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CHINESE LAW AND GOVERNMENT contains unabridged translations of significant scholarly works and policy documents in the field of politics and government published originally in Communist China. Occasionally, works of major significance from Japanese, Russian, and Taiwan sources are included.

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SPEECHES AND INSTRUCTIONS OF LIN PIAO, 1968-1971

Editor's Introduction

Ying-mao Kau

In the last issue of this journal we published a collection of Lin Piao's writings, speeches, and instructions from the 1966-1967 period — the peak of the Cultural Revolution. In this issue we are presenting his statements and directives covering the subsequent period from January 1968 until his death in September 1971. The documents contained in these two issues have been gathered from a variety of sources in China, Hong Kong, Taiwan, and this country. Some were "top secret" documents for internal circulation within the Chinese Communist Party hierarchy, and some originated with Red Guard sources. As far as we can ascertain, these two sets of materials represent the most comprehensive collection of Lin's works currently available in the West. The significance of documents of this type was discussed in the last issue. Suffice it to note here that no student seriously concerned with the political process in China today can afford to overlook these documents. To say the least, few source materials to date are more revealing of the ideological debates, policy conflict, and power politics within the Chinese political leadership than those which we have been able to collect for the last two issues.

Worth noting are a number of specific recent developments in China with regard to the Lin Piao affair since the publication of our spring issue. One is related to the release in September 1972 of a private letter Mao wrote to his wife, Chiang Ch'ing, on July 8, 1966. (1) The letter not only sheds important new light on the intricate relations between Mao and Lin but also lays fresh ground for controversy and reinterpretation of the

entire process and history of the Cultural Revolution. According to the letter, Mao had sensed serious problems and errors in Lin's leadership style and policy line as early as May 1966, even before the drive of the Cultural Revolution was intensified. Referring to Lin as "my friend," Mao was particularly disturbed by and skeptical of Lin's manipulation of the personality cult, emphasis on the theory of "genius," promotion of the "magic power" of the Little Red Books, and dwelling on the theme of "political coup." Mao confided to his wife, "I was driven by them to join the rebels of Liangshan Mountain. It seems that I have to concur with them. It is the first time in my life that I unwillingly concur with others on major questions. I have to do things against my own will." (2) As the contents of the letter are highly revealing of Mao's inner thoughts and also introduce new elements of controversy, we are publishing the letter in its entirety as an appendix to this issue.

A second important development concerns the "true nature" of Lin's "crimes." Prior to the spring of this year, the line and policy deviations committed by the Lin Piao and Ch'en Po-ta clique were generally condemned as "ultra-leftism" in ideological terms. (3) But since the publication of the New Year's Day joint editorial of the People's Daily, Red Flag and the Liberation Army Daily, a concerted propaganda campaign has been stepped up to identify officially the "crimes" of the Lin-Ch'en anti-Party group (still referred to as "political swindlers like Liu Shao-ch'i" in the official press) as "Left in form but Right in essence." (4) The new emphasis appears to be aimed at establishing a clear link between their "crimes" and those of their predecessors, the "revisionists" and "capitalist-roaders" under Liu Shao-ch'i. An editorial of the Liaoning Daily published earlier this year is particularly explicit in this regard:

The revisionist line of swindlers like Liu Shao-ch'i mirrors the wishes of the overthrown landlord and bourgeois classes at home and the imperialists, revisionists, and reactionaries abroad for a counterrevolutionary comeback. It is out-and-out opposed to the proletarian dictatorship

and the revolution. In short, it is the revisionist line and the Right opportunist line.

Swindlers like Liu Shao-ch'i, in their attempts to carry out their counterrevolutionary conspiracies, have employed some tricks which were "Left" in form but Right in essence at times on certain issues to fan up ultra-Leftist sentiments. They appeared to be extremely "Left," but we could easily perceive their ultra-Rightist essence through the capricious and vacillating tricks and certain ultra-Leftist utterances of such swindlers. (5)

A third significant trend of development since the foiling of Lin's military coup attempt has been the continued progress in restoring the proper balance in the civil-military relationship under the Maoist principle of "the Party commanding the gun." (6) In addition to a variety of campaigns aimed at strengthening the "unified leadership" of the Party in all sectors (7), the increasing number of military leaders removed from positions of power since 1972 and the continued rehabilitation of Party veterans purged during the ascendancy of military power during the Cultural Revolution, for example, are clearly indicative of the trend. From the failure of the coup attempt in September 1971 through the early spring of 1973, a total of 48 top provincial-level Party leaders (5 first secretaries, 3 second secretaries, and 40 secretaries or deputy secretaries) appear to have been dismissed. Among them were 35 professional military commanders and political commissars (representing 73 percent of those dismissed). The removal of these military leaders reduces the proportion of PLA representation in the provincial Party committees from 60 percent in August 1971 to about 46 percent (61 out of 132 provincial secretaries). In contrast, the proportion of Party representation increased from 35 to 48 percent in the same period. (8) According to one source, as many as 130 ranking military leaders, who were close associates of Lin's, may have been removed from active duty. (9) As of the spring of 1973, all evidence points to the continued strengthening of the Party's leadership and the restoration of

the Maoist line of army-building in China. (10)

There is no doubt that the "true nature" of Lin's line and policy errors and the historical significance of Lin's role in China's continuing revolution will be subject to further reevaluations and reinterpretations as the pendulum of revolutionary politics in China continues to swing between Left and Right. (11) But, one can be sure, no matter which way the official emphasis goes, no objective and balanced inquiry into the process of Chinese politics since the Cultural Revolution is possible without a close examination of Lin's own statements, writings, and instructions. (12)

Notes

- 1) For the text and source, see the Appendix to this issue.
- 2) See note 1 above.
- 3) See, for example, a communiqué of the Kiangsi Provincial Party Committee, in Kiangsi Radio Broadcast, December 19, 1972; a statement on the rectification campaign issued by the Chinghai Provincial Party Committee, in Chinghai Radio Broadcast, December 29, 1972.
- 4) Jen-min jih-pao [People's Daily], January 1, 1973.
- 5) Liaoning Radio Broadcast, January 5, 1973; quoted in China News Summary, No. 453 (January 25, 1973), p. 5.
- 6) Mao Tse-tung, Selected Works of Mao Tse-tung (Peking: Foreign Languages Press, 1961-1965), II, p. 224.
- 7) For a detailed discussion, see Ying-mao Kau, ed., The People's Liberation Army and China's Nation-Building (White Plains: International Arts and Sciences Press, 1973), pp. xlix-lv.
- 8) Data taken from Ying-mao Kau, "The Case Against Lin Piao," Chinese Law and Government, V: 3-4 (Fall-Winter 1972), 7-9; Parris H. Chang, "Mao Tse-tung and His Generals," a paper given at the Annual Meeting of the Association for Asian Studies, April 1973, p. 5; Chiang I-shan, "Lin Piao tao-t'ai ch'ien-hou ti jen-min chieh-fang-chün" [The PLA Before and After the Downfall of Lin Piao] Tsu-kuo [China Monthly], No. 101 (August 1972), 13-16.

9) Free China Weekly, April 12, 1973.

10) For a more extensive discussion, see sources cited in notes 7 and 8 above.

11) For an elaboration on the pattern of pendulum swing in Chinese Communist politics, see Ying-mao Kau "Patterns of Recruitment and Mobility of Urban Cadres," in John W. Lewis, ed., The City in Communist China (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1971), pp. 91-121.

12) For a brief bibliography of Lin Piao's works, see "Editor's Introduction," Chinese Law and Government, VI: 1 (Spring 1973), 3-5.

SPEECH AT A MEETING OF ARMY CADRES*
(March 24, 1968)

Comrades:

The meeting is now open.

The purpose of this meeting today is to announce to you an important recent decision of the Central Committee.

Recently some new problems have again appeared in the life of our Party; some new contradictions have appeared, a new situation with regard to class struggle has appeared. Although these problems are not as big as those concerning Liu [Shao-ch'i], Teng [Hsiao-p'ing], T'ao [Chu], P'eng [Te-huai], Lu [Ting-i], Lo [Jui-ch'ing], and Yang [Ch'eng-wu], they are still more important than other general problems. The Chairman has said that this problem is not a big one, yet not a small one either. It concerns Yang Ch'eng-wu's collusion with Yü Li-chin to usurp leadership of the Air Force and depose Wu Fa-hsien. Yang Ch'eng-wu has also colluded with Fu Ch'ung-pi to depose Hsieh Fu-chih. The personal ambition of Yang Ch'eng-wu has also led him to consider ousting Hsü Shih-yu, Han Hsien-ch'u, Huang Yung-sheng, and others at his level of status.

The Central Committee has met with the Chairman repeatedly,

*"Tsai chieh-chien chün-tui kan-pu shih ti chiang-hua," Kung-jen lien-ch'ou [Workers' Joint Planning, Canton], April 15, 1968; reprinted in Chung-kuo wen-t'i yen-chiu chung-hsin, comp., Lin Piao chuan-chi [A Special Collection on Lin Piao] (Hong Kong: Tzu-lien, 1970), pp. 127-136. Translated by Douglas G. Spelman.

In this speech Lin criticized mistakes committed by Acting Chief of Staff Yang Ch'eng-wu and explained why Yang had been purged.

altogether four times, and it has reached the following decisions: to revoke Yang Ch'eng-wu's position as acting chief of staff, to arrest and prosecute Yü Li-chin, to revoke Fu Ch'ung-pi's position as commander of the garrison district, to appoint Comrade Huang Yung-sheng as chief of staff, and finally to appoint Wen Yü-ch'eng as deputy chief of staff and commander of the Peking Garrison District.

Comrades, life is contradiction; life is struggle. Progress is always forward development through contradiction and struggle. Contradiction is solved through struggle. Therefore, what we see now is by no means rare. Of course we hope that there will be no contradiction, but it exists objectively; it is an objective law of things. In the past, in the present, and in the future there has never been and will never be a time without contradiction. However, we can of course try as hard as possible to prevent contradictions from becoming serious contradictions, try as hard as possible to prevent comrades from making mistakes, or prevent them from making many mistakes, and try as hard as possible to make comrades do their work well. This expectation is one which Chairman Mao has held in the past and now; it is Chairman Mao's constant concern regarding all cadres. All of us Central Committee comrades feel this way — all hope that nothing happens, or that things seldom happen, or that when something does happen it is not of great consequence. This is our feeling, our expectation. But objectively speaking, things will always happen, for our wills are not supreme. We can only face reality, expose contradictions and solve them. The pus has to come out of the abscess, just as paper cannot contain a fire. Thus we can only confront contradictions and solve them.

First, Yang Ch'eng-wu's principal error is mountaintopism, double-dealing, and distortion of Marxism. Mountaintopism, sectarianism, cliqueism, individualism, and factionalism all belong to the same category. The names are different; they differ slightly in meaning and scope; but their basic nature is the same. They do not express a proletarian ideology, but rather express that of the exploiting class, the bourgeoisie. All of them are incompatible with Party spirit and Party

solidarity. They are anti-Communist, anti-Party, and destructive of solidarity. When this kind of thinking extends itself one inch, Party solidarity recedes one inch. We must strengthen Party solidarity and oppose mountaintopism, sectarianism, cliqueism, individualism, and factionalism. (Comrade [Yao] Wen-yüan shouts a slogan: "Smash plotters and those with individual ambition." The communist ideology is sharply and directly opposed to this kind of backward ideology. When this kind of backward thinking extends itself an inch, progressive thinking recedes an inch, and our cause loses an inch. Communism can be summed up as destroying selfishness and developing dedication to the public; the theories of communism are many, but basically they can be summed up this way. Mountaintopism is a betrayal of communism. This kind of thinking is bound to evoke all kinds of bad behavior. This kind of backward thinking can evoke traitorous behavior — some of this has already become a reality, while some is still hidden.

Yang Ch'eng-wu only trusted that small gang of his, those who were most intimate with him, and did not trust others. This is at odds with the historical facts of the victory of the Chinese revolution. The total military victory was achieved by the First, Second, Third, and Fourth Field Armies. The Shansi-Chahar-Hopeh area was only a part of the four field armies, and Yang Ch'eng-wu was only in charge of one district within that area — there were three other districts. This district was controlled by cadres of the 115th Division, and only one-fourth of them were there — three-fourths were elsewhere. He now relies on just that small gang, and tries to oust everybody else. If things proceeded according to his ideas, Wu Fa-hsien and Hsieh Fu-chih would be removed, and then Hsü Shih-yu, Han Hsien-ch'u, Huang Yung-sheng, Ch'en Hsi-lien, and Yang Te-chih would also be removed. Therefore, we cannot follow his methods, because first, he is wrong, and second, he is in the minority. We weighed the two sides and decided not to smash the others, but to smash them.

Sectarianism and mountaintopism have historically harmed our Party's cause. When they rear their heads, our endeavors

suffer losses. In opposing these things, prominence must be given to Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tse-tung thought, for then our fighting forces will be strengthened, our power will increase. In order to safeguard our Party's cause, in the interests of the Party, we must resolutely oppose this kind of thinking, oppose this kind of backward ideology. All who have had this kind of thinking and behavior have fallen ignominiously. Wang Ming, Chang Kuo-t'ao, Liu Shao-ch'i's traitorous clique, and Ho Lung have all collapsed. Teng Hsiao-p'ing and his plan to make the Secretariat he controlled into an independent kingdom also collapsed. P'eng Chen and the impregnable Peking Municipal Committee which he controlled also collapsed. All of those who practiced mountaintopism met bad ends. Mountaintopism does not help the revolution, and it brings a bad end to those who practice it. The reason is that communism, public-spiritedness, and Party spirit are all part of the proletarian ideology, are proletarian virtues, are unique political characteristics possessed only by the proletariat and not by any other class. We are a proletarian Party, the representatives of communism; communism is the end for which we struggle. Thus, we cannot adopt this kind of backward ideology. Therefore our Chairman has opposed it all along. In point of fact, this mountaintopism is enlarged individualism, inflated individualism. Superficially it is for the whole gang, but in fact it is for the individual and merely uses the gang. Mountaintopism would turn our Party's political power, our class's political power into political power of the individual, political power of the faction, political power of the bourgeoisie, political power which oppresses the proletariat. Therefore we must be extremely vigilant and avoid this error. (Comrade Chiang Ch'ing shouts a slogan: "Smash those with individual ambition! Smash the double-dealers!")

On the one hand we must oppose the mountaintopism of Yang Ch'eng-wu; but on the other we must remember:

First, just because we oppose Yang Ch'eng-wu, we should not oppose those under him, those who knew him, and those who supported him. These relationships were determined by historical circumstances, not by the choice of individuals. Because

Yang Ch'eng-wu invoked the name of the Communist Party, invoked the name of Chairman Mao, he fooled people, and his true face of one filled with personal ambition was not perceived. Therefore we must have faith in all those cadres who worked under him, except for those who even after this whole affair has been brought to light still do not disassociate themselves and continue to follow him — these kind of people we cannot use. To have been warned and still not disassociate oneself from him cannot be permitted. But anyone who, after having it all explained, stands on the side of Chairman Mao's line, will be fully trusted. (Comrade Chiang Ch'ing shouts a slogan: "Learn from the PLA! Salute the PLA!")

Second, those on the General Staff or those outside of it who in the past were opposed by Yang Ch'eng-wu, like Wang Shang-jung, Lei Ying-fu, Chang Ai-p'ing, etc., had their own accounts. At that time, to oppose them and overthrow them was correct; it was led by the Party and approved by the Central Committee; it was correct. Wang Shang-jung and Lei Ying-fu were Ho Lung's men and were part of Ho Lung's comprehensive scheme to seize military power, to seize power in the General Staff and in the Navy. That struggle was a correct struggle to expose Ho Lung's ambition to control the military, to cover his claws and teeth. The overall judgment of these men cannot be overturned just because they opposed Yang Ch'eng-wu, just as revoking Wang [Li], Kuan [Feng], and Ch'i [Pen-yü]'s position did not mean we could overturn the whole judgment on the February Adverse Current. The struggle against the February Adverse Current was a correct struggle. Smashing the evil general of the February Adverse Current, T'an Chen-lin, and others was necessary, was correct. (Comrade Chiang Ch'ing shouts a slogan: "Smash the evil general of the February Adverse Current, T'an Chen-lin!" Deputy Premier Hsieh shouts a slogan: "Swear to defend Chairman Mao to the death! Swear to defend the Party's Central Committee to the death! Swear to defend the Central Cultural Revolution Group to the death!")

This is the first point I wanted to make. The next is that Yang Ch'eng-wu's political character is evil. He is a two-faced,

three-sworded man just like the one Chairman Mao had in mind when he said: "In struggling against deviation, opposition to the behavior of double-dealers is worthy of the most serious attention, for the greatest danger of double-dealers is that they will probably develop activities in small groups; the history of Chang Kuo-t'ao is proof of this. They will support you by day but betray you at night, say this but think that, say nice things to your face but stir up trouble behind your back — all of these are manifestations of the behavior of double-dealers. Only by making cadres and Party members more aware of the behavior of double-dealers can Party discipline be consolidated." (Comrade Yao Wen-yüan shouts a slogan: "Smash those with personal ambition! Smash all plotters!")

Chairman Mao has said: "A serious and nearly pervasive tendency which today still exists in our Party is the one toward blind mountaintopism. For example, differences exist in experience of struggle, in regions of work (differences between base areas, differences between regions controlled by the enemy, by the KMT, and revolutionary base areas), and in work department (differences between this part of the army and that, between this kind of work and that) — these differences result in a lack of mutual understanding, respect, and solidarity among comrades. These seem to . . . [editor's note: the original document has three characters which are unclear] in fact, they seriously obstruct the growth of Party unity and the Party's fighting spirit." "Internally, the tendency to sectarianism produces . . . [two characters unclear] and obstructs Party unity and solidarity; externally, sectarianism produces exclusivism, which obstructs the efforts of the Party to ally with all of the people of the country. Only by digging out the root of these two tragedies can the Party be enabled to happily complete without obstacle its great task of uniting all Party comrades and allying with all of the people in the country."

Everyone thought that Yang Ch'eng-wu opposed Lo Jui-ch'ing, but in fact he was a Lo Jui-ch'ing element — he followed closely behind Lo. On the surface he opposed Lo Jui-ch'ing, but actually he was a Lo Jui-ch'ing element. He took part in the struggle

against P'eng Chen, but actually he supported P'eng Chen. So his behavior appeared to be one thing but was in fact the opposite; at night he acted one way, in the daylight another. He would do things and then not admit them. For example, Fu Ch'ung-p'i's driving several fully armed cars and forcing his way into the compound of the Central Cultural Revolution Group to arrest people was in fact directed by Yang Ch'eng-wu, but he wouldn't admit it. He and several others went to see Nieh Yüan-tzu, where they said wrong things and some very bad things, but afterwards he lied and would not admit it. At the General Staff Department, he asked not to give her [Nieh Yüan-tzu] publicity, but clandestinely he promoted her. All of this illustrates his two-faced methods. He opposed Ho Lung and P'eng Chen's firing officials and grabbing power, but he himself did it. Originally the Air Force had no one from the Shansi-Chahar-Hopeh forces, but then he became cozy with Yü Li-chin, very cozy indeed, and used the attraction between the sexes to accomplish his ends. There was a secretary in the Air Force who was having an affair with him. When his wife wanted to bring suit, and the secretary wanted him to get a divorce, Wu Fa-hsien separated this comrade. This was just thoughtfulness on his part aimed at protecting the face of Yang Ch'eng-wu and his daughter, but Yang Ch'eng-wu insisted on branding several comrades who conferred on the matter as counterrevolutionaries and demanded that Wu Fa-hsien admit his error. This was totally unreasonable, just a ploy to smash Wu Fa-hsien.

The Central Committee originally stipulated that there was to be no spying within the Party, but Yang Ch'eng-wu spied on Wu Fa-hsien. He kept track of when Wu's car went out, where it went, and when it came back. He even went so far as to spy on the activity of comrades in the Central Cultural Revolution Group and on the premier.

When Lo Jui-ch'ing was being struggled against, Yang wouldn't agree to the conclusion that Lo was a capitalist-roader; on the surface he opposed Lo Jui-ch'ing, but in fact he protected him. At the Enlarged Meeting of the Military Affairs Commission he opposed Lo Jui-ch'ing, but when he saw that the remarks of

Teng Hsiao-p'ing and P'eng Chen shielded Lo Jui-ch'ing, he withdrew his own remarks. He did not allow mention of the relationship between Lo Jui-ch'ing and Yang Shang-k'un. He colluded with Wang, Kuan, and Ch'i; many of the evil deeds of Wang, Kuan and Ch'i were his doing, so he really worked behind the scenes for Wang, Kuan, and Ch'i. He is a truly typical double-dealer and careerist with a bad political quality.

On the surface he supported Chairman Mao, but in fact he was disloyal to him and to the Central Cultural Revolution Group; moreover, he used secret agent tactics to spy on the activity of Chairman Mao and Comrade Chiang Ch'ing. Last spring Chairman Mao asked him to go to Peitaiho to discuss the problem of Wang, Kuan, and Ch'i with me because at that time I was in poor health and living at Peitaiho; he wouldn't go. He only went after repeated urgings. So pay no attention to his superficial support of Chairman Mao, for in fact he did not support him. In the past I used a common phrase to express the idea that Chairman Mao's good health brought us all good fortune: It is good to enjoy the cool breeze under a tall tree. But some people opposed this phrase. Yang Ch'eng-wu, attempting to shield those who opposed that phrase, said, "This is nothing." From this it can be seen that he does not have a very high estimate of the great role Chairman Mao plays with regard to the whole Party, the whole country, and the people all over the world.

On the surface he supported Comrade Chiang Ch'ing, but in fact he was dissatisfied with her. When she was sick, as early as last spring he, along with Ch'i Pen-yü, collected black material on her and established a special dossier. (The premier shouts a slogan: "Smash whoever opposes Comrade Chiang Ch'ing!" Comrade Yeh Ch'ün shouts a slogan: "He can't escape the responsibility for collecting black material on Comrade Chiang Ch'ing!") It was evident that he was persecuting Comrade Chiang Ch'ing. She is one of the outstanding female comrades in our Party and is also one of our outstanding cadres. She is an extremely enthusiastic revolutionary and, at the same time, she is resourceful, very sensitive to things, and very good at discovering problems. Moreover, when necessary, she can

take very decisive measures. In the past, people didn't understand her very well because she was in ill health. In this great Cultural Revolution, one can see her great role. On the one hand, she loyally executed Chairman Mao's instructions, and on the other, she has been very creative herself, and during the Great Cultural Revolution she has made great accomplishments. Under the perspicacious leadership of Chairman Mao and the efforts of comrades in the Central Cultural Revolution Group, she has played a unique role in the great successes won by the Great Cultural Revolution. She has stood from beginning to end in the forefront of the campaign.

On the surface it appears that Yang Ch'eng-wu has no ambition, but in fact he is an ambitious man. After the Eleventh Plenum of the Eighth Central Committee he wanted to remove the word "acting" from acting chief of staff. Chairman Mao and the Central Committee noticed this right away, but since he was not an appropriate choice, the Chairman said: "Let's see how it goes, for we really have no assurance." Looking at it now, the Chairman was right, but Yang Ch'eng-wu had no self-perception; he still felt uncomfortable about that word "acting," and wanted to remove it.

He wanted to establish his absolute authority in the General Staff Department; on the surface he didn't want to assert himself, but in fact he struggled to do so with all his might. There is a female comrade in the General Staff Department who didn't agree with Yang Ch'eng-wu's attempt to establish his absolute authority. He isolated her and wanted her to examine herself, and he sent three people to keep an eye on her. Recently, the three services had some material that normally would not be his concern, but he put his name to it, and turned it into the "Vigorously Establish" article of his and used all his strength to get it published. He wasn't even satisfied to have it on the second page. That day all the papers had Chairman Mao's instructions on educational reform on the first page, and he wanted it ahead of Chairman Mao's article. After it was published, he even ordered the whole army to study it. Wu Fa-hsien rescinded this order, but Yang used the telephone to circulate it.

Many things can be said of him; manifestations of his mountaintopism and double-dealing are legion. At meetings during these two days I have heard here and there many stories; what I have heard is not complete, and also not accurate. I also can't remember them all too clearly, but from just these facts one can see his political character.

Third, concerning the question of an article of his. Today Chairman Mao said to me that in addition to mountaintopism and double-dealing I should also talk about Marxism-Leninism. This article of Yang Ch'eng-wu's is anti-Marxist. We must clarify the question of absolute and relative. Chairman Mao does not agree with his way of bringing up absolute authority. Originally this was brought up by an ordinary soldier and later published in the People's Daily. It is all right to use it as a romantic idiom to express the soldier's love for Chairman Mao, but to use it as scientific, philosophical language is incorrect. But Yang Ch'eng-wu thought it also made sense philosophically, and this was incorrect, a departure from Marxism-Leninism. In his criticism last December, Chairman Mao said, "This way of bringing up absolute authority is not proper, for never has there been separate, absolute authority. All authority is relative; all absolute things exist within relative things, just as absolute truth is the sum of innumerable relative truths, that is, absolute truth only exists among individual relative truths." This was Chairman Mao's conception of the problem. Relative and absolute are categories frequently used in the question of truth, categories expressing the unity of opposites. Marxism does not recognize isolated absolutes. Absolutes can only exist among relatives; they are always combined with relatives. We feel that a step forward is a step closer to absolute truth, but absolutes cannot exist by themselves, cannot become an entity in themselves; just as abstract concepts cannot be separated from concrete things, the general cannot be separated from the particular, and commonality cannot be separated from individuality. We recognize that there are absolutes, but they can only exist among relatives. Our knowledge is always relative; it is always in a state of relativity. No matter

whether it is knowledge of nature, of society, or of a particular ideological principle, it is always in a state of relativity. Only by passing through numberless relative stages can our knowledge approach absoluteness; but we can never exert enough strength. Things are only absolute when they cease developing, but they will always be developing. One can say that the dialectic is the law of development, the law of movement, the law of change. Things are always developing and are never unchanging. Therefore, we cannot view concepts as dead things, for they change as things change — they are not unchanging. If we have an absolute concept, our thinking is frozen.

Of course, our knowledge of something under certain conditions has some reliability; if we do not recognize this point, we will become relativists. However, to see things as absolute, to see truth as absolute will freeze the motion of things, freeze our concepts, freeze our ideology. Natural science is also like this. Its truths are conditional, temporary, relative, and not unchanging. For example, the fact that water above zero is a liquid, above 100 degrees is a gas, and below zero is a solid is also relative and conditional. If you take water to the top of a high mountain, it will become a gas below 100 degrees because the air pressure there is lower; under other conditions it will not turn into a solid at zero. All the scientific truths of physics, chemistry, and biology are true under certain conditions; they are all in the process of developing and are thus conditional. There are still today many things which are not known, and those things which are known have many errors. Therefore all of the natural science that has been included in books will continue to develop. Of the many things that are recognized as true the world over, a good number contain errors. For instance, many principles which are considered true are true only under the conditions on earth; on the moon they would not hold true; and on the sun, with its ten thousand degree temperature, they would be even less true. Thus communist ideology is not conservative; it is never-stopping and developing, all according to this relation between relative and absolute truth. Everything that we know is both absolute and relative. Therefore anything

that we know has a double nature, not just a single nature. As Lenin said, the relation between absolute and relative is also relative. Only with this kind of guiding ideology can we see that all things are in the process of changing, science included. This pair of categories is one frequently used in epistemology and discussions of truth. If our understanding of this problem is erroneous and unclear, then we will stop developing and commit the error of dogmatism, and our ideology will become frozen. Marxism is correct, but Lenin developed it greatly. Many of Marxism's conditional principles could not be used afterwards; but many fundamental principles are still correct, are true. When Marxism-Leninism entered the new stage of Mao Tse-tung thought, Chairman Mao greatly developed it. Hasn't Chairman Mao solved things which Marxism-Leninism had not been able to solve, and brought out things which it had not been able to bring out? Isn't Chairman Mao still in the process of developing his own thought?

Therefore, seeing things as absolute is erroneous. Things — such as a table, a teacup, a loudspeaker — are always concrete, not abstract. The concept of a table can only exist among concrete tables; therefore, Chairman Mao teaches us to look for the abstract in the concrete, to look for the particular in the general. He teaches us to dissect sparrows [and see that they contain everything], that is, to combine the absolute and the relative, the general and the particular. Yang Ch'eng-wu's idea is absurd; not only is it absurd philosophically, but it is also mistaken politically. Historically, absolute authority has only existed in slave societies. Legally, slaves were not people but beasts, tools that could talk. Only at that time did absolute authority exist; afterward, in feudal society and capitalist society, it did not exist; and this is even more the case in socialist and communist societies.

We can only see absolute authority as love of Chairman Mao, as a figure of speech. Romantic language of this type can still be used, but to use it in the philosophical, scientific, or political sense is incorrect and anti-Marxist. It denies the development of things, the development of ideology. Ideological errors must

lead to erroneous behavior, and thus this matter must be made clear.

What I have said has been rather random; I have heard this and that, and let it all come out. It is incomplete, and sometimes incorrect; I am just telling everyone of the Central Committee's decisions. Altogether I have talked about three problems: mountaintopism, double-dealing, and the question of absolute and relative. Let us shout a few slogans to end my talk:

Be ever loyal to Chairman Mao!

Be ever loyal to Mao Tse-tung thought!

Be ever loyal to Chairman Mao's revolutionary line!

Smash whoever opposes Chairman Mao! Smash whoever opposes the Party Central Committee!

Smash whoever opposes the Central Cultural Revolution Group! Smash Liu, Teng, and T'ao!

Smash P'eng Te-huai! Smash Ho Lung! Smash P'eng, Lo, Lu, Yang!

Smash Hsiao Hua! Smash the blackguard general of the February Adverse Current, T'an Chen-lin!

Oppose reopening the case of the February Adverse Current! Smash mountaintopism!

Smash sectarianism! Smash double-dealers! Smash bourgeois schemers!

Never forget class struggle, never forget the dictatorship of the proletariat, never forget to give prominence to politics, never forget to raise high the great red banner of Mao Tse-tung thought!

Long live the victory of the revolutionary line of Chairman Mao!

Long live the dictatorship of the proletariat!

Long live the great, glorious, correct Chinese Communist Party!

A long, long life to our great leader Chairman Mao!

IMPORTANT DIRECTIVES TO THE ARMY*
(April 6-9, 1968)

At four o'clock in the morning on April 14, Comrade Tseng Wei-shan summoned the comrades who attended a plenary session of the Party committee of the Peking Military Region to transmit to them the directives that Vice Chairman Lin and other central officials issued when they received the comrades from the 63rd and the 69th Armies.

Comrade Tseng Wei-shan's remarks: "Formerly I transmitted to you only the general idea of the criticisms. In effect, Vice Chairman Lin and other central officials have made stern criticisms of the army units stationed in Shansi, the provincial military districts, and me.

"In the night on April 6, (Lin Piao) received (responsible men of) the 63rd Army and issued his directives. On April 9, (Lin Piao) received (responsible men of) the 69th Army — Comrade Chang Jih-ching was present — and gave them the directives. When greeting their visitors, the central officials and the comrades of the Military Commission of the Central Committee shook hands with them, and inquired about their names, age, family background, experience, and status. They talked seriously of the Shansi problems with them. To us, their talking is of great concern and a great education. I have rearranged these directives on some specific problems as follows":

*Originally published in Pei-hang hung-ch'i [Red Flag of the Peking College of Aviation], No. 47. This translation is taken from Facts and Features, I:26 (October 16, 1968), 19-23.

1. The Problems of the Military Academy

Vice Chairman Lin asked Hsü Hsin: "You have studied in Soviet Russia. Did you learn very well? You remarked that it was so difficult for you to study because no interpreter helped you, and that none of you did very well."

Comrade Chiang Ch'ing: "It was fortunate that they did not learn very well, or it would have been a disaster for us."

Vice Chairman Lin inquired of the premier: "Do you happen to know anything about their studies in Soviet Russia?"

The premier: "I do. But I don't have any idea as to how many students went there."

Hsü Hsin: "None of those who returned wanted to go back again. But they had to, according to the agreement."

Comrade Chiang Ch'ing: "Like doing business, a contract couldn't be overlooked."

Vice Chairman Lin: "I didn't know anything about it. At the military academy Kuomintang officers were the instructors. How could they teach us? It was satiric indeed. Could you tolerate having those who had been defeated as your instructors? Should you have seriously learned from them, you would surely have lost in battle."

Comrade Chiang Ch'ing: "I want to be against them resolutely."

Vice Chairman Lin: "What we advocate is people's war. I am against the military academy and its supporters. You seem to have picked up horse-dung and left the gold. It was said that you have written some 90,000 words of material. We can start a war merely by making a telephone call, and the three hours you spent on writing that could be used for marching 30 li."

Comrade Chiang Ch'ing: "Why did you want to learn from them? It was shameful indeed!"

Vice Chairman Lin: "During the first annihilation campaign by the Kuomintang at Kiangsi, Wang Chia-hsiang criticized us for 'practicing narrow experimentalism.' They held that only one who has experience can be regarded as a Marxist-Leninist, and vice versa. Theories are generally accumulated from experience. It is impossible to have theories without securing the

experience first. People like Wang Chia-hsiang have neither experience nor the theories. They have nothing but foreign dogma."

Comrade Chiang Ch'ing: "The military academy is a higher educational institution. You, the cadres, are all great intellectuals and dogmatists. Dogmatism is revisionism. It is really harmful."

2. Politics Comes First

When receiving the responsible men of the 63rd Army, Vice Chairman Lin instructed that politics must be given the first priority.

Vice Chairman Lin: "Fighting will rely on politics, which thus deserves to be especially emphasized. If there is no politics, there will be no consciousness, no class passion, and no courage. In going to war, casualty, torture, and many other difficulties are impossible to avoid. You must remember this. When you happen to possess a political thought, there will be strong consolidation and good discipline. That is why Chairman Mao's troops have never been defeated."

3. Problem of the Learning from the Masses

Vice Chairman Lin: "Did you learn something from the masses? Did you accumulate any experience regarding over-production? You should learn from the masses, and cadres and soldiers should participate in the movement of three-supports and two-militarizations so as to unite a group of political cadres. In the past we never had such good conditions for training cadres."

4. Propaganda for Mao Tse-tung's Thought Was Led the Wrong Way

Comrade Chiang Ch'ing: "Concerning 'quotations gymnastics,' do you have permission to do that? If not, how could you do it?"

Remember, don't be a formalist! Mao Tse-tung's thought must not be disgraced."

Comrade Huang Yung-sheng: "The traffic police use Quotations from Mao Tse-tung as their billy club. How could this be allowed? It cannot be taken as words of command. Since the paper Chan-yu Pao has made it public, we have to investigate."

Vice Chairman Lin: "They use Quotations from Mao Tse-tung as the billy clubs? How could the precious book be used as a billy club?"

Comrade Chiang Ch'ing: "Quotations from Mao Tse-tung should not be used as a billy club, nor as words of command, standing for 'one, two, three, four'. Since the paper reported it, we must have this matter investigated."

Comrade Kang Sheng: "I heard that you would study Quotations from Mao Tse-tung while you were eating."

Vice Chairman Lin: "The Central Cultural Revolution Group investigate this matter and issue a regulation."

5. Engineer Troops Make Good Examples

Vice Chairman Lin: "The engineer troops must have tough bodies, and political training. The most hardworking troops are engineer troops. They are mountaineers and marchers. It is a good way to rotate the troops for construction, production, and training."

6. Senior Cadres Should Perform Self-Revolution

Vice Chairman Lin: "Having been in the army for several decades, the senior cadres have both political and military experience. Our troops indeed have a good foundation."

The premier: "Did you listen to the tape recording of Vice Chairman Lin's talk on the twenty-fourth?"

Vice Chairman Lin: "Our army is the Party's ranks. Our ranks always obey Chairman Mao. As long as the problem of Yang Ch'eng-wu was made clear, I believe the troops were no longer in doubt. Yang Ch'eng-wu changed gradually. Of those

senior cadres who followed him, some changed for the better, some for the worse. One should remain unchanged even after he was promoted or praised. But some really cannot do that. It is very dangerous, for one who has once been promoted begins to develop his personal ambition. The higher the position he achieves, the more accurate his ideology should be. It would be wrong to think he can do anything he wishes as long as the Party trusts him. We hate to see our cadres doing the wrong thing or falling down. It will not only severely damage the Party but make himself fall if he imitates bourgeois politics. Ideological work in the army should thus be strengthened. You should explain the Yang Ch'eng-wu incident and follow Chairman Mao."

Comrade Chiang Ch'ing: "Yang Ch'eng-wu was a two-faced factional element, and a plotter."

Vice Chairman Lin: "In the past we did not expose him, so some people were kept in the dark. He himself developed in recent years."

7. The Problem of Southeastern Shansi

The problem of southeastern Shansi is that (the Peking Military Region) asked the Party Center to give it the right to open fire on the mass organizations.

Comrade Chiang Ch'ing: "The army troops were only temporarily transferred to Shansi from the Hopei Provincial Military District."

The premier: "Yangchuan is one of the bigger coal mines in Shansi, so you may transfer X regiments from Hopei Provincial Military District."

Comrade Chiang Ch'ing: "Comrade Cheng Wei-shan, from your request for permission to open fire and to annihilate (the mass organizations) we can clearly see the attitude of your military region. You don't cherish the broad masses. You attacked me all of a sudden. You, Cheng Wei-shan, should do self-criticism. Despite your propaganda of my 'September 5 talk,' you don't try to love the revolutionary 'young generals,'

the Red Guard. You should make a report of self-examination."

Comrade Ch'en Po-ta: "All of you should submit a report of self-examination."

Comrade Chiang Ch'ing: "I don't understand the situation too well. But from your request for the right to shoot and annihilate them, we can see your attitude toward the Great Cultural Revolution and the proletarian headquarters with Chairman Mao as its leader and Vice Chairman Lin as its second head. You should make an intensive examination. You have to review what you have really done in Shansi."

8. Problems of Supporting and Protecting Revolutionary Committees

The premier: "Chang Jih-ching, you and Liu Ke-ping are of two factions. You have tried collecting material on Liu Ke-ping, haven't you?"

Kang Sheng: "The army troops stationed in Shansi should concern themselves with the general situation, and protect the revolutionary committee."

Chiang Ch'ing: "The army is a strong faction. No one can be strong enough to resist when your attacks are aimed at him. However, when two factions struggle against each other with force, there must be a "black hand" in control behind the scenes. Liu Ke-ping and Li Hsüeh-feng are political commissars in the Shansi Provincial Military District. The Party Center summoned you to inform you of Liu Ke-ping and Li Hsüeh-feng. Didn't the Party Center have them dismissed from their offices?"

Vice Chairman Lin: "Did you notify them all? I heard that there were two factions in Shansi. One faction supported the revolutionary committee, while the other opposed it."

Chiang Ch'ing: "You must be concerned for the masses. Looting of arms is not a serious matter. The problems would have been solved if you, Chang Jih-ching, had yielded even a little bit to the revolutionary committee. Shansi was a province where the revolutionary committee was established very early. However, there has always been a double leadership."

Vice Chairman Lin: "Whenever there is double leadership, civil war will surely happen. Chang Jih-ching, you should actively go over to cooperate with Liu Ke-ping and Chen Yung-kuei. Chen Yung-kuei is very correct because he always addresses himself to the general situation. It will be dangerous for one whose actions are not in accord with the movement of supporting the Party and cherishing the people. The PLA fighters opposing the broad masses will not be good "sons or brothers" of the workers or the peasants. The army should support the Party and cherish the people. The disunion in Shansi will be attributed to the unsound functioning of your army units. What the Party Center anticipates is that you will give up the double leadership in Shansi and support the revolutionary committee regardless of whether it is perfect or not. The army must support the revolutionary committee. Your opposition to Liu Ke-ping and Chen Yung-kuei is in fact opposition to Chairman Mao and the Party Center. You must do something and hurriedly reconcile. It would be terribly wrong for you not to support Liu Ke-ping when the Party Center does support him, and not to support the Party and cherish the people when the Party Center does wish you to do so."

Kang Sheng: "You must cooperate with Chen Yung-kuei."

Vice Chairman Lin: "It seems to us that the Shansi Provincial Military District will be held responsible for the errors; so will the Peking Military Region. Afterward, if you do what the Party Center wants you not to do, it will be considered as lagging behind."

Chiang Ch'ing: "The reason you have done so is largely that you don't quite understand the nature of the Great Cultural Revolution. You don't really want the revolutionary committee. There were only a few bad men, but it seemed to you that there were many of them."

Kang Sheng: "You didn't struggle against such men as Tao Lu-chia, An Tzu-min, Wang Chien, Wang Ta-jen, Po I-po and Wang Shih-ying. Wang Shih-ying was a running dog of Liu Shao-ch'i. He once said to two young men 'There is no hope for China.'"

Vice Chairman Lin: "The problem of Shansi should be thoroughly studied, and the unfavorable situation should be improved quickly."

Kang Sheng: "In the beginning you wanted Chang Jih-ching back. But I said that his return would make the factional struggle even worse."

Vice Chairman Lin: "The Peking Military Region, the Shansi Provincial Military District, and the 69th Army should all be asked to make self-criticisms and quickly correct their mistakes. The armed struggle in the army is due largely to the wrong direction which they have taken. In the past the function of the army was not so great as it is now. The army is now playing a very important role. Whether or not you carry out the line indicated by the Party Center will determine how effectively you control your army. A solution to the problem of Shansi is directly connected with that to the problem of the Peking Military Region. Of course I don't mean that you are all wrong. However, I would like to remind you that your problem will surely affect those in Hopei and Inner Mongolia."

Yao Wen-yüan: "You'd better read the article 'The Revolutionary Committee Is Good.'"

When transmitting the aforementioned directive, Chen Kuang-jui, deputy political commissar of the Peking Military Region, also gave a three-point instruction: "(1) The directive given by Vice Chairman Lin and the Central's highest officials on April 9 has now been truthfully transmitted to you. Afterward, what you have to discuss is how to seriously carry it out. (2) Party members in the army will make some measures to improve the situation at once. (3) You should take action at once and pass down your instructions after intensive discussion tonight."

INSTRUCTIONS CONCERNING SZECHWAN*
(May 27, 1968)

Essentials of Vice Chairman Lin's May 27 instructions to Chang Kuo-hua and Liang Hsing-ch'u:

The X X Conference will carry out self-criticism; self-criticism facilitates the solution of problems. Only by adopting this method can unity be achieved, and only through unity can we face the enemy together. Struggle between two factions cannot go on forever. At the beginning a period of disorder is necessary, for disorder disorganizes the enemy. When they have been sufficiently disorganized, things are easy. The Great Cultural Revolution is good because it has dug out all those deeply hidden traitors, special agents, and pseudo-Communist Party members. Liu Shao-ch'i is a big traitor who committed treason four times, and he was also in league with the KMT and America. Those cadres who are genuine traitors and rascals cannot be used; but if the problem is only ideological, after they have been educated they can be used. Broad dissemination and thorough study of Mao Tse-tung thought can produce talented

*"Lin Piao tui Ssu-ch'uan ti chih-shih," Tzu-liao chuan-chi [Special Collection of Materials], No. 1 (July 1968), issued by Hung-ch'i t'ung-hsün [Red Flag Bulletin, a Red Guard Publication]; This translation is based on the text reprinted in Chung-kuo wen-t'i yen-chiu chung-hsin, comp., Lin Piao chuan-chi [A Special Collection on Lin Piao] (Hong Kong: Tzu-lien, 1970), pp. 127-128. Translated by Douglas G. Spelman.

The instructions were reported to have been transmitted by P'ei Chou-yü.

men. Those of us who fought in the past didn't come out of any school, but were tempered through struggle and practice, so only broad dissemination and thorough study of Mao Tse-tung thought is necessary to produce cadres. Szechuan is a kind of lair; birds of a feather flock together, and people cluster according to groups. Li Ching-ch'üan is not a Party member but wormed his way in. . . . Some people appear on the surface to be Communist Party members, but in fact are KMT members; P'eng Chen in Manchuria was this way. He did not supplement the main fighting forces, but only directed local troops. Ho Lung previously felt that he had a working-style problem; today it seems that it was not merely a working-style problem, but was a political problem. It is good to expose some evil characters, but to only attack those out in the open is not enough. The hidden ones must also be dug out. Having the army participate in local work is beneficial, for it leads to advance; without courageous advance we cannot maintain ourselves. On the other hand we must attend to politics and allow education in Mao Tse-tung thought to produce good cadres. At present there are some cadres who must be smashed, that is, those capitalist-roaders, traitors, special agents — those who cling resolutely to their errors and will not reform. Some people, however, should just have their mistakes smashed, but can still be used. We have a great need for cadres, and the army must become a furnace for forging them.

**SPEECH AT RALLY CELEBRATING THE
NINETEENTH ANNIVERSARY OF THE FOUNDING
OF THE PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF CHINA***
(October 1, 1968)

Comrades and friends,

The great People's Republic of China, founded and led personally by our great leader Chairman Mao Tse-tung, has triumphantly traversed the broad road of socialism for nineteen years.

While celebrating this glorious festival, I would like, on behalf of our great leader Chairman Mao and on behalf of the Party's Central Committee, the Chinese Government, the Military Commission, and the Cultural Revolution Group Under the Party's Central Committee, to extend the warmest greetings to the working class, the poor and lower-middle peasants, the People's Liberation Army, the young Red Guard fighters, the revolutionary cadres, and the revolutionary intellectuals, who have performed outstanding and meritorious deeds in the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, and to express the warmest welcome to our comrades and friends from different countries of the world!

Our Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution has now scored great victories. Revolutionary committees have been established in twenty-nine provinces, municipalities, and autonomous regions, that is, in the whole country except Taiwan

*Peking Review, No. 40 (October 4, 1968), 13-14; for the text in Chinese, see Jen-min jih-pao [People's Daily], October 2, 1968.

Province. Industry, agriculture, science and technology, and revolutionary literature and art are all thriving. The counter-revolutionary plot of China's Khrushchev and the handful of his agents in various places to restore capitalism has gone completely bankrupt. Tempered through nineteen years of class struggle, and particularly through the storm of this Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, the dictatorship of the proletariat in our country has become more consolidated and powerful than ever.

All these victories and achievements are the fruits of the valiant struggles waged by the revolutionary masses of our country in their hundreds of millions under the brilliant leadership of our great leader Chairman Mao.

At present, the central task confronting us is to follow Chairman Mao's great teaching, that is, carry out the tasks of struggle-criticism-transformation conscientiously. That means to consolidate and develop the revolutionary committees, to do a good job of mass criticism and repudiation, of purifying the class ranks, of Party consolidation and Party-building, of the educational revolution, and of simplifying the administrative structure and to change irrational rules and regulations and grasp revolution and promote production and carry the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution through to the end!

Chairman Mao points out: The working class must exercise leadership in everything. In accordance with Chairman Mao's instructions, tens of thousands of industrial workers throughout the country organized in worker Mao Tse-tung thought propaganda teams, in cooperation with Mao Tse-tung's thought propaganda teams of the People's Liberation Army, have entered or are entering colleges, middle and primary schools, and all the other places where intellectuals are concentrated. They have thus stepped on to the political stage of struggle-criticism-transformation in all spheres of the superstructure. This is a great event of the sixties of the twentieth century. Although this has not been long yet, revolutionary practice has proved and will continue to prove that, together with its staunch ally the poor and lower-middle peasants and together with the broad

revolutionary masses, the Chinese working class, long tested in heroic battles, will certainly perform even more brilliant feats under the leadership of the Chinese Communist Party headed by Chairman Mao!

On behalf of the proletarian headquarters led by Chairman Mao, I call on the proletarian revolutionaries throughout the country to closely follow Chairman Mao's great strategic plan, carry out his latest instructions in an all-round way, and continue to perform new meritorious deeds in the seizure of all-round victory in the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution. At the same time, all commanders and fighters of the Chinese People's Liberation Army must at all times remain vigilant, enhance the preparedness against war, and defend the country, the dictatorship of the proletariat, and the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution. We definitely will liberate Taiwan and are ready at all times to wipe out all enemies who dare to invade us!

At present, the situation at home and abroad is excellent. The struggles of the revolutionary people are surging all over the world. The U.S. imperialists are finding it difficult to get along, and so are the Soviet revisionists and the reactionaries of all countries. Their counterrevolutionary rule will not last long. Awaiting them are the total collapse of the old world of capitalism and the winning of worldwide victory of the proletarian socialist revolution.

Workers of all countries, unite! Workers and oppressed peoples and nations of the world, unite!

Down with U.S. imperialism!

Down with Soviet revisionism!

Down with the reactionaries of all countries!

Smash the scheme of collusion between U.S. imperialism and Soviet revisionism to carve up the world!

Long live the all-round victory of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution!

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

Long live the dictatorship of the proletariat!

Long live the great People's Republic of China!

Long live the great Communist Party of China!

Long live ever victorious Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tse-tung thought!

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

REPORT TO THE NINTH NATIONAL CONGRESS
OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF CHINA*
(Delivered on April 1 and adopted on April 14, 1969)

Comrades!

The Ninth National Congress of the Communist Party of China will be a congress with a far-reaching influence in the history of our Party.

Our present congress is convened at a time when great victory has been won in the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution personally initiated and led by Chairman Mao. This great revolutionary storm has shattered the bourgeois headquarters headed by the renegade, hidden traitor, and scab Liu Shao-ch'i, exposed the handful of renegades, enemy agents, and absolutely unrepentant persons in power taking the capitalist road within the Party, with Liu Shao-ch'i as their arch-representative, and smashed their plot to restore capitalism; it has tremendously strengthened the dictatorship of the proletariat of our country, tremendously strengthened our Party and thus prepared ample conditions for this congress politically, ideologically, and organizationally.

1. On the Preparation for the Great Proletarian
Cultural Revolution

The Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution of our country is

*"Tsai Chung-kuo kung-ch'an-tang ti-chiu-tz'u ch'üan-kuo tai-piao ta-hui shang ti pao-kao," Hung-ch'i [Red Flag], No. 5 (May 1, 1969), 7-48; this translation is taken from Peking Review, No. 18 (April 30, 1969), 16-35.

a genuine proletarian revolution on an immense scale.

Chairman Mao has explained the necessity of the current great revolution in concise terms: "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." In order to comprehend this scientific thesis of Chairman Mao's fully, we should have a deep understanding of his theory of continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat.

In 1957, shortly after the conclusion of the Party's Eighth National Congress, Chairman Mao published his great work "On the Correct Handling of Contradictions Among the People," in which, following his "Report to the Second Plenary Session of the Seventh Central Committee of the Communist Party of China," he comprehensively set forth the existence of contradictions, classes, and class struggle under the conditions of the dictatorship of the proletariat, set forth the thesis of the existence of two different types of contradictions in socialist society, those between ourselves and the enemy and those among the people, and set forth the great theory of continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat. Like a radiant beacon, this great work illuminates the course of China's socialist revolution and socialist construction and has laid the theoretical foundation for the current Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution.

In order to have a deeper understanding of Chairman Mao's great historic contribution, it is necessary briefly to review the historical experience of the international communist movement.

In 1852, Marx said: "Long before me bourgeois historians had described the historical development of this class struggle and bourgeois economists the economic anatomy of the classes. What I did that was new was to prove: 1) that the existence of classes is only bound up with particular historical phases in the development of production, 2) that the class struggle necessarily leads to the dictatorship of the proletariat, 3) that this dictatorship itself only constitutes the transition to the abolition of all classes and to a classless society" (Marx and Engels, Selected Correspondence, Chinese ed., p. 63). Marx's theory of the

dictatorship of the proletariat clearly distinguished scientific socialism from utopian socialism and sham socialism of every kind. Marx and Engels fought all their lives for this theory and for its realization.

After the death of Marx and Engels, almost all the parties of the Second International betrayed Marxism, with the exception of the Bolshevik Party led by Lenin. Lenin inherited, defended, and developed Marxism in the struggle against the revisionism of the Second International. The struggle focused on the question of the dictatorship of the proletariat. In denouncing the old revisionists, Lenin time and again stated: "Those who recognize only the class struggle are not yet Marxists. . . . Only he is a Marxist who extends the recognition of the class struggle to the recognition of the dictatorship of the proletariat (Lenin, Collected Works, Chinese ed., Vol. 25, p. 399).

Lenin led the proletariat of Russia in winning the victory of the Great October Socialist Revolution and founding the first socialist state. Through his great revolutionary practice in leading the dictatorship of the proletariat, Lenin perceived the danger of the restoration of capitalism and the protracted nature of class struggle: "The transition from capitalism to Communism represents an entire historical epoch. Until this epoch has terminated, the exploiters inevitably cherish the hope of restoration, and this hope is converted into attempts at restoration" (Lenin, Collected Works, Chinese ed., Vol. 28, p. 235).

Lenin stated: ". . . 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. For, 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" (Lenin, Collected Works, Chinese ed., Vol. 31, p. 6). His conclusion was: "For all these reasons the dictatorship of the proletariat is essential" (Ibid.).

Lenin also stated that "the new bourgeoisie" was "arising from among our Soviet government employees" (Lenin, Collected Works, Chinese ed., Vol. 29, p. 162).

He pointed out that the danger of restoration also came from capitalist encirclement: The imperialist countries "will never miss an opportunity for military intervention, as they put it, i.e., to strangle Soviet power" (Lenin, Collected Works, Chinese ed., Vol. 31, p. 423).

The Soviet revisionist renegade clique has completely betrayed these brilliant teachings of Lenin's. From Khrushchev to Brezhnev and company, they are all persons in power taking the capitalist road, who have long concealed themselves in the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. As soon as they came to power, they turned the bourgeoisie's "hope of restoration" into "attempts at restoration," usurped the leadership of the Party of Lenin and Stalin and, through "peaceful evolution," turned the world's first state of the dictatorship of the proletariat into a dark fascist state of the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie.

Chairman Mao has waged a tit-for-tat struggle against modern revisionism with the Soviet revisionist renegade clique as its center and has inherited, defended, and developed the Marxist-Leninist theory of proletarian revolution and the dictatorship of the proletariat. Chairman Mao has comprehensively summed up the historical experience of the dictatorship of the proletariat both in the positive and negative aspects and, in order to prevent the restoration of capitalism, has put forward the theory of continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat.

As early as March 1949, on the eve of the transition of the Chinese revolution from the new-democratic revolution to the socialist revolution, Chairman Mao explicitly pointed out in his report to the Second Plenary Session of the Seventh Central Committee of the Party: After the countrywide seizure of power by the proletariat, the principal internal contradiction is "the contradiction between the working class and the bourgeoisie." The heart of the struggle is still the question of state power.

Chairman Mao especially reminded us: "After the enemies with guns have been wiped out, there will still be enemies without guns; they are bound to struggle desperately against us, and we must never regard these enemies lightly. If we do not now raise and understand the problem in this way, we shall commit the gravest mistakes." Having foreseen the protracted and complex nature of the class struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie after the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat, Chairman Mao set the whole Party the militant task of fighting imperialism, the Kuomintang, and the bourgeoisie in the political, ideological, economic, cultural, and diplomatic spheres.

Our Party waged intense battles in accordance with the resolution of the Second Plenary Session of the Seventh Central Committee and the Party's General Line for the transition period formulated by Chairman Mao. In 1956 the socialist transformation of the ownership of the means of production in agriculture, handicrafts, and capitalist industry and commerce was in the main completed. That was the crucial moment for the question of whether the socialist revolution could continue to advance. In view of the rampancy of revisionism in the international communist movement and the new trends of class struggle in our country, Chairman Mao, in his great work "On the Correct Handling of Contradictions Among the People," called the attention of the whole Party to the following fact: "In China, although in the main socialist transformation has been completed with respect to the system of ownership . . . there are still remnants of the overthrown landlord and comprador classes, there is still a bourgeoisie, and the remolding of the petty bourgeoisie has only just started. Countering the fallacy put forward by Liu Shao-ch'i in 1956 that "in China, the question of which wins out, socialism or capitalism, is already solved," Chairman Mao specifically pointed out:

"The question of which will win out, socialism or capitalism, is still not really settled.

"The class struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie, the class struggle between the different political forces,

and the class struggle in the ideological field between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie will continue to be long and tortuous and at times will even become very acute."

Thus, for the first time in the theory and practice of the international communist movement, it was pointed out explicitly that classes and class struggle still exist after the socialist transformation of the ownership of the means of production has been in the main completed, and that the proletariat must continue the revolution.

The proletarian headquarters headed by Chairman Mao led the broad masses in carrying on the great struggle in the direction he indicated. From the struggle against the bourgeois rightists in 1957 to the struggle to uncover Peng Te-huai's anti-Party clique at the Lushan Meeting in 1959, from the great debate on the General Line of the Party in building socialism to the struggle between the two lines in the socialist education movement — the focus of the struggle was the question of whether to take the socialist road or to take the capitalist road, whether to uphold the dictatorship of the proletariat or to restore the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie.

Every single victory of Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line, every victory in every major campaign launched by the Party against the bourgeoisie, was gained only after smashing the revisionist line represented by Liu Shao-ch'i, which either was Right or was "Left" in form but Right in essence.

Now it has been proved through investigation that as far back as the First Revolutionary Civil War period Liu Shao-ch'i betrayed the Party, capitulated to the enemy, and became a hidden traitor and scab, that he was a crime-steeped lackey of the imperialists, modern revisionists, and Kuomintang reactionaries, and that he was the arch-representative of the persons in power taking the capitalist road. He had a political line by which he vainly attempted to restore capitalism in China and turn her into an imperialist and revisionist colony. In addition, he had an organizational line to serve his counterrevolutionary political line. For many years, recruiting deserters and turncoats, Liu Shao-ch'i gathered together a gang of renegades, enemy agents,

and capitalist-roaders in power. They covered up their counter-revolutionary political records, shielded each other, colluded in doing evil, usurped important Party and government posts, and controlled the leadership in many central and local units, thus forming an underground bourgeois headquarters in opposition to the proletarian headquarters headed by Chairman Mao. They collaborated with the imperialists, modern revisionists, and Kuomintang reactionaries and played the kind of disruptive role that the U.S. imperialists, the Soviet revisionists, and the reactionaries of various countries were not in a position to do.

In 1939, when the War of Resistance Against Japan and for National Liberation led by Chairman Mao was vigorously surging forward, Liu Shao-ch'i dished up his sinister book Self-Cultivation. The core of that book was the betrayal of the dictatorship of the proletariat. It did not touch at all upon the questions of defeating Japanese imperialism and of waging the struggle against the Kuomintang reactionaries; nor did it touch upon the fundamental Marxist-Leninist principle of seizing state power by armed force; on the contrary, it urged Communist Party members to depart from the great practice of revolution and indulge in idealistic "self-cultivation," which actually meant that Communists should "cultivate" themselves into willing slaves going down on their knees before the counterrevolutionary dictatorship of the imperialists and the Kuomintang reactionaries.

After the victory of the War of Resistance Against Japan, when the U.S. imperialists were arming Chiang Kai-shek's counterrevolutionary troops in preparation for launching an all-out offensive against the liberated areas, Liu Shao-ch'i, catering to the needs of the U.S.-Chiang reactionaries, dished up the capitulationist line, alleging that "China has entered the new stage of peace and democracy." It was designed to oppose Chairman Mao's general line of "go all out to mobilize the masses, expand the people's forces and, under the leadership of our Party, defeat the aggressor and build a new China," and to oppose Chairman Mao's policy of "give tit for tat and fight for every inch of land," which was adopted to counter the offensive of the U.S.-Chiang reactionaries. Liu Shao-ch'i preached

that "at present the main form of the struggle of the Chinese revolution has changed from armed struggle to non-armed and mass parliamentary struggle." He tried to abolish the Party's leadership over the people's armed forces and to "unify" the Eighth Route Army and the New Fourth Army, predecessors of the People's Liberation Army, into Chiang Kai-shek's "national army" and to demobilize large numbers of worker and peasant soldiers led by the Party in a vain attempt to eradicate the people's armed forces, strangle the Chinese revolution, and hand over to the Kuomintang the fruits of victory which the Chinese people had won in blood.

In April 1949, on the eve of the countrywide victory of China's new-democratic revolution when the Chinese People's Liberation Army was preparing to cross the Yangtse River, Liu Shao-ch'i hurried to Tientsin and threw himself into the arms of the capitalists. He wildly opposed the policy of utilizing, restricting, and transforming private capitalist industry, a policy decided upon by the Second Plenary Session of the Seventh Central Committee of the Party which had just concluded. He clamored that "capitalism in China today is still in its youth," that it needed an unlimited "big expansion" and that "capitalist exploitation today is no crime, it is a merit." He shamelessly praised the capitalist class, saying that "the more they exploit, the greater their merit," and feverishly advertised the revisionist theory of productive forces. He did all this in his futile attempt to lead China onto the capitalist road.

In short, at the many important historical junctures of the new-democratic revolution and the socialist revolution, Liu Shao-ch'i and his gang always wantonly opposed Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line and engaged in counterrevolutionary conspiratorial and disruptive activities. However, since they were counterrevolutionaries, their plots were bound to come to light. When Khrushchev came to power, and especially when the Soviet revisionists ganged up with the U.S. imperialists and the reactionaries of India and other countries in whipping up a large-scale anti-China campaign, Liu Shao-ch'i and his gang became all the more rabid.

Chairman Mao was the first to perceive the danger of the counterrevolutionary plots of Liu Shao-ch'i and his gang. At the working conference of the Central Committee in January 1962, Chairman Mao pointed out the necessity of guarding against the emergence of revisionism. At the working conference of the Central Committee at Peitaiho in August 1962 and at the Tenth Plenary Session of the Eighth Central Committee of the Party in September of the same year, Chairman Mao put forward more comprehensively the basic line of our Party for the whole historical period of socialism. Chairman Mao pointed out: "Socialist society covers a fairly long historical period. In the historical period of socialism, there are still classes, class contradictions and class struggle, there is the struggle between the socialist road and the capitalist road, and there is the danger of capitalist restoration. We must recognize the protracted and complex nature of this struggle. We must heighten our vigilance. We must conduct socialist education. We must correctly understand and handle class contradictions and class struggle, distinguish the contradictions between ourselves and the enemy from those among the people and handle them correctly. Otherwise a socialist country like ours will turn into its opposite and degenerate, and a capitalist restoration will take place. From now on we must remind ourselves of this every year, every month, and every day so that we can retain a rather sober understanding of this problem and have a Marxist-Leninist line." This Marxist-Leninist line advanced by Chairman Mao is the lifeline of our Party.

Following this, in May 1963, under the direction of Chairman Mao, the Draft Decision of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party on Certain Problems in Our Present Rural Work (i.e., the Ten-Point Decision) was worked out, which laid down the line, principles, and policies of the Party for the socialist education movement. Chairman Mao again warned the whole Party: If classes and class struggle were forgotten and if the dictatorship of the proletariat were forgotten, "then it would not be long, perhaps only several years or a decade, or several decades at most, before a counterrevo-

lutionary restoration on a national scale would inevitably occur, the Marxist-Leninist party would undoubtedly become a revisionist party or a fascist party, and the whole of China would change its color. Comrades, please think it over. What a dangerous situation this would be!" Thus Chairman Mao still more sharply showed the whole Party and the whole nation the danger of the restoration of capitalism.

All these warnings and struggles did not and could not in the least change the reactionary class nature of Liu Shao-ch'i and his gang. In 1964, in the great socialist education movement, Liu Shao-ch'i came out to repress the masses, shield the capitalist-roaders in power, and openly attack the Marxist scientific method of investigating and studying social conditions initiated by Chairman Mao, branding it as "outdated." He raved that whoever refused to carry out his line was "not qualified to hold a leading post." He and his gang were working against time to restore capitalism. At the end of 1964 Chairman Mao convened a working conference of the Central Committee and, under his direction, the document Some Current Problems Raised in the Socialist Education Movement in the Rural Areas (i.e., the Twenty-three-Point Document) was drawn up. He denounced Liu Shao-ch'i's bourgeois reactionary line which was "Left" in form but Right in essence and repudiated Liu Shao-ch'i's absurdities, such as "the intertwining of the contradictions inside and outside the Party" and "the contradiction between the 'four cleans' and the 'four uncleans.'" And for the first time Chairman Mao specifically indicated: "The main target of the present movement is those Party persons in power taking the capitalist road." This new conclusion drawn by Chairman Mao after summing up the historical experience of the dictatorship of the proletariat, domestic and international, set right the course of the socialist education movement and clearly showed the orientation for the approaching Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution.

Reviewing the history of this period, we can see that the current Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, with the participation of hundreds of millions of revolutionary people, has by no

means occurred accidentally. It is the inevitable result of the protracted and sharp struggle between the two classes, the two roads, and the two lines in socialist society. The Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution is "a great political revolution carried out by the proletariat against the bourgeoisie and all other exploiting classes; it is a continuation of the prolonged struggle waged by the Chinese Communist Party and the masses of revolutionary people under its leadership against the Kuomintang reactionaries, a continuation of the class struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie." The heroic Chinese proletariat, poor and lower-middle peasants, People's Liberation Army, revolutionary cadres, and revolutionary intellectuals, who were all determined to follow the great leader Chairman Mao closely in taking the socialist road, could no longer tolerate the restoration activities of Liu Shao-ch'i and his gang, and so a great class battle was unavoidable.

As Chairman Mao pointed out in his talk in February 1967: "In the past we waged struggles in rural areas, in factories, in the cultural field, and we carried out the socialist education movement. But all this failed to solve the problem because we did not find a form, a method, to arouse the broad masses to expose our dark aspect openly, in an all-round way and from below." Now we have found this form — it is the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution. It is only by arousing the masses in their hundreds of millions to air their views freely, write big-character posters, and hold great debates that the renegades, enemy agents, and capitalist-roaders in power who have wormed their way into the Party can be exposed and their plots to restore capitalism smashed. It is precisely with the participation of the broad masses in the examination of Liu Shao-ch'i's case that his true features as an old-line counterrevolutionary, renegade, hidden traitor, and scab were brought to light. The Enlarged Twelfth Plenary Session of the Eighth Central Committee of the Party decided to dismiss Liu Shao-ch'i from all posts both inside and outside the Party and to expel him from the Party once and for all. This was a great victory for the hundreds of millions of the people. On the basis of the theory of

continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat, our great teacher Chairman Mao has personally initiated and led the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution. This is indeed "absolutely necessary and most timely" and it is a new and great contribution to the theory and practice of Marxism-Leninism.

II. On the Course of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution

The Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution is a great political revolution personally initiated and led by our great leader Chairman Mao under the conditions of the dictatorship of the proletariat, a great revolution in the realm of the superstructure. Our aim is to smash revisionism, seize back that portion of power usurped by the bourgeoisie, exercise all-round dictatorship of the proletariat in the superstructure, including all spheres of culture, and strengthen and consolidate the economic base of socialism so as to ensure that our country continues to advance in giant strides along the road of socialism.

Back in 1962, at the Tenth Plenary Session of the Eighth Central Committee of the Party, Chairman Mao pointed out: "To overthrow a political power, it is always necessary first of all to create public opinion, to do work in the ideological sphere. This is true for the revolutionary class as well as for the counterrevolutionary class." This statement of Chairman Mao's hit the Liu Shao-ch'i counterrevolutionary revisionist clique right on the head. It was solely for the purpose of creating public opinion to prepare for the overthrow of the dictatorship of the proletariat that they spared no effort in seizing upon the field of ideology and the superstructure, violently exercising counterrevolutionary dictatorship over the proletariat in the various departments they controlled and wildly spreading poisonous weeds. To overthrow them politically, we must likewise first vanquish their counterrevolutionary public opinion by revolutionary public opinion.

Chairman Mao has always attached major importance to the

struggle in ideology. After the liberation of our country, he initiated on different occasions the criticism of the film The Life of Wu Hsun, the Hu Feng counterrevolutionary clique, Studies of "The Dream of the Red Chamber", etc. And this time it was Chairman Mao again who led the whole Party in launching the offensive on the bourgeois positions occupied by Liu Shao-ch'i and his gang. Chairman Mao wrote the celebrated essay "Where Do Correct Ideas Come From?" and other documents, in which he criticized Liu Shao-ch'i's bourgeois idealism and metaphysics, criticized the departments of literature and art under Liu Shao-ch'i's control as being "still dominated by 'the dead,'" criticized the Ministry of Culture by saying that "if it 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," and said that the Ministry of Health should likewise be renamed the "Ministry of Health for Urban Overlords." At the call of Chairman Mao, the proletariat first launched a revolution in the spheres of Peking Opera, the ballet, and symphonic music, spheres that had been regarded as sacred and inviolable by the landlord and capitalist classes. It was a fight at close quarters. Despite every possible kind of resistance and sabotage by Liu Shao-ch'i and his gang, the proletariat finally scored important successes after arduous struggles. A number of splendid model revolutionary theatrical works came into being and the heroic images of the workers, peasants, and soldiers finally rose aloft on the stage. After that, Chairman Mao initiated the criticism of Hai Jui Dismissed From Office and other poisonous weeds, focusing the attack right on the den of the revisionist clique — that impenetrable and watertight "independent kingdom" under Liu Shao-ch'i's control, the old Peking Municipal Party Committee.

The Circular of May 16, 1966, worked out under Chairman Mao's personal guidance, laid down the theory, line, principles, and policies for the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution and constituted the great program for the whole movement. The Circular thoroughly criticized the "February Outline" turned

out by Liu Shao-ch'i's bourgeois headquarters for the purpose of suppressing this great revolution. It called upon the whole Party and the whole nation to direct the spearhead of struggle against the representatives of the bourgeoisie who had sneaked into the Party and to pay special attention to unmasking "persons like Khrushchev . . . who are still nestling beside us." This was a great call mobilizing the people of the whole country to unfold a great political revolution. The Cultural Revolution Group Under the Central Committee, which was set up by decision of the Circular, has firmly carried out Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line.

Under the guidance of Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line, the broad revolutionary masses plunged into the fight. In Peking University a big-character poster was written in response to the call of the Central Committee. And soon big-character posters criticizing reactionary bourgeois ideas mushroomed all over the country. Then Red Guards rose and came forward in large numbers and revolutionary young people became courageous and daring pathbreakers. Thrown into a panic, the Liu Shao-ch'i clique hastily hurled forth the bourgeois reactionary line, cruelly suppressing the revolutionary movement of the student youth. However, this did not win them much time in their death-bed struggle. Chairman Mao called and presided over the Eleventh Plenary Session of the Eighth Central Committee of the Party. The Plenary Session adopted the programmatic document, Decision of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party Concerning the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution (i. e., the Sixteen-Point Decision). Chairman Mao put up his big-character poster "Bombard the Headquarters," thus taking the lid off Liu Shao-ch'i's bourgeois headquarters. In his letter to the Red Guards, Chairman Mao said that the revolutionary actions of the Red Guards "express your wrath against and your denunciation of the landlord class, the bourgeoisie, the imperialists, the revisionists and their running dogs, all of whom exploit and oppress the workers, peasants, revolutionary intellectuals, and revolutionary parties and groups. They show that it is right to rebel against reaction-

aries. I warmly support you." Afterward, Chairman Mao received 13 million Red Guards and other revolutionary masses from all parts of the country on eight occasions at Tien An Men in the capital, which heightened the revolutionary fighting will of the people of the whole country. The revolutionary movements of the workers, peasants, and revolutionary functionaries developed rapidly. Increasing numbers of big-character posters spread like raging prairie fire and roared like guns; the slogan "It is right to rebel against reactionaries" resounded throughout the land. And the battle of the hundreds of millions of the people to bombard Liu Shao-ch'i's bourgeois headquarters developed vigorously.

No reactionary class will ever step down from the stage of history of its own accord. When the revolution touched that portion of power usurped by the bourgeoisie, the class struggle became all the more acute. After Liu Shao-ch'i's downfall, his revisionist clique and his agents in various places changed their tactics time and again, putting forward slogans which were "Left" in form but Right in essence, such as "suspecting all" and "overthrowing all," in a futile attempt to go on hitting hard at the many and protecting their own handful. Moreover, they created splits among the revolutionary masses and manipulated and hoodwinked a section of the masses so as to protect themselves. When these schemes were shattered by the proletarian revolutionaries, they launched another frenzied counterattack, and that was the adverse current lasting from the winter of 1966 to the spring of 1967.

This adverse current was directed against the proletarian headquarters headed by Chairman Mao. Its general program boiled down to this: to overthrow the decisions adopted by the Eleventh Plenary Session of the Eighth Central Committee of the Party, reversing the verdict on the overthrown bourgeois headquarters headed by Liu Shao-ch'i, reversing the verdict on the bourgeois reactionary line, which had already been thoroughly repudiated and discredited by the broad masses, and repressing and retaliating against the revolutionary mass movement. However, this adverse current was seriously criticized by Chairman

Mao and resisted by the broad revolutionary masses; it could not prevent the main current of the revolutionary mass movement from surging forward.

The twists and reversals in the revolutionary movement further brought home to the broad masses the importance of political power: the main reason why Liu Shao-ch'i and his gang could do evil was that they had usurped the power of the proletariat in many units and localities, and the main reason why the revolutionary masses were repressed was that power was not in the hands of the proletariat in those places. In some units the socialist system of ownership existed only in form, but in reality the leadership had been usurped by a handful of renegades, enemy agents, and capitalist-roaders in power, or it remained in the hands of former capitalists. Especially when the capitalist-roaders in power whipped up the evil counter-revolutionary wind of economism after failing in their scheme to suppress the revolution on the pretext of "grasping production," the broad masses came to understand still better that only by recapturing the lost power was it possible for them to defeat the capitalist-roaders in power completely. Under the leadership and with the support of Chairman Mao and the proletarian headquarters headed by him, the working class in Shanghai, with its revolutionary tradition, came forward courageously and, uniting with the broad revolutionary masses and revolutionary cadres, seized power from below in January 1967 from the capitalist-roaders in power in the former Municipal Party Committee and Municipal People's Council.

Chairman Mao summed up in good time the experience of the January storm of revolution in Shanghai and issued his call to the whole nation: "Proletarian revolutionaries, unite and seize power from the handful of Party persons in power taking the capitalist road!" Following that, Chairman Mao gave the instruction: "The People's Liberation Army should support the broad masses of the Left." He went on to sum up the experience of Heilungkiang Province and other provinces and municipalities and laid down the principles and policies for the establishment of the revolutionary committee which embraces

representatives of the revolutionary cadres, representatives of the People's Liberation Army, and representatives of the revolutionary masses, constituting a revolutionary three-in-one combination, thus pushing forward the nationwide struggle for the seizure of power.

The struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie for the seizure and counterseizure of power was a life-and-death struggle. During the one year and nine months from Shanghai's January storm of revolution in 1967 to the establishment of the revolutionary committees of Tibet and Sinkiang in September 1968, repeated trials of political strength took place between the two classes and the two lines, fierce struggles went on between proletarian and nonproletarian ideas, and an extremely complicated situation emerged. As Chairman Mao has said: "In the past, we fought north and south; it was easy to fight such wars. For the enemy was obvious. The present Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution is much more difficult than that kind of war.

"The problem is that those who commit ideological errors are mixed up with those whose contradiction with us is one between ourselves and the enemy, and for a time it is hard to sort them out."

Nevertheless, relying on the wise leadership of Chairman Mao, we finally overcame this difficulty. In the summer of 1967, Chairman Mao made an inspection tour north and south of the Yangtse River and issued extremely important instructions, guiding the broad revolutionary masses to distinguish gradually the contradictions between ourselves and the enemy from those among the people and to further bring about the revolutionary great alliance and the revolutionary three-in-one combination and guiding people with petty-bourgeois ideas onto the path of the proletarian revolution. Consequently, it was only the enemy who was thrown into disorder while the broad masses were steeled in the course of the struggle.

The handful of renegades, enemy agents, unreformed landlords, rich peasants, counterrevolutionaries, bad elements and rightists, active counterrevolutionaries, bourgeois careerists,

and double-dealers who had hidden themselves among the masses would not reveal their colors until the climate suited them. In the summer of 1967 and the spring of 1968, they again fanned up a reactionary evil wind to reverse correct verdicts both from the Right and the extreme "Left." They directed their spearhead against the proletarian headquarters headed by Chairman Mao, against the People's Liberation Army, and against the newborn revolutionary committees. In the meantime, they incited the masses to struggle against each other and organized counterrevolutionary conspiratorial cliques in a vain attempt to stage a counterseizure of power from the proletariat. However, like their chieftain, Liu Shao-ch'i, this handful of bad people was finally exposed. This was an important victory for the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution.

III. On Carrying Out the Tasks of Struggle-Criticism-Transformation Conscientiously

As in all other revolutions, the fundamental question in the current great revolution in the realm of the superstructure is the question of political power, a question of which class holds leadership. The establishment of revolutionary committees in all provinces, municipalities, and autonomous regions throughout the country (with the exception of Taiwan Province) marks the great, decisive victory achieved by this revolution. However, the revolution is not yet over. The proletariat must continue to advance, "carry out the tasks of struggle-criticism-transformation conscientiously," and carry the socialist revolution in the realm of the superstructure through to the end.

Chairman Mao says: "Struggle-criticism-transformation in a factory, on the whole, goes through the following stages: establishing a three-in-one revolutionary committee; carrying out mass criticism and repudiation; purifying the class ranks; consolidating the Party organization; and simplifying the administrative structure, changing irrational rules and regulations, and sending office workers to the workshops." We must act on Chairman Mao's instruction and fulfill these tasks in

every single factory, every single school, every single commune, and every single unit in a deepgoing, meticulous, down-to-earth, and appropriate way.

Confronted with a thousand and one tasks, a revolutionary committee must grasp the fundamental: it must put the living study and application of Mao Tse-tung thought above all work and place Mao Tse-tung thought in command of everything. For decades, Mao Tse-tung thought has been showing the orientation of the revolution to the whole Party and the whole nation. However, as Liu Shao-ch'i and his gang of counterrevolutionary revisionists blocked Chairman Mao's instructions, the broad revolutionary masses could hardly hear Chairman Mao's voice directly. The storm of the present great revolution has destroyed the "palaces of hell-rulers," big and small, and has made it possible for Mao Tse-tung thought to reach the broad revolutionary masses directly. This is a great victory. This wide dissemination of Mao Tse-tung thought in a big country with a population of 700 million is the most significant achievement of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution. In this revolution, hundreds of millions of people always carry with them Quotations from Chairman Mao Tse-tung, which they study and apply conscientiously. As soon as a new instruction of Chairman Mao's is issued, they propagate it and go into action. This most valuable practice must be maintained and persevered in. We should carry on in a deepgoing way the mass movement for the living study and application of Mao Tse-tung thought, continue to run well the Mao Tse-tung thought study classes of all types and, in the light of Chairman Mao's "May 7 Directive" of 1966, truly turn the whole country into a great school of Mao Tse-tung thought.

All revolutionary comrades must be clearly aware that class struggle will by no means cease in the ideological and political spheres. The struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie by no means dies out with our seizure of power. We must continue to hold high the banner of revolutionary mass criticism and use Mao Tse-tung thought to criticize the bourgeoisie, to criticize revisionism and all kinds of Right or ex-

treme "Left" erroneous ideas which run counter to Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line, and to criticize bourgeois individualism and the theory of "many centers," that is, the theory of "no center." We must continue to criticize thoroughly and discredit completely the stuff of the renegade, hidden traitor, and scab Liu Shao-ch'i, such as the slavish comprador philosophy and the doctrine of trailing behind at a snail's pace, and must firmly establish among the cadres and the masses of the people Chairman Mao's concept of "maintaining independence and keeping the initiative in our own hands and relying on our own efforts," so as to ensure that our cause will continue to advance in the direction indicated by Chairman Mao.

Chairman Mao points out: "The revolutionary committee should exercise unified leadership, eliminate duplication in the administrative structure, follow the policy of "better troops and simpler administration," and organize itself into a revolutionized leading group which maintains close ties with the masses." This is a basic principle which enables the superstructure to serve its socialist economic base still better. A duplicate administrative structure divorced from the masses, scholasticism which suppresses and binds their revolutionary initiative, and a landlord and bourgeois style of formality and ostentation — all these are destructive to the socialist economic base, advantageous to capitalism and disadvantageous to socialism. In accordance with Chairman Mao's instructions, organs of state power at all levels and other organizations must keep close ties with the masses, first of all with the basic masses — the working class and the poor and lower-middle peasants. Cadres, old and new, must constantly sweep away the dust of bureaucracy and must not catch the bad habit of "acting as bureaucrats and overlords." They must keep on practicing frugality in carrying out revolution, run all socialist undertakings industriously and thriftily, oppose extravagance and waste, and guard against the bourgeois attacks with sugarcoated bullets. They must maintain the system of cadre participation in collective productive labor. They must be concerned with the well-being of the masses. They must themselves make

investigation and study in accordance with Chairman Mao's teachings, dissect one or several "sparrows," and constantly sum up experiences. They must make criticism and self-criticism regularly and, in line with the five requirements for the successors to the revolution as set forth by Chairman Mao, "fight self, criticize revisionism," and conscientiously remold their world outlook.

The People's Liberation Army is the mighty pillar of the dictatorship of the proletariat. Chairman Mao has pointed out many times: From the Marxist point of view the main component of the state is the army. The Chinese People's Liberation Army personally founded and led by Chairman Mao is an army of the workers and peasants, an army of the proletariat. It has performed great historic feats in the struggle for overthrowing the three big mountains of imperialism, feudalism, and bureaucrat-capitalism, and in the struggles for defending the motherland, for resisting U.S. aggression and aiding Korea, and for smashing aggression by imperialism, revisionism, and the reactionaries. In the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, large numbers of commanders and fighters have taken part in the work of "three supports and two militaries" (i.e., support industry, support agriculture, support the broad masses of the Left, military control, political and military training) and representatives of the army have taken part in the three-in-one combination; they have tempered themselves in the class struggle, strengthened their ties with the masses, promoted the ideological revolutionization of the army, and made new contributions to the people. And this is also the best preparation against war. We must carry forward the glorious tradition of "supporting the government and cherishing the people," "supporting the army and cherishing the people," strengthen the unity between the army and the people, strengthen the building of the militia and of national defense, and do a still better job in all our work. For the past three years it is precisely because the people have supported the army and the army has protected the people that renegades, enemy agents, absolutely unrepentant persons in power taking the capitalist road, and

counterrevolutionaries have failed in their attempts to undermine this great people's army of ours.

Departments of culture, art, education, the press, health, etc., occupy an extremely important position in the realm of the superstructure. The line "We must wholeheartedly rely on the working class" was decided upon at the Second Plenary Session of the Seventh Central Committee. And now, at Chairman Mao's call that "The working class must exercise leadership in everything," the working class, which is the main force in the proletarian revolution, and its staunch ally the poor and lower-middle peasants have mounted the political stage of struggle-criticism-transformation in the superstructure. From July 27, 1968, mighty contingents of the working class marched to places long dominated by the persons in power taking the capitalist road and to all places where intellectuals were predominant in number. It was a great revolutionary action. Whether the proletariat is able to take firm root in the positions of culture and education and transform them with Mao Tse-tung thought is the key question in carrying the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution through to the end. Chairman Mao has attached profound importance to our work in this connection and personally grasped typicals, thus setting us a brilliant example. We must overcome the wrong tendency among some comrades who make light of the ideological, cultural, and educational front; we must closely follow Chairman Mao and consistently do arduous and meticulous work. "On its part, the working class should always raise its political consciousness in the course of struggle," sum up the experience in leading the struggle-criticism-transformation in the superstructure, and win the battle on this front.

IV. On the Policies of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution

In order to continue the revolution in the realm of the superstructure, it is imperative to carry out conscientiously all of Chairman Mao's proletarian policies.

Policies for the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution were

early explicitly stipulated in the Circular of May 16, 1966, and the Sixteen-Point Decision of August 1966. The series of Chairman Mao's latest instructions, including "serious attention must be paid to policy in the stage of struggle-criticism-transformation in the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution," have further specified the various policies.

The main question at present is to carry them out to the letter.

The Party's policies, including those towards the intellectuals, the cadres, "the sons and daughters that can be educated" [The sons and daughters of those who have committed crimes or mistakes — trans.], the mass organizations, the struggle against the enemy and the economic policy — all these policies come under the general subject of the correct handling of the two different types of contradictions, those between ourselves and the enemy and those among the people.

The majority or the vast majority of the intellectuals trained in the old type of schools and colleges are able or willing to integrate themselves with the workers, peasants, and soldiers. They should be "reeducated" by the workers, peasants, and soldiers under the guidance of Chairman Mao's correct line, and encouragement should be given to those who have done well in the integration and to the Red Guards and educated young people who are active in going to the countryside or mountainous areas.

Chairman Mao has taught us many times: "Help more people by educating them and narrow the target of attack" and "carry out Marx's teaching that only by emancipating all mankind can the proletariat achieve its own final emancipation." With regard to people who have made mistakes, stress must be laid on giving them education and reeducation, doing patient and careful ideological and political work, and truly acting "on the principle of 'learning from past mistakes to avoid future ones' and 'curing the sickness to save the patient,' in order to achieve the twofold objective of clarity in ideology and unity among comrades." With regard to good people who committed the errors characteristic of the capitalist-roader in power but have

now raised their political consciousness and gained the understanding of the masses, they should be promptly "liberated," assigned to suitable work, and encouraged to go among the masses of the workers and peasants to remold their world outlook. As for those who have made a little progress and become to some extent awakened, we should continue to help them, proceeding from the viewpoint of unity. Chairman Mao has recently pointed out: "The proletariat is the greatest class in the history of mankind. It is the most powerful revolutionary class ideologically, politically, and in strength. It can and must unite the overwhelming majority of people around itself so as to isolate the handful of enemies to the maximum and attack them."

In the struggle against the enemy, we must carry out the policy "make use of contradictions, win over the many, oppose the few, and crush our enemies one by one" which Chairman Mao has always advocated. "Stress should be laid on the weight of evidence and on investigation and study, and it is strictly forbidden to obtain confessions by compulsion and to give them credence." We must implement Chairman Mao's policies of "leniency towards those who confess their crimes and severe punishment of those who refuse to do so" and of "giving a way out." We rely mainly on the broad masses of the people in exercising dictatorship over the enemy. As for bad people or suspects ferreted out through investigation in the movement for purifying the class ranks, the policy of "killing none and not arresting most" should be applied to all except the active counterrevolutionaries against whom there is conclusive evidence of crimes such as murder, arson, or poisoning, and who should be dealt with in accordance with the law.

As for the bourgeois reactionary academic authorities, we should either criticize them and see, or criticize them and give them work to do, or criticize them and provide them with a proper livelihood. In short, we should criticize their ideology and at the same time give them a way out. To handle this part of the contradictions between ourselves and the enemy in the manner of handling contradictions among the people is beneficial to the consolidation of the dictatorship of the proletariat and to the disintegration of the enemy ranks.

In carrying out the policies of the Party, it is necessary to study the specific conditions of the unit concerned. In places where the revolutionary great alliance has not yet been sufficiently consolidated, it is necessary to help the revolutionary masses bring about, in accordance with revolutionary principles, the revolutionary great alliance on the basis of different fields of work, trades, and school classes so that they will become united against the enemy. In units where the work of purifying the class ranks has not yet started or has only just started, it is imperative to grasp the work firmly and do it well in accordance with the Party's policies. In units where the purification of the class ranks is by and large completed, it is necessary to take firm hold of other tasks in keeping with Chairman Mao's instructions concerning the various stages of struggle-criticism-transformation. At the same time, it is necessary to pay close attention to new trends in the class struggle. What if the bad people go wild again? Chairman Mao has a well-known saying: "Thoroughgoing materialists are fearless." If the class enemies stir up trouble again, just arouse the masses and strike them down again.

As the Sixteen-Point Decision indicates, "The Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution is a powerful motive force for the development of the social productive forces in our country." Our country has seen good harvests in agricultural production for years running, and there is also a thriving situation in industrial production and science and technology. The enthusiasm of the broad masses of the working people both in revolution and production has soared to unprecedented heights. Many factories, mines and other enterprises have time and again topped their production records, creating all-time highs in production. The technical revolution is making constant progress. The market is flourishing and prices are stable. By the end of 1968 we had redeemed all the national bonds. Our country is now a socialist country with neither internal nor external debts.

"Grasp revolution, promote production" — this principle is absolutely correct. It correctly explains the relationship between revolution and production, between consciousness and

matter, between the superstructure and the economic base, and between the relations of production and the productive forces. Chairman Mao always teaches us: "Political work is the life-blood of all economic work." Lenin denounced the opportunists who were opposed to approaching problems politically: "Politics cannot but have precedence over economics. To argue differently means forgetting the A B C of Marxism" (Lenin, Collected Works, Chinese ed., Vol. 32, p. 72). Lenin again stated: To put politics on a par with economics also means "forgetting the A B C of Marxism" (Ibid.). Politics is the concentrated expression of economics. If we fail to make revolution in the superstructure, fail to arouse the broad masses of the workers and peasants, fail to criticize the revisionist line, fail to expose the handful of renegades, enemy agents, capitalist-roaders in power and counterrevolutionaries, and fail to consolidate the leadership of the proletariat, how can we further consolidate the socialist economic base and further develop the socialist productive forces? This is not to replace production by revolution but to use revolution to command production, promote it and lead it forward. We must make investigation and study, and actively and properly solve the many problems of policy in struggle-criticism-transformation on the economic front in accordance with Chairman Mao's General Line of "Going all out, aiming high, and achieving greater, faster, better, and more economical results in building socialism" and in accordance with his great strategic concept "Be prepared against war, be prepared against natural disasters, and do everything for the people" and with the series of principles such as "take agriculture as the foundation and industry as the leading factor." We must bring the revolutionary initiative and creativeness of the people of all nationalities into full play, firmly grasp revolution, and energetically promote production and fulfill and overfulfill our plans for developing the national economy. It is certain that the great victory of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution will continue to bring about new leaps forward on the economic front and in our cause of socialist construction as a whole.

V. On the Final Victory of the Revolution in Our Country

The victory of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution of our country is very great indeed. But we must in no way think that we may sit back and relax. Chairman Mao pointed out in his talk in October 1968: "We have won great victory. But the defeated class will still struggle. These people are still around and this class still exists. Therefore, we cannot speak of final victory. Not even for decades. We must not lose our vigilance. According to the Leninist viewpoint, the final victory of a socialist country not only requires the efforts of the proletariat and the broad masses of the people at home, but also involves the victory of the world revolution and the abolition of the system of exploitation of man by man on the whole globe, upon which all mankind will be emancipated. Therefore, it is wrong to speak lightly of the final victory of the revolution in our country; it runs counter to Leninism and does not conform to facts." There will be reversals in the class struggle. We must never forget class struggle and never forget the dictatorship of the proletariat. In the course of carrying out our policies at present, there still exists the struggle between the two lines, and there is interference from the "Left" or the Right. It still calls for much effort to accomplish the tasks for all the stages of struggle-criticism-transformation. We must closely follow Chairman Mao and steadfastly rely on the broad revolutionary masses to surmount the difficulties and twists and turns on our way forward and seize still greater victories in the cause of socialism.

VI. On the Consolidation and Building of the Party

The victory of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution has provided us with valuable experience on how we should build the Party under the conditions of the dictatorship of the proletariat. As Chairman Mao has indicated to the whole Party, "The Party organization should be composed of the advanced elements of the proletariat; it should be a vigorous vanguard

organization capable of leading the proletariat and the revolutionary masses in the fight against the class enemy." Chairman Mao's instruction has determined our political orientation for consolidating and building the Party.

The Communist Party of China has been nurtured and built up by our great leader Chairman Mao. Since its birth in 1921, our Party has gone through long years of struggle for the seizure of state power and the consolidation of the dictatorship of the proletariat by armed force. Led by Chairman Mao, our Party has always stood in the forefront of revolutionary wars and struggles. Under the guidance of Chairman Mao's correct line, our Party has, in the face of extremely strong domestic and foreign enemies and in the most complex circumstances, led the proletariat and the broad masses of the people of China in adhering to the principle of maintaining independence and keeping the initiative in our own hands and relying on our own efforts, in upholding proletarian internationalism, and in waging heroic struggles with one stepping into the breach as another fell, and it is only thus that our Party has grown from Communist groups with only a few dozen members at the outset into the great, glorious, and correct Party leading the powerful People's Republic of China today. We deeply understand that without the armed struggle of the people, there would not be the Communist Party of China today and there would not be the People's Republic of China today. We must forever bear in mind Chairman Mao's teaching: "Comrades throughout the Party must never forget this experience for which we have paid in blood."

The Communist Party of China owes all its achievements to the wise leadership of Chairman Mao, and these achievements constitute victories for Mao Tse-tung thought. For half a century now, in leading the great struggle of the people of all the nationalities of China for accomplishing the new-democratic revolution, in leading China's great struggle for socialist revolution and socialist construction, and in the great struggle of the contemporary international communist movement against imperialism, modern revisionism, and reactionaries of various

countries, Chairman Mao has integrated the universal truth of Marxism-Leninism with the concrete practice of revolution, has inherited, defended, and developed Marxism-Leninism in the political, military, economic, cultural, and philosophical spheres, and has brought Marxism-Leninism to a higher and completely new stage. Mao Tse-tung thought is Marxism-Leninism of the era in which imperialism is heading for total collapse and socialism is advancing to worldwide victory. The entire history of our Party has borne out this truth: Departing from the leadership of Chairman Mao and Mao Tse-tung thought, our Party will suffer setbacks and defeats; following Chairman Mao closely and acting on Mao Tse-tung thought, our Party will advance and triumph. We must forever remember this lesson. Whoever opposes Chairman Mao, whoever opposes Mao Tse-tung thought, at any time or under any circumstances, will be condemned and punished by the whole Party and the whole nation.

Discussing the consolidation and building of the Party, Chairman Mao has said: "A human being has arteries and veins through which the heart makes the blood circulate, and he breathes with his lungs, exhaling carbon dioxide and inhaling fresh oxygen, that is, getting rid of the stale and taking in the fresh. A proletarian party must also get rid of the stale and take in the fresh, for only thus can it be full of vitality. Without eliminating waste matter and absorbing fresh blood the Party has no vigor." With this vivid analogy, Chairman Mao has expounded the dialectics of inner-Party contradiction. "The law of contradiction in things, that is, the law of the unity of opposites, is the basic law of materialist dialectics." Opposition and struggle between the two lines within the Party are a reflection inside the Party of contradictions between classes and between the new and the old in society. If there were no contradictions in the Party and no struggles to resolve them, and if the Party did not get rid of the stale and take in the fresh, the Party's life would come to an end. Chairman Mao's theory on inner-Party contradiction is and will be the fundamental guiding thinking for the consolidation and building of the Party.

The history of the Communist Party of China is one in which

Chairman Mao's Marxist-Leninist line combats the Right and "Left" opportunist lines in the Party. Under the leadership of Chairman Mao, our Party defeated Ch'en Tu-hsiu's Right opportunist line, defeated the "Left" opportunist lines of Ch'ü Ch'iu-pai and Li Li-san, defeated Wang Ming's first "Left" and then Right opportunist lines, defeated Chang Kuo-t'ao's line of splitting the Red Army, defeated the Right opportunist anti-Party bloc of Peng Te-huai, Kao Kang, Jao Shu-shih, and others and after long years of struggle, has shattered Liu Shao-ch'i's counterrevolutionary revisionist line. Our Party has consolidated itself, developed and grown in strength precisely in the struggle between the two lines, especially in the struggles to defeat the three renegade cliques of Ch'en Tu-hsiu, Wang Ming, and Liu Shao-ch'i, which did the gravest harm to the Party.

In the new historical period of the dictatorship of the proletariat, the proletariat enforces its dictatorship and exercises its leadership in every field of work through its vanguard, the Communist Party. Departing from the dictatorship of the proletariat and from continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat, it is impossible to solve correctly the question of Party-building, the question of building what kind of Party and how to build it.

Liu Shao-ch'i's revisionist line on Party-building betrayed the very essence of the Marxist-Leninist teaching on the dictatorship of the proletariat and of the Marxist-Leninist theory on Party-building. At the crucial moment when China's socialist revolution was deepening and the class struggle was extraordinarily acute, Liu Shao-ch'i had his sinister book Self-Cultivation republished, and it was precisely his aim to overthrow the dictatorship of the proletariat in our country and restore the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie. When he copied the passage from Lenin on the necessity of the dictatorship of the proletariat, which we quoted earlier in this report, Liu Shao-ch'i once again deliberately omitted the most important conclusion that "the dictatorship of the proletariat is essential," thereby clearly revealing his own counterrevolutionary features as a renegade to the dictatorship of the proletariat. Moreover, Liu Shao-ch'i

went on spreading such reactionary fallacies as the theory of "the dying out of class struggle," the theory of "docile tools," the theory that "the masses are backward," the theory of "joining the Party in order to climb up," the theory of "inner-Party peace," and the theory of "merging private and public interests" (i.e., "losing a little to gain much"), in a vain attempt to corrupt and disintegrate our Party, so that the more the Party members "cultivated" themselves, the more revisionist they would become and so that the Marxist-Leninist Party would "evolve peacefully" into a revisionist party and the dictatorship of the proletariat into the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie. We should carry on revolutionary mass criticism and repudiation and thoroughly eliminate the pernicious influence of Liu Shao-ch'i's reactionary fallacies.

The Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution is the most broad and deepgoing movement for Party consolidation in the history of our Party. The Party organizations at various levels and the broad masses of Communists have experienced the acute struggle between the two lines, gone through the test in the large-scale class struggle, and undergone examination by the revolutionary masses both inside and outside the Party. In this way the Party members and cadres have faced the world and braved the storm and have raised their class consciousness and their consciousness of the struggle between the two lines. This great revolution tells us: Under the dictatorship of the proletariat, we must educate the masses of Party members on classes, on class struggle, on the struggle between the two lines, and on continuing the revolution. We must fight revisionism both inside and outside the Party, clear the Party of renegades, enemy agents, and other elements representing the interests of the exploiting classes, and admit into the Party the genuine advanced elements of the proletariat who have been tested in the great storm. We must strive to ensure that the leadership of the Party organizations at all levels is truly in the hands of Marxists. We must see to it that the Party members really integrate theory with practice, maintain close ties with the masses, and are bold in making criticism and self-

criticism. We must see to it that the Party members will always keep to the style of being modest, prudent, and free from arrogance and rashness and to the style of arduous struggle and plain living. Only thus will the Party be able to lead the proletariat and the revolutionary masses in carrying the socialist revolution through to the end.

Chairman Mao teaches us: "Historical experience merits attention. A line or a viewpoint must be explained constantly and repeatedly. It won't do to explain them only to a few people; they must be made known to the broad revolutionary masses." The study and spread of the basic experience of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, the study and spread of the history of the struggle between the two lines, and the study and spread of Chairman Mao's theory of continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat must be conducted not just once but should be repeated every year, every month, every day. Only thus will it be possible for the masses of Party members and the people to criticize and resist erroneous lines and tendencies the moment they emerge, and will it be possible to guarantee that our Party will always forge ahead victoriously along the correct course charted by Chairman Mao.

The revision of the Party Constitution is an important item on the agenda of the Ninth National Congress of the Party. The Central Committee has submitted the draft Party Constitution to the congress for discussion. This draft was worked out jointly by the whole Party and the revolutionary masses throughout the country. Since November 1967, when Chairman Mao proposed that basic Party organizations take part in the revision of the Party Constitution, the Central Committee has received several thousand drafts. On this basis the Enlarged Twelfth Plenary Session of the Eighth Central Committee of the Party drew up the draft Party Constitution, upon which the whole Party, the whole army, and the revolutionary masses throughout the country once again held enthusiastic and earnest discussions. It may be said that the draft of the new Party Constitution is the product of the integration of the great leader Chairman Mao's wise leadership with the broad masses; it

reflects the will of the whole Party, the whole army and the revolutionary masses throughout the country and gives a vivid demonstration of the democratic centralism and the mass line to which the Party has always adhered. Especially important is the fact that the draft Party Constitution has clearly reaffirmed that Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tse-tung thought is the theoretical basis guiding the Party's thinking. This is a great victory for the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution in smashing Liu Shao-ch'i's revisionist line on Party-building, a great victory for Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tse-tung thought. The Central Committee is convinced that after the discussion and adoption of the new Party Constitution by the congress, our Party will, in accordance with its provisions, surely be built into a still greater, still more glorious, and still more correct Party.

VII. On China's Relations with Foreign Countries

Now we shall go on specifically to discuss China's relations with foreign countries.

The revolutionary struggles of the proletariat and the oppressed people and nations of the world always support each other. The Albanian Party of Labor and all other genuine fraternal Marxist-Leninist Parties and organizations, the broad masses of the proletariat, and revolutionary people throughout the world as well as many friendly countries, organizations, and personages have all warmly acclaimed and supported the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution of our country. On behalf of the great leader Chairman Mao and the Ninth National Congress of the Party, I hereby express our heartfelt thanks to them. We firmly pledge that we the Communist Party of China and the Chinese people are determined to fulfill our proletarian internationalist duty and, together with them, carry through to the end the great struggle against imperialism, modern revisionism, and all reaction.

The general trend of the world today is still as Chairman Mao described it: "The enemy rots with every passing day, while

for us things are getting better daily." On the one hand, the revolutionary movement of the proletariat of the world and of the people of various countries is vigorously surging forward. The armed struggles of the people of southern Vietnam, Laos, Thailand, Burma, Malaya, Indonesia, India, Palestine, and other countries and regions in Asia, Africa, and Latin America are steadily growing in strength. The truth that "Political Power grows out of the barrel of a gun" is being grasped by ever broader masses of the oppressed people and nations. An unprecedentedly gigantic revolutionary mass movement has broken out in Japan, Western Europe, and North America, the "heartlands" of capitalism. More and more people are awakening. The genuine fraternal Marxist-Leninist parties and organizations are growing steadily in the course of integrating Marxism-Leninism with the concrete practice of revolution in their own countries. On the other hand, U.S. imperialism and Soviet revisionist social-imperialism are bogged down in political and economic crises, beset with difficulties both at home and abroad, and find themselves in an impasse. They collude and at the same time contend with each other in a vain attempt to redivide the world. They act in coordination and work hand in glove in opposing China, opposing communism, and opposing the people, in suppressing the national liberation movement and in launching wars of aggression. They scheme against each other and get locked in strife for raw materials, markets, dependencies, important strategic points, and spheres of influence. They are both stepping up arms expansion and war preparations, each trying to realize its own ambitions.

Lenin pointed out: Imperialism means war. "...imperialist wars are absolutely inevitable under such an economic system, as long as private property in the means of production exists" (Lenin, Collected Works, Chinese ed., Vol. 22, p. 182). Lenin further pointed out: "Imperialist war is the eve of socialist revolution" (Lenin, Collected Works, Chinese ed., Vol. 25, p. 349). These scientific theses of Lenin's are by no means out of date.

Chairman Mao has recently pointed out, "With regard to the

question of world war, there are but two possibilities: One is that the war will give rise to revolution, and the other is that revolution will prevent the war." This is because there are four major contradictions in the world today: The contradiction between the oppressed nations on the one hand and imperialism and social-imperialism on the other; the contradiction between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie in the capitalist and revisionist countries; the contradiction between imperialist and social-imperialist countries and among the imperialist countries; and the contradiction between socialist countries on the one hand and imperialism and social-imperialism on the other. The existence and development of these contradictions are bound to give rise to revolution. According to the historical experience of World War I and World War II, it can be said with certainty that if the imperialists, revisionists, and reactionaries should impose a third world war on the people of the world, it would only greatly accelerate the development of these contradictions and help arouse the people of the world to rise in revolution and send the whole pack of imperialists, revisionists, and reactionaries to their graves.

Chairman Mao teaches us: "All reactionaries are paper tigers." "Strategically we should despise all our enemies, but tactically we should take them all seriously." This great truth enunciated by Chairman Mao heightens the revolutionary militancy of the people of the whole world and guides us from victory to victory in the struggle against imperialism, revisionism, and all reaction.

The nature of U.S. imperialism as a paper tiger has long since been laid bare by the people throughout the world. U.S. imperialism, the most ferocious enemy of the people of the whole world, is going downhill more and more. Since he took office, Nixon has been confronted with a hopeless mess and an insoluble economic crisis, with the strong resistance of the masses of the people at home and throughout the world and with the predicament in which the imperialist countries are disintegrating and the baton of U.S. imperialism is getting less and less effective. Unable to produce any solution to these problems,

Nixon, like his predecessors, cannot but continue to play the counterrevolutionary dual tactics, ostensibly assuming a "peace-loving" appearance while in fact engaging in arms expansion and war preparations on a still larger scale. The military expenditures of the United States have been increasing year by year. To date the U.S. imperialists still occupy our territory Taiwan. They have dispatched aggressor troops to many countries and have also set up hundreds upon hundreds of military bases and military installations in different parts of the world. They have made so many airplanes and guns, so many nuclear bombs and guided missiles. What is all this for? To frighten, suppress and slaughter the people and dominate the world. By doing so they make themselves the enemy of the people everywhere and find themselves besieged and battered by the broad masses of the proletariat and the people all over the world, and this will definitely lead to revolutions throughout the world on a still larger scale.

The Soviet revisionist renegade clique is a paper tiger, too. It has revealed its social-imperialist features more and more clearly. When Khrushchev revisionism was just beginning to emerge, our great leader Chairman Mao foresaw what serious harm modern revisionism would do to the cause of world revolution. Chairman Mao led the whole Party in waging resolute struggles in the ideological, theoretical, and political spheres, together with the Albanian Party of Labor headed by the great Marxist-Leninist Comrade Enver Hoxha and with the genuine Marxist-Leninists of the world, against modern revisionism with Soviet revisionism as its center. This has enabled the people all over the world to learn gradually in struggle how to distinguish genuine Marxism-Leninism from sham Marxism-Leninism and genuine socialism from sham socialism and brought about the bankruptcy of Khrushchev revisionism. At the same time, Chairman Mao led our Party in resolutely criticizing Liu Shao-ch'i's revisionist line of capitulation to imperialism, revisionism, and reaction and of suppression of revolutionary movements in various countries and in destroying Liu Shao-ch'i's counterrevolutionary revisionist clique. All

this has been done in the fulfillment of our Party's proletarian internationalist duty.

Since Brezhnev came to power, with its baton becoming less and less effective and its difficulties at home and abroad growing more and more serious, the Soviet revisionist renegade clique has been practicing social-imperialism and social-fascism more frantically than ever. Internally, it has intensified its suppression of the Soviet people and speeded up the all-round restoration of capitalism. Externally, it has stepped up its collusion with U.S. imperialism and its suppression of the revolutionary struggles of the people of various countries, intensified its control over and its exploitation of various East European countries and the People's Republic of Mongolia, intensified its contention with U.S. imperialism over the Middle East and other regions, and intensified its threat of aggression against China. Its dispatch of hundreds of thousands of troops to occupy Czechoslovakia and its armed provocations against China on our territory Chenpao Island are two foul performances staged recently by Soviet revisionism. In order to justify its aggression and plunder, the Soviet revisionist renegade clique trumpets the so-called theory of "limited sovereignty," the theory of "international dictatorship," and the theory of "socialist community." What does all this stuff mean? It means that your sovereignty is "limited," while his is unlimited. You won't obey him? He will exercise "international dictatorship" over you — dictatorship over the people of other countries, in order to form the "socialist community" ruled by the new tsars, that is, colonies of social-imperialism, just like the "New Order of Europe" of Hitler, the "Greater East Asia Co-prosperity Sphere" of Japanese militarism, and the "Free World Community" of the United States. Lenin denounced the renegades of the Second International: "Socialism in words, imperialism in deeds, the growth of opportunism into imperialism" (Lenin, Collected Works, Chinese ed., Vol. 29, p. 458). This applies perfectly to the Soviet revisionist renegade clique of today which is composed of a handful of capitalist-roaders in power. We firmly believe that the proletariat and the broad

masses of the people in the Soviet Union with their glorious revolutionary tradition will surely rise and overthrow this clique consisting of a handful of renegades. As Chairman Mao points out: "The Soviet Union was the first socialist state and the Communist Party of the Soviet Union was created by Lenin. Although the leadership of the Soviet Party and state has now been usurped by revisionists, I would advise comrades to remain firm in the conviction that the masses of the Soviet people and of Party members and cadres are good, that they desire revolution, and that revisionist rule will not last long."

Now that the Soviet government has created the incident of armed encroachment on the Chinese territory Chenpao Island, the Sino-Soviet boundary question has caught the attention of the whole world. Like boundary questions between China and some of her other neighboring countries, the Sino-Soviet boundary question is also one left over by history. As regards these questions, our Party and government have consistently stood for negotiations through diplomatic channels to reach a fair and reasonable settlement. Pending a settlement, the status quo of the boundary should be maintained and conflicts avoided. Proceeding from this stand, China has satisfactorily and successively settled boundary questions with neighboring countries such as Burma, Nepal, Pakistan, the People's Republic of Mongolia, and Afghanistan. Only the boundary questions between the Soviet Union and China and between India and China remain unsettled to this day.

The Chinese Government held repeated negotiations with the Indian government on the Sino-Indian boundary question. As the reactionary Indian government had taken over the British imperialist policy of aggression, it insisted that we recognize the illegal "McMahon line" which even the reactionary governments of different periods in old China had not recognized, and moreover, it went a step further and vainly attempted to occupy the Aksai Chin area, which has always been under Chinese jurisdiction, thereby disrupting the Sino-Indian boundary negotiations. This is known to all.

The Sino-Soviet boundary question is the product of tsarist

Russian imperialist aggression against China. In the latter half of the nineteenth century, when power was not in the hands of the Chinese and Russian people, the tsarist government took imperialist acts of aggression to carve up China, imposed a series of unequal treaties on her, annexed vast expanses of her territory and, moreover, crossed the boundary line stipulated by the unequal treaties, in many places, and occupied still more Chinese territory. This gangster behavior was indignantly condemned by Marx, Engels, and Lenin. On September 27, 1920, the Government of Soviets led by the great Lenin solemnly proclaimed: It "declares null and void all the treaties concluded with China by the former Governments of Russia, renounces all seizure of Chinese territory and all Russian concessions in China, and restores to China, without any compensation and forever, all that had been predatorily seized from her by the Tsar's Government and the Russian bourgeoisie" (See "Declaration of the Government of the Russian Socialist Federated Soviet Republic to the Chinese Government"). Owing to the historical conditions of the time, this proletarian policy of Lenin's was not realized.

As early as August 22 and September 21, 1960, the Chinese Government, proceeding from its consistent stand on boundary questions, twice took the initiative in proposing to the Soviet government that negotiations be held to settle the Sino-Soviet boundary question. In 1964 negotiations between the two sides started in Peking. The treaties relating to the present Sino-Soviet boundary are unequal treaties imposed on the Chinese people by the tsars, but out of the desire to safeguard the revolutionary friendship between the Chinese and Soviet people, we still maintained that these treaties be taken as the basis for the settlement of the boundary question. However, betraying Lenin's proletarian policy and clinging to its new-tsarist social-imperialist stand, the Soviet revisionist renegade clique refused to recognize these treaties as unequal and, moreover, it insisted that China recognize as belonging to the Soviet Union all the Chinese territory which they had occupied or attempted to occupy in violation of the treaties. This great-power chauvinist

and social-imperialist stand of the Soviet government led to the disruption of the negotiations.

Since Brezhnev came to power, the Soviet revisionist renegade clique has frenziedly stepped up its disruption of the status quo of the boundary and repeatedly provoked border incidents, shooting and killing our unarmed fishermen and peasants and encroaching upon China's sovereignty. Recently it has gone further and made successive armed intrusions into our territory Chenpao Island. Driven beyond the limits of their forbearance, our frontier guards have fought back in self-defense, dealing the aggressors well-deserved blows and triumphantly safeguarding our sacred territory. In an effort to extricate them from their predicament, Kosygin asked on March 21 to communicate with our leaders by telephone. Immediately, on March 22, our government replied with a memorandum, in which it was made clear that, "In view of the present relations between China and the Soviet Union, it is unsuitable to communicate by telephone. If the Soviet government has anything to say, it is asked to put it forward officially to the Chinese Government through diplomatic channels." On March 29 the Soviet government issued a statement still clinging to its obstinate aggressor stand, while expressing willingness to resume "consultations." Our government is considering its reply to this.

The foreign policy of our Party and government is consistent. It is: To develop relations of friendship, mutual assistance, and cooperation with socialist countries on the principle of proletarian internationalism; to support and assist the revolutionary struggles of all the oppressed people and nations; to strive for peaceful coexistence with countries having different social systems on the basis of the Five Principles of mutual respect for territorial integrity and sovereignty, mutual nonaggression, noninterference in each other's internal affairs, equality and mutual benefit, and peaceful coexistence, and to oppose the imperialist policies of aggression and war. Our proletarian foreign policy is not based on expediency; it is a policy in which we have long persisted. This is what we did in the past and we will persist in doing the same in the future.

We have always held that the internal affairs of each country should be settled by its own people. The relations between all countries and between all parties, big or small, must be built on the principles of equality and noninterference in each other's internal affairs. To safeguard these Marxist-Leninist principles the Communist Party of China has waged a long struggle against the sinister great-power chauvinism of the Soviet revisionist renegade clique. This is a fact known to all. The Soviet revisionist renegade clique glibly talks of "fraternal parties" and "fraternal countries," but in fact it regards itself as the patriarchal party, and as the new tsar, who is free to invade and occupy the territory of other countries. They conduct sabotage and subversion against the Chinese Communist Party, the Albanian Party of Labor, and other genuine Marxist-Leninist parties. Moreover, when any party or any country in their so-called "socialist community" holds a slightly different view, they act ferociously and stop at nothing in suppressing, sabotaging, and subverting and even sending troops to invade and occupy their so-called "fraternal countries" and kidnapping members of their so-called "fraternal parties." These fascist piratical acts have sealed their doom.

U.S. imperialism and Soviet revisionism are always trying to "isolate" China; this is China's honor. Their rabid opposition to China cannot do us the slightest harm. On the contrary, it serves to further arouse our people's determination to maintain independence and keep the initiative in our own hands, rely on our own efforts, and work hard to make our country prosperous and powerful; it serves to prove to the whole world that China has drawn a clear line between herself on the one hand and U.S. imperialism and Soviet revisionism on the other. Today it is not imperialism, revisionism, and reaction but the proletariat and the revolutionary people of all countries that determine the destiny of the world. The genuine Marxist-Leninist parties and organizations of various countries, which are composed of the advanced elements of the proletariat, are a new rising force that has infinitely broad prospects. The Communist Party of China is determined to unite and fight together

with them. We firmly support the Albanian people in their struggle against imperialism and revisionism; we firmly support the Vietnamese people in carrying their war of resistance against U.S. aggression and for national salvation through to the end; we firmly support the revolutionary struggles of the people of Laos, Thailand, Burma, Malaya, Indonesia, India, Palestine, and other countries and regions in Asia, Africa, and Latin America; we firmly support the proletariat, the students and youth, and the masses of the Black people of the United States in their just struggle against the U.S. ruling clique; we firmly support the proletariat and the laboring people of the Soviet Union in their just struggle to overthrow the Soviet revisionist renegade clique; we firmly support the people of Czechoslovakia and other countries in their just struggle against Soviet revisionist social-imperialism; we firmly support the revolutionary struggles of the people of Japan and the West European and Oceanian countries; we firmly support the revolutionary struggles of the people of all countries; and we firmly support all the just struggles of resistance against aggression and oppression by U.S. imperialism and Soviet revisionism. All countries and people subjected to aggression, control, intervention, or bullying by U.S. imperialism and Soviet revisionism, unite and form the broadest possible united front and overthrow our common enemies!

On no account must we relax our revolutionary vigilance because of victory or ignore the danger of U.S. imperialism and Soviet revisionism launching a large-scale war of aggression. We must make full preparations, preparations against their launching a big war and against their launching a war at an early date, preparations against their launching a conventional war and against their launching a large-scale nuclear war. In short, we must be prepared. Chairman Mao said long ago: "We will not attack unless we are attacked; if we are attacked, we will certainly counterattack." If they insist on fighting, we will keep them company and fight to the finish. The Chinese revolution won out on the battlefield. Armed with Mao Tse-tung thought, tempered in the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution,

and with full confidence in victory, the Chinese people in their hundreds of millions, and the Chinese People's Liberation Army are determined to liberate their sacred territory Taiwan and resolutely, thoroughly, wholly, and completely wipe out all aggressors who dare to come!

Our great leader Chairman Mao points out: "Working hand in glove, Soviet revisionism and U.S. imperialism have done so many foul and evil things that the revolutionary people the world over will not let them go unpunished. The people of all countries are rising. A new historical period of opposing U.S. imperialism and Soviet revisionism has begun." Whether the war gives rise to revolution or revolution prevents the war, U.S. imperialism and Soviet revisionism will not last long! Workers of all countries, unite! Proletarians and oppressed people and nations of the world, unite! Bury U.S. imperialism, Soviet revisionism, and their lackeys!

VIII. The Whole Party, the Whole Nation Unite to Win Still Greater Victories

The Ninth National Congress of the Party is being held at an important moment in the historical development of our Party, at an important moment in the consolidation and development of the dictatorship of the proletariat in our country, and at an important moment in the development of the international communist movement and world revolution. Among the delegates to the congress are proletarian revolutionaries of the older generation and also a large number of fresh blood. In the previous congresses of our Party there have never been such great numbers of delegates of Party members from among the industrial workers, poor and lower-middle peasants, and of women delegates. Among the delegates from the Party members in the People's Liberation Army, there are veteran Red Army fighters as well as new fighters. The delegates of Party members from among Red Guards are attending a national congress of the Party for the first time. The fact that so many delegates have come to Peking from all corners of the country

and gathered around the great leader Chairman Mao to discuss and decide on the affairs of the Party and state signifies that our congress is a congress full of vitality, a congress of unity, and a congress of victory.

Chairman Mao teaches us: "The unification of our country, the unity of our people, and the unity of our various nationalities — these are the basic guarantees of the sure triumph of our cause." Through the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution our motherland has become unprecedentedly unified and our people have achieved a great revolutionary unity on an extremely broad scale under the great red banner of Mao Tse-tung thought. This great unity is under the leadership of the proletariat and is based on the worker-peasant alliance; it embraces all the fraternal nationalities, the patriotic democrats who for a long time have done useful work for the cause of the revolution and construction of our motherland, the vast numbers of patriotic overseas Chinese and our patriotic compatriots in Hongkong and Macao, our patriotic compatriots in Taiwan who are oppressed and exploited by the U.S.-Chiang reactionaries, and all those who support socialism and love our socialist motherland. We are convinced that after the present national congress of our Party, the people of all the nationalities of our country will certainly unite still more closely under the leadership of the great leader Chairman Mao and win still greater victories in the struggle against our common enemy and in the cause of building our powerful socialist motherland.

Chairman Mao said in 1962: "The next fifty to one hundred years, beginning from now, will be a great era of radical change in the social system throughout the world, an earthshaking era without equal in any previous historical period. Living in such an era, we must be prepared to engage in great struggles which will have many features different in form from those of the past." This magnificent prospect farsightedly envisioned by Chairman Mao illuminates our path of advance in the days to come and inspires all genuine Marxist-Leninists to fight valiantly for the realization of the grand ideal of communism.

Let the whole Party unite, let the whole nation unite, hold

high the great red banner of Mao Tse-tung thought, be resolute, fear no sacrifice, and surmount every difficulty to win victory!

Long live the great victory of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution!

Long live the dictatorship of the proletariat!

Long live the Ninth National Congress of the Party!

Long live the great, glorious, and correct Communist Party of China!

Long live great Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tse-tung thought!

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

TALK AT THE RECEPTION FOR SOME OF THE
DELEGATES TO THE CCP NINTH NATIONAL
CONGRESS FROM YUNNAN, KWEICHOW, AND
SZECHWAN*

(May 2, 1969)

(At the reception, Vice Chairman Lin was accompanied by Comrade Yeh Chun. When we walked in, Vice Chairman Lin stood up, asked our names, shook hands with us, and sat down. Vice Chairman Lin said): The Congress is over and I want to have a little chat with you. You (refers to Tan Fu-jen [political commissar of Kunming Military Region and chairman of Yunnan Provincial Revolutionary Committee]) just went to Yunnan and can be more impartial. It is best that there will be no reversals in Yunnan. I hope that when you go back, you will do more work on ideological reform. (Yeh Chun emphasized: "It would be best if there are no further reversals in Yunnan. Political Commissar Tan interrupted: "Are you sure?" The masses answered: "Yes.") Chairman Mao Tse-tung called for unity: without unity there can be no victory; unity is the weapon by which the proletarian class defeats the

*This translation is taken, with permission, from Issues & Studies, VI: 8 (May 1970), 110-113; The text in Chinese is reprinted in "Lin fu-chu-hsi chieh-chien Yün Kuei Ch'uan san-sheng i-pu-fen fu-tse t'ung-chih ti chung-yao chih-shih" [Vice Chairman Lin's Important Instructions at Reception of Some Responsible Comrades from Yunnan, Kweichow, and Szechwan], Wen-hua ta ke-ming wen-chien hui-pien [Compendium of Documents on the Great Cultural Revolution], No. 3-4 (1970), 1-5.

bourgeois class. This is a saying of Lenin. Marx urged unity in his first manifesto. In the Ninth National Congress, Chairman Mao urged unity. By what can the proletarian class with bare hands and empty fists defeat the bourgeois class? It is unity. Some of you comrades present here today are united with each other, others oppose each other and still others partly oppose each other. It doesn't matter which is which. You can and should be united with each other. During the War of Resistance Against Japan, you were united together. In the democratic Revolution against local bullies and bad gentry and the anti-feudalism campaign, you were united together. In the campaigns against the bourgeois class and for the implementation of socialist revolution you should unite yourselves together. Anti-imperialism and antifeudalism are not the special features of the Communist party; doesn't the bourgeois class also oppose feudalism? The antifeudalism and anti-imperialism efforts of the Communist Party lay the foundation for the campaign against capitalism. We are proletarians, and our duty is to oppose the bourgeois class. Communist Party members should fight against capitalism, and this cannot be done individually. Some thought that when a leader is overthrown, victory is assured and problems are solved. Lenin did not agree with this view. His brother was arrested and killed when he failed in an attempt to assassinate the Tsar. Lenin thought that this view led to a blind alley. To unite the proletarian class to defeat the bourgeois class is the only way. There is no substitute. If the proletarian class wants to resolve its contradiction with the bourgeois class, there is no way but unity. Not all of us are manual workers; but when we join the Communist Party and struggle for communism, our ideology is on the same side with the proletarian class. To make decisions entirely in accordance with one's professional background is not always appropriate. Marx, Engels, and Lenin were not manual laborers; nor was Stalin. They were not proletarians at birth, but their thought was with the proletarian class, and they served the proletarian class and were determined to strive for the aims of communism. They were the representatives of the

proletarian class. Therefore, we should judge someone according to his professional background but not entirely so. Both unity and disunity can be found within your ranks. On the major premise, you are united; you are united on many issues, and you differ on some others. This is quite natural. However, we are not naturalists and cannot let it take its own course. Unity is strength. Scientific Marxism-Leninism extols the united and eliminates the disunited. Revolution is elimination. The old things should be overthrown either by violence or non-violence. Sometimes even certain human beings should be overthrown. It will never do without revolution. The whole history of mankind is a process in which the new replaces the old by means of revolution. It is by revolution that slave society and feudalistic society have progressed to the present society. This is also applicable to the whole universe. Revolution relies on unity. Unity is the weapon and unity is strength. What can one man do? Nothing. One of the important factors why the bourgeois class can rule the great majority of people with a small minority is that the proletarian class does not unite itself but rather is split among itself. If we do not unite ourselves, the imperialist countries will invade us. Disunity is harmful to the country, the people, and the proletarian class. Everything is the unity of opposites and there is unity in each of the opposites. The opposites are contrasted. The two feet of the human body point in different directions and so do the two thumbs. But opposites can be balanced. It is absolutely necessary to have contradiction. To desire no contradiction is not Marxist. Contradiction exists permanently. But we should settle contradiction. Otherwise things cannot progress. If there is revolution, there should be unity. Without unity there can be no revolution. To get rid of unity is to eliminate revolution and help the enemies. You are all united in the campaigns against capitalist-roaders and enemies. Weren't you united together during the War of Resistance Against Japan? Weren't you united together to fight against the American imperialists? Weren't you united together to fight against Chiang Kai-shek? To overthrow Liu Shao-ch'i and those rem-

nants left over by the Kuomintang who are still reactionary in thought is the great strategic undertaking of Chairman Mao. Otherwise, it will be disastrous. It is necessary to overthrow these people. But be careful not to make yourselves confused. Don't struggle against yourselves with the method by which you struggle against enemies nor fight against yourselves. Otherwise, the enemies, Chiang Kai-shek and the American imperialists, will happily witness it. Don't exaggerate trifles. Don't solve problems according to your own interest. Be a little negligent. We should be both negligent and not negligent. We should not be negligent in significant matters. But we may be negligent in small matters. Marx once said that a two-man society could not exist if either would not give up some of his own sovereignty. Without social consciousness, we are but beasts. The ability to use tools and to unite themselves distinguishes mankind from beasts. Without unity, we could not produce anything and live, and we would go back to the conditions of thousands of years ago. Revolution needs unity, and unity within the class should be achieved. Therefore, you should by all means answer Chairman Mao's call. For victory, you should unite yourselves on the basis of Mao Tse-tung thought. You should unite yourselves. There is always difference in thought, and different levels of human knowledge and consciousness cannot make it unified. But we need unification. Mao Tse-tung thought can make it unified. Differences always exist but can be solved by criticism and self-criticism. You should not overdo it. In the initial phase of the Cultural Revolution, it was necessary to overdo criticism and self-criticism; otherwise, the capitalist-roaders could not have been overthrown, and capitalism would have been restored. Have we finished overthrowing the capitalist-roaders? Revolution should not cease. Some units at the basic level still have problems and should continue revolution. Units at the basic level should be built well; revolution is not yet finished. To win an overall victory, revolution should be continued. Therefore, you should unite yourselves. Particularly, you, leaders at higher levels, should do so. Without unity, you only pay lip service to revolution; that is harmful to revolution and destroys

revolution. Which is better, unity or disunity? Is our country prosperous or not? Are you united or not? Of course, it is better that our country be prosperous and that you unite yourselves. The spirit of the proletarian party and the virtue of Communist Party members is manifested in internal unity. Those who pay no attention to internal unity are not in concert with party spirit and lack the virtue of a Communist. They may be able to drag on for the time being; but sooner or later they will go in opposite directions. Therefore, you should adhere to principle, revolution and unity.

Comrades, don't quarrel with each other, or find fault with each other, or stand in each other's way. You should help each other, respect each other, support each other and comfort each other, and be friends. To work with the same will and joint effort, revolution can be done well and production can be done well. If you cannot unite yourselves well, revolution cannot be done well, and enemies will be happy to see it. Enemies will be delighted to see our country weak. The stronger our country, the more displeasure enemies will feel. When we uprooted the capitalist-roaders and destroyed their conspiracy of restoring capitalism, the enemies were frightened. Those matters which make enemies unhappy and frighten them are good for us. We should be happy with them. Now we should not do things which make enemies happy. The enemies hope that the proletarian revolutionaries will split within our ranks. The enemies will be happy with that. If so, our country cannot become prosperous: when war comes, we'll be in trouble. We want to build up a strong nation, don't we? If we split among ourselves, our country cannot become strong. When we overthrew the capitalist-roaders, the enemies were frightened; when we are united, the enemies feel unhappy. Therefore, we should unite ourselves and make them unhappy. My points are clear enough. I hope that you will respond to Chairman Mao's call to make further efforts to unite yourselves solidly. Disunity will not do. It is neither contradiction between the bourgeois class and the proletarian class nor that between the Kuomintang and the CCP. It is but contradiction within the revolutionary ranks. The

fundamental way to settle contradiction within the revolutionary ranks is Chairman Mao's teachings, criticism, and self-criticism. However, criticism and self-criticism should begin with the will of unity and then can achieve the purpose of unity. There is nothing serious among you. The provinces (Yunnan, Szechwan, and Kweichow) all have a population of several tens of millions. How many people are there in Kweichow? (Li Tsai-han answered: "More than twenty million.") Kweichow is a bit small; but its population is ten times that of Albania; it is by no means small. You all have significant missions. Ours is the greatest age in human history. Socialist revolution is of the greatest importance in our age. Promote people's awareness and carry out communism. Systems can be changed with one stroke. Of course, ideological reform requires a longer amount of time. The Soviet revolution has a history of half a century and is still backward because capitalism was restored. Our revolution is but twenty years old. Socialist revolution should destroy all the old things left over by each age in history. Their common points are the system and ideology of private property. Five thousand years of class society is quite long but is short in comparison with the whole history of mankind. The three hundred years' history of capitalism is much shorter. It is easy to change the private-ownership system; but to destroy the concept of private property needs a hundred years, several hundreds, and even longer. You should have the spirit of communism. Communism, as I said before, is a public-ownership system. To put it in a simpler way, it is public. Some people talk about "public" but conceal self in their hearts. At last these people will satisfy their private ends by utilizing public means. They will have no good end. This is the touchstone to test whether the virtue of a Communist is genuinely Marxist or falsely Marxist, whether he really supports Chairman Mao or not, and whether he speaks truth or falsehood. Be of the same will and cooperate. If you are not of the same will, you have to cooperate. I said before that you should regard yourselves as traveling on the same boat during a storm and help each other to save yourselves.

Comrades, make up your mind, and don't be afraid of sacrifice. Unite yourselves to win victory. Don't play too much with insignificant matters; that is not the manner of a Communist. Be magnanimous. To struggle for Communism and for the liberation of all mankind is the great and glorious enterprise. I hope that you comrades make up your mind. Don't think that you are the first in the world. Don't think that you are always right and others are always wrong. Don't attack with all your might when you find a tiny fault in others. One is one; two is two. Don't take one as ten thousand. An ant is an ant; and elephant is an elephant. Don't regard an ant as an elephant. It is wrong to say ten thousand when you only see one, because it is not objective. And you should be objective. One of the characteristics of idealism is exaggeration. A small amount is exaggerated into a great quantity. I hope you don't do this. Don't make a scene over small matters. Don't quarrel with each other, but live in harmony. Do cooperate with each other, support each other, help each other with revolution. Don't take one faction into your hands. Unity cannot be achieved without struggle. Now that the stage of struggle is over, you should unite yourselves.

There are some old friends in this gathering: Chang Kuo-hua [chairman of Szechwan Revolutionary Committee], Liang Hsing-chu [vice chairman of Szechwan Revolutionary Committee], Tan Fu-jen, Chen Kang [vice chairman of Yunnan Revolutionary Committee], Tien Wei-yang [formerly deputy political commissar of Shenyang Military Region, director, General Political Department]. I don't know the others nor understand their concrete affairs. Therefore, I have spoken rather generally.

**SPEECH AT RALLY CELEBRATING THE TWENTIETH
ANNIVERSARY OF THE FOUNDING OF THE
PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF CHINA***
(October 1, 1969)

Comrades and Friends,

Today is the twentieth anniversary of the founding of the great People's Republic of China. At this time when the people throughout the country are joyously celebrating this glorious festive occasion, on behalf of our great leader Chairman Mao, the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China, and the Government of the People's Republic of China, I extend salute to the working class, the poor and lower-middle peasants, the Red Guards, the revolutionary cadres, and the revolutionary intellectuals of all nationalities of our country! Salute to the heroic Chinese People's Liberation Army! Salute to all those people and overseas Chinese who love our socialist motherland! Warm welcome and greetings to our comrades and friends coming from various countries of the world!

On the eve of the founding of the People's Republic of China, our great leader Chairman Mao solemnly proclaimed to the whole world: The Chinese people, comprising one quarter of humanity, have now stood up. From the very day of its birth, the great socialist new China, like the sun rising in the east, illuminates every corner of the land with a brilliant flame. From then on, the history of our country has entered a completely new era!

*Peking Review, No. 40 (October 1, 1969), 15-16; for the text in Chinese, see Jen-min jih-pao [People's Daily], October 2, 1969.

In the past twenty years the entire Chinese people, under the brilliant leadership of our great leader Chairman Mao, following Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line, maintaining independence and keeping the initiative in their own hands, relying on their own efforts, waging arduous struggles and working hard, have transformed a backward semifeudal and semicolonial old China into an advanced socialist New China. Our motherland has undergone earthshaking changes.

In the course of struggle over the past twenty years, we have consolidated the political power of the proletariat, victoriously smashed the subversive schemes and disruptive activities of the enemies at home and abroad, and achieved great successes in socialist revolution and socialist construction. While carrying out socialist revolution on the economic front, we have also carried out socialist revolution on the political, ideological, and cultural fronts. The Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution personally initiated and led by Chairman Mao has completely shattered the bourgeois headquarters headed by the renegade, hidden traitor, and scab Liu Shao-ch'i and smashed their plot to restore capitalism. The unprecedented wide dissemination of great Mao Tse-tung thought and its being grasped by hundreds of millions of people are changing enormously people's mental outlook and promoting the steady development of our cause of socialism. Our socialist motherland is thriving and growing ever more prosperous. The people of all nationalities of our country are more united than ever before. The dictatorship of the proletariat has become even more consolidated. The great socialist China, standing like a giant in the East, has become a powerful political force against imperialism and revisionism.

All our victories are victories of Mao Tse-tung thought and of Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line. The practice of our socialist revolution proves that the theory, line, principles, and policies of continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat advanced by our great leader Chairman Mao constitute most important new contributions to the theory and practice of Marxism-Leninism and have opened up

a brilliant road for consolidating the dictatorship of the proletariat, preventing capitalist restoration, and carrying the socialist revolution through to the end after the seizure of political power by the proletariat. From their protracted struggles, the people of the whole country have come to realize the truth: Closely following our great leader Chairman Mao means victory.

At the Party's Ninth National Congress of far-reaching historical significance, Chairman Mao issued the great call "Unite to win still greater victories," which has greatly inspired the fighting will of the people throughout the country.

Now we must continue to hold aloft the banner of unity and victory of the Party's Ninth Congress, carry out in an all-round way the fighting tasks set forth by the Party's Ninth Congress, and implement all Chairman Mao's proletarian policies. We must carry on in a more extensive and deepgoing way the mass movement for the living study and application of Mao Tse-tung thought and do an even better job of ideological revolutionization. We must firmly grasp revolutionary mass criticism, carry out the tasks of struggle-criticism-transformation conscientiously, carry the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution through to the end, and further consolidate the dictatorship of the proletariat. We must resolutely carry out Chairman Mao's great strategic policy "Be prepared against war, be prepared against natural disasters, and do everything for the people"; grasp revolution, promote production and other work, and preparedness against war; go all out, aim high, and achieve greater, faster, better, and more economical results in building socialism and unfold a new upsurge in revolution and production.

Comrades! We must rally even more closely around the Party's Central Committee headed by Chairman Mao and strengthen the Party's centralized and unified leadership. We must follow Chairman Mao's teachings, remain modest and prudent and guard against arrogance and rashness, continue to develop the vigorous proletarian revolutionary spirit, carry on forever the glorious revolutionary tradition of hard struggle, bring into full play the initiative and creativeness of the broad masses, and build our socialist motherland into a more pros-

perous and powerful country and build up a more powerful national defense.

In the past twenty years most profound changes have taken place in the international situation. The revolutionary movement of the people of various countries is surging to unprecedented heights, while U.S. imperialism and social-imperialism are becoming more isolated than ever before. In order to extricate themselves from the predicament of being beset with difficulties both at home and abroad, U.S. imperialism and social-imperialism are colluding and at the same time contending with each other, carrying out arms expansion and war preparations and wildly attempting to engineer a war of aggression against our country and flagrantly resorting to nuclear blackmail against us. In the relations between countries, China has always upheld the Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence. Our stand is: We will not attack unless we are attacked; if we are attacked, we will certainly counterattack. The people of the whole country must heighten their vigilance, strengthen preparedness against war, and be ready at all times to wipe out all the enemies who dare to invade us. We are determined to liberate Taiwan. We warn U.S. imperialism and social-imperialism: The heroic Chinese people and Chinese People's Liberation Army armed with Mao Tse-tung thought are invincible. Should you insist on imposing a war on the Chinese people, we will keep you company and resolutely fight to the finish! On the vast land of China, wherever you go, there will be your burial ground!

We will always uphold proletarian internationalism and firmly support the heroic Albanian people in their struggle against imperialism and revisionism; firmly support the heroic Vietnamese people in carrying their war against U.S. aggression and for national salvation through to the end; firmly support the Laotian people in their just struggle against the invasion of Laos by U.S. imperialism and the reactionaries of Thailand; firmly support the Palestinian people and the people of all Arab countries in their just struggle against U.S. imperialism and Zionism; and firmly support the revolutionary struggles of all

the oppressed nations and people of the five continents!

People of the world, unite and oppose the war of aggression launched by any imperialism or social-imperialism, especially one in which atom bombs are used as weapons! If such a war breaks out, the people of the world should use revolutionary war to eliminate the war of aggression, and preparations should be made right now!

Long live the great People's Republic of China!

Long live the great, glorious and correct Communist Party of China!

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

Long live invincible Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tse-tung thought!

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

**SPEECH AT RALLY CELEBRATING THE
TWENTY-FIRST ANNIVERSARY OF THE
FOUNDING OF THE PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF CHINA*
(October 1, 1970)**

Comrades and Friends,

Today we are greeting the glorious festival of the twenty-first anniversary of the establishment of the People's Republic of China, our socialist motherland founded by our great leader Chairman Mao.

On behalf of our great leader Chairman Mao, the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China, and the Government of the People's Republic of China, I extend salute to the working class, the poor and lower-middle peasants, the Red Guards, the revolutionary cadres, and the revolutionary intellectuals all over the country! Salute to the people of all nationalities of our country! Salute to the Chinese People's Liberation Army and the people's militia! Salute to all those people and overseas Chinese who love our socialist motherland! Warm welcome to our distinguished guests, friends, and comrades from various countries of the world!

Holding aloft the great red banner of Mao Tse-tung thought and guided by the line of unity and victory laid down at the Party's Ninth National Congress, the people of the whole country have in the past year taken great strides forward and continuously won new victories on all fronts. The revolution continues to deepen on the political and ideological front, the cul-

*Peking Review, No. 41 (October 9, 1970), 14-15; for the Chinese text, see Jen-min jih-pao [People's Daily], October 2, 1970.

tural and educational front, the economic front, and in all spheres of the superstructure. A new high tide is rising in the great socialist revolution and socialist construction. An invigorating and thriving atmosphere prevails in the fields of agriculture, industry, commerce, culture, education and public health, science and technology, etc. Our national defense has been greatly strengthened. The dictatorship of the proletariat in our country is more consolidated than ever.

On this glorious festive occasion, let us hail the great achievements scored in the mass movement of the people of the whole country for the living study and application of Mao Tse-tung thought, hail the great achievements obtained in the movement of struggle-criticism-transformation in the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, hail the great achievements won in the socialist revolution and socialist construction, hail the great achievements won by the People's Liberation Army, the broad masses of the people's militia, and the people of the whole country in enhancing preparedness against war and consolidating national defense!

A new upsurge in the struggle against U.S. imperialism is emerging in the world. As Chairman Mao pointed out in his solemn statement of May 20 this year, "The danger of a new world war still exists, and the people of all countries must get prepared. But revolution is the main trend in the world today." Throughout the world, the people's revolutionary struggles are developing vigorously, and the united front against U.S. imperialism is constantly expanding and growing in strength. U.S. imperialism and social-imperialism are most isolated and are having a very tough time. China's foreign relations are daily developing. We have friends all over the world.

In celebrating the first National Day of the 1970s, our whole Party, whole army and whole people must, in response to the call of the Second Plenary Session of the Ninth Central Committee of the Party, persist in continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat, firmly adhere to Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line and policies, and continue to fulfill the various fighting tasks set forth by the Ninth Party Congress.

We must continue to deepen the mass movement for the living study and application of Mao Tse-tung thought and use Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tse-tung thought consciously to remold our world outlook, linking closely with practice in the Three Great Revolutionary Movements of class struggle, the struggle for production, and scientific experiment. We must conscientiously study Chairman Mao's philosophic works, uphold dialectical materialism and historical materialism, and oppose idealism and metaphysics. We must be good at making investigation and study, summing up experience, and analyzing the contradiction in things so as to know and change the world correctly.

We must continue to grasp firmly revolutionary mass criticism, sweep away the remnant pernicious influence of the counterrevolutionary revisionist line pushed by the renegade, hidden traitor, and scab Liu Shao-ch'i, and carry the movement of struggle-criticism-transformation through to the end.

We must grasp the struggle between the two classes, the two roads, and the two lines as the key and continue to push forward the new high tide in the socialist revolution and socialist construction and work hard to fulfill or overfulfill the National Economic Plan for 1970 and the Third Five-Year Plan and to lay the foundation for the Fourth Five-Year Plan.

We must conscientiously fulfill the task of consolidating and building the Party, strengthen the building of the Party ideologically and organizationally, and give further play to the leading role of the vanguard of the proletariat.

We must continue to strengthen the building of the People's Liberation Army and the people's militia, continue to grasp firmly and strengthen the work for preparedness against war, and heighten our vigilance, defend the motherland. We are determined to liberate Taiwan!

We must uphold proletarian internationalism; firmly support the Albanian people's struggle against imperialism and revisionism; firmly support the peoples of Vietnam, Cambodia, and Laos in their war against U.S. aggression and for national salvation; firmly support the peoples of Korea, Japan, Southeast Asia, and other Asian countries in their struggles against U.S.

imperialism and against the revival of Japanese militarism by the U.S. and Japanese reactionaries; firmly support the Palestinian and other Arab people in their struggle against U.S. imperialism and its collaborator and lackeys; firmly support the people of Africa in their struggle against colonialism and racial discrimination; firmly support the American people's revolutionary struggle; and firmly support the just struggles of the peoples of Asia, Africa, Latin America, Oceania, North America, and Europe. We must further strengthen our militant unity with the genuine Marxist-Leninist Parties and organizations throughout the world and further strengthen our militant unity with the proletariat, the oppressed people, and the oppressed nations of the world and carry the struggle against imperialism, revisionism, and the reactionaries through to the end!

Let us greet the convocation of the Fourth National People's Congress with new victories on all fronts!

People of all nationalities of the country, hold high the great red banner of Mao Tse-tung thought and unite to win still greater victories under the leadership of the Party's Central Committee headed by our great leader Chairman Mao!

Long live the great People's Republic of China!

Long live the great, glorious and correct Communist Party of China!

Long live great Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tse-tung thought!

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

APPENDIX

MAO TSE-TUNG'S PRIVATE LETTER TO CHIANG CH'ING* (July 8, 1966)

Chiang Ch'ing:

Your letter of June 29 has been received. It is better for you to stay there longer as suggested by Comrade Wei (1) and Comrade Ch'en. (2) This month I shall have to give audience to two foreign guests. I will tell you my schedule after the audience. Since I left Wulin on June 15, I stayed in a cave in the west for some ten days. There the communication was not very good. I arrived at Paiyun Huang Ho on June 28. Since then, ten days have elapsed. Here I read materials every day; it is an interesting work. The situation changes from a great upheaval to a great peace once every seven or eight years. Ghosts and monsters jumped out by themselves. Their destiny being decided by their own class, they had to jump out. The Central urged me to publish the address of my friend [Lin Piao] (3), and I have prepared to agree with it.

His address was devoted entirely to a political coup. There has never been any address like his before. I was quite uneasy at some of his thinking. I have never believed that the several booklets I wrote would have so much supernatural power. Now,

*"Mao Tse-tung chih Chiang Ch'ing ssu-han," an appendix to the "top-secret" document Chung-fa, No. 25 (September 1972), issued by the Central Committee as study material for the campaign against Lin Piao. The text was released by Taiwan sources and published in Chung-yang jih-pao [Central Daily], November 4, 1972. This translation, and notes, is taken, with permission, from Issues & Studies, IX:4 (January 1973), 94-96.

after he exaggerated them, the whole nation has exaggerated them just as Wang P'o bragged about the melons she sold. I was driven by them to join the rebels of the Liangshan Mountain. (4) It seems that I have to concur with them. It is the first time in my life that I unwillingly concur with others on major questions. I have to do things against my own will! Yüan Chi (5) of the Chin dynasty was opposed to Liu Pang. (6) Yüan traveled from Loyang to Chengkao. A humble man as he was became renowned because there were no heroes in the world at that time. Lu Hsün had corrected his own articles. He and I are of one mind; I like his straightforwardness. He said that he "anatomized himself more strictly than others." After having fallen down several times, I often do as he did. But our comrades often do not believe it. I have self-confidence but also some doubt. I once said when I was in my teens that I believed I could live two hundred years and sweep three thousand lis. (7) I was haughty in appearance and attitude. But somewhat I doubt myself and always feel that when tigers are absent from the mountain, the monkey there professes himself a king. I have become such a king. But it does not mean eclecticism. In my mind there is some air of tiger which is primary, and also some air of monkey which is secondary. I once quoted Li Ku's letter (8) to Huang Ch'ung (9) of the Han dynasty as saying "A tall thing is easy to break; a white thing is easy to stain. The white snow in spring can hardly find its match; a high reputation is difficult to live up to." The last two sentences refer exactly to me. I have also read these passages at one of the standing committee meetings of the Central Politburo.

It is valuable to know oneself. At the Hangchow Conference (10) held in April this year, I expressed my opinion, which was different from that of my friend's [Lin Piao's]. I could do nothing else. In the conference held in May in Peking, he spoke in the same manner. The press spoke even more so, describing me as a god. In that situation, I could only go up to Liangshan. I guessed that their very intention was to strike the ghosts by the help of Chung K'uei. (11) I became Chung K'uei of the Communist Party as early as in the 1960s. Things always go to-

ward the opposite side. The higher a thing is blown up, the more serious it is hurt at the fall. I am now prepared to be broken to pieces. This does not bother me. For the matter can never be destroyed; I may become pieces, that's all. There are more than one hundred parties (12) in the world. Most of the parties no longer believe in Marxism. Even Marx and Lenin have been smashed by them, much less we. I suggest that you should also pay attention to this problem and should not become dizzy with success. (13) You should remind yourself often of your weak points, shortcomings, and mistakes. On this I have talked with you numerous times, and I did so last April in Shanghai. The above seem to be black words. But don't the anti-Party elements say so? I feel that some methods of their presentation are not very appropriate; I mean the effect on me. What they want to do is overthrow our Party and myself. This is the difference between me and the black gang. These words cannot be made public at the present time since all the Leftists say so now. Publication of these words will mean pouring cold water on them, which helps the Rightists. Our current task is to overthrow a part of (it is not possible to overthrow all of) the Rightists in all the Party and throughout the country. We shall launch another movement for sweeping up the ghosts and monsters after seven or eight years, and will launch more of this movement later.

I cannot determine when we should publish these words, for the Leftists and the broad masses of people do not welcome my saying so. Maybe we should wait until I die when the Rightists come to power, and let them do the publication. The Rightists may attempt to use my words to hold high the black banner. By so doing, they would get behind the eight ball. In China, after the emperor was overthrown in 1911, reactionaries could not hold power long. If there arises an anticommunist rightist political coup in China, I am certain that it will not be peaceful, and very probably would be short-lived. For all revolutionaries, who represent the interest of 95 percent of the people, would not tolerate it. At that time, the Rightists may prevail for some time by using my words, but the Leftists may also organize some of my other words to overthrow the Rightists. The Cul-

tural Revolution this time is a large-scale and serious maneuver. In some areas (such as Peking Municipality), the revolutionaries resurrected overnight. Some units (such as Peking University and Tsing Hua University) collapsed quickly because of their involved and complicated ingredients. As a rule, where the Rightists are more rampant, the worse they will be defeated and more vigorous the Leftists will be. This is a nationwide maneuver in which the Leftists, Rightists, and the staggering fence-sitters will absorb useful lessons. The conclusion is, and still is: our future is bright, but the road before us is twisted.

Notes

1) Comrade Wei refers to Wei Wen-po, secretary of the CCP Shanghai Municipal Committee and concurrently secretary of the Eastern China Bureau of the CCP Central Committee during the Cultural Revolution.

2) Comrade Ch'en refers to Ch'en P'i-hsien, first secretary of the CCP Shanghai Municipal Committee, and concurrently secretary of the Eastern China Bureau of the CCP Central Committee and first political commissar of the Shanghai Garrison District Command. Both Wei Wen-po and Ch'en P'i-hsien were criticized, struggled against, and paraded by the Red Guards and rebels during the power-seizure struggle in January 1967.

3) The "friend" refers to Lin Piao, and the "address of my friend" to Lin Piao's address at the enlarged meeting of the CCP Central Politburo held on May 18, 1966. In the address, Lin dealt with the crisis of a possible political coup at the highest level of the Communist regime and Mao's efforts to put the clamp on it. Lin also flattered Mao as being a "genius" of modern Marxism-Leninism and called for a mass movement for living study and application of Mao's works.

4) "Driven to join the Liangshan mountain rebels" — an old Chinese saying derived from the Chinese classic novel All Men Are Brothers. Most of the characters in this novel were good men originally, but later joined the bandits on Liangshan because of persecution by corrupt government officials.

5) Yüan Chi, one of the noted scholars in Chin Dynasty (265-419 A.D.).

6) Liu Pang, the first emperor of the Han Dynasty (206 B.C.-220 A.D.).

7) Li — A unit of Chinese measure equal to about 600 meters.

8) Li Ku alias Tzu Chien, defense minister during the reign of Emperor Chung (145-146 A. D.).

9) Huang Ch'ung alias Shih Ying, a noted statesman during the reign of Emperor Shun (126-144 A.D.).

10) "Hangchow Conference" refers to the Enlarged Meeting of the Standing Committee, CCP Central Politburo, held in April-May 1966. The meeting was first presided over by Mao in Hangchow, and later removed to Peking and was chaired by Lin Piao. It was in these two conferences that the criticism in the press was transformed into actions. Resolutions adopted in the meeting included (1) rescinding the "February Outline" drafted by P'eng Chen and others, deactivating the five-man "Cultural Revolution Group" and establishing the "Central Cultural Revolution Group" under the Standing Committee, Central Politburo; (2) reorganizing the CCP Peking Municipal Committee and dismissing P'eng Chen and others from the Party offices; (3) reorganizing the Propaganda Department of the CCP Central Committee, dismissing Lu Ting-i and others from office, and reorganizing the People's Daily; and (4) determining the crimes of "counterrevolutionary revisionists" P'eng Chen, Lu Ting-i, Lo Jui-ch'ing, and Yang Shang k'un.

11) Chung K'uei, a character in Chinese legend, said to be a chin-shih that Emperor Hsüan Tsung (713-742 A.D.) met in his dream. According to the emperor, Chung K'uei had power to repel ghosts and evil spirits. After he awoke, the emperor ordered a painter to draw Chung K'uei's picture based on his impression in the dream. The picture later was reproduced and adopted by civilians who posted it on their doors on the eve of the New Year to protect their houses against the invasion of ghosts.

12) The "parties" here refers to Communist parties.

13) "Success" refers to the victory of the Cultural Revolution.

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