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BOMBARD THE HEADQUARTERS

- My Big-Character Poster -

5 August 1966

Following is a translation of an article by Mao Tse-tung in the Chinese-language periodical, Hung-ch'i (Red Flag), Peking, No 13, 17 Aug 67, p 3.

China's first Marxist-Leninist big-character poster and Commentator's article on it in Jen-min Jih-pao (People's Daily) are indeed superbly written! Comrades, please read them again. But in the last fifty days or so some leading comrades from the central down to the local levels have acted in a diametrically opposite way. Adopting the reactionary stand of the bourgeoisie, they have enforced a bourgeois dictatorship and struck down the surging movement of the great cultural revolution of the proletariat. They have stood facts on their head and juggled black and white, encircled and suppressed revolutionaries, stifled opinions differing from their own, imposed a white terror, and felt very pleased with themselves. They have puffed up the arrogance of the bourgeoisie and deflated the morale of the proletariat. How poisonous! Viewed in connection with the Right deviation in 1962 and the wrong tendency of 1964 which was "Left" in form but Right in essence, shouldn't this make one wide awake?

CSO: 3530-D

ALONG THE SOCIALIST OR THE CAPITALIST ROAD?

Following is a translation of an article by the editorial departments of Hung-ch'i and Jen-min Jih-pao in the Chinese-language periodical, Hung-ch'i (Red Flag), Peking, No 13, 17 Aug 67, pp 4-13.

China in the present era is the focal point of contradictions in the world, the storm centre of the world revolution.

Whither China? Will it take the socialist road or the capitalist road? This is not only a fundamental issue of Chinese politics, it concerns the destiny of the world proletarian revolution.

For some decades now, a fierce struggle has gone on within the Chinese Communist Party over this fundamental issue, a struggle between two diametrically opposed lines, at each historical stage of the development of the Chinese revolution and at each crucial moment of revolutionary change.

One line maintains that the Chinese revolution must be led by the proletariat, that it must pass from the stage of the new democratic revolution to the stage of the socialist revolution, that the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat must be carried through to the end and that its ultimate goal is communism. This is the proletarian revolutionary line represented by our great leader Chairman Mao.

The other line liquidates the proletarian leadership of the Chinese revolution, practises bourgeois reformism, and, in the stage of socialism, opposes the socialist revolution and the dictatorship of the proletariat and takes

the capitalist road, that is, the dark, old road that would lead China back to semi-colonial, semi-feudal society. This is the bourgeois reactionary line pursued in succession by Chen Tu-hsiu, Chu Chiu-pai, Li Li-san, Wang Ming and Chang Kuo-tao right down to the top Party person in authority taking the capitalist road. And this person represents this reactionary line in its most concentrated form.

The two diametrically opposed lines lead to two entirely opposite prospects, two entirely opposite destinies for the Chinese revolution. It is precisely in the course of the struggle between these two lines that, guided by our great leader Chairman Mao, the Chinese revolution has hacked its way forward through all the difficulties and advanced victoriously.

The essence of this struggle has been the question of which road China should take. Its focal point has always been a matter of political power, a question of which class should exercise dictatorship.

(1)

Our great leader Chairman Mao teaches us: In the stage of the democratic revolution, the focal point of the programme of the Chinese Communist Party is the joint dictatorship of several revolutionary classes led by the proletariat; in the stage of the socialist revolution, the focal point of the programme of the Chinese Communist Party is the dictatorship of the proletariat in the form of the people's democratic dictatorship.

The question raised by Chairman Mao at the very beginning of his great work On New Democracy is: Whither China? In this brilliant Marxist-Leninist work, he sums up the historical experience of the Chinese revolution and the world revolution in an all-round, penetrating and systematic way, scientifically formulates the political, economic and cultural programmes for the new democratic revolution, and clearly and thoroughly charts the road of transition from the new democratic revolution to the socialist revolution. He says: "The first step or stage in our revolution is definitely not, and cannot be, the establishment of a capitalist society under the dictatorship of the Chinese bourgeoisie, but will result in the establishment of a new-democratic society under the joint dictatorship of all the revolutionary classes of China headed by the Chinese proletariat. The revolution will then be carried forward to the second stage, in which a socialist society will be established in China."

Chairman Mao sharply refuted the fallacious reactionary theory which calls for a futile attempt to establish the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie in China. He explicitly pointed out that, judging by China's international and internal situation, anyone who dreamed of establishing a capitalist society, a society under the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie, would eventually find himself in the lap of imperialism, with the result that China would again become a colony or semi-colony and part of the reactionary world under imperialism. Here Chairman Mao was pungently refuting not merely the Right-opportunist Wang Ming whose notorious reputation had long been established but also the top Party person in authority taking the capitalist road who has now been exposed.

This top Party person in authority taking the capitalist road is a seasoned opportunist and revisionist, a representative of the bourgeoisie who has sneaked into our Party.

Back in the early twenties, he was already singing the very same tune as the renegade Chen Tu-hsiu. He viciously attacked the proletarian revolutionaries, saying that the seizure of political power "of course cannot be carried out right now by such a juvenile proletariat, judging by the present situation in China. Since it is a matter of the distant future, there is no need to waste words discussing it."¹

Soon after Chiang Kai-shek's "April 12" counter-revolutionary coup, he followed the renegade Chen Tu-hsiu in ordering the workers' pickets in Wuhan to hand thousands of rifles over to the Kuomintang. Furthermore, he himself appeared at a meeting called by the Workers' Affairs Department of the Central Committee of the Kuomintang and reported to it about the so-called "significance and course of the voluntary disbandment of workers' pickets by the Hupeh Provincial General Council of Trade Unions."²

After the publication of Chairman Mao's On New Democracy, he went out of his way to attack Chairman Mao directly, singing a tune entirely opposed to On New Democracy. He went so far as to praise Chiang Kai-shek as "the banner of the revolution" and declared: "I think that under the banner of the Three People's Principles of the Kuomintang the Chinese revolution will move ahead much more smoothly than under any other banner, at least at the present stage of the democratic revolution."³ He asked spitefully: "Why don't we say that we are carrying out the Three People's

Principles instead of obstinately working out something else?"⁴ Here this old opportunist showed himself up completely as a renegade opposing and selling out the revolution!

After the War of Resistance Against Japan was won, U.S. imperialism made use of its lackey Chiang Kai-shek and tried to convert China into its own exclusive colony. At that juncture the Chinese people were engaged in a life-and-death struggle against imperialism, feudalism and bureaucrat-capitalism. This was a great battle that was decisive for the choice between the two destinies, two prospects for China. The question of state power confronted the proletariat in a still more acute way. In good time Chairman Mao pointed this out to the whole Party and the people throughout the country. In his brilliant speech *The Situation and Our Policy After the Victory in the War of Resistance Against Japan*, Chairman Mao pointed out: "From now on the struggle will be, build what sort of country? To build a new-democratic country of the broad masses of the people under the leadership of the proletariat? Or to build a semi-colonial and semi-feudal country under the dictatorship of the big landlords and the big bourgeoisie? This will be a most complicated struggle. At present it takes the form of a struggle between Chiang Kai-shek who is trying to usurp the fruits of victory of the War of Resistance and ourselves who oppose his usurpation. If there is any opportunism during this period, it will lie in failing to struggle hard and in making a voluntary gift to Chiang Kai-shek of the fruits which should go to the people." Chairman Mao also pointed out: "Chiang Kai-shek always tries to wrest every ounce of power and every ounce of gain from the people. And we? Our policy is to give him tit for tat and to fight for every inch of land," and "as Chiang Kai-shek is now sharpening his swords, we must sharpen ours too."

It was none other than the top Party person in authority taking the capitalist road whom Chairman Mao was criticizing and repudiating here as representing opportunism. Once again this old opportunist had systematically set out his national capitulationist and class capitulationist line of opposing and selling out the revolution, at the historical juncture of the great battle decisive for the choice between two destinies, between two prospects, for China. He asserted that "at present the main form of the struggle of the Chinese revolution has become peaceful and parliamentary; it is a legal mass struggle and a parliamentary struggle."⁵ He wanted our Party to hand over all our armed forces and arms to Chiang Kai-shek so that they "become units of the

national army, national defence army, security troops and self-defence forces" and "to liquidate Party organizations" in the army. He demanded that our Party "stop its direct leadership and command of the armed forces, which should be placed under the unified command of the ministry of national defence"⁶ (that is, the Kuomintang's ministry of national defence). In doing all this, what he really had in mind was to get slicked up and present himself to Chiang Kai-shek, hoping thereby to win favour in his eyes. He even had the effrontery to say that we should "be able to run for election and get people to vote for us" and that "we are now one of the government parties (that is, parties of the Kuomintang government); we are no longer in opposition but in power and some people will enter the ranks of officialdom. We had some official positions in the central government in 1927 which were lost when they started fighting. This time the positions will not be lost if fighting starts."⁷ What a confession of his innermost secret desire!

Traitors to the proletariat, the Right-wing socialists and old-line revisionists, Bernstein and Kautsky and their like, all preached the parliamentary road, opposed revolution by violence, betrayed the interests of the proletariat and became ornaments and accomplices of the bourgeois reactionary regimes. The top Party person in authority taking the capitalist road is a bird of the same feather! If there is any difference, it is this -- he was prepared to hand over the people's political power and the people's army with both hands at a time when China's proletariat had an army of more than 1,200,000 and a people's regime was established in areas with a total population of more than 130 million. This makes his advocacy of wholesale capitulation and betrayal all the more despicable and vicious!

At the very moment when the top Party person in authority taking the capitalist road was attempting to sell out the fruits of victory in the War of Resistance Against Japan, leaders of the "communist parties" of France and Italy, such as Thorez and Togliatti, were making a political deal with the bourgeoisie by bartering away the fruits of victory won by the people at the cost of blood and sacrifice. They handed over to the bourgeoisie several hundred thousand weapons -- the revolutionary arms of the proletariat -- in exchange for vice-premierships and other such official positions of the bourgeois state, and became men who will go down in history as criminals! At this historical turning point, the German Minister told us: "The arms of the

German Minister told us: "The arms of the

must all be kept, must not be handed over." "The rights the people have won must never be lightly given up but must be defended by fighting." "If they [the Kuomintang] fight, we will wipe them out completely." With heroic proletarian courage, our great leader Chairman Mao successfully resisted the worldwide adverse current of capitulationism -- "the handing over of the guns" -- and dared to fight on and win victory, so setting a brilliant example for proletarian revolutionaries throughout the world. Thus the invincible thought of Mao Tse-tung demonstrated its boundless power.

It was precisely under Chairman Mao's wise leadership that our Party, our people and our army took the correct direction, took firm hold of the gun, broke through all resistance, marched forward triumphantly along the high road of revolution, and finally won their great victory in the people's War of Liberation and founded the People's Republic of China. It was a merciless verdict passed by history on the class capitulationism and national capitulationism of the top Party person in authority taking the capitalist road!

(2)

The founding of the People's Republic of China pushed history forward to a new stage, that is, from that of the new democratic revolution to that of the socialist revolution. At that moment, the struggle between the two lines was focused on which road New China which was just founded should take -- the socialist or the capitalist road? In the final analysis, this struggle was over the question of whether the dictatorship of the proletariat or the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie would be exercised in China.

On the eve of nationwide victory in the new democratic revolution, Chairman Mao pointed out clearly in his brilliant work Report to the Second Plenary Session of the Seventh Central Committee of the Communist Party of China: "After the country-wide victory of the Chinese revolution and the solution of the land problem, two basic contradictions will still exist in China. The first is internal, that is, the contradiction between the working class and the bourgeoisie. The second is external, that is, the contradiction between China and the imperialist countries. Consequently, after the victory of the people's democratic revolution, the state power of the people's republic under the leadership of the working class must not be weakened but must be strengthened."

Later, in his speech on the Party's general line for the transition period Chairman Mao pointed out: The founding of the People's Republic of China on October 1, 1949, marked the conclusion in the main of the stage of the new democratic revolution and the beginning of the stage of the socialist revolution. He said: "The general line and general task of the Party during this transition period is gradually to bring about the socialist industrialization of the country and the socialist transformation of agriculture, handicrafts and capitalist industry and commerce by the state over a fairly long period. This general line is the beacon light which illuminates all aspects of our work. If we depart from it in any aspect of our work, we will commit Right or 'Left' mistakes."

At such a time of great new change, the top Party person in authority taking the capitalist road once again stepped forward as the spokesman of the bourgeoisie to pit himself against Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line. He went around flagrantly campaigning for the development of capitalism in town and country. He raised the slogan "struggle for the consolidation of the new democratic system."⁸ He talked nonsense, saying that "in China, there is not too much capitalism, but too little"; "it is necessary to develop capitalist exploitation, for such exploitation is progressive"⁹; "the more you exploit the greater your merit will be" and "such historic merit will be engraved for all time."¹⁰ He stood for the development and long-term protection of the rich peasant economy in the rural areas. And he still put forward the reactionary line of developing capitalism and establishing the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie in China even after his plans for a bourgeois republic went completely bankrupt.

The top Party person in authority taking the capitalist road did his utmost to oppose China's taking the socialist road. He said: "It will be a very long time before China takes really serious socialist steps."¹¹ It would take 20 years, or 30 years, although there were different estimates, but in any case there would be some scores of years of collaboration with the capitalists, first to realize industrialization, then to undertake the nationalization of industry and collectivization of agriculture. He said: "When in the future industrialization is realized and there are more factories and more products, that is when socialism should be embarked upon."¹² Summing it up, he said: "When in the future China has industrial over-production that will be the time for her to embark on socialism."¹³ "When in the future China has industrial over-production" -- what a remark!

Industrial over-production is a characteristic of capitalism. This remark of his right away exposed his ambition to develop capitalism. The sort of things he peddled were actually not new, but a re-hash of the "theory of productive forces" rubbish put forward by the old-line revisionists including Trotsky, Bukharin and Rykov, and smashed by Lenin and Stalin at an early stage after the founding of the Soviet Union. He completely denied the role played by the dictatorship of the proletariat and the advanced socialist relations of production in promoting the growth of the productive forces. He completely denied the fact that the worker-peasant masses are the creators of social wealth and are the true motive force pushing forward the development of history. In his eyes there were only Messrs. Capitalists. With all his heart he desired to rely on them to achieve "immortal exploits" and to build his "utopia"!

What kind of "socialism" was he speaking about? Please note the following fantastic statement he made. He said: "Now, in the stage of new democracy, you capitalists can bring your initiative into full play. And what should you do in the future during the transition to socialism? Last time when I talked to Mr. Sung Fei-ching (Sung Fei-ching was manager of the Tungya Woollen Mill, a diehard counter-revolutionary whom the top Party person in authority taking the capitalist road lauded to the skies after liberation and who, shortly afterwards, fled abroad -- Ed.), I said: 'Now you run only one factory. In the future, you can run two, three . . . eight factories. When the country makes the transition to socialism, you can hand the factories over to the state on the latter's order, or the state will buy them up; if the state has no money temporarily, it can issue bonds. Then, the state will still entrust the running of the eight factories to you and you will remain the manager, but a manager of state factories. As you are capable you will be given eight more factories, altogether you will be entrusted with 16 factories to run. Your salary will not be reduced but increased; however, you will have to run them well! Will you do this? Mr. Sung said: 'Of course I will!' You will be called to a meeting to discuss how to carry through the transformation to socialism. You will certainly not frown, but all of you will come to the meeting with beaming faces."14

How wonderful! A capitalist sells eight factories to the state and gets back 16 factories from the state. And this is called "socialism"! At that time, a group of capitalists did indeed exclaim "with beaming faces": "In the past we couldn't fathom what the Communist Party had in mind

but now we're beginning to learn." And the top Party person in authority taking the capitalist road said to them obsequiously: "I'll let you get to the bottom of what the Party has in mind and let you know what you want to know."¹⁵ What true servility! What a genuine offer of service! Haven't the old and new revisionists all talked about "growing into socialism peacefully"? Here indeed was a living sample. And it is they themselves who have truly "grown into" capitalism! Didn't the No. 1 agent of the bourgeoisie who "grew into" our Party thoroughly expose his own ugly face?

In order to hoodwink others, the top Party person in authority taking the capitalist road also hypocritically talked about the dictatorship of the proletariat, but his dictatorship of the proletariat is fake proletarian and genuine bourgeois dictatorship.

He was bitterly hostile to the working class. He once yelled: "There are also unreliable people in the working class" and "Don't assume there are no problems about relying on the working class."¹⁶ At one stroke he wrote off the class struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie, which mainly took the form of restriction and opposition to restriction [of capitalism]. He blatantly asserted: "There must be no restriction for seven or eight years. This is beneficial to the state, the workers and production."¹⁷ He went so far as to advocate: "State-owned and private enterprises should consult together on all questions, from raw materials to marketing, and should jointly decide on their allocation," and he added, "so that all can share in making money."¹⁸ He openly called on the bourgeoisie to "fight" the proletariat. He said: "You must fight the workers. If you fail to do so, don't blame the Communist Party if in the future the workers fight till your factories are ruined."¹⁹ There it is! In his eyes the state of the dictatorship of the proletariat led by the working class has the job of dealing not with the bourgeoisie but with the working class! What is more, he openly said: "Today we do not want dictatorship by one class. We should represent the entire people."²⁰ Is this not out-and-out betrayal of the dictatorship of the proletariat?

The top Party person in authority taking the capitalist road desperately opposed the socialist transformation of agriculture and sabotaged the development of agricultural co-operation. He disparaged those poor peasants who took the lead in raising the demand to organize themselves as bankrupt "poor peasants who are unable to farm individually."²¹ He described the proposal that the agricultural mutual-aid team should be developed into agricultural co-operatives as

"erroneous and dangerous utopian agrarian socialism."²² In collusion with a handful of Right-wing opportunists, he cut down the number of co-operatives on a large scale, and altogether 200,000 agricultural co-operatives were dissolved. He said viciously: "What do we mean by laissez-faire? We mean allowing free hiring of farm hands and freedom for individual farming; if they all have three horses and a plough, that will be very fine. There can be no laissez-faire for those who do not permit the hiring of farm hands or freedom for individual farming! Those who interfere with the 'three horses' proposition are not to be allowed to do as they please!"²³ In this way he gave only to the rich peasants the freedom to develop exploitation, but refused to give the poor and lower-middle peasants the freedom to organize and engage in mutual aid and co-operation. And his futile purpose in all this was to hand the vast countryside over to the rich peasants and turn it into a base for the bourgeoisie to resist the proletariat.

Political power has always been the instrument by which one class oppresses another. If instead of developing socialism, the political power of the new China that had just come into being had developed capitalism, if instead of restricting the bourgeoisie it had restricted the proletariat, if instead of restricting the rich peasants it had restricted the poor peasants, and if instead of struggling against the bourgeoisie it had "struggled" against the proletariat and thereby completely abandoned the function it was called upon to fulfil -- that of suppressing the resistance of the bourgeoisie and safeguarding the socialist revolution and socialist construction -- would there not have been a fundamental change in the nature of the political power of New China? Chairman Mao hit the nail on the head when he said: "What will happen if our country fails to establish a socialist economy? It will turn into a country like Yugoslavia, a bourgeois state in effect, and the dictatorship of the proletariat will turn into a bourgeois dictatorship and, for that matter, into a reactionary, fascist dictatorship. This question very much warrants our vigilance and I hope comrades will give it serious consideration."

(3)

When the socialist transformation of the ownership of the means of production has in the main been completed, do classes and class struggle still exist in socialist society? Should the dictatorship of the proletariat be maintained and the socialist revolution carried through to

the end, or should the dictatorship of the proletariat be abolished and the way be paved for the restoration of capitalism? These important theoretical and practical problems were previously unresolved in the history of the international communist movement.

Again, at this crucial historical turning point, our great leader Chairman Mao published his On the Correct Handling of Contradictions Among the People, his Speech at the Chinese Communist Party's National Conference on Propaganda Work and other works. These brilliant, epoch-making documents summarized the historical experience of the dictatorship of the proletariat in the world and -- for the first time in the history of the development of Marxism -- provided a scientific, systematic and penetrating exposition of contradictions, classes and class struggle in socialist society. This was an important landmark signifying that Marxism-Leninism had developed to a completely new stage -- the stage of Mao Tse-tung's thought.

Chairman Mao clearly pointed out that in socialist society "the class struggle is by no means over. 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." "There are still a number of people who vainly hope to restore the capitalist system and fight the working class on every front, including the ideological one."

However, the top Party person in authority taking the capitalist road did his utmost to spread the idea of "the dying out of class struggle." He made such absurd statements as: "In our country, there are no more classes and class struggle. And "capitalists, landlords and rich peasants will all go into socialism."²⁴ After that, there will be no revolutionary struggle, no land reform, nor socialist transformation," "there will be no battle ground for heroes to show their prowess, for there will be no landlord class or bourgeoisie for us to wipe out."²⁵

"The dying out of class struggle!" This is a sheer lie. It is the same stuff as "a state of the whole people" and "a party of the entire people" which Khrushchev and company used in usurping the leadership of the Party and the state. It is the most shameful, most thoroughgoing betrayal of the dictatorship of the proletariat! Under cover of "the dying out of class struggle," the top Party person in

authority taking the capitalist road wanted to get the proletariat and other working people to lower their guard, so that landlords, rich peasants, counter-revolutionaries, bad elements and ghosts and monsters of all kinds could emerge and launch wild attacks on the proletariat, break up the socialist economic base, subvert the dictatorship of the proletariat and restore capitalism.

During this period, the top Party person in authority taking the capitalist road mounted one frenzied attack after another on socialism and the dictatorship of the proletariat, sometimes out in the open, sometimes behind the scenes. Just before the bourgeois Rightists began their fierce onslaught in 1957, he viciously attacked the socialist system by alleging that "there is no system which is absolutely good" and that "it is no good regarding only our system as good and all others as unsatisfactory."²⁶ He advocated the bourgeois "two-chamber system," saying: "The People's Political Consultative Conference and the National People's Congress are in a sense in the nature of an Upper and a Lower House," adding: "only this is not specified in the Constitution."²⁷ He wanted to turn the People's Political Consultative Conference and the National People's Congress into a bourgeois type of Upper and Lower House, in tune with the idea of a "political planning institute" put forward by the Chang Po-chun-Lo Lung-chi Alliance.

At the Lushan Meeting of the Party in 1959, he actively supported the big conspirator, careerist and warlord Peng Teh-huai, who styled himself a "Hai Jui," and had vain hopes of overthrowing the leadership of the Party Central Committee headed by Chairman Mao.

After Peng Teh-huai's case was brought to light at the meeting, he continued to act in co-ordination with Peng Teh-huai and, while instigating people from behind the scenes, plotted to tamper with the previously prepared summary of the meeting and turn it into a document directed against the "Left deviation" to oppose Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line.

Later he openly attacked the Lushan Meeting and made absurd allegations such as that "the Lushan Meeting made a mistake"; it should not have fought the Right deviation";²⁸ "it was wrong to combat the Right deviation"; "it left an aftermath throughout the country."²⁹

Especially during the three years of temporary difficulties, he ranged up with all kinds of ghosts and monsters at home and abroad and worked even more frantically for a counter-revolutionary restoration of capitalism. He viciously attacked the Party's general line for building socialism, the great leap forward and the people's communes. He clamoured that the economy was approaching the verge of bankruptcy; that "the situation is no excellent one";³⁰ "the economy is out of balance";³¹ "three parts natural calamities and seven parts man-made disasters"; "acute contradictions have arisen in the worker-peasant alliance." For his own ulterior motives, he demagogically proclaimed that the peasants "have no ease of mind," the workers "have no ease of mind," and the cadres, too, "cannot possibly have any ease of mind,"³² and so on and so forth.

He clamoured: "There should be an opposition; there should be an open opposition both among the people and within the Party."³³ This is how he prepared public opinion for the bourgeoisie to come to power.

He advocated the extension of plots for private use and of free markets, the increase of small enterprises with sole responsibility for their own profits or losses and the fixing of output quotas on the basis of households and actively encouraged "going it alone." He said: "Sufficient retreat should be made in industry and also in agriculture, even to the extent of fixing output quotas on the basis of households and of going it alone!"³⁴; "there is nothing to be frightened of if some bourgeois elements should emerge in society. There is no need to fear the flooding in of capitalism."³⁵

With regard to the international struggle, he beat the drum for capitulation to the imperialists, the modern revisionists and reactionaries of different countries and favoured stamping out the flames of revolution in the world; he advocated liquidation of struggle in our relations with imperialism, the reactionaries and modern revisionism, and reduction of assistance and support to the revolutionary struggle of other peoples.

He said: "Even as regards the United States, we hope to improve our relationships with it too." He even aspired to "develop friendly relations"³⁶ with the U.S. He asserted that Khrushchev was "unable to restore capitalism in the Soviet Union," that Khrushchev was "truly" opposed to imperialism and that "we should unite with them," "seek common ground while reserving differences" and "together

oppose imperialism."³⁷ He went so far as to tell the Communist Party of Burma to lay down its arms, alleging: "You can do without your weapons, you can bury them underground or you can reorganize your troops into the national defence forces"³⁸; and "co-operate" with Ne Win, "to what end?" "To carry out a socialist revolution."³⁹

In August 1962, he again issued his sinister book on "self-cultivation," which betrays the dictatorship of the proletariat and leads people to become more revisionist the more they cultivate themselves according to it. The book became the "theme song" of the handful of counter-revolutionary revisionists in their attempts to create public opinion for the restoration of capitalism!

These shocking and revolting facts of the struggle show that after the capitalist economic base was in the main destroyed, the top Party person in authority taking the capitalist road daily and hourly engaged in criminal activities for the restoration of capitalism. Particularly during the three years of temporary difficulties, he bared his fangs and hoisted the black anti-Party ensign calling for "an opposition" and to turn the clock back. He launched an all-round attack against the Party and socialism on the political, economic and ideological-cultural fronts, thus presenting an extremely serious threat to the political power of the proletariat.

If things had developed according to his counter-revolutionary revisionist line, drastic class differentiation would have occurred in the countryside; new bourgeois elements would have appeared in great numbers in the cities; the masses of workers and poor and lower-middle peasants would have had a second dose of suffering and sunk back into the miserable life of slaves and beasts of burden; our country's socialist economic base would have been utterly destroyed; a complete change would have taken place in the nature of our proletarian state power and history would have been turned back on to the old road leading to a semi-colonial, semi-feudal society. What a dangerous thing this would have been.

At the Tenth Plenary Session of the Eighth Central Committee of the Party in 1962, our great leader Chairman Mao issued the great call "never forget class struggle" and sounded the clarion for the proletariat to launch an all-round mass counter-attack against the bourgeoisie. The top Party person in authority taking the capitalist road was now like "a locust in late autumn," approaching his doom with each passing day!

(4)

The history of the dictatorship of the proletariat tells us that political power remains the most fundamental of all questions in the class struggle under the dictatorship of the proletariat.

Summing up the rich historical experience of the dictatorship of the proletariat in the world and taking into account the grave fact that the top Party person in authority taking the capitalist road was plotting a restoration of capitalism, our great leader Chairman Mao personally aroused the hundreds of millions of the revolutionary people and led them in launching the great, unprecedented proletarian cultural revolution. Thus the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat in our country enters a new, and still deeper and broader stage. It is a great and decisive battle between Chairman Mao's proletarian headquarters and the bourgeois headquarters of the top Party person in authority taking the capitalist road.

In that great historic document, the May 16, 1966 Circular of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party, Chairman Mao pointed out: "Those representatives of the bourgeoisie who have sneaked into the Party, the government, the army and various cultural circles are a bunch of counter-revolutionary revisionists. Once conditions are ripe, they will seize political power and turn the dictatorship of the proletariat into a dictatorship of the bourgeoisie. Some of them we have already seen through, others we have not. Some are still trusted by us and are being trained as our successors, persons like Khrushchev, for example, who are still nestling beside us. Party committees at all levels must pay full attention to this matter." By "persons like Khrushchev" nestling beside us, Chairman Mao was referring to none other than the top Party person in authority taking the capitalist road and the bourgeois headquarters headed by him.

Why was Chairman Mao's revolutionary line resisted and opposed time and again over the past 17 years? Why did an undercurrent favouring a restoration of capitalism come to the surface again and again? Primarily it is because a bourgeois headquarters had entrenched itself in the apparatus of the dictatorship of the proletariat. And this bourgeois headquarters was the greatest menace to the dictatorship of the proletariat and the greatest danger to the socialist state.

The great proletarian cultural revolution has sounded the death-knell for the handful of Party persons in authority taking the capitalist road. Struggling in wild desperation as they saw their end approaching, the top Party person in authority taking the capitalist road, in collusion with another top Party person in authority taking the capitalist road, formulated and put into operation a bourgeois reactionary line. They countered Chairman Mao's directive by sending out a large number of work-teams to suppress the revolutionary mass movement. In Tsinghua University and at the No. 1 Middle School affiliated to the Peking Teachers' Training University, where the movement was directly under the guidance of China's Khrushchev, the spearhead of struggle was aimed at the revolutionary masses and a number of revolutionaries were labelled "counter-revolutionaries." As for the cadres, his policy was to hit hard at many in order to protect a handful. One issue of the bulletin of the work-team in Peking University, which was circulated with his approval, described a revolutionary incident as a counter-revolutionary incident, and he called on the whole country to follow suit and to impose a white terror, encircling and suppressing revolutionaries and instigating one section of the masses to fight another, and he did all this in a vain attempt to stamp out the raging flames of the great proletarian cultural revolution ignited by Chairman Mao himself.

At this crucial moment our great leader Chairman Mao convened the 11th Plenary Session of the Eighth Central Committee of the Party, published his big-character poster "Bombard the Headquarters," a poster of great historic significance, and personally guided the drawing up of the Decision of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party Concerning the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution. This thoroughly exposed the bourgeois headquarters headed by the top Party person in authority taking the capitalist road, proclaimed the bankruptcy of the bourgeois reactionary line he had been pushing and announced the victory of Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line. This is another great contribution by Chairman Mao to the Marxist-Leninist theory of proletarian revolution and the dictatorship of the proletariat.

Led by the great supreme commander Chairman Mao himself, the revolutionary masses throughout the country have carried the great revolutionary mass movement to ever greater heights and they have finally dragged out this No. 1 agent of the bourgeoisie within the Party and his gang of scoundrels. In the upsurge of revolutionary mass criticism and repudiation which has been launched throughout the

country, he and his gang are now caught in a net from which there is no escape, cast by the hundreds of millions of revolutionary army-men and people. They resemble the proverbial "rats scurrying across the street with everyone yelling: Beat them! Beat them!" What is this "monstrous creature," this top Party person in authority taking the capitalist road, actually like? His own criminal history of sham revolution and actual counter-revolution in the past forty years and more provides the irrefutable answer. The evidence of these crimes is conclusive. The iron-clad proofs pile up mountain high. Can he then absolve himself by deception, by denials or resistance? "Whither now the God of Plague may I ask? The flames of his funeral pyre light up the skies!"

The great proletarian cultural revolution is a major event for our great people. In the brilliant light of Mao Tse-tung's thought the sea of red flags surges forward, the masses in their hundreds of millions are struggling and studying, and are criticizing and repudiating the bourgeoisie. Mao Tse-tung's thought has become their food, their weapon and their compass. They vow to be good fighters of Chairman Mao. They vow to ensure that the proletarian state will never change its colour! Mao Tse-tung's thought has united the hundreds of millions into an all-conquering, invincible material force that is shaking the old world and creating the new.

"Only socialism can save China!"

All through the past decades, our great teacher, great leader, great supreme commander and great helmsman Chairman Mao has commanded the mighty army of the revolution, and has directed it to pursue the tottering foe, to bind the Grey Dragon, and to make great plans and attack all that is corrupt and evil. He has steered the ship of the Chinese revolution forward through the torrents, by-passing the hidden reefs, braving the winds and waves and advancing in triumph. He has brought Marxism-Leninism to a completely new stage -- the stage of Mao Tse-tung's thought.

It is Chairman Mao who has taught us that the new democratic revolution is the necessary preparation for the socialist revolution and the socialist revolution is the inevitable sequel to the new democratic revolution. Following the victory of the new democratic revolution, it was necessary, without interruption, for the revolution to move on to the stage of socialism.

It is Chairman Mao who has taught us that political power grows out of the barrel of a gun and that only with guns can the old world under the rule of imperialism and all reaction be transformed.

It is Chairman Mao who has taught us that after seizing political power, the proletariat must persist in and consolidate the dictatorship of the proletariat and keep to the socialist road. No matter how many things we may have to do, we must never forget the dictatorship of the proletariat.

It is Chairman Mao who personally initiated the great and unprecedented proletarian cultural revolution, and who has taught us that classes and class struggle continue to exist throughout the historical period of socialist society, and that under the dictatorship of the proletariat, the revolution must be carried through to the end.

"The East is red; the sun rises; Mao Tse-tung has appeared in China."

The orientation given by Chairman Mao is the orientation for the revolutionary people of the whole world. The road which he has opened up is the road along which the revolutionary people of the whole world will advance.

Whither China? Whither the world? The wheel of history is moving in the direction pointed out by Mao Tse-tung's thought!

FOOTNOTES

1. "Criticism of the Past Work and Plan for the Future Work of the Club," 20 August 1923.
2. Hankow Minkuo Daily, 5 July 1927.
3. "Strategy and Tactics of the Chinese Revolution," 10 October 1942.
4. *ibid.*
5. "A Report on the Situation," 1 February 1946.
6. *ibid.*
7. *ibid.*
8. "Speech at the National Committee of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference," 4 November 1951.
9. Quoted indirectly from "Patriotism or National Betrayal?" (See Peking Review, No. 15, 1967.)

10. "Speech at the First National Congress of Youth,"
12 May 1949.
11. "Speech at the First Session of the Chinese
People's Political Consultative Conference," 21 September
1949.
12. "Speech at the First National Congress of Youth,"
12 May 1949.
13. "Speech at a Discussion Among Industrialists
and Businessmen," 25 April 1949.
14. *ibid.*
15. "Speech at the First National Congress of Youth,"
12 May 1949.
16. "Directive for the Work in Tientsin," 24 April 1949.
17. "Speech at a Discussion Among Industrialists and
Businessmen," 25 April 1949.
18. *ibid.*
19. *ibid.*
20. "Directive for the Work in Tientsin," 24 April
1949.
21. "Instructions to An Tzu-wen and Others,"
23 January 1950.
22. "Remarks on 'Raising Mutual-Aid Organizations
a Step Higher in the Old Liberated Areas' by Shansi Provin-
cial Party Committee," 3 July 1951.
23. "Instructions to An Tzu-wen and Others,"
23 January 1950.
24. Talk with a foreign guest on 13 July 1956.
25. "Speech at the Shanghai Party Cadres' Conference,"
27 April 1957.
26. Talk with foreigners on 17 June 1956.
27. Speech at the Standing Committee Meeting of the
National People's Congress on 16 November 1956.
28. "Speech at Cadres' Forum of the Tsinan Military
Area Command," 9 July 1964.
29. "Speech at the Forum of Secretaries of the
Regional Party Committees of Hopei Province," 2 July 1964.
30. "Speech at the 18th Supreme State Conference,"
21 March 1962.
31. "Instructions to the Shihchiachuang and Wusih
Investigation Groups of the General Office of the Party's
Central Committee," 24 April 1962.
32. "Speech at the Working Conference of the Party's
Central Committee," 31 May 1961.
33. "Speech at the Working Conference of the Party's
Central Committee," 8 February 1962.
34. Speech in June 1962.
35. Speech on 22 October 1961.
36. Talk with a foreign guest on 6 March 1963.
37. Talk with foreign comrades on 27 June 1962.
38. Talk with a foreigner on April 26, 1963.
39. Talk with foreign comrades 20 July 1963.

COMPLETELY SMASH THE BOURGEOIS HEADQUARTERS

- Commemorating the First Anniversary of the 11th Plenary Session of the Party's Eighth Central Committee -

Following is a translation of an editorial in the Chinese-language periodical Hung-ch'i (Red Flag), Peking, No 13, 17 Aug 67, pp 14-17.

The situation in the great proletarian cultural revolution is becoming better and better. The worker, peasant and soldier masses and the heroic young Red Guard fighters, with bitter hatred for the class enemy, are waging an all-round struggle against the handful of top Party persons in authority taking the capitalist road, and are criticizing and repudiating them in a big way. There is a fresh revolutionary upsurge to completely smash the bourgeois headquarters. It is in this fresh revolutionary upsurge that the people of the whole country, in a militant frame of mind, are celebrating the first anniversary of the 11th Plenary Session of the Party's Eighth Central Committee.

The greatest historic accomplishments of the 11th Plenary Session of the Eighth Central Committee were: establishing still more firmly the absolute authority of Mao Tse-tung's thought; confirming as the deputy supreme commander of the whole Party Comrade Lin Piao, who has consistently held high the great red banner of Mao Tse-tung's thought and carried out Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line most faithfully, resolutely and thoroughly; and further consolidating the proletarian headquarters headed by Chairman Mao, and defeating the bourgeois headquarters headed by the top Party person in authority taking the capitalist road. The documents of the plenary session drawn up under Chairman Mao's personal guidance systematically laid down and advanced the theory, line, principles, method

and policy for making revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat; they pointed out to the people of the whole country the road to victory in consolidating the dictatorship of the proletariat and preventing the restoration of capitalism, and in advancing from socialism to communism. This session was of great historic significance, deciding the fate of our Party and state and that of the international communist movement.

The 11th Plenary Session of the Eighth Central Committee of the Party was convened at a crucial juncture in the sharp struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie, between the proletarian headquarters and the bourgeois headquarters. It was convened when the great proletarian cultural revolution was facing the danger of being strangled by the top Party person in authority taking the capitalist road. At that grave moment, our great leader Chairman Mao wrote his big-character poster "Bombard the Headquarters." He said:

"China's first Marxist-Leninist big-character poster and Commentator's article on it in Renmin Ribao (People's Daily) [For full text of both see Peking Review, No. 37, 1966. -- Tr.] are indeed superbly written! Comrades, please read them again. But in the last fifty days or so some leading comrades from the central down to the local levels have acted in a diametrically opposite way. Adopting the reactionary stand of the bourgeoisie, they have enforced a bourgeois dictatorship and struck down the surging movement of the great cultural revolution of the proletariat. They have stood facts on their head and juggled black and white, encircled and suppressed revolutionaries, stifled opinions differing from their own, imposed a white terror, and felt very pleased with themselves. They have puffed up the arrogance of the bourgeoisie and deflated the morale of the proletariat. How poisonous! Viewed in connection with the Right deviation in 1962 and the wrong tendency of 1964 which was 'left' in form but Right in essence, shouldn't this make one wide awake?"

This big-character poster is a most brilliant revolutionary document. It provided the guiding thought for the session and laid down the general principles for the great proletarian cultural revolution.

"Bombard the Headquarters" blasted the lid off the struggle between the proletarian revolutionary line and the bourgeois reactionary line and between the proletarian

headquarters and the bourgeois headquarters which had existed in the Party over a long period. It made the entire Party and people understand more clearly the main object and task of the great proletarian cultural revolution.

The bourgeois headquarters is composed of the handful of top Party persons in authority taking the capitalist road with China's Khrushchov as its chieftain. They are the main target of the great proletarian cultural revolution, and the main task of this revolution is to overthrow them completely.

The big-character poster "Bombard the Headquarters" penetratingly exposed the reactionary nature of the bourgeois headquarters, which, adopting the reactionary stand of the bourgeoisie, enforced a bourgeois dictatorship. Chairman Mao in his big-character poster exposed the fact that some leading personnel from the central down to the local levels "acted in a diametrically opposite way." That means in a way opposed to Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line, and the leading personnel from the central down to the local levels mentioned here are the handful of people headed by China's Khrushchov making up the bourgeois headquarters. The big-character poster laid bare the sinister counter-revolutionary revisionist features of the top Party person in authority taking the capitalist road and called on the whole Party to be "wide awake." It was a great call to battle to the whole Party and the people of the whole country to completely smash the bourgeois headquarters.

Throughout the entire historical period of socialism there always exists a struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie and between the socialist road and the capitalist road. The struggle between the proletarian headquarters and the bourgeois headquarters is the most concentrated expression of the struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie and between the socialist road and the capitalist road. It is of the greatest importance to destroy completely this hidden headquarters of the bourgeoisie in order to prevent our Party and country from changing colour.

Under conditions of the dictatorship of the proletariat and after the basic completion of the socialist transformation of the ownership of the means of production, especially after the fight against the Rightists in 1957, the capitalists are none of them in a position to take command though they have always been dreaming of a capitalist restoration. Only the handful of top Party persons in authority taking the capitalist road are in a position to take command and attempt to restore capitalism on behalf of the bourgeoisie.

They are the agents of the bourgeoisie in the leading organs of the Party and the state. It is a matter of course that there should appear in the Party the struggle between the two headquarters; it is an inevitable reflection of classes, class contradiction and class struggle in society.

The bourgeoisie still has considerable influence in society, but as the saying goes "a bird without a head cannot fly and a snake without a head cannot crawl." Its head is the bourgeois headquarters hidden within the apparatus of the dictatorship of the proletariat. This bourgeois headquarters is the principal and most dangerous enemy of the proletariat.

The historical experience of the dictatorship of the proletariat teaches us that unless the bourgeois headquarters hidden in the apparatus of the dictatorship of the proletariat is crushed, the whole Party and state will inevitably change colour. The fundamental reason for the capitalist restoration which has occurred in the Soviet Union, Yugoslavia and some other socialist countries is that the handful of top Party persons in authority taking the capitalist road in those countries have usurped the leadership of the Party and the state. This is the gravest lesson in the international communist movement.

Chairman Mao has pointed out that the main target of the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat is the bourgeois headquarters hidden within the apparatus of this dictatorship. It is against this section within the apparatus of the dictatorship of the proletariat that we are making revolution. Taking our Party and state as a whole, the bourgeois headquarters is not in a dominant position, but unless it is overthrown it is impossible to consolidate and strengthen the dictatorship of the proletariat and prevent the restoration of capitalism. This theory has been formulated by summing up the historical experience of the dictatorship of the proletariat internationally and in China.

In the course of the protracted struggle against the top Party person in authority taking the capitalist road, Chairman Mao saw through his vicious ambitions and concluded that he was the chief hidden danger to our Party and the chief scourge in it. Over recent years, Chairman Mao has time and again warned the entire Party of the danger of a capitalist restoration in our country, a danger which mainly comes from the bourgeois headquarters headed by the top Party person in authority taking the capitalist road.

The document *Some Current Problems Raised in the Socialist Education Movement in the Rural Areas*, referred to as the 23-article document, worked out under the personal guidance of Chairman Mao in January 1965, put it clearly for the first time: "The main target of the present movement is those persons within the Party who are in authority and are taking the capitalist road." China's Khrushchov is the one in the highest position among the persons mentioned here.

During the Working Conference of the Party's Central Committee held in September 1965, Chairman Mao raised the following question at an enlarged meeting of the Standing Committee of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee: "What are you going to do if revisionism appears in the Central Committee? This is highly likely. This is the greatest danger." In saying that revisionism might appear in the Central Committee, Chairman Mao was referring to the bourgeois headquarters headed by the top Party person in authority taking the capitalist road.

On May 16, 1966, the Circular of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party, drawn up under the personal leadership of Chairman Mao, went further to point out that there are "persons like Khrushchov . . . who are still nestling beside us." A person like Khrushchov mentioned here is the top Party person in authority taking the capitalist road.

By August 1966, when the 11th Plenary Session of the Eighth Central Committee of the Party was held, the counter-revolutionary revisionist features of the top Party person in authority taking the capitalist road had already been fully exposed and the bourgeois headquarters headed by him had put on quite a performance. The time was ripe to bombard the bourgeois headquarters. With vision and great boldness, Chairman Mao decided upon firm and decisive measures, wrote the big-character poster "Bombard the Headquarters," and resolved to mobilize the masses to smash the bourgeois headquarters.

Smashing the bourgeois headquarters, according to Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line, is not done by dismissing people from office from above, nor by taking purely organizational steps but by boldly mobilizing the masses, and letting the broad masses struggle against the handful of Party people in authority taking the capitalist road.

Decision of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party Concerning the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution -- the 16-point decision -- adopted at the 11th Plenary Session of the Eighth Central Committee of the Party, is a great revolutionary programme drawn up under the personal leadership of Chairman Mao. The 16-point decision aims the spearhead of the struggle against the handful of Party people in authority taking the capitalist road. The basic spirit that runs through the 16-point decision is that of trusting the masses, relying on them and boldly mobilizing them to open powerful fire at the handful of Party people in authority taking the capitalist road and to wage a true and thorough socialist revolution from below.

The masses armed with Mao Tse-tung's thought are the real heroes. In the great proletarian cultural revolution it is only possible to thoroughly smash the bourgeois headquarters headed by China's Khrushchov, to capture the reactionary strongholds where they have entrenched themselves in some areas, departments and units and seize back the power that they have usurped by boldly mobilizing hundreds of millions of revolutionary masses, by utilizing the methods of extensive democracy, of full and frank expression of views and opinions, of putting up big-character posters and of carrying out great debates under the dictatorship of the proletariat, to expose, criticize and repudiate the crimes of the handful of Party people in authority taking the capitalist road in opposing the Party, socialism and Mao Tse-tung's thought.

"Bombard the Headquarters" and the 16-point decision have inspired and armed millions of revolutionary people, and have aroused their initiative. The raging flames of the great proletarian cultural revolution have begun to burn ever more strongly. Hundreds of millions of revolutionary people have been stirred, and the heavy atmosphere of "ten thousand horses standing mute" resulting from suppression by the bourgeois reactionary line has been cleared away. Throughout the country, there has arisen the situation of "ten thousand guns bombarding" the bourgeois headquarters.

Revolution is the locomotive of history. In the past year, earth-shaking changes have been taking place in China with its population of 700 million people.

Through a year of big struggles, the proletariat has fought a great battle and won a great victory. The counter-revolutionary features of the top Party person in authority

taking the capitalist road have been exposed before the broad revolutionary masses. A handful of counter-revolutionary revisionists have been exposed and the reactionary strongholds where they entrenched themselves have been taken. The dictatorship of the proletariat has been further consolidated. The counter-revolutionary front of the top Party person in authority taking the capitalist road has collapsed all along the line. In their struggle against the bourgeois reactionary line, those proletarian revolutionaries who have been oppressed and persecuted have grown from small to big, from weak to strong and from dispersed to concentrated. They have become steeled into a mighty revolutionary army. Tempered in the storms of the class struggle in the past year, a great number of new talented people loyal to Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line have come forth. A young generation of successors to the proletarian revolutionary cause is rapidly growing up.

These are the great achievements of the 11th Plenary Session of the Party's Eighth Central Committee and of the 16-point decision. They show the great power of "Bombard the Headquarters" and are a great victory for Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line.

However, the struggle between the two headquarters and the two lines has not ended. The central task placed before proletarian revolutionaries is to completely repudiate the handful of top Party persons in authority taking the capitalist road politically, ideologically and theoretically and thoroughly smash the bourgeois headquarters. This is a great historic task. In order to accomplish this task, we must strengthen the dictatorship of the proletariat, reinforce and improve the instruments of this dictatorship and firmly support and defend the proletarian revolutionaries.

We must understand that only by thoroughly overthrowing the handful of top Party persons in authority taking the capitalist road politically, ideologically and theoretically and by completely smashing the bourgeois headquarters can we guarantee that our Party and state will not change colour, and that the great proletarian cultural revolution will be carried through to the end. Only in the course of the struggle to accomplish this task can we achieve and consolidate the great alliance of proletarian revolutionaries and the revolutionary "three-in-one" combination. And only so is it possible to carry on well the tasks of struggle-criticism-transformation in one's own department, and succeed in the struggle to seize power from the handful of Party persons in authority taking the capitalist road and really

do a good job in wielding power for the proletariat. If we forget this central task it means that we have forgotten Chairman Mao's teaching: "You must concern yourselves with state affairs" and forgotten the great proletarian cultural revolution and the socialist road, and we are in danger of losing our bearings and going astray.

Revolutionary dialectics is irresistible. The bourgeois headquarters will be smashed. The great proletarian cultural revolution will win complete and all-round victory.

Comrades of the proletarian revolutionaries, young revolutionary fighters! As we commemorate the first anniversary of the 11th Plenary Session of the Party's Eighth Central Committee and the big-character poster "Bombard the Headquarters," let us hold still higher the **great** red banner of Mao Tse-tung's thought and strive to perform new deeds in completely smashing the bourgeois headquarters!

CSO: 3530-D

RESOLUTION OF 8TH PLENARY SESSION OF 8TH CENTRAL
COMMITTEE OF C.P.C. CONCERNING THE ANTI-PARTY
CLIQUE HEADED BY PENG TEH-HUAI

(Excerpts)

16 August 1959

Following is a translation of an article in the Chinese-language periodical Hung-ch'i (Red Flag), Peking, No 13, 17 Aug 67, pp 18-20.

(1) In the period before the Central Committee of the Party convened an enlarged session of the Political Bureau at Lushan in July 1959 and during the Lushan Meeting, a fierce onslaught on the Party's general line, the great leap forward and the people's communes was made inside our Party by the Right opportunist anti-Party clique which was headed by Peng Teh-huai and which included a handful of others, such as Huang Ke-cheng, Chang Wen-tien and Chou Hsiao-chou. This onslaught came at a time when the reactionary forces at home and abroad were exploiting certain transient and partial shortcomings in our great movements -- the great leap forward and the people's communes -- to intensify their attack on our Party and people. An attack at such a juncture launched from inside the Party, particularly inside the Central Committee, is clearly more dangerous than an attack from outside the Party. The Eighth Plenary Session of the Eighth Central Committee of the Party holds that to take resolute action and crush the activities of the Right opportunist anti-Party clique headed by Peng Teh-huai is absolutely necessary not only for safeguarding the Party's general line, but also for safeguarding the leadership of the Party's Central Committee headed by Comrade Mao Tse-tung, the unity of the Party and the socialist cause of the Party and the people.

(2) The activities of the anti-Party clique headed by Peng Teh-huai aimed at splitting the Party have been going on for a long time. The letter setting out his views which Peng Teh-huai wrote to Comrade Mao Tse-tung on July 14, 1959, in the early stage of the Lushan Meeting and his speeches and remarks in the course of the meeting represent the platform of the Right opportunists in their attack on the Party. For all his outward pretensions of support for the general line and for Comrade Mao Tse-tung, in substance his letter, speeches and remarks incited those elements within our Party who have Rightist ideas or bear a grudge against the Party and those political speculators and alien class elements who have sneaked into the Party to rise up and launch a fierce onslaught on the Party's general line and the leadership of the Central Committee and Comrade Mao Tse-tung in response to the slanders of the domestic and foreign reactionaries. Peng Teh-huai has collected those transient and partial shortcomings, which have either long since been or are rapidly being overcome, exaggerated them out of all proportion and painted a pitch-black picture of the present situation in the country. In essence he negates the victory of the general line and the achievements of the great leap forward, and is opposed to the high-speed development of the national economy, to the movement for high yields on the agricultural front, to the mass movement to make iron and steel, to the people's commune movement, to the mass movements in economic construction, and to Party leadership in socialist construction, that is, to "putting politics in command." In his letter he brazenly slandered as "petty-bourgeois fanaticism" the revolutionary zeal of the Party and of hundreds of millions of people. Time and again in his remarks he went so far as to assert that "if the Chinese workers and peasants were not as good as they are, a Hungarian incident would have occurred in China and it would have been necessary to invite Soviet troops in." It is obvious that the mistakes he has made are not in the nature of isolated mistakes, but are mistakes of a Right opportunist line, which in nature are against the Party, against the people and against socialism.

(3) The mass of facts brought to light at the Eighth Plenary Session of the Eighth Central Committee, including those admitted by Peng Teh-huai, Huang Ke-cheng, Chang Wen-tien, Chou Hsiao-chou and others and those disclosed by their accomplices and followers, prove that the activities of the anti-Party clique headed by Peng Teh-huai prior to and during the Lushan Meeting were purposive, prepared, planned and organized. They represent a continuation and development of the case of the anti-Party alliance of

Kao Kang and Jao Shu-shih. Investigation has now established that Peng Teh-huai and Huang Ke-cheng long ago formed an anti-Party alliance with Kao Kang, of which they were important members. Chang Wen-tien, too, participated in Kao Kang's factional activities. During the struggle against the Kao-Jao anti-Party alliance, the Central Committee of the Party was already in possession of certain facts about Peng Teh-huai's and Huang Ke-cheng's participation in that alliance. The Central Committee seriously criticized them, hoping that they would learn the lesson and repent, and it did not go deeply into the matter. Ostensibly Peng Teh-huai and Huang Ke-cheng made a self-criticism; actually, far from recognizing and rectifying their mistakes, for a long time they concealed from the Party certain important facts concerning their participation in the activities of the Kao-Jao anti-Party alliance and even continued to expand their divisive anti-Party activities. To realize his personal ambitions, Peng Teh-huai has long been making vicious attacks and spreading slanders inside the Party and the armed forces against Comrade Mao Tse-tung, the leader of the Party, and against other leading comrades of the Central Committee and its Military Commission. In his factional activities which were aimed at splitting the Party, he has resorted to such methods as promising official promotions, trafficking in flattery and favours, first attacking and then cajoling, creating dissension, and spreading rumours, lies and slanders. Since the great leap forward in 1958, the whole Party and people have been united as one and have been working hard. But Peng Teh-huai painstakingly schemed to undermine the leadership of the Central Committee, carried out anti-Party activities and, together with his accomplices and followers, looked for the opportune moment to launch an attack on the Party and Comrade Mao Tse-tung. He took the Lushan Meeting as the opportune moment. Because of his position in the Central Committee and in the People's Liberation Army, and also because of his tactics of feigning candour and frugality, Peng Teh-huai's activities could and did mislead a number of people; they are fraught with danger for the future of the Party and the People's Liberation Army. Precisely for this reason, it has necessarily become an important task of the Party and of all who are loyal to the Party, to the People's Liberation Army and the cause of socialism to expose this hypocrite, this careerist and conspirator, in his true colours and to put an end to his divisive anti-Party activities.

(1) Peng Teh-huai's present mistake is not accidental. It has deep social, historical and ideological roots. He

and his accomplices and followers are essentially representatives of the bourgeoisie who joined our Party during the democratic revolution. Peng Teh-huai joined the Party and the revolutionary army led by the Party with the idea of "investing in a share." He only wants to lead others, to lead the collective, but does not want to be led by others, to be led by the collective. He does not look upon the achievements in the revolutionary work for which he is responsible as achievements in the struggle conducted by the Party and the people, but instead takes all the credit himself. Indeed, his anti-Party activities reflect the kind of class struggle in which the Chinese bourgeoisie opposes the proletarian socialist revolution and attempts to remould the Party, the army and the world in its own bourgeois image. Since his world outlook is incompatible with revolutionary proletarian Marxism-Leninism and runs directly counter to it, inside the Party he is naturally unwilling to accept the Marxist-Leninist leadership represented by Comrade Mao Tse-tung. At several key junctures in the history of the Party, such as the periods of the Li Li-san line, the first Wang Ming line, the second Wang Ming line and the case of the Kao-Jao anti-Party alliance, he invariably sided with the wrong line and opposed the correct line represented by Comrade Mao Tse-tung. After the Party's Tsunyi Meeting established Comrade Mao Tse-tung's position of leadership throughout the Party and the army in January 1935, he still opposed Comrade Mao Tse-tung's leadership and engaged in divisive activities inside the Party and the army. During the War of Resistance Against Japan, he regarded the area under his charge as his independent kingdom and used it as capital to assert his "independence" from the Central Committee. Despite the fact that the Party had resolutely repudiated and corrected the mistake of the second Wang Ming line, he still stubbornly applied its wrong strategy and repeatedly held down the peasants' anti-feudal struggle in the Shansi-Hopei-Shantung-Honan area. Although in 1945 the Central Committee exposed and criticized the serious political and organizational mistakes he made while working in north China, he never recognized or corrected them. On the contrary, his anti-Party activities became more and more unbridled with the victory of the people's Liberation War and the transformation of the revolution from a bourgeois-democratic one into a proletarian socialist one. As soon as the socialist transformation of agriculture, handicraft and capitalist industry and commerce was begun, he joined Kao Kang in anti-Party activities. The Kao-Jao anti-Party alliance collapsed and the socialist revolution forced rapidly ahead on the economic and the ideological and political fronts. With the victories

of the general line of the Party, the great leap forward and the people's commune movement, the capitalist and individual economies were clearly doomed. In these circumstances, the remnants of the Kao Kang clique and the other Right opportunist elements of every variety headed by Peng Teh-huai could wait no longer, seized on what they considered an opportune moment to stir up trouble and came out in opposition to the general line of the Party, the great leap forward and the people's communes, and to the leadership of the Central Committee and Comrade Mao Tse-tung. The true nature of their attack on the Party, therefore, is that, representing as they do the interests of the bourgeoisie and the upper strata of the petty bourgeoisie, they seek to sabotage the dictatorship of the proletariat and undermine the socialist revolution by splitting and demoralizing the vanguard of the proletariat and organizing opportunist factions.

(5) As stated above, the long-standing anti-Party activities of the Right opportunist anti-Party clique headed by Peng Teh-huai constitute a grave danger to the socialist cause of the Party and the people. The Eighth Plenary Session of the Eighth Central Committee holds that, in order to carry out its responsibilities with respect to the future of the Party and the People's Liberation Army and to the interests of the socialist cause of the proletariat and the labouring people, the Party must adopt a firm and serious attitude and smash all the activities of the Right opportunist anti-Party clique headed by Peng Teh-huai. The Party demands that Peng Teh-huai, Huang Ke-cheng, Chang Wen-tien, Chou Hsiao-chou and others admit and disclose all their mistakes before the Party and rectify them in action. There is no other way out for them. The Eighth Plenary Session of the Eighth Central Committee holds that the Party should continue to adopt an attitude of great sincerity and warmth towards Peng Teh-huai and help him recognize and rectify his mistakes. Of course, it is essential to transfer Peng Teh-huai, Huang Ke-cheng, Chang Wen-tien, Chou Hsiao-chou and others from their posts in national defence, foreign affairs, provincial Party committee first secretaryship, etc. But they can still keep their membership or alternate membership of the Central Committee or of the Political Bureau, and we shall see how they behave in the future. History has many times proved the complete correctness of the policy regarding inner-Party struggle followed by the great Communist Party of China under the leadership of its Central Committee headed by Comrade Mao Tse-tung. Such inner-Party struggles have not weakened the Party, but on the contrary have strengthened it. The Eighth Plenary Session of the Eighth Central Committee firmly

believes that the inner-Party struggle against Right opportunism headed by Peng Teh-huai waged at this crucial juncture for our country's socialist cause will definitely further strengthen the ranks of the Party and the people and heighten their militancy. The Eighth Plenary Session of the Eighth Central Committee calls on all Party comrades to unite under the banner of defence of the general line and opposition to Right opportunism and to unite under the leadership of the Central Committee of the Party and its great leader Comrade Mao Tse-tung; it calls on them to lead the 650 million brave and industrious Chinese people in advancing boldly and unswervingly and in carrying out the general line of "go all out and aim high to get greater, quicker, better and more economical results in building socialism," so as to battle on to the end for the triumph of socialism and for the sublime communist future.

CSO: 3530-D

FROM THE DEFEAT OF PENG TEH-HUAI TO
THE BANKRUPTCY OF CHINA'S KHRUSHCHEV

Following is a translation of an article in the Chinese-language periodical Hung-ch'i (Red Flag), Peking, No 13, 17 Aug 67, pp 21-24.

The publication of the "Resolution of the Eighth Plenary Session of the Eighth Central Committee of the Communist Party of China Concerning the Anti-Party Clique Headed by Peng Teh-huai" (excerpts) is of great significance, coming as it does in the midst of the high tide of mass criticism and repudiation of the handful of top Party persons in authority taking the capitalist road, in the midst of the great revolutionary advance to smash the bourgeois headquarters completely.

The Eighth Plenary Session of the Eighth Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party -- the Lushan Meeting -- was held at a time when China's socialist revolution was developing in depth and the class struggle at home and abroad was more acute than ever before. The greatest historical achievement of this meeting was that it crushed the plot of the anti-Party clique headed by Peng Teh-huai to usurp the leadership of the Party, safeguarded the Party's general line and safeguarded the proletarian headquarters headed by Chairman Mao. As the "Resolution" points out: "To take resolute action and crush the activities of the Right opportunist anti-Party clique headed by Peng Teh-huai is absolutely necessary not only for safeguarding the Party's general line, but also for safeguarding the leadership of the Party's Central Committee headed by Comrade Mao Tse-tung, the unity of the Party, and the socialist cause of the Party and the people."

In 1958, after our country's socialist transformation of the ownership of the means of production had been completed in the main and a great victory had been won in the struggle against the bourgeois Rightists, our great leader Chairman Mao put forward the general line of going all out, aiming high and achieving greater, quicker, better and more economical results in building socialism. Under the brilliant guidance of the general line, the Chinese people created in the rural areas a brand-new form of social organization -- the people's commune -- and a vigorous great leap forward took place throughout China. The wholesome influence of socialism grew and spread to a high degree while the noxious influence of capitalism received a heavy blow. The immense success of the Party's general line, the great leap forward and the people's commune movement met with the most violent, foul and frenzied resistance from the class enemies at home and abroad.

It was in these conditions of class struggle that Peng Teh-huai, fugleman of the bourgeois headquarters headed by China's Khrushchev, came out in the open. He mustered a handful of anti-Party elements like Huang Ke-cheng, Chang Wen-tien and Chou Hsiao-chou and, at the Lushan Meeting, launched a wild attack on the Party. He also dished up a so-called letter setting out his views, which contained an out-and-out counter-revolutionary programme.

Peng Teh-huai and his gang echoed Dulles, Khrushchev and their like. They viciously ~~attacked~~ the general line, calling it "'Left' adventurism"; they described the great leap forward as "a rush of blood to the brain" and "running a high fever" and alleged that the people's communes were "set up too early" and were "a mess." They slandered as "petty-bourgeois fanaticism" the great mass movement in which several hundred million people took part and which was led by Chairman Mao. They clamoured for "simultaneous attention" to both economic measures and putting politics in command. What they called "simultaneous attention" was really designed to oppose giving prominence to politics and placing politics in command; what they wanted was to put money in command and encourage the use of material incentives. And they viciously attacked our greatest leader Chairman Mao.

In short, they vainly tried to negate the Party's general line for building socialism, to secure the abandonment of the people's communes and to revenge themselves on the great leap forward. They were against taking the socialist road and tried in vain to pull China into the orbit of revisionism.

The mass of facts brought to light at the Lushan Meeting proved that Peng Teh-huai and his gang were a clique of conspirators, which had a specific objective, had made preparations, and had ready plans and an organization for usurping Party and army leadership.

The "Resolution" points out that an attack "launched from inside the Party, particularly inside the Central Committee, is clearly more dangerous than an attack from outside the Party." The Lushan Meeting exposed the big conspiracy of Peng Teh-huai's anti-Party clique for usurping Party and army leadership and deprived them of their power. This was a great victory for Mao Tse-tung's thought.

After the Lushan Meeting, Comrade Lin Piao, the close comrade-in-arms of Chairman Mao and his best student, who has always held high the great red banner of Mao Tse-tung's thought, took charge of the work of the Military Commission of the Central Committee and thus military power was held more firmly in the hands of the proletarian headquarters. This greatly strengthened the proletarian headquarters and consolidated the dictatorship of the proletariat.

Peng Teh-huai always took a reactionary bourgeois stand and opposed Chairman Mao, the proletarian revolution and the dictatorship of the proletariat. In all the struggles with regard to line in the history of our Party, he took the side of opportunism and opposed Chairman Mao's correct line.

During the period of the Ten-Year Civil War, he opposed the only correct revolutionary road -- Chairman Mao's revolutionary road of establishing rural bases and encircling the cities from the countryside -- and faithfully carried out the adventurist and opportunist lines of Li Li-san and Wang Ming.

During the period of the War of Resistance Against Japan, he stubbornly pushed Wang Ming's capitulationist line and advocated "everything through the united front" and the liquidation of proletarian leadership. He opposed the seizure of political power by the proletariat. To the best of his ability he preached the extremely hypocritical bourgeois notion of "liberty, equality and fraternity," spread the doctrine of "do not do to others what you would not have them do to you," and was shameless enough to praise Chiang Kai-shek as "a wise leader guiding the War of Resistance." The fact that he used such nonsense to deceive and fool the masses at a time when the Chinese people were

engaged in a life-and-death struggle against the national and class enemies in the War of Resistance Against Japan fully reveals him as an enemy of the revolutionary people.

When China entered the stage of socialist revolution, his anti-Party activities became all the more outrageous. In 1953, just when China was embarking on the three great socialist transformations [of agriculture, of handicrafts and of capitalist industry and commerce], he formed an anti-Party alliance with the big careerist Kao Kang and the counter-revolutionary element Jao Shu-shih. Actually Peng Teh-huai was the leader of the Kao-Jao alliance. They maintained illicit relations with foreign countries, engaged in double-dealing trickery and plotted to usurp Party and army leadership. As the "Resolution" points out, the anti-Party activities of Peng Teh-huai's anti-Party clique at the Lushan Meeting "represent a continuation and development of the case of the anti-Party alliance of Kao Kang and Jao Shu-shih."

At the Lushan Meeting Chairman Mao declared: "This struggle at Lushan is a class struggle, a continuation of the life-and-death struggle between the two major antagonistic classes -- the bourgeoisie and the proletariat -- which has gone on all through the socialist revolution in the last ten years. This kind of struggle, it seems, will continue in China and in our Party for at least 20 years and possibly half a century. In short, the struggle will cease only when classes die out completely."

These words of Chairman Mao provide an extremely profound explanation of the essence of the struggle between our Party and Peng Teh-huai's anti-Party clique. And the course of the class struggle since the Lushan Meeting, from the defeat of Peng Teh-huai to the bankruptcy of China's Khrushchev, has fully borne out this scientific thesis of genius advanced by Chairman Mao.

This struggle at the Lushan Meeting was a great clash in the struggle between the two classes, two roads, two lines and two headquarters.

Peng Teh-huai's anti-Party activities at the Lushan Meeting were actually carried out with the support and shelter of the bourgeois headquarters headed by China's Khrushchev. Peng Teh-huai's letter setting out his anti-Party views was in effect the counter-revolutionary programme of the bourgeois headquarters for the restoration of capitalism. Peng Teh-huai himself was the anti-Party fugleman

of this bourgeois headquarters. At the time, thinking there was an opportunity to be seized, Peng Teh-huai dashed forth fiercely, while China's Khrushchev, personally hoisting the ensign of "combating the Left deviation," attacked the Party's general line for building socialism, the great leap forward and the people's communes. Peng Teh-huai's anti-Party clique was defeated after a test of strength. Seeing that things were going against them, China's Khrushchev hastily provided cover for Peng Teh-huai's retreat, and using counter-revolutionary double-dealing tactics, created confusion and conspired to undermine Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line.

Between 1960 and 1962, our country encountered temporary economic difficulties caused by the Khrushchev revisionists' perfidious sabotage of our economy and by natural calamities. Internationally, the imperialists, modern revisionists and all reactionaries knocked together a "Holy Alliance" and once again stirred up an adverse current against communism, China and the people. In the eyes of the overlords of the bourgeois headquarters headed by China's Khrushchev, the skies were about to fall, the land of China was about to sink, and the moment for them to restore capitalism had arrived. Accordingly they went all out to fan up evil winds and flames, urge ghosts and monsters to come out and feverishly create counter-revolutionary public opinion.

Wu Han, a scribbler in the pay of the U.S.-Chiang Kai-shek reactionaries and a guest of honour in the bourgeois headquarters, led the attack by calling for a reversal of the verdict on Peng Teh-huai. In the opera *Hai Jui Dismissed From Office*, a big poisonous weed, Wu Han voiced complaints and grievances about Peng Teh-huai's dismissal in the words "It's unjust to relieve me of my post." Wu Han praised him as "a hero that stands upright," "a great man towering to the skies," encouraged him "not to give in or lose heart," and "to make a fresh start after defeat," and clamoured: "I will re-establish order and discipline one day when I am in office again." All this was aimed at preparing public opinion for Peng Teh-huai's vengeance-seeking counter-attack.

The stalwarts of the bourgeois headquarters, Peng Chen, Lu Ting-yi, Chou Yang and their like, and the notorious despicable gang of the "Three-Family Village," promptly made a great to-do and went out of their way to laud *Hai Jui Dismissed From Office*. They tried to drum up an anti-Party, anti-socialist "Hai Jui spirit" throughout the country, trying to reverse the verdict on Peng Teh-huai and pave the way for the restoration of capitalism.

Amid this fanfare of counter-revolutionary public opinion, China's Khrushchev himself, the chief boss of the bourgeois headquarters, came on the stage. He openly tried to reverse the verdict on Peng Teh-huai at the enlarged Work Conference of the Party's Central Committee held in January 1962. He said in Peng Teh-huai's defence that in Peng's anti-Party programme "much is in conformity with the facts" and "it shouldn't be regarded as a mistake." He viciously attacked the struggle led by Chairman Mao against Peng Teh-huai's anti-Party clique as "an erroneous struggle that over-stepped the limits." With powerful support and encouragement from China's Khrushchev, Peng Teh-huai brought out in June 1962 a document running into a full 80,000 words aimed at reversing the verdict passed on him. Echoing China's Khrushchev, Peng Teh-huai in this document once again viciously attacked our great leader Chairman Mao, attacked the general line, the great leap forward and the people's communes.

At the Tenth Plenary Session of the Party's Eighth Central Committee in 1962, our great leader Chairman Mao issued his call to battle: "Never forget class struggle." Guided by his great theses on classes, class contradictions and class struggle, the people throughout the country have courageously risen to face the offensive launched by the bourgeois headquarters and dealt it heavy head-on blows.

In the latter half of 1965, Chairman Mao personally took in hand the question of criticizing and repudiating Hai Jui Dismissed From Office. He pointed out: "The crux of Hai Jui Dismissed From Office is the question of dismissal from office. The Emperor Chia Ching [of the Ming Dynasty, 1522-1566] dismissed Hai Jui from office. In 1959 we dismissed Peng Teh-huai from office. And Peng Teh-huai is 'Hai Jui' too." This criticism made by Chairman Mao hit the mark not only with regard to Hai Jui Dismissed From Office but also with regard to the whole bourgeois headquarters.

Hai Jui Dismissed From Office was the point at which a breach was forced by the great proletarian cultural revolution, personally initiated and led by Chairman Mao, thereby exposing the counter-revolutionary revisionist Peng Chen, the behind-the-scenes boss of the "Three Family Village," and uncovering the counter-revolutionary revisionist clique of Peng Chen, Lo Jui-ching, Ju Ting-yi and Yang Shang-kun. On August 5, 1966, Chairman Mao wrote his big-character poster, "Bombard the Headquarters," and this lifted the lid still further in the struggle between the two lines and the two headquarters which had been going on for a long time

inside the Party. Responding to Chairman Mao's call, the revolutionary masses in their hundreds of millions stormed the bourgeois headquarters and dug out the handful of top Party persons in authority taking the capitalist road. Revolutionary mass criticism and repudiation has been conducted against the counter-revolutionary revisionist line and its poisonous influence on every front. China's Khrushchev has gone bankrupt. This is the greatest and most brilliant of victories for our Party.

In April 1949, when the great People's Liberation Army crossed the Yangtse River, Chairman Mao wrote a magnificent poem filled with the heroic spirit that conquers mountains and rivers. The poem contains these four lines:

"The City, a tiger crouching, a dragon
curling, outshines its ancient glories;

In heroic triumph heaven and earth have
been overturned.

With power and to spare we must pursue
the tottering foe

And not one Hsiang Yu the conqueror
seeking idle fame."

As we re-read this poem in the high-tide of today's revolutionary mass criticism and repudiation, we feel all the more how relevant it is and how close to us. Let us bring into still fuller play the thoroughgoing revolutionary spirit of the proletariat, enhance our revolutionary elan and unite the greatest number of the masses. Let us thoroughly settle accounts with Peng Teh-huai for his crimes against the Party, against socialism and against Chairman Mao; let us thoroughly settle accounts with China's Khrushchev for his crimes against the Party, against socialism and against Chairman Mao. We must utterly destroy the bourgeois headquarters headed by China's Khrushchev and unfold the revolutionary mass criticism and repudiation campaign in an all-round and penetrating way, and overthrow and completely discredit, politically, ideologically and theoretically, the handful of top Party persons in authority taking the capitalist road.

C30: 3530-D

SCHEMING TO BETRAY PARTY IS AIMED AT USURPING PARTY

[Following is a translation of an article by the editorial departments of Wen-hui Pao, Chieh-fang Jih-pao and Chih-pu Sheng-huo and published in the Chinese-language periodical, Hung-ch'i (Red Flag), Peking, No 13, 17 Aug 67, pp 25-28.]

The raging great proletarian cultural revolution has unhorsed a handful of top ambitionists and conspirators within the Party one after another. With a bang, the revolutionary young Red Guard fighters and the broad masses of the proletarian revolutionaries have unearthed a group of as many as several tens of big traitors hidden within the Party. For a long time, this group of despicable traitors had hidden within the Party and usurped important posts in the Central Committee and the local Party and government leading organs. The dragging out of this handful of fellows has rid the Party of a hidden danger and a great menace. This is really a good thing that merits celebration. A great meritorious deed of the revolutionary young Red Guard fighters and broad masses of the proletarian revolutionaries, it also represents a great victory for the great proletarian cultural revolution, a great victory for the thought of Mao Tse-tung.

Who is the ringleader of this group of big traitors? It has now been found that he is none other than China's Khrushchev!

On the eve of the war of resistance against Japan, he vociferously publicized and extolled the philosophy of the renegade on the one hand, and on the other hand he made plans and decisions to enable some people to surrender themselves and forsake their faith.

In 1936, making use of the opportunity that he was in charge of work in the North Bureau, he made unauthorized use of the name of the Central Committee behind the back of Chairman Mao to transmit -- through a counter-revolutionary revisionist holding a leading post in the Central Committee at that time -- his "directive" to those in the prison authorizing them to get out of prison by making confessions and publish "anti-communist announcements" in the newspaper.

After this "directive" which betrayed the revolution was transmitted to the lower level, it was firmly boycotted by a part of the revolutionary comrades in the prison. They refused to carry it out, thus manifesting the noble revolutionary bearing of the communists. But to those traitors who had attempted to betray the Party to save themselves, the "decision" of China's Khrushchev was taken as a "legitimate" basis for them to surrender themselves and betray the Party. Therefore, under the protective wings of China's Khrushchev, these shameless traitors published a series of extremely reactionary "anti-communist announcements" during the period from August 1936 through March 1937. They prostrated before the enemy whose hands were dripping with the blood of the people, expressed their "sincere repentance," completed the "procedure" by affixing their signatures and fingerprints on documents, participating in the "reformation ceremony" and coming in for "certificates of reformation" to mark their betrayal of the revolution, and crawled out from their dogs' cells by the "grace" of the reactionaries. Compared with the thousands of revolutionary martyrs in the glorious history of our Party who confronted the overbearing enemy with a revolutionary bearing that dwarfed the mountains and rivers and outshone the sun and the moon, how mean, despicable and shameless this handful of brazen-faced fellows were!

Our revolutionary martyrs are like towering peaks that rise into the clouds, while this handful of traitors are nothing more than earth mounds. The Khrushchev of China and the handful of traitors under his protective wings are unable to wash away their disgrace with all the water of the East China Sea. The verdict of history is that you will leave an infamous memory to posterity.

Why must China's Khrushchev instigate these fellows to betray the Party? He schemed for the betrayal of the Party because he wanted to usurp power in the Party, recruit troops and horses, call in capitulationists and collect renegades, form factions for selfish ends, so that he might

usurp power in the Party, the government and the Army one day. This was the substance of the question, the key to why China's Khrushchev shielded the group of traitors.

China's Khrushchev feared most that people would puncture this question. On the strength of his counter-revolutionary class sensitivity, he presaged that the raging fire of the great proletarian cultural revolution would burn away his camouflage, reduce into ash his image as "a veteran revolutionary," "Party authority" and model of the workers' movement, and nakedly exposed his true features as a phoney revolutionary, a counter-revolutionary and a big traitor.

Following the rise of the great proletarian cultural revolution as a mass movement, he worked in collusion with another big traitor and counter-revolutionary revisionist in authority, and formed an offensive and defensive alliance with him. They attempted to bite back, and lay the blame on Comrade K'io Ch'ing-shih, Chairman Mao's worthy pupil. This was despicable and shameless in the extreme. They forgot that there were the revolutionary people armed with the thought of Mao Tse-tung, that every iron-clad fact had been recorded, and that nobody could cover up the sky with a single hand.

Comrade K'io Ch'ing-shih was at all times Chairman Mao's worthy pupil taking a steadfast and unwavering stand. He steadfastly implemented Chairman Mao's revolutionary line and had fought a stern and sharp struggle against some persons among that group of big traitors. By viciously vilifying our respected and beloved Comrade K'io Ch'ing-shih as a "veteran opportunist" back in 1936 -- could bring not the slightest harm to Comrade K'io. On the contrary, his features as an out-and-out counter-revolutionary had been further exposed.

The great exposure of this group of traitors by the proletarian revolutionaries scared China's Khrushchev out of his wits, and he came out with another explanation for self-deception:

The traitors had done nothing more than to "make a slip in thought."

How breezy this sounds! Can "a slip in thought" make one fall on one's knees and capitulate to the enemy? Can "a slip in thought" make one trade the skulls and blood of millions of revolutionary comrades and revolutionary

people for one's own life? What kind of philosophy is this? This is the philosophy of Hung Ch'eng-ch'ou, the philosophy of Wang Ching-wei, the philosophy of Ch'en Tu-hsiu, the philosophy of Khrushchev! It is the philosophy of all Chinese traitors and renegades of all times!

If this were just "a slip in thought," then we would like to ask:

Why was it that as early as 1939 you had in your notorious sinister book "On Self-Cultivation" openly advocated that "under the environment of reactionary rule it is necessary to abandon some work of the Party in order to preserve our comrades in time of need?"

Why was it that in 1943, you availed of the opportunity of summing up work experience in the rear of the enemy to advocate escapism saying that "the responsibility of the Party at such a time is not to 'oppose escape' but to give thought to how the escape should be organized?"

Why was it that when the "7th Congress" of the Party was in session in 1945, you actually stood in open opposition to Chairman Mao's directive and vainly attempted to write the sentence "Even those guilty of having committed an act of apostasy and made confessions can also be elected as members of the Central Committee" in the report?

We also have every reason to interrogate further the Khrushchev of China: Was it out of your pity for those sharing your ailment and your grief for your fellow creatures that you peddled so energetically the philosophy of the renegade and shielded a handful of traitors? Had you also made "a slip in thought" while you were working in the White area?

A revolution is a ruthless struggle between the new-born class and the dying class that ends in the survival of one and the death of the other. Confronted by this struggle, every genuine proletarian fighter never forgets at any time the revolutionary cause of the proletariat, never forgets the revolutionary determination and revolutionary bearing of the proletariat essential to the accomplishment of such a revolutionary cause. In the battlefield or the dungeon of the enemy, he would rather part with his head or shed his blood than discard the revolutionary bearing. Nursed with the thought of Mao Tse-tung, countless revolutionary martyrs had exhibited the lofty revolutionary determination and revolutionary bearing of the communists under the

battleaxe of the enemy. They could set the world astir, make gods and ghosts weep, outlast the world and outshine the sun and the moon.

But what kind of stuff were the handful of traitors shielded by China's Khrushchev? They were after all not genuine revolutionaries but only some opportunists having their brains stuffed with individualism. They showed the cloven hoof once they were put to test. These spineless rogues were so cowardly that in order to preserve their lives, they would not hesitate to forsake the bearing most precious to revolutionaries. They could sell their own soul for thirty silver dollars. Theirs was absolutely not any "slip in thought" but "a slip in life." They were counter-revolutionary from head to foot, with the stink of "dog's dung which is too lowly for mention by mankind" emitting from every one of their pores.

In order to acquit this group of traitors, China's Khrushchev also nonsensically said that this was a "phoney surrender" to "hoodwink the enemy."

A surrender is a surrender, and no surrender is phoney. As far as a communist who has fallen into the hands of the enemy is concerned, he has to make the choice between laying down his life for the revolution and betraying the revolution for personal safety. There can never be any third road to take. The enemy cannot find satisfaction in killing a revolutionary fallen into his hands. What the enemy wants is to soften and break a revolutionary so that the latter may become the leading goat to other apostates seeking capitulation, thus disintegrating and dividing the revolutionary force.

The year 1936 lay on the eve of the outbreak of the war of resistance against Japan. Led by Chairman Mao, the great helmsman, the Chinese Communist Party held high the big banner of resistance against Japan, and led the people all over China to make active preparations for launching the sacred war for national liberation. It was precisely at this moment that this group of despicable traitors shamelessly sold out their own souls to the enemy and betrayed the revolutionary cause, thus tarnishing the brilliant image of the great Chinese Communist Party. Were not the danger and loss they brought to the revolutionary cause serious enough?

Every "phoney surrender" was a genuine betrayal. In regard to the claim that this was done to "hoodwink the enemy," it is better to say that this was for the purpose of hoodwinking the Party and the people. Otherwise, why was

it that China's Khrushchev and his big and small pawns found it necessary to carry out this at the back of Chairman Mao and the Party Central Committee at that time, and conceal the true facts again and again from Chairman Mao and the Party Central Committee afterward? Why was it that after liberation you found it necessary to make use of the Party and political powers you had usurped to destroy forcibly the archives of the enemy and the puppet regime in an attempt to "deceive Heaven and cross the sea"? Why was it necessary to make use of your duties and powers to undermine the cadres-examination work of the Party? Why was it necessary to "shelve" the namelist of this group of traitors as a "secret of the organization" in the name of the Central Committee? All this had some connection with the big storm aroused by the publication of Comrade Ch'i Pen-yu's "On 'Li Hsiu-ch'eng's Autobiography'" in 1963. Was this not enough to make people give the matter a deep thought?

It was a greater nonsense to say that the rebellion was made in order to "preserve the comrades" and solve "the shortage of cadres."

Chairman Mao teaches us: "There must be the great Party and many cadres of the finest caliber to guide the great revolution." However, the revolutionary cause definitely does not need any spineless worms crawling out of the enemy cells. "Many cadres of the finest caliber" must be tempered in the raging fire of revolutionary struggle. Only by persisting in the revolution can we preserve, develop and strengthen the revolutionary force and temper a strong contingent of revolutionary cadres. To make revolution, there would necessarily be sacrifice. But we would never be cowed by sacrifice. "The Chinese Communist Party and the Chinese people have not been cowed, conquered or exterminated. Having found their feet, wiped off the blood on their bodies and buried their dead comrades, they go on fighting once again." We want to preserve such forces in the revolutionary struggle; we want to preserve such good comrades and good cadres.

However, the Khrushchev of China and the group of traitors under his protective wings took the opposite course. As they saw it, one's head was everything. With one's head lost, what was the use of principle? The "comrades" they wanted to preserve were such packs of foxes and dogs who were mindful of their heads all day long, such traitors who betrayed the principles. China's Khrushchev relied on such "cadres" as capital for betraying the Party. To tell the truth, therefore, in what he called "preservation of comrades,"

his endeavor to preserve the revolutionary comrades was false, while his endeavor to preserve the anti-Party forces was genuine. Such a theory of "preserving the comrades" sought nothing more than to play once again the old tune called the "theory of national salvation in a curve" of Wang Ching-wei and his ilk, lackeys of imperialism.

To scheme for defection against the Party is for the purpose of usurping power in the Party. This is no longer a hypothetical question, but a realistic one. China's Khrushchev is not just thinking but has been carrying out work in this way. How shocking this picture of the class struggle is!

Look, after these big traitors who were no better than swine and dogs crawled out from their dogs' cells one after another, China's Khrushchev -- in order to preserve his counter-revolutionary group to enable him to usurp power in the Party, the government and the Army -- devised all ways and means to protect them. They lauded and assisted each other, and each and everyone of them made rapid advance toward success in career and usurped power in the Party and government. They formed a bourgeois headquarters hidden within the machinery of the dictatorship of the proletariat -- an underground counter-revolutionary group. There were among them generals and ministers, civil and military officials, and once the time was ripe, they would change the political climate and ascend the stage. They were backed by theory, program and action, and they had put into effect a complete line of organization based upon calling in capitulationists and collecting renegades to serve their reactionary political line.

In the past few years, under the unified command of China's Khrushchev, this handful of persons -- in order to meet the need of the class enemies at home and in the international arena -- took concerted and coordinated actions, and had launched one rabid attack after another against the proletariat. If we did not hit back, "then it would not take long, perhaps only several years or a decade, or several decades at most, before a counter-revolutionary restoration on a national scale inevitably occurred, the Marxist-Leninist party would undoubtedly become a revisionist party or a fascist party, and the whole of China would change its color. Think of it, comrades, how dangerous such a scene would be!"

The great proletarian cultural revolution has averted the appearance of such a dangerous scene in China. The great proletarian cultural revolution has struck a devastating blow on a handful of traitors shielded by China's Khrushchev. Any denial, chicanery or counter-vilification is of no avail. China's Khrushchev is a sinner of history. He can never run away from the severest trial by the 700 million revolutionary people! (August 9)

CSO: 3530-D

THE BANKRUPTCY OF CHINA'S "DEVOTEE OF PARLIAMENT"

Following is a translation of an article by the editorial boards of Wen-hui Pao, Chieh-fang Jih-pao and Chih-pu Sheng-huo and published in the Chinese-language periodical, Hung-ch'i (Red Flag), Peking, No 13, 17 Aug 67, pp 29-32.

Whether the proletariat is to seize power through armed struggle or by taking the "parliamentary road," this is the fundamental difference between Marxism-Leninism and revisionism. The whole history of the international communist movement teaches us that all revisionists, big and small, have been "devotees of parliament." Without exception they have all denied that revolution by force is the universal law of the proletarian revolution, they have all along taken the bourgeois parliament as a stock exchange, where they conduct transactions selling out the fundamental interests of the proletariat. They have turned themselves into the most despicable renegades of the working class.

Their most outstanding representative in China is the top Party person in authority taking the capitalist road. He has all along been the biggest "devotee of parliament" in China and in the contemporary world.

In 1945, after victory in the war of resistance against Japan, the question put sharply to the whole Chinese people was, "whither China?" "To build a new-democratic country of the broad masses of the people under the leadership of the proletariat? Or to build a semi-colonial and semi-feudal country under the dictatorship of the big landlords and the big bourgeoisie? This will be a most complicated struggle." This most acute struggle is a battle decisive for the choice between the two destinies and the two futures facing China.

Upon final victory in the war of resistance against Japan, our great leader Chairman Mao pointed out: "It is necessary to be soberly aware that the danger of civil war is extremely serious because Chiang Kai-shek's policy is already set. Chiang Kai-shek's policy is civil war." And that in order to defend the fruits of victory, "our policy is to give him tit-for-tat and to fight for every inch of land."

It was precisely at this crucial moment that China's Khrushchev came out with his "Report on Problems in the Current Situation." In this report he flagrantly opposed Chairman Mao's revolutionary line, raised the absurd, reactionary theory of "a new stage of peace and democracy" and clamored for the "parliamentary road," saying that "the main form of struggle in the Chinese revolution has become peaceful and parliamentary, it will be legal mass struggle and parliamentary struggle." He also stated that "the whole work of the Party will undergo a change, all our organizations have to change, change to the point that non-armed struggle will be predominant . . . you must be capable of doing propaganda, making speeches and holding election campaigns so that people will vote for you."

In a word, he wanted to engage in legal struggle, and take the "parliamentary road."

This was the sinister program mapped out by China's Khrushchev in his futile attempt to pursue the "parliamentary road" in China. This is another great exposure of his features as a renegade in promoting class capitulationism and national capitulationism.

Did "a new stage of peace and democracy" occur in China at that time as China's Khrushchev claimed? No, not at all.

At the time when China's Khrushchev was cherishing fond dreams of the "parliamentary road," Chiang Kai-shek was sharpening his sword, holding peace talks while fighting the civil war. He used US planes and warships to dispatch large numbers of troops to the front. The danger of an all-out, national civil war was imminent and it would break out at a moment's notice. This counter-revolutionary action of Chiang Kai-shek's was a slap in the face to China's Khrushchev who was singing the stale tune of the "parliamentary road."

What is parliament? In capitalist countries parliament is only an ornament or a screen for bourgeois rule. The main pillar of the bourgeois state apparatus is armed force, not parliament. Whether the bourgeoisie carries out the parliamentary system or abolishes it, or what amount of power it gives parliament is always decided by the requirements of bourgeois rule.

It is a complete and vicious fraud to aspire to make the transition to socialism peacefully through the "parliamentary road" when the bourgeoisie controls the powerful state apparatus. In the present-day world we have only the tragic lesson of socialist countries which have peacefully evolved to capitalist countries but not a single precedent of a capitalist country making a peaceful transition to socialism.

Of course, under certain conditions the proletariat can utilize the parliamentary platform to expose the festering sores of bourgeois society, to educate the masses and to accumulate revolutionary strength so as to make preparations for seizing political power by armed force. But it is absolutely impossible to use parliamentary struggle to replace revolution by violence.

Very early, Lenin pointed out: "Limiting the class struggle to the parliamentary struggle, or regarding the latter as the highest and decisive form, to which all the other forms of struggle are subordinate, is actually desertion to the side of the bourgeoisie against the proletariat." The "legal mass struggle and parliamentary struggle" publicized by China's Khrushchev is precisely "actually desertion to the side of the bourgeoisie against the proletariat."

In capitalist countries the "parliamentary road" is a blind alley. In semi-feudal and semi-colonial China, especially in China after the victory of the war of resistance against Japan, the "parliamentary road" was even more of an impasse.

Quite early, Chairman Mao pointed out the following about old China under Chiang Kai-shek's rule: "That internally she has no democracy but is under feudal oppression and that in her external relations she has no national independence but is oppressed by imperialism. It follows that we have no parliament to make use of and no legal right to organize the workers to strike. Basically, the task of

the Communist Party here is not to go through a long period of legal struggle before launching insurrection and war, and not to seize the big cities first and then occupy the countryside, but the reverse."

The objective law for the triumph of the Chinese revolution was to use armed revolution to oppose armed counter-revolution. This was the only road to victory for the Chinese revolution.

But after the victory of the war of resistance against Japan, China's Khrushchev had the impudence to negate this objective law. Therefore, we would like to ask:

Could it be said that the characteristics of the Chinese revolution disappeared after the victory of the war of resistance against Japan? Did the basic law of the Chinese revolution not operate from then on?

Could it be said that the gang of butchers, headed by Chiang Kai-shek, who killed without batting an eyelid, became angels of peace and democracy after the victory of the war of resistance against Japan?

Could it be said that in dealing with the Chiang Kai-shek brigand clique who were armed to the teeth one could bring about peace and democracy just by making a speech and winning a few votes in parliament? If we had followed the "parliamentary road" publicized by China's Khrushchev at a time when the Kuomintang Chiang Kai-shek was sharpening his sword, cleaning his rifle and preparing to kill us, and had entered the cities with ballots as our admission, we would never have won the basic success of the democratic revolution, we would never have been able to enter Chiang Kai-shek's cities, but would only have lost our own cities instead, millions of people would have been killed and the future of the Chinese revolution would have been thrown away.

While China's Khrushchev advocated the "parliamentary road," he also openly opposed armed struggle and urged handing over weapons to the Kuomintang. He openly put forth the view that "the army should also be reorganized," intending to reorganize our army "to become units of the national army, national defense army, security troops and self-defense forces." He wanted "to liquidate Party organizations" in the army, ". . . top the (Communist Party's) direct leadership and command of the armed forces which should be placed under the unified command of the Ministry of National

Defense." China's Khrushchev even had the effrontery to say that such "compromise" "makes no change in the nature of the army but gives the army legality this is a worthwhile and profitable deal."

This is the out-and-out logic of a renegade.

Actually, such "compromise" was the equivalent to putting one's fingerprints on a confession in the enemy's prison. To obtain such "legality" can only mean to be legal according to the law of Chiang Kai-shek and to the law of the Kuomintang. To realize such "unification" is to "unify" the Communist Party into the Kuomintang.

"It makes no change in the nature of the army" is the equivocation of a renegade. We would like to ask, without the leadership of the Communist Party whose army would it become? Whom would the guns point at? Once the nature of the army changes, the direction of the muzzles point will change. Without the army there can be no revolution, much less victory in the revolution.

In the ten years from 1936 to 1946, China's Khrushchev never gave up the idea of handing over military power to the Kuomintang. Early in May 1936 while he was in the North China Bureau in charge of work in the white area, he wrote in a reactionary bourgeois journal under the pseudonym Tao Shang-hsing "A Letter Concerning the Communist Party." This sinister article advocated handing over the people's armed forces to the Kuomintang and making a "unified army with the same system and same organization." This was entirely in keeping with Wang Ming's capitulationism. If we compare what China's Khrushchev said in 1946 with what he said in 1936, we will find that the only difference is that he was even more determined to hand over the army and to hand it over more thoroughly. It was simply to curry favor with the US-Chiang reactionaries so as to get a good official position in the Kuomintang government that China's Khrushchev chose the moment of sharpest class struggle hastily to betray the people's armed forces. He had absolutely no sense of shame.

In the international communist movement, to hand over weapons to the enemy in exchange for a few seats in parliament and to win the post of vice premier or minister is no invention of China's Khrushchev. After the Second World War, Thorez handed over weapons, Togliatti handed over guns, and the Greek Communist Party, though Athens was

almost in its hands, handed over its guns. And the result? After the guns were handed over the "legality" was abolished; large numbers of true revolutionary Party members were slaughtered and the blood of revolutionary martyrs became the wine in the cups of the enemy. What sort of "profitable" transaction was this? It was clearly a cheap sell-out of the cause of revolution and a monstrous betrayal of the people's interests.

Lenin said: "A bourgeoisie armed against the proletariat is one of the biggest, fundamental and cardinal facts of modern capitalist society. And in face of this fact, revolutionary social-democrats are urged to 'demand' 'disarmament'! That is tantamount to complete abandonment of the class struggle point of view, to renunciation of all thought of revolution." China's Khrushchev is just such an old-time opportunist who abandons all thought of revolution.

At that time, our great leader Chairman Mao alone stood firmly against this adverse revisionist current in the international communist movement. Giving tit-for-tat, he pointed out: "The arms of the people, every gun and every bullet, must all be kept, must not be handed over." This is a summation of the experience of the Chinese revolution and the international communist movement, a strategic concept of tremendous world significance, a wise policy in opposing right capitulationism, and a fundamental guarantee of complete victory of the Chinese revolution and world revolution.

The Khrushchev of China advocated the "parliamentary road" and opposed the seizure of political power by force of arms with such frenzy, because he feared revolution and war and the jaws of death; all he was interested in was winning promotions and filling his coffers in a comfortable way. When in gaol, a man like this is bound to give himself over to the enemy and betray the revolution; in the face of violent revolution, he inevitably becomes terror-stricken and shouts himself hoarse calling for legal struggle. The needs of US imperialism and Chiang Kai-shek, autocrat and traitor to the people, to dissolve and destroy the Communist Party, exterminate the proletarian revolution and maintain the reactionary rule of the US-Chiang Kai-shek clique have been fully served by the ignominious traitorous activities of China's Khrushchev.

In his all-out advertisement of the "parliamentary road," China's Khrushchev used another argument. This was the emergence, according to him, of "historically

unprecedented conditions" in China at that time. These conditions were said to be: three countries (Britain, the United States and the Soviet Union) were helping China's democratic movement; three political parties (the Kuomintang, the Communist Party and the Democratic League) in China favored cooperation to bring about democracy in China; and the three principal classes of China (the working people, middle-of-the-roaders of the middle bourgeoisie and part of the big bourgeoisie) demanded democracy in China. He wanted to take the "parliamentary road" precisely on the strength of this argument.

What nonsense! Under the pen of China's Khrushchev, the US and British imperialists had become buddhas and were going so far as to help the "democratic movement" of China. Was this a fact? No! It was then the set policy of US imperialism to help Chiang Kai-shek fight the civil war and turn China into a dependency of the United States. Under the signboard of promoting democracy in China, the US government was reinforcing Chiang Kai-shek's military strength in every possible way and was suppressing the Chinese people's revolution through Chiang Kai-shek's policy of massacring the people. When he describes US and British imperialism as helping China's democratic movement was this Khrushchev of China not clasping an enemy to his bosom and completely and unreservedly standing on the side of US imperialism?

Three political parties "favored cooperation" and three classes "demanded democracy in China"! This was yet more nonsense. There was absolutely no demand common to the big bourgeoisie and the working people. To wrest every ounce of power and every ounce of gain -- was the principle of the Kuomintang and Chiang Kai-shek in dealing with the people. On August of 1945, in his essay "On A Statement by Chiang Kai-shek's Spokesman" Chairman Mao pointed out explicitly that Chiang Kai-shek was the enemy of the people. However, half a year later, China's Khrushchev went so far as to openly stand on the side of the people's enemy, reversing the verdict on Chiang Kai-shek, taking the enemy as people and describing the blood-thirsty butcher to be an angel who was "promoting peace and democracy." Was he not serving as an out-and-out spokesman for Chiang Kai-shek?

The practice of the Chinese revolution has totally destroyed the dream of China's Khrushchev. Casting aside all these absurd ideas, the Chinese people, under the guidance of Chairman Mao's revolutionary line, finally

overthrew the reactionary rule of the Kuomintang in the course of three years' heroic battle, won great victory in the liberation war and founded the People's Republic of China.

After the founding of new China, China's Khrushchev, his ambition undiminished, still obstinately advertised his capitulationist theory and vainly attempted to spread it throughout the world. In 1962 he wanted the Communist Party of Burma to "bury its weapons, reorganize its army into the 'defense forces' (Ne Win's reactionary army); and cooperate with Ne Win in the building of socialism" During his visit to Indonesia in April 1963, he shamelessly lauded the road of "Nasakom" and in an unofficial conversation he made such nonsensical remarks as, "It will do good" for the Communist Party of Indonesia "to have more Party members in positions of minister in the government, to accumulate more experience in governing the country."

This is China's Khrushchev's great betrayal of the Chinese people, the Asian people and of people the world over. China's Khrushchev is the common enemy of the Chinese people and people throughout the world.

The "devotee of parliament" in China has gone completely bankrupt. All the "devotees of parliament" in the world, big or small, have met a rebuff everywhere. With each passing day, the great truth of Chairman Mao that "political power grows out of the barrel of a gun" is being grasped by the proletariat, the oppressed people and oppressed nations throughout the world. The flames of armed struggle are burning vigorously in Burma, India, Southeast Asia, Africa, Latin America and other regions. The people are criticizing the old world with the gun. This is also the most powerful criticism of China's Khrushchev. Let us hold still higher the great red banner of Mao Tse-tung's thought, penetratingly criticize, thoroughly repudiate and completely discredit China's top "devotee of parliament" and the whole set of capitulationist nonsense he has advertised, and sweep it into the garbage bin of history.

CSO: 3530-D

SONG OF TRIUMPH ON TSINGHAI PLATEAU

Following is a translation of a Jen-min Jih-pao editorial in the Chinese-language periodical, Hung-ch'i (Red Flag), Peking, No 13, 17 Aug 67, pp 33-34.

The Tsinghai Provincial Revolutionary Committee has announced its establishment, under the solicitude of our great leader Chairman Mao Tse-tung. This comes at a time when the situation in the great proletarian cultural revolution throughout the country is excellent, and there is an upsurge in the movement of mass criticism and repudiation and great struggle by hundreds of millions of revolutionaries to wipe out the bourgeois headquarters lock, stock and barrel.

This is a great new victory in the struggle by the proletarian revolutionaries for the seizure of power, following the stormy "January Revolution." It is a song of triumph for the proletarian revolutionary line represented by Chairman Mao resounding throughout the Tsinghai Plateau.

Chairman Mao teaches us: "All revolutionary struggles in the world are aimed at seizing political power and consolidating it. The desperate struggles waged by counter-revolutionaries against revolutionary forces are likewise solely for the sake of maintaining their political power."

The proletarian revolutionaries in the Tsinghai province, with the left organization of "August 18" as their core, have gone through the severe test of acute and tense class struggle in order to seize power from the handful of Party persons in authority taking the capitalist road in the province.

Holding high the great red banner of Mao Tse-tung's thought, and with tremendous support and help from the People's Liberation

Army units stationed in the province, they have taken Party, administrative, financial and cultural power from the hands of the class enemy. The proletarian revolutionaries of Tsinghai province have earned the name of steeled fighters loyal to Chairman Mao, to Mao Tse-tung's thought and to his proletarian revolutionary line.

Founded and led by Chairman Mao himself and commanded directly by Vice Chairman Lin Piao, the People's Liberation Army is a brave defender of the great proletarian cultural revolution, a strong backing to the proletarian revolutionaries, and the strongest pillar of the dictatorship of the proletariat in China.

The units of the People's Liberation Army in Tsinghai have held high the great red banner of Mao Tse-tung's thought, stood firmly on the side of Chairman Mao and his proletarian revolutionary line, resolutely and fully carried out all the directives of Chairman Mao's proletarian headquarters and, with a clear-cut stand, supported and protected the proletarian revolutionaries. They have played an important role in the proletarian revolutionaries struggle for the seizure of power.

There have been twists and turns in the great proletarian cultural revolution in Tsinghai province. This appears to be a bad thing but actually is a very good thing. For it has resulted in a fuller exposure of the bourgeois reactionary line, emergence of the revolutionary forces and a clear-cut differentiation between the two lines. This is often the law of things. In certain conditions a bad thing is turned into a good thing. As a result of the twists and turns, a problem is perceived more clearly and thus a solution is arrived at. The more fully the contradictions are exposed, the more thoroughly are they solved. This is indeed the case in Tsinghai.

Experience in the struggle for the seizure of power by the proletarian revolutionaries of Tsinghai province once again proves that so long as we act according to Chairman Mao's instructions, we can be invincible everywhere.

It tells us that the establishment of the great alliance of proletarian revolutionaries is the most important guarantee of victory in the struggle for the seizure of power.

The proletarian revolutionaries of Tsinghai province formed such revolutionary alliance in the struggle to seize power and consolidated it in the course of revolutionary mass criticism and repudiation. And this provided their struggle for the seizure of power with a solid mass basis and ideological basis.

Tsinghai's experience shows that the formation of the revolutionary "three-way alliance" is the political and organizational guarantee for victory in the proletarian revolutionaries' struggle to seize power.

Chairman Mao has said: "In every place and unit where power must be seized, the policy of revolutionary "three-way alliance" must be carried out to establish a provisional organ of power which is revolutionary and representative and has proletarian authority. This organ of power should preferably be called a revolutionary committee."

The proletarian revolutionaries of Tsinghai province formed a revolutionary "three-way alliance" in their struggle for the seizure of power and consolidated it in the course of revolutionary mass criticism and repudiation. This has ensured that the Tsinghai Provincial Revolutionary Committee becomes a revolutionary and representative provisional organ of power which has proletarian authority.

Tsinghai's experience also shows that it is necessary at all times to maintain a firm grip on the general orientation of the struggle, to carry out mass criticism and repudiation and struggle against the handful of top Party persons in authority taking the capitalist road politically, ideologically and theoretically.

We cannot allow this mass criticism and repudiation and struggle to slacken off while we strive for the revolutionary alliance and the revolutionary "three-way alliance," while we struggle to seize power, and while we hold and exercise power. Only thus is it possible to consolidate and strengthen the dictatorship of the proletariat and carry the great proletarian cultural revolution through to the end.

Tsinghai's experience shows that it is necessary to bring into fully play the role of a nucleus and backbone of revolutionary leading cadres. A number of revolutionary leading cadres have come forward in the struggle to seize power in Tsinghai province. They have stood staunchly on the side of Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line and have fought alongside the proletarian revolutionaries. And in the course of the revolutionary mass criticism and repudiation they have clarified their position still further.

Chairman Mao has said: "The veteran cadres won merit in the old days but they cannot rest on their past glory. They should do very well to temper and remold themselves in the great proletarian cultural revolution and should win fresh merit and make new contributions." The revolutionary cadres of Tsinghai province are working in accordance with this teaching by Chairman Mao.

Tsinghai's experience shows that it is necessary to carry out the policies of the Party's Central Committee in an exemplary way in the great proletarian cultural revolution. It is an important policy of the Party to win over and educate the masses who have been misled and help them change their stand and rapidly return to the side of Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line. The proletarian revolutionaries of Tsinghai have not asked the misled masses to make self-criticisms and are not taking revenge on them. On the contrary, their attitude is one of responsibility to the revolution and to the people. Patiently and persuasively they are helping and educating those among the masses who were misled, and are enabling them to raise their political consciousness in the course of the movements of mass exposure, accusation, criticism and repudiation and mass struggle, so that these people can hit back at those who misled them and fight against the enemy alongside the proletariat revolutionaries.

There is an excellent situation in Tsinghai and it is getting better and better. The founding of the Tsinghai Provincial Revolutionary Committee shows that the great proletarian cultural revolution in Tsinghai province has embarked on a great new voyage along the route opened up by Chairman Mao.

The proletarian revolutionaries of Tsinghai province must hold still higher the great red banner of Mao Tse-tung's thought and give primary importance to the living study and application of Chairman Mao's works. Along with their seizure of power from those in authority taking the capitalist road, they must fiercely fight the "ego" in their own minds and revolutionize their thinking.

For only so will they be able to hold and exercise the power well for the proletariat, conduct the great proletarian cultural revolution still better and create a red new Tsinghai shining with the brilliance of Mao Tse-tung's thought.

CSO: 3530-D

MESSAGE SALUTING CHAIRMAN MAO TSE-TUNG

[Following is a translation of a message from the Rally to Found and Celebrate the Tsinghai Provincial Revolutionary Committee in the Chinese-language periodical, Hung-ch'i (Red Flag), Peking, No. 13, 17 August 1967, pages 35-38]

Most revered and beloved great leader Chairman Mao:

Elatedly, we proletarian revolutionaries of Tsinghai report to you, the reddest sun in our heart, the inspiring news of the establishment of the Tsinghai Provincial Revolutionary Committee. Under the illumination of your brilliant thinking and in the high tide of the revolutionary great criticism, the great proletarian cultural revolutionary army of Tsinghai province, centering around the "8.18" revolutionary rebels, has realized the revolutionary great unity and the revolutionary "three-combine" and recaptured the provincial party, governmental, financial, and cultural powers usurped by the small handful of capitalist authorities in the party! Recaptured all the powers!

This is yet another great victory for the proletarian revolutionary line you represent!

It is yet another resounding song of triumph in our country's great proletarian cultural revolution!

It is a great victory for the great proletarian cultural revolution on the Northwest China Plateau!

While celebrating this great occasion with victory songs and fluttering red flags, we dance and shout in joy! Our hot blood boils! Thousands of words fill our heart, and hot tears of emotion flow! Our cheers resound a thousand, nay, ten thousand, times: Long live Chairman Mao! A long, long life to Chairman Mao!

Chairman Mao, Chairman Mao! Today, when we recall the combat process of the great proletarian cultural revolution in Tsinghai du-

ring the past year, our eyes are filled with tears of emotion and our heart with an inexhaustible love for you. The K'un-lun Mountain is high, but your bright image is even higher. The Tsinghai Lake is deep, but your benevolence is even deeper. Even with the forest of Ch'i-lien as the pen and the water of the Tsinghai Lake as the ink, we will not be able to express fully our gratitude and reverence toward you! We wish you an endless life!

Your great hand at the helm of the Chinese revolution has guided us from victory to victory.

With the courage and mettle of the greatest proletarian revolutionary of our time, you personally initiated the great proletarian cultural revolution and crushed the schemes of the class enemies at home and abroad aimed at restoring capitalism in China, and you have thus ensured that our socialist state will never change its political color. You have personally written the most brilliant chapter in the history of the international communist movement, solved the theoretical and practical problems of carrying on the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat, and carried forward and developed Marxism to the new stage of Mao Tse-tung's thought.

It was the "Announcement" of the Chinese Communist Central of 16 May 1966 formulated under your personal sponsorship which sounded the bugle to launch the great proletarian cultural revolution.

It was the first Marxist-Leninist large-letter poster personally decided by you for broadcast in the entire nation which ignited the flame of the great proletarian cultural revolution.

It was the large-letter poster of "Opening Fire on the Commanding Headquarters" personally written by you, with foresight, courage, and determination, which declared the bankruptcy of the bourgeois commanding headquarters and bourgeois reactionary line of the old world.

It was the 16 articles formulated under your personal supervision and the documents of the 11th Central General Meeting of the Party's Eighth Session which further systematically perfected the theory, line, policy, and means to promote the revolution under the proletarian dictatorship and illuminated the advance of the great proletarian cultural revolution.

Clouds surge, stars rush, and the universe is wide. Winds roar, thunders rumble, and the bearing is magnificent. Chairman Mao, Chairman Mao! The series of great instructions you have issued and the wise policy decisions you have made inspire the hundreds of millions in the army of the cultural revolution in their all-out victorious general offensive against the bourgeois headquarters headed by China's Khrushchev.

Revered and beloved Chairman Mao! The moment you issued the order, we charged on to the battlefield. "Knock down the King of Hell; liberate the little devils." Your great call has given us firm

confidence in victory; it has inspired us to launch one assault after another on the handful of capitalist authorities in the Tsinghai Provincial Party Committee and to clear away one of the stubborn strongholds for the restoration of capitalism.

To rebel is just; rebel to the end. Your earnest hopes have given us an inexhaustible courage and strength, and enabled us to publish the editorials entitled "Great Attack, Great Counter-Offensive, and Great Revolution" in the Tsinghai Daily on 3 June 1966. We are determined to follow you closely, and serve as the shock troops to smash the old society and the vanguard to create the new era.

You teach us: "Even great storms are not to be feared. It is amid great storms that human society progresses." During the past year, we have battled against stormy gales and broken through the encirclement created, ring upon ring, by the bourgeois reactionary line. On "December 9" in Min-ho, we smashed the plot of the old Tsinghai Provincial Committee to destroy without authorization a carload of black material. The battle flags of "to Rebel Is Just" fluttered on both shores of the Huang River; it was the great power struggle of "January 28!" On the momentum of the "January Revolutionary Storm," we repelled the evil wind of bourgeois economism. Our revolutionary rebellion red iron current surged. Your revolutionary line has always guided us in our victorious advance and helped us temper ourselves and mature in the tempestuous struggle.

You teach us: "You must concern yourselves with state affairs and carry the great proletarian cultural revolution through to the end!" You toil for the destiny of mankind; your words are weighty and your mind far-reaching. We exert our effort for the future of the nation; our ambition is great and our courage indomitable. Your brilliant thinking is our invincible spiritual weapon. "We can seize the moon in the heavens; we can catch the turtle in the oceans." We are not afraid of swift currents or dangerous shoals. We dare to brave the mountain of knives and the sea of fire. We have beaten back the counter-revolutionary adverse current stirred up by the handful of capitalist authorities in the province, defended your revolutionary line with our blood and lives, and safeguarded your all-illuminating thought.

"We feel the nearness of Peking in revolution and the intimacy of Chairman Mao in rebellion." Chairman Mao, Chairman Mao! In the white terror casting dark clouds and bewildering fog, day and night we look to your bright image. In the days of difficulty, your teachings are deeply impressed in our mind!

Justice moves heaven and earth; live and die for the revolution. In face of the ruthless persecution, we read aloud your teachings: "Make up your mind, fear no sacrifice, brush aside all difficulties, and strive for victory." While heroically defending the Tsinghai Daily for nine days and nine nights, we sang loudly over and

over again: "Lifting our head, we see the North Star, and we yearn for Mao Tse-tung."

Raising high the bright red Chairman Mao's Sayings, we turn our heart toward the east and shout the slogan of "Long Live Chairman Mao!" A new page of history is written with blood, and our red heart is entrusted to the blue sky and white cloud.

The dawn sun rises in the east, and a new look of the mountains and rivers unfolds. Chairman Mao, Chairman Mao! It was again you who understood everything clearly, promptly discovered the problems of Tsinghai, corrected the course of the great proletarian cultural revolution of the province, and led us to the new historical voyage.

Heaven and earth are great, but not as great as your benevolence! Father and mother are dear, but not as dear as you! We cannot but shout in joy: "Long Live Chairman Mao! Long, Long Live Chairman Mao!"

Our most revered and beloved Chairman Mao! Under the illumination of your brilliant thinking, the long river of history becomes even more powerful. Today, the situation in Tsinghai is excellent! Your great banners of revolutionary criticism are planted all over both sides of the K'un-lun Mountain. The revolutionary seeds sown by you are blooming on both shores of the Huang River. The campaign of mass criticism and struggle against China's Khrushchev is surging forward on the Tsinghai plateau and developing vigorously.

Revolutionary practice has helped us to gain a profounder understanding of the truth you teach: "The basic problem in revolution is that of political power." The alarming reality of the class struggle makes us realize deeply that political power is our life line. To prevent the restoration of capitalism, we must always keep in mind the class struggle and the proletarian dictatorship and fight to the death in defense of the proletarian dictatorship. We pledge ourselves to follow your teachings, hold aloft your banner of revolutionary criticism, coordinate the criticism of the top capitalist authorities in the party with that of their agents in the party in Tsinghai, integrate it with the struggle-criticism-reform of our own units, firmly complete the glorious task of struggle-criticism-reform entrusted by you, carry the great proletarian cultural revolution through to the end, and ensure the permanent purity of our ironclad mountains and rivers.

Revered and beloved Chairman Mao, you render us support, and we will win honor for you. The power captured by us from the hands of the class enemies with our fresh blood and life will be defended with our fresh blood and life. "We are not only skillful in destroying the old world, but will also be skillful in building a new one." With the illumination of your brilliant thinking, and the guidance of the line and policy formulated under your personal supervision, we

have the courage to hold the power for the proletariat, and we will be skillful in wielding it for the proletariat. We shall firmly implement and defend your policy of "three-combine," enhance the great unity of all minorities in Tsinghai, and work for the rapid establishment of a proletarian revolutionary new order.

Chairman Mao, Chairman Mao! We realize deeply that, when compared with your strategy, our success is but the first step in the ten thousand-li trek. We will always keep in mind your admonitions. We will be vigilant against "the sugar-coated cannon balls." We will observe your instructions to "promote the revolution with thrift," and to "serve as 'government officials' and common people at the same time." We will answer your appeal to "establish new merits instead of living on one's capital." We will be vigilant against the "peaceful evolution" conspiracy of the class enemies. We will prevent corruption by bourgeois ideology, serve the people wholeheartedly, never for a moment divorce ourselves from the masses, carry forward the fine tradition of plain living and hard struggle, persist in the good style of criticism and self-criticism, always maintain and never turn aside from the revolutionary qualities of the proletariat, and always remain revolutionary.

Our revered and beloved Chairman Mao! You always teach us to realize what Marx said: Only by emancipating the whole of mankind can the proletariat finally emancipate itself. We are resolved to do as you say, work according to your policies, correctly differentiate between and handle the two types of contradictions, unite with all the forces that can be united, form a mighty revolutionary army, and launch a general offensive against the top capitalist authorities in the party. We will serve not only as domestic revolutionaries, but also as world revolutionaries. We will never forget our oppressed class brothers all over the world. We are ready at all times to assist the struggle against imperialism and revisionism in Asia, Africa, and Latin America and make the great thought of Mao Tse-tung shine like the sun throughout the world for all the generations to come!

Our revered and beloved Chairman Mao! "Tackling the revolution and promoting production" is the great policy proposed by you. We will implement it fully. We will ride on the east wind of the great cultural revolution, vigorously promote industrial, agricultural, and livestock production, and toil for the construction of Tsinghai into a socialist strategic rear of the nation.

Our most revered and beloved Chairman Mao! At the critical moment of the decisive battle between the two classes and between the two lines, you issued the appeal to the Chinese People's Liberation Army to render active support to the large leftwing masses. It showed your deep concern and great encouragement for us. The Chinese People's Liberation Army has established imperishable merits in the

great cultural revolution of Tsinghai, fighting alongside the "8.18" revolutionary rebels and rendering all aid. When the military and the civilian unite into one, there is no match in the world. We will always learn from the People's Liberation Army and unite, fight, and triumph along with it in energetically strengthening the proletarian dictatorship and resolutely suppressing all disruption and sabotage by any class enemy. The magnificent K'un-lun Mountain will be turned into an iron and steel Great Wall, and the beautiful Ch'i-lien will be built into an invincible defense line.

"Navigating the high seas depends on the helmsman; the growth of all living matters hinges on the sun." Chairman Mao, Chairman Mao! You are our wise helmsman and great leader. We vow to defend you, your revolutionary line, and the proletarian headquarters which you represent. We shall always bear well in mind your teaching: "The present great cultural revolution is only the first; there will inevitably be many more in the future. The issue of who will win in the revolution can only be settled over a long historical period. If things are not properly handled, it is possible for a capitalist restoration to take place at any time." We shall be highly vigilant against those of the Khrushchev type and always remain loyal to your thinking. We shall overthrow whoever dares to oppose you. We shall rebel against whoever dares to defame your brilliant thinking. We shall smash whoever dares to oppose the proletarian headquarters. We shall not stint our lives and blood to defend you. Our courage will exist through the generations; our determination will remain inexhaustible like the long river. We shall forever remain loyal to you. Your great thought will forever radiate its brilliant light like the sun and the moon!

Our most revered and beloved Chairman Mao, we pledge solemnly: We will firmly implement Deputy Supreme Commander Lin Piao's call to study your writings, follow your teachings, act according to your instructions, and be your good fighters. We shall put your brilliant thought in command of everything and use it to propel things forward and transform things. We regard the study of your brilliant works as coming first, above everything else. We will always make the "three old articles" our maxims, devote a great effort to the reform of our world philosophy, thoroughly eliminate self-interest, establish the absolute authority of your brilliant thought in our minds, conquer all non-proletarian ideas, and guide those with petty bourgeois thinking to the path of the proletarian revolution. We shall enhance the proletarian revolutionary spirit, scientific quality, and organizational discipline, and make Tsinghai a great red school of Mao Tse-tung's thinking. May the great, all-illuminating thought of Mao Tse-tung shine forever over the Tsinghai Plateau!

Chairman Mao, Chairman Mao! Words cannot fully express our faith, loyalty, worship, and devotion! You bring hope to the destiny

of mankind, give assurance to the future of the world, and render our future bright! We will forever follow you closely, following your brilliant thinking, the proletarian revolutionary line represented by you, and the proletarian headquarters led by you. Time progresses! The nation progresses! Please set your mind at ease! We will not disappoint you! Under your teaching, we will write a song in your praise in history, and create a new world of your brilliant thinking! We will be forever loyal to your new era!

From the bottom of our heart, we wish you, the reddest sun in our heart, a long, long life!

Rally to Found and Celebrate the Tsinghai Provincial
Revolutionary Committee.

12 August 1967

6080

CSO: 3530-D

**SOCIALIST ENTERPRISES CAN NEVER BE ALLOWED TO BE DRAGGED
ASTRAY ONTO THE ROAD OF CAPITALISM**

**- A Summary of the Criticism and Repudiation
Meeting of Shanghai Workers -**

[Following is a translation of an article in the Chinese-language periodical, Hung-ch'i (Red Flag), Peking, No. 13, 17 August 1967, pages 39-42.]

Hung-ch'i editor's note:

The top Party person in authority taking the capitalist road has carried out an out-and-out counter-revolutionary revisionist line in the industrial field. He spares no effort to advocate the "theory of extinction of class struggle," promote in a big way the principle of profit in command and material incentive, and "place factories under the management of experts." He is opposed to the socialist revolution, bringing proletarian politics to the fore, and the leadership and mass line of the Party. This counter-revolutionary revisionist line of his entirely takes over the mantle of Tito, Khrushchev and their ilk. He vainly tries to use this line to bring about the peaceful evolution of socialist enterprises into capitalist enterprises and the restoration of capitalism in China.

The working class of Shanghai with its glorious revolutionary tradition--holding high the great red banner of Mao Tse-tung's thought and working in conjunction with the struggle, criticism and reform in its own units--has unfolded in a big way mass criticism and repudiation of this counter-revolutionary revisionist line of the Khrushchev of China. A summary of the criticism and repudiation meeting is published here.

The "Theory of the Extinction of Class Struggle"
Is a Smoke Bomb To Give Cover to the Attack
of the Bourgeoisie

In February 1957, our great leader Chairman Mao unambiguously pointed out: "The vestiges of the overthrown landlord-comprador class are still in existence and so is the bourgeoisie. The petty bourgeoisie is in the process of being reformed. The class struggle has not come to an end."

Two months later, China's Khrushchev went to Shanghai and flagrantly sang a tune that ran counter to Chairman Mao's. He said: "The domestic enemies have now been basically wiped out. The landlord class has already been wiped out, and the bourgeoisie is also basically eliminated. The counter-revolutionaries are also considered as having been basically wiped out." He also said: "We say that the principal class struggle in China has basically come to an end." This was entirely deceptive talk.

Taking our factory for instance, several capitalists still embezzled state assets in a big way and undermined socialist economic construction in the past few years. They made photostatic copies of their title deeds and kept records of their machinery and equipment. Up to the great cultural revolution, they still kept accounts in anticipation of a change in the political climate.

Fact show that the bourgeoisie will never change their ambitious designs and will never be reconciled to the loss of their paradise. Once the opportunity rises, they will stage a comeback and restore capitalism. The "theory of the extinction of class struggle" as advocated by the top Party person in authority taking the capitalist road is a big smoke bomb for benumbing the revolutionary vigilance of the working class and giving cover to the attack of the bourgeoisie. (Ch'ien Chin-lung, a turner of the Shanghai Tools Factory)

China's Khrushchev nonsensically said that "the capitalist agents have handed out the properties of the capitalists and are no longer capitalists" and that they might be "promoted" to serve as leaders. According to this sinister "directive" of his, the Party person in authority taking the capitalist road within the factory "promoted" two capitalists as deputy factory superintendents and eight as section chiefs and workshop directors.

It was precisely these two fellows--the two now "promoted" as deputy factory superintendents--who secretly shipped a big quantity of equipment to Taiwan on the eve of liberation.

After liberation, they spread "five kinds of poisonous stuff" in a big way. In the days of socialist transformation, they ostensibly handed out their properties, but secretly drew out capital and embezzled material supplies for sale. They also employed the method of "winning over the hearts of people in order to win over people and seize power" for the purpose of corrupting and winning over the cadres.

The bourgeoisie at all times make vain attempts to subvert socialism and restore capitalism. In wanting to "promote" the capitalists as leaders, the top Party person in authority taking the capitalist road wants to let the overthrown bourgeoisie ascend the stage once again to seize our power, exercise dictatorship over us, and transform the socialist enterprises into capitalist enterprises. He is the chief backer of the bourgeoisie favoring the restoration of capitalism. (Wang YU-lung, a worker of the Shanghai Switches Factory)

The top Party person in authority taking the capitalist road nonsensically said that "the struggle of millions of workers for the abolition of backwardness under the leadership of advanced producers is a motive force that forever drives the socialist society forward." This is an out-and-out revisionist fallacy. He wants us to bury our heads only in production without paying any attention to politics and the socialist revolution.

The socialist society is one in which classes and class struggle are present. We want precisely to eliminate the bourgeoisie through class struggle and develop the socialist society into the communist society. The class struggle is the basic motive force for social development and is also the basic motive force for the development of the socialist society into the communist society.

But China's Khrushchev says that "the abolition of backwardness" is the "motive force" that drives the socialist society forward. This is a vain attempt to cover up the sharp and complex struggle with the pure and simple struggle for production. He wants us to bury our heads only in production, forsake the class struggle, and let the bourgeoisie attack us and bring about a big retrogression in society. This is entirely a pipe-dream!

We of the working class certainly must arm ourselves with the invincible thought of Mao Tse-tung, never forget the class struggle, and never be so senseless as to cut ourselves loose from the class struggle. We must be valiant fighters of the proletariat in the class struggle. We must resolutely and thoroughly smash the big conspiracy of China's Khrushchev to restore capitalism. (Jung Li-yun, a hydrogen-oxygen worker of the Shanghai Radio Factory No. 7)

Profit in Command and Material Incentive Are Poisonous
Stuff for Promoting Peaceful Evolution

Our great leader Chairman Mao taught us: "The general guideline for our economic work and financial work is to develop the economy in order to safeguard supply." The top Party person in authority taking the capitalist road was opposed to Chairman Mao's directive and wanted our enterprises to devote themselves exclusively to the pursuit of profit. He nonsensically said: "It is right and proper that factories should make money. Without making money, what are factories run for? Both private factories and state-owned factories are run for this purpose."

The Party persons in authority taking the capitalist road in our factory faithfully carried out his sinister "directive." They gave the green light to the free and unobstructed production of high-class products and luxury goods which were capable of making more money. They only wanted us to produce an abundance of expensive toys and ornaments, and various kinds of coffee pots and cups, fruit baskets and mirrors of three dimensions. Their demand was most pressing and when it was not possible to fulfill a task right away, they came in person to supervise the battle. But they turned on the red light and obstructed in a thousand and one ways the production of parts in support of agricultural produce and industry.

We had long ago successfully experimented with the manufacture of plastic shoes and plastic sandals needed by the broad masses, but they forbade us to produce them saying that this was not "the proper line." In response to Chairman Mao's call for aid to agriculture, we recommended the trial manufacture of plastic sprayers, but they ignored this recommendation made by the workers several years ago. China's Khrushchev advocates profit in command and is opposed to serving the workers, peasants and soldiers and socialist construction in a vain attempt to transform the socialist enterprises into capitalist enterprises which "manufacture on a large scale goods that yield a big margin of profit and on a smaller scale goods that yield a small margin of profit, and refuse to manufacture anything that yields no profit." (Ch'en Chun-lin, a fitter of the Shanghai Plastic Product Works No. 3)

Chairman Mao has taught us that "politics is the supreme commander and the soul" and that "political work is the life-blood of all economic work." This means to say that the revolution must be given first place and put in command of production. Our development of socialist production relies neither on coercion nor on material incentive, but on placing the thought of Mao Tse-tung in command, on politico-ideological work, and on the ideological revolutionization of man. Once the thought of Mao Tse-tung is grasped by the masses, it will be translated into an enormous material force, and will bring about a leap in the development of production.

The top Party person in authority taking the capitalist road is frenziedly opposed to the thought of Mao Tse-tung. He openly advocates material incentive and nonsensically claims that material incentive "is of advantage to production and in correspondence with the principle of pay according to work."

What kind of stuff is material incentive? It is revisionism, a sugar-coated shell for attacking the working class, and poisonous stuff for implementing peaceful evolution. We of the working class are working energetically for the socialist fatherland and for the liberation of mankind as a whole, but definitely not for stinking money. China's Khrushchev vainly attempts to fetter us of the working class with money and wants us tamely to follow his lead in taking the capitalist road. How vicious his intention is! (Chou Chin-ken, a worker of the Shanghai Aimin Confectionary Factory)

An old worker in our factory aptly said: "Material incentive is a soft knife which kills people without a trace of blood."

China's Khrushchev spares no effort to advocate material incentive in an attempt to make us pay attention only to our own life and welfare, forsake the basic interests of the proletariat, forget the sharp class struggle between those for and against restoration, and allow them to restore capitalism. When we part with our heads in the future, we shall not know how this comes by. We of the working class armed with the thought of Mao Tse-tung will never bite this bait. (Wang Shen-pi, a technician of the Yangshup'u Power Plant)

The top Party person in authority taking the capitalist road promotes in a big way material incentive and money in command for the purpose of corroding the workers and disintegrating the socialist economy. He repeatedly says that it is necessary to "pay higher wages," and that when "higher wages are paid" the workers would "energetically exert themselves in work." Otherwise, they "will work half-heartedly and go slow." This is the greatest vilification of the working class.

The working class is the master of the country. We carry out our work conscientiously and creatively. Standing by the side of our machines we watch the whole world and have a common ideal -- to realize communism at an early date in China and the whole world. Working for the revolution, we workers possess the greatest enthusiasm for production.

What kind of enthusiasm does China's Khrushchev want to arouse? His notion can only arouse the bourgeois enthusiasm for individualism and develop the enthusiasm for capitalism. Facts show that material incentive and money in command can only erode people's soul, get rid of the burning revolutionary fighting will and the communist spirit of cooperation, create contradiction within the working class, and undermine the enthusiasm for socialist production. China's Khrushchev

nonsensically says that unless the workers are paid "higher wages," they would "work half-heartedly and go slow." This has greatly exposed his ugly bourgeois soul filled with the stink of money.

Lenin said: "To work for money -- this is the morality of the capitalist world." What China's Khrushchev promotes is precisely such outworn stuff of capitalism. (Liu Hsiang-lien, a fine-yarn factory girl of the Shanghai State-owned Cotton Mill No. 12)

It is entirely nonsense that China's Khrushchev should say only "higher wages" can arouse enthusiasm for production. Facts in our factory have proved that only by grasping the revolution and the class struggle can the enthusiasm for production of the broad masses of workers be aroused to the maximum extent.

Formerly, our factory was a unit which made most effort to promote material incentive and money in command in the system under the Shanghai Municipal Scientific Instruments Bureau, but it was unable to fulfill the production task of the state. Since the great proletarian cultural revolution, because we penetratingly carried out the class struggle and rebelled against a handful of Party persons in authority taking the capitalist road, against material incentive and against irrational rules and regulations, we have fully aroused the workers' enthusiasm for production and have overfulfilled the production task for the first half of the year. Working with similar equipment, we have stepped up the total output of crystal tubes by two times compared with the corresponding period of last year. This striking fact has vigorously refuted the shameless slander of China's Khrushchev. (Jung Li-yun)

Promoting the System of "Placing Factories Under the
Management of Experts," Enforcing the
Dictatorship of the Bourgeoisie

By promoting the reactionary line of "placing the factory under the management of experts" and opposing the mass line of the Party, a handful of top Party persons in authority taking the capitalist road have greatly jeopardized our factory.

Now our factory was a merger of more than fifty small factories. It was poorly equipped and there was no big machine.

During the great leap forward in 1958, in accordance with Chairman Mao's teaching that we should rely on our own effort, put up a hard struggle, eradicate superstitious ideas and liberate our way of thinking, we made technical revolution in a big way, creatively manufactured more than 100 units of indigenous machine tools, put forward more than 200 items of technical reform, and successfully experimented with the manufacture of many new products.

Gangèd up with the reactionary bourgeois technical "authorities," a handful of Party persons in authority taking the capitalist road made their utmost effort to strangle this revolution. In the name of "rigid technical control" and "civilized production," they axed things in a big way and shelved a large number of recommended technical reforms and of equipment innovated by workers. They attacked the workers' technical reforms as of "not much economic significance" because they failed to "produce conspicuous results," and they described "the indigenous machine tools as half-baked," "junk" and "unorthodox."

They also copied various rules and regulations from the Soviet revisionists, and compiled 120 sets of rules and regulations. There were 22 kinds of technological rules, and more than ten thousand words in the manual for metal workers. They used various "incantations to tighten the hoops" on the heads of the workers.

They also put forward "four mustn'ts" to oppose scientific experiment and technical reform and bind the hands and feet of the workers. What they called "four mustn'ts" were: no manufacture of things not backed by science must be experimented with; no action must be taken without a regular drawing; nothing must be carried out without the approval of the engineers; nothing must be done unless you were sure of success.

The workers were not allowed to carry out not only major technical reforms, but also minor reforms. Various unreasonable barriers were erected to discourage the trial manufacture of new products by workers. In the eyes of those persons, the workers were not the masters of but appendages to machines.

The revisionist line of "placing factories under the management of experts" carried out by a handful of top persons in authority taking the capitalist road within the Party strangled the initiative and creativeness of the working masses with all ways and means to undermine our socialist construction in this way. (Wu Chin-lin, a worker of the Shanghai Compressor Works)

The revisionist line of "placing factories under the management of experts" carried out by a handful of top Party persons in authority taking the capitalist road made its pernicious influence deeply and severely felt in our factory. Ganging up with the bourgeois reactionary "authorities," the handful of Party persons in authority taking the capitalist road in the factory compiled and made various kinds of irrational rules and regulations to exercise bourgeois rule over the workers. In the name of target, quality, etc., they made out many rules for conducting inspection, control, deduction and curbing. There were a number of methods for making deduction, and an extraordinary large number of checkpoints were also installed for conducting inspection and control. They enforced a set of capitalist management systems.

The reason that the handful of top Party persons in authority taking the capitalist road want to promote the counter-revolutionary revisionist line of "placing factories under the management of experts" is that they vainly attempt to transform the socialist enterprises in which the workers are masters into capitalist enterprises under the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie. They vainly try to turn us into docile "living machines" so that they may lead us by the nose to take the old capitalist road. They want to allow those domineering bureaucrats and capitalists to ride once again on our backs, and make us workers suffer again. This is dreaming! It can never be done!

We certainly must heed what Chairman Mao says, hold higher the great red banner of Mao Tse-tung's thought, topple and discredit by struggle and penetratingly and thoroughly criticize the top Party person in authority taking the capitalist road, thoroughly eradicate his pernicious influence, and run our factory as a completely red big school for propagating the thought of Mao Tse-tung. (Wang Yueh-hsien, a female worker of the Spooling and Reeling Workshop of the Shanghai State-Owned Cotton Mill No. 5)

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THOROUGH CRITICISM OF THE "THREE-SELF, ONE-GUARANTEE" SYSTEM
GEARED TO RESTORATION OF CAPITALISM

- Summary of a Criticism Meeting of Poor and Lower-Middle
Peasants and Revolutionary Cadres of Lants'un
Commune, Chimo Hsien, Shangtung Province -

[Following is a translation of an article in the Chinese-
language periodical, Hung-ch'i (Red Flag), Peking, No 13,
17 August 1967, pages 43-46.]

Hung-ch'i editor's note:

Our great leader Chairman Mao teaches us: "In this historical stage of socialism, there still exist classes, class contradictions and class struggle, the struggle between the road of socialism and the road of capitalism, and the danger of capitalist restoration." In the three-year period of economic difficulties, when the class struggle was extremely acute, the top Party person in authority taking the capitalist road did the best he could to advocate the "three-self, one-guarantee"* system, and in doing so launched a frantic attack against the proletariat in concert with class enemies at home and abroad.

"Three-self, one-guarantee" sought to disintegrate the collective economy of the people's commune and cause capitalism to spread unchecked. It went against the firm faith of the vast masses of the poor and lower-middle

* Private plots, a free market, and responsibility for one's profit and loss; guarantee of fulfillment of production quotas based on the household.

peasants in taking the socialist road, but reflected the desire of an extremely small number of landlords and rich peasants as well as the well-to-do middle peasants with spontaneous tendencies toward capitalism. It was the same as that set of policies of developing new rich peasants vigorously pursued in the rural areas of the Soviet Union by the Soviet revisionist ruling clique; it was the continuation of the counter-revolutionary policy of China's Khrushchev who has for long advocated the development of the rich peasant economy and frantically opposed cooperativization, the general line, the great leap forward and the people's commune, and it is a component part of his plot for restoration of capitalism. "Three-self, one-guarantee" is an out-and-out revisionist line!

The broad masses of poor and lower-middle peasants, following Chairman Mao's instructions, taking class struggle as the key, and holding high the great red banner of the general line, have stopped the black wind of "three-self, one-guarantee" and beat back the frantic offensive of the bourgeoisie. The people's commune has been further consolidated and developed, agricultural production has attained a new leap, and signs of growing prosperity have appeared in the socialist cause.

In the course of large-scale revolutionary criticism, the poor and lower-middle peasants and revolutionary cadres of Lants'un Commune, Chimo Hsien, Shantung, taking the invincible thought of Mao Tse-tung as the weapon and using iron-clad facts, have exposed the hypocrisy of "three-self, one-guarantee," hitting China's Khrushchev where it hurts most. Below is a summary of their criticism meeting.

*

"Three-Self, One-Guarantee" Is Restoration of Capitalism

Our great leader Chairman Mao says: "After the socialist revolution has won basic victory in our country, there will still be some people in society who dream of restoring the capitalist system." The top Party person in authority taking the capitalist road is the chief representative of this section of people. The "three-self, one-guarantee" system which he has energetically advocated is a gust of black wind stirred up for the purpose of restoring capitalism.

In the three-year period of economic difficulties in our country, China's Khrushchev, in concert with the anti-China big chorus by class enemies at home and abroad, wildly opposed Chairman Mao and socialism, vainly hoping that the wheels of history would go backward. He said

nonsensically that "industry must retreat to a sufficient degree, and so must agriculture. That also applies to the sending down of quotas to the household and individual farming!" "The free market must go on." In compliance with his black directive, his henchmen vigorously worked to promote "sending down quotas to the household" and open the "free market." In team No. 7 of our Ssuli Production Brigade "sending down of land" was practiced in eight different ways, with the result that by far the greater part of the collective land was divided.

In consequence, polarization between the rich and poor again occurred in our Ssuli. The broad masses of poor and lower-middle peasants, especially the "four-dependents and two-households" (dependents of army-men, martyrs, workers and cadres and the five-guarantee* households and households facing difficulties), lacking in manpower, farm implements, and fertilizer, found it difficult to do any farming. The land allocated to them for farming was laid waste, and they could no longer rely on the collective. They were getting poorer and poorer. Once again, there were instances where they were forced to sell their houses and their land.

On the other hand, a small handful of people engaged in speculations or had strong labor power which enabled them to open up more waste land and received a very high income; in both cases they amassed a fortune. What road did they take if not the road backward? If this state of affairs were allowed to continue, we would embark on the road of Soviet revisionism, the landlords and the bourgeoisie would sit on the heads of us poor and lower-middle peasants again, and we would suffer. The whole of Lants'un, nay, the whole of China, would change color. When we think of this, we cannot but deeply resent this big bad egg, the Khrushchev of China. (Tung K'uei-fa, a poor-peasant member of Ssuli Production Brigade)

Nothing can be more reactionary than the "three-self, one-guarantee" system advocated by the top Party person in authority taking the capitalist road! We of the Ssuli Production Brigade used to take the road pointed out by Chairman Mao. We built up our homes with our bare hands and acquired a fixed asset amounting to more than 40 thousand yuan. Since the "three-self, one-guarantee" system was introduced, we have seen more than 40 houses damaged and run short of plows, rakes, water wheels, big carts, and turbine engines. Of the eight kinds of sideline occupations, only three are still carried out. More than 60 head of big cattle and more than 60 pigs were lost. Our fixed asset has dwindled by more than 20 thousand yuan, and debts incurred by commune members exceeded 70 thousand yuan. The "three-self, one-guarantee" system has undermined the foundation of the collective

* "Five-guarantee households" refers to widows, widowers, the childless, the orphans and the crippled.

economy and is a downright capitalist system. (Wei Yueh-kuang, a poor-peasant member of Ssuli Production Brigade)

The "three-self, one-guarantee" system promoted by the top Party person in authority taking the capitalist road opened the door for speculations, causing capitalism to spread unchecked and the ghosts and monsters to be released from the cages. At that time, Wuli Production Brigade had eight elements belonging to the four categories, and of these eight, six engaged in speculations. China's Khrushchev is the top backstage boss of the speculators and unscrupulous traders. (Sui Jih-sheng, a cadre of the Market Control Office)

The top Party person in authority taking the capitalist road, in order to introduce the "three-self, one-guarantee" system, maintained that "it is not something dreadful that society produces some bourgeois elements. We should not be afraid of the spread of capitalism." This glaringly exposed his wolfish ambition to vainly restore capitalism. After the introduction of the "three-self, one-guarantee" system in our commune, some commune members began to lose interest in the collective, saying: "we would rather leave the fields unfarmed than delay the Lants'un trade fair." They gave themselves up to spontaneous tendencies and even engaged in speculations. Some young people indulged in gambling and degenerated. Some brigade and commune cadres were dragged into the water by the landlords and rich peasants, degenerated, and became newly-born bourgeois elements. The "three-self, one-guarantee" system created serious consequences. (Kuan Jui-ch'in, member of the preparatory committee of the Commune Revolutionary Committee)

The former director of the Taxation Office, after he knew that his family was unable to take care of its plot since the "three-self, one-guarantee" system was introduced, returned home once every three or five days to assist in farming the plot. Taking advantage of this, the speculators presented him with a gift of 60 yuan on the occasion of his child "reaching a hundred days." Later, they "helped" him to solve his difficulties in many ways. This whetted his appetite more and more and finally made him an agent of the bourgeoisie who shielded the speculative traders. He was a cadre born of a hired hand's family, and had been a PLA soldier who had fought against the Kuomintang. He had never been frightened in the rain of bullets. Nevertheless, he was hit by the bourgeois sugar-coated bullets. What a serious lesson this is! (Mou Chung-lien, Chairman of the Preparatory Committee of the Commune Revolutionary Committee)

"Three-Self, One-Guarantee" Is a Demand of Landlords,
Rich Peasants and the Bourgeoisie

Talking rubbish, China's Khrushchev said: "In many places the peasants and even the cadres demand individual farming. They demand the division of land to the households or the setting of quotas based

on the household." "It is impossible to do away with individual farming. If you don't permit individual farming this year, you will permit it next year. If you don't let him return to individual farming, he will do it secretly." This is a great insult to us broad masses of poor and lower-middle peasants and revolutionary cadres. This bad fellow pretended to be highly concerned with us peasants and to represent our interests. Is this really so? No. Absolutely not.

Chairman Mao has said, there are some people "who always think on behalf of a handful of people from the standpoint of the bourgeoisie and rich peasants or the well-to-do middle peasants with spontaneous tendencies toward capitalism. They do not think on behalf of the whole nation and the whole body of the people from the standpoint of the working class." China's Khrushchev is just like that. His much vaunted "three-self, one-guarantee" system entirely represents the interests and demands of the landlords, rich peasants, and the bourgeoisie.

As soon as this bad idea of "three-self, one-guarantee" reach the countryside, it was loudly acclaimed by the landlords, rich peasants and speculative elements. A landlord in our village hysterically shouted: "Land will return home! The free market will be opened." On the contrary, we poor and lower-middle peasants were incensed by the news of promotion of "three-self, one-guarantee," as we were worried that were we to do so, we would take the road backward. While in the past we did not know who put forward this bad idea, now we know. We all deeply hate China's Khrushchev who proposed this bad idea behind the back of Chairman Mao. This score must be settled. (Kuan I-chin, a poor-peasant member of Sanli Production Brigade)

In 1961, when the "three-self, one-guarantee" system was put into practice here, we, the broad masses of poor and lower-middle peasants, rose to oppose it and criticize it, saying: "Setting quotas based on the household and practice of individual farming is against Chairman Mao's directives and is incompatible with the socialist orientation." However, those Party power-holders taking the capitalist road did not listen to us. Instead, they said venomously: "We don't care about orientation. Let's do it and talk later." They threatened us, saying: "Should you refuse to set quotas based on the household and should natural calamities and, as their aftermath, famine occur, we will not take care of you."

When this system was implemented slowly in our village, they openly criticized us at a mass meeting and mentioned our names. They said: "Refusal to set quotas based on the household is refusal to listen to the Party." What nonsense! Chairman Mao calls on us to take the road of collectivization, and we poor and lower-middle peasants listen to no one but Chairman Mao. Whoever oppose Chairman Mao, I will fight him to the end even if I may get killed. (Chang Chun-te, a poor-peasant member of Taohsiangts'un Production Brigade)

China's Khrushchev spoke like a blind man when he falsely charged our basic-level cadres with demanding setting quotas based on the household. In 1961, the "three-self, one-guarantee" system was practiced in Lants'un Commune. Capitalism spread everywhere unchecked and the poor and lower-middle peasants were divided in their opinions. I also felt that this was incompatible with the teachings of Chairman Mao, so I reported to the commune Party committee on what I had heard and thought.

However, instead of listening to what I told them, the handful of power-holders taking the capitalist road within the commune Party committee criticized me for "showing no interest in the well-being of the masses," accusing me of "eating but not working and spending time finding only faults." They deliberately created difficulties for me in work.

While struggling against them, I studied Chairman Mao's works. He taught us: "Chinese Communists who take the greatest interests of the largest sections of the people in China as the point of departure believe that their cause is entirely just, and they are willing to sacrifice their all and prepared to lay down their lives for our cause." Chairman Mao's teaching added immensely to my strength and courage and I again raised opinions on several occasions, but on each occasion I suffered attack and reprisal. Even after the 10th Plenary Session of the 8th Central Committee of the Party, they still overtly obeyed Chairman Mao's directives while defying them in secret, and continued to enforce the "three-self, one-guarantee" system. This was really intolerable.

At a mass meeting of cadres at four levels held by the Yent'ai District Party Committee, I brought up the question of Lants'un Commune Party Committee's carrying out the "three-self, one-guarantee" system and promoting capitalist restoration on a large scale. But this brought on more frantic and savage class reprisals against me.

It was December in an icy cold winter. Four days after I left the hospital after suffering from a miscarriage, I had to confine myself to bed. However, the handful of power-holders taking the capitalist road of the commune Party committee forced me to dig drainage ditches. They wanted to put me to death. Many poor and lower-middle peasants and revolutionary cadres also suffered from attack and persecution by these bad eggs merely because they opposed the "three-self, one-guarantee" system.

On the other hand, those cadres who actively promoted individual farming and speculations were often commended, given subsidies, and promoted. The reason why they dared to openly defy Chairman Mao's directives, suppress the poor and lower-middle peasants and attack the revolutionary cadres is that they had the backing of China's Khrushchev, who is their backstage boss. A tree must be pulled up with its roots, and we must completely strike down China's Khrushchev, not only unhorsing

him but also totally discrediting and repudiating him ideologically, politically and theoretically, so that he will never rise again. (Kuan Jui-ch'in)

Only When We Listen to Chairman Mao and Persist in the Socialist Orientation Can We Have a Bright Road

Chairman Mao teaches: "The great majority of the peasants in our country, in order to free themselves from poverty, improve their living standard, and resist natural calamities, can only unite together and advance along the big socialist path. Only by doing so can they attain their aim." Our village was originally called Chiangchiachuang. Before the liberation it was notoriously called Nantahuang [big southern waste land]. A folk song current at that time said: "In Nanhuang, you can have only plants and chaff. Clad in rags, you live in mud huts. Every year people suffer or die of hunger."

It was Chairman Mao, the savior whom we had longed to see, who finally delivered us from miseries. In compliance with Chairman Mao's teaching of "getting organized," we embarked on the big socialist bright path and our living standard got improving by the day. China's Khrushchev and his agents were scared to death when they saw us poor and lower-middle peasants leading a good life. In concert with the frantic attack of class enemies at home and abroad, they threw out the "three-self, one-guarantee" black directive, thereby bringing serious losses to our production brigade.

It was precisely at this time that our great leader Chairman Mao issued at the 10th Plenary Session of the 8th Central Committee a great call to us not to forget class struggle, and spoke what was in our minds. Acting in accordance with Chairman Mao's teachings, we stopped the "three-self, one-guarantee" black wind and repulsed the wild offensive of the class enemies.

Having eliminated "three-self, one-guarantee" we again held high the great red banner of Mao Tse-tung's thought and, taking class struggle as the key link, proceeded to wage a battle against nature. Says Chairman Mao: "The masses of the people have infinite creative power. They may get themselves organized and march on the places and departments where they can use their strength, and march on production in depth and breadth to create more and more welfare amenities for ourselves as every day passes."

Chairman Mao's great teaching pointed out for us the direction of advance. We made up our minds to rely on the strength of the collective and, in the spirit of the Foolish Old Man who removed mountains, basically reclaimed wasteland, controlled alkalinity, cured waterlogging in low-lying areas. In the winter of 1964, we organized all the commune members to continue to work hard for 130 days, digging ditches, building

sluice gates, converting rice fields, and thus achieving increases every year. The living standard of the commune members has kept on rising. In 1966, the average per mou output reached 602 catties, setting up the highest record in history.

In 1963 we had to be supplied by the state with 170 thousand catties. In 1966, we sold to the state 500 thousand catties, every household selling 3,623 catties on average. In the two years 1965 and 1966, our brigade paid back state loans in the amount of more than 70 thousand yuan. In addition, we purchased hand-drawn tractors, rice grinding machines, seedling transplanting machines, and undertook a good number of capital construction projects. The collective economy was considerably consolidated and developed. The commune members were so happy that they changed Chiangchiachuang into Taohsiang [fragrant rice] village.

Facts are more eloquent than words. How could the poor and lower-middle peasants enjoy such happiness as they enjoy today if they did not listen to Chairman Mao and take the road of collectivization. Commune members of our village composed a quick song which read like this: "The thought of Mao Tse-tung radiates a golden light. Nantahuang has completely changed: Golden rice is piled up as mountains and granaries are filled with yellow wheat. A poor village has become one where the rice is fragrant, and saline land becomes land where fish and rice abound. Every household has white rice and everybody has a new dress. The people's commune is powerful and the road of collectivization is wide. Let us forever follow Chairman Mao and the Communist Party."

Facts proved that the top Party person in authority taking the capitalist road is a man-eating wolf, and a deadly enemy of the poor and lower-middle peasants. We must make a greater success of large-scale revolutionary criticism and swing the massive cudgel -- the thought of Mao Tse-tung -- to hit at this dog in the water and thoroughly crush his big plot for restoration of capitalism. We must forever advance bravely along the bright path of socialism which Chairman Mao indicated for us! (Chang Li-shan, activist in the study of Chairman Mao's works and a poor-peasant member of Taohsiang Village Production Brigade)

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ANGRY REBUKE OF THE CAPITULATIONIST PROGRAM OF THE TOP PARTY
PERSON IN AUTHORITY TAKING THE CAPITALIST ROAD

- Notes at the Meeting of Criticism by Officers and
Men of Peking Units of the Three Branches
of the Chinese PLA -

[Following is a translation of an article in the Chinese-
language periodical, Hung-ch'i (Red Flag), Peking, No 13,
17 August 1967, pages 47-50.]

Hung-ch'i editor's notes:

On 1 February 1946, the top Party person in authority taking the capitalist road published a so-called Report on the Current Situation. At the critical moment of a decisive battle between two fates and two futures for our country, this report catered to the counter-revolutionary needs of US imperialism and the Kuomintang's Chiang Kai-shek, spread illusions about peace, and blunted the revolutionary fighting spirit of the people. It opposed armed struggle and advocated our abolishing Party leadership over the army and handing the people's army to the Kuomintang. It talked about taking the parliamentary path of class cooperation and peaceful coexistence. It was a capitulationist reactionary program from top to toe, a big exposure of the face of China's Khrushchev as a false revolutionary, a counter-revolutionary, and a renegade.

This magazine now publishes, after rearrangement and editing, speeches by some officers and men of the Chinese PLA's Air Force, Navy, and Second Artillery in criticism of Report on the Current Situation.

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"Report on the Current Situation" Was a Capitulationist
Reactionary Program

Our great leader Chairman Mao pointed out after the victory in the War of Resistance against Japan: "If there is opportunism at such a time, it is failure to put up a vigorous struggle and voluntary surrender to Chiang Kai-shek of fruits which should go to the people." The top Party person in authority taking the capitalist road was such an opportunist. He overtly included the big bourgeoisie represented by the dictator and national thief Chiang Kai-shek into the "three kinds of people" (namely, what were called "the laboring people, the middle-of-the-roads in the middle bourgeoisie, and part of the big bourgeoisie"), and wanted us to surrender the army and put it under a "centralized Ministry of National Defense" (i.e., the Kuomintang reactionary government's Ministry of National Defense), thus giving up the Chinese Revolution. His Report on the Current Situation was a reactionary program of capitulation to US imperialism and Chiang Kai-shek reactionaries, an indisputable piece of evidence of his reneging the proletarian revolution. (Yen Chian of the Second Artillery Headquarters)

At the beginning of 1946, the Kuomintang was "fighting on a small scale inside the Great Wall and fighting on a large scale outside the Great Wall," and frantically attacking liberated areas. There was gun smoke everywhere. But China's Khrushchev said, "The national war has stopped," and, "No civil war will be fought." He also said that "not to believe that the civil war will stop, not to believe that the Kuomintang's Chiang Kai-shek will not fight us, not to believe that the Kuomintang and Chiang Kai-shek can carry out democratic reform, and not to believe that they can undertake democratic national reconstruction with us" was "leftist close-door policy." The several instances of "not believing" which he attacked were very good. Chairman Mao pointed out: Chiang Kai-shek "is an extremely brutal and extremely treacherous man;" "according to Chiang Kai-shek's directive, civil war will have to be fought." We followed Chairman Mao's teaching and did not believe Chiang Kai-shek's lies about "peace" and "democracy;" and we were fully prepared. It was precisely because of this that we shattered Chiang Kai-shek's attacks and won a great victory in the Liberation War. (Mai Mei-en of Air Force Headquarters)

While China's Khrushchev was desperately talking about "peace," US imperialism every day helped the Kuomintang reactionaries send troops to attack liberated areas. It also directly despatched marines to occupy Shanghai, Tsingtao, Ch'inhuangtao, Tientsin, and Peiping. Large-scale fighting was going on in Northeast China. Nor did the war stop for one day on this side of the Great Wall. Some troops had no sooner come back after fighting and after burying the bodies of their comrades than they had to listen to the "peace prayer" of China's Khrushchev. As the magazines of the guns they carried were still hot, the warriors remarked with angry sarcasm, "Come, let's go to make peace!" Report on the

Current Situation by China's Khrushchev was a smoke shell fired for the sake of US-Chiang reactionaries' "peace" fraud, a soft knife which helped US-Chiang reactionaries butcher the Chinese people. (Li Li-ching of the Party Committee Office of the Second Artillery)

China's Khrushchev insisted that Truman, head of the US imperialism, "wants China to head for democracy." He insisted that US imperialism and Chiang Kai-shek "love peace." He wanted people to believe that the nature of US-Chiang reactionaries had changed. He was telling a complete lie. The US and Chiang have been banished from the mainland for 18 years, and their hearts of a thief have not yet changed. The US is forcibly occupying our country's territory Taiwan, and its planes and warships are constantly violating our country's territorial sky and water. Chiang bandit troops are constantly carrying out harrassment and sabotage in a vain attempt to counterattack the mainland. The nature of all class enemies will never change. (Sergeant Wang Mu-ch'ang in charge of electrical and mechanical matters on a Sea Tiger boat, who was awarded for meritorious service of the first order rendered in a sea battle fought east of Ch'ungwu)

The people's public enemy Chiang Kai-shek always pushed bandit logic and smearingly described the people's army as a "private army." He said such nonsensical things as that the people must "surrender their army" if civil war was to be avoided. China's Khrushchev sang the same tune as Chiang Kai-shek, and he said nonsensically, "You have a private army, and he has a private army. In this way, there will be splits and war, and democracy will not be possible. So we must yield." China's Khrushchev was completely a lackey and accomplice of Chiang Kai-shek. (Liang Chin-hsi, a five-good warrior of a certain unit of the Second Artillery)

"The basic question of all revolutions is the question of state power." In the old society, we suffered a lot and the reason why we suffered was that we did not have political power. In the new society, we are happy in a thousand ways, and the reason why we are happy is that we have our own political power. Report on the Current Situation by China's Khrushchev did not say a single word about armed seizure of political power by the proletariat. Instead, it said shamelessly, "The Kuomintang and other parties and groups will come to the liberated areas to carry out activities -- to set up news agencies, to operate newspapers, to establish party branches, and to talk about unity. They hope that in turn the Communist Party will also allow democracy. The Kuomintang will also take part in our government." This renegade did not seize power from the people for the sake of the big landlords and big bourgeoisie! (Hsu Shou-ch'i, former commander of Sea Pioneer boat, who was awarded for meritorious service of the first order rendered in the sea battle of 6 August)

Surrendering the Gun Meant Reneging the Revolution

Recognition or non-recognition of the fact that "Political power grows out of the gun barrel" has always been the touchstone for distinguishing between true revolution and false revolution, between Marxism and revisionism. China's Khrushchev said, "Now, we cannot solve problems by charging." He said, "Charging alone is not enough." He advocated abandonment of armed struggle and surrender of the revolutionary gun. This was big renegeing of China's revolutionary cause and big renegeing of the thought of Mao Tse-tung. (Chang Ch'i-yao of the Air Force Headquarters)

China's Khrushchev said nonsensically, "It is possible that the democratic revolution will succeed without civil war." This was unqualified revisionist absurdity. If the proletariat did not use the gun and carry out revolution by force, it could not smash the old state machine or could not seize political power, and the revolution could not succeed.

Chairman Mao said, "It is only with the gun that the whole world can be transformed." China's Khrushchev vigorously opposed this universal truth. This showed precisely that he was a false revolutionary, a counter-revolutionary. (Chao Shu-ch'in of the Cultural Work Corps of the Air Force Political Department)

China's Khrushchev said brazenly, "If the army yields one step, the whole nation will advance greatly." This was renegade logic from top to toe! Chairman Mao taught: "The arms of the people, every gun and every bullet, must be kept and must not be surrendered." The people's army is the root of life of the people. To "yield" the army to others was to betray the basic interests of the people. It would not happen that "the whole nation will advance greatly." There would be general stepping backward greatly. The whole nation would step backward greatly. The whole world would step backward greatly. (Yang Fu-chen of a certain Air Force unit)

My home town is Shaling ch'u, P'anshan hsien, Liaoning. It was first liberated in November 1945. The landlords were struggled against, and land was divided and distributed. In January 1946, our troops moved away. Kuomintang troops and landlords' home-returning corps counter-attacked and carried out counter-liquidation, brutally killing poor and lower-middle peasants, whose heads were hung from wire posts. In August 1947, our troops counter-attacked, and my home town was thoroughly liberated. The villagers said with hot tears in their eyes: The gun is the root of life! The Liberation Army is our close kinsman! "Without an army which belongs to the people, there will be nothing which belongs to the people." This is true in a thousand ways! China's Khrushchev wanted to "yield" the people's army to Chiang Kai-shek. He was an accomplice of the Kuomintang and the landlords' home-returning corps. (Wang Chen-sheng of Hospital No. 304 of the Second Artillery)

Without the gun, it will be impossible to seize political power or to preserve it. In 1960, before the battle of Wanshan, the enemies staying on the small islands in the mouth of the Pearl River refused to leave and refused to surrender. We then fought our way up and attacked them with the gun. Then they shouted: "Ouch! I'll lay down my arms." In the sea battle of 6 August, we sank Chang Chiang. Chien Men tried to continue putting up a stubborn resistance. After we delivered gun shells onto its deck and gave it a "full dinner," it began to feel thoroughly comfortable. Revolutionary warriors know the best the importance of the gun. We did not fall into the trap of China's Khrushchev. We will never fall into his trap. (Hsu Shou-ch'i)

The gun must not be given up. Seizure of political power depends on the gun, and so does the consolidation of political power. If we forget the gun after seizing political power, then China's big and small Khrushchevs will change the sky, and we will then go backward and suffer a second time. While we were supporting leftists and supporting peasants, a 73-year-old poor peasant told us emotionally, "Chairman Mao is our big savior and the Liberation Army is our backing. Your gun must not be allowed to rust." These words of the old poor peasant convey the thought of millions of laboring people. We will commit to memory the biddings of the laboring people, grasp the gun firmly, and swear to protect the proletarian dictatorship to the death. (Shu Chi-ch'eng, a pilot of the Sea and Air Eagle Squadron)

The Parliamentary Road Is Road to Death, with the Party
Perishing, the Nation Perishing, and Heads Rolling

China's Khrushchev said such things as that the democratic revolution "basically succeeds when a parliament is formed constitutionally." He was China's biggest "parliamentary fan." The parliament and democracy of capitalist countries are adornments of bourgeois dictatorship, tools for oppression of the proletariat. In China under Chiang Kai-shek's rule, there was not even the false parliament or "democracy" of the capitalist countries. If things were done according to the wish of China's Khrushchev, the "April 12" counter-revolutionary massacre would repeat itself, and heads would roll for millions. (Hao Wei-p'ing of the Second Artillery Headquarters)

China's Khrushchev pretended to join the revolution. What he really wanted to do was become a bureaucrat and make a fortune. He was a "parliamentary fan." This means in other words that he "dreamed of becoming a bureaucrat." During the several decades after he worked his way into the revolutionary ranks, he dreamed of having a place in the Kuomintang parliament and becoming "a bureaucrat of the Central Government." Provided he could become a bureaucrat, he would betray anything. That was why when the Kuomintang convened the old Political Consultative Conference, he wanted impatiently to surrender the revolutionary gun in exchange for a position as a "bureaucrat" of the Kuomintang. Did this

not show clearly what sort of stuff China's Khrushchev was? (Wang Shan-fu, a woman pilot of a certain Air Force unit)

China's Khrushchev said such things as, "We failed to make our way into Peking and Tientsin by means of the gun. If we make a good job of parliamentary struggle, we can make our way into them by means of votes." This was unqualified revisionism. Our political power did not come out of parliamentary discussions. Nor did it come out of voting. It came from fighting shot after shot, from the taking of one stronghold after another. Even for the liberation of the small hsien of Chengting in Hopei, a price in blood was paid. Fighting was very intense. In a rain of bullets, we forced our way up the city wall. Three of our four ladders were blasted by the enemy. With the remaining one, we mounted the city wall. We beat back three enemy counter-attacks with bayonets and hand grenades, blasted the enemy fortress, and thus consolidated the breach we made. Obstacles in the way of the troops coming after us were cleared. More than 2,000 enemies were annihilated in one blow, and Chengting was liberated. The same kind of fighting took place in the many battles -- for the liberation of Kueisui, Huailai, Hsushui, and Ch'ang Hsien -- in which I took part. Such as "parliamentary struggle" and "making the way into the city by means of voting" -- all these are lies! (Wang Ju, combat hero of a certain unit of the Second Artillery)

"Making the way into the city by means of votes?" There is no such easy thing. In 1945, when the Japanese bandits surrendered, our troops were in control over the vast rural areas in the triangle of Peking, Tientsin, and Paoting. But when we wanted to make our way into Tientsin, we were stopped. When we rushed to Peking we were again stopped. We then went to Paoting, fought a battle there, and annihilated the enemy. Only thus did we succeed in making our way into the city. That we should lay down our gun and "make our way into the city by means of votes" is pure capitulationist goods! (Chi T'ing-hsien of the Air Branch of the Navy)

The parliamentary road advocated by China's Khrushchev was a road to death, with the Party and the country perishing and with heads rolling. After victory in the War of Resistance against Japan, we did not fall into his trap. It was under the wise leadership of Chairman Mao that we won the great victory in the Chinese revolution. After the nation-wide victory, China's Khrushchev did not give up his intention of a thief. He complied with the requests of international imperialism, revisionism, and reactionaries, and tried to sell the black goods of parliamentary road to the Communist Parties of Burma, etc. He was a renegade of China's and the world's proletarian revolution. (Feng Chia-yun of the Logistic Department of the Navy)

Advancing Forever Along Chairman Mao's Proletarian Revolutionary Line

After the surrender of Japan, Chairman Mao's directive that "the fruits of the victory in the war of resistance should go to the people" was deeply impressed on people's minds. At the time, in Shansi-Chahar-Hopei, the following song was popular: "He who sows the crop shall gather the harvest. He who plants the tree shall gather the fruits. We shed blood and fought the War of Resistance for more than eight years. None shall wrest from us the fruits of the victory." The broad masses and the officers and men would not oblige China's Khrushchev at all. They firmly executed Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line and struggled in "tit for tat" manner with the Kuomintang reactionaries. (Li Li-ching)

The dark cloud cannot cover the sun. The counter-revolutionary revisionist line of China's Khrushchev could not bar the victory of the great thought of Mao Tse-tung. At the time, through his sworn confederates P'eng Chen and others, China's Khrushchev energetically opposed Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line and attacked Vice-Chairman Lin in the Northeast. They said such nonsensical things as: The strategic thought of surrounding the cities from the countryside "is inapplicable to the Northeast." Vice-Chairman Lin firmly gave them the rebuff and firmly acted according to Chairman Mao's instruction: "Leave the main road clear; occupy the two sides." He sent a large number of cadres to the countryside, boldly mobilized the masses, carried out reduction of rents and reduction of interests, divided and distributed grain and land, eliminated remnants of enemy and puppet forces, set up rural base areas, organized militia, and expanded the main force troops. In 1946, on our own initiative, we yielded the big cities south of the Sungari River. In the spring of 1947, the great victories in the battles -- "three times to the south of the river" and "four times defending the river bank" -- brought about radical changes in the entire situation. We began to change to counter-offensive. After three offensive battles in summer, autumn, and winter, we recaptured many cities. The enemies were divided, compressed, and isolated in several big strongholds -- Ch'angch'un, Shenyang, and Chinchou. The Liao-Shen Campaign was fought in the winter of 1948. The whole of the Northeast was liberated in a stroke. After that, the mighty army came to this side of the Great Wall and victoriously concluded the Peiping-Tientsin Campaign. After this, the army was marched southward and it fought all the way to Hainan Island. Outstanding contributions were made toward the liberation of the whole nation. (Wang Ming-shen of the Political Department of the Navy)

The capitulationist line enforced by China's Khrushchev was the reflection in China of the international revisionist trend of thought after the Second World War. The revisionist leadership cliques of the Communist Parties of many countries like France and Italy surrendered the gun and buried the revolutionary cause of the proletariat. It was because the great leader Chairman Mao resisted this counter-revolutionary

revisionist counter current and led us around the hidden reefs that our country's revolution was able to succeed and the people of the world were able to see the light and see hope. As our Deputy Commander-in-Chief Lin has put it, "All our achievements and victories were secured under the wise leadership of Chairman Mao and were victories of the thought of Mao Tse-tung." We must raise high the great red banner of the thought of Mao Tse-tung and advance courageously forever along Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line. (Chang Chen of the Political Department of the Air Force)

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LESSONS OF THE ARAB WAR AGAINST AGGRESSION

[Following is a translation of an article by Chou T'ien-ch'ih, in the Chinese-language periodical, Hung-ch'i (Red Flag), Peking, No 13, 17 August 1967, pages 51-57.]

Not long ago US imperialism and its stooge Israel launched full-scale armed aggression against the Arab countries. The gunfire in the Middle East has produced immense repercussions throughout the world. This war was not an incident which occurred all of a sudden. It was a frantic countermove and despite struggle by the imperialists, led by the United States, in face of the surging national liberation movement in the Arab world and in the whole of Asia, Africa, and Latin America, and in a world situation in which the east wind prevails over the west wind. This war reflects the sharpening of the class struggle in the international arena and the development in depth of the revolutionary movement of the people of the world.

For various reasons the war of the Arab countries against aggression was not very successful. Then, under pressure from US imperialism and Soviet revisionism, they accepted a "cease-fire." But the Arab people are boiling with anger at this attack by the imperialists and at the betrayal by the revisionists. They are carrying on the struggle, and an anti-imperialist, anti-revisionist wave on a scale never seen before is rising. The war has awakened the people, educated them, and tempered them. The losses sustained by the Arab people on the battlefield are temporary while the spiritual benefits they have gained in this war will have a long-term effect.

On the eve of the victory of the Chinese revolution, our great leader Chairman Mao made a deep analysis of how the series of aggressive wars launched by the imperialists against China had educated the Chinese people, and he examined the tortuous road traveled by the Chinese people in their revolutionary struggle. Chairman Mao said: "All these wars of aggression, together with political, economic and cultural aggression and oppression, have caused the Chinese to hate imperialism, made them

stop and think, what is all this about? and compelled them to bring their revolutionary spirit into full play and become united through struggle. They fought, failed, fought again, failed again, and fought again and accumulated 109 years of experience, accumulated the experience of hundreds of struggles, great and small, military and political, economic and cultural, with bloodshed and without bloodshed -- and only then won today's basic victory. These are the moral conditions without which the revolution could not be victorious."

The Arab people are also experiencing just such a tortuous course of struggle. This latest war has increased their revolutionary militancy, enriched their experience, and provided them with new lessons, thus creating the necessary moral conditions for them to win in their future struggle. In the past two months or more, the Middle East war has become a subject discussed throughout the world. Views vary according to class origin and political affiliation.

What are the lessons to be drawn from this war by the Arab people in particular and the revolutionary people of the world in general? In the present article we propose to set forth the following points:

I -- From this war of the Arab people against aggression, the Arabs and all revolutionary people of the world have first of all recognized even more clearly the sinister features of US imperialism, and the fact that US imperialism is their sworn number one enemy. The war has made it clear that the contradiction between the Arab people and the neocolonialists headed by the United States is the main contradiction in the Arab region. This latest war is an outcome of the sharpening of this contradiction.

The 1956 Suez crisis revealed in the main the true sinister features of British and French aggression while the United States then succeeded in passing itself off as a "good friend." Then in 1957, when it engineered the aggression against Syria, and in 1958, when it sent troops to Lebanon, US imperialism revealed only part of its cloven hoof. But in the Middle East events this time it has completely revealed its ugly face. This is of tremendous importance for the Arab people in rallying their forces and identifying and attacking their main enemy, which is a question of the first importance for the revolution.

The Arab region is one of the regions where the contradictions of the modern world are concentrated. It is teeming with complicated conflicts and struggles. This region is the hub of Asia, Africa, and Europe geographically and is of strategic importance. It abounds in oil resources with deposits accounting for two-thirds of all those in the world. Most of the oil consumed by the West European countries has been plundered from this region. The oil profits grabbed from this region by the American and West European monopoly capitalists exceed two billion dollars each year, of which over half goes into the pockets of Wall Street

magnates. This region has long been a target of acute imperialist rivalry.

Since the end of World War II, US imperialism has made big inroads into the Arab region in order to gradually replace Britain and France there, to practice US neocolonialism as an important step in its seizure of this intermediate zone, and to promote its counterrevolutionary global strategy. On the other hand, the Arab people have been roused on an extensive scale and the national liberation movement has grown vigorously. The Arab people's anti-imperialist revolutionary struggle has greatly weakened the British and French colonial forces; it has overthrown one imperialist lackey after another and given the positions of US neocolonialism a heavy pounding. The Arab national liberation movement has become an important force in the storms of the world revolution that are hitting imperialism directly.

To preserve its colonial interests and control this important strategic region, US imperialism is bound to go over to vicious suppression of the Arab national liberation movement. It has engineered subversion, intervention, coups d'etat, and armed aggression in this region, and such incidents have occurred again and again every year. Israel, groomed and backed up by US imperialism singlehandedly, has launched three wars of aggression against the Arab countries in the past 20 years. This striking fact shows that the Arab people's struggle against imperialism headed by the United States is one of life and death. The postwar history of the Arab countries is mainly the history of the Arab people's repeated trials of strength with imperialism headed by the United States and its lackeys.

Chairman Mao has pointed out: "War is the continuation of politics by other. . . means. When politics develops to a certain stage beyond which it cannot proceed by the usual means, war breaks out to sweep the obstacles out of the way." The latest war of aggression launched by US imperialism and its lackeys in the Middle East was the continuation of the policy of oppression, plunder, and enslavement which it has long pursued against the Arab countries. When US imperialism finds that political methods no longer serve its purpose, it resorts to the means of war to attack the Arab people's anti-imperialist struggle, to control and enslave the Arab countries, to preserve and increase its exploitation there, and, in particular, to suck the huge oil profits out of this region. The latest war was essentially a war for the seizure of oil and an inevitable product of the US neocolonialist policy.

The war in the Middle East shows once again that US imperialism is the root cause of modern wars. For purposes of aggression against oppression and plunder of other countries, US imperialism will invariably organize military threats here today, launch armed intervention there tomorrow, and will ceaselessly engineer aggressive wars.

To work for revolution, carry on resistance, and seek complete liberation, all opposed nations and peoples of the world must make conscientious efforts to be ready to deal with armed attacks by US imperialism and its lackeys. This is one of the important conclusions the revolutionary people of the world should draw from the recent Middle East events.

But the Soviet revisionist clique has done its utmost to whitewash the US imperialist crime of launching this aggressive war; it has unflinchingly advertised the need to "stop wars" throughout the world and make wars "a thing of the past." This is merely a reproduction of the fallacy of "a world without war, without armies, and without arms" so loudly advocated by Khrushchev years ago. It is nothing but an out-and-out counterrevolutionary fallacy. The Soviet revisionist clique, a handful of renegades, are driving themselves frantic to oppose all revolutionary wars and all wars against aggression, and to prevent the people of countries which are victims of aggression from taking up arms to resist and drive out the aggressors. They are really excelling themselves as a "fire brigade" for US imperialism. They are also doing their utmost to spread illusions about US imperialism and to put up a big smokescreen for the wars of aggression US imperialism is conducting or launching.

No revolutionary people of the world should believe in the deceitful rubbish of the Soviet revisionists. The Middle East events serve to show that US imperialism, though at the end of its rope, is getting more reckless with the help of the Soviet revisionist clique. The US aggressors are now knee-deep in the war in Vietnam and a large part of their military strength has been transferred to Southeast Asia. This, however, does not mean that US imperialism will abandon or even relax its grip over the other parts of the world and will commit no more aggression there. With the Soviet revisionist clique as its faithful accomplice, and believing in blitzkrieg to catch other people unawares and so make a quick settlement, US imperialism is more likely to start new military ventures at such times. All peoples should fully realize that the US imperialists may suddenly unleash war; they should maintain high vigilance against it, and they should be mentally prepared well in advance. This is a very important point, and whether or not there is such preparedness makes a world of difference. In a state of preparedness, the people will be able to take appropriate measures to deal with various complicated situations.

The aggressive war waged by US imperialism in the Middle East did not and could not resolve the contradictions between the Arab people and US-led neocolonialists. Instead, it has further aggravated these contradictions. The war has, in fact, added fuel to the raging flames of the Arab people's struggle against US imperialism. It has shown with hard facts that no illusions should be entertained about this ferocious enemy, US imperialism, nor should any idea of winning easy victories through good luck be entertained; the only correct policy is to cast

away illusions, prepare for struggle, give tit for tat, and carry out a protracted and repeated trial of strength with the enemy.

The war in the Middle East has enabled the Arab people and other peoples of the world to see more clearly who their real friends and enemies are. Our great leader Chairman Mao Tse-tung has pointed out: "It is the task of the people of the whole world to put an end to the aggression and oppression perpetrated by imperialism, chiefly US imperialism."

So long as the Arab people and the people throughout the world unite still more closely and all countries subjected to US imperialist aggression, domination, intervention, and bullying further unite and persevere in untiring struggles, they can certainly accomplish this great historic mission.

II -- The Arab people and the revolutionary people of the world have learned another important lesson from the Arab people's war against aggression: They are getting a clearer picture of the renegade features of the Soviet revisionist ruling clique, a clearer picture of the deceptive nature of its policy of sham opposition to imperialism, sham support, and sham assistance to the peoples, and a clearer picture of its reactionary, neocolonialist features. The war has clearly shown that the two types of neocolonialism, US-British imperialism and Soviet revisionism, have openly joined forces.

During the Suez crisis in 1956, the Soviet revisionist ruling clique, seeing that Britain and France had to withdraw their troops because of the contradictions between them and the United States, hurried forward to make political capital out of the situation by uttering a few high-sounding words. For the past 10 years or more, this revisionist clique has worked painstakingly and carefully to pass itself off as a friend of the Arab people so as to cover up the neocolonialist policy it has been pursuing. In the recent events, however, a quick succession of facts has in a matter of a few days shown up this clique as a dangerous false friend betraying the Arab people, a vicious hangman strangling the anti-imperialist struggle of the Arab people, and the number one accomplice of US imperialism in every sense of the term.

The whole activity of the Soviet revisionist ruling clique during the Middle East events was a most shameless renegade performance. Before the outbreak of the war, the Soviet revisionist ruling clique first resorted to deception and intimidation to bind the Arab countries hand and foot. At the difficult moment when the Arab countries were taken unawares by the surprise attack of the US and Israel, this clique was shown to be faithless and it looked on with folded arms. Furthermore, it hurriedly informed US imperialism of its real position through the "hot line" so as to give the aggressor a free hand. After the United States and Israel had on the whole accomplished their plan of aggression, the Soviet revisionist ruling clique conspired with the United States

and Britain to impose a "cease fire" on the Arab countries through the United Nations so as to legalize the fait accompli created by the aggressors. After that, the Soviet revisionist chieftain Aleksey Kosygin went to Glassboro in the most shameless manner to beg for rewards from Lyndon Johnson for services rendered, and to carry out global betrayal on an even bigger scale.

The Soviet revisionists may utter some high-flaunting empty phrases in times of peace, but once the anti-imperialist struggle reaches a crucial point they will go back on their words and resort to open betrayal. This gang of renegades acted in this way both during the Caribbean crisis in the past and in the recent Middle East events; they will continue to do so in the future. This is because their nature as renegades will never change.

It can also be seen from the Middle East events that the military and economic "aid" provided by the Soviet revisionist clique for the Arab and other African, Asian, and Latin American countries gives genuine support to the anti-imperialist struggles of these countries. This so-called "aid" only serves the Soviet revisionist clique's neocolonialist policies and its counterrevolutionary general line of "Soviet-US collaboration for world domination." It uses its "aid" not only to exploit and plunder other countries; it tries, by means of its "aid," to have a say in matters concerning these countries, to represent them, interfere with their internal affairs, and control them. All this is an attempt to make more political capital in order to strike dirty deals with the United States. This is a typical imperialist and colonialist policy.

In 1925, criticizing the danger of nationalism and degeneration in Soviet foreign policy, Stalin penetratingly exposed the ugly soul of those afflicted with this disease: Support the liberation movement? But why? Wouldn't that be dangerous? Wouldn't it bring us into conflict with other countries? Wouldn't it be better if we established "spheres of influence" . . . in conjunction with other "advanced" powers and snatched something . . . for our own benefit? That would be both useful and safe . . . the Soviet revisionist clique of today has sunk much lower than the nationalist degenerates of that time. Not only has it sold out the interests of the oppressed nations, made political bargains with the imperialists, and used the methods of the imperialists to exploit and dominate other countries; it also willingly serves as the valet of US neocolonialism, suppresses the national liberation movement jointly with the United States, and plays the role of international gendarme.

It is no accident that the Soviet revisionist clique has been pressing ahead with neocolonialism. Since, at home, this handful of renegades have usurped the leadership of the party and government, restored capitalism all over the place, and subjected the broad masses of the people to their oppression and exploitation, they are bound, in their foreign policy, to completely betray proletarian internationalism

and pursue a policy of big-nation chauvinism and national egoism, to practice the power politics of the bourgeoisie, the politics of selfishness and profit-grabbing, the politics of the jungle -- in short, to practice what has been carried out by imperialism.

The revisionists of the Second International advocated the so-called "colonial policy of socialism." In their time, these people only represented the interests of a handful of labor aristocrats and were trying to beg monopoly capital for some of the leftovers in its colonial exploitation. Whereas today the Soviet revisionists are flaunting the banner of "socialism" and "communism" and are using the state power under their control to push ahead with neocolonialism in the interest of the privileged bourgeois stratum in the country and in the service of the big bosses of Wall Street.

In short, the US imperialists and Soviet revisionists are birds of a feather. Place your faith in US imperialism, subsist on US "aid," and you are bound to fall under its control and become its dependent. Blindly trust the Soviet revisionists, rely on Soviet "aid," and you are also bound to fall under their control and become their dependent and, in the final analysis, a dependent of US imperialism.

An Arab who wrote to the Soviet Embassy in the UAR was quite right when he said: "Gentlemen, we now understand everything you did. We have come to realize what revisionism is. If we have been deceived by you in the past, it serves as a bitter lesson that we shall never forget. Never again shall we be deceived by you."

After the Middle East events, it has obviously become more difficult for the Soviet revisionists to deceive people. But this handful of renegades cannot make a living without swindles. Having failed in their swindles today, they will try some new tricks to deceive people tomorrow. It is therefore imperative not to let the Soviet revisionists slip by but to unmask them completely in connection with the Middle East events so as to enlighten the broad masses of the people.

The fighting tasks of the revolutionary people of the Arab and other countries in the world today are to firmly reveal the reactionary nature of the neocolonialist alliance of the US imperialists and Soviet revisionists, and to carry through to the end the anti-imperialist, anti-revisionist struggle and the struggle against neocolonialism headed by the United States.

III -- Militarily the Arab people and the revolutionary peoples of the world have also drawn an important lesson from the war of the Arab people against aggression. This war once again tells the people that to defeat the armed attack of imperialism and its lackeys, the oppressed nations and people can only rely on the theory, strategy, and tactics of peoples war; any other strategy and tactics will not work.

This war against aggression proves that it will not do to rely on modern weapons. It will not do to rely on aircraft, tanks, or long-range artillery. Chairman Mao says: Weapons are an important factor in war, but not the decisive factor; it is the people, not things, that are decisive. If the oppressed nations are to defeat the imperialist aggressor, they should not rely on modern weapons, still less have blind faith in them; but they should rely on the political awareness of the people, rely on the courage of the people's armed forces, and employ the strategy and tactics of utilizing one's own strong points to attack the enemy at his weak points.

Cases abound in history in which the well-armed forces could not win while the poorly-equipped revolutionary people finally came out triumphant over the well-equipped aggressors and reactionaries. During the war of resistance against Japan and the war of liberation, the Chinese people did not have any modern weapons. Yet, didn't they still defeat Japanese imperialism and the Chiang Kai-shek reactionaries who were fully supported by US imperialism? In the war to resist US aggression and aid Korea, the Chinese people's volunteers were far inferior to the US aggressors in equipment, yet together with the Korean people we won the victory. Now, the South Vietnamese people have furnished another brilliant example. They have driven into a tight spot the more than one million US aggressor troops and puppet and satellite forces that have every type of modern weapon and "air supremacy." All these victories have been won not by modern weapons but by relying on people's war.

This war against aggression also proves that to defeat the armed attack of imperialism, it will not do for the oppressed nations to adopt the strategy of a war of quick decision, but they should use the strategic principles of a protracted war. The imperialists are aggressors who are afraid of the people and have blind faith in weapons. They therefore always adopt the strategy of blitzkrieg seeking to win the war in a short space of time, and they are most afraid of a long drawn-out war. This time, Israel in its armed attack resorted to blitzkrieg after the Hitlerite fashion. In the face of such an attack, the victims of aggression and the oppressed nations should not be too concerned over the loss or gain of a single city or a piece of land, but should preserve their own effective strength, rely on the strength of the masses of the people, and wage a protracted war against the enemy. By so doing, the enemy's blitzkrieg will go completely bankrupt, favorable factors for eliminating the enemy's effectives will be created, a change in the balance of forces where the enemy is strong and we are weak will be brought about gradually, and the final outcome in which the enemy is defeated and we emerge victorious will come about.

This war against aggression also proves that it will not do to have allied forces without a main force. All allied forces in history which have won victories had a unified command and an overall strategic deployment as well as a strong main force. Otherwise, they would be

defeated by the enemy one by one instead of being able to deal fatal blows at the enemy whenever the opportunity arises.

This war of the Arabs against aggression has given people an important lesson militarily. It proves that all the old military theories will not work. To use the military methods of the imperialists is of no avail, while learning from the Soviet revisionists will likewise result in defeat in war. In the past and at present, many military experts of the bourgeoisie and other exploiting classes have written volume after volume on military science. But such books are of no use to the oppressed nations and people.

We maintain that in the present era the only thing to do is to rely on the military theory and the whole set of strategy and tactics of Chairman Mao if one is to win victory in a revolutionary war and defeat imperialism and its lackeys in the war. Chairman Mao's great works on people's war are the most comprehensive, most systematic, and the richest works of the military science of the proletariat, the highest peak of Marxist-Leninist military thinking, and a magic weapon with which the international proletariat and all oppressed nations and people can overcome the enemy and win victory. So long as the revolutionary people master this magic weapon they can defeat all imperialists and reactionaries who will be at their wits' end in dealing with the revolutionary people.

IV -- The war against aggression has brought before the Arab people a series of questions that call for deep thought. Why did the Arab countries with 100 million people over more than 10 million square kilometers of land suffer a setback in the war? What sort of road should the Arab people follow in order to achieve complete victory in the anti-imperialist struggle? Every Arab suffering from imperialist aggression and fighting for the liberation of his nation must think over these fundamental questions affecting the destiny of his nation.

At present the Arab countries are still in the historical stage of national-democratic revolution. Neocolonialism headed by the United States is still riding roughshod over the Arab people.

The Arab people definitely have no wish to see their countries subjugated and to become slaves of neocolonialism. Their recent war against aggression and their current anti-US struggle show a great awakening which is unprecedented. This latent revolutionary force among the broad masses of the Arab people is invincible. The popular masses, first and foremost the workers and peasants, are the basic motive force of the national-democratic revolution of the Arab countries.

With the exception of the bureaucrat-comparador class, the bourgeoisie in the Arab countries has a dual character. On the one hand, it suffers from imperialist oppression and has contradictions with the imperialists; in a given stage and to a certain extent it can take part

in the anti-imperialist struggle. But on the other hand, being weak economically and politically, it vacillates and is prone to conciliation with the enemy.

Chairman Mao said: "In today's international situation, the heroes in the colonies and semicolonies either line up on the imperialist front and become part of the forces of world counter-revolution, or they line up on the anti-imperialist front and become part of the forces of world revolution. They must do one or the other, for there is no third choice." The ruling bourgeoisie in the Arab countries is confronted with the choice: If they persist in the anti-imperialist struggle, oppose neocolonialism headed by the United States, and safeguard national independence, they will have the support of the people; if they go against the aspirations of the people, fail to persist in the struggle against US imperialism and do not resist the deception and pressure of the Soviet revisionists, they will not only alienate themselves from the people but will also be overthrown by the US imperialists and Soviet revisionists or reduced to their hangers-on.

Receiving Arab and African friends on 28 April 1961, Chairman Mao pointed out: "In the struggle against imperialism, by taking the correct line, relying on the workers and peasants, uniting the mass revolutionary intellectuals, the petty bourgeoisie and the national bourgeoisie which oppose imperialism, as well as all patriotic anti-imperialist forces, and maintaining close links with the masses, there is the possibility of achieving victory." Now the revolutionary situation is excellent throughout the world. Likewise, the revolutionary situation in the Arab region is also excellent. So long as they adopt the correct policy, unite all the forces that can be united and, together with the people of the world, concentrate their attacks on neocolonialism headed by the United States and on its running dogs, the Arab proletariat and other revolutionary people will surely be able to lead their revolutionary cause against imperialism from victory.

The Arab war against aggression has once again proved to the whole world a most important truth: All oppressed nations and peoples must rely on the great thought of Mao Tse-tung, on Chairman Mao's theories and policies, to achieve their revolutionary objectives and their complete liberation. This is the only way out; all other roads will lead nowhere. Follow the path of Mao Tse-tung -- that is the conclusion.

The people's revolution has never developed along a straight line. Only after many setbacks and failures have the revolutionary people been able to find the revolutionary truth and the correct road.

The great Lenin described how the Russian people, after half a century of difficulties and hardships, finally founded Marxism, the only correct revolutionary theory, and won victory in the great October Revolution. Our great leader Chairman Mao has pointed out that only after

numerous hardships, setbacks, and defeats over a period of more than half a century did the Chinese people find Marxism-Leninism, the universally applicable truth, and the face of China began to change.

Marxism-Leninism has now entered a completely new stage of development, the stage of Mao Tse-tung's thought. We are in a new era, the great banner of which is Mao Tse-tung's thought. The peoples of the world have better conditions to find the revolutionary truth and the correct road. Through their practice in struggle, in the course of numerous explorations, experiments, comparisons, setbacks, and defeats, the Arabs and other people of the world will certainly be able to learn and grasp Mao Tse-tung's thought. This is the basic guarantee that will lead the people's revolutionary struggles to final victory.

So long as the Arab people remain united, dare to fight, fear no difficulties, and advance wave upon wave, then the Arab world will surely belong to the Arab people!

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