

PEKING REVIEW

24

June 10, 1966

北
京
周
報

NEW VICTORY FOR MAO TSE-TUNG'S THOUGHT

Decision of the C.P.C. Central Committee
to reorganize the Peking Municipal
Party Committee.

*Tear Aside the Bourgeois Mask of
"Liberty, Equality and Fraternity"*

Renmin Ribao editorial.

A WEEKLY MAGAZINE OF CHINESE NEWS AND VIEWS

PEKING REVIEW

June 10, 1966
Vol. 9, No. 24

Published in English, French, Spanish,
Japanese and German editions

IN THIS ISSUE

ARTICLES AND DOCUMENTS

- New Victory for Mao Tse-tung's Thought** — *Renmin Ribao* Editorial (p. 3)
- C.P.C. Central Committee Decision Receives Nationwide Support** (p. 5)
- Mao Tse-tung's Thought Is the Telescope and Microscope of Our Revolutionary Cause** — *Jiefangjun Bao* Editorial (p. 6)
- A Great Revolution That Touches the People to Their Very Souls** — *Renmin Ribao* Editorial (p. 8)
- Tear Aside the Bourgeois Mask of "Liberty, Equality and Fraternity"** — *Renmin Ribao* Editorial (p. 9)
- To Be Proletarian Revolutionaries or Bourgeois Royalists?** — *Renmin Ribao* Editorial (p. 14)
- We Are Critics of the Old World** — *Renmin Ribao* Editorial (p. 16)
- Mao Tse-tung's Thought — Beacon of Revolution for the World's People** (p. 17)
- Workers, Peasants and Soldiers Creatively Study and Apply Mao Tse-tung's Philosophical Thinking** (p. 22)
- Important Success of "Shanghai Spring"** (p. 26)
- U.S. Imperialism Is the Implacable Enemy of the Cuban People** — *Renmin Ribao* Commentator (p. 28)

THE WEEK International Children's Day; Malian Delegation in Peking; Tanzanian Economic Delegation Visits Peking; Condolence on the Death of M.H. Williams (p. 30)

Published every Friday by PEKING REVIEW
Pai Wan Chuang, Peking (37), China
Post Office Registration No. 2-922
Cable Address: Peking 2910
Printed in the People's Republic of China

New Victory for Mao Tse-tung's Thought

The Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party has decided that Comrade Li Hsueh-feng, First Secretary of the North China Bureau of the Party's Central Committee, be appointed concurrently First Secretary of the Peking Municipal Party Committee, and that Comrade Wu Teh, First Secretary of the Kirin Provincial Party Committee, be transferred to the post of Second Secretary of the Peking Municipal Party Committee to reorganize it.

Comrades Li Hsueh-feng and Wu Teh are already at work at their new posts. The new Peking Municipal Party Committee will directly lead the great socialist cultural revolution in Peking.

The newly reorganized Peking Municipal Committee of the Chinese Communist Party has decided that (1) a work team, headed by Chang Cheng-hsien, be sent to Peking University to lead the great socialist cultural revolution; (2) that Lu Ping, Secretary of the Peking University Party Committee, and Peng Pei-yun, its Deputy Secretary, be dismissed from all their posts and that the Peking University Party Committee be reorganized; (3) that the work team will function as the Peking University Party Committee during its reorganization.

The new Peking Municipal Party Committee has decided that (1) the previous editorial board of "Beijing Ribao" (Peking Daily) and "Beijing Wanbao" (Peking Evening News) and Fan Chin, their director, be dismissed; (2) that a new editorial board, consisting of Chai Hsiang-tung and six others, be set up to lead the work of the two papers and that Chai Hsiang-tung be appointed editor-in-chief and Wu Hsiang and Lin Ching be appointed deputy editors-in-chief; and (3) that the editorial board of the fortnightly "Qianxian" (Frontline) be dismissed and publication of the journal be temporarily suspended pending reorganization.

THIS paper publishes two important items of news today. One is about the decision of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China on the reorganization of the Peking Municipal Committee of the Party, with the appointment of Comrade Li Hsueh-feng, First Secretary of the North China Bureau of the Party's Central Committee, as concurrently First Secretary of the new Peking Municipal Committee of the Party, and Comrade Wu Teh as Second Secretary. The other item announces that the newly reorganized Peking Municipal Committee of the Chinese Communist Party has decided that Lu Ping and Peng Pei-yun be dismissed from all their posts and that the Peking University Party Committee be reorganized. The newly

reorganized Peking Municipal Party Committee also decided to send a work team to the university to lead the great socialist cultural revolution and to act as the Peking University Party Committee.

These two items of news, after being broadcast over the radio at four o'clock yesterday afternoon, immediately received the warm support of the worker and peasant masses as well as of government organizations, colleges and schools, people's organizations and the People's Liberation Army units in Peking. The people are elated; and their universally expressed opinion is that these decisions of the Central Committee and the newly reorganized Peking Municipal Committee of the

Party are very wise and absolutely correct. This is a new victory for Mao Tse-tung's thought.

A black anti-Party and anti-socialist line ran through the leadership given by the former Peking Municipal Committee of the Party.

A number of the principal leading members of the former Peking Municipal Party Committee are not Marxists but revisionists.

The counter-revolutionary anti-Party and anti-socialist clique of "Three-Family Village" was uncovered during the great socialist cultural revolution. The roots of this counter-revolutionary clique lay in the former Peking Municipal Committee of the Party.

For a considerable period of time, *Qianxian* (Front-line), *Beijing Ribao* (Peking Daily) and *Beijing Wanbao* (Peking Evening News) became instruments of this counter-revolutionary clique for spreading revisionist poison, in a futile attempt to restore capitalism. The former Peking Municipal Committee of the Party was at the very root of this.

For a considerable period of time, many departments of the Peking Party and government organizations carried out not the Marxist-Leninist line, the line of Mao Tse-tung's thought mapped out by the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party, but a revisionist line. They were instruments not of the proletariat for exercising dictatorship over the bourgeoisie but of the bourgeoisie for exercising dictatorship over the proletariat. The former Peking Municipal Committee of the Party was at the very root of this.

The former Peking Municipal Committee of the Party also carried out an anti-Party and anti-socialist line in education. Peking University was a most stubborn bulwark under its control. As many students of Peking University have revealed, its educational policy was not the training of successors for the proletarian revolutionary cause but the training of successors for the bourgeoisie.

The workers, peasants and soldiers in Peking and the many revolutionary functionaries and revolutionary intellectuals have for a long time been resisting and fighting against the black anti-Party and anti-socialist line of the former Peking Municipal Party Committee. They have kept firmly to the teachings of the Central Committee of the Party and Chairman Mao Tse-tung, have done a great deal of work and made their contribution to the socialist revolution and socialist construction. More than 95 per cent of the people and more than 95 per cent of the government functionaries in the Peking area support Chairman Mao and the Central Committee of the Party. Now that they know the real facts of the matter, those who were temporarily misled are immediately rallying and going into action

against the black anti-Party and anti-socialist line of the former Peking Municipal Party Committee.

There is today a vigorous revolutionary situation in Peking University. The poster put up by seven comrades, including Nieh Yuan-tzu, written in big characters, was the opening shot. Everyone in the university was inspired and there was widespread joy as soon as the contents of this poster were broadcast over the radio and published in the newspapers. The proletarian revolutionaries are elated and the ranks of the Left have rapidly expanded. Tens of thousands of big-character posters have descended on the heads of the anti-Party and anti-socialist elements like a rain of shells. The active support given by all universities and colleges in Peking has greatly enhanced the revolutionary power and prestige of the proletariat. The "royalists" have panicked, they have become completely isolated. Under the leadership of the work team sent in by the new Municipal Party Committee, the students, faculty members and workers are firmly straightening things out and combating the anti-Party and anti-socialist crimes of Lu Ping and the others.

In appearance, these counter-revolutionary anti-Party and anti-socialist cliques looked very tough. Under their control, the barriers were impenetrable and watertight. But once Chairman Mao Tse-tung and the Central Committee of the Party issued the clarion call to carry out the great proletarian cultural revolution, once the masses stood up, the counter-revolutionary features of these cliques were quickly exposed. Like all reactionaries, they were simply paper tigers.

The situation in our country is excellent. The people of the whole country have boundless love for Chairman Mao and the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party, Mao Tse-tung's thought has penetrated people's minds, the political consciousness of the masses is higher than it has ever been and tremendous successes have been registered in the socialist revolution and construction. No one who dares to oppose Chairman Mao, to oppose Mao Tse-tung's thought, to oppose the Central Committee of the Party, the dictatorship of the proletariat and the socialist system can escape denunciation by the whole Party and the whole nation, whoever he may be, whatever high position he may hold and however much of a veteran he may be. The only possible result is the total loss of his standing and reputation.

We are firmly convinced that under the leadership of the newly reorganized Peking Municipal Committee of the Chinese Communist Party, the erroneous line of the former Municipal Party Committee and the effects of this line will be thoroughly eradicated. Tremendous successes in the great proletarian cultural revolution in Peking are certain. All work in Peking is bound to go ahead well.

(*"Renmin Ribao"* editorial, June 4.)

Peking Review, No. 24

C.P.C. Central Committee Decision Receives Nationwide Support

WORKERS, peasants, soldiers and other sections of the people throughout the country warmly support the decision of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party on the reorganization of the Peking Municipal Party Committee. They also express wholehearted support for the decision of the new Peking Municipal Party Committee on the reorganization of the Peking University Party Committee. They severely condemn the anti-Party and anti-socialist crimes of the revisionist elements of the former Peking Municipal Party Committee.

The two decisions are unanimously regarded as a crushing blow to that den of revisionism, the former Peking Municipal Party Committee, a historic victory for the great proletarian cultural revolution which is surging forward under the leadership of the Communist Party, and a new victory for Mao Tse-tung's great thought.

Since the announcement of the two decisions over the radio on June 3, a festive atmosphere has prevailed in the capital. Celebration meetings have been held in factories, schools, shops, government offices and army units, and in people's communes on the city's outskirts. Letters expressing full support for the decision of the Party's Central Committee have been pouring into the newly reorganized Peking Municipal Party Committee and newspaper offices. Workers, students and other Peking citizens have sent delegations to the new Municipal Party Committee to offer their congratulations. At the Committee's offices, great jubilant crowds shouted: "Long live Chairman Mao!" and "Long live the Communist Party of China!"

Workers from the Shihchingshan Iron and Steel Company expressed full support for the decision of the Party's Central Committee. Liu Chi, a blast furnace worker of the company's iron smelting plant, said: "The decision of the Party's Central Committee has safeguarded our socialist power and defended the great red banner of Mao Tse-tung's thought. It represents the will of hundreds of millions of working people in the country.

Yin Wei-chen, a model peasant of the Huangtunkang People's Commune, said: "We former poor and lower-middle peasants always trust our Party. We are determined to follow Chairman Mao's leadership and devote ourselves wholeheartedly to the revolution all our lives. We must completely root out the revisionist virus spread by the former Peking Municipal Party Committee."

Representatives of Tsinghua University pledged that they would rally still more closely round the Party's Central Committee and Chairman Mao. They added that, under the leadership of the new Peking Municipal Party Committee and together with the

workers, peasants and soldiers, they would sweep away all monsters and carry the great proletarian cultural revolution through to the end.

In Peking University, the revolutionary teachers and students were exulted at the decision of the Party's Central Committee. Upon learning the news, the students, carrying huge portraits of Chairman Mao, paraded in groups round the school grounds shouting: "Long live Chairman Mao!" and "Long live the Chinese Communist Party!"

In Shanghai, Tientsin, Canton, Wuhan, Shenyang, Sian, Nanking, Chengtu, Changsha, Harbin, Lhasa and other cities all over the land, the masses of the people have expressed similar enthusiastic support for the decision of the Party's Central Committee. The commanders and fighters of the People's Liberation Army units stationed in Shanghai wrote letters to the newspapers expressing their warmest support. One of the letters said: "The leadership of the former Peking Municipal Party Committee followed a revisionist line and committed anti-Party and anti-socialist crimes, thereby degenerating into a bridge-head for the restoration of capitalism. It is a great joy for the people of the whole country now that the Party's Central Committee and Chairman Mao have made a wise decision and taken resolute action in doing away with this time bomb planted within the revolutionary camp."

Galsang, deputy director of the poor peasants' association of Tongka Township in Todlung Techhen County of Lhasa, was weeding a barley field when the news came through. To the Tibetan peasant beside him he said: "When you weed, be sure you weed out the roots. The same applies to counter-revolutionaries. We must dig them out by their roots. We must vigorously and completely dig them all out."

Tien Ching-chi, who is a Deputy to the National People's Congress and deputy director of the Chengtu Measuring Instruments and Cutting Tools Plant, said: "Mao Tse-tung's thought is the red sun in our hearts. We will fight anyone to the death and resolutely defeat him if he should dare to oppose Mao Tse-tung's thought."

The representatives of various nationalities attending the working conference in Sian on finance and trade in the northwest China area described the victory as a happy event for the people of the whole country as well as for the revolutionary people of the whole world. The question of power, they said, was the fundamental question of revolution. The seizure of control of the former Peking Municipal Party Committee by a handful of revisionists fully demonstrated the seriousness, complexity and sharpness of class struggle in socialist society. They said that everyone should always remember this historical lesson and never forget the class struggle.

Mao Tse-tung's Thought Is the Telescope and Microscope of Our Revolutionary Cause

THE current great socialist cultural revolution is a great revolution to sweep away all monsters and a great revolution that remoulds the ideology of people and touches their souls. What weapon should be used to sweep away all monsters? What ideology should be applied to arm people's minds and remould their souls? The most powerful ideological weapon, the only one, is the great Mao Tse-tung's thought.

Mao Tse-tung's thought is our political orientation, the highest instruction for our actions; it is our ideological and political telescope and microscope for observing and analysing all things. In this unprecedented great cultural revolution, we should apply Mao Tse-tung's thought to observe, analyse and transform everything, and, in a word, put it in command of everything. We should apply Mao Tse-tung's thought to attack boldly and seize victory.

Chairman Mao teaches us: "After the enemies with guns have been wiped out, there will still be enemies without guns; they are bound to struggle desperately against us; we must never regard these enemies lightly." Our struggle against the anti-Party, anti-socialist black line and gangsters is a mighty, life-and-death class struggle. The enemies without guns are more hidden, cunning, sinister and vicious than the enemies with guns. The representatives of the bourgeoisie and all monsters, including the modern revisionists, often oppose the red flag by hoisting a red flag and oppose Marxism-Leninism and Mao Tse-tung's thought under the cloak of Marxism-Leninism and Mao Tse-tung's thought when they attack the Party and socialism, because Marxism-Leninism and Mao Tse-tung's thought are becoming more popular day by day, the prestige of our Party and Chairman Mao are incomparably high and the dictatorship of the proletariat of our country is becoming more consolidated. These are the tactics that the revisionists always use in opposing Marxism-Leninism. This is a new characteristic of the class struggle under the conditions of the dictatorship of the proletariat.

The many facts exposed during the great cultural revolution show us more clearly that the anti-Party and anti-socialist elements are all careerists, schemers and hypocrites of the exploiting classes. They are double-dealing. They feign compliance while acting in opposition. They appear to be men but are demons at heart. They speak human language to your face, but talk devil's

language behind your back. They are wolves in sheep's clothing and man-eating tigers with smiling faces. They often use the phrases of Marxism-Leninism and Mao Tse-tung's thought as a cover while greatly publicizing diametrically opposed views behind the word "but" and smuggling in bourgeois and revisionist stuff. The enemies holding a false red banner are ten times more vicious than enemies holding a white banner. Wolves in sheep's clothing are ten times more sinister than ordinary wolves. Tigers with smiling faces are ten times more ferocious than tigers with their fangs bared and their claws sticking out. Sugar-coated bullets are ten times more destructive than real bullets. A fortress is most vulnerable when attacked from within. Enemies who have wormed their way into our ranks are far more dangerous than enemies operating in the open. We must give this serious attention and be highly vigilant.

In such a very complicated and acute class struggle, how are we to draw a clear-cut line between the enemy and ourselves and maintain a firm stand? How are we to distinguish between revolutionaries and counter-revolutionaries, genuine revolutionaries and sham revolutionaries, and Marxism-Leninism and revisionism? We must master Mao Tse-tung's thought, the powerful ideological weapon, and use it as a telescope and a microscope to observe all matters. With the invincible Mao Tse-tung's thought, with the scientific world outlook and methodology of dialectical materialism and historical materialism which have been developed by Chairman Mao, and with the sharp weapon of Chairman Mao's theory of classes and class struggle, we have the highest criterion for judging right and wrong. We are able to penetrate deeply into all things and to recognize the whole through observation of the part. We can see the essence behind outward appearance, and clear away the miasma to achieve profound insight into things and thus monsters of all sorts will be unable to hide themselves. We can stand on an eminence, become far-sighted and view the whole situation, the future and the great significance and far-reaching influence of the great socialist cultural revolution. We can advance without the slightest fear and stand in the forefront of the great socialist cultural revolution.

Chairman Mao teaches us: "The proletariat seeks to transform the world according to its own world outlook, so does the bourgeoisie." In the sharp clash between the two world outlooks, either you crush me, or

I crush you. It will not do to sit on the fence; there is no middle road. The overthrown bourgeoisie, in their plots for restoration and subversion, always give first place to ideology, take hold of ideology and the superstructure. The representatives of the bourgeoisie, by using their position and power, usurped and controlled the leadership of a number of departments, did all they could to spread bourgeois and revisionist poison through the media of literature, the theatre, films, music, the arts, the press, periodicals, the radio, publications and academic research and in schools, etc., in an attempt to corrupt people's minds and perpetrate "peaceful evolution" as ideological preparation and preparation of public opinion for capitalist restoration. If our proletarian ideology does not take over the position, then the bourgeois ideology will have free rein; it will gradually nibble away and chew you up bit by bit. Once proletarian ideology gives way, so will the superstructure and the economic base and this means the restoration of capitalism. Therefore, we must arm our minds with Mao Tse-tung's thought and establish a firm proletarian world outlook. We must use the great Mao Tse-tung's thought to fight and completely destroy the bourgeois ideological and cultural positions.

Mao Tse-tung's thought is the acme of Marxism-Leninism in the present era. It is living Marxism-Leninism at its highest. It is the powerful, invincible weapon of the Chinese people, and it is also a powerful invincible weapon of the revolutionary people the world over. Mao Tse-tung's thought has proved to be invincible truth through the practice of China's democratic revolution, socialist revolution and socialist construction, and through the struggle in the international sphere against U.S. imperialism and its lackeys and against Khrushchov revisionism. Chairman Mao has, with the gifts of genius, creatively and comprehensively developed Marxism-Leninism. Basing himself on the fundamental theses of Marxism-Leninism, Chairman Mao has summed up the experience of the practice of the Chinese revolution and the world revolution, and the painful lesson of the usurpation of the leadership of the Party and the state of the Soviet Union by the modern revisionist clique, systematically put forward the theory concerning classes, class contradictions and class struggle that exist in socialist society, greatly enriched and developed the Marxist-Leninist theory on the dictatorship of the proletariat, and put forward a series of wise policies aimed at opposing and preventing revisionism and the restoration of capitalism. All this ensures that our country will always maintain its revolutionary spirit and never change its colour, and it is of extremely great theoretical and practical significance to the revolutionary cause of the international proletariat. Every sentence by Chairman Mao is truth, and carries more weight than ten thousand ordinary sentences. As the Chinese people master Mao Tse-tung's thought, China will be prosperous and ever-victorious. Once the world's people master Mao Tse-tung's thought which is living Marxism-Leninism, they are sure to win their eman-

cipation, bury imperialism, modern revisionism and all reactionaries lock, stock and barrel, and realize communism throughout the world step by step.

The most fundamental task in the great socialist cultural revolution in our country is to eliminate thoroughly the old ideology and culture, the old customs and habits which were fostered by all the exploiting classes for thousands of years to poison the minds of the people, and to create and form an entirely new, proletarian ideology and culture, new customs and habits among the masses of the people. This is to creatively study and apply Mao Tse-tung's thought in tempestuous class struggle, popularize it and let it become closely integrated with the masses of workers, peasants and soldiers. Once the masses grasp it, Mao Tse-tung's thought will be transformed into a mighty material force. Facts show that those armed with Mao Tse-tung's thought are the bravest, wisest, most united, most steadfast in class stand and have the sharpest sight. In this great, stormy cultural revolution, the masses of workers, peasants and soldiers are the main force — this is the result of their efforts in creatively studying and applying Mao Tse-tung's thought and arming their ideology with it. This is another eloquent proof of the fact that when the masses of workers, peasants and soldiers master the political telescope and microscope of Mao Tse-tung's thought, they are invincible and ever-triumphant. None of the monsters can escape their sharp sight, no matter what the tricks used or what the clever camouflage employed, "36 stratagems" or "72 metamorphoses." Not a single bourgeois stronghold can escape thorough destruction.

The attitude towards Mao Tse-tung's thought, whether to accept it or resist it, to support it or oppose it, to love it warmly or be hostile to it, this is the touchstone to test and the watershed between true revolution and sham revolution, between revolution and counter-revolution, between Marxism-Leninism and revisionism. He who wants to make revolution must accept Mao Tse-tung's thought and act in accordance with it. A counter-revolutionary will inevitably disparage, distort, resist, attack and oppose Mao Tse-tung's thought. The "authorities" of the bourgeoisie and all monsters, including the modern revisionists, use every means to slander Mao Tse-tung's thought, and they are extremely hostile to the creative study and application of Mao Tse-tung's works by the masses of workers, peasants and soldiers. They wildly attack the creative study and application of Mao Tse-tung's works by workers, peasants and soldiers as "philistinism," "oversimplification" and "pragmatism." The only explanation is that this flows from their exploiting class instinct. They fear Mao Tse-tung's thought, the revolutionary truth of the proletariat, and particularly the integration of Mao Tse-tung's thought with the worker, peasant and soldier masses. Once the workers, peasants and soldiers master the sharp weapon of Mao Tse-tung's thought, all monsters have no ground left to stand on. All their intrigues and plots will be

thoroughly exposed, their ugly features will be brought into the broad light of day and their dream to restore capitalism will be utterly shattered.

The class enemy won't fall down, if you don't hit him. He still tries to rise to his feet after he has fallen. When one black line is eliminated, another appears. When one gang of representatives of the bourgeoisie has been laid low, a new one takes the stage. We must follow the instructions of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China and never forget the class struggle, never forget the dictatorship of the proletariat, never forget to put politics first, never forget to hold aloft the great red banner of Mao Tse-tung's thought. We must firmly put politics first. We must creatively study and apply still better Chairman Mao Tse-tung's works, putting stress on the importance of application. We must consider Chairman Mao's

works the supreme directive for all our work. We must master Mao Tse-tung's thought and pass it on from generation to generation. This is dictated by the needs of the revolution, the situation, the struggle against the enemy, the preparations to smash aggressive war by U.S. imperialism, of opposing and preventing revisionism, preventing the restoration of capitalism, of building socialism with greater, faster, better and more economical results and of ensuring the gradual transition from socialism to communism in China. Chairman Mao is the radiant sun lighting our minds. Mao Tse-tung's thought is our lifeline. Those who oppose Mao Tse-tung's thought, at any time and no matter what kind of "authorities" they are, will be denounced by the entire Party and the whole nation.

("Jiefangjun Bao" [Liberation Army Daily] editorial, June 7.)

人民日报
RENMIN RIBAO

A Great Revolution That Touches the People to Their Very Souls

CHINA today is in a new era of great change after the seizure of political power by the proletariat and is in a new situation in which the socialist revolution becomes deeper every day. It finds itself in the strong current of a great socialist cultural revolution which touches people to their very souls.

The gradual deepening of the socialist revolution and of the socialist education movement inevitably brings the question of the proletarian cultural revolution to the fore. Whether or not you are genuinely in favour of the socialist revolution or whether you are even against the socialist revolution is bound to manifest itself in your attitude towards the proletarian cultural revolution. This is a question that touches people's souls, in other words, their world outlook, a question of whether the proletarian or the bourgeois world outlook dominates people's minds. It is a struggle between the two antagonistic world outlooks.

Like two armies facing each other in battle, the two antagonistic world outlooks, that is, the antagonistic world outlooks of the proletariat and the bourgeoisie, are locked in a struggle which invariably results in one vanquishing the other. Either you crush me, or I crush you. Either the East wind prevails over the West wind, or the West wind prevails over the East wind. There is no middle road.

The Party and Chairman Mao teach us to arm ourselves with the proletarian world outlook to change our subjective world while changing the objective world. But the representatives of the bourgeoisie and the bourgeois "scholars and authorities" insist on dragging us into the quagmire of the bourgeois world outlook and subverting socialism. Confronted by our sworn enemies, we must rally under the great banner of Mao Tse-tung's thought and wage resolute and relentless struggles against the anti-Party and anti-socialist bourgeois representatives and "scholars and authorities." Only by resolute struggle against them and dissipating the evil bourgeois winds can people free themselves from the influence of bourgeois ideology, traditions and force of habit, pass the great test of socialist revolution and march forward in giant strides along the broad road of socialist revolution.

It is erroneous, contrary to Marxism-Leninism and at variance with dialectics to say that there are no contradictions in socialist society. How can there be no contradictions? There will still be contradictions after 1,000 or 10,000 or even 100 million years. Contradictions will exist in the universe even after the destruction of the earth and the extinction of the sun. All things are in a flux of contradiction, struggle and change. This is the Marxist-Leninist outlook. The

essence of Marxism is critical and revolutionary. Its basic spirit is criticism, struggle and revolution. This alone can constantly propel our socialist cause forward. Chairman Mao often quotes the saying, "the tree may prefer calm, but the wind will not subside," to tell us that class struggle is an objective fact and is independent of man's will. The bourgeoisie is daily trying to influence us and corrupt us. The current struggle has been provoked entirely by the representatives of the bourgeoisie. Moreover, they have been preparing and waging it for many years. We cannot avoid it even if we want to. Struggle is life. If you don't struggle against him, he will struggle against you. If you don't hit him, he will hit you. If you don't wipe him out, he will wipe you out. This is a life-and-death class struggle. It is dangerous to lose vigilance in such a struggle.

Chairman Mao says, "... while we recognize that in the general development of history the material determines the mental and social being determines social consciousness, we also—and indeed must—recognize the reaction of mental on material things, of social consciousness on social being and of the superstructure on the economic base."

Bourgeois ideology is still very powerful and exerts an immense influence in our country. The question of who will win out in the ideological sphere, the proletariat or the bourgeoisie, has not yet been settled.

We must have a firm grip on ideology and the superstructure, theoretical and academic work, literature and art, etc., so as to consolidate the ideological positions of the proletariat, strengthen the dictatorship of the proletariat and consolidate the economic base of socialism.

The representatives of the overthrown bourgeoisie are still trying to tighten their grip on ideology and the superstructure, theoretical and academic work, literature and art, etc. On the cultural front, they have worked hard to let emperors and kings, generals and prime ministers, scholars and beauties, foreign idols and dead men dominate the stage and have carried

on anti-Party and anti-socialist propaganda with a view to moulding public opinion in preparation for the restoration of capitalism.

We must never regard our struggle against them as mere polemics on paper which do not affect the general situation. It was a number of revisionist literary men of the Petofi Club who acted as the shock brigade in the Hungarian events. The turbulent wind precedes the mountain storm. This is the prelude to the vain attempt of the revisionists at a counter-revolutionary restoration.

Therefore, the current sharp class struggle we are engaged in on the ideological and cultural front is a struggle to shatter all schemes for capitalist restoration ideologically and to dig out the ideological roots of revisionism, a struggle to strengthen the dictatorship of the proletariat and defend Mao Tse-tung's thought. This struggle must end in victory, and there is no doubt that it can and will end in victory.

We should attach great importance to the role of ideology, of proletarian and socialist ideology, of Marxism-Leninism and Mao Tse-tung's thought. For us Communists, to attach no importance to the role of ideology would be philistine or mechanical materialism. We must arouse the enthusiasm of the people and broaden their horizon about the future by means of the great thought of Mao Tse-tung and our great just cause, so that they will unswervingly march ahead! The Chinese people must rid themselves of the influence of all the traditions and forces of habit of thousands of years left over by the exploiting classes and the influence of imperialism. Once freed from all these influences, they will generate a mighty force and play a powerful role. We must enhance our communist consciousness and consciously foster communist ideology. We must not be waverers, we must be thoroughgoing revolutionaries. We must always hold high the great red banner of Mao Tse-tung's thought, sweep away all monsters and carry the great proletarian cultural revolution through to the end.

("Renmin Ribao" editorial, June 2.)

Tear Aside the Bourgeois Mask of "Liberty, Equality and Fraternity"

THERE is an upsurge in the great proletarian cultural revolution in China today. This surging tide is forcefully pounding away at all the decadent ideological and cultural positions held by the bourgeoisie and the feudal survivals. Holding high the great red banner of Mao Tse-tung's thought, the workers, peasants and soldiers, the revolutionary cadres and revolutionary intellectuals have let loose a fierce

counter-offensive against the black anti-Party and anti-socialist line of the capitalist class. This is a serious, acute and complex political struggle, a struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie, between socialism and capitalism, between revolution and counter-revolution, between Marxism-Leninism and revisionism; it is a life-and-death class struggle. In no way is this struggle a trivial matter; it is a matter of prime

importance that affects the destiny of our Party and state, the future of our Party and state; it is a matter of prime importance that affects what our Party and state will look like in the future, and also affects the world revolution.

Basing himself on the fundamental theses of Marxism-Leninism and the historical experience of the dictatorship of the proletariat, Chairman Mao Tse-tung has analysed classes and class struggle in socialist society comprehensively and systematically and has creatively developed Marxist-Leninist theory on the dictatorship of the proletariat. Chairman Mao teaches us that class contradiction still exists and class struggle does not die out in socialist society after the completion of the socialist transformation of the ownership of the means of production. There is struggle between the proletariat and bourgeoisie, between the socialist and capitalist roads throughout the stage of socialism. The socialist revolution must be carried through to the end on the political, economic, and ideological and cultural fronts in order to ensure the successful building of socialism and prevent the restoration of capitalism. It is precisely Chairman Mao's theory on classes and class struggle in socialist society, on the proletarian revolution and the dictatorship of the proletariat, on the need to carry out the socialist revolution not only in the matter of ownership but also in the field of ideology, that provides the correct line and guiding principles which we must follow in this great socialist cultural revolution.

A handful of representatives of the bourgeoisie who wormed their way into our Party deliberately covered up the true class nature of the struggle and twisted this serious political struggle into a "purely academic problem" and an "exchange of different opinions." They hoisted aloft the black bourgeois banner of "liberty, equality and fraternity" in opposition to the line of the proletarian cultural revolution advanced by the Party's Central Committee headed by Chairman Mao Tse-tung. They ranted along these lines: "full expression should be given to different opinions (including those opposed to Marxism-Leninism)," "everyone is equal before the truth," "one should not be arbitrary like a scholar-tyrant or overwhelm others by the use of one's position or power," and cried that "care" and "prudence" must be exercised in the struggle against the anti-Party and anti-socialist monsters and that they should not be "held in such a tight grip" and so on. The vicious motive here was to deceive the masses of the people, muddy the waters, mix up the proletarian and the bourgeois class fronts and shift the target of the struggle. Their motive was to encourage the bourgeois Right and frustrate the proletarian Left, to protect the bourgeois Right and attack the proletarian Left. Their motive was to bring about bourgeois liberalization and revisionism and reduce proletarian rule to chaos so that they could capture power from the proletariat and restore capitalism when the opportunity came.

Messrs. bourgeois "authorities"! You are experts at making mistakes. Your appraisal of the situation

was entirely wrong. Your estimation of the consciousness and strength of the workers, peasants and soldiers was entirely wrong. Your estimation of the power of the Party's leadership and the dictatorship of the proletariat was again entirely wrong. You cannot possibly succeed in using the tattered banner of "liberty, equality and fraternity" to cover up your attack on the Party and socialism. Equally, you cannot possibly succeed in using that banner as a "protective umbrella" to cover your retreat. All the more is it impossible for us to relinquish the dictatorship of the proletariat and to deal with you monsters on the footing of liberty, equality and fraternity, allowing you to impose your dictatorship over us. You are demons in human shape. Don't imagine that you wolves, once in sheep's clothing, can deceive people. The worker, peasant and soldier masses, the revolutionary cadres and revolutionary intellectuals, armed with Mao Tse-tung's thought, are firm and clear-sighted and their banner is bright and distinctive. We have torn aside your filthy curtain of counter-revolution and caught you red-handed. We shall strip you of your disguises and expose you in all your ugliness.

You Messrs. bourgeois "authorities" talked glibly about "liberty" and put great stress on the "opening wide" policy in an underhand attempt to distort this policy of the Party and wipe out its class content. Your "opening wide" was to meet the needs of your own class and bring about bourgeois liberalization. It was opposed to the Party's leadership, the dictatorship of the proletariat and the thought of Mao Tse-tung.

"Isn't it the Party's policy to 'open wide'?" This was the pretext put forward by Messrs. bourgeois "authorities." Yes, we are firmly in favour of the policy of opening wide. Chairman Mao said: "We choose the policy of opening wide, because it is the policy which will help to consolidate our country and develop our culture." He also said: "To 'open wide' means to let all people express their opinions freely, so that they dare to speak, dare to criticize and dare to debate." In discussing this question, Chairman Mao specially pointed out that "we still have to wage a protracted struggle against bourgeois and petty-bourgeois ideology. It is wrong not to understand this and to give up ideological struggle. All erroneous ideas, all poisonous weeds, all superstitious and degenerate things, must be subjected to criticism; in no circumstance should they be allowed to spread unchecked." Our policy of "opening wide" is a firm proletarian class policy and is distinguished by proletarian political criteria. But your so-called "opening wide" encourages the bourgeoisie alone and not the proletariat. It permits only such bourgeois "authorities," "specialists" and "scholars" as yourselves to spread their poison without allowing the worker, peasant and soldier masses and the revolutionary cadres and revolutionary intellectuals to hit back. In a word, under the pretext of "opening wide," you are actually opposing the Party and socialism.

Weren't these the facts? For years, Messrs. bourgeois "authorities," you turned loose a horde of monsters to spread their load of poison, without let for a single day, in co-ordination internationally with the big anti-China chorus of the imperialists, the modern revisionists and all reactionaries. Your poisonous products filled our newspapers, radio, magazines, books, textbooks, lectures, literary works, films, plays, operas and ballads, fine arts, music, dancing, etc. You never advocated the need to accept proletarian leadership, and never asked anyone for permission. Yet when we launched a counter-attack on the ideological and cultural front, what attitude did you take towards the worker, peasant and soldier masses and towards the proletarian Left? You shelved everything critical of the poisonous weeds, holding some things back for as long as several years. You set up one taboo after another, put on airs and deliberately turned simple matters into mysteries to scare off the workers, peasants and soldiers. You lavished praise on the so-called academic "authorities" of the bourgeoisie and showed hostility to and suppressed the militant, new emerging forces representative of the working class. You did not permit the workers, peasants and soldiers to rise up and overthrow the bourgeois "authorities," you did not permit them to make revolution.

Obviously, the "liberty" you wanted was nothing but liberty for the "Three-Family Village" gangster inn, liberty to spread the villainous "Yenshan chatter," liberty to stage widely such unsavoury plays and films as *Hsieh Yao-huan*, *Li Hui-niang*, *Hai Jui Dismissed From Office*, and *Laying Siege to the City*, liberty to complain that the Right opportunists had been wronged and to encourage them to stage a come-back, liberty to pour cold water on the enthusiasm of the worker, peasant and soldier masses for creatively studying and applying Mao Tse-tung's works and use the big stick on them, liberty to spread widely the decadent and degenerate landlord, bourgeois and revisionist ideology to pave the way for the restoration of capitalism. The "liberty" you wanted was liberty to attack the Party and socialism, to attack the dictatorship of the proletariat, and to attack Mao Tse-tung's thought. In short, you wanted the liberty of counter-revolution.

Chairman Mao has said: "Freedom and democracy cannot exist in the abstract, they only exist in the concrete. In a society where there is class struggle, when the exploiting classes are free to exploit the working people the working people will have no freedom from being exploited; when there is democracy for the bourgeoisie there can be no democracy for the proletariat and other working people." Our socialist system certainly will not allow freedom of speech to counter-revolutionaries; this freedom is permitted only among the people. You want to oppose the leadership of the Party and socialism but we will never give you this freedom. If you were allowed freedom to oppose the Party and socialism, the revolution would suffer defeat, the peo-

ple would suffer disaster and this would lead the country to destruction.

Messrs. bourgeois "authorities"! You harped on "equality," alleging that "everybody is equal before the truth." This is an out-and-out bourgeois slogan, an extremely reactionary slogan which protects the bourgeoisie and opposes the proletariat, Marxism-Leninism and Mao Tse-tung's thought.

Did you really practise equality? No, not in the least. How wildly and tyrannically you attacked the proletariat! You revered as sacred, as priceless, anything that came from the bourgeois "specialists" and "scholars," and, giving them all your attention you published them, advertised them, performed them and lauded them. As for products of the workers, peasants and soldiers, even good articles on the creative study and application of Chairman Mao's works, you dismissed contemptuously. You dared to denigrate them as typically "philistine," "oversimplified," and "pragmatic" and forthwith consigned them to the back shelf. Is that equality? You spread so much poison, yet the moment we counter-attacked you yelled "everyone is equal before the truth." Indeed, you clamped the label "scholar tyrants" on the proletarian Left and maligned our counter-attack as "arbitrary," as "overwhelming others by the use of position or power." Let us ask, what is a "scholar tyrant," and who is a "scholar tyrant"? Does not the proletariat need dictatorship, does it not need to prevail over the bourgeoisie? Is it not necessary for proletarian learning to prevail over and eliminate bourgeois learning? By your actions you have been in fact making a last-ditch fight, rejecting criticism, attacking the proletarian Left and giving support to real bourgeois scholar tyrants. Is that, too, equality?

Were you really talking of the truth? No. You embarked on conspiracy under the smokescreen of "truth." You used undermining tactics, utterly stripping truth of its class nature. Don't you know that there is only class truth in class society and no such thing as abstract truth above classes? Each particular plant yields its own particular fruit; each class speaks in its own terms. Different classes always hold different views on what is truth and what is falsehood, what constitute fragrant flowers and what poisonous weeds. The "fragrant flowers" you glorify are, to us, simply poisonous weeds which we shall uproot. The "truth" you maintain is exactly the bourgeois falsehood we oppose. Truth is objective. There can be only one truth and who after all arrives at the truth depends not on subjective boasting but on objective practice. The only criterion of truth is the revolutionary practice of the millions of people. Only the proletariat, which is the most advanced and most revolutionary class, can understand the objective laws of social development and grasp truth. Mao Tse-tung's thought is the acme of Marxism-Leninism in the present era, living Marxism-Leninism at its highest, the powerful ideological weapon in

the hands of the proletariat and the revolutionary people all over the world, the great truth in this great era of ours. Mao Tse-tung's thought is the truth that conforms to the laws of development of socialist society, the laws of development of nature, and the needs of proletarian revolution. In making Mao Tse-tung's thought our supreme guide and leadership we show that we indeed love the truth, uphold the truth and adhere to the truth. You made a hullabaloo about "everybody is equal before the truth." Putting it plainly, what you meant was opposition to Mao Tse-tung's thought, substituting for the great thought of Mao Tse-tung the reactionary ideology of the bourgeoisie and the revisionists. This was the great conspiracy you conceived!

Chairman Mao teaches us that the struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie, between the truth of Marxism and the fallacies of the bourgeoisie and all exploiting classes, is a matter of the East wind prevailing over the West wind or vice versa; in this connection there can never be any such thing as equality. What equality can be permitted in such fundamental matters as the proletarian struggle against the bourgeoisie, the dictatorship of the proletariat over the bourgeoisie, the dictatorship of the proletariat in the realm of the superstructure including the various fields of culture, and the continuous work that the proletariat has to do in clearing out the bourgeois representatives who worm their way into the Communist Party and brandish a red flag to oppose the red flag, etc., etc.? For decades the old social democratic parties — and in the last ten years or so, the modern revisionists — have never allowed the proletariat any equality with the bourgeoisie. They entirely deny that the history of mankind for several thousand years has been one of class struggle, they entirely deny proletarian class struggle against the bourgeoisie, proletarian revolution against the bourgeoisie and the dictatorship of the proletariat over the bourgeoisie. On the contrary, they are faithful stooges of the bourgeoisie and imperialism, and, hand in hand with them cling to the ideology of bourgeois oppression and exploitation of the proletariat and to the social system of capitalism while opposing the ideology of Marxism-Leninism and the socialist system of society. They are anti-communist and anti-popular counter-revolutionaries. Their struggle against us is one of life and death in which there is no such thing as equality. Hence, our struggle against them is inevitably one of life and death, so that our relationship with them can never be that of equality but that in which one class suppresses the other, i.e., a relationship in which the proletariat exercises absolute rule or dictatorship over the bourgeoisie; nor can it be any other, as, for example, a so-called relationship of equality, a relationship of peaceful coexistence between the exploited and exploiting classes, or a relationship of humanity, justice and all the other virtues.

Messrs. bourgeois "authorities"! On the black banner you monsters displayed, you inscribed the word "fraternity." What do you mean by "fraternity"? You

ardently love the bourgeoisie and intensely hate the proletariat. That is your conception, the bourgeois conception, of "fraternity."

Let us now see what they really love, these philanthropists who are filled with the spirit of "fraternity." When the anti-Party and anti-socialist gang feverishly attacked the Party in order to give it a heavy "blow on the head" and "pour dog's blood on its head," in the hope of overthrowing the Party leadership, you bosses behind the scenes gave them the green light, beat the drum for them, summoned the wind and the waves, forgot yourselves in your excitement and acclaimed them in the belief that good days were in store for you just around the corner. But your sweet dream was short-lived and your dirty anti-Party and anti-socialist camouflage was soon torn down. Then, when you threw away your shield and armour and fled in panic you hastily hoisted the tattered flag of "fraternity" and assumed a hypocritical air of impartiality and justice, while proclaiming that "those with reactionary academic viewpoints" must be allowed to "reserve their views" and not be "prevented from making revolution" and not "be held in a tight grip," and so on. This was really an example of birds of a feather flocking together. What care and consideration you showed for that anti-Party and anti-socialist gang of yours! But as for the staunch proletarian Left, they were a thorn in your flesh and you wanted to "rectify" their "working style" and "purge" them. You longed to gobble them up. How firm was your bourgeois stand! What a clear distinction you maintained between love and hate!

Chairman Mao teaches us: "There is absolutely no such thing in the world as love or hatred without reason or cause." "We definitely do not apply a policy of benevolence to the reactionaries and towards the reactionary activities of the reactionary classes. Our policy of benevolence is applied only within the ranks of the people, not beyond them to the reactionaries or to the reactionary activities of reactionary classes." Messrs. bourgeois "authorities"! You are birds of a feather with imperialism, modern revisionism and the reactionaries abroad, and with the landlords, rich peasants, counter-revolutionaries, bad elements and Rightists at home. There is no compatibility between you and us, and the struggle between you and us is irreconcilable. You have never had "fraternal love" for us, nor shall we have any for you. Your hatred for our great Party of the proletariat and the people was so bitter that you employed the meanest of tricks and would not feel content till you utterly destroyed them. How then can we talk about "fraternal love" for you? We must never be tender-hearted to the enemies of the revolution. To be tender-hearted to you would mean cruelty to the proletariat and to the millions of working people. We must never regard the wolf as lamb or arsenic as sugar. We shall never be deceived by you "tigers with smiling faces." We must reply in kind. We must deal you destructive blows, make your names stink to high heaven and defeat and overthrow you completely. We

must thoroughly sweep away all "pests" that harm people!

"Liberty, equality and fraternity" is the decadent and reactionary world outlook of the bourgeoisie. Two centuries have passed since this slogan was first raised by the French bourgeoisie in the 18th century. Although it had its anti-feudal progressive aspect at the time when they led the French revolution, it is a hypocritical slogan used by the bourgeoisie to defend their private class interests. The bourgeoisie made use of this slogan during the democratic revolution to deceive the working people, seize state power from the feudal landlord class and establish bourgeois dictatorship. After their seizure of power, the bourgeoisie continued to use the slogan to lull the working people, to cover up their sanguinary rule and consolidate the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie. The freedom proclaimed by the bourgeoisie amounts to nothing more than freedom for them to exploit wage labour and plunder colonies, and on the other hand, freedom for the labouring people to be exploited and the people in the colonies to be plundered. The equality proclaimed by the bourgeoisie means nothing more than equality for them to exploit wage labour and equality for the working people to be exploited. The fraternity proclaimed by the bourgeoisie means nothing more than an attempt to exploit and enslave more and more people, and a demand that the exploited and oppressed people should be grateful for the bourgeois exploitation. Marx and Engels once said that the vampire would not lose its hold so long as there was a muscle, a nerve, a drop of blood to be exploited. This is the reactionary essence of the bourgeois slogan of "liberty, equality and fraternity."

The bourgeoisie, once their state power is overthrown by the proletarian revolution, never reconcile themselves to their defeat. Invariably they use every means to disrupt, and, through their agents who infiltrate the revolutionary ranks, they employ the reactionary slogan of "liberty, equality and fraternity" to deceive and lull the working people and oppose the dictatorship of the proletariat in the vain hope of restoring their lost "paradise." In opposing the proletarian revolution and proletarian dictatorship, the old social-democrats adopted the black banner of "liberty, equality and fraternity." Wanting to backtrack from socialism to capitalism, and to oppose and undermine people's revolution throughout the world, the Khrushchov modern revisionists have also taken up this reactionary banner and even incorporated it into the notorious programme of the C.P.S.U. In 1956, the Hungarian Petofi Club also used this black banner to incite the masses to stage a counter-revolutionary rebellion. The bourgeois Rightists in our country in 1957 hoisted the same banner in their frenzied attack on the Party and socialism. The Right opportunists who were dismissed from office at the Lushan meeting also vigorously spread this reactionary slogan in their opposition to the Party's Central Committee, to the Party's correct line and to Mao Tse-tung's thought. Now, Messrs. bourgeois "authori-

ties," you have also plucked this filth from the dustbin, tried to pretty it up and made it your anti-Party, anti-socialist standard, your programme of action against Mao Tse-tung's thought and your magic weapon to obstruct and undermine the great socialist cultural revolution. You have stepped into the shoes of the bourgeoisie and revisionists past and present, at home and abroad, set up cliques for your selfish interests, and tried every trick to mislead the public and match strength with the proletariat, in the hope of undermining the dictatorship of the proletariat and restoring capitalism. You are racking your brains in vain! You are day-dreaming! Your fate cannot be better than that of your forerunners and brothers-in-crime!

Our socialist society still rests on class antagonism. Although the landlord and the bourgeois classes have been overthrown, they are not yet completely eliminated. We have confiscated the property of the exploiting classes, but we cannot confiscate their reactionary ideas. Persons of these classes are still living and they are not reconciled. They inevitably try to stage a come-back. They form a minuscule minority of the whole population, but their power of resistance is proportionately much greater. The spontaneous forces of the urban and rural petty-bourgeoisie ceaselessly engender new bourgeois elements. Some unwholesome elements come into the workers' ranks as these expand. There are also some people in the Party and government organs who degenerate. Further, imperialism, modern revisionism and the reactionaries of all countries are always making efforts, in one way or another, to have a go at us. All this exposes our country to the danger of a restoration of capitalism. We absolutely must not ignore this danger. Just as we must raise our vigilance a hundred-fold against the external enemy; so, too, we must not lower our guard against the enemy at home. While paying serious attention to the enemy with guns, we must not lose sight of the enemy without guns. A wolf in sheep's clothing is more dangerous than an ordinary wolf, and even than a pack of wolves. The enemy holding a red flag is more dangerous than the enemy with a white one. Sugar-coated bullets kill people. Smiling tigers eat people. We must never engross ourselves in work and forget politics just because we have a host of problems to deal with. To forget politics, to forget class struggle, would be to forget the fundamental theses of Marxism-Leninism and Mao Tse-tung's thought. This would be blind carelessness and sheer idiocy. We must follow the instructions of the Party's Central Committee and never for a single instant forget class struggle, the dictatorship of the proletariat and the primary place of politics, and never for a single instant forget to hold high the great red banner of Mao Tse-tung's thought.

Marxism-Leninism is critical and revolutionary in nature. Its basic point is criticism, struggle and revolution. Towards everything bourgeois and revisionist, we must adopt not reformist but thoroughgoing revolutionary methods. In dealing with the enemy of revolution, we

cannot rely on persuasion but on struggle. If you don't struggle against him, he will struggle against you. If you don't hit him, he will hit you. Without destruction, there will be no construction. Destruction means criticism and revolution. Destruction comes first and construction comes in the course of destruction. Messrs. bourgeois "authorities" describe us as "dynamiters" and "clubs." That's right. We want to be proletarian "dynamiters" so as to blow to bits all the anti-Party, anti-socialist gangster villages and inns. We want to be precisely "golden clubs" of the proletariat so as to rout all monsters. We shall smash anyone who tries to oppose the Party and socialism, to oppose the dictatorship of the proletariat and oppose Mao Tse-tung's thought. No matter what his "authority," no matter how high his post, the whole nation and the whole Party will rise to denounce him.

At the present time, we are facing an excellent situation. The whole world situation is excellent, and so it is with China. Ours is a Party that has been making revolution for dozens of years under the leadership of Chairman Mao Tse-tung, a Party that is armed with Marxism-Leninism and Mao Tse-tung's thought, a Party closely linked with the masses, possessing rich revolu-

tionary experience and a glorious revolutionary tradition, a Party that has withstood storm and stress in protracted revolutionary struggles; ours is a glorious, great and correct Party. Any monsters, schemers or careerists who plan to capture our bastion from within and stage in China the ugly drama of Khrushchov's usurpation of Party, army and state power will be knocking their heads against a brick wall, lose all standing and reputation and end in utter failure. We should use the great Mao Tse-tung's thought and the great, just cause of communism to inspire the revolutionary enthusiasm of the working people of our country, broaden their vistas of the future and press forward unswervingly. The masses of the workers, peasants and soldiers, the revolutionary functionaries and revolutionary intellectuals of our country will rally closely around the Party's Central Committee and Chairman Mao Tse-tung, raise aloft the great red banner of Mao Tse-tung's thought, smash the rabid attack of the bourgeois gangsters, resolutely tear down the black banner of bourgeois "liberty, equality and fraternity," sweep away all monsters and carry the great socialist cultural revolution through to the end.

(*"Renmin Ribao" editorial, June 4.*)

To Be Proletarian Revolutionaries Or Bourgeois Royalists?

RESPONDING to the great call of Chairman Mao Tse-tung and the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party, Peking University has set the great proletarian cultural revolution in surging motion. Proletarian revolutionaries in the university who were formerly repressed have risen to their feet. They have overthrown the domination of the bourgeois royalists headed by Lu Ping. The struggle to smash the intrigues for the restoration of capitalism is developing successfully and the bourgeois royalists have found themselves heavily encircled by the masses.

Peking University is one of the most important positions in the field of education, and it has a long history in our country. Some leading anti-Party, anti-socialist members of the former Peking Municipal Committee of the Party who adhered to a revisionist line always took Peking University as a base from which to win away the younger generation from the proletariat.

Stubbornly implementing the revisionist line of the former Peking Municipal Committee of the Party, that handful of royalists Lu Ping and company applied the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie in Peking University. Under their rule certain departments in the university,

while nominally retaining the banner of the dictatorship of the proletariat, actually engaged in criminal actions against it. They carried out a bourgeois and revisionist line in education and went to great lengths to lead the students astray on to the road of revisionism and train them as successors for the bourgeoisie.

Lu Ping and a handful of other royalists lauded to the skies the bourgeoisie's so-called academic authorities and allowed them to spread their poisonous ideas freely among the students and systematically to propagate bourgeois and revisionist ideology. They tried to oust the revolutionary teachers and relentlessly attacked them.

Lu Ping and a handful of other royalists painstakingly cultivated students who accepted their revisionist policy in education, provided them with all kinds of facilities and looked after them with special care. They tried to breed revisionist seedlings to spread around.

Lu Ping and a handful of other royalists intensely hated the students of worker and peasant origins and those students who rejected their whole set of revisionist policies in education. These royalists devised many ways

of restricting, squeezing out, obstructing, and discriminating against these good students all the way from the entrance examination to the lectures and teaching courses, and from final examination to the assignment of jobs on graduation. They went so far as to engage in very brutal struggles against these students.

Lu Ping and a handful of other royalists desperately rejected and sabotaged the socialist education movement. In the course of the socialist education movement, the revolutionary teachers and students of Peking University brought to light a great number of the anti-Party and anti-socialist statements and actions of Lu Ping and other royalists and presented a vast amount of material showing their implementation of revisionist policy in education. But they put up a stubborn resistance. Under the direct guidance of the former Peking Municipal Committee of the Party, they launched a frantic counter-offensive in which they hit back and took revenge. They trumped up charges against the revolutionaries, attacked them and labelled them, organized things so as to hedge them in and made one round of attacks after another against them. The brutal struggle against a number of activists lasted as long as seven months. This was one extremely serious counter-revolutionary event that occurred in 1965.

Lu Ping and a handful of other royalists did not scruple to hound those who would not obey their orders, indicting them on such charges as undermining organizational discipline and opposing the leadership. They certainly showed a very strong party spirit, but it was the party spirit of the bourgeois royalists, the counter-revolutionary party spirit of revisionism. They certainly had organizational discipline and leadership, but the former was the organizational discipline of the bourgeois royalists and the latter the counter-revolutionary leadership of revisionism. We must tell this bunch of lords that it was precisely the proletarian party spirit which hostilely opposed your party spirit. It was precisely conscious respect for the organizational discipline of the proletarian revolution and the proletarian dictatorship which destroyed your organizational discipline. It was precisely conscious support and defence of the leadership of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party headed by Chairman Mao Tse-tung which opposed your leadership. The people concerned in this are fine comrades. They are proletarian revolutionaries. They are pioneers of Peking University's proletarian revolution. The Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party headed by Chairman Mao certainly does support the proletarian revolutionaries in overthrowing your leadership and bringing down your bunch of royalists.

The struggle at Peking University is one between proletarian revolutionaries and bourgeois royalists, between Marxism-Leninism, Mao Tse-tung's thought on the one hand and revisionism on the other, between the proletarian line and the bourgeois line in education, between revolution and counter-revolution, and it is an extremely sharp class struggle.

The struggle by the bourgeoisie to win the younger generation away from the proletariat is an important part of the class struggle in socialist society. In the last analysis, the struggle between the two lines and the two roads of socialism and capitalism in the field of education is a question of whether the younger generation will grow up to become successors to the proletarian cause or successors to the bourgeois cause. This great issue is one of crucial importance which concerns the destiny and the whole future of our Party and state.

In its illusions about "peaceful evolution" in socialist New China, imperialism is pinning its hopes on the younger generation. Its futile dream is that our younger generation will take not the road of Marxism-Leninism and Mao Tse-tung's thought, but the road of revisionism. Lu Ping and company who, in the sphere of education, obstinately pursued the revisionist line of the former Peking Municipal Party Committee exactly fitted the needs of imperialism.

Mao Tse-tung's thought is taking deeper and deeper root in the hearts and minds of the people of China. It is impossible for anyone to block access by the masses to Mao Tse-tung's thought. Even in that stubborn stronghold in which Lu Ping and company was entrenched for so many years, the overwhelming majority of the students, the faculty and other staff members uphold Chairman Mao and Mao Tse-tung's thought, uphold our Party and its Central Committee. A great many of the students, faculty and other staff members there have all along held high the great red banner of Mao Tse-tung's thought and waged resolute struggles against Lu Ping and company.

The struggle at Peking University is a typical instance of the struggle between the bourgeoisie who wants to restore capitalism and the proletariat who opposes a restoration. Every revolutionary comrade will derive very valuable experience from it and learn the lessons.

The unfolding of the great proletarian cultural revolution confronts educational workers, youth and students, confronts all cultural workers and everyone else with this sharp question — which side are you on in the life-and-death class struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie, between the socialist and the capitalist road; to be a proletarian revolutionary or a bourgeois royalist? Everyone must choose for himself.

We are confident that the overwhelming majority, that is, over 95 per cent of the population, will surely repudiate the bourgeois royalists and stand on the side of the proletarian revolutionaries, will firmly rally around Chairman Mao Tse-tung and the Party's Central Committee and carry China's socialist revolutionary cause and the great proletarian cultural revolution through to the end!

(*"Renmin Ribao"* editorial, June 5.)

We Are Critics of the Old World

THE rapid and vigorous development of China's great proletarian cultural revolution is shaking the world.

Some people say: "The 700 million Chinese are all critics."

Irrespective of who says this, and whether it makes them happy or unhappy, this saying reflects the fact that China's broad masses of workers, peasants and soldiers and revolutionary cadres and revolutionary intellectuals, using as their weapon the thought of Mao Tse-tung, have started to criticize the old world, old things and old thinking on an unprecedented scale.

We criticize the system of exploitation, the exploiting classes, imperialism, modern revisionism, all reactionaries, landlords, rich peasants, counter-revolutionaries, bad elements and Rightists.

We criticize the representatives of the bourgeoisie and bourgeois "scholars and authorities."

We criticize the bourgeois conception of history, bourgeois academic theories, pedagogy, journalism, and theories of art and literature, and all bad plays, films and works of literature and art.

In sum, we criticize the old world, the old ideology and culture, and old customs and habits which imperialism and all exploiting classes use to poison the minds of the working people, we criticize all non-proletarian ideology, all reactionary ideology which is antagonistic to Marxism-Leninism, to Mao Tse-tung's thought.

Why should we criticize all this?

We do this because it is absolutely necessary for the consolidation of the dictatorship of the proletariat and the building of socialism and communism, and it corresponds to the laws of historical development. Lenin held that after the overthrow of the bourgeoisie, for a long period its strength surpasses that of the proletariat, and that, particularly in the field of ideology, for a long time it still remains predominant and very stubborn. And it uses this in every way to make ideological preparations and get public opinion ready for the restoration of capitalism. This is fully illustrated by the sharp and protracted struggles on the ideological and cultural front between the two classes and two roads in the 17 years since the liberation of China, and especially by the struggle between the bourgeoisie plotting a restoration and the proletariat opposing a restoration, a struggle which of late has come to the fore.

Chairman Mao told us long ago that everything reactionary is the same: if you don't hit it, it won't fall. This is also like sweeping the floor; as a rule, where the broom does not reach, the dust does not vanish of itself. This applies to everything in the world. We want to build the new world so we must destroy the old; we want to create the new ideology and culture of socialism and communism so we must subject the old bourgeois ideology and culture, and the influence they exert, to thoroughgoing criticism and clear them out.

The essence of Marxism-Leninism is critical and revolutionary. Its essentials are to criticize, to wage struggle and make revolution. What we practise is the militant philosophy of dialectical materialism. Struggle is life. As we go ahead along the correct orbit of struggle, our fighting power will grow and we will be more able to push our great cause forward.

Chairman Mao has often emphasized that "there is no construction without destruction, no flowing without damming and no moving forward without a holding back." Destruction here means criticism, means revolution. Destruction necessarily calls for reasoning, and reasoning is construction; destruction comes first, and in the course of it there is construction. The formation and development of Marxism-Leninism, of Mao Tse-tung's thought had taken place in the incessant struggle to destroy the ideological system of the bourgeoisie. Chairman Mao says: "What is correct always develops in the course of struggle with what is wrong. The true, the good and the beautiful always exist in comparison with the false, the evil and the ugly, and grow in struggle with the latter."

Who is to be counted on in making criticism? We must count on the broadest masses of the people, on the workers, peasants and soldiers, the revolutionary cadres and the revolutionary intellectuals. During the revolutionary war, the masses of people used arms to criticize the old world and seize power; since victory, they have been using criticism as their weapon against all the evils left over by imperialism and the landlord and bourgeois classes. Only when all the 700 million people take up Mao Tse-tung's thought, the sharpest of all weapons, to make criticism can there be a clean-up on the broadest scale of the dust left hidden by the bourgeoisie in every corner and a thorough uprooting to the greatest depth of the ideology of the exploiting classes which have monopolized and ruled for the past thousands of years. Only when the broadest masses master the proletarian world outlook and criticize the bourgeois world outlook, master Marxism-Leninism, Mao Tse-tung's thought, and criticize revisionist ideas, will there be the guarantee of China's socialist revolution being carried through to the end and of its step-by-step transition from socialism to communism.

The fact that "700 million people are critics" is a thing stupendous, it is an epoch-making event. This in itself shows that the thinking of our 700 million people has been emancipated, that they have risen to full height and that they are no longer slaves of the old culture and old ideas of imperialism and the exploiting classes. It is not at all accidental that our 700 million people have become critics. It is something new, that has arisen in the conditions of the dictatorship of the proletariat. It is something new, born of the brilliance of Mao Tse-tung's thought. It is a new phenomenon, an inevitable product of the integration of Mao Tse-tung's

(Continued on p. 29.)

Mao Tse-tung's Thought—Beacon of Revolution For the World's People

The Chinese press continues to devote a lot of space to reports, features and statements showing the ardent love of the world's people for Chairman Mao Tse-tung and their high appraisal of Mao Tse-tung's thought. "Renmin Ribao" on June 4 carried a second editor's note on this material which we print below together with some of the items carried in the press. — P.R. Ed.

"Renmin Ribao" Editor's Note

Revolutionary people throughout the world have boundless love for Chairman Mao. They say, "Chairman Mao is the great teacher of all oppressed people. The masses of the people keep him in their hearts all the time." Revolutionary people throughout the world have boundless love for Chairman Mao's works. They say, "The *Selected Works of Mao Tse-tung* are a handbook for revolutionaries." Revolutionary people throughout the world warmly acclaim Mao Tse-tung's thought. They sing praises of it as the "never-setting sun." They proclaim: "The radiance of Mao Tse-tung's thought has not only lighted up all China but is lighting up the whole world."

The mass movement of the Chinese people to study Chairman Mao's works has drawn the close attention of the world's revolutionary people and won their boundless admiration. Friends from all lands that have visited China have seen with their own eyes the vigour of this study movement unfolding all over the country. They have seen the inspiring picture in which Mao Tse-tung's thought is being grasped by hundreds of millions of people and is swiftly changing their spiritual outlook; and how it has been transformed into a tremendous material force. They have a high evaluation of the movement. They say, "This is the greatest revolutionary action of awakened people history has ever witnessed." They express the hope that, holding high the great red banner of Mao Tse-tung's thought, the Chinese people will exert "a greater and more decisive influence" on the development of human history.

People throughout the world, and particularly the Asian, African and Latin American peoples, are passing through different stages of revolutionary struggle. They see in the brilliant example of the Chinese revolution their own future and firmly believe that Mao Tse-tung's thought is the guide to world revolution. The revolutionary people in different countries earnestly desire to grasp Mao Tse-tung's thought and to apply Comrade Mao Tse-tung's revolutionary theories to their revolutionary struggles. Mao Tse-tung's thought is having an ever greater and more profound influence throughout the world, and the world revolution will win still greater victories.

ALBANIA: To Make Revolution, One Must Study Chairman Mao's Works

Chairman Mao Tse-tung's works enjoy ever greater popularity in Albania. The broad masses of people and cadres warmly welcome his writings as their indispensable spiritual food.

In bookstores, libraries and offices—everywhere you go you will find the *Selected Works of Mao Tse-tung* placed side by side with the works of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin.

Large numbers of readers study the works of Mao Tse-tung with the greatest devotion. Among the most widely read are *On the Correct Handling of Contradictions Among the People*, *Talks at the Yen-an Forum on Literature and Art*, and *Mao Tse-tung on Art and Literature*. Before going to work in the factories or the countryside, many writers and artists carefully studied *Talks at the Yen-an Forum on Literature and Art*, with a view to better serving the workers, peasants and soldiers and keeping in closer contact with the masses and with reality.



"Militant Africa Eulogizes Mao Tse-tung and His Great Cause," a song performed by the Guinean "Djoliba" National Dance Troupe, now visiting China. A stanza runs:

"Your writings — a source of limitless strength;

Your thought — a never-setting sun;

It lights up vast China, And also the hearts of the world's militant people."

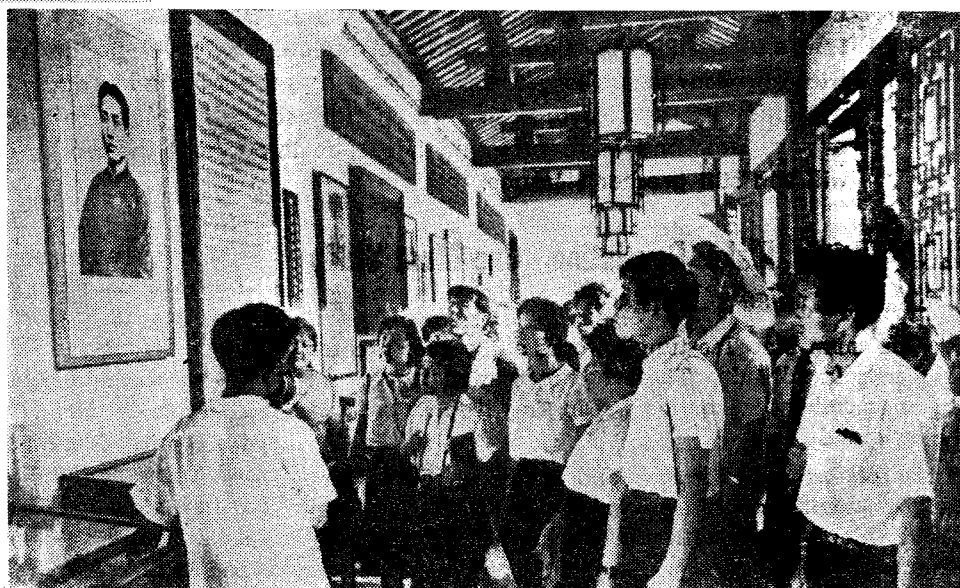


Members of the Albanian People's Army Song and Dance Troupe visit the famous Tachai brigade which, through creative study and application of Mao Tse-tung's thought, has become a pace-setter on China's agricultural front.



Members of the South Vietnam Liberation Trade Union Federation Delegation at the entrance to a tunnel in Chiaochuanghu Village in the north China plain and within the area of Peking Municipality. Led by the Chinese Communist Party, the local people used tunnel warfare, based on the strategy and tactics of people's war as taught by Chairman Mao, to defeat both the Japanese aggressors and the Kuomintang reactionaries.

Young Japanese visitors at the National Institute of the Peasant Movement in Canton where Chairman Mao Tse-tung taught in 1925-26.



A report introducing the main content of the *Selected Works of Mao Tse-tung* was recently made to cadres, armymen and youth of the Vlore Region to assist them in their study. In his study of the book *Mao Tse-tung on Art and Literature*, Guro Zeneli, First Secretary of the Vlore Regional Committee of the Union of Working Youth, underlined the main theses and axioms in the book in order to use them to educate the youth. He said, "Mao Tse-tung belongs not only to China but also to mankind. We are engaged in revolution for the sake of the future of mankind. Naturally we should study Chairman Mao's works."

In the bookcase in the office of Petro Ciruna, Secretary of the Propaganda and Education Department of the Vlore Regional Committee, is the whole set of the *Selected Works of Mao Tse-tung* in Albanian. Petro Ciruna said, "When we studied Chairman Mao's *Methods of Work of Party Committees* and *Be Concerned with the Well-being of the Masses, Pay Attention to Methods of Work*, we read them, thought them over, discussed them, and then examined ourselves. Chairman Mao's teachings in these writings greatly enlightened us and were of great help to us in revolutionizing our style and methods of work."

"On Practice" and "On Contradiction" — Key to Solution of Every Problem

— "Australian Communist"

The *Australian Communist*, organ of the Australian Communist Party (Marxist-Leninist) in its issue No. 19 called on Australian revolutionaries to study and apply Marxism-Leninism and Mao Tse-tung's thought, not to

be afraid of ghosts and not to believe in poisonous ideas, and to master dialectical materialism.

In the article the journal declared: "Mao Tse-tung's *On Practice* and *On Contradiction* contain the key to the solution of every problem. Our job is to use the key wisely."

"Marxist-Leninists must acquire the method and style of work that subjects facts, phenomena, politics, society to searching analysis," the article said.

"... Marxism-Leninism teaches us to subject everything to analysis. So in Australia Marxist-Leninists must subject everything, including the old sacred cows, to analysis. The ghosts of the past must be destroyed. The immense strength of the Communist Party of China and another of the unique contributions of Mao Tse-tung, derives from this capacity. . . . They understood better than anyone else contradictions, dialectics. There is a wealth of wisdom in the Chinese admonition of daring to think, daring to do."

"The strength of the Chinese Communists . . . derived from their Marxist-Leninist ideology which they assiduously cultivated, and cultivate even more assiduously today. Within China at this moment a tremendous mass campaign for Marxism-Leninism, dialectics, is going on. The exponents of it are the heroes, whether on the battlefield or the production front," the article continued.

Commenting especially on the creative study and application of dialectical materialism in daily life by workers, peasants and soldiers in China, the article pointed out: "The Chinese comrades write of dialectical materialism in the daily driving of a motor car, in factory work, in tilling the soil, in medicine, in everything.

In Praise of Mao Tse-tung's Thought

General Sinkapo, Representative of the Supreme Command of the Laotian People's Liberation Army

Chairman Mao Tse-tung's brilliant statement that imperialism and all reactionaries are paper tigers is not only a weapon for the victorious struggle of the Chinese people, it is also a weapon for the victorious struggle of the Laotian and other peoples. We heard of this statement long ago and have learnt how to apply it. The path of struggle in the past 14 years has proved that imperialism and reactionaries which are strong in appearance and which would all the time like to annihilate us, are not terrifying. Our struggle is a just one.

Tatsukichi Nishino, Japanese progressive writer

At a time when the modern revisionist trend is in full cry on the international cultural front, Chairman Mao Tse-tung's *Talks at the Yen-an Forum on Literature and Art* shines like a beacon, helping us to keep on the correct course.

Loumbouele-Bouta, First General Secretary of the Lumumbist National Youth of the Congo (L)

The Congolese (L) revolutionaries have come to realize ever more clearly the power of Mao Tse-tung's thought, which we consider as the most powerful weapon for the liberation of our people. Chairman Mao Tse-tung's article, *Problems of Strategy in Guerrilla War Against Japan* contains the truth and answers to the question of victory in the violent proletarian revolution. The works of Chairman Mao have become a daily necessity for our Congolese guerrillas. They treasure them like jewels.

Thomas Oliver Newnham, Editor of "The World's Villages," New Zealand

The basic reason for the wonderful progress made by the Chinese people in their socialist revolution and socialist construction is that China attaches much importance to man's role and that the Chinese people, who have armed themselves with Chairman Mao Tse-tung's thought, have drive and urge which they have found in the study of Chairman Mao Tse-tung's works. Every one of them is devoted to work for revolution.

They do not worship ghosts; are not mesmerized by the past." If the Australian Marxist-Leninists and the masses of Australian workers learned to use the key of dialectical materialism correctly, they would have immense power, the article said.

"It is necessary to develop people who are imbued from head to foot with Marxist-Leninist ideology, whose every single action however big or however trivial, is guided by Marxism-Leninism. The Marxist-Leninist Party does set out to make new people and people in the mould spoken of by Liu Shao-chi in *How to Be a Good Communist*," the article stressed.

MOZAMBIQUE: Mao Tse-tung's Thought — Torch Of World Revolution

"Mao Tse-tung's thought is the torch of world revolution. Chairman Mao is the great leader not only of the Chinese people but also of all progressive and oppressed people the world over," said Sithole, Cairo representative of the Mozambique Revolutionary Committee (COREMO), in an interview with Hsinhua on the subject of his recent visit to China.

"If the struggling people want to win victory in their revolution against imperialism, they should study Mao Tse-tung's thought and apply it to the special circumstances of their own countries," he added.

"The Chinese people," Sithole said, "know very well the struggle of the African people including ours, the Mozambicans. Wherever we went, we were warmly welcomed. The Chinese people are fully behind us in our struggle." "We are fighting the common enemy — imperialism and colonialism headed by the United States." The most important thing, he stressed, was that the Chinese people "are a people taught by Chairman Mao, and they know that without the liberation of all mankind, their own liberation is incomplete. That is why their hearts are always with the oppressed people."

Referring to the achievements he had seen in China's construction, Sithole said, "The Chinese people have been putting into practice Mao Tse-tung's thought and his principle of self-reliance. That is why they have recorded so many great achievements." "All these achievements were won by the Chinese people themselves after the Soviet experts had been withdrawn. Any nation, if it wants genuine independence and progress, should adopt the principle of self-reliance."

Recalling how an old peasant in Yen-an had enthusiastically told him of Chairman Mao's life and his revolutionary activities there, he said, "all Chinese people love Chairman Mao. He is always with the people." "After our visit to Yen-an, the Mecca of world revolution, we returned greatly encouraged and full of confidence in our struggle. We want to convey our thanks to the Chinese people, the Chinese Communist Party and Chairman Mao Tse-tung," Sithole concluded.

BUDAPEST: Long Live Mao Tse-tung!

The Chinese Pavilion at the 1966 Budapest International Fair created a sensation in the city and received a particularly warm welcome from the Hungarian people. Some 800,000 visitors passed through it from May 20, the opening day, until May 30 when the fair closed. Everywhere, at the fair and in the streets, people were heard praising the pavilion which showed the great achievements made by the Chinese people under the guidance of Mao Tse-tung's thought.

The pavilion was the only one where queues formed. Many people made several rounds of the exhibits. Some travelled two or three hundred kilometres to see it. One visitor said: "Before entering, I felt that people in front of me moved too slowly. But after I entered, I felt that those behind me were pushing too hard."

Every day, either through entries in the visitors' book or in conversation, people asked the staff to pass on their deep love for the Chinese people, for the Chinese Communist Party and for Chairman Mao Tse-tung. "Please convey our best regards to the Chinese people and Comrade Mao Tse-tung" — such requests were made countless times daily.

Many visitors poured out their hearts in a most sincere and moving manner. One Hungarian worker came to the pavilion with a badge bearing the portrait of Chairman Mao on his chest. He said that he had got it from the Chinese Pavilion at the Leipzig Fair last year. "I stand by Mao Tse-tung; I don't stand by men like Khrushchov," he declared.

The visitors' book is filled with simple but eloquent entries like these:

"Long live the great Chinese people, the great Chinese Communist Party and the great Comrade Mao Tse-tung!" "Long live the invincible, great Chinese people, revolution and Communist Party led by Mao Tse-tung!" "Warmly salute the Chinese Communist Party!" "We wish happiness to the Chinese people and Comrade Mao Tse-tung, leader of the Chinese Communist Party!" "Correct and glorious is the leadership of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party, founder of the People's Republic of China. It is the pride of the international working class. Long live Comrade Mao Tse-tung!" "We ardently love Mao Tse-tung!"

Many wrote the slogan: "Long live the Chinese Communist Party!" One such entry was signed by 23 persons.

Others spoke of their warm feelings for China and of their admiration for the role played by China in the world today. A young worker said: "Real communism is with China, truth is with China!"

An aged worker said: "We old workers came to see the Chinese Pavilion with the same emotions as we saw the first Soviet exhibition in 1939; you know, the hearts of the people have turned to Peking!"

A large number of visitors expressed their great admiration for Chairman Mao's leadership. An old house-painter said: "You are truly engaged in revolution; Mao Tse-tung's leadership is infallible. . . . All Marxist-Leninists of the world pin their hopes on China."

A worker in a Budapest instruments factory said: "In the international communist movement, Comrade Mao Tse-tung is a leader who has consistently stuck to the correct line."

A college student wrote in the visitors' book: "The Chinese people are engaged in their great creative labour under the correct leadership of the Chinese Communist Party and Comrade Mao Tse-tung. We Hungarian Communists know that these new successes won by the Chinese People's Republic have strengthened our common struggle against imperialism and modern revisionism."

A leading member of a Budapest factory said: "We all know that China truly abides by Marxism-Leninism. She never compromises with any enemy. The Chinese Communist Party not only leads the Chinese people in their revolution but will give able leadership to the world revolution."

Many visitors showed that they were inspired to see the enormous progress which the Chinese people, guided by Mao Tse-tung's thought, had made.

They wrote in the visitors' book: "The Chinese Pavilion is convincing and indisputable proof of the tremendous growth of China's economy and culture and the great strength of People's China. This strength is making the enemies of the Chinese people uneasy and afraid, and throwing them into confusion. At the same time, all sincere friends of China greatly rejoice in this strength and are inspired by it!" "What we

have seen here demonstrates the will, strength and high spirit of the Chinese people. Your rate of development has surpassed all imagination. Wish you further successes." "I have not seen a Chinese exhibition for five years. It now proves that the Chinese comrades have advanced with big strides in the development of socialism in the past five years." "All of us are amazed by your fine and beautiful exhibits. The exhibits deserve every praise lavished on them!" "China is a great country. It is vain for some to speak ill of it!" "Long live the Chinese People's Republic—our example—built on a firm foundation!"

One engineer said, "Through the pavilion I saw the great leap forward in China." Another visitor said, "China's development in the past few years is a century's leap. It is a great leap forward." A group of workers from the Csepel Iron and Steel Plant said, "The swift progress made by China shows the superiority of self-reliance!" A chemical worker said, "Please convey our kind regards to the Chinese people. The Hungarian working class is with you." An old peasant said, "Since the setting up of co-operatives, Chinese agriculture has developed apace thanks to the wonderful leadership of Chairman Mao Tse-tung." Still another visitor said, "The Chinese Pavilion serves as good propaganda for Marxism-Leninism. The revisionists who are trying to belittle China will never succeed. The development of China is a forceful refutation of all slanders against it."

Many foreign visitors extended warm greetings to the Chinese personnel. A Laotian student said, "You have scored tremendous successes in these years. Some countries speak ill of you and report nothing about China in their papers. Your exhibition shows that your achievements are enormous, and everybody sees this clearly." A Cameroonian student said, "To us

Africans, your achievements show what we should do in our struggle and in building up our country." Clapping the hand of one of the Chinese staff, a Soviet visitor said with great emotion: "My heart goes out to China." His wife, standing by his side, was very close to tears as her husband said these words. A Czechoslovak designer said, "China's development is rapid. Mao Tse-tung is a brilliant leader." Several Greeks wrote in the visitors' book: "The pavilion is very brilliant, yet the most brilliant is not the pavilion but the political line of Marx, Engels, Lenin, Stalin and Mao Tse-tung. Without Mao Tse-tung's political line, the pavilion could not be so brilliant."



Inside the Chinese Pavilion at the Budapest International Fair

Workers, Peasants and Soldiers Creatively Study And Apply Mao Tse-tung's Philosophical Thinking

— Examples Illustrating the Law of the Unity of Opposites

This is the fourth instalment of selections from "One Hundred Examples Illustrating the Law of the Unity of Opposites" originally published in the philosophical magazine *Zhexue Yanjiu* (No. 2, 1966). The 100 examples were taken from essays written by workers, peasants, soldiers and revolutionary cadres in the course of their creative study and application of Comrade Mao Tse-tung's philosophical thinking. They appeared in *Zhexue Yanjiu* in 12 groups, each with a group subhead and an editor's note. The following four examples are taken from three groups together with the original group subheads and editor's notes. The first three instalments appeared in *Peking Review* Nos. 21, 22 and 23. — Ed.

All Work Must Proceed From the Situation as a Whole; The Parts Must Give Way to the Whole

EDITOR'S NOTE: *The whole and its parts form a unity of opposites. The whole is made up of and cannot be separated from its parts, but the parts are subordinate to and give way to the whole. Comrade Mao Tse-tung has said: "In approaching a problem a Marxist should see the whole as well as the parts." He further stated: "They [Communists] must grasp the principle of subordinating the needs of the part to the needs of the whole. If a proposal appears feasible for a partial situation but not for the situation as a whole, then the part must give way to the whole. Conversely, if the proposal is not feasible for the part but is feasible in the light of the situation as a whole, again the part must give way to the whole. This is what is meant by considering the situation as a whole."*

Guided by Chairman Mao's teachings, the masses of workers, peasants and soldiers, and revolutionary cadres have correctly handled in their work the relationships between the individual and the collective and between the collective and the state. They say: "Departmentalism is the big enemy of production. To carry on production successfully, it is imperative to overcome departmentalism and all work must proceed from the overall situation," "the parts must give way to the whole and the smaller collective must give way to the bigger collective," and "nothing, however 'economical,' must ever be done if it is detrimental to the situation as a whole."

Correctly Handle the Relationship Between the Interests of the State And Those of the Masses

IN trade, many matters involve the interests of the state and the masses. Among them, for instance, are such questions as whether or not customers should be allowed to return and exchange goods already bought by them, whether or not goods sold are correctly weighed, counted or measured, whether or not goods are reasonably priced, or whether the odd fraction of a cent or a gramme should go to the state or to the

customers, and so on. In all these cases, proper handling benefits both the state and the masses; otherwise, either the interests of the state or those of the masses are infringed — the result is undesirable no matter the interests of which party are impaired.

In this respect, we have had many lessons to learn from. Take, as an example, the problem of customers wishing to return and exchange goods. In the past, for some time, we declined customers' requests to return and exchange goods which ought to be returned and exchanged, for fear that the interests of the state might be impaired. Some customers who bought their chil-

dren socks later found that they were too small to wear and asked us to exchange them for others. Invoking the rule that "commodities sold cannot be returned and exchanged," we flatly turned down their requests. The result was that they found they had bought something useless and consequently the interests of the masses were impaired. In 1963, our group introduced the "Four Guarantees" system for goods sold (covering quality, quantity, return and exchange). Some comrades regarded acceptance of requests for exchange as indicative of their sales attitude. At the first stage, each month saw as many as more than 40 requests made to exchange goods bought. Later on, the number of such requests increased steadily. Once a customer even asked us to exchange knitting wool which had already been knitted into a sweater. As the wool had been put to use and was no longer salable, the interests of the state were impaired. In the light of this example, we discussed the problem of how to handle correctly the relationship between the interests of the state and the masses. As a result of our discussions, all of us realized that in our socialist state, the interests of the state and the masses are in the last analysis identical; the interests of the masses are out of the question in the absence of the interests of the state, and vice versa. We shop assistants are doing business with the masses on behalf of the state and our socialist enterprises. In tackling problems, therefore, we must correctly integrate the

interests of the state and the masses and pay attention to both.

How then should the interests of the state and the mass of customers both be taken into consideration? Our experience over the years provides the answer. First, we must foster the idea of "dual responsibility," that is, we must be responsible to both the state and the masses. Secondly, we must be competent professionally. In selling goods some shop assistants make errors in weighing, counting or measuring, in fixing a price or in handling the matter of the odd cent or gramme. This is not because they purposely impair the interests of the customers, but because their vocational and technical level is inadequate. Thirdly, we must set our sights on eliminating all possible difficulties which may crop up in the course of doing business.

What about the special problems that crop up after goods are sold? We must conscientiously think up ways to solve them and be flexible in doing business. For instance, if a customer buys something not to his liking and wants to return or exchange it, his claim should be accepted, provided the goods returned or exchanged are not spoiled and are still salable. (By Man Hsiu-ching, leader of shop assistants' group of the Jiefang Road Department Store in Chiao-to, Honan Province. Originally published in "Dagong Bao" on August 8, 1965, as "Philosophy at the Sales-Counter.")

Correctly Handle the Relationship Between Men and Things And Between Politics and Work; Give First Place to the Factors of Man and Politics

EDITOR'S NOTE: *In the relationship between men and things, the factor of man must be given first place. In the relationship between politics and work, the factor of politics must be put first. Comrade Mao Tse-tung has said: "Of all things in the world, people are the most precious. Under the leadership of the Communist Party, as long as there are people, every kind of miracle can be performed." He also pointed out that political and ideological work is the life-blood of all work. We must put Mao Tse-tung's thought in command, give first place to politics and spur on the revolutionization of our thinking so as to give full play to man's subjective activity.*

The masses of workers, peasants and soldiers, and revolutionary cadres are right when they say: "If men heed Chairman Mao's words, machines work according to men's desires," "men armed with Mao Tse-tung's thought are the biggest fighting force." They fear neither heaven nor earth, neither gods nor ghosts; faced with difficulties, they display a courageous revolutionary spirit and work unheard-of miracles. All this vividly demonstrates the great truth that the factors of man and of politics and ideology must be put in first place.

If There Are No Good Conditions, Create Them and Get the Work Done

WANG CHIN-HSI and his comrades of the No. 1205 drilling team took part in the battle to open up and build the Taching Oilfield.

When the drilling equipment arrived, there were not enough cranes to unload the 60-ton drilling rig from the train and set it up. Everyone was worried what to do about it. A Party branch meeting was held. Wang Chin-hsi, "The Man of Iron," said: "Never mind! We can do without cranes. We have our 'magic weapon'!" "What 'magic weapon'?" someone asked.

"The Man of Iron" replied: "Human beings! Hasn't Chairman Mao taught us that the factor of man comes first? Let's talk this matter over." Some said: "We must move the machines to the site even if we have to drag them by hand and carry them on our shoulders." "That's right! We must do anything but wait. If conditions are right, we must work. If there are no good conditions, we must create them and get the work done, too. No matter how great the difficulties, we must get down to work!" said "the Man of Iron." The whole team immediately went into action. True to their working style as standard-bearers, they plunged into the battle with a will. Working alongside their 30 teammates, "the Man of Iron" and the political instructor, working on the same carrying pole, were always in the van and did twice as much as their fellow workers. Everyone was in high spirits, singing work songs as they carried their loads.

In this way, they moved the drilling rig from the train in one day and in another three days and nights set up the 40-metre-high derrick on the vast wasteland.

They were ready for drilling, but the pipelines were not yet laid down and there were no tank trucks. How could water be brought in? A drill without water is like a man without blood. Should they wait? No, certainly not! Time belonged to the Party and the state. Nobody had the right to waste it. Someone suggested: "Use our basins to bring in water and start drilling!"

Someone else opposed this, calling it "Nonsense!"

"The Man of Iron" retorted: "How can drilling be regarded as nonsense?"

The critic argued: "But have you ever heard of any country that carried water in basins for drilling?"

Wang Chin-hsi declared: "Yes, our country! We must drill even if we have to use piss!"

Big and small buckets, wash basins and even the cylinders of fire extinguishers were mobilized to carry water.

They hadn't been working long before too much drill mud began to seep away. Could this difficulty intimidate these people who feared neither heaven nor earth? They merely said: "More water!" They drained the wells in the village, then went to a nearby lake, broke the ice and carried water from it half a kilometre to the drilling site. Shoes turned into lumps of ice and hands were numbed with the cold. Yet every one of them worked still harder. They brought in 200 tons of water, offset the loss by seepage and carried on.

The first well was sunk in six days, the highest drilling record at that time. The quality of work was excellent too. This was a victory for the great idea of "putting the factors of man and politics first." (Originally published in "Gongren Ribao" [Workers' Daily]

on January 3, 1966, as "Wang 'The Man of Iron' — Splendid Representative of the Working Class.")

If Men Heed Chairman Mao's Words, Engines Work According to Men's Desires

THE No. 1153 Jiefang type locomotive which I drove was made during the period of Japanese and puppet rule. The engine was old and outdated and the combustion of fuel was poor. No matter what we did, we just could not manage to cut down its coal consumption. It seemed that man proposed but the engine disposed. Some time later, I read *On Protracted War* and got great inspiration from it. Chairman Mao writes there: "Weapons are an important factor in war, but not the decisive factor; it is people, not things, that are decisive." This was true also of economy in coal, I thought; the engine is lifeless but man is a living thing. Man could not be cowed by unfavourable conditions, so I resolved to work to turn unfavourable into favourable conditions.

How could combustion of the fuel be improved? I studied the matter day in and day out, on the train and at home. Finally I found that the problem could be solved by improving the draught. With the cause of poor combustion discovered, the whole crew, with the maintenance men helping, joined efforts to straighten the problem out. We succeeded after more than ten tries.

No sooner had the old contradiction been resolved than a new contradiction emerged. Combustion of the coal was now improved, but sometimes we still could not cut down the coal consumption. Why? After some investigation, I found that it had something to do with the method of operation. It was not easy to maintain a steady speed and the inertial force of the engine was not made good use of when taking gradients. With these two problems in mind, I sought advice from several experienced drivers. They helped me solve them and also passed on to me many ways of saving coal. All this was good but I felt we could do even better. Thinking things over and over again, I realized that I was not fully following Chairman Mao's teachings on proceeding from reality and making a concrete analysis of concrete conditions. The performance of various locomotives differed and so did the skill of the comrades driving them. Besides, the amount of freight carried each time also differed and weather conditions were unpredictable. We could not, therefore, mechanically copy others' experience. To learn to economize coal, we had to get down to practice and discover methods suited to the laws governing our own locomotive. On the basis of learning others' good points, we must take our own road. Since then, on my days off I used to travel with two other shifts of comrades and watch their stoking technique. Sometimes I took a hand at it myself to get some personal experience. After con-

stantly summing up our experience over several years, we worked out a series of methods to reduce coal consumption, and these we used to economize coal consistently year after year.

Practice has proved that so long as we used Mao Tse-tung's thought to guide our work, properly handle the relationship between man and engine, and work

as masters and not slaves of the machine, we are bound to go from success to success and continue to advance. As we say now: If men heed Chairman Mao's words, engines work according to men's desire. (By Sun Wan-yu, head locomotive driver on the Meihokou Section of the Kirin Railway Bureau. Originally published in "Gongren Ribao" on September 24, 1965, as "Put Dialectics Aboard Our Engines.")

Constantly Sum Up Experience and Pass From the Realm Of Necessity to the Realm of Freedom

EDITOR'S NOTE: *The development of all things is governed by laws. Law is necessity. Man, through his practice, becomes cognizant of the laws governing things and goes on to make use of objective laws to transform the world in his practice and achieve the anticipated results. Until then he does not have freedom. Necessity and freedom form a unity of opposites. Freedom means the recognition of necessity and transforming the objective world on the basis of necessity. In the course of knowing and transforming the world, man is bound to transform continuously his passive state of blindness into an active state of self-consciousness, that is, to pass from the realm of necessity to the realm of freedom. Comrade Mao Tse-tung has taught us: "The history of mankind is one of continuous development from the realm of necessity to the realm of freedom. This process is never-ending. The class struggle will never end in any society in which classes exist. In a classless society the struggle between the new and the old and between truth and falsehood will never end. In the fields of the struggle for production and scientific experiment, mankind makes constant progress and nature undergoes constant change; they never remain at the same level. Therefore, man has constantly to sum up experience, make new discoveries and inventions, and go on creating and advancing."*

In accordance with Chairman Mao's teachings, the broad masses of workers, peasants and soldiers, and revolutionary cadres have, in the three great revolutionary movements of class struggle, the struggle for production and scientific experiment, constantly summed up experience, become cognizant of and grasped objective laws and passed from the realm of necessity to the realm of freedom, thus quickening the tempo of our socialist revolution and construction.

Make Use of Objective Laws and Constantly Develop Production

IN *On Practice*, Chairman Mao has said: "If a man wants to succeed in his work, that is, to achieve the anticipated results, he must bring his ideas into correspondence with the laws of the objective external world; if they do not correspond, he will fail in his practice."

Only when we grasp the laws governing production can we carry on the struggle for production satisfactorily. In the past, in drilling wells for water we often drilled holes that deviated from the vertical. It was not until recently that our holes were drilled true to the vertical and up to standard. The ups and downs we experienced over the past more than two years in this respect enabled us to understand the above truth as pointed out by Chairman Mao.

In 1962, we were assigned the task of sinking a deep exploratory bore. The geological conditions were very complex and several accidents took place in the

course of drilling by other units. To start off with, we did not make a good study of the reasons for others' failures, nor did we give thought to the problems which might crop up. We assumed that it would be quite an easy job for us to fulfil the task assigned us because all our drillers were veteran workers of over ten years standing who had a rich fund of experience and were highly skilled. Some people even thought of "showing-off." When work started, far from doing better than our predecessors, we suffered more accidents than ever before and drilled one tilted hole after another. As a result, the work was done very badly. The cost ran into 10,000 yuan. The time was twice as much as was allotted to the job. Yet the quality of the bore failed to reach the required standard.

Why did our experienced drillers fail? It turned out that they were experienced in drilling holes with the help of a casing, but this time not only was the diameter of the bore hole over 30 inches instead of the 16 inches they were accustomed to, but they used no casing and drilled with drilling mud. Many comrades had never had any experience of drilling in this way.

Old experience no longer worked. Since we were unfamiliar with the laws governing drilling with mud and were unable to determine accurately stratigraphical changes as we drilled, problems kept cropping up. After the work was completed, we still did not conscientiously sum up experience and draw the necessary lessons, nor did we work hard to master the laws of drilling with mud and find out why exactly our drilling deviated from the vertical. So in the ensuing year, accidents still occurred frequently. Some comrades grew disheartened and pessimistic. They concluded that the complex geological conditions in this area made it hard to solve the problem of deviation and lost confidence that they could improve the quality of their work.

Some time later, following the discovery of the reasons for our poor work, our minds were emancipated. We made a serious summing up of the experience of our failures over the years past and discovered not a few shortcomings which accounted for the poor quality of our work. We also put away our conceit and self-complacency and put forward some preliminary measures for improvement. Then, by constantly testing and improving in practice our methods of operation, we broke away from a stereotyped method of measuring inclination in the bore hole—a practice which used to fetter production and had little practical value—and replaced it by methods of stabilizing the drill. We also mounted two heavy round bars above the drill head to act as an additional hammer weight. In order to cope with the problem of vibration of the cable [supporting the drill head] which affected the quality of drilling, we used a hinged plate to hold the cable steady, and thus give a further assurance against inclination. On top of this, some practical and effective new methods of operation were introduced, with the result that there was a great improvement in efficiency and quality. Still unsatisfied, we continued our studies and made eight technical innovations in the light of the set requirements for deep exploratory bores. After repeated tests, we overcame difficulties arising from the presence of too much quick sand and improved

the method of filling the base of the well with gravel and cobble-sized stones. In this way we not only economized on investments and raw materials, but also saved more than 100 man hours.

In February 1965, our institute was again asked to drill an operational well to exactly the same specifications in depth and other requirements as the exploratory bore we drilled in 1962. This time as we were familiar with the laws governing drilling with muds and had adopted new drilling methods, the hole drilled was true to the vertical and the whole job took only 18 days instead of the half a year we took in 1962. The total investment was only 3,800 yuan and the quality was up to standard.

These facts have enabled me to realize that unless he knows the laws of objective things, man will remain under the control of objective laws. He cannot hold the initiative in production and consequently cannot carry on production satisfactorily. Only when man knows the laws of objective things can he ride on the back of those laws to serve and push ahead production. But when production develops to a certain extent, new problems will crop up. This again calls for new knowledge to resolve the new contradictions between the subjective and the objective. Man can bring his subjective initiative into fullest play and make new discoveries and inventions, and go on creating and advancing, only when, through the repeated process of practice, knowledge, again practice, and again knowledge, he constantly solves the contradictions which appear in the course of production between his subjective understanding and objective reality. (By Yi Chang-le of the Southwest China Branch of the Institute of Comprehensive Exploration of the Ministry of Building. Originally published in "Gongren Ribao" on June 3, 1965, as "Constantly Resolve the Contradictions Between the Subjective and the Objective.")



(To be continued.)

Fruit of Mao Tse-tung's Great Thought

Important Success of "Shanghai Spring"

THE 7th "Shanghai Spring" Music Festival was a resounding triumph. It ended on May 31. Its signal success has been hailed on every side.

Renmin Ribao in its June 2 editorial pointed out that, taking place as it did in the upsurge of the proletarian cultural revolution of great historic significance, the festival fully revealed the mighty strength of Mao Tse-tung's theories on literature and art; it manifested

the force and sweep of this revolution and showed the workers, peasants and soldiers in their role as the main force in the socialist cultural revolution.

The editorial said: "The most notable feature of the festival is that it held high the great red banner of Mao Tse-tung's thought. Its 200-odd items had revolutionary spirit and proletarian militancy. Through all of them ran the red thread of Mao Tse-



A troupe from the Shanghai Conservatory of Music performing its festival items in a rural people's commune

tung's great thought. They staunchly defended and extolled it and popularized it with vigour. The festival is a fruit of this great thought as well as an ode to it."

It is also a festival serving proletarian politics and the workers, peasants and soldiers. Workers, peasants and soldiers themselves took a most active part in it. It is, too, a festival to firmly occupy and expand the positions of socialist music and dance, open fire on the anti-Party, anti-socialist monsters and challenge the bourgeois "authorities" and "specialists." It is a mighty counter-attack of the revolutionary people against the anti-Party, anti-socialist black line in literature and art.

In its 18 days, the festival presented 38 concerts which were warmly appreciated by audiences totalling over 110,000 people. Millions more enjoyed the programmes on radio or television.

Three Significant Features

The festival had three significant features.

Firstly, it reflected the widespread revolutionization of music and dance under the great red banner of Mao Tse-tung's thought, and the fostering of proletarian ideology and the eradication of bourgeois ideology in these fields.

Mao Tse-tung's great thought is the acme of Marxism-Leninism in our epoch; it is living Marxism-Leninism at its highest. It is the most powerful ideological weapon of the Chinese and the world's peoples in defeating imperialism, modern revisionism and all reactionaries. Literary and art workers must give expression

to it in music, dance and all other fields of literature and art. This is the principle of the Party character of proletarian literature and art, and the most significant feature distinguishing proletarian literature and art from those of all other classes. It is the foremost task of revolutionary workers in the fields of literature and art.

Shanghai's workers, peasants and soldiers and revolutionary professional singers, dancers and musicians in this festival performed songs and dances which powerfully projected Mao Tse-tung's thought. There were items driving home Chairman Mao's thought on never to forget the class struggle and showing his ideas that the masses are the real heroes and that people's war is the most effective weapon against imperialism and its lackeys. Other items reflected his teachings to build the country through thrift and diligence in a revolutionary spirit of hard work and self-reliance. Still others paid tribute to the Chinese people armed with Mao Tse-tung's thought, especially the worker, peasant and soldier heroes who, with daring and revolutionary heroism, are bringing about earth-shaking changes. In song, music and dance, performers extolled the glorious achievements of China's socialist revolution and socialist construction and expressed the boundless love and respect of the people of China's many nationalities for Chairman Mao.

Secondly, workers, peasants and soldiers, in their militant role as the main force in the socialist



The Shanghai Oil Refinery choir sings its own "Song of the Oil Refinery Workers"

cultural revolution, not only composed and presented many of the festival items, but also played an energetic role in reviewing them. During the festival, a dozen or more discussions were held by worker, peasant and soldier critics and many more wrote reviews to the press or sent letters or made telephone calls warmly congratulating the performers and offering kindly and constructive criticisms and suggestions.

The participation of so many workers, peasants and soldiers in all aspects of the festival represented an epoch-making break-through in the political struggle on the cultural front. They proved themselves worthy vanguards in the great socialist cultural revolution.

Thirdly, besides performing in the theatres and concert halls, festival participants took their militant items straight to the factories, farms and camps of the workers, peasants and soldiers for their criticism and approval.

Chairman Mao has said: "All our literature and art are for the masses of the people, and in the first place for the workers, peasants and soldiers; they are created for the workers, peasants and soldiers and are for their use." In the spirit of those words, the professional singers, dancers and musicians who took part in the festival broke the practice of previous "Shanghai Spring" festivals only to give nine days to performances in the city's concert halls and theatres while devoting the other nine days to take their best items to the factories, villages and army units. Everywhere they received a most enthusiastic welcome. All this proves that, only when revolutionary music and dance art is brought into the midst of the workers, peasants and soldiers can it serve them better, and only when it is critically appraised by them and revised on this basis can it really become what they like.

Thoroughly Defeat Bourgeois "Authorities"

This festival also illustrated a most important truth: bourgeois "authorities" and the fallacies that they spread must be thoroughly defeated before socialist music and dance can be created and promoted.

Without destruction, there will be no construction. If certain things are not thoroughly overthrown, others cannot be truly established. Destruction comes first and construction comes in the course of destruction. This is a life-and-death political struggle between the two opposite roads of the music and dance art of the proletariat and that of the bourgeoisie. Starting from revolutionary content and the needs of the workers, peasants and soldiers, the festival items cast off restrictions and conventions set up by various bourgeois "authorities" and introduced many innovations.

The festival shows that Shanghai's song and dance circles are undergoing a welcome transformation. A youthful, revolutionary army of singers, dancers and musicians is rapidly growing up. Amateur worker, peasant and soldier performers, in particular, are mounting the stage in large numbers. Carrying out Chairman Mao's teachings, they have taken up the weapon of literature and art to serve the three great revolutionary movements of the class struggle, the struggle for production and scientific experiment, and have fundamentally changed the face of the city's music and dance. In recent years, the majority of their professional counterparts, following Chairman Mao's line on literature and art, have made big progress by going into the midst of the life and struggles of the masses, enhancing their proletarian sentiments and remoulding their ideology.

The 7th "Shanghai Spring" Music Festival has ended triumphantly. Singers, dancers and musicians, both amateurs from among the workers, peasants and soldiers and professionals, have unanimously pledged to hold ever higher the great red banner of Mao Tse-tung's thought, to continue to take an active part in the socialist cultural revolution, and, united, thoroughly shatter the anti-Party, anti-socialist black line. They expressed their firm conviction that, by listening to the Party's Central Committee and to Chairman Mao, they will succeed in creating more and better songs and dances worthy of our era and will carry this great, unprecedented socialist cultural revolution to its victorious conclusion.

U.S. Imperialism Is the Implacable Enemy of The Cuban People

THE aggressor troops stationed at the U.S. base in Guantanamo, Cuba, shot dead a Cuban sentry on May 21. This is a new addition to the innumerable provocations which U.S. imperialism has committed against the Cuban people. After the incident, the authorities in Washington went so far as to accuse Cuba of having provoked the incident, and they even stated threateningly that it would lodge a "protest" with Cuba against it. Their venomous designs are obvious. The Chinese people voice their deep indignation at this cruel provocation committed by U.S. imperialism.

Since the Caribbean crisis in October 1962, the United States has all along used both tough and soft tactics against Cuba — economic blockade, military encirclement and threat of war on the one hand, and subversive activities and political deception on the other. In this way it keeps trying to break the revolutionary will of the Cuban people and bring them to their knees by pressure, thereby fulfilling its criminal objective of again enslaving the Cuban people. The law of international class struggle is independent of the will of man. U.S. imperialism has never abandoned and will never

abandon its design to bring Cuba under its control by all possible means, no matter how the Khrushchov revisionists laud its "wisdom," and no matter who dreams about coming to a "compromise" with it in an effort to obtain a "detente" by forsaking the principles of revolution. There can be no peaceful coexistence between the Cuban people and U.S. imperialism. U.S. imperialism is an implacable enemy of the Cuban people.

The Cuban people are a heroic people. They have been waging a protracted and heroic struggle against U.S. imperialism. They have adopted two "Declarations of Havana" and declared their determination to struggle to the end for the genuine independence of Cuba and the liberation of the Americas. During the Caribbean crisis, they put forward five demands in defence of independence and sovereignty. They demanded that the United States stop its aggressive activities menacing the security of Cuba, and that it cease its criminal acts of encroaching upon the sovereignty of Cuba, including the dismantling of the Guantanamo base and its return to Cuba. These demands of the Cuban people are entirely just. If these five just demands are not upheld and particularly if the U.S. aggressive base in Cuba is not dismantled, how can the provocations and threats which the United States has been conducting ceaselessly against Cuba be rooted out? We are convinced that so long as the Cuban people hold high the anti-U.S. revolutionary banners of the two "Declarations of Havana," uphold the five just demands, unite with all the anti-U.S. revolutionary forces of Latin America and the world and wage a protracted and tireless struggle, they will certainly be able to smash U.S. imperialism's aggression, intervention and all other conspiracies.

But the Khrushchov revisionists, instead of exposing the deceptive nature of U.S. imperialism's counter-revolutionary dual tactics, have shouted about the need for the "normalization" of the situation in the Caribbean region. This approach clearly wants the Cuban people to lay down the anti-U.S. revolutionary banners of the "Declarations of Havana" and renounce their five just demands; this clearly is a vain attempt to

make the Cuban people who want to persevere in revolution work for "peaceful coexistence" with U.S. imperialism which is aggressive by nature. This is a sham support for, but a real betrayal of the Cuban people. This runs counter to the fundamental interests of the Cuban people. We always maintain that it is necessary to wage a tit-for-tat struggle against U.S. imperialism which is aggressive by nature. There can be no other alternative.

The Chinese people have always supported the Cuban people's struggle against U.S. imperialism. This was so in the past, it is so at present, and it will be so in the future. The Chinese people will always be the most faithful and reliable friends of the Cuban people. In their just struggle against aggression, the Cuban people can always count on the all-out support of the 650 million Chinese people.

— "Renmin Ribao" Commentator, June 2.

TASS Statement Betrays Cuban People

Following U.S. imperialism's new provocations against the Cuban people, the Soviet news agency, TASS, issued a statement on May 29 which avowedly supports but actually betrays the Cuban people, and raises an outcry for the need to bring about the earliest "normalization of the situation in the area of Cuba."

The statement hypocritically professes support for the Cuban people in the name of their "true and dependable friend," but not a word is said about supporting the Cuban people's five demands for safeguarding independence and sovereignty. The term U.S. imperialism cannot be found throughout the statement.

Its central theme is: "The new provocations by the aggressive circles of the United States against the Republic of Cuba" "speak again and again of the need for the earliest implementation of the just demands of the Cuban people and Government for a normalization of the situation in the area of Cuba."

(Continued from p. 16.)

thought with the broad masses of workers, peasants and soldiers. It represents the great awakening of the Chinese people.

The birth and deepening of any great revolutionary movement is inevitably preceded by a gigantic struggle in the ideological field and heralded by a great ideological revolution. In the history of the proletarian revolution, every major polemic has been the prelude to and signal for a revolutionary leap forward. In China, each of the many major polemics in the ideological field in the 17 years since liberation has blazed the trail for the locomotive of revolution. The great cultural revolution now under way, on a scale never known before, necessarily foreshadows a development of the socialist

revolution by leaps and bounds and a new big leap forward in China's socialist construction.

Once the people have risen, the enemy falls. In China, the broad masses of workers, peasants and soldiers, the revolutionary cadres and revolutionary intellectuals have risen, and the representatives of the bourgeoisie and the bourgeois "scholars and authorities" will fall. In the movement of criticism that is developing on an unprecedentedly wide scale in the tremendous cultural revolution, a great new era is now emerging on the horizon, an era in which the whole of the 700 million Chinese people are people of wisdom.

Let us welcome this great new era with open arms.

(*"Renmin Ribao" editorial, June 8.*)

International Children's Day

MILLIONS of children throughout the country celebrated International Children's Day (June 1). They pledged to follow for ever Chairman Mao Tse-tung's words and expressed their determination to become staunch successors to the proletarian revolutionary cause.

Dressed in their holiday best, tens of thousands of children in the capital flocked to parks, schools, and recreation centres to celebrate their special festival. Soong Ching Ling, Vice-Chairman of the People's Republic of China, joined the festivities at the Peking Children's Palace.

In the Peking Workers' Gymnasium, 15,000 Young Pioneers celebrated the day with children from various countries. On behalf of the city's Young Pioneers, a group of red-scarved youngsters extended holiday greetings to young friends all over the world. Other youngsters then performed songs and dances, expressing their love for the Chinese Communist Party and Chairman Mao Tse-tung.

Successors to the Revolution

Chairman Mao Tse-tung always attaches importance to the healthy growth of children and regards the children's movement as part of the whole revolutionary movement. Under the care and guidance of the Party and Chairman Mao, China's children are growing up to be worthy successors to the revolution. The number of Young Pioneers has increased from 50 million in 1965 to 100 million today.

With the warmest love and respect for Chairman Mao, the great leader of the Chinese people, the children follow his instructions and eagerly study his works. From an early age, they cherish and develop revolutionary ideals, determined to carry forward the revolutionary cause and fight through to the end against U.S. imperialism, modern revisionism and the reactionaries of all countries.

"Study Chairman Mao's works, listen to his words, follow his instructions in doing everything and be Chairman Mao's good children." This has become the common wish and guide to action among Chinese children. They always remember Chairman Mao's teaching that class struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie runs throughout the period of socialism and they are conscious of the fact that the struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie to win over the younger generation is an important component of the class struggle.

The Communist Youth League of China, which has the task of guiding the activities of the Young Pioneers, pays great attention to the all-round development of children. In educating them, paramount importance is attached to holding aloft the great red banner of Mao Tse-tung's thought. The young people are taught never to forget class struggle, always put politics first and set out early upon the road of revolution. They take part in the three great revolutionary movements of class struggle, struggle for production and scientific experiment. They also participate in the current great socialist cultural revolution. Citing facts from their own experience and the great achievements in socialist construction since liberation, they have strongly refuted and denounced the "Three-Family Village" gang for its anti-Party and anti-socialist acts and slanders.

Chairman Mao's call to organize all children in China into Young Pioneers' organizations has met with warm response from children as well as from the labouring people across the land. The Communist Youth League hopes to continue to expand the membership of Young Pioneers' organizations to embrace all children between seven and fifteen within two to three years. This will help make the Young Pioneers' organizations play their full role as schools

for educating the young in communism and push forward the children's movement in China to a new stage.

Malian Delegation in Peking

Mamadou Madeira Keita, Member of the National Political Bureau of the Malian Sudanese Union Party and Minister of Justice, and the Malian delegation led by him, received a warm welcome on their arrival in Peking on June 5. Vice-Premier Chen Yi was among the more than 1,500 people greeting them at the airport.

Chairman Liu Shao-chi and Premier Chou En-lai received the distinguished guests on June 7 on separate occasions.

Chen Yi and Mamadou Madeira Keita had a friendly talk on June 6. That evening, the Vice-Premier gave a banquet in honour of the Malian guests. In his speech, Vice-Premier Chen Yi reiterated the Chinese people's resolute support for the African peoples' just struggle against imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism, and to win and safeguard their national independence. He also expressed firm support for those countries which had won independence in their effort to build an independent national economy on the principle of self-reliance, and said that China would provide them with all necessary and possible aid. "This principled stand taken by the Chinese people," he said, "has met with opposition, slander and attacks from imperialism and the reactionaries of various countries. This shows precisely that we have done the right thing and done it well. The Chinese people will unswervingly go on doing it without retreating one step, until the African peoples win final and complete victory in their cause of national liberation."

Vice-Premier Chen Yi condemned imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism headed by the United States for having engineered military coups and plotted subversive activities in a number of African

countries. He said: "This does not show that they are strong, but only proves that they are weak and are putting up a death-bed struggle. The vicious acts of imperialism may temporarily stir up an adverse current, but they can never check the main current of the African peoples' anti-imperialist revolutionary struggle. As long as the African peoples strengthen their unity and persist in struggle, they will surely be able to overcome all difficulties on their road of advance and win great victories in their revolutionary struggle against imperialism."

The Vice-Premier paid tribute to the Republic of Mali which, under the leadership of President Modibo Keita, had persisted in opposing imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism, actively supported the national-liberation movement in Africa and safeguarded Afro-Asian solidarity against imperialism.

Minister Mamadou Madeira Keita, in his speech, stressed that "the African and Asian peoples have great confidence in China under the leadership of Chairman Mao Tse-tung." He said: "It is because the Chinese people and the People's Republic of China fiercely oppose imperialism and colonialism that they have countless friends in the world, and equally, some reactionaries and imperialists are mortally against China. And that is why the African peoples have great confidence in the Chinese people, in the People's Republic of China and in the outstanding Party and state leaders of China." He hailed China's recent nuclear test, acclaiming this victory as "a guarantee for the safeguarding and maintenance of peace." Stressing that the common struggle against imperialism and colonialism had linked Mali and China together, he said that some African leaders had taken up an imperialist and neo-colonialist position and pursued an anti-China policy. But, he said, they did not speak for their people.

Tanzanian Economic Delegation Visits Peking

More than 1,500 people gave a warm welcome to the Tanzanian government economic delegation led by

Paul Bomani, Minister for Economic Affairs and Development Planning, on its arrival in the capital on June 4. Madame Bomani and Madame Kunambi, an executive member of the Central Committee of the National Union of Tanzanian Women, arrived on the same plane as guests of China's National Women's Federation. Vice-Premier and Madame Li Hsien-nien greeted the guests at the airport.

On June 7, Chairman Liu Shao-chi and Premier Chou En-lai received the Tanzanian guests on separate occasions.

Vice-Premier Li Hsien-nien and Minister Paul Bomani had a friendly talk on June 5. That evening, Vice-Premier Li Hsien-nien and his wife gave a banquet for the Tanzanian guests. The Vice-Premier in his speech praised the Tanzanian people for persisting in the anti-imperialist struggle. He also paid tribute to the United Republic of Tanzania which, under the leadership of President Nyerere, had made steady progress on the road of independent development. He added: "Of late, you have put forward the resounding slogan of self-reliance, industry and thrift in building the country, and expressed determination to resist all imperialist pressures and build Tanzania into a prosperous and strong country with your own diligent hands. The Chinese people greatly admire your revolutionary spirit of defying brute force and working hard for national prosperity."

The Vice-Premier pointed out that the anti-imperialist revolutionary struggle of the African peoples was now developing in scope and depth. He emphasized that, in the face of imperialism's frantic counter-attacks, it was now more necessary than ever for the African peoples to distinguish between friend and foe, strengthen their solidarity, persevere in struggle and support each other. He said: "The future of Africa will, in the last analysis, be determined by the African peoples. No one can change the general historical trend of the African peoples' completely driving out imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism and winning complete independence and liberation. As Chairman Mao has said: 'A

revolution by the people can triumph and imperialism and its lackeys can be defeated. The tide of anti-imperialism and anti-colonialism is sweeping through all Africa. All countries, whether they have attained or have still to attain independence, will sooner or later win complete and thorough independence and liberation.'"

Minister Bomani, in his speech, said: "The friendly relations existing between the peoples of the People's Republic of China and the United Republic of Tanzania constitute a strong bulwark which will vanquish all enemies who try to exterminate us." He pledged that Tanzania would consolidate these relations in accordance with the principles of mutual respect, mutual trust and mutual assistance.

Condolence on the Death of M.H. Williams

The Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party sent a message on June 2 to the National Committee of the New Zealand Communist Party on the death of Comrade Mervyn Haley Williams, Chairman of the New Zealand Communist Party.

The message said: "Comrade Williams was a fine son of the working class and labouring people of New Zealand and a staunch fighter of the international communist movement. He devoted his whole life to the noble cause of the New Zealand working class and labouring people for socialism. He made positive contributions to the struggle against U.S. imperialism and against modern revisionism whose centre is the leading group of the C.P.S.U., in defence of the purity of Marxism-Leninism and for safeguarding the unity of the international communist movement. His death is a great loss to our common cause.

"We firmly believe that the life of Comrade Williams, which was a life of struggle, will inspire the New Zealand working class and labouring people in their struggle for New Zealand's genuine national independence, people's democracy and socialism."

THE GREAT SOCIALIST CULTURAL REVOLUTION IN CHINA

A series of booklets will be published under the above title

No. 1, now available, contains the following three articles:

Hold High the Great Red Banner of Mao Tse-tung's Thought and Actively Participate in the Great Socialist Cultural Revolution

— Editorial of the *Liberation Army Daily* (Jiefangjun Bao) of April 18, 1966

Never Forget the Class Struggle

— Editorial of the *Liberation Army Daily* (Jiefangjun Bao) of May 4, 1966

On "Three-Family Village"

— The Reactionary Nature of *Evening Chats at Yenshan* and *Notes from Three-Family Village*

by Yao Wen-yuan

<i>Paper cover edition</i>	20.5 × 14 cm.	76 pages
<i>Pocket size edition</i>	14.5 × 9 cm.	144 pages

No. 2, now available, contains the following four articles:

Open Fire at the Black Anti-Party and Anti-Socialist Line!

by Kao Chu

Heighten Our Vigilance and Distinguish the True From the False

by Ho Ming

Teng To's Evening Chats at Yenshan Is Anti-Party and Anti-Socialist Double-Talk

Compiled by Lin Chieh, Ma Tse-min, Yen Chang-kuei,
Chou Ying, Teng Wen-sheng and Chin Tien-liang

On the Bourgeois Stand of Frontline and the Peking Daily

by Chi Pen-yu

<i>Paper cover edition</i>	20.5 × 14 cm.	72 pages
<i>Pocket size edition</i>	14.5 × 9 cm.	124 pages

Published by: **FOREIGN LANGUAGES PRESS**, Peking, China

Distributed by: **GUOZI SHUDIAN** (China Publications Centre), P.O. Box 399, Peking, China

Order from your local dealer or write direct to the

Mail Order Dept., GUOZI SHUDIAN, P.O. Box 399, Peking, China