the centre of our proletarian revolution. In the great proletarian cultural revolution, the proletarian revolutionaries of Peking, under the direct leadership of the Party's Central Committee headed by Chairman Mao, have marched in the van in the battle and made special contributions and given especially meritorious service to the great proletarian cultural revolution of the country as a whole. Our great proletarian cultural revolution is in the high-tide of the struggle of the proletarian revolutionaries to seize power on the basis of their alliance. All-out criticism and repudiation of the top Party people in authority taking the capitalist road is starting throughout the country. The establishment of the Peking Municipal Revolutionary Committee at this important juncture is an immense encouragement to proletarian revolutionaries throughout the country. We are fully confident that born of revolutionary struggle, this provisional organ of power which is revolutionary, representative and has proletarian authority, will be able to lead the proletarian revolutionaries of the capital forward to continue their march in the van in the battle of the great cultural revolution in China and make still more brilliant contributions to the complete victory of the great cultural revolution in the capital and throughout the country; it will assuredly be able to build our great capital into a great school for the creative study and application of Mao Tse-tung's thought, a capital which will never change its colour, a model for the whole country and an example for the world.

Celebrations in Peking and Elsewhere

At meetings and parades over several days, the revolutionary people of the capital and other parts of

the country enthusiastically celebrated the establishment of the Peking Municipal Revolutionary Committee. They looked on this as a great and joyous event for the people of Peking, of all China and the whole world, an event of great significance to the struggle of the proletarian revolutionaries throughout the country to seize power.

Peking's factories, suburban villages, schools, government offices, shops and streets were in festive mood with drums beating and red flags fluttering everywhere. The slogan of "Long live Chairman Mao!" and the revolutionary song *Sailing the Seas Depends on the Helmsman* echoed to the skies. Group after group of the revolutionary masses converged on the offices of the Party's Central Committee and the Peking Municipal Revolutionary Committee to deliver congratulatory messages. A sea of joyful people flowed over the great space of Tien An Men Square. Many revolutionary students and teachers and revolutionary artists gave performances in the square, enthusiastically propagating Mao Tse-tung's thought. Revolutionary artists and amateur cultural troupes of workers from Tientsin also put on shows.

The revolutionary workers and staff of the Capital Iron and Steel Company at a celebration meeting pledged themselves to stand firmly on the side of Chairman Mao's revolutionary line, take firm hold of the revolution and promote production, and carry the great proletarian cultural revolution through to the end. They angrily denounced the handful of top Party persons in authority taking the capitalist road and the counter-revolutionary revisionist clique of the old Peking Municipal Party Committee for their heinous crimes. They swore to crush with their iron fists all ghosts and monsters big and small.

Young Red Guards and revolutionary students and teachers of the capital's universities, colleges and middle schools held grand meetings to celebrate the occasion. The young Red Guards pledged themselves to do still better in creatively studying and applying Chairman Mao's works, strengthen their revolutionary spirit, scientific approach and sense of organizational discipline, and with greater fighting capability to overthrow and discredit the handful of top Party people in authority taking the capitalist road and eliminate their pernicious influence in all spheres. They vowed to do a thorough job in the tasks of struggle, criticism and repudiation, and transformation in their schools and make the great thought of Mao Tse-tung reign supreme in every sphere of education.

Commanders and fighters of units of the P.L.A. Peking Garrison Command and units stationed in Peking who had performed fresh meritorious services in the capital's great cultural revolution elatedly hailed the birth of the Peking Municipal Revolutionary Committee. Meetings and parades were held by leading organs of the navy, air force, signal corps, artillery command and railway corps and units under them and the Institute of

Rear-Services. Commanders and fighters helping with industrial and agricultural production in the factories, mines and rural people's communes held meetings to celebrate together with the revolutionary masses and revolutionary cadres. They declared that they would resolutely respond to the call of the great supreme commander, Chairman Mao and fight together closely with their comrades-in-arms—the proletarian revolutionaries, defend Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line and the dictatorship of the proletariat, and plant the great red banner of Mao Tse-tung's thought over all positions.

In the afternoon of April 21, the proletarian revolutionaries and P.L.A. commanders and fighters in Shanghai held a grand meeting and parade to celebrate the establishment of the Peking Municipal Revolutionary Committee. Representatives of many units who spoke at the meeting declared that they would hold high the great revolutionary banner of criticism and repudiation and overthrow and discredit the handful of top Party persons in authority taking the capitalist road and the handful of counter-revolutionary revisionists, completely eliminate the pernicious influence of the book on "self-cultivation" of Communists, promote the formation of revolutionary great alliances and revolutionary "three-in-one" combinations by means of all-out revolutionary criticism and repudiation. They pledged their resolve to take firm hold of the revolution and promote production, and do still better in the great cultural revolution in their own localities, departments or units.

News of the establishment of the Peking Municipal Revolutionary Committee greatly encouraged the proletarian revolutionaries of Shansi. National model peasants Li Shun-ta and Wu Hou-li, and Hsieh Yueh, an activist in the study of Chairman Mao's works, excitedly declared that no words could fully express the boundless love of the workers and poor and lower-middle peasants for Chairman Mao, that they would follow Chairman Mao closely and wholeheartedly and always make revolution.

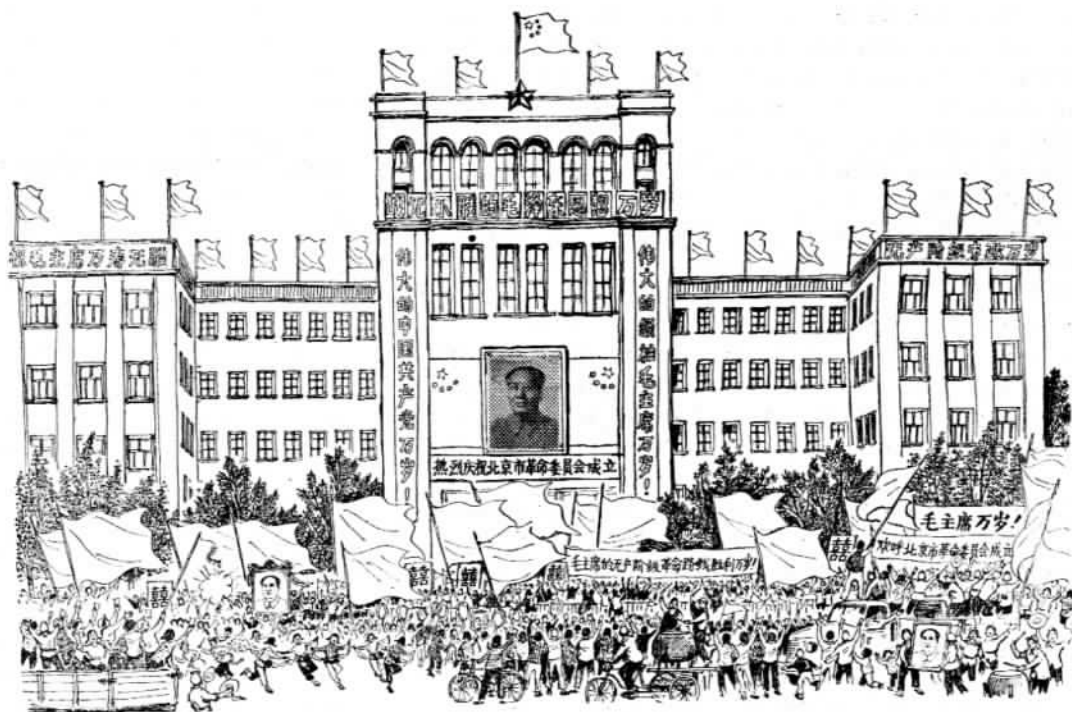
Rallies in Kwei-yang in the southwest and Harbin in the northeast were each attended by 100,000 people. When the happy tidings reached Shantung, proletarian revolutionaries in factories, mines, schools, shops and

government offices in all parts of the province pasted up slogans which they had written during the night and took to the streets to celebrate, beating gongs and drums.

Press Comments

In its editorial "Enthusiastically Hail the Establishment of the Peking Municipal Revolutionary Committee," *Renmin Ribao* pointed out that the establishment of the Revolutionary Committee in the storm of the unprecedented great cultural revolution and in the new upsurge of the mass movement to thoroughly criticize and repudiate the No. 1 Party person in authority taking the capitalist road, represented a great victory for the proletarian revolutionary line represented by Chairman Mao, a great victory of tremendous significance in the struggle of China's proletarian revolutionaries to seize power. Peking was the source and centre of the great proletarian cultural revolution, said the editorial, every battle there affected the progress of the movement throughout the country. Bearing in mind Chairman Mao's teaching "You should pay attention to state affairs and carry the great proletarian cultural revolution through to the end," the proletarian revolutionaries of the capital stood firmly on the side of Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line and had made tremendous contributions to the great proletarian cultural revolution throughout the country.

In its editorial "A Great Victory for Chairman Mao's Revolutionary Line," *Beijing Ribao* (Peking Daily) listed a host of facts to prove that the birth of the Peking Municipal Revolutionary Committee was a great victory won by the proletarian revolutionaries and revolutionary masses of the capital under the brilliant leadership of Chairman Mao after an arduous struggle;



Hail the founding of the Peking Municipal Revolutionary Committee!

it was a great victory of Peking's proletarian revolutionaries in their struggle on the basis of an alliance to seize power from the counter-revolutionary revisionist clique of the old Peking Municipal Party Committee. The editorial said: This event of great historical significance will be engraved in the glorious annals of the Chinese revolution and the international communist movement in large, shining letters of gold. The proletarian revolutionaries in Peking will assuredly bear in mind our great leader Chairman Mao's teaching that **while the prospects are bright, the road has twists**

and turns. The victory we have won today is only the first step in a 10,000-li long march. We will be confronted with militant tasks that are still more arduous and still greater. We must hold still higher the great red banner of Mao Tse-tung's thought, carry the great proletarian cultural revolution in Peking through to the end, build Peking into a great school of Mao Tse-tung's thought and the reddest city in the world, and make the greatest contributions to the international proletariat and the revolutionary people throughout the world!

At Rally to Found and Celebrate Peking Municipal Revolutionary Committee

Premier Chou En-lai's Speech

Peking's Workers, Poor and Lower-Middle Peasants, Revolutionary College and Middle School Teachers and Students, Comrade Revolutionary Cadres of Government Organizations, Comrade Commanders and Fighters of the People's Liberation Army, Young Red Guard Fighters, Comrades, Comrades-in-Arms:

Under the immediate concern and guidance of our great leader Chairman Mao, the Peking Municipal Revolutionary Committee, after three months of active preparation, officially proclaimed its founding today. The Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party has already given its approval.

On behalf of Chairman Mao and his close comrade-in-arms Comrade Lin Piao, on behalf of the Party's Central Committee, the State Council and the Military Commission under the Central Committee, I extend to you our warm congratulations and the fighting salute of the great proletarian cultural revolution!

Peking is where Chairman Mao lives and where the Party's Central Committee is located; it is the centre of the leadership of this unprecedented, great proletarian cultural revolution.

Soon after the publication of Comrade Yao Wen-yuan's article, "On the New Historical Drama *Hai Jui Dismissed From Office*," Peking's proletarian revolutionaries quickly uncovered the intrigue and plot of the handful of counter-revolutionary revisionists in the old Peking Municipal Party Committee and criticized and repudiated them. This triumphantly raised the curtain on the great proletarian cultural revolution all over the country.

Seven comrades at Peking University, including Comrade Nieh Yuan-tzu, wrote the nation's first Marxist-Leninist big-character poster. [See *Peking Review*, No. 37, 1966.—Ed.] Chairman Mao himself decided

to have the contents of this poster broadcast, and the great proletarian cultural revolution developed vigorously on a national scale.

In Peking, at the 11th Plenary Session of the Party's Central Committee over which he presided, Chairman Mao wrote a big-character poster bombarding the bourgeois headquarters. The 16-point decision concerning the great proletarian cultural revolution was adopted and a communique of the plenary session was issued. This proclaimed the defeat of the bourgeois reactionary line.

Peking's middle schools were the place where the great, world-shaking Red Guard movement was born. With Chairman Mao's warm support, this movement swept swiftly over the whole country. Especially after Chairman Mao received the Red Guards last August 18, these young fighters went from their schools out into society and from Peking out to other parts of the country to exchange revolutionary experience. They vigorously destroyed the four olds [old ideas, culture, customs and habits] of the exploiting classes, and energetically fostered the four news [new ideas, culture, customs and habits] of the proletariat. They performed immortal feats in the great proletarian cultural revolution.

Between August and November last year, Chairman Mao received more than 12 million young Red Guard fighters and revolutionary teachers and students from all over the country. Army-men and civilians, young and old, came together and made our great capital the centre of national attraction and the focus of world attention.

The proletarian revolutionaries of Peking enthusiastically responded to the call issued by Comrade Lin Piao from the Tien An Men rostrum on National Day and engaged in the struggle between the two lines. Firmly standing on the side of Chairman Mao's prole-

tarian revolutionary line, you have repulsed repeated attacks by the bourgeois reactionary line in several months of endeavour. You have gained superiority not only politically and ideologically but also organizationally.

The storm of Shanghai's January Revolution brought the great proletarian cultural revolution to a new stage — that of waging the struggle to seize power from a handful of Party people in authority taking the capitalist road. Proletarian revolutionaries in Peking also immediately went into action and carried out struggles to seize power from below and to oppose the adverse current aimed at a capitalist restoration, winning one great victory after another.

On the basis of these great struggles and victories and in response to Chairman Mao's call, Peking's proletarian revolutionaries and young Red Guard fighters — after having convoked representative conferences of workers, poor and lower-middle peasants, and college and middle school Red Guards — established Peking's provisional organ of power which is revolutionary, representative and possesses proletarian revolutionary authority. This is a great victory for Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line and for Mao Tse-tung's thought.

You have now seized power, but the struggle between the two roads and that between the two lines have not ceased. You must realize that it is no easy matter to seize power, nor is it easy to control power, and it is still more difficult to consolidate this dictatorship of the proletariat.

After the liberation of Peiping in 1949, the rule of the dictatorship of the proletariat was established. But the handful of counter-revolutionary revisionists in the old Peking Municipal Party Committee futilely attempted to turn Peking into an independent kingdom under their control. They waved "red flags" to oppose the red flag. Outwardly, they put on a show of following Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line but in secret they followed the reactionary line of the top Party persons in authority taking the capitalist road. This small handful usurped leadership from the proletariat and attempted to lead the dictatorship of the proletariat on to the road of capitalist restoration.

Proletarian revolutionary comrades in Peking must firmly bear in mind this lesson and after the seizure of power pay full attention to strengthening and consolidating political power. They must really control it and use it well.

To do this, they must hold high the great red banner of Mao Tse-tung's thought and carry the great proletarian cultural revolution through to the end. At present, they must creatively study and apply Chairman Mao's works with specific problems in mind. They must expose, criticize and repudiate the handful of top Party persons in authority taking the capitalist road and the handful of counter-revolutionary revisionists in the Peking municipality more fully, more penetrat-

ingly and more comprehensively. They should link this with the movement in their own units to struggle [against and overthrow those Party people in authority taking the capitalist road], criticize and repudiate [the reactionary bourgeois academic "authorities" and the ideology of the bourgeoisie and all other exploiting classes], and to transform [education, literature and art and all other parts of the superstructure that do not correspond to the socialist economic base]. At the same time, in this great revolutionary movement of criticism and repudiation, they should further strengthen and develop the revolutionary great alliance and the revolutionary "three-in-one" combination. This is the general orientation of the struggle and this is what we must firmly hold to.

Only by doing so can we thoroughly eliminate all the poisonous influences of the bourgeois reactionary line so that the proletarian revolutionary line represented by Chairman Mao will be carried out in all fields. And only by doing so can the broad masses be armed with Mao Tse-tung's thought, the revolutionization of their thinking promoted, and our dictatorship of the proletariat consolidated from the roots.

Simultaneously with taking firm hold of the revolution, we need to promote production energetically. The great proletarian cultural revolution should be made to give brilliant results not only in the political and ideological fields but also in the fields of economic construction and scientific research.

This is the second year of our country's Third Five-Year Plan. We must strive to reap a bumper harvest this year, strive for further increases in industrial production and scale new heights in scientific research. In this respect, Peking exerts important influence on the whole country.

Proletarian revolutionary comrades of Peking, having first revolutionized their own thinking, must make still bigger efforts to go all out, aim high and fulfil and overfulfil this year's targets with greater, faster, better and more economical results, lay a solid and expanding base for the Third Five-Year Plan and carry out still more effectively the important strategic principle put forward by Chairman Mao of preparedness against war, preparedness against natural calamities and everything for the people.

Chairman Mao taught us on the eve of our nationwide victory: "To win country-wide victory is only the first step in a long march of ten thousand li... The Chinese revolution is great, but the road after the revolution will be longer, the work greater and more arduous. This must be made clear now in the Party. The comrades must be helped to remain modest, prudent and free from arrogance and rashness in their style of work. The comrades must be helped to preserve the style of plain living and hard struggle." Proletarian revolutionary comrades of Peking and young Red Guard fighters, we wholeheartedly hope that you will hold still higher the great red banner of Mao Tse-tung's thought, follow Chairman Mao's teachings, cherish the

fruits of your victories, strengthen your sense of responsibility, steadily consolidate and extend the power you have already seized and ensure that our capital, where Chairman Mao lives, will always remain in the hands of the proletarian revolutionaries, will for ever be full of youth and vitality, and never change colour.

Finally, let us loudly acclaim:

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

Long live the proletarian revolutionaries!

Long live the Chinese People's Liberation Army!

Long live the Red Guards!

Long live the great proletarian cultural revolution!

Long live the dictatorship of the proletariat!

Long live the Chinese Communist Party!

Long live the invincible thought of Mao Tse-tung!

Long live our great leader Chairman Mao! A long, long life to him!

Comrade Chiang Ching's Speech *

GENERALLY speaking, the present situation in China as a whole is very good, extremely good. This extremely good situation is the result of our struggle which is led by Chairman Mao. It is the result of the great alliance of the proletarian revolutionaries and the result of the support given by the great People's Liberation Army.

In the present stage in which the proletarian revolutionaries are forging an alliance to seize power, we should launch an extensive movement to criticize and repudiate the top Party persons in authority taking the capitalist road and, at the same time, gradually turn to the task of struggle [against and overthrow of those persons in authority taking the capitalist road], criticism and repudiation [of the reactionary bourgeois academic "authorities" and the ideology of the bourgeoisie and all other exploiting classes], and transformation [of education, literature and art and all other parts of the superstructure not corresponding to the socialist economic base] in the various departments according to local conditions.

The handful of top Party persons in authority taking the capitalist road are the representatives of capitalist restoration and the behind-the-scene bosses of the counter-revolutionary revisionist clique of the Peking municipality. For 17 years, they have been putting forward and stubbornly persisting in a bourgeois reactionary line in various fields. The proletarian revolutionary line represented by Chairman Mao has been developed in the struggle against this bourgeois reactionary line. We must thoroughly wipe out the evil influences of the bourgeois reactionary line on the political, economic, ideological and cultural fronts, and plant the great red banner of Mao Tse-tung's thought on all positions.

The task of struggle, criticism and repudiation and transformation in the various departments and the work of criticizing and repudiating the top Party per-

sons in authority taking the capitalist road are not mutually exclusive and can be integrated. The extensive criticism and repudiation of the few top Party persons in authority taking the capitalist road can give a strong impetus to the struggle, criticism and repudiation and transformation in the various departments. In its turn, the struggle, criticism and repudiation and transformation in the various departments can serve to bring about a fuller exposure and a more profound criticism and repudiation of the poisons spread on various fronts by the top Party persons in authority taking the capitalist road. This requires that we exert ourselves to make a good study of Chairman Mao's works, and do good work in investigation and study.

It is essential for the socialist revolution and socialist construction to carry through the struggle, criticism and repudiation and transformation in the various units and departments successfully. It is a fundamental task, crucial for the next hundred years!

On the question of struggle, criticism and repudiation and transformation, we should not shift the target of struggle from the handful of Party persons in authority taking the capitalist road. We must refute them in a thoroughgoing way. The handful of counter-revolutionary revisionist elements in the old Peking Municipal Party Committee, the old Propaganda Department of the Central Committee of the Party and the old Ministry of Culture must also be exposed, criticized and repudiated in a deeper and more thoroughgoing way.

We hope that, under the leadership of the Peking Municipal Revolutionary Committee, the broad masses of revolutionary people in Peking will hold high the great red banner of Mao Tse-tung's thought, consolidate and develop the revolutionary great alliance in the course of extensive revolutionary criticism and repudiation, and build Peking into a great school for the creative study and application of Mao Tse-tung's thought.

* Abridged text.

Comrade Hsieh Fu-chih's Speech*

FROM start to finish, preparations for the setting up of the Peking Municipal Revolutionary Committee enjoyed the solicitous attention of our great leader Chairman Mao. At this moment of general rejoicing by the people of the Peking municipality, let us join in wishing our most respected and beloved great leader, Chairman Mao, a long, long life! Long, long life to him!

The Peking Municipal Revolutionary Committee has been established as the result of a heroic and protracted struggle waged by the proletarian revolutionaries, workers, peasants, soldiers and revolutionary intellectuals of the capital, raising high the great red banner of Mao Tse-tung's thought and adhering to the proletarian revolutionary line, against the handful of Party people in authority taking the capitalist road and against the bourgeois reactionary line.

Peking is where our great leader Chairman Mao lives, it is where the supreme command of the proletariat is. The infinitely brilliant thought of Mao Tse-tung is illuminating the whole world, the whole of China and this capital of our great motherland. But the old Peking Municipal Party Committee, in which a handful of counter-revolutionary revisionists were long entrenched and which was shielded and supported by the handful of top Party persons in authority taking the capitalist road, consistently waved "red flags" to oppose the red flag, rabidly opposing our most respected and beloved great leader Chairman Mao, viciously attacking and disparaging the great thought of Mao Tse-tung and opposing the creative study and application of Chairman Mao's works. This counter-revolutionary revisionist clique consistently opposed Chairman Mao's theory on class struggle, preached class conciliation, spread the concept of the dying out of class struggle, opposed and undermined the socialist education movement in city and countryside, shielded the handful of Party people in authority taking the capitalist road and protected the interests of the bourgeoisie. They consistently opposed giving prominence to proletarian politics, pursued a counter-revolutionary revisionist line in industry, agriculture, finance and trade, culture, education and other fields, and worked vigorously for the restoration of capitalism. They consistently opposed the line of the Party's Central Committee headed by Chairman Mao on the great proletarian cultural revolution, and made energetic use of the instruments of propaganda which they controlled to disseminate revisionist poison, and so prepare public opinion for the restoration of capitalism. In the work of revolutionizing Peking opera, dance drama and symphonic music, they created all kinds of difficulties for Comrade Chiang Ching and levelled attacks against

her. What arouses particular anger is that they time and again resisted Chairman Mao's directive that Wu Han should be criticized and repudiated, and for a long time took no action in this matter. Following publication of Comrade Yao Wen-yuan's article "On the New Historical Drama *Hai Jui Dismissed From Office*," they forbade newspapers in Peking to reprint it; they did not allow sale of the article in pamphlet form, and even attacked the comrades of Shanghai for their revolutionary stand. They consistently followed the counter-revolutionary revisionist organizational line of recruiting deserters, accepting traitors and forming cliques in pursuit of their own selfish interests, handing out jobs to their close associates and putting bad people in important positions, shielding landlords, rich peasants, counter-revolutionaries, bad elements and Rightists and attacking proletarian revolutionaries. They consistently maintained a blockade against the Party Central Committee headed by Chairman Mao, and turned Peking into a "water-tight and impenetrable" independent kingdom, in a futile attempt to make it a base for a counter-revolutionary restoration. The members of this counter-revolutionary revisionist clique were big despots riding on the backs of the masses of the people in Peking. They committed towering crimes against the Party and the people.

The ringleader of the counter-revolutionary revisionist clique in the old Municipal Party Committee, time and again in the most nauseating way boosted himself to the skies among the cadres to prepare public opinion for his usurpation of the leadership of the Party and the state. As a matter of fact, this counter-revolutionary revisionist, the leader of the old Municipal Party Committee, was an outright capitulationist in the past and has been an agent of the bourgeoisie in our Party.

In the early stage of the War of Resistance Against Japan, this counter-revolutionary revisionist followed Wang Ming's capitulationist line of "everything through the united front" and "everything must be submitted to the united front" in the Shansi-Chahar-Hopei Border Area.

In northeast China, during the War of Liberation, he continued to carry out Wang Ming's line still more energetically and followed the capitulationist line advanced by the top Party person in authority taking the capitalist road. He opposed Chairman Mao's great strategic thought of using the countryside to surround the cities and Comrade Lin Piao's correct stand of arousing the masses boldly and setting up base areas.

In international activities, too, he made a lot of statements, behind the backs of the Party Central Committee, negating class contradictions, denying class struggle and glorifying the bourgeoisie and modern re-

*Abridged text.

visionism. He lauded the renegades Tito and Khrushchov and the bourgeois reactionaries of certain countries; he engaged in many capitulationist activities.

Investigation has now established that this counter-revolutionary revisionist became a turncoat and surrendered to the enemy and also betrayed comrades while he was in prison as far back as before the War of Resistance Against Japan. This renegade later colluded with the top Party person in authority taking the capitalist road in shielding a group of traitors and placing them in important leading positions in the Party, government and army. It is a tremendous contribution of the young Red Guards that they brought to light this big traitors' clique within our Party during the great cultural revolution.

Putting up the signboard of Communists and wearing a cloak of Marxism-Leninism, Mao Tse-tung's thought, this handful of counter-revolutionary revisionists in the old Peking Municipal Party Committee are in reality loyal lackeys of the bourgeoisie and imperialism. They cling to the bourgeois ideological system and the capitalist system and oppose Marxism-Leninism, Mao Tse-tung's thought, and the socialist system. They are a group of anti-Communist, anti-popular counter-revolutionaries. The struggle between us and them is a life-and-death struggle.

This gang of counter-revolutionary revisionists fear and hate intensely the great proletarian cultural revolution initiated and led by Chairman Mao himself. Repeatedly using double-faced tactics and resisting Chairman Mao's directives, they engaged in a series of underground activities obstinately opposing and sabotaging the great cultural revolution. They were caught red-handed while carrying out these anti-Party conspiratorial activities.

In response to the call of our great leader Chairman Mao, the proletarian revolutionaries in the capital, with the might of an avalanche and the force of a thunderbolt, smashed the "three-family village" gangster inn [See *Peking Review*, No. 22, 1966, for article "On 'Three-Family Village'"] with one blow, stormed the counter-revolutionary revisionist lair of the old Municipal Party Committee, and crushed them completely.

Chairman Mao and the Party Central Committee approved publication of the country's first Marxist-Leninist big-character poster from Peking University [see *Peking Review*, No. 37, 1966, for article "Hail a Big-Character Poster at Peking University"], made a timely decision to reorganize the old Peking Municipal Party Committee and form a new Municipal Party Committee. All these steps had the warm support of the people of the whole city and country, and gave a tremendous impetus to the great proletarian cultural revolution which had just started.

However, the principal leading members of the new Peking Municipal Party Committee failed to carry out the proletarian revolutionary line represented by Chairman Mao. On the contrary, they pursued the bourgeois reactionary line. In June and July of 1966, the great

proletarian cultural revolution in Peking proceeded under the direct control of the top Party persons in authority taking the capitalist road who turned Peking into a base for carrying out the bourgeois reactionary line. Taking the stand of the reactionary bourgeoisie, they exercised a bourgeois dictatorship, protected the counter-revolutionary revisionist clique of the old Municipal Party Committee, shielded the handful of Party people in authority taking the capitalist road and aimed the spearhead of the struggle at the proletarian revolutionaries. The top Party persons in authority taking the capitalist road personally directed many units in attacking the revolutionaries from all sides, suppressing the revolutionary masses, practising a white terror and branding large numbers of the revolutionary masses "counter-revolutionaries" or "Rightists." They almost nipped the great proletarian cultural revolution in Peking in the bud and spread the pernicious influence of the bourgeois reactionary line throughout the country.

At that crucial moment, Chairman Mao returned to Peking and saved the great proletarian cultural revolution. The Eleventh Plenary Session of the Eighth Central Committee of the Party adopted the "Decision of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party Concerning the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution." This proclaimed the bankruptcy of the bourgeois reactionary line and rekindled the raging flames of the great proletarian cultural revolution.

As soon as new things such as the Red Guards and the extensive exchange of revolutionary experience appeared on the horizon, Chairman Mao firmly supported them. The Red Guards of the capital played their role in arousing the struggle against the bourgeois reactionary line in all parts of the country. Here in Peking, Chairman Mao and his close comrade-in-arms, Comrade Lin Biao, received more than ten million Red Guards and revolutionary teachers and students, giving the proletarian revolutionaries tremendous encouragement and strength. The proletarian revolutionaries in the capital, upholding the proletarian revolutionary line and displaying the spirit of daring to think, speak, act, break through and make revolution, smashed the white terror of the bourgeois reactionary line, beat back its numerous counter-attacks and waged the struggle against the handful of Party people in authority taking the capitalist road. In extremely acute, complicated and tortuous struggles, the proletarian revolutionaries won one victory after another.

In Shanghai, the proletarian revolutionaries set going the storm of the "January Revolution." In the capital, in response to Chairman Mao's call, the proletarian revolutionaries launched a struggle from below to seize power from the handful of Party people in authority taking the capitalist road. Crowning a considerable period of preparation, deliberations and consultation, the Congress of Red Guards of Universities and Colleges, the Conference of Representatives of Revolutionary Workers and Staff, the Conference of Representatives of Poor and Lower-Middle Peasants

and the Congress of Red Guards of Middle Schools were successively convened in Peking. The Peking Municipal Revolutionary Committee—the Peking municipal provisional organ of power—was established on the basis of the great alliance of proletarian revolutionaries and in accordance with the policy of revolutionary “three-in-one” combination put forward by Chairman Mao. This is a tremendous victory for the great proletarian cultural revolution, for Chairman Mao’s proletarian revolutionary line and for the invincible thought of Mao Tse-tung.

The great proletarian cultural revolution initiated and led by Chairman Mao himself is a great pioneering undertaking in the international communist movement. After the proletariat wins political power and rules a country, the resistance of the bourgeoisie grows tenfold, as they dream of recovering their paradise. For quite a long time, they continue to retain a considerable political potential and still, to a considerable extent, have the upper hand in the ideological and cultural fields in particular. The proletariat, therefore, faces the extremely important new problem of whether it is able to maintain and consolidate political power, prevent a capitalist restoration and carry the socialist revolution through to the end. The Marxist-Leninists who preceded us either did not have a chance to solve this problem or were unable to do so. In Yugoslavia, as in the Soviet Union and certain other countries, capitalism was restored through “peaceful evolution.” In China, since the dictatorship of the proletariat was established in 1949, Chairman Mao has led us in waging a series of very important struggles against the bourgeoisie on the political, economic, ideological and cultural fronts. For instance: the struggle in 1954 against the anti-Party alliance of Kao Kang and Jao Sou-shih, bourgeois agents who had wormed their way into the Party; the struggle in 1959 against the Right opportunist anti-Party clique; the struggles on transformation of the system of ownership, namely, regarding state-private joint enterprises, agricultural co-operation, and the people’s communes; the struggle against the Rightists on the political and ideological fronts; and the criticism and repudiation on the ideological and cultural front of the film *The Life of Wu Hsun*, *Studies on “The Dream of the Red Chamber,”* the reactionary thinking of Hu Shih and Hu Feng, Yang Hsien-chen’s theory of “two combining into one,” and so on. All these were struggles waged by the proletariat under the leadership of Chairman Mao himself against the bourgeoisie, struggles waged by the proletarian revolutionary line represented by Chairman Mao against the bourgeois reactionary line represented by the top Party persons in authority taking the capitalist road. The current great proletarian cultural revolution is a big and decisive battle, a general offensive against the ideology of the bourgeoisie and all the exploiting classes. Hundreds of millions of people have been aroused in a revolution to sweep clean from below all the bourgeois representatives who have wormed their way into the Party, government and army. Only such a great Marxist-Leninist as our great leader Chairman Mao,

with his unique Marxist-Leninist wisdom, his extremely rich experience of struggle and his supreme courage and daring, could launch such a world-shaking mass movement on such a giant scale. The struggle to seize power is the inevitable outcome of the struggle between the two classes (the proletariat and the bourgeoisie), the two roads (the road of socialism and the road of capitalism) and the two lines (the proletarian revolutionary line and the bourgeois reactionary line). Only by overthrowing the handful of Party people in authority taking the capitalist road, seizing power from them, dismissing them from office, and placing political power in the hands of staunch proletarian revolutionaries, is it possible to carry the socialist revolution through to the end, uproot revisionism, prevent a capitalist restoration and guarantee that our state will never change colour. The movement for extensive democracy under the dictatorship of the proletariat and the struggle to seize power from below from those Party people in authority taking the capitalist road has its purpose of defending the fruits of victory already won by the proletariat and pushing forward the proletarian revolution. This is not only necessary at present; it will also be so in the future. This is an important development of Marxism-Leninism by Chairman Mao, on a par in importance and greatness with Marx’s founding of scientific socialism and Lenin’s founding of the theory of the seizure of political power by the proletariat in a single country.

Now the proletarian revolutionaries of the whole country are launching a new upsurge in the mass movement to thoroughly criticize and repudiate the top Party persons in authority taking the capitalist road. This is a big and decisive battle in the great proletarian cultural revolution. The top Party persons in authority taking the capitalist road are the chief bosses of revisionism in China. The handful of Party people in authority taking the capitalist road in certain localities and certain departments are the backbone of the forces they rely upon in pushing ahead the counter-revolutionary revisionist line. Thorough criticism and repudiation of the top Party persons in authority taking the capitalist road is the most important fighting task at present. We must firmly hold to this general orientation, boldly arouse the masses in a widespread movement for all-round criticism and repudiation politically, ideologically and theoretically, and thoroughly liquidate and eliminate the revisionist poison they have spread in various fields.

The handful of top Party persons in authority taking the capitalist road are the behind-the-scene bosses of the counter-revolutionary revisionist clique in the old Peking Municipal Party Committee. We must centre our criticism and repudiation on the top Party persons in authority taking the capitalist road, and overthrow, refute and thoroughly discredit the counter-revolutionary revisionist clique in the old Peking Municipal Party Committee and the handful of Party people in authority taking the capitalist road, and wrest back all the positions they usurped. We must

respond to the great call of Chairman Mao, hold high the revolutionary banner of criticism and repudiation, and plunge boldly into the battle to thoroughly smash the bourgeois reactionary line.

Chairman Mao teaches us: "In order to attack the forces of the counter-revolution, what the revolutionary forces need today is to organize millions upon millions of the masses and move a mighty revolutionary army into action." We must further extend and consolidate the great alliance of proletarian revolutionaries in the course of this great revolutionary mass movement of criticism and repudiation. All proletarian revolutionaries should fight side-by-side and together enhance their command of Mao Tse-tung's thought for the common objective of criticizing and repudiating the top Party persons in authority taking the capitalist road and the counter-revolutionary revisionist clique of the old Peking Municipal Party Committee. **Comrade Lin Piao has pointed out: "We must regard ourselves as an integral part of the revolutionary force and, at the same time, constantly regard ourselves as a target of the revolution. In making revolution, we must also revolutionize ourselves. Without revolutionizing ourselves, we cannot succeed in making this revolution."** In transforming the objective world, proletarian revolutionaries should, at the same time, ceaselessly transform their own subjective world. We should, in the course of this revolutionary mass movement of criticism and repudiation, engage in rectification campaign while carrying on the fight, eliminate self-interest and put public interest first, overcome the tendency to seek the limelight, the mountain-stronghold mentality, the "small group" mentality, liberalism, anarchism, individualism and other non-proletarian ideas, strengthen our proletarian revolutionary spirit, scientific approach and sense of organization and discipline. Divergent views among the different revolutionary mass organizations should be resolved by the method of rectification, in which everyone can take part, mainly by self-criticism. Divergent views should not lead to the fighting of "civil wars," thereby confusing the general orientation of struggle and even giving the enemy the chance to sabotage our great alliance and great unity. We will absolutely not permit the handful of Party people in authority taking the capitalist road to take advantage of the rectification campaign to attack and struggle against proletarian revolutionaries. Likewise, the conservatives should not be allowed to use the forming of the great alliance as a pretext for weakening the proletarian revolutionaries, repressing them and even swallowing them up.

Chairman Mao teaches us: "We must work conscientiously to unite all those who can be united. The proletariat must emancipate not only itself but also mankind as a whole. Without emancipating the whole of mankind the proletariat cannot finally emancipate itself." We must unite the great majority of the cadres and the masses. The proletarian revolutionaries should not discriminate against or exclude those people who

were hoodwinked by the bourgeois reactionary line. The proletarian revolutionaries should, in the course of the struggle to criticize and repudiate the Party people in authority taking the capitalist road, patiently arouse the class consciousness of the hoodwinked people, help them with great warmth to correct their mistakes, and unite with them in making revolution. Of course, the proletarian revolutionaries must not unite with such reactionary organizations as the "United Action Committee" and its like. The dictatorship of the proletariat must be exercised over such organizations and their chiefs, while their membership should be split up and rank-and-file member treated differently.

In connection with this revolutionary mass movement of criticism and repudiation, we should further implement the policy of the revolutionary "three-in-one" combination advanced by Chairman Mao. The revolutionary "three-in-one" combination must take the great alliance of the proletarian revolutionaries as its basis and be formed step by step in the course of the revolutionary mass struggle. Every revolutionary cadre should take an active part in this mass movement of criticism and repudiation, actively criticize and repudiate the top Party persons in authority taking the capitalist road, thoroughly expose the counter-revolutionary revisionist clique of the old Peking Municipal Party Committee, completely break with them, seriously criticize himself and correct his own errors and accept supervision and testing by the revolutionary masses. The proletarian revolutionaries should put the main stress on the criticism and repudiation of "hitting hard at many in order to protect a handful," that integral part of the bourgeois reactionary line, they should encourage all cadres willing to make revolution to rise up in revolution and bring about the revolutionary "three-in-one" combination in the course of the struggle. The great majority of cadres in the Peking municipality are good or comparatively good. Many of them, such as Wu Teh, Liu Chien-hsun, and other comrades, have begun to stand on the side of the proletarian revolutionaries. We are confident that in the forthcoming struggle they will be able to pass the test, temper themselves and continue to make worthy contributions to the revolution.

Through this revolutionary mass movement of criticism and repudiation we should mobilize the masses more fully, carry out still better the policy of "taking firm hold of the revolution and promoting production," exert greater efforts in going all out, aiming high and striving for the fulfilment and overfulfilment of the 1967 industrial and agricultural production plans.

Through this revolutionary mass movement of criticism and repudiation, we should carry forward the mass movement for the creative study and application of Chairman Mao's works in a more thoroughgoing way. Mao Tse-tung's thought has developed in the course of the struggle against diverse opportunist lines, especially in the course of the struggle against the bourgeois reactionary line represented by the top Party persons in authority taking the capitalist road. We will be

able to grasp and master Mao Tse-tung's thought more thoroughly if we make full use of the handful of top Party persons in authority taking the capitalist road as teachers by negative example and criticize and repudiate the bourgeois reactionary line thoroughly from every aspect.

As we review the past and look to the future we understand more deeply that holding high the great red banner of Mao Tse-tung's thought and giving prominence to proletarian politics are the basic guarantee for carrying the great proletarian cultural revolution through to the end and fulfilling all tasks.

Chairman Mao is the greatest Marxist-Leninist of our era. He has inherited, defended and developed Marxism-Leninism with genius, creatively and compre-

hensively and has brought it to a higher and completely new stage. Mao Tse-tung's thought is Marxism-Leninism at its highest level in the present era, is the most powerful ideological weapon of the proletariat and is our spiritual atom bomb. We proletarian revolutionaries cherish Mao Tse-tung's thought with boundless love, faith, admiration and loyalty. We must resolutely respond to Comrade Lin Piao's call: **"Study Chairman Mao's writings, follow his teachings, act according to his instructions and be his good fighters."** We should fly the great red banner of Mao Tse-tung's thought over every factory, commune, shop, school, government institution, street and every inch of land in the capital. We should build Peking, the people's capital, into the reddest revolutionary city shining always with the radiance of Mao Tse-tung's thought.

In Memory of Great Lenin, Down With Modern Revisionism!

by "RENMIN RIBAO" COMMENTATOR

TODAY, the Chinese people are celebrating the 97th anniversary of the birth of the great Lenin amid the resounding triumphant songs of the great proletarian cultural revolution.

Lenin was the great revolutionary teacher, after Marx and Engels, of the proletariat and the oppressed nations of the whole world.

Lenin founded the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, led the Soviet people in winning the victory of the Great October Socialist Revolution and established the first socialist state in the world.

Reviewing the history of the development of Marxism, Lenin once wrote: Marxism **"has had to fight for every step forward in the course of its life."** Lenin devoted his whole life to unflinching and acute struggles against the various kinds of enemies of the proletariat. Through his unrelenting fight against revisionists and opportunists of all shades and hues, Lenin safeguarded Marxism and brought it forward to a new historical stage, the stage of Leninism.

Lenin defended and developed the Marxist theory of the dictatorship of the proletariat in his struggle against revisionism and opportunism. He pointed out: **"A Marxist is solely someone who extends the recognition of the class struggle to the recognition of the dictatorship of the proletariat."** He also said, **"The key question of every revolution is undoubtedly the question of state power. Which class holds power decides everything."** Therefore, before their seizure of power, the proletariat and other revolutionary people must stick to the principle of violent revolution, smash the old state apparatus and take power by the force of arms; and after taking power, they must safeguard

and consolidate the dictatorship of the proletariat and carry the socialist revolution through to the end. The proletariat has nothing if it has no political power; it gains everything if it gains political power; and it loses all if it loses political power. This is a fundamental law of class struggle and an extremely important lesson and experience of the international communist movement.

While celebrating the 97th anniversary of the birth of the great Lenin, we must not lose sight of the harsh fact that, in the Soviet Union, the native land of Leninism, political power has been usurped by the Khrushchov revisionist group and that the dictatorship of the proletariat there has been transformed into a dictatorship of the bourgeoisie. Khrushchov and his successors Brezhnev, Kosygin and their like have betrayed the great Lenin, betrayed Marxism-Leninism, betrayed the October Revolution and betrayed the Soviet people and the people of the whole world. They are the biggest group of renegades and scabs in history.

Revisionism is the avowed enemy of Marxism, but it always swears by the name of Marx. Lenin said: **"It cannot be prohibited from doing this, just as a trading firm cannot be prohibited from using any particular label, sign or advertisement."** This is the case with the Soviet revisionist leading clique today. This handful of dirty renegades have the cheek to call themselves "successors to the cause of Lenin" and try to bluff and deceive in the name of Leninism. They have lost all sense of shame!

The group of Soviet revisionists today are the very successors of those revisionists rebuked by Lenin. But

their crimes are a thousand times more heinous than those of their predecessors.

These people have turned the C.P.S.U. founded by Lenin into "a party of the entire people," that is, a new-type social-democratic party, a party of the bourgeoisie. Aren't they the type of opportunists Lenin once reproved for "going to the length of betraying the Party"?

These people have flagrantly carried out the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie in the Soviet Union, restored capitalism in an all-round manner, buried the achievements of the October Revolution and caused the socialist state founded by Lenin to change its colour. Aren't they the type of "agents of the bourgeoisie" Lenin once condemned?

These people go down on their bended knees before imperialism, follow the line of capitulation and never hesitate to sell out the interests of the revolutionary people of the world in order to realize "U.S.-Soviet collaboration for world domination." Aren't they the type of "flunkeys 'serving' imperialism" Lenin once rebuked?

These people peddle far and wide their fraud of "peaceful transition" to corrode the revolutionary will of the peoples and oppose the oppressed peoples who take to revolutionary violence in order to resist counter-revolutionary violence and seize power by the force of arms. Aren't they the type of "proselytes" Lenin once rebuked?

They have committed every crime in feigning support for but actually betraying the oppressed nations' struggles for liberation. They are helping the imperialists to strangle the national-liberation movement everywhere and have even gone to the length of serving as the No. 1 accomplice of U.S. imperialism in its aggression against the Vietnamese people. Aren't they the type of "traitors and scoundrels" Lenin once denounced?

Marxism-Leninism teaches us that the emergence of revisionism is not accidental but has its social roots. Revisionism will appear so long as imperialism exists and so long as the bourgeoisie exist. Fifty years ago, Lenin said that in the coming decades "new Plekhanovs, new Scheidemanns, new sentimental conciliators like Kautsky will grow up from the depths of 'united' international social-democracy." What Lenin predicted has taken place. Naturally, this is nothing to be afraid of. That modern revisionism with the Soviet revisionist clique as its centre is for the time being rampaging around is merely a manifestation of the desperate struggle of imperialism in its dying stage. It can never hold back the triumphant advance of Marxism-Leninism.

Our great leader Chairman Mao is the genuine successor to the cause of Lenin. Chairman Mao has inherited, defended and developed Marxism-Leninism with genius, creatively and in an all-round way, and has raised it to a completely new stage. Mao Tse-tung's thought is Marxism-Leninism of the era in which imperialism is heading for total collapse and socialism is advancing to worldwide victory. The great proletarian cultural revolution personally launched and led by Chairman Mao has solved the problem of arousing mil-

lions upon millions of people to make extensive revolution under conditions of the dictatorship of the proletariat; it has solved the problem of seizing power from a handful of persons in authority taking the capitalist road in organs of the dictatorship of the proletariat; and it has solved the problem of preventing capitalist restoration and ensuring that China will never change its colour. This is a significant development of Marxism-Leninism by Chairman Mao. It is as important and as great as Marx's theory of scientific socialism and Lenin's theory of the proletariat seizing political power in one country. This unprecedented, great revolution has not only firmly consolidated the dictatorship of the proletariat in our country, but has ushered in a new era in the international communist movement and sounded the death knell of imperialism, reactionaries of all countries and modern revisionism.

Marxism-Leninism has always developed amid the curses and opposition of the enemy. Just after Marxism was born, all the reactionary forces in Europe joined hands in a vain attempt to drive away the "phantom" that had appeared in Europe. When Leninism was born, the revisionists of the Second International and scabs and renegades of all shades and hues got together to oppose it. Leninism has not only been bitterly hated and cursed by the imperialists, reactionaries and international revisionists but has also been rabidly attacked by Trotsky, Bukharin and other bourgeois elements within the C.P.S.U. itself. At present, the imperialists and reactionaries of all countries, in league with the modern revisionists, are hysterically attacking the great thought of Mao Tse-tung. At the same time, a handful of the biggest Party persons in authority taking the capitalist road and revisionists in our country, echoing the class enemies at home and abroad, have been unscrupulously opposing Mao Tse-tung's thought. In doing so, the revisionists at home and abroad are opposing Marxism, opposing Leninism, opposing revolution. But whoever opposes Marxism-Leninism, Mao Tse-tung's thought, no matter who he is and what disguise he may wear, will be knocking his head against a brick wall and will meet with a shameful end. As the saying goes, "You will all perish, body and name, and yet the rivers will flow on for ever." No force on earth can prevent Marxism-Leninism, Mao Tse-tung's thought, from achieving worldwide victory!

"Were nature sentient, she too would pass from youth to age; but in man's world seas change into mulberry fields." [Chairman Mao's poem: *The Capture of Nanking by the People's Liberation Army*] In the native land of Leninism political power has been temporarily usurped by the revisionist clique, but socialism will eventually triumph over revisionism and capitalism. This is an inevitable law of the development of history. The great Soviet people will definitely not put up for long with the rule of the traitorous Soviet revisionist clique. Leninism will certainly shine again in all its glory all over the Soviet land!

Long live Leninism! Down with modern revisionism!

(*"Renmin Ribao," April 22.*)

Chinese Air Force Downs Two Invading U.S. Planes

All reactionaries are paper tigers. In appearance, the reactionaries are terrifying, but in reality they are not so powerful. From a long-term point of view, it is not the reactionaries but the people who are really powerful.

— **Mao Tse-tung:** *Talk With the American Correspondent Anna Louise Strong*

IN another flagrant act of war provocation two F-4B fighter planes of the U.S. imperialist air force intruded into China's air space over Kwangsi, central-south China, on the afternoon of April 24. In a matter of minutes, the two bandit U.S. aircraft were brought down by the Chinese Air Force.

This new triumph of the People's Liberation Army represents another victory for the great and invincible thought of Mao Tse-tung. The Military Commission of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party issued an order the following day commending the air force unit which meted out appropriate punishment to the U.S. imperialist invaders. "You have achieved this victory," the order states in part, "by firmly responding to Comrade Lin Piao's call to hold high the great red banner of Mao Tse-tung's thought, to study and apply Chairman Mao's works creatively, to put proletarian politics in command, to carry out ideological revolutionization on a large scale, to defend faithfully the great proletarian cultural revolution, and firmly to safeguard the proletarian revolutionary line represented by Chairman Mao."

The order then refers to the new war adventures plotted by U.S. imperialism in Southeast Asia following the bankruptcy of its "peace talks" scheme in Vietnam. "Your victory," the order points out, "serves as powerful support to the Vietnamese people's struggle against U.S. aggression and for national salvation. It is a great inspiration to the broad masses of the proletarian revolutionaries of our country and a heavy blow to U.S. imperialism."

The order says: "Our great leader Chairman Mao teaches us: **Just because we have won victory, we must never relax our vigilance against the frenzied plots for revenge by the imperialists and their running dogs.**"

In a front-page article *Renmin Ribao's* Commentator described the achievement as a "splendid, well-delivered and heartening blow" at the enemy. This is a new contribution which has been made by the

Chinese People's Liberation Army armed with the thought of Mao Tse-tung in defence of the security of the motherland and the great proletarian cultural revolution, Commentator said.

U.S. aircraft have violated China's air space again and again. This intrusion into Kwangsi is another serious provocation against the Chinese people. The U.S. imperialists are not resigned to defeat and they are incorrigible criminals, Commentator continued. They nurse a mortal hatred of the Chinese people and China's great proletarian cultural revolution. They must be given devastating blows should they dare come again.

On the battlefield in Vietnam, Commentator said, the U.S. aggressors have sunk deeper and deeper into the quagmire from which they cannot extricate themselves. Since the Guam conference, the U.S. imperialists, encouraged by the Soviet modern revisionists, have stepped up their war escalation on the one hand, and have gone all out in putting up a "peace" smokescreen on the other. But the Johnson Administration can never deceive or cow the heroic Vietnamese people. Nor can it ever hope by its military provocations to shake the great 700 million Chinese people from their firm resolve to assist the Vietnamese people's struggle against U.S. aggression.

Renmin Ribao's Commentator said that as a result of the great proletarian cultural revolution that is unfolding triumphantly in China and the carrying out of the all-out criticism and repudiation of the handful of top Party persons in authority taking the capitalist road, Mao Tse-tung's thought has gone deeper in the hearts of the people and has been mastered by the broad masses of the revolutionary people. Armed with Mao Tse-tung's thought, the people represent the greatest fighting power. Commentator also said that the Chinese people are strong in their belief that together with the fraternal Vietnamese people and the revolutionary people throughout the world they can crush U.S. imperialism completely.

Chinese People Indignantly Condemn U.S. Imperialism for Again Frenziedly Bombing Vietnam's Haiphong City

April 25, 1967

DURING their wanton bombing of the territory of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam on April 20, U.S. pirate planes again frenziedly and massively bombed the industrial and residential districts of Haiphong city, causing heavy losses of life and property to the Vietnamese people. The Chinese people indignantly denounce U.S. imperialism for this monstrous crime.

On April 21, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam issued a statement strongly condemning this barbarous war act by U.S. imperialism and reaffirming the Vietnamese people's determination to oppose aggression and carry the war of resistance through to the end. The Chinese Government and people firmly support this just stand of the Vietnamese Government and people.

The U.S. bandits' barbarous bombing of the territory of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam and their massive bombing of Haiphong city signal U.S. imperialism's further expansion of its war of aggression against Vietnam.

As is well known, U.S. imperialism has suffered heavy casualties as a result of the Vietnamese people's heroic fight, although it has thrown in more than 400,000 U.S. aggressor troops and employed a greater part of its naval and air strength in its war of aggression against Vietnam. The so-called dry-season offensive started by U.S. imperialism last October will in fact end in an even more dismal defeat. This provides yet another eloquent proof that the south Vietnamese people have emerged stronger in the course of fighting and the might of people's war is without parallel, while U.S. imperialism can certainly be defeated. As to the "peace talks" fraud of U.S. imperialism, it has been seen through by the Vietnamese people as well as the people of the world and its hypocritical nature is being increasingly revealed.

The U.S. aggressors are now pouring big reinforcements into south Vietnam for large scale military offensives against the liberated areas there and are stepping up the bombing of southern Vietnam with B-52 strategic bombers taking off from bases in Thai-

land. Meantime, U.S. imperialism is plotting to bomb northern Vietnam on a still larger scale and is trying to expand the war to the whole of Indo-China by invading Laos and Cambodia. Chairman Mao Tse-tung has said: "Historically, all reactionary forces on the verge of extinction invariably conduct a last desperate struggle against the revolutionary forces." These frenzied acts of U.S. imperialism are like the last desperate struggle of a cornered beast and can never save it from defeat which is its inescapable fate.

The criminal acts of U.S. imperialism in expanding the war of aggression against Vietnam and promoting the "peace talks" plot have the full support and cooperation of the Soviet revisionist leading clique. The Soviet revisionist leading clique is not only helping U.S. imperialism hatch "peace talks" plots but is also most energetically running hither and thither to serve these plots, attempting thereby to curry favour with U.S. imperialism and strengthen U.S.-Soviet collaboration for world domination. The Soviet revisionist leading clique has in fact become the No. 1 accomplice of U.S. imperialism in expanding the war of aggression against Vietnam and the chief culprit sabotaging the struggle of the Vietnamese people against U.S. aggression and for national salvation. These acts of sheer treachery of Soviet revisionism have long been despised by the people of the world.

"Only heroes can quell tigers and leopards, and wild bears never daunt the brave." [Chairman Mao Tse-tung's poem: *Winter Clouds*] The Vietnamese people are dauntless heroes. On a land of 150,000 square kilometres, the 14 million south Vietnamese people have resisted and fought more than one million U.S. and puppet troops, badly battered them and won one great victory after another, performing miraculous feats in the annals of wars of liberation. The north Vietnamese people have triumphantly repelled the wanton bombing and other acts of aggression by U.S. imperialism. The great victories won by the Vietnamese people have laid bare the essence of U.S. imperialism as a paper tiger. U.S. imperialism has fallen into the

(Continued on p. 28.)



Mao Tse-tung's Thought

Lights the Whole World

The Surest Guarantee for the Victory of World Revolution

In a recent interview with a Chinese correspondent, three American comrades in Peking—Frank Coe, Sol Adler and Ruth Coe—talked about the great world significance of Mao Tse-tung's thought and China's great proletarian cultural revolution. Following is the main content of their statements about the thought of Mao Tse-tung.—Ed.

Chairman Mao Is the Great Leader of the World Revolution

Frank Coe: We consider that the three greatest communist leaders and thinkers have been Marx, Lenin and Chairman Mao Tse-tung. The fact that there have been only three men of their great stature in more than a century shows how fortunate it is for China and for the world that Chairman Mao is with us today, leading the world's revolutionary struggle!

Marx founded scientific socialism and had rich practice. Lenin greatly developed Marxism for his epoch, and led the Great October Revolution. Chairman Mao has greatly developed Marxism-Leninism for his epoch, led the great Chinese revolution to victory, and is leading the great proletarian cultural revolution, which is carrying socialism into an entirely new stage in China.

Ruth Coe: Like Marx and Lenin, Chairman Mao is a great proletarian internationalist, the leader of world revolution. He is beloved by the revolutionaries and working people of every country in the world, and they look to him for leadership. So it was with Marx and Lenin. Again like Marx and Lenin, Chairman Mao is hated and feared by the imperialists, revisionists and all the reactionaries of his epoch.

Chairman Mao Has the Richest Experience in Revolutionary Practice

Frank Coe: As to revolutionary practice, Chairman Mao has had the richest experience of anyone in the world because for fifty years he has led struggles against every type of class enemy ranging from imperialism, feudalism and bureaucratic capitalism in old China to the former landlords and rich peasants, counter-revolutionaries, bad elements, Rightists and revisionists in socialist China. And no one in history has waged the advanced type of class struggle that Chairman Mao is now leading in the great proletarian cultural revolution. The thought of Mao Tse-tung is the product of his rich practice, his profound grasp of Marxism-Leninism, and his own genius as a creative theorist. The thought of Mao Tse-tung is the greatest treasure for proletarian revolutionaries all over the world, and an indispensable weapon for all of us revolutionaries. The surest guarantee for victory in the proletarian revolution in our epoch is for us to grasp the thought of Mao Tse-tung.



From left: Ruth Coe, Sol Adler and Frank Coe

Sol Adler: To us American revolutionaries, Chairman Mao's analysis of U.S. imperialism as the main enemy of the people of the world, including the American people, is particularly valuable. Chairman Mao has applied dialectics in a masterly fashion to bring out the paper-tiger nature of U.S. imperialism. This correct thesis has been and is a tremendous source of strength to the Afro-Americans and all other American progressives as well as to the national-liberation and other progressive movements in the rest of the world. Revolutionaries all over the world have learnt from Chairman Mao that in politics as well as in war they must despise the enemy strategically while taking him into account tactically. They have learnt

from him that the people, and the people alone, and not the imperialists and reactionaries, are the motive force in the making of world history. As the thought of Mao Tse-tung is grasped by the masses of the world, it becomes a material force that makes them invincible. The thought of Mao Tse-tung is sounding the death knell of U.S. imperialism.

Ruth Coe: Chairman Mao's contributions to Marxist-Leninist theory have been so comprehensive and large that today no one should be called a true Communist or Marxist-Leninist unless he has grasped the thought of Mao Tse-tung.

Frank Coe: Chairman Mao has made major and original contributions to every part of the science of Marxism-Leninism, to philosophy, economics and politics, to the theory and practice of people's war, to Party building, art and literature, to the analysis of imperialism in our epoch and analysis of modern revisionism, etc. The military science of people's war in our epoch has been created almost solely by Chairman Mao. And this feat together with his genius in directing war marks him as the outstanding military thinker of all times. Similarly, Chairman Mao's theoretical

contributions on a wide variety of problems of socialist society are completely new, including the theory that contradictions, classes and class struggle exist in socialist society.

Mao Tse-tung's Thought Is the Greatest Treasure For Revolutionaries All Over the World

Sol Adler: Mao Tse-tung's thought is the greatest treasure for revolutionaries everywhere. It is the invincible and indispensable weapon for revolutionaries everywhere, and of course in Asia, Africa and Latin America. Once this thought is disseminated and revolutionaries of the world have grasped it, victory in their revolution is certain.

Ruth Coe: As for the United States, it is not an accident that there is an extremely great interest in Mao Tse-tung's thought among the Afro-American people. Comrade Mao Tse-tung's statement supporting the American Negro people's struggle has been a great encouragement to the American Negro people who are oppressed by the monopoly capitalists. Respect for the thought of Mao Tse-tung, of course, extends to all Marxists and progressive circles.

Imbibing Revolutionary Strength From Chairman Mao's Works

by A.L. Rasjid (Indonesia)

I started reading and studying Chairman Mao's writings for the first time when I got a set of his *Selected Works* in Indonesian in China, the land that gave birth to Chairman Mao's works.

I was upset at the time about the situation in my motherland. The Suharto-Nasution fascist reactionaries were indiscriminately arresting and slaughtering Communists, democrats and revolutionaries. My heart was filled with intense grief and I was greatly agitated.

I read *A single Spark Can Start a Prairie Fire* and then went on to the *Talk With the American Correspondent Anna Louise Strong*. I read the passage: **"All reactionaries are paper tigers. In appearance, the reactionaries are terrifying, but in reality they are not so powerful. From a long-term point of view, it is not the reactionaries but the people who are really powerful."** This passage was a wonderful lamp sending forth brilliant light. It gave me strength, and I gained greater confidence in the victory of the Indonesian revolution. I have clearly seen the orientation. The Indonesian people will surely achieve liberation, and this encourages me all the more to carry the revolution to the end.

The more I studied the experience of the Chinese revolution from the works of Chairman Mao, the more I realized the truth in them. I feel that one can eat less food and drink less water, but one cannot cut

down the study of Chairman Mao's works. I believe the thought of Mao Tse-tung is not only our weapon of revolutionary struggle, it is the weapon of life itself. By studying it people come to understand how to live and what road to take. The Indonesian people must take the Mao Tse-tung road not only in revolution but in all aspects of life.

Today in China's great proletarian cultural revolution the thought of Mao Tse-tung is once again demonstrating its incomparable might, striking fear into the hearts of the imperialists, modern revisionists and all reactionaries.

This is very fine! The more widely Mao Tse-tung's thought is disseminated and the more rapidly it is mastered by the oppressed and the exploited, the sooner the day will come when the imperialists, modern revisionists and all reactionaries in the world are buried.

To spread Mao Tse-tung's thought is not only a job of the Chinese people, it is a job for every revolutionary in the world. I feel this very deeply. The thought of Mao Tse-tung is the property not only of the Chinese people, but of the working people and revolutionaries of the whole world. Its dissemination is an important contribution to the world revolution.

(Slightly abridged)

Establish the Genuine Revolutionary Unity Of the World Proletariat

— Article in *Rruga e Partise*, theoretical organ of the
Central Committee of the Albanian Party of Labour

THE March issue of *Rruga e Partise* (Road of the Party), theoretical organ of the Central Committee of the Albanian Party of Labour, carried an article "Genuine Revolutionary Unity of the World Proletariat Can Only Be Achieved in Irreconcilable Struggle Against Revisionism and to the Exclusion of the Revisionists" by H. Zenali. The article points out that to carry forward victoriously the struggle of Marxism-Leninism against Soviet modern revisionism, it is of the greatest significance today to establish a genuine revolutionary unity of the proletariat of the world.

The modern revisionists are the splitters of the international communist movement and the enemy of the solidarity of the world revolutionary forces. The Khrushchov revisionists are the biggest splitters of the international communist movement in the present era and the most dangerous traitors in the history of the communist movement.

The article points out that the struggle between Marxism-Leninism on the one hand and revisionism and opportunism on the other hand is an objective reality, an acute expression of the class struggle, and a life-and-death struggle between the revolutionary proletariat and the bourgeoisie and other reactionary forces. Whether in the international arena or in individual nations, splits become inevitable if revisionism and opportunism emerge and grow, and splits between the forces of Marxism-Leninism and revolution, and those of opportunism and counter-revolution become historical necessities. Every split in the communist movement comes from the emergence of the revisionist and opportunist line and from the opportunists' betrayal of the proletariat and of the cause of Marxism-Leninism. Whoever abandons Marxism-Leninism wrecks the unity of the proletariat and is therefore a splittist.

At present the revolutionary movement is gaining momentum and expanding daily. The Marxist-Leninist and revolutionary forces in the revisionist countries are more and more strongly opposing the betrayal and degeneration of the revisionists. Precisely because of this the imperialists and their agents, the Khrushchov revisionists, are panic-stricken in face of the surging tide of revolution of the proletariat and the people of

all countries and in face of the growing forces of Marxism-Leninism of the whole world. On the one hand the Khrushchov revisionists are working overtime to oppose the Marxist-Leninist forces and the revolutionary forces in the revisionist countries, and increasing their collaboration with the U.S. imperialists. On the other hand they are stepping up their lying propaganda for "united action" and "opposition to imperialism."

The article says that no matter how crafty the demagogic propaganda of the Khrushchov revisionists may be, and no matter how deceitful their tricks, they can in no way wipe out the facts or hoodwink the genuine Marxist-Leninist forces and the revolutionary people of the world. Facts have shown that the Khrushchov modern revisionists are tightening their counter-revolutionary collaboration with international imperialism and its chieftain the U.S. imperialists so as to intensify their struggle against Marxism-Leninism, revolution and socialism. The personal visit to the Pope by N.V. Podgorny, one of the Soviet revisionist chiefs, the renegade Kosygin's trip to London, and the recent secret talks between the Soviet revisionist leading clique and the U.S. imperialists calculated to bring the Vietnam question into the orbit of U.S.-U.S.S.R. cooperation — all serve this counter-revolutionary purpose.

The betrayals by the Khrushchov revisionists have placed them outside the ranks of the international communist movement and the anti-imperialist united front of the peoples of the world.

At a time when the Khrushchov revisionists are forming alliances with the imperialists in hatching new plots against socialism, revolution and Marxism-Leninism, no genuine revolutionary communist can look on with folded arms in this struggle; he must undertake all the tasks entrusted to him by history and firmly plunge himself into the struggle against revisionism. The experience of the world revolutionary movement, especially the experience of the struggle against the opportunism of the Second International, teaches us how

harmful it is to adopt a hesitating, wavering and irresolute attitude in the anti-revisionist struggle. Such an attitude will only be helpful to the revisionists. There can be no middle road in the struggle between Marxism-Leninism and modern revisionism, and it is impossible to have "united action" with the modern revisionists. Whoever advocates united action with those renegades will become renegades themselves, for Marxism-Leninism and revisionism are utterly incompatible with each other and are deadly enemies.

The article stresses that the middle-of-the-road line and the "sitting-on-the-fence line" cannot hold water at all. They are only a transitional stage leading to opportunism or a trick to camouflage opportunism and to prolong its existence. Whoever disguises himself as a "neutralist" will slip on to the position of the opportunists and support the revisionists. The question is obvious enough: Either you side with Marxism-Leninism, revolution and socialism in opposition to revisionism, or you side with revisionism against Marxism-Leninism and socialism, and collaborate with counter-revolution. There is no middle road.

The revisionists are now trying in a thousand and one ways to rally their disintegrating forces and to redouble their efforts in attacking the Marxist-Leninist forces and opposing the rising revolutionary movements of the world. Today, Brezhnev, Kosygin, Tito, Johnson and their like, as well as the Pope, have formed an imperialist and revisionist united front against the freedom and independence of the peoples of all countries, against revolution and socialism. Therefore, all genuine revolutionary forces of Marxism-Leninism must rally their own ranks in every country and in the international arena so as to resist and smash the reactionary assaults by imperialism and revisionism.

In order to establish co-operation and achieve joint action among various Marxist-Leninist Parties and or-

ganizations, it is a pressing task at present to form close internationalist ties. This will have a vital significance for the destiny of revolution and socialism, and for bringing the struggle of Marxism-Leninism against revisionism to a complete victory. In the face of the counter-revolutionary united front of imperialism and revisionism, it is necessary to form a united front of the revolutionary and Marxist-Leninist forces of all countries. It is for this reason that the delegates to the 5th Congress of the Albanian Party of Labour, representatives of the forces of Marxism-Leninism of various countries, supported the stand of the Albanian Party of Labour in establishing a revolutionary unity of the Marxist-Leninist forces of the times and closely uniting with the Communist Party of China and the People's Republic of China so as to build a wall of bronze against which all the enemies of Marxism-Leninism, revolution and socialism will smash their heads. It is because of this that the revisionists have tried in every possible way to split the Marxist-Leninist forces, and prevent them from getting organized and united.

The international situation and the development of the world communist movement are favourable for us, while unfavourable for our enemies — the imperialists and revisionists. The Marxist-Leninist forces, forging a new revolutionary unity in the course of the struggle against revisionism, a unity excluding the revisionists, will bring the anti-imperialist and anti-revisionist struggle to a higher stage. They will carry on the struggle till the victory of the working class and the people of the world over the bourgeoisie and imperialism and their agents, the Khrushchov and Tito revisionists, and will guarantee the victory of revolution and socialism throughout the world, says the article in conclusion.

(Continued from p. 24.)

great ocean of the Vietnamese people's war. Whatever military blackmail and political deception U.S. imperialism may resort to and whatever traitorous activities the Soviet revisionist leading clique may conduct to support U.S. imperialism, the determination of the 31 million Vietnamese people to carry the war of resistance through to the end can never be shaken. The Vietnamese people will sweep away all obstacles, surmount all difficulties and win final victory in the war of resistance against U.S. aggression and for national salvation.

U.S. imperialism is the sworn enemy of the Chinese and Vietnamese peoples. The Chinese people are the closest comrades-in-arms of the Vietnamese people.

China is the most solid and reliable great rear area of the Vietnamese people in their fight against U.S. imperialism. The Chinese people always give unswerving and all-out support and assistance to the Vietnamese people in their war of resistance against U.S. aggression and for national salvation. An unprecedented great proletarian cultural revolution is now going on in China. The great victory of this revolution will certainly make China still more consolidated and powerful. Holding high the great red banner of Mao Tse-tung's thought, the 700 million Chinese people are determined and ready to undertake the maximum national sacrifices; they will for ever unite with the fraternal Vietnamese people in a common fight for the complete defeat of the U.S. aggressors. They vow never to give up until this objective is attained.

Shattering Defeat for the Soviet Revisionists' Counter-Revolutionary Line of Big Capitulation And Big Division

— Statement by the Union of Chinese Writers Strongly Condemning the Illegal Convocation by the Soviet Revisionists of the Bogus Third Afro-Asian Writers' Conference

DURING its brief five-day session, the bogus third Afro-Asian writers' conference, directed single-handedly by the Soviet modern revisionists, met with just and serious condemnation and exposure by writers' organizations and nationalist parties from tens of Asian and African countries. On March 29, right after this bogus conference hastily ended, the Soviet revisionists and the handful of their followers, putting up a bold front, bragged about their failure as a victory, in an attempt to confuse public opinion and pull the wool over the eyes of the people. But those who have even a slight knowledge of the facts cannot fail to see that this spurious conference was a huge muddle and utterly disreputable. The counter-revolutionary capitulationist and splittist line which the Soviet revisionists had tried their utmost to push through met with another shattering defeat.

The Union of Chinese Writers firmly supports the April 13 statement of the Afro-Asian Writers' Bureau which expresses the common stand of Afro-Asian revolutionary, progressive writers and is a heavy blow at the Soviet revisionists.

Our great leader Chairman Mao, the very red sun that shines most brightly in the hearts of the revolutionary people the world over, has said: "The world is progressing, the future is bright and no one can change this general trend of history."

On the stage of the bogus third Afro-Asian writers' conference, the Soviet revisionist delegates dropped their masks to reveal their ugly features as the chief accomplices of U.S. imperialism. They dared not condemn U.S. imperialism's crimes of aggression. Unwilling even to breathe a "No," they turned a blind eye to the sinister Guam conference which, called by U.S. imperialism for enlarging its war of aggression in Vietnam, had closed just two days before the bogus third conference opened. On the Vietnam question, they assiduously advocated immediate suspension of bombing and escalation. In short, they harped on the one and the same tune as their No. 2 boss Kosygin did on his visit to Britain, that is, selling out the Vietnamese people's struggle against U.S. aggression and for national salvation, rendering a service to the U.S. imperialist "peace talks" swindle of "forcing surrender by war" and "forcing surrender through bombing," and

echoing and closely co-ordinating with U Thant's "three-step proposal" and the sinister, sabre-rattling Guam conference. On the Palestine question, the Soviet revisionists' features as renegades were similarly exposed to the last detail. Not only did they collaborate with the Indian delegates in obstructing in every possible way the adoption of a resolution at the conference in support of the Palestinian people's just struggle, but they also brazenly claimed that they had not studied the Palestine question. The Soviet revisionists have discarded all their disguises with their own hands, revealing even more clearly to the Afro-Asian peoples and the people of the world that the capitulationist political line consistently pursued by them is to intensify their ganging up with U.S. imperialism, bend the knee in capitulation to it, and work in its service, try by hook or by crook to stamp out the raging flames of the Vietnamese people's struggle against U.S. aggression and for national salvation and those of the national revolutionary wars in countries in Asia, Africa and Latin America, all in a vain attempt to save U.S. imperialism from its final failure and to save the capitalist and imperialist system from destruction.

The Soviet revisionist delegates preached the restoration of the "traditions of Delhi, Tashkent and Cairo," boasted of the bogus third conference as the "new commencement" of the Afro-Asian writers' movement, and so on. All this was a fraud with ulterior motives acted out by the Soviet revisionist renegades.

At no time in the history of the Afro-Asian writers' movement, have there ever existed such abstract and isolated sacrosanct things as the "traditions of Delhi, Tashkent and Cairo." What has actually existed throughout is the struggle between two lines, that is, the struggle between the anti-imperialist, revolutionary line consistently and resolutely followed by the vast ranks of revolutionary, progressive Afro-Asian writers on the one hand, and the capitulationist line pursued all along by the Soviet revisionists on the other.

The Afro-Asian writers' movement is a component part of the Afro-Asian people's anti-imperialist, revolutionary cause. Only by adhering firmly to the anti-imperialist, revolutionary line, will it be possible to guarantee that the Afro-Asian writers' movement marches forward on the revolutionary road and to pro-

mote the success of the Afro-Asian people's anti-imperialist, revolutionary struggle. Otherwise, if the capitulationist line of Soviet revisionism is accepted, it will mean a betrayal of the Afro-Asian people's anti-imperialist, revolutionary cause. The struggle between the two lines is a major issue affecting the orientation, future and destiny of the Afro-Asian writers' movement. Therefore, in order to oppose imperialism it is imperative to oppose revisionism.

From the day they wormed their way into the Afro-Asian writers' movement, the Soviet revisionists have done their best to push through their capitulationist line and have tried by every means to control the Afro-Asian writers' movement from within, bent on bringing this movement into the orbit of Soviet-U.S. collaboration. This capitulationist line has always been steadfastly exposed and struggled against by the vast ranks of revolutionary, progressive Afro-Asian writers, and has met with increasingly severe defeats. Finding themselves in a blind alley, the Soviet revisionists flagrantly brought about an open split, drummed up some satellites and imperialist lackeys, pulled a number of writers who had been misled over to their side, and planned and directed the bogus third conference farce. The Soviet revisionists talked about the "new commencement" for no other purpose than to cover up their failure. Resorting to the trick of passing off fish-eyes as pearls, they attempt to usurp the name of the Afro-Asian writers' movement to make all kinds of illegal capitulationist and traitorous deals. Discerning eyes will see at a glance that the capitulationist line of Soviet revisionism has already been spurned by the revolutionary Afro-Asian writers and people and that the convocation of the phoney third conference proclaimed nothing less than the complete bankruptcy of the capitulationist line of Soviet revisionism.

Organizationally, the Soviet revisionists have all along followed a splittist line to serve the needs of their capitulationist line. They not only plotted the bogus third conference but also patched together a so-called Afro-Asian writers' association and have even gone so far as to elect China as a member of its "executive committee." The Soviet revisionist delegates had the temerity to announce that they "regard China's participation (in the bogus third conference) as necessary." They said: "One day the Chinese writers will attend such a conference" and so on. Through such foul means, the Soviet revisionists thought they could, on the one hand, give the bogus third conference and its phoney association a legal garb to cover up their illegality. And on the other hand, by turning the facts upside down they could put the blame for the split on China. We sternly warn the Soviet revisionist traitors: the so-called Afro-Asian writers' organization which is under your control and all the meetings and conferences it puts on show are entirely illegal and phoney. They are the products of the capitulationist and splittist line that you have followed throughout. Your plot of giving China a seat in this fake organization is a shameless

attempt at deception against the Afro-Asian revolutionary and progressive writers and people. It is the greatest insult to all Chinese revolutionary writers and the entire Chinese people. It is new evidence of your crime of calculated opposition to China. All of us Chinese revolutionary writers are determined to unite closely with the broad masses of revolutionary, progressive Afro-Asian writers to enlarge and strengthen further the international united front against U.S. imperialism and its lackeys, form a mighty revolutionary army against imperialism, smash all your splittist and capitulationist schemes, and carry the Afro-Asian people's revolutionary struggle through to the end!

Chairman Mao has said: "There is absolutely no such thing in the world as love or hatred without reason or cause. As for the so-called love of humanity, there has been no such all-inclusive love since humanity was divided into classes."

Arising out of the needs of their capitulationist line, the Soviet revisionists, in the "General Declaration" of the bogus third conference, prated about "human solidarity and unity," "fraternity," "philanthropy," "humanitarianism" and other similar nonsense. Time and again, the Soviet revisionist delegates tried their best to spread the idea that "literature and writers express the conscience, pain, wrath, sorrow and joy of their people," that writers must give expression to the "thoughts, feelings, hopes and aspirations of their countrymen," that the East and the West "have already come together," and other such ideas too numerous to mention. The revisionists negate class antagonism and put revolution and counter-revolution, aggressors and the victims of aggression, and exploiters and the exploited on an equal footing. They proclaim that since they have "common thoughts, feelings, hopes and aspirations," they should all follow the principles of "fraternity," "philanthropy" and "humanitarianism" to achieve "solidarity and unity," and thus "bring the East and the West together." These are not new inventions of the Soviet revisionists but are the old, worn-out tricks of the apologists of capitalism which have been handed down from generation to generation. The Soviet revisionists, at the end of their tether, have again taken these shoddy goods out of the warehouse of the exploiting classes and labelled them with a new revisionist trade mark and are now using them to undermine the Afro-Asian writers' movement and to sell out the revolutionary cause of the Afro-Asian people.

Let us ask you Soviet revisionist renegades: Do you have anything in common with the revolutionary people of the world as to what you love or hate? You love the Western "free world," the moribund capitalist system and the decayed and decadent Western culture. You have betrayed the interests of the world's people. You have been collaborating with U.S. imperialism, the most vicious enemy of the people of the world. You staged the bogus third conference farce in Beirut, while at the same time you sponsored the 9th U.S. Exhibition at Sokolniky Park, one of the biggest in

Moscow, in order to propagate the U.S. marauders' so-called material civilization and way of life. What you love is exactly what we hate. We have no love whatever for the enemy of the people, for U.S. imperialism and the reactionaries of all countries, and for such ugly social phenomena as so-called "Western civilization." Our goal is to eliminate all of these things. You are just daydreaming if you think that by holding the shoddy banner of "human solidarity and unity" you will be successful in "unifying" the Afro-Asian writers' movement along your capitulationist line and within the orbit of your "U.S.-Soviet co-operation for world domination," and "unifying" the revolutionary people of the Asian and African countries and the rest of the world into what U.S. imperialism describes as a "big family of the free world." Together with the revolutionary, progressive writers of the Afro-Asian countries, we the revolutionary writers of China will resolutely destroy this shoddy banner raised by the Soviet revisionist renegades.

Chairman Mao has said: "In the world today all culture, all literature and art belong to definite classes and are geared to definite political lines. There is in fact no such thing as art for art's sake, art that stands above classes, art that is detached from or independent of politics."

Proceeding from their need to push ahead with the capitulationist line, the Soviet revisionists have all along used the ruse of talking about literature and not about politics. During the phoney third conference, the Soviet revisionist delegates had the effrontery to declare in so many words that they were interested only in literature and poetry and not politics. This is sheer deception.

After all, what kind of literature are the Soviet revisionists interested in? Literature cursing the dictatorship of the proletariat and the socialist system; literature lauding the chiefs of the U.S. imperialist marauders; literature propagating the terrors of war, peddling the philosophy of survival and advocating the thoroughly decadent bourgeois way of living; literature corroding and lulling the militant will of the revolutionary people; literature serving imperialism, capitalism and revisionism. Yevtushenko who was so noisily acclaimed as a "treasure" by some people at the bogus third conference has made his fortune through such literature, which has long been rampant in the Soviet Union. The Soviet revisionists are very anxious to export such literature to the Afro-Asian region, the storm centre of national democratic revolution. The revolutionary writers and people of the Afro-Asian countries know full well how to deal with it, that is, to firmly resist it, repudiate it thoroughly, and sweep it into the dust-bin of history along with the counter-revolutionary political line to which it is attached.

Chairman Mao has said: "Revolutionary culture is a powerful revolutionary weapon for the broad masses of the people. It prepares the ground ideologically before the revolution comes and is an important, indeed

essential, fighting front in the general revolutionary front during the revolution."

Revolutionary Afro-Asian writers and people have always been very much concerned about developing Afro-Asian revolutionary literature. It is a glorious task for us Afro-Asian revolutionary writers to create and develop new Afro-Asian culture, art and literature which are anti-imperialist, revolutionary, popular and national, and to use the national forms best liked by the masses to sing the praise of the Afro-Asian people's revolutionary struggles to win and defend their national independence. It is a noble mission entrusted to us by the Afro-Asian people. This kind of literature openly declares that it serves the Afro-Asian people's anti-imperialist, revolutionary struggles. It is a powerful weapon for uniting and educating the people and for hitting hard at and eliminating the enemy. We Afro-Asian revolutionary writers are striving hard to create and develop this kind of revolutionary literature.

Chairman Mao has said: "We should support whatever the enemy opposes and oppose whatever the enemy supports."

Apart from engaging in extensive capitulationist and traitorous activities during the fake third conference, the Soviet revisionist delegates, who declared that they themselves were not interested in politics, made use of every opportunity to recklessly vilify and smear China's great proletarian cultural revolution both inside and outside the "conference." To be accurate, they started their anti-China din long ago.

From its start, China's great proletarian cultural revolution has caused elation and acclamation among Marxist-Leninists and revolutionary people all over the world. They know that this great proletarian cultural revolution affects the future of the revolution both in China and the world. On the contrary, the U.S.-led imperialists, the modern revisionists with the C.P.S.U. leadership as their centre, and the reactionaries of all countries have set all their propaganda machines going in a simultaneous hysterical outburst, using all kinds of slanders, vilification and devices for sowing discord to provoke a noisy anti-China chorus.

After usurping the leadership of the Party and state in the Soviet Union, homeland of the Great October Socialist Revolution, the revisionist clique has betrayed the Soviet people and worked energetically to restore capitalism at home. Abroad, it has betrayed the revolutionary people of the world, collaborated with the United States on a large-scale, and pushed ahead everywhere with its counter-revolutionary revisionist line of capitulation and splittism. It has completely degenerated into the No. 1 accomplice of U.S. imperialism. The imperialists and the reactionaries of all countries are elated by this counter-revolutionary restoration of capitalism, and are yearning day and night for its recurrence in China.

Our great teacher, great leader, great supreme commander and great helmsman, Chairman Mao, after

summing up the historical experiences of the dictatorship of the proletariat in China and other countries, has personally initiated and led this mighty, unprecedented great proletarian cultural revolution, thus advancing the socialist revolution of our country to a new stage. The storm of the cultural revolution is sweeping over all China and is shaking the whole world. The revolutionary masses, holding high the great red banner of Mao Tse-tung's thought, have launched a fierce attack against the handful of Party persons in authority taking the capitalist road and against the dregs and remnant evils left behind by the exploiting classes. They have dragged out the number one Party person in authority taking the capitalist road, who is the Khrushchov of China, the handful of other Party persons in authority taking the capitalist road and the reactionary bourgeois academic "authorities" who occupied our cultural positions. They are sweeping away the old ideas, culture, customs and habits left behind by the exploiting classes. The masses of the people have more and more effectively mastered the great thought of Mao Tse-tung. Millions of revolutionary young fighters are being tempered and are maturing in the storm and stress of the class struggle. Group after group, the successors to the proletarian revolutionary cause, armed with Mao Tse-tung's thought, have emerged. The situation in China's literary circles is no exception. The counter-revolutionary revisionists and monsters of all kinds, who had long hidden themselves within the literary ranks, have been overthrown by the revolutionary masses. Their past arrogance has been swept into oblivion. All Chinese revolutionary writers are determined to hold high the great red banner of Mao Tse-tung's thought, to follow the orientation pointed out by Chairman Mao, to eliminate all the filth of the bourgeois trends in literature and art left over from the old times, completely root out the sinister counter-revolutionary revisionist line on literature and art, thoroughly clean up and reorganize their own ranks, carry the great proletarian cultural revolution through to the end, firmly implement the principle of literature and art serving proletarian politics, socialism and the workers, peasants and soldiers, and strive for the creation of a new, socialist proletarian literature. The class enemies at

home and abroad had dreamt of a counter-revolutionary restoration in China, tried their utmost to find agents within the Chinese Communist Party or placed their hopes of "peaceful evolution" on the third and fourth generations of the Party. The great proletarian cultural revolution has completely shattered their dreams. The Soviet revisionist leading clique has more than anyone else sensed that the great cultural revolution will kindle revolutionary flames in the hearts of the Soviet people, which will endanger its existence, that its throne is in imminent peril and that it is sinking fast. How could this great cultural revolution fail to arouse the boundless hatred and fear of the Soviet revisionists? How could they fail to wail as if they had lost their nearest and dearest ones?

Through the great proletarian cultural revolution, the Chinese people will hold even higher the great red banner of Mao Tse-tung's thought, and carry the socialist revolution through to the end, so that China will become an even more consolidated and powerful rear area for the revolutionary struggles of all peoples, will always uphold proletarian internationalism and give all-out support to the revolutionary struggles of the people in Asia, Africa and the rest of the world. The great cultural revolution has also created the most favourable conditions for the successful convening of the Third Afro-Asian Writers' Conference, to be held in Peking this year as already agreed upon. All Chinese revolutionary writers are making active preparations for the Third Afro-Asian Writers' Conference, the great rally of the revolutionary, progressive Afro-Asian writers. Recalling our fighting history over the last eight years and more and seeing that our ranks have been getting stronger and that we have won repeated victories in our struggle, we are looking forward with full confidence to the future of the Afro-Asian writers' movement. We are determined to hold high the great red banner of Mao Tse-tung's thought, unite more closely with the revolutionary, progressive Afro-Asian writers, persevere in the anti-imperialist, revolutionary line, and make the greatest possible contribution to the promotion of the Afro-Asian writers' movement and the development of Afro-Asian revolutionary literature, and to the Afro-Asian people's revolutionary struggle against imperialism.

(April 19, 1967)

THE WEEK

(Continued from p. 7.)

Chairman Mao in Tien An Men Square."

Among those present at the meeting were Kuo Mo-jo, Chairman of the China Peace Committee, and Wang Li and Kuan Feng, members of the Cultural Revolution Group Under

the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party.

Renmin Ribao observed the occasion by printing an article by Commentator, "Hold High the Revolutionary Banner of Anti-Imperialism and Anti-Revisionism." In the four years since its inception, the article said, the A.A.J.A. has relentlessly exposed and resolutely fought imperi-

alism headed by the United States and waged an uncompromising struggle against the line of capitulationism and splittism pursued by the Soviet revisionist ruling clique. It has staunchly supported the patriotic struggle of the Vietnamese people against U.S. imperialism and the revolutionary struggles of the people in other lands. It has given powerful

rebuttals to the wrecking activities of the Indian reactionaries. It has freed itself from the white terror imposed by the Indonesian fascist militarist clique and kept up the struggle in defiance of tyranny and violence. The A.A.J.A., it emphasized, deserves to be called a revolutionary, militant journalists' association and a militant force in the anti-imperialist revolutionary struggle in Asia and Africa.

On the other hand, the International Organization of Journalists (I. O. J.), with headquarters in Prague and controlled by the Soviet revisionist ruling clique, is an international body which, while paying lip-service to "support of the Vietnamese people against the United States," is actually engaged in criminal activities of capitulation, betrayal and splitting. It flirted with the U.S. imperialist-controlled International Federation of Journalists and humbled itself before UNESCO, hoping to acquire a "consultative" status. This so-called "international organization of journalists" has in fact become an organization of rank traitors to the revolutionary journalists of the world. It has degenerated into a despicable tool of those following the revisionist line of "U.S.-Soviet collaboration for world domination," Commentator concluded.

Indonesian Reactionaries Must Repay New and Old Blood Debts

Ning Hsiang-yu, council member of the General Association of Overseas Chinese Organizations in Djakarta and president of the Djakarta Association of Chinese Nationals from Shantung Province, was illegally interrogated and detained on April 8 by the Indonesian Ministry of Police on unwarranted charges. Ning, who was over 60, died on April 13 as a result of torture and beatings in prison. On April 18, the Chinese Embassy in Indonesia sent a note to the Indonesian Foreign Ministry expressing the strongest protest against this serious incident and making various reasonable demands.

Following their brutal murder of Ning Hsiang-yu, the Indonesian Rightist reactionary authorities dispatched a large force of armed troops, police and hooligans on April 20 to attack the Chinese nationals in the funeral procession for Ning Hsiang-yu and created another grave incident in which more than a dozen Chinese were wounded. A responsible official of the Chinese Foreign Ministry on April 21 summoned Baron Sutadisastra, Charge d'Affaires ad interim of the Indonesian Embassy in China, and expressed great indignation and the strongest protest against the April 20 incident.

Valiant Struggle by Chinese Nationals. The Indonesian reactionaries' monstrous crime of murdering Ning Hsiang-yu aroused great indignation among the masses of patriotic Chinese in Djakarta. In deep mourning, nearly 10,000 of them went to express their condolences on April 19. The next day, about 5,000 were in the funeral procession for their murdered compatriot. Many more joined all along the way and, before long, they formed a mighty procession of 30,000 strong. This just action by the patriotic Chinese won strong support and sympathy from the Indonesian people. As the procession proceeded, 100,000 people jammed the streets to watch it. But when the orderly ranks reached Pantjoran Street, which is in the vicinity of the Chinese Embassy, many hooligans carrying all kinds of weapons rushed into their midst and beat up whoever they met, while paratroops and other armed troops, who had been posted near the Chinese Embassy beforehand, twice opened fire on the Chinese nationals in the procession, wounding more than a dozen.

The Chinese, armed with the invincible thought of Mao Tse-tung, recited quotations from Chairman Mao amid shots which whistled past them and shouted slogans as they advanced valiantly. Defying the attacks by the hooligans and the armed troops and police of the Indonesian Rightists, and in spite of successive downpours, the whole funeral procession proceeded for

more than four and a half hours before it arrived at the cemetery. A wounded Chinese student, though bleeding all over, persisted in the march to the end with the help of his companions, shouting as he walked along: "Let's march on courageously!" Many old people also remained in the ranks, marching on foot till they reached the cemetery.

The tenacious struggle by the dauntless patriotic Chinese in Djakarta in defiance of the sanguinary suppression by the armed troops and police of the Indonesian Rightists has demonstrated the great heroism of the Chinese people armed with Mao Tse-tung's thought. No amount of violence can intimidate them. Their action has greatly raised the morale of the revolutionary people and punctured the arrogance of the Indonesian reactionaries, and they have set an example of daring to struggle and daring to win for overseas Chinese. That the Indonesian reactionary authorities sent fully armed troops and police against these unarmed Chinese only all the more exposes the Indonesian reactionaries' character of a paper tiger which is brutal but feeble.

In connection with the grave incident on April 20, the responsible official of the Chinese Foreign Ministry demanded that the Indonesian Government openly apologize, severely punish the culprits and their instigators, take effective measures to give prompt medical treatment to the injured Chinese, bear all expenses and compensate for all losses. The official also demanded that the Indonesian Government guarantee against the recurrence of similar incidents and said that the Chinese side reserved the right to make further demands.

China Declares Indonesian Charge d'Affaires ad interim And Counsellor Personae Non Grata

A responsible member of the Chinese Foreign Ministry summoned on the afternoon of April 24 Baron Sutadisastra, Charge d'Affaires ad

interim of the Indonesian Embassy in China, and declared, on behalf of the Chinese Government, Baron Sutadisastra and Soemarno, Counselor of the Indonesian Embassy, personae non grata.

The responsible member of the Chinese Foreign Ministry sternly pointed out that the Chinese Government had decided to declare them personae non grata and that they must leave Chinese territory before 24:00 hours, April 30, because the Indonesian Government had unceasingly stirred up anti-China and anti-Chinese waves which had seriously wrecked relations between the two countries, and because Baron Sutadisastra and Soemarno had, during their tenure of office, conducted all kinds of activities undermining Sino-Indonesian relations.

He added that the Indonesian Government had recently taken a series of rabid anti-China and anti-Chinese steps. Following the April 23 incident in which it sent large numbers of troops and police to encircle and blockade the Chinese Embassy and abducted Hsu Jen, Chinese Consul General in Djakarta, by force of arms and detained him for eight hours, the Indonesian Government had gone so far as to unjustifiably declare, on April 24, Yao Teng-shan, Charge d'Affaires ad interim of the Chinese Embassy in Indonesia, and Hsu Jen "personae non grata." The Chinese Government expressed the utmost indignation at this action by the Indonesian Government, which had gravely undermined relations between the two countries, and lodged the most serious and the strongest protest against it.

Peking Marks Day Against Colonialism

Revolutionary youth and Red Guards in Peking held a rally on April 22 to mark the day against colonialism which fell on April 24. The rally demonstrated the determination of China's youth, students and Red Guards to follow the teachings of the great leader Chairman Mao, give firm support to the people, youth and students in Asia, Africa, Latin

America and the rest of the world in their revolutionary struggles against U.S.-led imperialism and new and old colonialism, against modern revisionism with the leadership of the Soviet Communist Party as its centre and against the reactionaries of all countries, and give support to the Vietnamese people in their struggle against U.S. aggression and for national salvation.

Young friends from 13 countries in Asia, Africa and Latin America attended the rally.

A representative of the revolutionary youth and Red Guards in the capital spoke first. He warmly greeted the young students from various countries for having found the revolutionary truth and powerful weapon — the great and invincible thought of Mao Tse-tung — in their struggles and for declaring war on the old world with the fearless spirit of daring to struggle and to win, the spirit of revolutionary rebellion. He paid tribute to the Vietnamese youth and students for their heroic fight against U.S. aggression, and condemned the Soviet revisionist leading clique which, acting as an accomplice of U.S. imperialism, was vainly attempting to stamp out the revolutionary flames of the Vietnamese people's war to resist U.S. aggression and save their country.

The representative said that China's great proletarian cultural revolution had scored great victories. He expressed the determination of China's youth, students and Red Guards to respond to Chairman Mao's great call to carry the great proletarian cultural revolution through to the end, do still better in discharging their proletarian internationalist obligations, and struggle for the building of a new world without imperialism, capitalism and exploitation.

Le Tung Son, member of the Permanent Mission of the South Vietnam National Front for Liberation to China; Suar Suroso, an Indonesian friend; Tidjani from Dahomey, Manuel Linarez from Bolivia and Yokogawa Shin from Japan also spoke at the rally. They enthusiastically praised Chairman Mao as the great leader of the contemporary world

and the very red sun which shines most brightly in the hearts of the world's revolutionary people. They said that Mao Tse-tung's thought is the powerful ideological weapon in combating imperialism and modern revisionism, the sole guiding thought for the world revolution and the guide for the world's people in their struggle for liberation. The great proletarian cultural revolution which China is successfully carrying out, they added, has shaken the whole world and has bearing on the future and destiny of the world revolution. This great cultural revolution, they said, has dealt a heavy blow to U.S. imperialism, Soviet modern revisionism and the reactionaries of all countries. And this revolution, which will for ever make China the impregnable base for the world proletarian revolution, is a tremendous support and a source of inspiration to the revolutionary people throughout the world in defeating imperialism, revisionism and the reactionaries of all countries.

Kuo Mo-jo Withdraws From Committee on the Award Of International Lenin Prize for Promotion of Peace Among Nations

Comrade Kuo Mo-jo has authorized a spokesman of the China Peace Committee to issue a statement announcing his withdrawal from the Committee on the Award of the International Lenin Prize for the Promotion of Peace Among Nations. The committee was scheduled to meet in Moscow on April 20 to examine the list of prize-winners for 1966. The Soviet side notified Kuo Mo-jo, vice-president of the committee and chairman of the China Peace Committee, to attend the meeting.

The spokesman pointed out that the Committee on the Award of the International Lenin Prize for the Promotion of Peace Among Nations was originally called the Committee on the Award of the International Stalin Prize for the Promotion of

Let U.S. Stooge Mobutu Fool No One

SINCE he was put in power in November 1965, Joseph Mobutu, U.S. imperialist lackey in the Congo (Kinshasa), formerly Leopoldville Congo, has made a point of acting somewhat differently from the puppet regimes which preceded him. Waving the banner of "nationalism," he has talked glibly about opposing the old Belgian colonialism and fighting for "economic independence"; he has affected to oppose the white racist political power in Southern Rhodesia and the Portuguese colonialists and pretended to "support" the national-liberation movements in Africa; he has professed "guarantees" of "friendship" with neighbouring countries and the desire for "reconciliation" with other African countries; and so on and so forth. He has posed as a "nationalist" and the "successor" to the cause of Patrice Lumumba. By this manoeuvre he hopes to sneak into the ranks of the independent African countries so as to sabotage from within the cause of African solidarity against imperialism. This is a most cunning political fraud which U.S. neo-colonialism is up to on the African continent.

This U.S. neo-colonialist trick must be exposed to the light of day.

In dealing with reaction, Chairman Mao has taught us: "Look at its past, and you can tell its present; look at its past and present, and you can tell its future."

What kind of a man is Mobutu? The Congolese (K) people know him inside out, and so do the rest of the African people.

Mobutu was long ago bought by the Belgian colonialists as their running dog. In 1959, that is, one year before the Congo (K) won its independence, as the national independence movement there was mounting, Mobutu wormed his way into the Congolese National Movement led by Lumumba, and gained Lumumba's confidence by deceit. That was how, after independence, in addition to other posts he held, he became the Army Chief of Staff in the Lumumba government. After the U.S. imperialists made inroads into the Congo (K), Mobutu lost no time in hiring himself to them as their running dog. In September 1960, taking orders as he did from the U.S. imperialists, he launched a military coup d'etat, illegally "suspended" the parliament, "took over" the power of the National Government and put Prime Minister Lumumba under house arrest. Then, he unscrupulously kidnapped Lumumba, and, in collaboration with Moise Tshombe, a stooge of the Belgian colonialists, murdered him, thus causing a serious setback to the country's national-liberation movement.

But now, Mobutu, this Congolese (K) national traitor and murderer of Lumumba, has juggled things in order to appear as a man holding the banner of the national hero Lumumba. If this isn't the height of absurdity, what is?

Mobutu has long been a slaughterer of the Congolese (K) people. Back in the period of Belgian rule, he worked as a killer in the "security forces" of the

Peace Among Nations. Its original purpose was to encourage and commend those who had made outstanding contributions to the cause of opposing imperialism and defending world peace. After the large-scale anti-Stalin drive at the 20th Congress of the Soviet Communist Party, the Soviet revisionist leading clique arbitrarily changed the organization's name and turned it into an instrument for pushing its revisionist line.

The Soviet revisionists, said the spokesman, are stepping up their efforts to push ahead throughout the world with their out-and-out capi-

tulationist line of uniting with U.S. imperialism, opposing China, opposing communism and opposing the people. They use the Committee on the Award of the International Lenin Prize for the Promotion of Peace Among Nations to serve their counter-revolutionary political line. In order to dupe public opinion, they choose as prize-winners some people who have worked in defence of world peace. However, many of the winners are opportunists or renegades. Even the arch traitor of the world revolution, Khrushchov, was a winner of the prize. This is an insult to the name of the great Lenin.

In conclusion, the spokesman pointed out that the Committee on the Award of the International Lenin Prize for the Promotion of Peace Among Nations had collected capitulationists and renegades and that this was not for "the promotion of peace among nations" but for jeopardizing world peace. He quoted Chairman Mao's words that "we should . . . oppose whatever the enemy supports." Therefore, he continued, Comrade Kuo Mo-jo had sternly refused to attend the meeting in Moscow, solemnly declared his withdrawal from this organization, and stated that he would not have anything to do with it in the future.

colonial authorities. Since the country was declared independent, he has always collaborated with the puppet regimes to slaughter the people. In 1961, he cooperated with Tshombe in launching large-scale attacks against the Eastern Province which was then controlled by the legal government. In the days when U.S. imperialism used "United Nations forces" to carry out aggression against the country, he colluded with them to massacre the people. In 1964, after the Congolese (K) people had risen in armed struggle, Mobutu mobilized the entire puppet army and mustered foreign mercenaries to ruthlessly suppress the patriotic armed forces. In November the same year, he helped U.S. and Belgian airborne troops to carry out a blood-bath in Stanleyville, now Kisangani. After he assumed power through the coup d'etat, he fanatically cried for the complete annihilation of the patriotic armed forces by "military means."

Isn't it strange news that Mobutu, this U.S. imperialist lackey and public enemy of the Congolese (K) people, has suddenly become the "successor" to Lumumba's cause?

After taking over power, Mobutu made a big fuss about waging a "life-and-death struggle" against the big Belgian financial groups. This too is a lie.

The Mobutu puppet regime declared an end to the Belgian colonialists' leased rights and their monopoly to exploit the nation's natural resources. Immediately afterwards, however, it announced an "open door" policy and welcomed all foreign investments. An international financial group, including U.S. and French capital, was organized and a general mining company of the Congo was formed with a view to replacing the Belgian-controlled Upper Katanga United Mining Company. The new company, controlled only in name by the puppet regime, is in fact completely in the hands of U.S. monopoly capital. Anyone can see at a glance that the "open door" policy means throwing the door open to U.S. imperialism and the "international financial group" is one manipulated by U.S. imperialism.

All the talk by Mobutu about opposing Belgian colonialism and fighting for "economic independence" is merely aimed at transferring the nation's rich resources from the hands of the old Belgian colonialists to the more avaricious U.S. imperialists.

Mobutu's talk about his "opposition" to Southern Rhodesia's white racist regime, his "opposition" to the Portuguese colonialists, and "support" for the national-liberation movements in Africa is so much deception. In the name of joint opposition to imperialism and colonialism, Mobutu has flagrantly resorted to sordid intrigues to induce and coerce the African countries into renouncing support for the patriotic armed forces of the Congolese (K) people. At the end of 1965 when the Ministerial Conference of the Organization of African Unity (O.A.U.) was considering sanctions by force against the Southern Rhodesian white racist

regime, the representative of the Kinshasa puppet regime to the conference stated publicly at a press conference that the Kinshasa authorities could agree with O.A.U.'s position on the Southern Rhodesia question but that, as a *quid pro quo*, the African countries must "guarantee not to provide aid to the Congolese (L) rebels [patriotic armed forces]." What kind of stuff is this "support" of Mobutu for the national-liberation movements in Africa? Is this not as plain as a pikestaff?

These insidious manoeuvres of Mobutu were stage-managed exclusively by U.S. imperialism. By changing its tactics and instructing Mobutu to put up the "anti-imperialist, anti-colonialist" banner, U.S. imperialism hopes to benumb the African people and ease for the time being the tension between the puppet regime and the United States on the one hand and the African countries on the other in order to improve their own difficult and isolated position in Africa. U.S. imperialism is trying to use this tactics as a cover to push the Belgian colonialists in the Congo (K) even further aside and tighten its grip on that country in order to carry out subversion and aggression in Africa under more favourable conditions.

The Soviet revisionist ruling clique has consistently colluded with U.S. imperialism in sabotaging the Congolese (K) national-liberation movement. Now this clique is working hand in glove with the Mobutu puppet regime to strengthen their ties. The Congolese (K) people have learnt many lessons in blood and have recognized the ugly features of the Soviet revisionist ruling clique as betrayer of the Congolese (K) revolution.

All the imperialists and reactionaries in the world invariably resort to the counter-revolutionary dual tactics of armed suppression and political deception in dealing with the revolutionary people. Sometimes they use the two tactics simultaneously; sometimes they use them alternately. But whether by armed suppression or by political deception, they serve the one and same purpose of dominating and enslaving the people. Events in the Congo (K) have borne this out fully. The nature of imperialism and reactionaries will never change. They **"will never lay down their butcher knives, they will never become Buddhas, till their doom."**

Through their experience in struggle, the peoples of the Congo (K) and other African countries have seen ever more clearly the aggressive nature of U.S. imperialism. They are deeply aware that the revolutionary people should in no circumstances entertain any illusions about U.S. imperialism and its lackeys. So long as the Congolese (K) people persevere in protracted armed struggle, they will certainly be able to drive out U.S.-led imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism, and overthrow the puppet regime to win complete national liberation.

— "Renmin Ribao" Correspondent

ROUND THE WORLD

THE NEW INDIAN GOVERNMENT

U.S.-Soviet Pawn Against China

In the six weeks since it came into office, the new Indian Government has had a record of eagerly selling out India's national interests, tailing ever more faithfully behind U.S. imperialism and Soviet revisionism and serving as a pawn in their joint conspiracy against China.

Politically, the new government, in a vain attempt to interfere in China's internal affairs, has let loose a spate of anti-China rantings and talked about "recovery of lost territory" and helping the Tibetan slave-owners to regain their lost power. It is also working hand in glove with U.N. Secretary-General U Thant to hatch new schemes to perpetrate the "peace talks" swindle on the Vietnam question and camouflage its U.S. master's escalation of the criminal war of aggression against Vietnam.

Economically, the new government has opened the door wide for U.S. capital to come in and dominate the production of chemical fertilizers which has proved to be a most profitable business, and U.S. monopoly capital is penetrating into India on a large scale.

Militarily, the reactionary government is feverishly expanding its armed forces and preparing for war at the expense of the Indian people. It has produced a huge military budget, about one-third of its total expenditure, to turn India into a big military base for operations against China.

The U.S. imperialist boss is very pleased with these efforts of the Indian reactionary government. Washington has hastily ladled out large amounts of money and food by way of reward. The "Aid India Consortium" formed by the U.S. and other countries recently announced that it will send India 10 million tons of foodgrains this year and provide fur-

ther "aid" of \$1,300 million. The Soviet revisionist boss, too, is satisfied. Using the occasion of the 20th anniversary of the forming of diplomatic ties between the two countries, the Soviet revisionists have made a great to-do about "Soviet-Indian co-operation" to boost the "prestige" of the reactionary Indian Government.

India's key position in the strategy of the U.S. imperialists and Soviet revisionists against China prompts them to spend freely and make all efforts to try and control India and enslave its people. To encircle China, U.S. imperialism has made large-scale military dispositions and built many military bases in Japan proper, Okinawa, Taiwan, south Vietnam and Thailand which form a crescent east and south of China. Soviet revisionism, on its part, has formed another crescent west and north of China. Now they are working to make the vast territory of India their military base to link up the two crescents and turn them into an anti-China ring.

However, as the Communiqué of the Eleventh Plenary Session of the Eighth Central Committee of the Communist Party of China has pointed out: "U.S. imperialism and its lackeys in various countries cannot avert their doom by brutally suppressing and wildly attacking the masses of the revolutionary people, or by bribing and deceiving them. On the contrary, this only serves to give further impetus to the revolutionary awakening of all peoples."

The reactionary one-party rule of the Congress Party has become increasingly shaky since last year as the Indian people were forced more and more to resort to violence to combat its tyranny. Since the general elections last February, the Congress Party has lost control in half of the state governments. In some states, angry masses rose and seized food and arms. The Naga and Mizo minorities, persevering in their anti-government armed struggle in the mountains and jungles, are con-

tinuing their raids on the reactionary Indian army. All over India, the sparks of revolt are glowing.

ARMED STRUGGLE IN THE CONGO (K)

A Significant Development

The recent appeal issued by the Western Front Political Commission of the patriotic armed forces of the Congo (K) is a significant development in the country's revolution. It called on all fighters to accomplish as their present urgent tasks the mobilization and organization of the masses, the formation of a broad revolutionary united front, the intensification of the armed struggle against U.S. imperialism and its lackeys and the founding of a genuine revolutionary party.

In Kwilu region, western Congo, the patriotic forces led by Mulele have developed into a powerful force. When the uprising began in January 1964, they had only a few guns. Now they have more than 10,000 men under arms and a big base area. Their control extends way beyond the Kikwit-Idiofa-Gungu triangle. Patrolling to the shores of the Kasai River, the guerrillas are active in the vicinity of Port Francqui and penetrate deep into the hinterland of Kwango region.

The Mobutu puppet regime is terrified by the growth of the patriotic forces. Since early 1966 it has deployed its best troops for cruel "sweeps" against the Kwilu area. Led by U.S. "military advisors," the puppet forces set up "refugee centres" (similar to the "strategic hamlets" in south Vietnam) hoping vainly to cut the guerrillas' ties with the masses.

With the jungles for their base, the guerrillas dealt the puppet forces telling blows. They formed political commissions in the "refugee centres" to lead the masses in their struggle. Because they have the support of the masses, they know all the enemy's movements with the result that the puppet forces are always in a passive position and a target to be hit.

The Western Front Political Commission has summed up the experience and lessons of the three-year struggle and put forward the tasks of "full mobilization and organization of the masses." "Only when we have mobilized and organized the people can we change the relations of forces between the enemy and ourselves," it stated. "This is the basic guarantee for our victory." It also pointed out that to mobilize the masses and draw them into the revolution, it is necessary to work out a correct fighting programme and correct political slogans for the realization of the national democratic revolution, and for this it is imperative to go among the masses, to live and fight together with them in order to understand their difficulties and demands. The Political Commission also pointed out that it is now essential to form a unified, united and real revolutionary party. This party should have an agreed political viewpoint on the question of taking armed struggle as the main form of struggle to liberate the Congolese (K) people. It must be able to integrate revolutionary theory with practice, be free from thoughts of seeking personal gains, have a strict and rigorous discipline and must really embody the profound aspirations of the people, express faithfully their demands and protect their interests.

BOLIVIA

Armed Struggle: the Only Path

In a recent appeal to the nation, the Political Committee of the Bolivian Communist Party called on the people to rise up and wage a resolute struggle against U.S. imperialism and its local agents. "Revolution by armed struggle is the only way to the people's liberation," it declared.

The Barrientos dictatorial regime, the appeal notes, is under the tutelage of the U.S. State Department and the Pentagon. It has handed over to U.S. imperialism the country's natural resources, the Matilde Mine for example. It has given the

country's oilfields to the U.S. Gulf Oil Company, put rural schools under foreign religious missions, agreed to private-run universities and yielded to U.S. terms for loans. U.S. imperialism now controls the key sectors of Bolivia's economy, including its finances. "The colonialization of the country is an accomplished fact."

The reactionary government is alarmed by the many-sided struggle the people are waging against U.S. imperialism and the domestic reactionaries, so it is trying to cow the people by making mass arrests of fighters for national liberation and sending them into exile or subjecting them to torture. The recent emergence of the guerrillas, however, signifies that the Bolivian people "can stand it no longer."

Under the instructions of U.S. imperialism, the Barrientos regime has recently resorted to still more brutal persecution of the people. Having in January arrested and brutally persecuted Oscar Zamora, First Secretary of the Bolivian Communist Party, and a number of trade union leaders, it flagrantly outlawed the Bolivian Communist Party on April 11 and plotted to murder Comrade Zamora. These fascist atrocities have brought about a wave of powerful protests from the workers, political parties and mass organizations. The middle school students recently staged a general strike in Sucre, while in La Paz more than 3,000 students braved police suppression to hold a big protest demonstration on April 13.

SOVIET REVISIONISM

The Blood-Stained Ruble

Badly in need of magnesium for napalm and aircraft manufacture, the American Dow Chemical Company has imported four shipments of this rare strategic material from the Soviet Union. The magnesium was landed at Houston port between December 1 and January 31 last. This was revealed in an article in the April issue of the American magazine, *Minority of One*.

The magazine disclosed: "The increasing losses of U.S. aircraft over Vietnam have precipitated for Dow Chemical difficulties in obtaining sufficient quantities of magnesium needed, among other things, to replace those aircraft." The company had purchased as much as possible from U.S. stockpiles and also from Western Europe, so that the Soviet Union becomes "the only source left for the firm to get the much needed raw magnesium."

The Russian magnesium, the magazine said, once worked into the body of U.S. warplanes, may be destined for use everywhere, for instance, for air attacks on north Vietnam.

The Soviet revisionists hypocritically condemn U.S. imperialism's wanton bombings of Vietnam as "brutal atrocities," yet they themselves willingly help the U.S. aggressors to commit these same atrocities. They give endless support in words to the Vietnamese people's struggle against U.S. aggression and for national salvation, yet in deeds are actually supporting U.S. imperialism, sworn enemy of the Vietnamese people.

More than 40 years ago Lenin, condemning U.S. imperialism for its war profiteering, wrote scathingly that "every dollar is stained with blood." The Soviet revisionist leading group are a bunch of renegades to Lenin's cause. They have so degenerated that the ruble too is now like the dollar and is stained with the blood of the Vietnamese people.

Shorter Notes

U.S. troops mutiny. War-weary troops of the U.S. 3rd Brigade, 4th Infantry Division stationed at the Dau Tieng Base in Thu Dau Mot Province mutinied on April 14. The troops fired back after panicky commanding officers ordered that they be fired on for refusing to obey orders to go out on a "mopping-up" operation.

The mutiny, which brought on at least 50 U.S. troops killed, three helicopters destroyed and 13 tents burnt down, is the biggest anti-war action so far reported among Ameri-

can troops in south Vietnam. It reflected the low morale of the U.S. troops resulting from the hard blows of the south Vietnam liberation forces, a fact which has caused them to take action of direct resistance.

* * *

SEATO and other war meetings. The Ministerial Council of the aggressive SEATO military bloc met in Washington on April 18-20. Its warlike communique indicates that, despite opposition from some member countries, U.S. imperialism is bent on making use of this disintegrating organization for a wider war of aggression in Vietnam and for intensified anti-China activities.

For the first time since SEATO's formation in 1954, France sent no delegate. Pakistan was represented by its Ambassador to the U.S., who did not participate in the drafting of the

communique and declared that the views expressed in it did not necessarily reflect his government's position.

With two subsequent separate conferences of the U.S., the south Vietnam traitorous clique and the five accomplices of U.S. aggression in Vietnam and of the ANZUS bloc, all three meetings held in Washington have had the same purpose, namely, to accelerate the extension of the U.S. war of aggression in Vietnam.

* * *

Forming an international gendarmarie. V.V. Kuznetsov, Soviet Vice-Minister for Foreign Affairs, is now in New York for a U.N. special meeting to clinch a deal with the United States on setting up a "U.N. force" to suppress the revolutionary struggles of the world's peoples.

On joint U.S.-Soviet initiative, a "U.N. Special Committee on Peace-Keeping Operations" was established in 1965 to plan a "U.N. force." The scheme failed to materialize because the U.S. and Soviet representatives did not agree on funds and other questions. On April 5 the Soviet Government issued a memorandum stressing the need to increase the U.N.'s "effectiveness in the cause of the maintenance of international peace and security" so that it can take "quick and effective action." Immediately after this, when the special committee met to discuss the "U.N. force," the Soviet representative expressed his country's readiness to make a "voluntary contribution" to U.N. finances. His stand won immediate U.S. approval because it meant that the Soviet Union was prepared to share the costs of the planned "U.N. force."

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IN THIS ISSUE

THE WEEK

Chairman Mao Receives Leading Members of Six Provincial and Municipal Revolutionary Committees and Attends a Performance of *The White-Haired Girl*, a Revolutionary Ballet on Contemporary Theme

Colour Documentary on China's 17th National Day Anniversary

Chairman Mao, Vice-Chairman Lin and Premier Chou Receive Vietnamese Ambassador

ARTICLES AND DOCUMENTS

Message Saluting Chairman Mao Tse-tung 8
Peking Municipal Revolutionary Committee Established 10
Premier Chou En-lai's Speech 14
Comrade Chiang Ching's Speech 16
Comrade Hsieh Fu-chih's Speech 17

5 — In Memory of Great Lenin, Down With Modern Revisionism! — *Renmin Ribao* Commentator 21
Chinese Air Force Downs Two U.S. Invading Planes 23
Chinese People Indignantly Condemn U.S. Imperialism for Again Frenziedly Bombing Vietnam's Haiphong City — Foreign Ministry Statement 24
Mao Tse-tung's Thought Lights the Whole World 25
Establish the Genuine Revolutionary Unity of the World Proletariat — *Rruga e Partise* 27
Shattering Defeat for the Soviet Revisionists' Counter-Revolutionary Line of Big Capitulation and Big Division — Statement by the Union of Chinese Writers 29
Let U.S. Stooze Mobutu Fool No One — *Renmin Ribao* Correspondent 35
ROUND THE WORLD 37

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in pamphlet form

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