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RED FLAG PUBLISHES ARTICLE ON CULTURAL REVOLUTION

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[RED FLAG issue No 1, Article by Chung Shih [6945 1395]: "The Dictatorship of the Proletariat and the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution"]

[Text] When celebrating the fourth anniversary of the October revolution, Lenin, the teacher of the proletariat, said in a now famous passage that "the farther away the great day recedes from us, the clearer the significance of the Russian proletarian revolution becomes and the more profoundly we understand the whole experience in practical work." These words can also full apply to the victory of the new democratic revolution won throughout our country in 1949 and to the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution. With time, the far-reaching effects of the Great Cultural Revolution in consolidating the dictatorship of the proletariat, in promoting the development of the socialist cause and in various other fields will be seen more and more fully.

The theory of the dictatorship of the proletariat is the quintessence of Marxism. Lenin pointed out: "The dictatorship of the proletariat is a most determined and most ruthless war waged by the new class against a more powerful enemy, the bourgeoisie, whose resistance is increased tenfold by its overthrow--even if only in one country--and whose power lies not only in the strength of international capital, in the strength and durability of the international connections of the bourgeoisie, but also in the force of habit, in the strength of small production. Unfortunately, small production is still very, very widespread in the world, and small production engenders capitalism and the bourgeoisie continuously, daily, hourly, spontaneously, and on a mass scale. For all these reasons the dictatorship of the proletariat is essential."

Lenin said very clearly: "After the proletariat seizes political power, the overthrown landlords and bourgeoisie will always want to translate their hopes of restoration into actions of restoration, and new bourgeois elements will be born continuously and attack the new socialist system. Without the dictatorship of the proletariat, the proletariat will not be able to maintain its political power and triumph over the bourgeoisie, and socialism cannot be established and consolidated." Therefore, in the entire historical period of socialism, particularly after the socialist reform of the system of the ownership of the means of production has been fundamentally fulfilled, to recognize or not to recognize that there are still classes and class struggle and to adhere or not to adhere to the dictatorship of the proletariat have a bearing on the fundamental question of the prospects and fate of the state and on the fundamental question of the prospects and fate of the proletariat and the working people. The Soviet revisionist renegade clique has thoroughly betrayed Marxism-Leninism precisely in regard to this fundamental question. It is the first socialist country in the world to degenerate into a social-imperialist country.

The great leader Chairman Mao has waged a tit-for-tat struggle against the Soviet revisionist clique and has inherited, defended and developed the Marxist-Leninist theories of the proletarian revolution and the dictatorship of the proletariat. Chairman Mao has summed up in an all-round way the historical experience of the dictatorship of the proletariat on both the positive and negative sides, and has put forward the great theory of continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat. He has also formulated for our party the basic line in the entire historical period of socialism and led the whole party and people of the whole country to struggle to consolidate and strengthen the dictatorship of the proletariat in order to insure the continuous advance of our country along the socialist road.

The Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution initiated and led by Chairman Mao personally is a great political revolution of the proletariat against the bourgeoisie and all exploiting classes under the conditions of socialism. It has a tremendous significance in consolidating the dictatorship of the proletariat and in preventing capitalist restoration. Following our country's fundamental fulfillment of the socialist reform of the system of ownership of the means of production, Chairman Mao led the whole party and the people of the whole country in carrying out a series of struggles against the bourgeoisie and revisionism. One great victory after another has been won from the struggle against the rightist bourgeoisie in 1957 to the struggle crushing the Peng Te-hui anti-party clique in 1959, and from the great debate on the general line in socialist construction to the launching of the movement of socialist revolution in education in town and country. But, just as Chairman Mao pointed out in a talk in February 1967, although in the past we carried out struggle in the countryside, struggle at the plants, struggle in the cultural field, as well as socialist revolution in education, we still could not solve our problems.

This is because we had not found a form and a way to mobilize the masses to expose our dark areas in an open, all-round way, from the lower units to the upper ones.

Chairman Mao summed up the experiences from the various struggles in the light of the theory of the proletarian revolution and the theory of the dictatorship of the proletariat and finally found the right form--the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution. The Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution is the inevitable outcome of the protracted and acute struggle between the two classes, two roads and two lines during the period of socialism. It pushed the struggle of the proletariat against the bourgeoisie and the struggle of Marxism against revisionism a giant step forward. It enriched and developed Marx' theory of the dictatorship of the proletariat both in theory and in practice.

Chairman Mao pointed out as early as in 1968: "The current Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution is absolutely necessary and most timely for consolidating the dictatorship of the proletariat, preventing capitalist restoration and building socialism." The 9th and 10th CCP national congresses also made profound appraisals of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution. Yet, this did not put an end to the struggle between affirming and negating it. In order to strengthen its dictatorship over the bourgeoisie, the proletariat finds it necessary to consolidate and develop the gains of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution. Being hostile toward and opposed to the dictatorship of the proletariat, the bourgeoisie finds it necessary to defame and negate the Revolution.

The farrago that cropped up in the educational circles recently is a whiff of the right-deviationist wind of reversing correct decisions already made, its purpose being to negate the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution. It is a pronounced manifestation of the revisionist line, a line that stands for the bourgeoisie's opposition to the proletariat. In fact, negation of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution is nothing less than a negation of the party's basic line and of the dictatorship of the proletariat.

The Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution smashed Liu Shao-chi's and Lin Biao's conspiracy to restore capitalism and consolidated the dictatorship of the proletariat in our country. The lessons from the history of class struggle since the founding of the People's Republic of China have taught us that the overthrown landlord class and bourgeoisie in our country are forever plotting a comeback, that new bourgeois elements are cropping up and that the struggle between the two classes and two roads in our society at large will produce repercussions among our party ranks. International imperialism and social imperialism, bent on carrying out aggression and subversion against us, are bound to look for agents within our party ranks.

Representatives of the bourgeoisie who have wormed their way into the party will do their best to push a counterrevolutionary revisionist line in order to change the party's basic line and the socialist system. They seek to seize power and turn the dictatorship of the proletariat into a dictatorship of the bourgeoisie when the time is ripe. Liu Shao-chi and Lin Biao were like that, representatives of the bourgeoisie. For the purpose of restoring capitalism, they touted the theory that "class struggle has died out" and that "only productivity counts." Taking advantage of their usurped power, they not only introduced the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie into some aspects of the superstructure but also sought to change the nature of the socialist ownership system, an aspect of the economic base.

Chairman Mao pointed out during the first plenum of the 9th CCP Central Committee: "It seems that it won't do if we do not carry out the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, for our foundation is not solid. Judging from my observations, I am afraid that in a fairly large majority of factories--I don't mean all or the overwhelming majority of them--leadership was not in the hands of genuine Marxists and the masses of workers... The trouble was that the leaders of these factories were following the line of Liu Shao-chi."

In the course of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, the two bourgeois headquarters headed respectively by Liu Shao-chi and Lin Piao, were shattered. Their counterrevolutionary revisionist line was subjected to penetrating criticism. A handful of renegades, spies and unrepentant power-holders taking the capitalist road who had wormed their way into the party were eased out and their conspiracy to restore capitalism was thoroughly thwarted. All this represented the great victory of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution. We must have a clear understanding of this great victory. Otherwise, we will be confusing right with wrong, the straight with the crooked. We will fail to see Tai Mountain behind the shroud of clouds.

The Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution strengthened the complete dictatorship of the proletariat over the bourgeoisie in the superstructure including all cultural fields and consolidated the socialist economic base. Historical experiences have proved that socialist revolution on the economic front alone is inadequate and insecure. A thorough socialist revolution on the political and ideological fronts is necessary. Though the bourgeoisie has lost control of the means of production, it commands considerable influence in cultural, education and other fields. It is expected to retain these inherited fields and to challenge the proletariat in these fields.

Before the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, Liu Shao-chi and his ilk sought to restore capitalism and tightened their grip on the ideological field and the superstructure. They exercised a frantic counterrevolutionary dictatorship over the proletariat in all the departments under their control. This was sharply criticized by Chairman Mao. Chairman Mao pointed out: "If the Ministry of Culture refuses to change, it should be renamed the ministry of emperors, kings, generals and prime ministers, the ministry of scholars and beauties, or the ministry of foreign mummies. The Ministry of Health should likewise be renamed the ministry of health for urban overlords."

In the education field, bourgeois intellectuals must not be allowed to continue to rule our schools. According to Marxism it is the economic base that determines the superstructure. However, under certain circumstances the superstructure may turn around and become a major and decisive factor. When the political and cultural superstructure stands in the way of the development of the economic base, political and cultural reform emerges as the major and decisive factor. If we had not carried out the extensive and intensive Cultural Revolution from below how could we expect to reverse the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie over the proletariat in the cultural and education fields, consolidate the dictatorship of the proletariat, and strengthen the socialist economic base?

In the course of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, Liu Shao-chi's and Lin Piao's counterrevolutionary revisionist line was penetratingly criticized; the filth of the bourgeoisie and all other exploiting classes was removed; and the strongholds of the bourgeoisie were recaptured by the proletariat.

In compliance with Chairman Mao's instruction: "The working class must exercise leadership in everything," the working class and its most reliable ally--the poor and lower-middle peasants--took center stage of struggle-criticism-transformation in the superstructure. Many socialist new things developed with vigor. The superstructure underwent profound changes in favor of the proletariat. A picture of revolutionary vitality presented itself. However, we must see clearly that the struggle in the superstructure is acute and complicated. The bourgeoisie will never be reconciled with its defeat. It will not withdraw from the superstructure easily. The Cultural Revolution had its start in the cultural and educational fields. In order to negate the Cultural Revolution and to stage a counterattack, the bourgeoisie will fire its first shots in these fields. Therefore, we must resolutely adhere to Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line and carry through to the end the socialist revolution in the entire superstructure, including, revolution in education, in literature and arts, and in public health.

The dictatorship of the proletariat is a dictatorship of the masses, a dictatorship of the majority over the minority. This is where it differs from the dictatorship of all exploiting classes and where it draws its strength. Unless we can fully mobilize the masses, we cannot build an iron wall for combating and preventing revisionism and truly consolidate the dictatorship of the proletariat.

A salient characteristic of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution was its direct mobilization of the masses in their hundreds of millions to carry out the struggle to combat and prevent revisionism and to consolidate the dictatorship of the proletariat. Confirming the breadth and depth of mobilizing the masses in the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, Chairman Mao pointed out, "Never before in any mass movement have the masses been mobilized so widely and in such a thorough manner." The people in their hundreds of millions aired their views freely, wrote big-character posters, and held great debates. With the force of a landslide, they immediately destroyed "independent revisionist kingdoms" in certain areas and "diehard bourgeois citadels" in certain units. The great historic achievements of the mass movement will emit a brilliant radiance forever, and no one can nullify them. Whoever tries to grasp some minor issues to negate the revolutionary mass movement is completely wrong.

In the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, the broad masses received an extremely profound education in Marxism-Leninism Mao Tsetung Thought. As a result, they have come to understand the truth: "The correctness or incorrectness of the ideological and political line decides everything." They have thus increased their ability to distinguish between Marxism and revisionism and between a correct and an erroneous line and have raised their consciousness of the need to continue the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat. Lenin put it well: "The masses are educated directly by the revolutionary struggle. Nothing compares with the significance of the revolutionary struggle."

As a result of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, there are more and more comrades upholding Marxism and combating revisionism on all fronts. This is also true in educational circles where bourgeois prejudices are particularly deeply rooted. This will certainly have a far-reaching influence on combating and preventing revisionism and fulfilling the task of consolidating the dictatorship of the proletariat in every basic unit. Different classes invariably take different attitudes toward big revolutionary movements in history.

Whether one considers the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution very good or very bad and fully confirms it or negates it obviously reflects his political stand. A very small number of people regard the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution as a terrible mess and always try to reverse correct decisions already made. This is a result of their bourgeois standpoint. It is very necessary to thoroughly criticize the right-deviationist wind of reversing correct decisions already made in order to consolidate and develop the victories of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution.

There are still a small number of comrades who hold some erroneous views on the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution and on new things which emerged in the revolution. Because of their failure to take a correct attitude toward comments of the revolutionary masses and because of their narrow view of issues, they always fail to see clearly the essence and main tendency of things. Thus, they fail to support new things enthusiastically and vigorously, dislike them, feel uneasy with them, and find fault with them or blame them. Or because of their forgetting class struggle and the party's basic line, they consciously or unconsciously adopt revisionist things that have been criticized.

We must strictly distinguish between the two different types of contradictions. In accordance with Chairman Mao's consistent principle of "learning from past mistakes to avoid future ones and curing the sickness to save the patient," we should help comrades who have made mistakes raise their political consciousness; help them tell right from wrong; change their stands; help them assume a correct attitude toward the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, toward the masses and toward themselves; and we should unite as one and march forward together under the guidance of Chairman Mao's revolutionary line.

This Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution has taught us very valuable experiences for the future struggle to combat and prevent revisionism and to consolidate the dictatorship of the proletariat. As a means of continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat, it is of universal significance in the entire historical period of socialism.

Chairman Mao said: "Our country now has a commodity system; the wage system is unequal, too, as in the eight-grade wage scale, and so forth. Under the dictatorship of the proletariat such things can only be restricted. Therefore, if people like Lin Piao come to power, it will be quite easy for them to rig up the capitalist system." This shows that the appearance of revisionism is not fortuitous. It has a deeprooted class and social origin. Because classes, class contradictions and class struggle, the bourgeois rights, the soil and conditions that engender capitalism and the bourgeoisie, and the danger of capitalist restoration still remain in socialist society, the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution is therefore absolutely necessary. If we fail to recognize problems from this perspective, we will be unable to assess the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution correctly and will also lower our guard, lose our bearing and may even slip into the quagmire of revisionism during the struggle between the two classes and the two lines. We must keep this in mind always.

Chairman Mao's important instruction on the question of theory calls on us to clarify the question of the dictatorship of the proletariat. He pointed out: "Lack of clarity on this question will lead to revisionism." We must persevere in and broaden the movement to study the theory of the dictatorship of the proletariat.

Under the leadership of the party Central Committee headed by Chairman Mao, we should persist in the party's basic line and take class struggle as the key link. We should consistently implement Chairman Mao's series of important instructions, consolidate and develop the fruits of victory of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution and win new victories in continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat.

NEWSLETTER VIEWS REVOLUTION AT TSINGHUA

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[Newsletter by PEOPLE'S DAILY reporter and NCNA reporter: "The Great Debate Has Created a Great Change"]

[Summary] Peking, 13 January 1976--"At present, the people of the whole country are watching the great debate at Tsinghua University on the revolution in education.

"In the summer of 1975, several persons at the university who insisted on practicing revisionism whipped up a right deviationist wind to reverse previous verdicts in coordination with the farrago on the education front. For them, the education system which prevailed during the 17 years before the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution was quite good, but the revolution in education turned the system into a mess. Therefore, they wanted to restore the old system."

How should we assess the education system before the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution and the revolution in education since the beginning of the Great Proletarian Revolution? This is a reflection of the struggle between the two lines.

"Guided by the important instructions of Chairman Mao and the party Central Committee, a great debate on the revolution in education has been launched at the university since 3 November to vigorously counterattack this right deviationist wind.

For more than two months, the mass debate has continued victoriously along the road pointed out by Chairman Mao. It has created a new outlook in the revolution in education and in carrying out various tasks at the university."

The great revolutionary debate is conducted under the centralized leadership of the university party committee. After studying the instructions of Chairman Mao and the party Central Committee and reviewing the course of struggles since the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, the members of the university party committee are convinced that the recent farrago on the education front, representing a right deviationist wind to reverse previous verdicts is a conspicuous manifestation of the revisionist line that stands in opposition to the proletariat on behalf of the bourgeoisie.

"On 18 November, the party university committee held a mass meeting and designated an area for big-character posters. Filled with political enthusiasm, the revolutionary masses plunged into the great debate with a high militant spirit.

Guided by the university party committee, everyone has taken part in the great debate. They have refrained from organizing "fighting groups" or practicing "mountain-stronghold mentality."

The university party committee has stressed the need to combine the great debate with the study of the theory of the dictatorship of the proletariat and the criticism of the novel "Water Margin." The debate has thus promoted the study of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought at the university.