

PEKING REVIEW

38

September 15, 1967

COMMENTS ON TAO CHU'S TWO BOOKS

Article by Yao Wen-yuan exposing the
counter-revolutionary double-dealer Tao Chu.

40th Anniversary Celebration of Autumn Harvest Uprising

Exposing Big Scheme for Restoring Capitalism

Jiefangjun Bao editorial.

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QUOTATIONS FROM CHAIRMAN MAO TSE-TUNG

To ensure that we will definitely achieve success in our revolution and will not lead the masses astray, we must pay attention to uniting with our real friends in order to attack our real enemies.

Analysis of the Classes in Chinese Society (March 1926)

* * *

They [die-hards] always have many schemes in hand, schemes for profiting at others' expense, for double-dealing, and so on. But they always get the opposite of what they want. They invariably start by doing others harm but end by ruining themselves.

New-Democratic Constitutional Government (February 1940)

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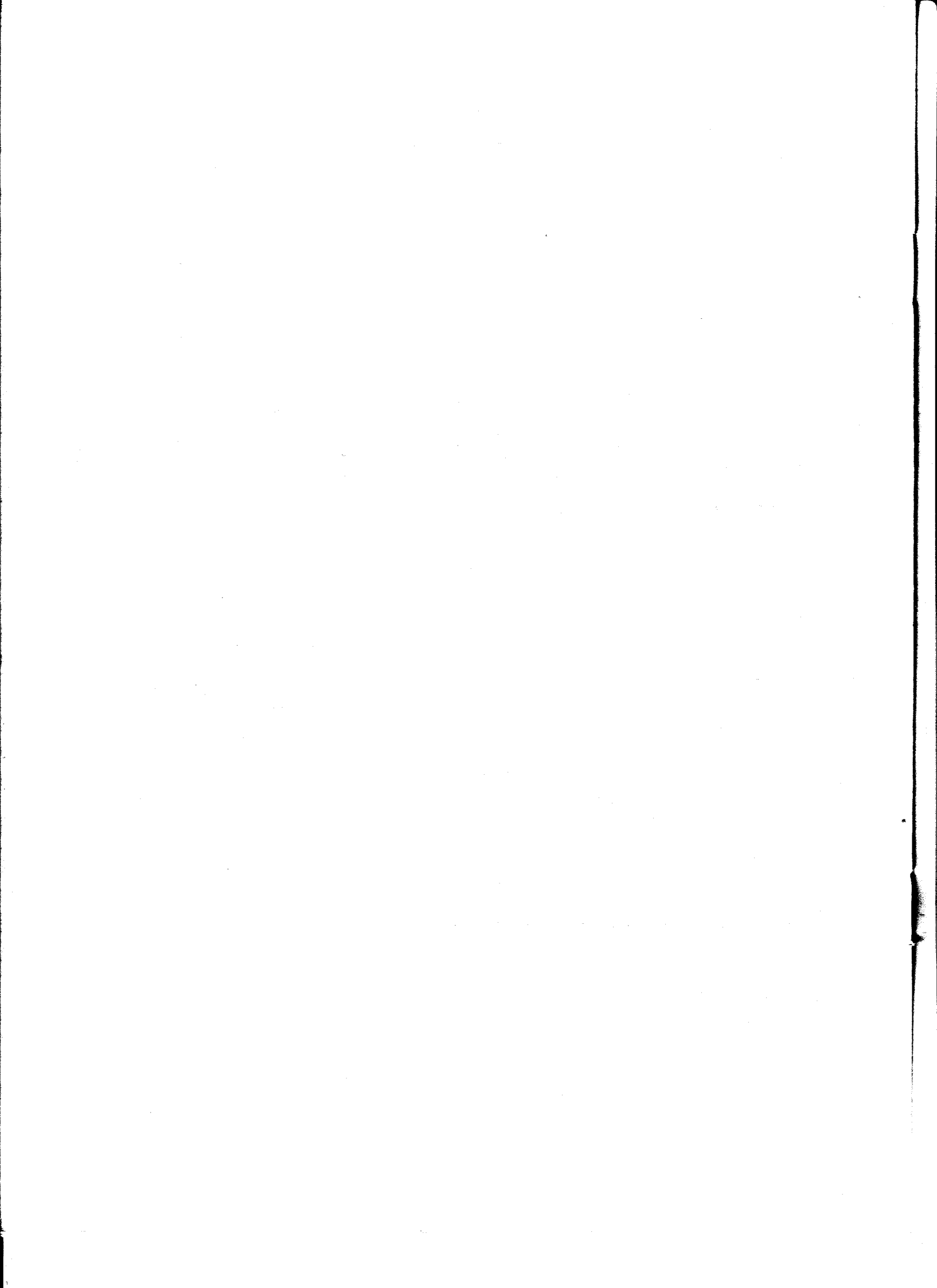
This is the way things are: if they attack and we wipe them out, they will have that satisfaction; wipe out some, some satisfaction; wipe out more, more satisfaction; wipe out the whole lot, complete satisfaction.

On the Chungking Negotiations (October 1945)



Chairman Mao Tse-tung

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



China Lodges Most Serious Protest Against Indian Reactionaries' Armed Aggression

In a note to the Indian Embassy in China on the evening of September 11, the Chinese Foreign Ministry lodged the most urgent and most serious protest against the attack on the Chinese frontier guards by Indian aggressor troops which intruded into Chinese territory by crossing the China-Sikkim boundary at Natu La.

The note said: "At 07:40 hours on the morning of September 11, 1967, over sixty Indian aggressor troops intruded into Chinese territory by crossing the China-Sikkim boundary at Natu La. Under the cover of fierce artillery fire, the Indian troops launched an attack on the Chinese frontier guards. Thereupon, they opened artillery fire on the Chinese frontier guards at Jelep La. Up till noon, the Indian aggressor troops already killed or wounded 25 Chinese frontier guards. They also destroyed Chinese civilian houses and temples. The attack of the Indian aggressor troops on Chinese frontier guards is still continuing now. The Chinese Government and people express their utmost indignation at this most serious criminal armed aggression solely engineered by the reactionary Indian Government. The Chinese Government hereby lodges the most urgent and most serious protest with the Indian Government."

"The reactionary Indian Government," the note added, "has never ceased its aggression and provocation against China on the Sino-Indian border and the China-Sikkim boundary ever since its crushing defeat in its massive armed attack on China in 1962. Especially of late, under the insidious instigation of U.S. imperialism and Soviet revisionism, the Indian reactionaries have further intensified their military provocations against China and even blatantly

launched armed attacks on the Chinese frontier guards. This is really the height of frenzy."

The note declared: "The Chinese Government hereby serves a serious warning on the reactionary Indian Government: Do not misjudge the situation and repeat your mistake of 1962. For the defence of the sacred territory of their motherland, the great Chinese people and the Chinese People's Liberation Army will certainly deal crushing blows at any enemy that dares to invade us. The Indian Government must immediately rein in before the precipice and stop all its aggression, provocation and military adventure against China. Otherwise, the Indian Government must be held fully responsible for all the grave consequences arising therefrom.

"The Chinese Government reserves the right to raise further demands."

According to a new report from Chinese frontier guards in Tibet, the

Indian aggressor troops continued their serious military provocation on the afternoon of September 11. After noon, the Indian artillery shelled Natu La and Jelep La on the Chinese side of the China-Sikkim border still more fiercely, and bombarded deep into such areas as Chumbitan, Hsiehpas and Lanla, killing or wounding 11 of the Chinese frontier guards and damaging a Chinese ambulance. Altogether, the Indian aggressor troops killed or wounded 36 frontier guards in the course of the day, damaged four temples and civilian houses and two tents in China's territory.

When the Indian aggressor troops started the military provocation, the Chinese frontier guards on duty promptly raised a strong protest with them. This, however, was totally ignored, and the former continued their wanton shelling and firing. The frontier guards were compelled to return fire in self-defence. It was reported that the intruding Indian troops fled in dismay, leaving behind a few bodies and part of their arms and ammunition inside Chinese territory. At the time this report was sent, Indian artillery was continuing to shell China's advanced positions and rear areas.

Chinese Air Force Downs U.S.-Made U-2 Plane of Chiang Gang

A U.S.-made U-2 high altitude reconnaissance plane of the Chiang Kai-shek bandit gang flew over east China on the morning of September 8 for harassing activities. It was immediately shot down by an air force unit of the heroic People's Liberation Army. This is the fifth U.S.-made U-2 plane of the Chiang gang downed by the P.L.A. since September 1962.

The victory has been won in the unprecedentedly excellent situation in which China's hundreds of millions of armymen and people, close-

ly following the important strategic plan of the great leader Chairman Mao, are engaged in the mass criticism and repudiation of the handful of top Party persons in authority taking the capitalist road and have scored tremendous victories. It is a new victory won by the heroic air force of the P.L.A. in defending the great proletarian cultural revolution by responding through concrete action to the momentous call of the great supreme commander Chairman Mao to "take firm hold of the revolution and promote preparedness against war" and to

“support the army and cherish the people.”

The Military Commission of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party issued an order commending the air force unit concerned for having put into effect the great leader Chairman Mao's guiding concept of fighting campaigns or battles of quick decision. The order said that the unit had fought extremely well in the battle. It added that the victory was its best gift to the Party and Chairman Mao at a time when the people and the army throughout the country were celebrating the 40th anniversary of the Autumn Harvest Uprising led by our great leader Chairman Mao himself, and that it was a tremendous encouragement to the proletarian revolutionaries of the whole country and a severe punishment to U.S. imperialism and its lackey, the Chiang bandit gang.

The order pointed out that the air force unit which took part in the battle, firmly adhering to **Chairman Mao's teaching that “all officers and fighters of our army must improve their military art, march forward courageously towards certain victory in the war and resolutely, thoroughly, wholly and completely wipe out all enemies,”** had accomplished in an exemplary manner the fighting task under the correct leadership and direction of its superior. The victory stemmed from the fact that it had held high the great red banner of Mao Tse-tung's thought, creatively studied and applied Chairman Mao's works and vigorously given prominence to proletarian politics. It was a signal victory for the infinitely bright thought of Mao Tse-tung and for Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line.

The order said that the Chiang gang, on instructions from U.S. imperialism, had recently been making vigorous preparations for war and was eager for action in its attempt to carry out sabotage and make trouble. Therefore, the order added, the commanders and fighters of the unit who took part in the battle should always bear in mind Chairman Mao's teaching that they **“absolutely must not relax in the**

least their will to fight,” heighten their revolutionary vigilance a hundred-fold, stand firm at their fighting posts, and smash all enemies who dare to intrude from the air.

Renmin Ribao published the editorial “We Will Completely Wipe Out All Enemies Who Dare to Come and Make Trouble” on September 9 to celebrate the victory. The editorial warned the U.S. imperialists, Soviet modern revisionists and the Chiang bandit gang and said: “If you dare to come and make trouble or carry out sabotage, we will wipe you out completely and see to it that you never return.”

Premier Chou Receives Acting Head of Mission of South Vietnam N.F.L.

Premier Chou En-lai received Nguyen Minh Phuong, acting head of the Permanent Mission of the South Vietnam National Front for Liberation in China, on September 4. They had a friendly and cordial talk.

On behalf of the Central Committee of the South Vietnam National Front for Liberation, Nguyen Minh Phuong expressed his profound thanks to Chairman Mao Tse-tung, Vice-Chairman Lin Piao, the Chinese Communist Party and the Chinese Government for the Chinese people's great support to the south Vietnamese people. He gave Premier Chou a copy of the Political Programme of the South Vietnam National Front for Liberation adopted at its Extraordinary Congress.

Premier Chou expressed his appreciation for the firm determination of the South Vietnam National Front for Liberation to mobilize and unite all forces that could be united to take part in and support the war of resistance against U.S. aggression and for national salvation, to defeat the U.S. aggressors, to completely wipe out and disintegrate the puppet troops, and to win final victory.

The Premier reaffirmed that the 700 million Chinese people, armed with Mao Tse-tung's thought, vowed that they would act as reliable backing for the Vietnamese people, and

that the Chinese Communist Party and the Chinese Government would, as in the past, continue to resolutely support the Vietnamese people's war of resistance against U.S. aggression and for national salvation.

Nguyen Minh Phuong held a press conference in Peking on September 5, in which he acquainted Chinese and foreign correspondents with the Political Programme adopted by the South Vietnam National Front for Liberation at its Extraordinary Congress. He expressed the south Vietnamese people's firm determination to fight U.S. imperialism through to the end till final victory.

Kang Sheng Receives Delegation Of French Communist Movement (M-L)

Comrade Kang Sheng, Member of the Standing Committee of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party, on August 30 received and gave a banquet in honour of Jacques Jurquet, head of the visiting delegation of the Central Committee of the French Communist Movement (Marxist-Leninist) and Member of the Secretariat of the French Communist Movement (Marxist-Leninist), and Regis Bergeron, member of the delegation and Member of the Political Bureau of the French Communist Movement (Marxist-Leninist). They had a cordial and friendly conversation.

The two other members of the delegation, Raymond Casas, Member of the Secretariat, and Alain Castan, Member of the Central Committee of the French Communist Movement (Marxist-Leninist), left for home earlier.

Agreement on Construction of Tanzania-Zambia Railway Signed in Peking

An agreement was signed in Peking on the evening of September 5 between the Government of the People's Republic of China and the Governments of the United Republic

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Peking Review, No. 38

Comments on Tao Chu's Two Books

by YAO WEN-YUAN

LIKE a succession of gales, the great proletarian cultural revolution is shaking the whole of China and indeed the whole world.

The situation is excellent. After a year of stirring battles, the great proletarian cultural revolution which started with mass criticism and repudiation in the field of culture is now triumphantly entering the phase of a mass movement of criticism and repudiation of the handful of top Party persons in authority taking the capitalist road. This campaign of mass criticism is of great political significance. It is a deep-going development of the proletarian revolutionaries' struggle to seize power, an important step in the elimination of revisionist poison, an ideological motive force mobilizing the masses in their tens of millions for active struggle, criticism and transformation, a mammoth mass struggle for the thorough application of Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line in the fields of politics, economy, culture and military affairs.

The two books before us, *Ideals, Integrity and Spiritual Life* (*Ideals* for short) published in 1962 by the China Youth Publishing House, and *Thinking, Feeling and Literary Talent* (*Thinking* for short) published in 1964 by the Kwangtung People's Publishing House, are both excellent negative study material for the mass criticism campaign. They are sister books of the sinister work "on self-cultivation" and vividly portray the reactionary and ugly soul of Tao Chu the revisionist.

Prior to the Eleventh Plenary Session of the Eighth Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party, Tao Chu was a faithful executant of the bourgeois reactionary line represented by China's Khrushchov. After that session, when the reactionary features of the two top persons in authority taking the capitalist road were exposed before the whole Party, he became the chief person representing and continuing to carry out the bourgeois reactionary line. In league with such henchmen as Wang Jen-chung, the counter-revolutionary revisionist, he continued to frantically oppose and distort the proletarian revolutionary line represented by Chairman Mao and to oppose and boycott the great thought of Mao Tse-tung, recruited deserters and turncoats, colluded with Party persons in authority taking the capitalist road and everywhere issued instructions to suppress the revolutionary masses and support and shield counter-revolutionary revisionists and ghosts and monsters, vainly trying by base tricks to blanket or annul the criticism and repudiation of the top capitalist roaders in the Party at the Eleventh Plenary Session of the Eighth Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party.

In the forward march of history, all who overestimate the strength of reaction and underestimate that of the people—adlepates dressed up as heroes and resisting progress—invariably end up quickly as contemptible clowns. At a 10,000-strong rally on July 30, 1966, this man who styled himself "a proletarian revolutionary in the main" waved his fist and haughtily shouted: "You can have me overthrown, too, if you don't believe me." How arrogant he was then! A virtual man-eater! He was trying to intimidate the masses, implying: Woe to anyone who dares oppose a "veteran revolutionary" like me; I am a hero and will never never fall. But the logic of history is such that anyone who comes out in opposition to Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line, the great proletarian cultural revolution and the revolutionary masses inevitably falls. The more rounded out a reactionary's performance, the heavier his fall. In retrospect, it is clear that the ludicrous performance he put on, glorifying himself and intimidating the people, was just another silly layer of grease paint on this double-dealer's face.

"I have always been a revolutionary." Well, let's use these two books as our chief material and see whom this eternally revolutionary person—"always" followed, what kind of "revolution" he was engaged in, what "ideals" he really cherished, what "integrity" he advocated, what class "thinking and feeling" he publicized and what "spiritual life" he led.

Bourgeois Counter-Revolutionary "Ideals"

Which "side" does Tao Chu belong to? What "ideals," the ideals of which side, does he advocate in his books? It will be enough to refer to the evidence he himself has provided.

In August 1955, when the socialist transformation of agriculture and handicraft industries began surging ahead and the proletariat and the bourgeoisie were locked in a life-and-death struggle, Tao Chu stepped forward histrionically: "All of us belong to the same side, the side of the Chinese people. With the exception of the counter-revolutionaries, all should sincerely unite."¹ This "all of us . . . with the exception of the counter-revolutionaries" is subject to the rule of one dividing into two—the proletariat on the one side and the bourgeoisie on the other. Tao Chu viciously slandered the ideological remoulding of intellectuals as "an insult to one's personality." He asserted that Hu Shih's reactionary ideas were simply "a question

of method of thinking" which "can only be judged clearly . . . after 30 or 40 years."² It is obvious that his "all of us" actually referred to the bourgeoisie and its agents such as Hu Shih. His boastful remark about "the side of the Chinese people" who should "sincerely" embrace each other in reality referred to the bourgeois reactionaries opposed to the people.

In the same report, Tao Chu also used extremely sympathetic language to describe "the counter-revolutionaries now lying low on the mainland" as being "in a miserable plight and a painful frame of mind." Words reflect one's thinking. With the words "miserable" and "painful," Tao Chu at one stroke wrote off the hatefulness and brutality of the counter-revolutionaries and vividly portrayed a "spiritual life" in which he was in perfect harmony with them. When excerpts from this report were included in his book, these colourful and sympathetic expressions were deleted.

Two years later, in May 1957, when the Rightists were launching wild attacks, Tao Chu promptly wrote articles for the press, declaring that "by and large classes have now disappeared," "the contradictions within the country between the enemy and ourselves have been resolved," and "the function of dictatorship should be weakened" in the dictatorship of the proletariat, which should be "geared . . . to guiding production . . . and to organizing the people's economic life."³ The landlords, rich peasants and bourgeoisie all became members of one "big family," the dictatorship of the proletariat could be abolished and "a state of the whole people" with the sole task of "guiding production" could soon come into being. The out-and-out revisionist note he struck, which was directed at overthrowing the dictatorship of the proletariat, conclusively shows him up as a ringleader of the bourgeois Rightists.

Two years later, in the first half of 1959, when the socialist revolution was developing in greater depth, Tao Chu wrote his article, "The Character of the Pine," in which he advised "never yielding to adverse circumstances,"⁴ and another article, "Revolutionary Firmness," in which he talked of "facing the raging sea" and the ability to withstand the "onslaughts of storms and hurricanes."⁵ Under his pen, the stirring great leap forward, the heroic aspiration of the revolutionary people to transform the world, became "adverse circumstances." As the tempest of socialist revolution struck at the bourgeoisie, landlords, rich peasants, counter-revolutionaries, bad elements and Rightists, and at their agents the Peng Teh-huai anti-Party clique, Tao Chu hysterically called for the ability "to withstand the onslaughts of storms and hurricanes." There is no need to add a single word; his counter-revolutionary stand is crystal clear.

Six years went by. It was 1965. On many occasions following the glorious Tenth Plenary Session of the Eighth Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party, Chairman Mao pointed out that the principal contradiction within China was the struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie and between the so-

cialist and the capitalist roads. In the document concerning the socialist education movement, known as "the 23 points," he stated that "**the main target of the present movement is those within the Party who are in authority and are taking the capitalist road.**" These important instructions of Chairman Mao's were fiercely opposed and resisted by China's Khrushchov and by Tao Chu and company. Tao Chu showed himself up once again in November 1965, when the criticism and repudiation of the drama *Hai Jui Dismissed From Office* was just beginning and the life-and-death struggle against the counter-revolutionary revisionist, China's Khrushchov, was imminent. Writing in *Wenyi Bao* (Literary and Art Gazette), the mouthpiece of the counter-revolutionary black line in literature and art, he said: "I think that at the present stage the task of reflecting the contradictions among the people should be put in the most important position."⁶ To argue that "contradictions among the people" formed the principal contradiction "at the present stage" was a flagrant denial of the fact that the principal contradiction within the country was the struggle between the two classes and between the two roads. It meant that he regarded the questions concerning the handful of counter-revolutionaries, renegades, Rightists and those in authority taking the capitalist road as contradictions "among the people," and thus covered up their crimes in trying to usurp the leadership in the Party, government and army, his purpose being to shield all the fiendish bourgeois counter-revolutionaries who had sneaked into the Party.

Has Tao Chu "always been a revolutionary?" No, he has always been a counter-revolutionary! It can be said that at every turning point in history, he invariably and openly took the bourgeois stand and opposed Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line and socialism. His much vaunted "ideals" are bourgeois counter-revolutionary ideals, the reactionary ideals of protecting and developing capitalism, the idle dream of overthrowing the dictatorship of the proletariat and restoring capitalism in China.

For example:

(1) Tao Chu says: "The idea of socialism is to use every means to ensure rapid national industrialization."⁷ If this out-and-out reactionary theory of "socialism" were valid, wouldn't it follow that the industrialized United States attained "socialism" long ago? For the achievement of industrialization, there are two roads, two lines and two kinds of means—the socialist and the capitalist. To take the socialist road, it is essential to rely on the working class and the revolutionary masses, on the keeping of politics in the fore and on the revolutionary consciousness and initiative of the hundreds of millions of people awakened by Mao Tse-tung's thought, and to place the leadership of enterprises really in the hands of proletarian revolutionaries. On the other hand, taking the capitalist road means reliance on a few bourgeois "experts," on material incentives and on the conservatives, as is repeatedly advocated in Tao Chu's book, it means the usur-

pation of the leadership of the enterprises by a privileged stratum representing the interests of the bourgeoisie. What Tao Chu calls "every means" is reliance on the bourgeoisie in order to develop the capitalist system of exploitation and oppose the socialist transformation of capitalist industry and commerce.

"The history of China in the last century or so is a history of receiving blows, and the reason is that it had no industry."⁸ Here Tao Chu talks like a bungling teacher of history giving us a lecture on the modern history of China, a lecture which is indeed a reversal of history. The principal explanation of why the Chinese received blows in the 109 years from 1840 to 1949 is not that they had no industry, but that political power was in the hands of the lackeys of imperialism, in the hands of traitors, from the Ching government through the Northern warlords down to Chiang Kai-shek. Ever since the seizure of power throughout China by the proletariat and the working people under the leadership of their great leader Comrade Mao Tse-tung, the imperialists have had to stop and think how strong their snouts are before they try to attack us. The more thoroughgoing the great cultural revolution, the deeper the thought of Mao Tse-tung penetrates the consciousness of the people and the stronger the dictatorship of the proletariat, the more certain it is that no one will be able to match us in a war. This is the proletarian revolutionary ideal. To attribute the receiving of blows in the past entirely to the lack of industry is to cover up all the heinous crimes of the vicious traitors and to prettify the Chinese lackeys of the international bourgeoisie who have tried to restore capitalism in the name of "developing industry." This chimes perfectly with the theory of national betrayal of China's Khrushchov!

(2) Tao Chu says that "the ideal of communism" means "comfortable houses." It is to "provide every room with electricity at night and enable everybody to dress sprucely and ride in motor-cars. . . ." ⁹ In short, it means "good food, good clothing and good housing." It means pleasure-seeking. He is ready to sell his very soul, with a cheap "communist" label thrown in, to whoever gives him "good food and good housing." This is indeed the philosophy of the lowest traitors! Communism in appearance but ultra-individualism or capitalism in essence — that is the definition of Tao Chu's "ideal of communism." Wouldn't it follow from this definition that the life of the U.S. bourgeoisie perfectly fits the "ideal of communism?"

(3) Tao Chu says that it is a "lofty ideal" always to keep in mind that "one will become a navigator, aviator, scientist, writer, engineer, teacher . . ." ¹⁰ He lists one expert profession after another, but makes no mention at all of any worker, peasant or soldier. In the eyes of this renegade from the proletariat, the revolutionary workers, peasants and soldiers should rank very low. More than that, they should simply be condemned to bottomless perdition, without any hope of escape. At the other extreme is a long string of bourgeois "experts," who are assigned a very high, or even

the "loftiest" place. "The bourgeoisie took part in the democratic movement. They have industrial know-how and are not as corrupt as the landlords."¹¹ Yes, here you admit that by "experts" you refer not to proletarian specialists but to the bourgeoisie and their representatives in cultural circles. What you call "know-how" is the capitalists' knowledge of how to exploit the workers craftily and ruthlessly, and other similar knowledge. It is Tao Chu's "lofty ideal" to stage a counter-revolutionary come-back through those representatives of the bourgeoisie who have climbed very high. Today, a number of very high bourgeois "authorities" have been pulled down by young revolutionary fighters.

Another of these great ideals is, in Tao Chu's words, "really enabling everybody to have personal ease of mind." In 1962, just at the time when the bourgeoisie launched wanton attacks on the proletariat and when evil spirits of all kinds danced in riotous revelry, to give the bourgeoisie "ease of mind," Tao Chu in his article "Thoughts on How to Make Creative Writing Flourish" wrote such nonsense about the bourgeois intellectuals as "quite a number have become intellectuals of the working people," and "it is necessary to bring the enthusiasm of labouring intellectuals to play."¹² (Note: in a speech he said: "The overwhelming majority of the intellectuals have now become intellectuals of the working people and the label of bourgeois intellectuals should be removed from them.") Fine! The "three family village", such people as Tien Han, Hsia Yen, Wu Han and Chien Po-tsan as well as Hai Jui, Wei Cheng, Li Hui-niang and the like, have all "become intellectuals of the working people." Can't they now prepare public opinion for a capitalist restoration with still greater vigour, for their label is removed and they have been provided with a fresh halo? Can't they now work to restore capitalism in comfort, with everybody happily "in harmony and enjoying ease of mind"?

Either the proletariat or the bourgeoisie is bound to lack "ease of mind" — this is the inevitable consequence of class struggle. When the proletariat has "ease of mind," the bourgeoisie is bound to be uneasy. When the bourgeoisie has "ease of mind," the proletariat is bound to suffer. Either one or the other. Whoever calls for redressing the bourgeoisie's grievance that it does not have "ease of mind" only proves that he himself shares the very feelings of the bourgeoisie.

Tao Chu says that this "socialist ideal" of his is "beneficial to everybody," including the bourgeoisie. Socialism must eradicate the bourgeoisie through the dictatorship of the proletariat. How can it be beneficial to the bourgeoisie? The "socialism" which is "beneficial to everybody" is phoney socialism, or Khrushchov-type revisionism, the counter-revolutionary theory of Bukharin that capitalism can "grow" into socialism. It is the reactionary theory of the "party of the entire people," "the state of the whole people" and the "socialism of the whole people" which abandons class struggle and

abolishes the dictatorship of the proletariat. It is the slogan for restoring capitalism in China after the triumph of socialism.

Enough! The material cited is sufficient to let us see this agent of the bourgeoisie in his true colours. He has obdurately followed a capitalist road which opposes socialism. What he thinks, praises and loves is capitalism; what he fears, curses and hates is socialism. In a word, the "ideals" in his writings are remoulding the state, society and the Party in the ugly image of the bourgeoisie.

This person has a "famous saying": "To establish socialist ideas or ideals. . . it is at least necessary to make socialist ideas cover over fifty per cent of the whole realm of one's ideology."¹³ How is it possible to measure man's world outlook in percentages? It is utterly ridiculous. Stripped of its pretences, it is just a clumsy and colossal swindle. Its purpose is to tell the bourgeoisie to appear in disguise, to cloak "fifty per cent" of their language with "socialist ideas" and thus try to cover up their evil capitalist nature. This is the most typical of revisionism. Both books were written in this way. The top Party person in authority taking the capitalist road said in heart-to-heart talks with the bourgeoisie: So long as the bourgeoisie master Marxist phrases, they can "grow happily and peacefully into socialism" and gain both fame and wealth. This is the best footnote to "over fifty per cent" of "socialist ideas." "Ideals!" "Ideals!" At the sight of this faithful agent, the bourgeoisie are truly moved to tears of gratitude.

The "Spiritual Life" of a Renegade And Flunkey

Would you like to know what kind of "spiritual life" is extolled in these two books? No need to read too far, just to get the essence is enough. It is the reactionary Kuomintang philosophy plus the flunkey's mentality.

Tao Chu has engraved on his memory and learnt by rote the reactionary and decadent idealism of the Kuomintang and the gangster talk of hangman Chiang Kai-shek. This counter-revolutionary stuff occupies pride of place in his "spiritual life." Only a renegade can spit out such reactionary rubbish.

The following is to be found among Chiang Kai-shek's counter-revolutionary utterances: "As to the meaning of politics, Dr. Sun Yat-sen has told us clearly: politics is the management of public affairs . . . therefore the meaning of politics is finding the scientific method for the general mobilization of the whole nation to manage public affairs in order to seek the greatest welfare for the whole nation and people."¹⁴

Tao Chu rehashes all this with no change. He writes: "First of all, it is necessary to understand what politics is. Probably you all know Dr. Sun Yat-sen. He said: 'Politics is the management of public affairs.' Our 'management of public affairs' has the purpose of

making our country prosperous and strong, making the people happy . . . that is, working for the people's interests, explaining reasons clearly and making people understand these reasons so that they join gladly and willingly in the work of building a socialist society."¹⁵

Tao Chu shamelessly proclaims that he was a student of Chiang Kai-shek. Or, more accurately, a flunkey — for doesn't he sound like a flunkey?

Calling politics "the management of public affairs" is the reactionary standpoint of the bourgeois exploiters. There is no such thing as "the public" in the abstract. In a class society the public is divided into classes. Nor is there such a thing as "management" in the abstract. In a class society management is invariably the handling of relations between classes, a question of which class controls and exercises political power. **Chairman Mao penetratingly points out in his Talks at the Yenan Forum on Literature and Art: "Politics, whether revolutionary or counter-revolutionary, is the struggle of class against class."**¹⁶ Analysed from this standpoint of Chairman Mao's, politics is the struggle to consolidate or overthrow the political power of this or that class, the struggle to safeguard or destroy this or that system of ownership, the struggle to seize or preserve the interests of this or that class (or group). The proletariat can finally emancipate itself only by emancipating all mankind. Therefore, in its political struggle to overthrow the oppressive rule of the bourgeoisie and establish and consolidate the dictatorship of the proletariat, the proletariat stands not only for its own class interests but also for those of the broad masses of the labouring people. It is in order to cover up the class content of its political activities and its oppression and exploitation of the proletariat and the working people that the bourgeoisie describes its counter-revolutionary politics in such abstract terms as "the management of public affairs." This same old trick has been played throughout, starting with the bourgeoisie in the 18th century and coming right down to the Soviet modern revisionists with their "state of the whole people." Chiang Kai-shek's "management of the public" consists of the sanguinary suppression and slaughter of the toiling masses by the counter-revolutionary state apparatus, while describing the counter-revolutionary rule of the landlords and the bourgeoisie as "seeking happiness for the whole nation and people" and even deceiving them by "general mobilization." This is the zenith of shamelessness. By rehashing all this, flunkey Tao Chu tries to bring about counter-revolutionary capitalist restoration and abolish the dictatorship of the proletariat over the bourgeoisie, while describing servile acts in the interests of the bourgeoisie and all other reactionaries as "working for the interests of the people"; he also tries to cheat the people by "explaining the reasons clearly." This, too, is the zenith of shamelessness.

In his counter-revolutionary utterances, Chiang Kai-shek was an advocate of the "spirit of sincere devotion" and lauded "the man with a foreknowledge and

keen perception of things." Tao Chu dishes all this up unchanged:

"We do not in toto negate Dr. Sun Yat-sen's expressions 'the man with a foreknowledge and keen perception of things' and 'the man with a backward knowledge and blunt perception of things.' These are to be found in society: some people make progress faster and some more slowly. If only a man has the desire to advance, in the end he will make progress. . . ."17

"Marxists should be magnanimous to other people and strict with themselves. . . . They should not demand too much of non-Party people, but should seek 'sincere unity' with them as Sun Yat-sen said. . . ."18

The phrases "the man with a foreknowledge and keen perception of things" and "the man with a backward knowledge and blunt perception of things" express the reactionary viewpoint of historical idealism which empties things of their class content and is divorced from social practice. **Chairman Mao points out: "It is man's social being that determines his thinking. Once the correct ideas characteristic of the advanced class are grasped by the masses, these ideas turn into a material force which changes society and changes the world".**¹⁹ Those counter-revolutionary revisionists who will never repent and those diehard capitalist roaders who refuse to correct their errors after repeated education are that way not because they are "men with a backward knowledge and blunt perception of things," but because of their social being, i.e., their bourgeois class status, which determines their obstinately taking the capitalist road. Similarly, the U.S. imperialist butchers and the renegade clique of the C.P.S.U. are that way not because they lack "the desire to advance," but because they represent the reactionary bourgeoisie, and whatever tricks they play in the line they adopt, it can only be a counter-revolutionary line serving the U.S. monopoly capitalists and the Soviet bourgeois privileged stratum. As for the proletarian revolutionaries, the reason why they can smash all obstacles, break through every kind of onerous and cruel suppression by the handful of top Party capitalist roaders and win victory is not that they are "men with a foreknowledge and keen perception of things," but that they have grasped the thought of Mao Tse-tung, this theoretical weapon which is the quintessence of the highest wisdom of the proletariat of China and the world, and that they represent the interests of the proletariat and the working masses. Therefore, the more they fight, the stronger they become, and they are indomitable in all difficulties and always maintain dynamic revolutionary optimism. Today, in advocating reactionary idealism such as that we have described, Tao Chu tries to make people believe that the bourgeoisie "will make progress in the end," to lull the people's revolutionary vigilance and to help the bourgeoisie sneak into the ranks of the proletariat to carry out sabotage.

The expression "sincere unity" as used by Tao Chu is through and through the language of the Kuomintang

reactionaries! Different classes give different interpretations of the identical term. We, too, occasionally use this term. Then it means unity for the definite aim of revolution, for the struggle to carry out the revolutionary tasks of the proletariat. We always say, unity subject to a socialist orientation, and unity on the basis of the principles of Marxism-Leninism, Mao Tse-tung's thought. In contrast, Tao Chu's "sincere unity" discards all principle, betrays the socialist orientation and caters to the needs of the bourgeoisie. Unity and struggle are two contradictory aspects of a single entity. Without struggle, there is no unity. Unity is relative and transitional whereas struggle is absolute. Everything in this world divides into two in the course of its development. Men's knowledge always develops in struggle. As **Chairman Mao points out: "Marxism can develop only through struggle, and not only is this true of the past and the present, it is necessarily true of the future as well."**²⁰ Where is there such an immutable "sincere unity" as Tao Chu's? The fortune-teller hangs up a signboard reading, "Effective if sincere." It's a trick. Chiang Kai-shek used the term "sincere unity" to cover up internal dog-fights and as a tool for instilling fascist ideas, whereas Tao Chu does something original—he puts up the signboard of Marxism to disintegrate the struggle of the proletariat against the bourgeoisie.

The book also says: "The reason why victory could be won in the earlier period of the great revolution of 1925-27 was that Dr. Sun Yat-sen reorganized the Kuomintang and adopted the three great policies 'in conformity with the objective law of the revolution at that time.'²¹ It is a plain distortion of history and a reversal of the truth when Tao Chu attributes victory in the early period of the First Revolutionary Civil War of 1925-27 not to the correct leadership and policies of the Communist Party of China represented by Comrade Mao Tse-tung, not to the struggles of the revolutionary people, but solely to the Kuomintang. He simply speaks for the Kuomintang reactionaries. Isn't he speaking with a traitor's voice when he gives the fruits of victory won with the blood of countless revolutionary martyrs to the Kuomintang in order to please it?

Enough! Enough! Does not all this vile talk reveal that behind Tao Chu's "spiritual life" lies the realm of reactionary Kuomintang philosophy?

Besides the reactionary Kuomintang philosophy, his ideas are all rubbish from the sinister book on "self-cultivation."

Doesn't the book *Ideals* cheat our young people when it prates that "personal and collective interests cannot be separated," that if a person makes a show of "doing a good job," he will be "taken into account," "be appreciated," "be praised" and even "have his name spread to the whole country and the whole world"? This is a complete reproduction of the philistine speculator's philosophy of the Khrushchov of China, the philosophy of "lose a little to gain much." In February 1960, when he received members of the Standing Committees of

the China Democratic National Construction Association and the All-China Federation of Industry and Commerce, the top Party person in authority taking the capitalist road handed the representatives of the bourgeoisie an idea. He said: "Personal benefits will accrue if you serve the people wholeheartedly."²² These words are an accurate summary of this bourgeois careerist's experience in "getting on in the world" over several decades of his life and generalize the quintessence of the philosophy of life of this traitor to the proletariat. When used by him and the handful of people like him, such terms as "serve the people" and "collective interests" are falsehood and deception, they are employed for show, they are the means, whereas personal interests, personal power and personal enjoyment are real, they are the ends they pursue, representing the essence of their dirty souls. This is the trick used by the bourgeois counter-revolutionary double-dealers to sneak into the ranks of the revolutionaries and to seize power. Can we tolerate the criminal use of this trick to poison the younger generation and to destroy people with "soft" weapons?

Doesn't the book *Ideals* cheat the young people when it says: "Our common world outlook together with our common method of thinking . . . consists in proceeding from objective reality, in admitting that right is right and wrong is wrong"²³ This, too, is merchandise bought from China's Khrushchov. In class society, there are distinct class criteria for right and wrong. Reality means, first of all, the reality of class struggle: do you stand on the side of the proletariat or on the side of the bourgeoisie? On the side of imperialism or on the side of the revolutionary people? On the side of Marxism-Leninism, Mao Tse-tung's thought, or on the side of revisionism? On the side of the proletarian headquarters headed by Chairman Mao or on the side of the counter-revolutionary bourgeois headquarters? Using the abstractions of "right and wrong" to cover up their class approach to problems is the common characteristic of opportunists who have sold their souls. In May 1949, reporting on his infamous visit to Tientsin where he genuflected to the bourgeoisie, China's Khrushchov said shamelessly: "The capitalists said that our newspapers were not well run. I said that indeed they were not altogether well run. I admitted this mistake too. . . . In the future we should adopt the attitude: right is right, wrong is wrong, good is good, bad is bad. . . . If there is anything good about the capitalists, we should say it's good; if there is anything bad about the workers, we should say it's bad."²⁴ Look how he "proceeded from reality"! "Where there is anything good about the capitalists, we should say it's good; if there is anything bad about the workers, we should say it's bad." What a fair judge he is! What a clear approach to "right and wrong" this scab takes! See how this infamous flunkey of the bourgeoisie never forgets his masters' "goodness"! How obvious is his ferocity when he condemns the workers for being "bad"! And how well the author of the

book *Ideals* has memorized the soul-selling philosophy of that certain person!

The book *Ideals* misrepresents dialectical materialism when it states that "existence is primary while thinking is only secondary, the objective is primary while the subjective is only secondary,"²⁵ totally denying man's dynamic role, the leap from matter to consciousness and from consciousness to matter, and the dialectical process of practice, knowledge, again practice, again knowledge . . . in the development of man's knowledge. This is certainly not dialectical materialism but reactionary metaphysics. The proletariat's sole aim in understanding the objective world is to transform it in accordance with the laws inherent in the development of things. If one negates the transformation of the objective world, negates the revolution and the struggle to push history forward, doesn't the statement that "the objective is primary" become empty words on a sheet of paper? But this criticism alone is far from sufficient. It must be understood that the reason why he advocates this mechanical or vulgar materialism is to spread opportunism of a certain kind, under which one drifts with the current and is ready to sell out the interests of the proletariat at any time in order to serve the bourgeoisie. Isn't that true? The bourgeoisie can be said to have an objective existence. One may proceed from the stand of the bourgeoisie, follow its words and take its interests as the criterion, "right is right and wrong is wrong." In this way the restoration of capitalism can be brought about under the cloak of "seeking the truth from facts" and dialectical materialism. These tricks can be seen through once their true nature is exposed.

Did not Tao Chu say to some young people gloatingly, "There are males and females in the world and they will naturally have love affairs"²⁶ This immediately makes one think of the absurd "famous saying" of China's Khrushchov: "One head of cattle plus another head of cattle is still cattle . . . but a bull plus a cow makes a new relationship; a man plus a woman forms the husband-and-wife relationship. Everything is a unity of opposites."²⁷ In the eyes of this bunch, the relations between one person and another are the same as those between a bull and a cow. In class society, people are differentiated according to their class and are linked according to their class relations. The relations between man and woman are no exception. Lu Hsun wrote in his "Hard Translation" and the 'Class Character of Literature': "Victims of famine will hardly grow orchids like rich old gentlemen, nor will Chiao Ta of the Chia family fall in love with Miss Lin." [Chiao Ta is a gatekeeper in the feudal Chia family in the classical novel *Dream of the Red Chamber — Tr.*] This basic fact is denied by members of this gang, they trample it underfoot. But their vulgar language cannot in the least hurt Marxist class analysis. It only goes to show that their views on people's interrelations and their "self-cultivation are vulgar bourgeois nonsense such as "a bull plus a cow" and "a man plus a woman." Isn't it clear that these persons

with their voluble talk about "self-cultivation" are hypocrites rotten to the core?

Tao Chu's book says that the "success or failure" of a person in "his decades of life" is determined by "whether his subjective ideas conform with the objective situation."²⁸ How did he himself obsequiously make his "subjective ideas" conform with the "objective situation" under Kuomintang rule, and in his "decades" of "success" how did he conform with U.S. imperialism, the Kuomintang reactionaries and the counter-revolutionary bourgeoisie? Should not all this be brought out into the light of day?

Feelings of Bitter Hatred Towards The Proletariat

In May 1959, just before the revisionist Peng Teh-huai dished up his sinister programme in a desperate effort to restore capitalism, Tao Chu, assuming the manner of Hai Jui in his article "The Sun's Radiance," blatantly and viciously abused our great socialist cause, our great Party and our great leader. On the one hand, he said that people used the words "the east is red, the sun rises" to "describe the vigour and vitality of our great cause" and that they "eulogize our Party and leader by likening them to the sun." On the other hand, he attacked the "faults" of the sun openly and railed obliquely: "In the depth of summer when the glaring sun is scorching the earth and making people sweat, they grumble and say that the sun's light and heat are excessive. And as everyone knows, and has pointed out too, the sun itself has black spots on it."²⁹

"The sun itself has black spots on it." Is this not downright invective against our Party and great leader? In Tao Chu's eyes not only are there "black spots," but socialism is altogether pitch black. For those who see with bourgeois eyes, brightness and darkness are reversed. They are blinder than the blind. In the view of this revisionist, the radiance of socialism shed by the sun is intolerable to those in authority taking the capitalist road, it reveals their true features, makes them "sweat" and is "excessive." This is where the "faults" of the sun lie. In fact, this is precisely why the sun is great. Monsters and demons, bed bugs and lice, germs and viruses which hide in dark corners in the house can only be killed when they are exposed to the light and heat of the sun. True working people are tempered and get stronger in the sunshine. How can one get strong without sweating in the sun? To condemn the sun for its "light and heat" is in fact to condemn the proletariat for "exceeding the limit," to condemn socialism and the people's communes for their "excesses." This naked bourgeois double-talk only shows him up as a ghost that dares not face the light of the sun.

In "The Character of the Pine," does not Tao Chu praise the pine for "shutting out the sun's glare by its foliage in summer?"³⁰ The brilliance of Mao Tse-tung's

thought cannot be shut out. He who is bent on challenging brightness can only sink from darkness into deeper darkness.

It is noteworthy that the phrase "eulogize our Party and leader by likening them to the sun" was suddenly changed into "eulogize our great, glorious and correct Party by likening it to the sun" in the second edition of *Ideals* which came out in 1965. This dodge which was meant to cover up his vicious purpose actually helps to expose it more flagrantly and it perfectly reveals his guilty conscience. He cut out the word "leader." Does not this precisely indicate that, between 1959 and 1962, when he wrote this article and published this book, he directed his spearhead at our great leader? Otherwise, why should he hastily cut it out? He added the words "great, glorious and correct" before "Party." Does not this precisely indicate that he did not consider the Chinese Communist Party great, glorious and correct when he wrote his article and published his book? Otherwise, why should he hastily add them? He had a guilty conscience, and feared his looks would betray him. That is why he was in such a pother. Is it not true that in a report made in May 1959, in Swatow, Kwangtung Province, Tao Chu clamoured about the need to "learn from the style of Hai Jui" in co-ordination with Peng Teh-huai's attack? Apparently, the style of this Hai Jui was not so lofty and he did not show much ability. Nevertheless, the rephrasing mentioned above inadvertently revealed his crimes in opposing the Party, socialism and Chairman Mao in co-ordination with Peng Teh-huai and company — an iron-clad fact which he can never succeed in denying.

By late September 1959, the Lushan Meeting of the Party Central Committee had ended, the Peng Teh-huai anti-Party clique had been exposed and the unbridled attack launched by the revisionists had been smashed. Then in his article "A Hard-Won Victory," this revisionist Tao Chu was compelled to go through the motions of expressing dissatisfaction with "a few persons" who "took a keen interest in the shortcomings in our work."³¹ However, who were the few persons he referred to? Did they not include Tao Chu himself? In one of his articles, did he not order the press to "cover the shortcomings and errors in our work and to do this, notwithstanding the fact that they were but a single finger as compared with nine?"³² Wasn't he the person who was keen on exposing what he called the "dark side" and "black spots" of socialism? This cannot be denied. It is precisely because he had a hand in the dirty business that he expressed profound sympathy in this article for those whom he referred to as a few persons. He said that "in mentioning these people we hope that they will change their stand and, first of all, join the ranks of the builders of socialism heart and soul."³³ This amounted to advising the bankrupt Right opportunists to pretend to "change their stand" so as to sneak their way into the revolutionary ranks and to continue their anti-socialist activities.

Burning hatred for the proletariat, deep affection and solicitude for the bourgeoisie — such are Tao Chu's

feelings. Here this malignant monster stands revealed, now stripped of his mask.

"Literary Talent" Which Is Rotten To the Core

How shameful it is for a man to preen himself on his "literary talent" on the strength of a pretentious literary style and incomprehensible language! It is very much like those ignorant landlords who hung on the lips of men of letters and, while obviously possessing not a tittle of literary knowledge, rocked back and forth, chanting mumbo jumbo like classical scholars.

Though displaying no literary talent whatsoever, the book actively propagates the revisionist line in literature and art in its entirety. The author, Tao Chu, has faithfully applied the reactionary programme for literature and art laid down by the top Party person in authority taking the capitalist road and is a jackal from the same lair as Lu Ting-yi and Chou Yang. In the spring of 1960, at the "National Conference of Newsreel and Documentary Scenarists" which was convened by the counter-revolutionary revisionists Hsia Yen and Chen Huang-mei of the old Ministry of Culture, they distributed the big poisonous weed *Thinking, Feeling and Literary Talent* as a conference document for all participants to study. This shows to what extent they worked in collusion. To counter Chairman Mao's line on literature and art, Tao Chu had netted into his black ragbag almost every kind of reactionary idea then prevalent in literary and art circles, i.e., the theory of "human nature," of "truthful writing," of "freedom of creation," of "the middle character," the theory that "there is no harm in ghost plays," etc. Let us give one or two examples and briefly refute them.

"Communist Party members are warm-hearted. . . they must feel for everybody except counter-revolutionaries."³⁴ In class society there are only class feelings; there are no feelings above class. "Feelings" here means "love." "To feel for everybody" is identical with the "love for everybody" propagated by modern revisionism. It means to "love" the exploiting classes, "love" renegades, "love" their flunkies and "love" those in authority taking the capitalist road. This is the most shameless genuflection and homage to reactionaries.

"We must fully develop the writers' freedom of creation. The writer's pen is his own and the writer's ideas are his own. We must allow the writers independence of creation."³⁵ This is a naked counter-revolutionary slogan straight out of the Petofi Club. There is only freedom in the concrete, no freedom in the abstract. In class society there is only class freedom; there is no freedom above class. All works of literature and art serve the politics of definite classes. There is no such thing as "free" literature and art detached from class politics nor can there be any. Whatever their particular form of expression, the ideas of any person, including those of any writer, are not isolated "ideas of his own." They are a manifestation of the ideas, interests and aspirations of definite classes and the reflection of class

relations in a given society. Do the 700 million Chinese people have 700 million kinds of "ideas of their own"? Certainly not. Fundamentally they fall into only two kinds — one is the world outlook of the proletariat, or Mao Tse-tung's thought; the other is the world outlook of the bourgeoisie, or bourgeois individualism of every kind. To advocate "freedom of creation" or "independence of creation" which depart from Mao Tse-tung's thought is to instigate demons and freaks "freely" to attack socialism and propagate capitalism, and to deprive the proletarian revolutionaries of all freedom of counter-attack, thus serving the criminal intrigue of restoring capitalism. The term "freedom of creation" is nothing but a fig-leaf for the diehard servants of the bourgeoisie.

"Life is many-sided. It does not conform to one pattern. So don't confine it within a fixed framework."³⁶ This is nothing but the "theory of opposition to subject matter as the decisive factor." Using the pretext of opposing "a fixed framework," its purpose is actually to oppose revolutionary writers doing their best to reflect the class struggle in the socialist era, sing the praise of the workers, peasants and soldiers and portray proletarian heroes. "Life is many-sided." Actually, it has two main sides. One is the revolutionary struggle of the proletarian revolutionaries and the broad working masses who, guided by Chairman Mao's revolutionary line, push history forward. The other is the rotten reactionary life of the bourgeois reactionaries, who resist the progress of history. We must take the militant life of the proletarian revolutionaries who are really conscious of their historical task as the principal aspect, as our orientation and as the central theme for praise and portrayal, and through the portrayal of typical heroes, reflect our unprecedentedly heroic age and the tremendous power and triumph of Mao Tse-tung's thought. As for the reactionary rotten life of the bourgeoisie, it can serve only as the target for criticism, assault and exposure and must never serve as the main side of creative works. "It does not conform to one pattern"; but there must be one pattern and in Tao Chu's mind life consists of the vulgar sentiments and demoralizing tunes of the bourgeoisie in the *Three-Family Lane* which have won his unceasing praise and which in fact are decaying rubbish in the garbage of history. Isn't this clear enough?

So long as literature and art "truthfully reflect reality, . . . to me, their role at times is no less important than that of editorials and reports."³⁷ This again is an exact reproduction of Hu Feng's theory of "truthful writing." All images created in works of literature and art show the political tendencies of the writers and artists, their class love and class hatred. There is no such thing as an abstract or disinterested "truthful reflection of reality." Proletarian revolutionaries are thoroughgoing materialists. Thoroughgoing materialists are dauntless. Only from the proletarian standpoint can one truthfully reflect the essence of historical progress. The reactionary literature and art of the bourgeoisie and the revisionists present the workers, peasants

and soldiers in a distorted form, and they distort reality. This is the inevitable result of the reactionary world outlook of historical idealism on which such literature and art rest. To promote "truthful writing" in the abstract means to oppose the propagation of Mao Tse-tung's thought and the education of the people in the communist spirit through literature and art. It means negating and covering up the class character of literature and art, and seeking a "theoretical" basis for noxious weeds which glamorize the exploiting classes and defame the proletariat. It is the rottenest muck in the bourgeois armoury of literature and art.

"One may look at both the good and the bad aspect . . . it is permissible for literary and artistic works to describe shortcomings . . . we must not give the impression that when we want to praise the people's communes we have to laud them to the skies."³⁸ This is the theory of "exposure of the dark side," a reproduction of the reactionary theory of laying "equal stress on the bright and the dark, half and half," which Chairman Mao condemned long ago. We should distinguish between the main current and the minor currents of life. Only when we focus on the main current can we give a typical presentation of the essence of social advance. Minor currents merely offer a contrast to the main current and can be used as means to present the essence, forming a subordinate aspect of the whole, partial and temporary twists in the course of advance, never to be regarded as the main content of life. We should centre our efforts mainly on writing about the bright, on praising our great victories in socialist revolution and socialist construction, that is, praising the triumph of Mao Tse-tung's thought, on presenting the world-shaking heroism and wisdom of proletarian revolutionary fighters in the struggle, on portraying the heroic workers, peasants and soldiers of our era and not on presenting the "good side" and the "bad side," half and half. Naturally works on the people's communes should praise their superiority to the full. Why should it be necessary to list all the shortcomings and mistakes occurring along the path of progress? There is a song called *The People's Communes Are Fine*. Is it necessary to modify this title with another sentence "the people's communes have shortcomings?" To exaggerate, play up and build vicious fabrication upon partial, isolated phenomena is the old tune the imperialists, the revisionists and the bourgeoisie harp on in their rumour-mongering and slanders, and this veteran Rightist apes them. Is it necessary to avoid contradiction in devoting our main effort to praising the bright? Is it necessary to avoid talking of the enemy's struggles and counter-attacks? Is it necessary to tone down sharp conflicts? No, it is not. Society advances through class struggle. The revolutionary forces of the proletariat invariably blaze their way forward in fierce struggle with the counter-revolutionary forces of the bourgeoisie. Only by making typical historical generalizations about class contradictions and class struggles can the bright, the victorious and the heroic be portrayed in all their depth and splendour, and not superficially and

trivially. The revolutionary people will sweep Tao Chu's theory of the "exposure of the dark side" into the dustbin of history, along with his black soul.

See Through the Khrushchov-Type Careerists

From the several aspects mentioned above, people can easily see that Tao Chu is nothing but a big Rightist who managed to slip out of the net, a revisionist, a loyal executant and propagandist of the reactionary bourgeois line represented by China's Khrushchov, a counter-revolutionary double-dealer who sneaked into the Party. The reactionary system of Kuomintang philosophy and the other germs spread by his books must be thoroughly wiped out.

Tao Chu is a careerist of the Khrushchov type. He sticks stubbornly to the capitalist political orientation. He bitterly hates socialism and hankers after capitalism day and night. His "ideals" in politics, culture and life are nothing but a capitalist restoration in China. His head is stuffed with the reactionary world outlook of the exploiting classes, such as the philosophy of traitors and the idea of "the scholar dies for his bosom friend." However, in his efforts not to be exposed under the dictatorship of the proletariat, he cannot but disguise himself in a revolutionary cloak. This fellow is extremely crooked. He is a double-dealer who talks big, now eloquent and seemingly straightforward and now insinuating: such are his familiar practices. But on the fundamental question of which road to take, the socialist or the capitalist road, he can be promptly stripped of his disguise and his true features can be laid bare when he is brought before the magic mirror of Mao Tse-tung's thought. Aren't these two books iron-clad proof of his taking the capitalist road?

All careerists of the Khrushchov type are conspiratorial usurpers of Party leadership. In order to oppose the proletarian headquarters headed by Chairman Mao, oppose Mao Tse-tung's thought and oppose the proletarian revolutionaries, they resort to all kinds of tricks and intrigues to expand the power held by a handful of revisionists and they shamelessly boost themselves. Tao Chu came out with these two books not only to prepare public opinion for a capitalist restoration, but also as a means of expanding the power held by a handful of revisionists like himself. There is an article in his book entitled, "Introduction to *Notes of Talks Made During the Journey to the West*." *Notes of Talks Made During the Journey to the West* was originally entitled *Notes of Talks Taken by Members of My Entourage*. When he was rambling round, Tao Chu took along several malevolent scholars as members of his retinue. He talked at random, and these scholars took notes on his talk as though it consisted of imperial decrees. The notes were then embellished and released to the press. The "notes of talks" are notes on Tao Chu's talks. From these, "a total of 27 articles were produced!" He had the audacity to have them published

in book form. He even chose the title for the collection, wrote an introduction and added an inscription! Does not this show his ambition to become the "despotic ruler of the south"? In the propagation of his reactionary views, Tao Chu's books, *Ideals* and *Thinking*, teem with such displays of personal power and self-glorification. He intended to use these books to prepare public opinion for the seizure of power from the proletarian headquarters. When Tao Chu came from his regional post to the central organ of leadership, he extended his reach so far and wide and within a few months exposed his maniac desire to seize power from the proletariat so strikingly, stopping at nothing in recruiting deserters and turncoats, buying over bad elements who had already been exposed by the revolutionary people, opposing the Central Committee of the Party headed by Chairman Mao and attacking the revolutionaries, that none of his double-dealing tricks could cover up his counter-revolutionary ambition any longer. Can we not draw an important lesson from this negative example and learn how to see through persons of the Khrushchov type?

Tao Chu is a despicable pragmatist. He has the speculator's glib talk. In order to peddle revisionism and to oppose and attack what he called dogmatism — actually Marxism-Leninism, Mao Tse-tung's thought — he appeared as an ultra-Rightist one minute and on the extreme "Left" the next. In this way, he corrupted, confused and hoodwinked those who waver in the middle of the road, so as to protect himself from being exposed. After he took charge of the Propaganda Department of the Central Committee, Tao Chu became the faithful agent of the top Party person in authority taking the capitalist road in suppressing the revolutionary masses. He did his utmost to oppose Chairman Mao's great big-character poster "Bombard the Headquarters." He tried his best to protect the monsters. But when the masses rose to criticize and repudiate the bourgeois reactionary line, with a twist of the body he made a sudden change and appeared in the guise of an ultra "Left" anarchist. He shouted himself hoarse that "in the great cultural revolution, it is correct to doubt everyone." "I am all for bombardment in general . . . nobody knows what the headquarters really represent, and that goes for every headquarters." "You can oppose anybody." He "creatively" developed the bourgeois reactionary line of "hitting hard at the many in order to protect a handful." He appeared to be surprisingly "Left," but in fact he was "Left" in form and Right in essence. His purpose was to blur the distinction between the proletarian headquarters and the bourgeois headquarters, and direct the spearhead of attack at the proletarian headquarters headed by Chairman Mao so that the handful of Party persons in authority taking the capitalist road could sneak away in the confusion. "To doubt everyone" and such like are designed to deal with the proletarian headquarters. "To doubt everyone" except himself, "to overthrow everyone" except himself — isn't there something fishy here? Comrades, please note that there are now a handful of counter-revolutionaries who are adopting

the same method. Using slogans that sound extremely "Left" but in essence are extremely Right, they have stirred up evil gusts of "doubting everyone," while bombarding the proletarian headquarters, creating dissension and exploiting confusion. To achieve their sinister ulterior aim, they have vainly attempted to shake and split the proletarian headquarters headed by Chairman Mao. The organizers and manipulators of the so-called "May 16" group are just such a scheming counter-revolutionary gang. It must be thoroughly exposed. Young people who have been misled and have not understood the true situation should pull themselves up sharply and turn back to hit those who have misled them. They should avoid the traps set for them. This counter-revolutionary organization has two aims: one is to undermine and split the leadership of the Party's Central Committee headed by our great leader Chairman Mao and the other is to undermine and split the main pillar of the dictatorship of the proletariat, the great Chinese People's Liberation Army. This counter-revolutionary organization dare not come out into the open. It has hidden itself underground in Peking for the last few months. We have as yet not fully identified most of its members and leaders. For they send their people out to paste up broadsheets and paint slogans only in the silence of the night. The broad masses are making investigations in relation to these people, and things will shortly be made clear. With regard to these persons, so long as we use the method of class analysis which Chairman Mao teaches and study their attitude to the bourgeoisie and to the proletariat, study their political tendencies by analysing whom they support and whom they oppose, and study their past history, we can detect a sinister counter-revolutionary hand even in the midst of the constantly changing phenomenon. The more they try to cover up those things which have already been exposed by pretending to be extraordinarily "excessive" or "fair," the more fully they reveal their true features as careerists. Take the revisionist Tao Chu for example. This obvious thief consciously adopted the guise of a sage; this obvious man of the extreme Right, who openly declared that his heart "beat in unison with" that of the bourgeoisie, suddenly and deliberately jumped to the extremely "Left" position of "doubting everyone." Yet all the time the spearhead of his attack was directed at the proletarian revolutionaries. This clearly exposes him as a careerist.

The deepening of the class struggle and the victories of the proletarian revolutionaries compel the enemies constantly to change their tactics of struggle. When one counter-revolutionary scheme of theirs is seen through, they resort to another and they use these devices alternately. But these degenerates can never escape detection by Mao Tse-tung's thought which discovers the minutest detail in everything. In the present victorious situation, we must give full attention to the general orientation of the struggle, to safeguarding the proletarian headquarters headed by Chairman Mao, to carrying through the unified plan for battle decided upon by Chairman Mao and the Central Committee of the Party.

to mastering policies and tactics, to uniting the great majority and to preventing such characters as Tao Chu from creating confusion in our ranks, from either the Right, or the "Left," or both sides simultaneously. When the forces of the Left make mistakes, the forces of the Right exploit them. This has always been so. In the current movement of mass criticism and repudiation, we should arrive at a still deeper understanding of this fact by summing up the historical experience of class struggle.

In chapter five of the novel *The Dream of the Red Chamber* there is a song titled *The Trouble With Being Too Clever*. Its first two lines read: "With all your calculations and intrigues, you are too clever; they bring you no good but will cost you your life!" All the Khrushchov-like careerists who oppose Mao Tse-tung's thought and think themselves clever have "calculated and intrigued" in the dark. This game can be said to have reached its climax with Tao Chu's invention of the famous "art of transplanting people's heads" (the head of the No. 2 top Party person in authority taking the capitalist road was cut from another picture and transplanted on to someone else's shoulders in a photograph in order to give prominence to the No. 2 Party capitalist roader in opposition to the decision of the Eleventh Plenary Session of the Eighth Central Committee of the Party). But in the end the rock these people lift to hurl at others drops on their own feet, and they themselves create the conditions for their own downfall. The handful of Party persons in authority taking the capitalist road in the Wuhan area have turned out to be fools of the same kind, simple-minded and reactionary in their thinking. Those who play intrigues will come to no good end. When the broad masses rise to action, nothing evil can be hidden any more. The downfall of the revisionist bad elements who oppose Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line is inevitable. Such is the verdict of history. No matter how they struggle and quibble, the handful of the Khrushchov-like careerists will never be able to escape this verdict of history.

The great proletarian cultural revolution is surging forward like a mighty torrent. The brilliant rays of Mao Tse-tung's thought are lighting up all China and the entire world. China's proletarian revolutionaries and revolutionary people are courageous. We are determined to carry this great revolution through to the end. The counter-offensives, attacks, rumours and sowing of discord by the handful of capitalist roaders in authority, and all the different kinds of slander, distortion, vilification and clamour coming from the imperialists, the reactionaries of all countries and the modern revisionists, definitely cannot prevent our advance but will only prove these same persons to be thoroughly stupid and at the end of their tether. Comrades, let us raise our hands and hail this great storm which is cleansing the vast land of China! Mao Tse-tung's thought is invincible. The people's strength is inexhaustible. What is new-born and revolutionary is irresistible. People will see that, after traversing the magnificent

and tortuous path of the great cultural revolution, a great socialist China under the dictatorship of the proletariat, unprecedentedly strong, consolidated and unified, will tower in the East like a giant and deal still heavier blows at the cannibals of the 20th century.

NOTES

¹ *Ideals, Integrity and Spiritual Life* (in Chinese), China Youth Publishing House, Peking, 1962, p. 77.

² *ibid.*, p. 61-63.

³ "Problems Concerning Contradictions Among the People and Letting a Hundred Flowers Blossom and a Hundred Schools of Thought Contend," "How to Handle Correctly the Contradictions Among the Kwangtung People," in *Nanfang Ribao* (South China Daily), May 4 and 5, 1957.

⁴ *Ideals, Integrity and Spiritual Life*, p. 5.

⁵ *ibid.*, p. 20.

⁶ *Wenyi Bao* (Literary and Art Gazette), No. 11, 1965, p. 3.

⁷ *Ideals, Integrity and Spiritual Life*, p. 51.

⁸ *ibid.*, p. 45.

⁹ *ibid.*, p. 112.

¹⁰ *ibid.*, p. 95.

¹¹ *ibid.*, p. 50.

¹² *Thinking, Feeling and Literary Talent* (in Chinese), Kwangtung People's Publishing House, Kwangchow, 1964, pp. 37-38.

¹³ *Ideals, Integrity and Spiritual Life*, p. 49.

¹⁴ Chiang Kai-shek, *Essentials of Dr. Sun Yat-sen's Teachings*, second lecture.

¹⁵ *Ideals, Integrity and Spiritual Life*, pp. 42-43.

¹⁶ "Selected Works of Mao Tse-tung," Eng. ed., Foreign Languages Press, Peking, 1965, Vol. III, p. 86.

¹⁷ *Thinking, Feeling and Literary Talent*, p. 21.

¹⁸ Tao Chu's talk to Kwangtung democrats, September 27, 1961.

¹⁹ Mao Tse-tung, "Where Do Correct Ideas Come From?," Eng. ed., Foreign Languages Press, Peking, 1966, p. 1.

²⁰ Mao Tse-tung, "On the Correct Handling of Contradictions Among the People," Eng. ed., Foreign Languages Press, Peking, 1966, p. 52.

²¹ *Ideals, Integrity and Spiritual Life*, p. 67.

²² Khrushchov of China, "Summary of Talk to the Central Committee of the China Democratic National Construction Association and Leading Members of the All-China Federation of Industry and Commerce," (February 12, 1960).

²³ *Ideals, Integrity and Spiritual Life*, pp. 68-69.

²⁴ Khrushchov of China, "Talk at the Peking Cadres Conference," (May 19, 1949).

²⁵ *Ideals, Integrity and Spiritual Life*, p. 69.

²⁶ *Wenyi Bao* (Literary and Art Gazette), No. 11, 1965, p. 6.

²⁷ Khrushchov of China, "On Organizational and Disciplinary Training of Communists," (1941).

²⁸ *Ideals, Integrity and Spiritual Life*, p. 67.

²⁹ *ibid.*, p. 9.

³⁰ *ibid.*, p. 4.

³¹ *ibid.*, p. 26.

³² *ibid.*, p. 11.

³³ *ibid.*, p. 27.

³⁴ *ibid.*, p. 75.

³⁵ *Thinking, Feeling and Literary Talent*, p. 33.

³⁶ *ibid.*, pp. 45-46.

³⁷ *ibid.*, p. 3.

³⁸ *ibid.*, pp. 46-47.

("Renmin Ribao," September 8.)

Hold to the General Orientation of Revolutionary Struggle, Unfold a Deep-Going, Revolutionary Campaign of Mass Criticism

IN his article "Comments on Tao Chu's Two Books," Comrade Yao Wen-yuan, politically, ideologically and theoretically, has relentlessly exposed and penetratingly criticized the handful of top Party persons in authority, headed by China's Khrushchov, taking the capitalist road.

Comrade Yao Wen-yuan's article, an example in the creative study and application of Mao Tse-tung's thought, is cast in a pungent, vivid and forceful style. It exposes the diabolical features of Tao Chu, a double-faced counter-revolutionary. Tao Chu is an important ringleader in the bourgeois headquarters headed by China's Khrushchov. After the Eleventh Plenary Session of the Eighth Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party, a session of tremendous historic significance, Tao Chu stubbornly continued to persist in the bourgeois reactionary line. He revealed himself to be ultra Right at one moment and at another pretended to be ultra "Left." The criticism and repudiation of Tao Chu, the faithful follower of China's Khrushchov, gives tremendous impetus to the current campaign to direct concentrated fire at the target and carry out revolutionary mass criticism successfully. This is an important part of the plan for the thorough criticism and repudiation of China's Khrushchov.

The key in the great proletarian cultural revolution is to follow closely the great strategic plan of Chairman Mao and hold firmly to the general orientation of the struggle. The question of whom is the spearhead of the struggle directed against is a question that concerns the principles of Marxism-Leninism, Mao Tse-tung's thought; it is a major question of right and wrong. If our spearhead of struggle is correctly directed, we will be able to score one victory after another. If our spearhead of struggle is wrongly directed, we will go astray.

The current situation in the revolution is excellent as never before. This is mainly because, during the first year of the great proletarian cultural revolution, the broad revolutionary masses all along directed the spearhead of their struggle against the handful of top

Party persons in authority taking the capitalist road, so that the latter's counter-revolutionary front totally collapsed before the power of the awakening masses. The strategic tasks of the great proletarian cultural revolution at present are: to hold still higher the great red banner of Mao Tse-tung's thought, unswervingly hold to the general orientation of the struggle and make further efforts to carry out revolutionary mass criticism well, as well as struggle-criticism-transformation in the various units; in the course of this revolutionary mass criticism, to expand and consolidate the revolutionary great alliance and revolutionary "three-in-one" combination, consolidate and strengthen the dictatorship of the proletariat and win a decisive victory in the cultural revolution.

To refute and discredit the handful of China's top persons in authority taking the capitalist road politically, ideologically and theoretically, to criticize them so that their infamy will be more notorious than that of the late Trotsky and the present Khrushchov, so that they will be discredited for ever and will never be able to rise again—this is the great historic task of the proletarian revolutionaries and the broad revolutionary masses.

The biggest politics at the present time is revolutionary mass criticism and repudiation.

The most important principle at the present time is revolutionary mass criticism and repudiation.

Revolutionary mass criticism and repudiation is the touchstone for everybody.

Are you a proletarian revolutionary? If so, you will surely be concerned with the biggest politics, show your sense of responsibility to the proletariat and to the future of the motherland and the world revolution, and unswervingly carry this revolutionary mass criticism and repudiation through to the end.

Are you a petty-bourgeois revolutionary? Then you will waver, run with the wind whichever way it blows, be dominated by the small group mentality,

ignore the great politics of revolutionary mass criticism and repudiation and deviate from the general orientation of the struggle.

At the present time, we must pay special attention to preventing any tendency to side-track, either from the ultra "Left" or from the Right, the general orientation for the struggle.

Successive victories in the great proletarian cultural revolution and the constant deepening of the class struggle force the handful of our class enemies to change their tactics from time to time. One of their present stratagems is to make use of certain anarchist trend and petty-bourgeois sectarianism within the revolutionary ranks to sow discord and fish in troubled waters. They do this under the guise of being ultra "Left," but in essence they are ultra Right. They do it in a futile attempt to undermine and split the leadership of the proletarian headquarters headed by Chairman Mao and the great Chinese People's Liberation Army, the great pillar of the dictatorship of the proletariat. Their vain purpose is to divert the general orientation of the revolutionary struggle and to confuse the demarcating class line between ourselves and the enemy, thus sabotaging the great proletarian cultural revolution. The "May 16" group controlled by a handful of ringleaders recently exposed by the revolutionary masses is a counter-revolutionary clique of this kind. All revolu-

tionary comrades must heighten their vigilance and must never on any account be negligent.

We must prevent and be vigilant against sabotaging activities coming either from the Right or from the ultra "Left." We must never allow the handful of Party persons in authority taking the capitalist road, who have already been overthrown, and the conservative forces, which stick to the bourgeois reactionary line, to assault and counter-attack in revenge against the proletarian revolutionaries.

Chairman Mao teaches us: **"Only if we draw a clear line between reactionaries and revolutionaries, expose the intrigues and plots of the reactionaries, arouse the vigilance and attention of the revolutionary ranks, heighten our will to fight and crush the enemy's arrogance can we isolate the reactionaries, vanquish them or supersede them."**

Proletarian revolutionary comrades-in-arms and revolutionary comrades! In the present excellent, victorious situation, let us closely follow Chairman Mao's great strategic plan, hold firmly to the general orientation for the struggle, unite with the great majority of the cadres and the masses, pay full attention to the Party's policies and tactics, and with redoubled militancy and high spirit, dedicate ourselves to the glorious cause of revolutionary mass criticism and repudiation!

("Renmin Ribao" editorial, September 9.)

Nationwide 40th Anniversary Celebration Of Autumn Harvest Uprising

THE Autumn Harvest Uprising personally led by Chairman Mao, our great leader, began on September 8, 1927. People's Liberation Army units and the revolutionary masses throughout the country have celebrated this notable anniversary with many activities. P.L.A. men and civilians in their hundreds of millions, inspired with heroic spirit of the revolution, are unanimous in their recognition that in celebrating such an occasion they should have a particularly profound grasp of Chairman Mao's great teaching: **"Without a people's army the people have nothing."** They are determined to give the most enthusiastic and exemplary response to Chairman Mao's great call to **"support the army and cherish the people."**

In Liling, Hunan Province, the army units and revolutionary masses took a special pride in celebrating the anniversary for it was here that Chairman Mao initiated and led the uprising 40 years ago. Speaking at anniversary celebrations Red Army veterans who at that time followed Chairman Mao in taking the glorious road of armed struggle warmly praised his brilliant idea on the seizure of political power by arms. They

recalled how he came to Liling in September 1927 when the local people were in the midst of a life-and-death struggle. He led the uprising and founded the first contingent of a people's army of an entirely new type, an army which was led entirely by the Communist Party. This not only opened up the only correct road for the victory of the Chinese revolution, but also pointed out the road of genuine liberation for all the oppressed nations and peoples of the world today.

A celebration meeting was held by proletarian revolutionaries and P.L.A. men at Tzuping in the heart of the Chingkung Mountains, the cradle of the Chinese revolution. Veteran revolutionaries who followed Chairman Mao in those days two score years ago spoke there of the great, epoch-making significance which the Autumn Harvest Uprising and the great march to the Chingkung Mountains, both led by Chairman Mao himself, have for the history of the Chinese revolution and of the world revolution. They said that just as the Chinese people at that time had placed their hopes on the Chingkung Mountains, so the revolutionary people of the world today placed their hope on China. "We

people of the Ching kang Mountains," they said, "pledge eternal loyalty to Chairman Mao and promise to make new contributions to China's socialist revolution and construction and in support of the struggles of the peoples of the world."

Grand celebration rallies were held by army men and civilians in Peking, Tientsin, Tsinan, Lanchow, Chengtu, Kunming and other cities. Leading members of army units and representatives of the local proletarian revolutionaries warmly acclaimed Chairman Mao's great military thinking and angrily condemned China's Khrushchov and his agents Peng Teh-huai and Lo Jui-ching for their towering crimes in pushing the bourgeois military line in opposition to Chairman Mao's proletarian military line.

Shanghai's commemorative rally was attended by commanders and fighters of the three services and more than 20,000 proletarian revolutionaries from over 50 revolutionary mass organizations. A similar meeting was held in Wuhan by the commanders and fighters of the "Red Fighters Group" of an air force unit and more than 3,000 local proletarian revolutionaries. Army men belonging to the Office in Charge of National Defence Industry, and army units in Shenyang, Kwangchow and Nanking all held anniversary meetings. At these meetings, leading members of the units represented called on all organizations and army units to follow closely Chairman Mao's great strategic plan, hold firm to the general orientation for the struggle, effectively carry out revolutionary mass criticism and repudiation, completely smash the bourgeois headquarters

headed by China's Khrushchov and win new merit in the service of the people.

In Peking, proletarian revolutionaries of the various general departments of the P.L.A., the Scientific and Technological Commission for National Defence, and leading organs of the three services in the capital hailed the entry of the world into a new era which has Mao Tse-tung's thought as its great banner. They acclaimed Chairman Mao's brilliant theory and practice of the seizure of political power by armed force, of people's war and of a people's army as a talented development of Marxism-Leninism and as the only correct road for the Chinese revolution and world revolution. Many organizations held meetings or discussions. Big-character posters were written, photographic exhibitions and theatrical performances were organized in honour of the Autumn Harvest Uprising and the march to the Ching kang Mountains.

In Peking's Zhongshan Park, a mass get-together "to support the army and cherish the people" was attended by over 40,000 proletarian revolutionaries from literary and art units at the national level, and literary and art workers and sportsmen belonging to the three services. All are determined to hold still higher the great banner of "supporting the army and cherishing the people," strengthen the unity between the army and the people, closely follow Chairman Mao's great strategic plan and concentrate the attack on the handful of top Party persons in authority taking the capitalist road so as to thoroughly repudiate and discredit them politically, ideologically and theoretically.

GREAT CULTURAL REVOLUTION IN PROGRESS

Follow Chairman Mao's Great Strategic Plan Closely

MEMBERS of the armed forces and civilians throughout the country warmly support and resolutely respond to the important militant call by the proletarian headquarters headed by Chairman Mao—a call issued in accordance with the great strategic plan of Chairman Mao.

In the last few days, proletarian revolutionaries, revolutionary Red Guard fighters, all revolutionary masses, and commanders and fighters of the P.L.A. everywhere in the country, on hearing the call announced, immediately went into action by repeatedly studying and discussing the extremely important speeches given by the responsible comrades of the Party Central Committee on September 1 at an enlarged meeting of the Peking Municipal Revolutionary Committee and widely publicizing the content of the speeches by various methods. In accordance with this

militant call, the revolutionary masses of many departments have worked out their new plans for struggle.

At a 100,000-strong rally in Huhehot (Inner Mongolian Autonomous Region), army men and civilians gave the warmest response to the extremely important call.

In Hupeh, Hunan and Honan Provinces, proletarian revolutionaries, revolutionary masses and locally stationed army units, on hearing the call broadcast, expressed their firmest determination to closely follow the great strategic plan of Chairman Mao and take resolute action to immediately carry out the latest militant call by the Party Central Committee. The proletarian revolutionary fighters of the city of Wuhan expressed their unanimous resolve to speedily bring about a new upsurge in the revolutionary mass criticism and repudiation of China's Khrushchov in the Wuhan area, carry out the tasks of the struggle-criticism-transformation in the various departments and bring about a revolutionary great alliance and revolutionary "three-in-one" combination.

The Heilungkiang Provincial Revolutionary Committee held an enlarged meeting of its standing committee, at which it seriously studied and discussed the very important speeches by the responsible members of the Party Central Committee.

Representatives of the Red Guards from various parts of Kweichow Province who are now visiting Kweiyang organized discussions immediately after the call was made.

When the news of the call by the leading members of the Party Central Committee reached Hopei, Kiangsi, Chekiang, Kansu, Ningsia, Kirin, Szechuan and other places, the local proletarian revolutionaries and all revolutionary masses immediately organized studies and discussions on how to fully implement it.

When the news reached the leading organs of the three services stationed in Peking, proletarian revolutionaries and revolutionary leading cadres were all greatly elated and encouraged. They declared that the speeches by the leading comrades of the Party Central Committee were wonderful and timely, that they were touched to their very souls. They listened time and again to the broadcast and held a series of discussions, put up countless big-character posters and slogans in acclaiming the call.

An unprecedentedly excellent revolutionary situation prevails in Peking. The counter-revolutionary front is heading towards total collapse and the revolutionary forces are undergoing vigorous development and are being consolidated day by day. Peking's proletarian revolutionaries and all revolutionary masses raise the great red banner of Mao Tse-tung's thought high, fight shoulder to shoulder in denouncing the handful of top Party persons in authority taking the capitalist road, thus bringing about a new high tide in the revolutionary mass criticism campaign. Countless big-character posters with their revolutionary mass criticism fill walls and hoardings on the streets. In the past few days, such poster hoardings have spread from urban districts to the suburban rural areas, and the capital as a whole has become a vast battlefield of revolutionary mass criticism.

The walls of the Peking Aeronautical Engineering Institute campus were covered with numerous big-character posters, slogans and cartoons exposing the crimes of the handful of top capitalist roaders in the Party. Meetings of various sizes were organized to criticize and struggle against that handful by all the institute's departments, thus bringing on a new upsurge in the revolutionary mass criticism campaign.

Revolutionary students and teachers and Red Guard fighters in many Peking middle schools held meetings for studies and discussions on the call. They pledged to follow the great strategic plan of Chairman Mao, still more successfully carry out the revolutionary mass criticism campaign and demolish the bourgeois headquarters.

Some of the young revolutionary fighters of the capital's universities and colleges, including Peking University, Tsinghua University, Peking Aeronautical Engineering Institute, Peking Geology College, who had visited other places to exchange revolutionary experiences, have returned to Peking in the last few days and are carrying out the revolution in their own universities and colleges.

Peking's Red Guard fighters pledge firm support for the Party Central Committee's decision in banning the counter-revolutionary organization — the "May 16" group — which was manipulated by a handful of evil ringleaders. They are increasing their revolutionary vigilance against the counter-revolutionary sabotage activities carried out by the U.S.-Chiang agents, the Soviet revisionist agents, the landlords, rich peasants, counter-revolutionaries, bad elements and Rightists, and are firmly determined to suppress them as soon as they are discovered.

Mobilization meetings for action were held by Shanghai's factories, universities, colleges and schools, people's communes, government organizations, army units, shops, neighbourhood committees. Proletarian revolutionary fighters and others of the revolutionary masses published their articles in the press, and posted their pledges on the walls of workshops, stores, campuses, barracks and dormitories. They all promptly threw themselves into new battles.

In active response to Chairman Mao's great call **"take firm hold of the revolution and promote production"** and braving the heat, the revolutionary workers and staff on Shanghai's industrial and communications and financial and commercial fronts are determined to work as hard as they can to take firm hold of the revolution and promote production, win victories for both the revolution and production and strive to overfulfil the state plan for this year.

An editorial under the heading "Closely Follow Chairman Mao's Great Strategic Plan" was published by *Jiefangjun Bao* (Liberation Army Daily) on September 7 on how to resolutely implement the militant call by Chairman Mao and the Central Committee of the Party. The editorial declares: "The great proletarian cultural revolution of our country is facing an unprecedentedly excellent situation. Our great leader Chairman Mao calls on us to do well in revolutionary mass criticism and repudiation, develop and consolidate the revolutionary great alliance and the revolutionary 'three-in-one' combination, consolidate and strengthen the dictatorship of the proletariat, launch a campaign of supporting the army and cherishing the people, take firm hold of the revolution and promote production, heighten our revolutionary vigilance and be on strict guard against sabotage by the class enemy at home and abroad. This is the great strategic plan of Chairman Mao."

"In order to carry the great proletarian cultural revolution through to the end," the editorial says, "we

must unify our thinking and action with Chairman Mao's strategic plan, advance in step, and closely follow it."

It stresses: "We must defend Chairman Mao's great strategic plan as the apple of our eye. We must maintain high revolutionary vigilance against the class enemies both at home and abroad in their attempts to sow dissension and fish in troubled waters, and resolutely suppress the counter-revolutionary sabotage activities of the U.S.-Chiang agents, the agents of the Soviet revisionists, the landlords, rich peasants, counter-revolutionaries, bad elements and Rightists."

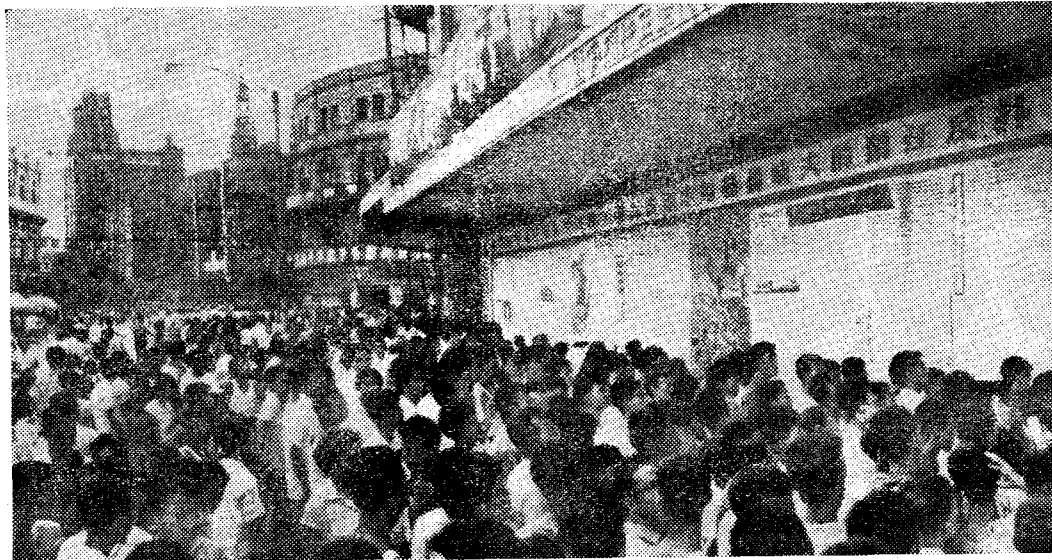
Big-Character Wall Newspapers — A Sea of Revolutionary Criticism

BIG-CHARACTER poster wall newspapers are mushrooming in the streets of Peking, Shanghai and other cities. The revolutionary masses — workers, soldiers, young Red Guard fighters and others — have written hundreds of thousands of big-character posters denouncing China's Khrushchov and his followers and a handful of Party people in authority taking the capitalist road.

The current mass campaign of revolutionary criticism and repudiation is a magnificent people's war. Mass critics in their millions have turned the streets into a vast battlefield of revolutionary criticism and repudiation. China's Khrushchov, who for so long spread around his pernicious influence in various fields, is, as the old Chinese saying has it, like a rat scurrying across the street with everyone yelling "Hit it! Hit it!"

Big-character posters are an effective weapon widely used in the great cultural revolution by the revolutionary masses who enjoy the right of extensive democracy in this medium as in the free airing of views in meetings and discussions and in great debates.

At the start of the cultural revolution, the revolutionary masses wrote countless big-character posters putting forward their opinions and exposing contradictions from different angles. And the anti-Party, anti-socialist revisionists were laid bare in their true colours.



A big-character poster wall newspaper on Nanking Road, Shanghai

At the 11th Plenary Session of the 8th Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party held in August last year, our great leader Chairman Mao wrote his famous big-character poster entitled "Bombard the Headquarters" (see *Peking Review*, No. 33, 1967). It was the signal gun for demolishing the bourgeois headquarters headed by China's Khrushchov hidden within the apparatus of the dictatorship of the proletariat.

Revolutionary big-character posters have greatly enhanced the morale of the proletarian revolutionaries and punctured the arrogance of all reactionaries opposed to the Party and socialism. On the basis of the problems brought up and the views set forth in the posters, the revolutionary masses mounted discussions to reveal the true situation. As a result, they have spotted and dug up the hidden revisionists and at the same time received a profound education and raised their ability to analyse things in the light of Mao Tse-tung's thought.

Chairman Mao says: "Posters written in big characters are an extremely useful new type of weapon."

A recent development in the course of the mass criticism and repudiation of China's Khrushchov has been big-character poster wall newspapers. These are run by revolutionary mass organizations in factories, government offices, schools and P.L.A. units. The contents are changed regularly. In Peking, they are pasted up either on make-shift hoardings erected along the pavements or simply on the walls of big buildings. Most are three to four metres high and eight to twelve metres wide. They are carefully edited, with columns and boxes and bold headlines. The masthead is usually a coloured portrait of Chairman Mao alongside a quotation from his works. With a clear-cut revolutionary point of view, using Mao Tse-tung's thought as their weapon, the critical articles are rich in political content. Embellished with lively cartoons and illustrations, all

this adds up to a militant revolutionary proletarian style.

This new form of criticism and repudiation has been warmly received by the broad masses. They describe the wall newspapers as "written forums for creatively studying and applying Chairman Mao's works" and "mass criticism meetings without a meeting place."

An article in the papers by two Red Guards put it well: "The wall newspapers in the streets are shells raining down on China's Khrushchov. They are class-

rooms propagating Mao Tse-tung's thought. They have made clear to the masses the heinous crimes of China's Khrushchov in opposing Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line, in plotting to usurp the Party, army and government leadership and in bringing about an all-round capitalist restoration. They have carried Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line deeper into the hearts of all."

Mass opinion is unanimous: "The wall newspapers are fine!"

解放軍報
JIEFANGJUN BAO

Exposing a Big Scheme for Restoring Capitalism

TODAY, *Jiefangjun Bao* publishes a report of the investigation made into the four clean-ups movement* in the Taoyuan Production Brigade [of the Luwang-chuang People's Commune, Funing County, Hopei Province]. This report exposes the towering crimes committed by China's top Party person in authority taking the capitalist road in pushing the bourgeois reactionary line which was "Left" in form but Right in essence in sabotaging the socialist education movement and in bringing about a restoration of capitalism.

The story unfolded during the investigation was a story of blood and tears, and the report is an accusation by the poor and lower-middle peasants of the Taoyuan Production Brigade. It is further irrefutable proof of the crimes China's Khrushchov committed in frenziedly opposing the Party, socialism and the thought of Mao Tse-tung.

It was our great leader Chairman Mao who proposed that the socialist education movement be launched in the cities and countryside. The "Decision of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China on Some Problems in Current Rural Work (Draft)" (known as The 10 Articles) and "Some Current Problems in the Socialist Education Movement in the Rural Areas" (known as The 23-Article Document), drawn up by Chairman Mao himself, laid down a series of correct guiding principles and policies for the four clean-ups movement. Under the guidance of Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line, great achievements were scored in this movement.

*The four clean-ups movement is another name for the socialist education movement which was carried out to clean things up in politics, ideology, organization and the economy. — Tr.

These two great historic documents drawn up by Chairman Mao pointed out the need to arouse the masses boldly in this great movement which was for further strengthening the dictatorship of the proletariat and preventing the restoration of capitalism. They made it clear that the main target of the movement was the Party persons in authority taking the capitalist road.

This line formulated by Chairman Mao aims at solving the extremely important question of making revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat. It is a Marxist-Leninist revolutionary line, a creative development of Marxism-Leninism.

Taking as he does the reactionary standpoint of the overthrown landlord class and the bourgeoisie, China's Khrushchov represents the interests of the handful of persons in authority taking the capitalist road. He mortally fears and bitterly hates Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line and this great revolution and desperately opposes it. He pulled out a bourgeois reactionary line which was "Left" in form but Right in essence, and launched an all-round attack on Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line.

He sent his wife Wang x x, a bourgeois element, to go and stay at the basic level in Taoyuan which he intended to turn into a testing ground for pushing his bourgeois reactionary line and for opposing Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line.

He painstakingly produced what he called the "Taoyuan experience" and, with a big fanfare, shamelessly hawked this everywhere. He even usurped the name of the Central Committee of the Party to spread it throughout the country. This was a big scheme, mapped out deliberately and in a planned and organized

way, for usurping the leadership of the Party and the state.

What was the substance of the bourgeois reactionary line, which was "Left" in form but Right in essence, pushed by China's Khrushchov in the socialist education movement? It manifested itself to the full in the "four clean-ups" movement in the Taoyuan Production Brigade.

China's Khrushchov's so-called "contradictions between being clean and not being clean on the four questions" flagrantly changed the nature of the four clean-ups movement, deliberately concealed the struggle between the two classes—the proletariat and the bourgeoisie, and between the two roads—the socialist and the capitalist, switched the general orientation set for the struggle and hit hard at many to protect a handful.

China's Khrushchov's so-called "solving whatever problems there are," was simply designed to fabricate pretexts for widespread attacks on the cadres and commune members, for suppressing the revolutionary masses, and so leading the four clean-ups movement astray.

What was called "relying upon a few hand-picked activists to collect information through secret contacts" as advocated by China's Khrushchov, was simply virulent opposition to making social investigations by means of class analysis, the method which has always been advocated and practised by Chairman Mao, and to launching a revolutionary mass movement. This was introduced in order to facilitate the recruitment of deserters and renegades and the formation of cliques in pursuit of the private interests of the persons in authority taking the capitalist road and to foster and expand the social basis for restoring capitalism.

All these were intended to protect the handful of Party persons in authority taking the capitalist road and to save the exploiting classes from extinction.

Altogether, these made up a set of sinister out-and-out counter-revolutionary revisionist measures.

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

Ever since the proletariat triumphed in the revolution, the exploiting classes which lost political power and the counter-revolutionary forces representing them have worked in a hundred and one ways and made use of every opportunity to recapture political power from the proletariat.

The top Party person in authority taking the capitalist road was the general behind-the-scenes boss of the handful of the capitalist roaders in the country, and the general representative, within the Party, of the exploiting classes which have been overthrown. The reason

why he pushed the bourgeois reactionary line, which was "Left" in form but Right in essence, to hit hard at many in order to protect a handful was to seize political power from the proletariat, to turn the dictatorship of the proletariat into that of the bourgeoisie, and restore capitalism.

By means of the scheme carefully worked out by China's Khrushchov and his agents, political power in the Taoyuan Brigade fell into the hands of bad persons. They did as they wished and exercised a fascist rule, persecuting and attacking the poor and lower-middle peasants as well as revolutionary cadres. This situation was a living example of the restoration of capitalism. Yet China's Khrushchov set out to popularize the "Taoyuan experience" throughout the country. It is not hard to visualize that had his scheme been realized, our socialist country would have gone backward in a big way and would have changed its political colour. China's labouring people in their hundreds of millions would again have been forced into misery. What a danger! Are we not justified in calling for the keenest vigilance? Can we treat this matter lightly?

The fierce struggle between the two lines in the socialist education movement was a big and extremely fierce struggle between the two classes—the proletariat and the bourgeoisie, between the two roads—the socialist and the capitalist, and between the two headquarters—the proletarian and the bourgeois. In the outcome, Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line triumphed and the bourgeois reactionary line of China's Khrushchov failed.

Facts have proved beyond doubt that the handful of top persons in authority hidden within our Party who are taking the capitalist road, with China's Khrushchov as their top boss, are the main and most dangerous enemy of the proletariat. They are a group of vicious counter-revolutionary revisionists. At each critical moment in the proletarian revolution, they have jumped out to stir up trouble and spread havoc. The purpose of the great proletarian cultural revolution is to rebel against them and to overthrow them. We must not only seize their power organizationally, but must thoroughly refute and discredit them politically, ideologically and theoretically. Only thus can we prevent the repetition in China of the big historical retreat which has taken place in the Soviet Union, where the Soviet revisionist clique has usurped the leadership of the Party and state and has restored capitalism.

The whole country is now engaged in an all-round revolutionary mass repudiation of China's Khrushchov. We must settle accounts one by one with this iniquitous top person in authority taking the capitalist road. Let us hold high the great red banner of Mao Tse-tung's thought, actively participate in the mass movement of revolutionary criticism and repudiation and pledge ourselves to win complete, all-round victory in the great proletarian cultural revolution!

(*"Jiefangjun Bao"* editorial, September 6, 1967.)

The Crimes of China's Khrushchov in the Socialist Education Movement

ON September 6, *Renmin Ribao* and other dailies published in Peking all carried reports exposing the crimes of China's Khrushchov during the socialist education movement which was launched in China's countryside in 1963.

The report is based on investigations made by correspondents of *Jiefangjun Bao* (Liberation Army Daily) and the Hsinhua News Agency in the Taoyuan (Peach Orchard) Brigade of the Luwangchuang Commune in Funing County, Hopei Province, where China's Khrushchov sent his wife to direct the socialist education movement between November 1963 and April 1964.

During this period, China's Khrushchov kept in close contact with her through briefings, letters and telephone calls and kept the movement under his direct control. All instructions, from principles to concrete measures, came from him.

Later, he and his wife peddled the so-called Taoyuan experience in Peking, Tientsin and many other cities and provinces. China's Khrushchov even usurped the name of the Central Committee of the Party and spread this experience throughout the country.

In a foreword to the report, *Jiefangjun Bao* and Hsinhua correspondents pointed out that this so-called Taoyuan experience was against the Party, socialism and Mao Tse-tung's thought. It was a model of China's Khrushchov's bourgeois reactionary line which was "Left" in form but Right in essence. It was an experiment of his to restore capitalism.

Following is a gist of the report on the investigations:

The "Decision of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China on Some Problems in Current Rural Work (Draft)" of May 1963, which was drawn up by Chairman Mao, pointed out: "Now there is a new upsurge in agricultural production in many parts of the country"; "the whole situation in the countryside has greatly improved." At the same time, the draft decision went on: "Serious and sharp class struggle is taking place in Chinese society."

The expropriated landlords and rich peasants and other class enemies in Taoyuan engaged in all kinds of sabotage during the difficult years. Some openly attacked the people's commune and clamoured for a return to individual farming. Others attempted to recover their property confiscated during the land reform.

Inside the Party, certain people had degenerated into new bourgeois elements. They engaged in theft, speculative commerce and other criminal activities against the collective economy. Two of them had wormed their way into the Party branch committee. They schemed to usurp the entire leadership of the Party branch.

During the socialist education movement, instead of directing the attack against this handful of Party persons in authority taking the capitalist road, China's Khrushchov and his wife attacked the good and relatively good cadres and the ordinary commune members in order to pave the way for a restoration of capitalism.

But at that time, the Communist Party branch in the Taoyuan Brigade was an advanced Party branch in the Funing area. It had led the poor and lower-middle peasants to carry out Chairman Mao's revolutionary line, defend the dictatorship of the proletariat and stick to the socialist road in spite of attempts by the class enemy to sabotage the collective economy during the three years of natural calamities between 1959 and 1961, as well as later.

As a result, production had risen, the collective economy was stronger and the livelihood of the commune members had improved. The 1963 per hectare grain output in the brigade was 20 per cent above the 1957 level (before the commune was set up). The brigade overfulfilled its quotas for selling surplus grain to the state.

China's Khrushchov ignored the positive aspects, and in a letter to his wife, he alleged: "The Taoyuan Party Branch basically does not belong to the Party"; "it is basically a double-faced counter-revolutionary regime."

The draft decision of the Party Central Committee points out: "Strong leadership is needed in this campaign. We must rely on the poor and lower-middle peasant organizations, conduct thorough investigation and study among the masses, and boldly rouse them to action."

But China's Khrushchov had neither confidence in the Party organizations at the grass-roots level nor in the masses of poor and lower-middle peasants. He alleged that "the poor and lower-middle peasants will not tell us the truth." He wanted work teams sent to the countryside to carry out the socialist education movement to work secretly at the outset and discover persons they could have confidence in.

This was exactly how his wife worked in Taoyuan Brigade. She used a false name, made secret visits to people and held secret meetings. The poor and lower-middle peasants said later: "That was more than ten years after liberation, but she treated our place like a Kuomintang-occupied area!"

The first person she confided in was notorious in the area as a rascal and an idler, who had stolen grain from the collective and engaged in illegal transactions in food and oil-bearing crops. During the current cultural revolution, he was arrested for viciously attacking the great leader Chairman Mao.

The draft decision of the Party Central Committee stresses that **during the historical period of socialism, there is class struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie and struggle between the socialist road and the capitalist road.**

The main emphasis in the socialist education movement was to fight against the Party people in authority taking the capitalist road. The movement centred on the contradiction between socialism and capitalism.

But China's Khrushchov alleged that it should centre on the contradiction between being clean and not being clean on four questions — accounts, warehouse inventories, public property and work points.

Acting on his instruction, his wife directed the attack on the cadres and masses indiscriminately, covering up the sharp struggle between the two classes and two roads in the countryside. In this way, she gave shelter to the handful of Party persons in authority taking the capitalist road.

As a result, 85 per cent of the cadres in the Taoyuan Brigade were attacked during the socialist education movement and large numbers of ordinary commune members were forced to make public self-criticism.

The secretary of the Party branch Wu Chen was considered by the brigade as a whole to be a comparatively good cadre. He had played an active and positive role both during the land reform and the co-operative movement.

In the five years after becoming Party branch secretary, he had worked hard with a great sense of responsibility. He paid careful attention to the well-being of the masses.

During the three years of natural calamities, he explained to the commune members that the economic difficulties the country encountered were only temporary. He encouraged them to stick to the socialist road and fight against the attempts by the class enemy to sabotage the collective economy.

But the wife of China's Khrushchov took the Party secretary as the No. 1 target for the socialist education movement.

Wu's parents were poor peasants. He himself had worked as a hired hand, a carpenter and later a peddler.

But the wife of China's Khrushchov deliberately spread the lie that he had been a rascal, that he had colluded with the Kuomintang police and run an opium den.

Without any discussion among the Party members, she arbitrarily announced his expulsion from the Party and branded him as a "bad element" on the instructions of China's Khrushchov.

In contrast, China's Khrushchov and his wife made every effort to shield Kuan Ching-tung, a Party person in authority taking the capitalist road.

Kuan came from a middle peasant family. His father was a broker. He entered the Party in 1954. Between 1955 and 1958, he was head of the agricultural co-operative in the village. At that time, he engaged in a series of illegal activities detrimental to the collective interests, including selling means of production belonging to the co-operative.

In the autumn of 1958, China's Khrushchov and his wife visited the co-operative and made his acquaintance. Kuan boasted to them that he could produce 75,000 kilogrammes of sorghum per hectare and won their admiration. They encouraged him to aim even higher. He later became their house guest in Peking.

Between 1959 and 1963, Kuan Ching-tung was a cadre in the commune and later in the Taoyuan Brigade. Relying on China's Khrushchov's favour, he committed many crimes including graft, theft and speculation and organized gambling. He sowed dissension between the cadres and did his utmost to talk down the Party secretary, and attempted to seize the leadership of the brigade.

During the socialist education movement, the poor and lower-middle peasants exposed his crimes and pointed out that he was the villain, the very Party person in authority taking the capitalist road. But the wife of China's Khrushchov refused to listen to their opinions. She used every method to protect Kuan Ching-tung and, despite strong opposition from the masses, imposed him on the commune members as their brigade leader.

China's Khrushchov had the sinister aim of making Taoyuan Brigade a national "model" in opposition to Chairman Mao's call: "**Learn from Tachai in agriculture.**" [The Tachai Brigade of the Tachai Commune in Siyang County, Shansi Province, has for many years been a national pace-setter in transforming nature and expanding agriculture through hard work and self-reliance — *Ed.*]

For this purpose, he spent large amounts of state money for the building of irrigation, power lines and road projects for Taoyuan Brigade. The supply of chemical fertilizer was much greater than for other brigades.

But the enormous financial aid in fact only served to increase the peasants' sense of dependency on the state and lowered their morale. Grain output dropped

in 1964 immediately after the socialist education movement. Last year witnessed a still more serious drop — 30 per cent lower than 1965.

During the great proletarian cultural revolution, the poor and lower-middle peasants and others among the revolutionary masses and cadres rose to rebel. Recently, they held a rally of 10,000 people in Taoyuan, at which they accused China's Khrushchov and his wife of their crimes.

INTERNATIONAL COMMUNIST MOVEMENT

Osaka Organization (Left) of Japanese C.P. Founded

THE Osaka Organization (Left) of the Japanese Communist Party held an inaugural meeting on August 6. This is a further victory won by the revolutionary Japanese Communists who hold high the banner of Marxism-Leninism, the thought of Mao Tse-tung, in rebelling against the revisionist Miyamoto group of the Japanese Communist Party.

A declaration on the founding of the Osaka Organization (Left) pointed out that the Miyamoto group had deceived loyal and faithful comrades and pushed ahead with a revisionist line in the Party under the pretext that the form of transition in revolution depends on the attitude of the enemy; and it pointed out that this revisionist line is a rehash of Nosaka's theory, namely, "to carry out revolution legally." But facts in the last year have shown that the Miyamoto group has now openly abandoned any thought of proletarian dictatorship, which is the nucleus and quintessence of Marxism-Leninism.

The declaration stated that the Soviet revisionist group is the arch criminal in splitting the international communist movement. It has supplied the reactionaries in India, Indonesia and other countries with arms to oppose the revolutionary people, thus becoming renegades to the revolutionary people. But the Miyamoto group advocates "united action" with the Soviet revisionist group in an attempt to cover up its true features. The Soviet revisionist group preached at the 22nd Party Congress that the tasks of the proletarian dictatorship were finished, declared that the proletarian dictatorship is now superseded by "the state of the whole people" and "the party of the entire nation," and eventually repudiated the road of Lenin. The recent treacherous behaviour of the Soviet revisionist clique in the Middle East events shows that it has degenerated into an accomplice of U.S. imperialism with all that the name implies. But the Miyamoto group cleared the Soviet revisionist group of its responsibility by alleging that "the leadership of the Soviet Union has become better" and that "to practise unity wherever unanimity can be achieved is an at-

Now the revolutionary masses have restored the good name of the Party secretary and other persecuted cadres and overthrown Kuan Ching-tung, the Party person in authority taking the capitalist road who was propped up by China's Khrushchov and his wife.

They have pledged themselves to hold high the great red banner of Mao Tse-tung's thought, grasp revolution and promote production and build the Taoyuan Brigade into a great school of Mao Tse-tung's thought.

titude which should be adopted today in the communist movement."

The declaration condemned the Miyamoto group for adopting, under the pretext of "independence," a hostile attitude towards Mao Tse-tung's thought, the acme of Marxism-Leninism, using abusive terms to slander China's great proletarian cultural revolution, resorting to violence against overseas Chinese students, and thus discarding the banner of proletarian internationalism.

It emphatically pointed out that the Chinese Communist Party as a true Marxist-Leninist political Party has persisted in and developed the proletarian dictatorship under the leadership of the great Comrade Mao Tse-tung. The Chinese Communist Party and Comrade Mao Tse-tung have creatively solved various problems of the proletarian dictatorship after assuming state power; they have established socialist China on the foundation of the masses guaranteeing that it will never change colour; they have resolutely supported the revolutionary struggles of the Vietnamese and other peoples of the world; and thus they have become the centre of the international communist movement and the bulwark of the world's people's liberation struggle.

Mao Tse-tung's thought is the ideological and theoretical basis for the unity of the Left in the Japanese Communist Party, the declaration stressed. Mao Tse-tung's thought has defended and developed the theory of proletarian dictatorship, the core of Marxism-Leninism. We shall carry on the struggle under the guidance of Mao Tse-tung's thought, and strive for the solid political, ideological and organizational unity which will be deeply rooted in the current conditions of Japan.

The declaration called on the members of the Japanese Communist Party controlled by the Miyamoto group to boldly stand up and break with the Japanese revisionists politically, ideologically and organizationally, and to unite and carry on struggle under the banner of the revolutionary Left.

Kyoto First Committee of Japanese C.P. (Left) Set Up

HOLDING high the great red banner of Mao Tse-tung's thought, the Japanese revolutionary Left in various parts of the country are rebelling against the Miyamoto revisionist clique. In such an excellent situation, the Kyoto First Committee of the Japanese Communist Party (Left) was founded on July 23. A statement entitled "Struggle for the Success of Japan's Revolution" recently published by the committee warmly praised Comrade Mao Tse-tung as the most outstanding Marxist-Leninist of the present era, and acclaimed him as the one who has brought Marxism-Leninism to a completely new stage, namely, the stage of Mao Tse-tung's thought. The statement stressed that the theory put forward by Comrade Mao Tse-tung that "political power grows out of the barrel of a gun" is a universal truth that holds true for the whole world. The Japanese people can make a success of the Japanese revolution only by taking the road pointed out by Comrade Mao Tse-tung.

"In China, the most reliable revolutionary base of the people of the whole world, a great proletarian cultural revolution unprecedented in human history has taken place under the leadership of the great leader Comrade Mao Tse-tung and is achieving success. The purpose of this great revolution is to defeat the Khrushchovian revisionists in the Chinese Communist Party, arm the 700 million Chinese people with Mao Tse-tung's thought, consolidate the proletarian dictatorship and build China into a red revolutionary bulwark the colour of which will never change. The success of this great revolution has completely shattered the dream of U.S. imperialism that the second and third generations in China may degenerate into revisionists. At the same time, it has also dealt a crushing blow to the modern revisionists. This is of great importance to the world revolution."

The statement pointed out that the stormy revolutionary struggle of the people of the whole world has exposed the revisionist clique of the C.P.S.U. and its follower, the Miyamoto revisionist clique of the Japanese Communist Party, to the light of day. The Soviet revisionist ruling clique "has already degenerated to the stage of capitulating to and begging favours from Johnson, the ringleader of the reactionary forces of the world."

The statement said that the Miyamoto clique paid lip-service to the necessity of "preparing to adopt dual tactics in the revolution (violent and non-violent)," but in fact it has been spreading the impracticable illusion of realizing "peaceful transition" by obtaining a "stable majority in the Diet." This "party" which has com-

pletely degenerated into a bourgeois parliamentary political party can in no way realize a revolutionary non-peaceful transition.

The statement added that the Miyamoto group has become an out-and-out accomplice of the Soviet revisionist ruling clique in desperately smothering the people's revolutionary struggle everywhere in the world. Numerous facts have shown that the Miyamoto group is an ignominious group of renegades to the Japanese revolution and the world revolution.

U.S. imperialism and the Japanese reactionary forces, which take monopoly capital working hand in glove with U.S. imperialism as their main pillar, are the chief enemies of the Japanese people at present, the statement said.

"The Miyamoto group is extremely afraid of Japanese people's contact with the thought of Mao Tse-tung and the awakening of the people in taking the genuine revolutionary road. They are singing the same song with the U.S.-Japanese reactionaries in a vain attempt to check the spread of Mao Tse-tung's thought by desperately whipping up vulgar and sinister national chauvinism and anti-China sentiments among the people."

The statement stressed that the great thought of Mao Tse-tung is the beacon light for the people of the world struggling for liberation in the present era. Comrade Mao Tse-tung is the most outstanding Marxist-Leninist of the present time. Marx and Engels created the theory of scientific socialism. In the course of the building of the first socialist country in history the great Lenin summed up the experience of the struggles of the world's people after Marx's death and thus advanced Marxism to the stage of Leninism in the first decades of this century. Summing up the historical experience of the world proletarian revolution in the 50 years after Lenin, Comrade Mao Tse-tung has solved the fundamental problems of proletarian revolution in the present era, consolidated the proletarian dictatorship, clearly pointed out the road of bringing human society from socialism to communism and advanced Marxism-Leninism to a completely new stage, the stage of Mao Tse-tung's thought. Mao Tse-tung's thought is the most outstanding and militant Marxism-Leninism of the present era. Victory in the Japanese revolution can be won only by travelling the road of creatively applying the thought of Mao Tse-tung in the revolutionary practice in Japan.

The statement said: Comrade Mao Tse-tung's teaching on the basic principle of the seizure of political

power by the proletariat is embodied in the sentence: **"Political power grows out of the barrel of a gun."** Comrade Mao Tse-tung has used the most explicit language to express this truth which is applicable everywhere. In fighting against the U.S. and Japanese reactionaries who are armed to the teeth and in making revolution in Japan, we must not deviate from this teaching of Comrade Mao Tse-tung's for a single moment.

The statement quoted the following from Comrade Mao Tse-tung: **"The people, and the people alone, are the motive force in the making of world history."** The

statement expressed the resolve to inherit the fine tradition of struggle of the revolutionary Kyoto people, go deep among the masses, learn from the masses and steel themselves in the raging flames of the mass struggle to carry the revolution in Japan through to the end.

The statement concluded: **"Long live the victory of the revolution in Japan!"**

"Long live the unity of the people of the world in their fight against imperialism and revisionism!"

"Long live the victory of the great thought of Mao Tse-tung!"

Greek Revisionist Clique's Capitulationist And Traitorous Policy Condemned

**—Excerpts from an appeal to the Greek people issued by the
Marxist-Leninist Group of the Greek Communist Party**

THE Marxist-Leninist Group of the Greek Communist Party residing abroad recently issued an appeal to the Greek people which exposes the fascist rule over Greece by U.S. imperialism and its running dogs, and condemns the revisionist leading clique of the Greek Communist Party for following a capitulationist and traitorous policy. The appeal urged the entire Greek people to struggle to the end till the Greek military dictatorship is overthrown and national independence and liberation is attained.

The fascist military coup d'etat which took place in Greece on April 21 this year, the appeal said, was planned and organized by U.S. imperialism through its "military advisory group" in Greece, in collaboration with the Greek king as well as the Greek plutocracy and their political representatives, which are flunkies of U.S. imperialism. "The Greek fascist military dictatorship propped up entirely by the United States poses an extremely dangerous threat to the fate of the Greek people," it added.

"The fascist dictatorial tyranny imposed by U.S. imperialism and its lackeys is aimed at repressing the resistance of the people and enslaving them. It is to guarantee the cheapest supply of labour to the monopoly groups as well as the cheapest source of cannon-fodder for NATO. It turns Greece and Cyprus into cannon muzzles in the Eastern Mediterranean pointed at the socialist and Arab countries."

It pointed out that the Khrushchov revisionists' intervention in the affairs of the Greek Communist Party and the adoption by its leading clique of a revisionist policy have led the Greek people astray with tragic re-

sults. The revisionist leading clique dissolved the underground organization of the Greek Communist Party and lowered the revolutionary banner. It brazenly advocates "peaceful transition," the "parliamentary road" and "class co-operation through multiple political parties." It has never forgotten to beg for the "legality" of the Greek Communist Party and its participation in "general elections," thus relegating the Party to the position of a weak defender of the bourgeois parties which are dependent on foreign countries. These revisionists have also joined the frantic anti-China chorus, opposing the great Chinese proletarian cultural revolution.

The appeal stressed, "Today the Greek people are faced with a very urgent task of fighting for their very life. The Marxist-Leninists, the healthy forces in the Greek Communist Party, must throw out its revisionist leading clique and form Marxist-Leninist groups so that they can wage an uncompromising struggle against revisionism. They should assume as their supreme obligation to go among the people and make public denunciations of the revisionists' capitulationist policy and behaviour."

The general conclusion of the Marxist-Leninists is that as long as Greece is under U.S. imperialist enslavement there can be no social progress to speak of. Without a revolution Greece cannot possibly get rid of U.S. imperialist domination. Without a break with and a resolute struggle against Soviet revisionism, it is impossible to have any social progress. The struggle for national independence, people's democracy and social-

(Continued on p. 37.)



Mao Tse-tung's Thought

Lights the Whole World

"Selected Works of Mao Tse-tung" (Vol. III) Published in Arabic in Syria

The Arabic translation of volume three of the *Selected Works of Mao Tse-tung* was published recently in Damascus, capital of Syria, and was warmly welcomed by the broad masses of the people.

The publisher writes on the back cover of the book that Chairman Mao correctly analysed the world situation from a Marxist-Leninist viewpoint and pointed out that imperialism and all reactionaries are paper tigers and the people will win victory. Chairman Mao's teachings have strengthened the confidence of the Arab people who are carrying on the struggle against imperialism and Israel.

An Arab friend told Hsinhua that there is only one way to achieve the liberation of the Arab people and that is people's war as pointed out by Mao Tse-tung. Mao Tse-tung's thought is the most important and most powerful weapon for the Arab and other peoples of the world. It is the most essential support given to the world's people by the Chinese people.

He said that since the war of aggression against Arab countries launched by U.S. imperialism and Israel, the Arab people have come to realize more clearly who are their enemies and who are their friends, who are their real friends and who style themselves as friends but actually stand with U.S. imperialism and Israel and betray the Arab people. He pointed out that it is clear that the Chinese people are the sincerest friend of the Arab people.

The Arabic translation of volume one of the *Selected Works of Mao Tse-tung* was published in Syria in 1958 and reprinted in 1965. The Arabic translation of volume four was published in the Lebanon in 1965.

The Arabic translations of *Problems of Strategy in Guerrilla War Against Japan* and *On Protracted War*, two of the brilliant articles in volume two, were also published in rapid succession recently in Damascus and were warmly welcomed by the Syrian people.

The following quotation from Chairman Mao Tse-tung was printed on the back cover of *On Protracted War*: **"Weapons are an important factor in war, but not the decisive factor; it is people, not things, that are decisive."**

Since the U.S.-Israeli war of aggression against Arab countries, the masses of the Syrian people have been studying Chairman Mao's great works on people's war more eagerly. An Arab friend said that the pres-

ent situation in the Arab countries is very much like the one analysed by Chairman Mao in his brilliant works. Chairman Mao has shown the only correct road to victory to the Arab people.

Following the Path of China's Great Revolution

The article entitled "Lessons of the Arab War Against Aggression" in the latest issue of the Chinese journal *Hongqi* [Red Flag] (see *Peking Review* No. 37, p. 22), has been praised by many Palestinian friends who pointed out that Palestine could be liberated only by relying on the resplendent thought of Mao Tse-tung and following the path of China's great revolution.

A Palestinian youth told a Hsinhua correspondent in Cairo: "I have been thinking over many problems and have read quite a number of articles after the recent Middle East war. I have found that only the thought of Chairman Mao Tse-tung can save our Palestine. By relying on Mao Tse-tung's thought, the 700 million Chinese people are united as one and have become an invincible force in the world. Under the leadership of Chairman Mao, the Chinese people not only have liberated their motherland, but are also forging ahead along the broad road of socialist revolution and national construction. By relying on Mao Tse-tung's thought, the Vietnamese people have scored great victories in their people's war against U.S. aggression. By relying on Mao Tse-tung's thought, daring to persist in our armed struggle and being good at struggle, we Palestinian Arabs will certainly win final victory."

A teacher said: "No matter what plots U.S. imperialism and Soviet revisionism may hatch against Palestine, we Palestinian people will never fall into their trap by accepting their so-called political solution at the expense of our national interests. The only way out for us is to continue our struggle through protracted people's war."

A student who arrived in Cairo recently from Gaza said: "The Israeli aggressors in occupied Gaza asked us to coexist with them in peace. While our motherland is overrun and our compatriots are under fascist Zionist suppression, how can we coexist peacefully with our sworn enemy?"

He told many stories about the Palestinian people's brave struggle against the Israeli occupation. "Since the Israeli aggressors intruded into the Gaza Strip," he said, "we Palestinians have not let them live there quietly for even a single day. Although our armed resistance

is still small in scale at present, it will grow into a big fire which will burn imperialism and Zionism to ashes."

Performances Spread Mao Tse-tung's Thought

In defiance of persecution by the reactionary government, the revolutionary artists of India are taking an active part in spreading Mao Tse-tung's thought among the masses and singing the praises of the armed struggle of the revolutionary people.

A play on the theme of the peasant armed struggle in Naxalbari was staged by the revolutionary artists of West Bengal State in a Calcutta theatre after overcoming numerous difficulties. The whole performance shone with Mao Tse-tung's thought. A huge portrait of Chairman Mao in his army uniform was hung on the stage complete with the quotation of his famous statement: **"Political power grows out of the barrel of a gun."** During the intermission, the performers read out in unison parts of the *Report on an Investigation of the Peasant Movement in Hunan*, a brilliant work by Chairman Mao Tse-tung. The performance depicted the success of the peasant movement and the Indian people's determination to rise up to make revolution. Indian revolutionaries held that this marked a significant development in West Bengal cultural circles joining the revolution.

Indian revolutionary art and literary workers are following the revolutionary line on literature and art pointed out by Chairman Mao. They said that Chairman Mao's brilliant writing *Talks at the Yen-an Forum on Literature and Art* has "fully and penetratingly expounded questions on various aspects of proletarian culture and art." They take this writing as a guide for their work.

These revolutionary artists also put on a play *The Unconquerable Vietnam* in Calcutta in support of the Vietnamese people's anti-U.S. war for national salvation and exposing the U.S. imperialists' crime of aggression. The play was based on Chairman Mao's thought. In it, the guerrilla fighter declared: "We must hit the enemy in accordance with the principles of guerrilla warfare expounded by Comrade Mao Tse-tung and win victory" and "we are armed with Mao Tse-tung's thought. We are not afraid of any difficulty and are determined to fight to the end." The play reached its climax when the guerrillas annihilated the yankees, and all the fighters raised their weapons in cheering their victory and shouted, "Long live Mao Tse-tung!" In the play, the actors and actresses sang *The East Is Red*.

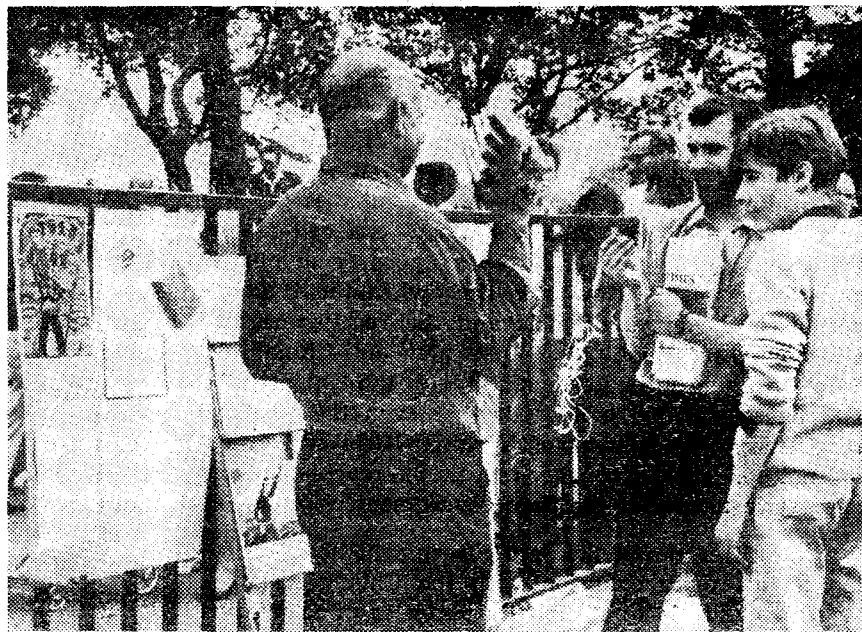
The artists' performances, characterized by their revolutionary fervour, have won a warm welcome from the broad masses.

Inspiration to the Whole World

The statement on August 29, 1963 by Chairman Mao Tse-tung, great leader of the people of the world, opposing aggression against southern Vietnam and slaughter of its people by the U.S.-Ngo Dinh Diem clique "is a great inspiration not only to the Vietnamese people, but also to the oppressed peoples and nations of the whole world," said a Somali group devoted to the study of Chairman Mao's works in a recent article commemorating the fourth anniversary of the statement's publication.

"Today Vietnam," the article went on, "is an example for all the people of the world, and the war there demonstrates that the reactionaries, even though they are well equipped, can never conquer a people who have made up their minds to fight. Over the years, the Vietnamese people have won many resounding victories against the U.S. aggressors. These victories have proved once more that imperialism is a paper tiger."

After quoting Chairman Mao's words: **"The people, and the people alone, are the motive force in the making of world history,"** the article called on the people in other parts of the world to open new fighting fronts against U.S. imperialism.



Many British progressives and progressive Asian, African and Latin Americans in Britain deeply respect Chairman Mao, the great leader of the revolutionary people throughout the world. They use their Sundays to sell *Quotations From Chairman Mao Tse-tung* and badges with a profile of Chairman Mao which are heartily welcomed by people in Britain. This is a photo of a foreign friend selling *Quotations From Chairman Mao Tse-tung* in London's Hyde Park.

The Sato Government Is Treading Tojo's Old Road

Eisaku Sato, Prime Minister of the reactionary Japanese Government, under the dictates of U.S. imperialism, made his way to China's territory of Taiwan on September 7 and made his exit on September 9 after holding "talks" with the long-discredited Chiang Kai-shek brigand clique, and after having hatched plots against the Chinese people. At the same time, the reactionary Sato government has staged an anti-China incident by sending armed police and plain-clothesmen to beat up Chinese personnel in Tokyo. The Chinese people will firmly counter all such frantic anti-China crimes of the reactionary Sato government!

As soon as he set foot on Taiwan, Sato blustered that he would cement closer "understanding and friendship" and promote "good-neighbourly relations" between Japan and the Chiang Kai-shek brigand clique. He unscrupulously slandered China as "a threat to peace" and declared continued support for Chiang Kai-shek, who is a political corpse, to hang on in the United Nations. Sato has also invited the military chieftains of the Chiang gang to visit Japan. It is quite clear that Sato's trip to Taiwan was to intensify the political, economic and military collusion with the Chiang brigands in an all-round way and to strengthen the "Northeast Asia military alliance" spearheaded against China, thus serving as the anti-China fugleman of the U.S. imperialists and Soviet revisionists.

Since it took office, the Sato government has been tailing after the U.S. imperialists and colluding with the Soviet revisionists in rigging up political and military alliances against China. It has even worked out blueprints for armed invasions with China as the imaginary foe. It has been vigorously engaged in the "two Chinas" scheme and frenziedly carrying out an anti-China policy. Now at a time when the U.S. imperialists, Soviet revisionists and the reactionaries of all countries are whipping up a new anti-China tide, Sato is forging intimate relations with the Chiang gang and has committed evil deeds that even the previous reactionary governments of Yoshida, Kishi and others did not do. This thoroughly reveals the reactionary and aggressive nature of the Sato government.

A sinister aim of the Sato government in intensifying its all-round collusion with the Chiang Kai-shek brigand clique is to stretch its tentacles of aggression into China's territory of Taiwan. Soon after it took office, the Sato government flagrantly asserted that "Taiwan's status remains undetermined." The Japanese plutocrats have even proposed, without any disguise, a "new theory for conquering Taiwan." They claim that Taiwan is Japan's "breakwater," that it must not be

"abandoned," that "Taiwan's status should not be separated from Japan" and so on and so forth. In recent years, the penetration of Japanese monopoly capital into Taiwan has been accelerated. Large numbers of Japanese military officers have made "inspection" tours of Taiwan and the Japanese fleet has intruded into the Taiwan Strait, constituting a blatant provocation against the Chinese people. Sato's formal "visit" to the Chiang gang has revealed more clearly than ever the sinister designs of Japanese militarism to reoccupy China's territory of Taiwan.

Sato's trip to Taiwan is a component part of a big anti-China, anti-communist, anti-people and counter-revolutionary conspiracy that is being vigorously hatched by the U.S. imperialists and Soviet revisionists in Asia. Following the Glassboro talks between the U.S. imperialist and Soviet revisionist chieftains, the heads of the reactionary Sato government have been busy travelling around, some to Seoul and some to Moscow. After his Taiwan trip, Sato is scheduled to visit ten countries or regions in Asia and the Pacific. He will round up his visits by calling on his master, Johnson, in Washington. Sato's Taiwan trip was obviously intended to serve the scheme of the U.S. imperialists and Soviet revisionists to form a ring of encirclement against China.

Sato's activities in Taiwan and the Southeast Asian regions are also an important step taken by Japanese monopoly capital for expansion abroad. Fostered by U.S. imperialism, Japanese militarism has been revived. Thinking that it is already full-fledged, it wants to hastily realize its aggressive plan to enslave the peoples in Southeast Asia and is indulging in its fond old dream of building the "greater East Asia co-prosperity sphere."

To cover up his reactionary features and ambitions for aggression, Sato said before beginning his tour of Taiwan that the Japanese Government "does not want to strengthen the anti-communist line" but to follow a "coexistence line." What nonsense! Is not the "coexistence" referred to by Sato synonymous to Tojo's "coexistence and co-prosperity"? The only difference lies in that Tojo, in his time, followed a Japanese imperialist policy of aggression of its own, whereas the reactionary Sato government now banks on U.S. imperialism to carry out aggression and expansion and acts as a vicious hatchetman for U.S. imperialism in its aggression in Asia.

Our great leader Chairman Mao Tse-tung says: **"A flunkey who allows himself to be led by the nose by U.S. imperialism will only end up in the same grave as his master."**

The reactionary Sato government has tied Japan tightly to the U.S. war chariot and is doggedly tailing after the U.S. imperialist policies of war and aggression. This is something the Japanese people will never tolerate. They strongly demand friendship with China and are waging a resolute struggle against the monstrous crimes of U.S. imperialism and Japanese militarism in creating "two Chinas" and of being hostile to the Chinese people.

Sato now comes out personally to collude with the Chiang Kai-shek brigand clique. The Japanese of all strata and even members of the Liberal Democratic Party who are in their right senses have shown their dissatisfaction and opposition. The self-styled Marxist Miyamoto revisionist clique alone has so far not ex-

pressed the slightest opposition. This once again shows up their features as renegades.

The Japanese nation is a great nation. The Japanese people are a people with a tradition of resisting foreign aggression. They will certainly rebel against the reactionary Sato government and smash the reactionary rule of U.S. imperialism and its lackeys in Japan.

Embarking once again on the old road of militarist aggression, the reactionary Sato government will inevitably arouse the old hatred of the Asian peoples and kindle a new hatred to enable them to rise and combat it.

Taiwan is an integral part of China's inviolable territory. The Chinese people will certainly liberate

Sato Government Calls Out Police and Hooligans To Assault Chinese Personnel in Japan

While Sato was "visiting" Taiwan to step up his collusion with the Chiang Kai-shek bandit gang, the reactionary Japanese Government further perpetrated extremely serious anti-China fascist outrages on September 8 and 9. It sent out large numbers of policemen, gestapos and hooligans to assault and injure many staff members of the Tokyo Liaison Office of the Liao Cheng-chih Office, Chinese journalists and other Chinese personnel in Japan.

On September 8, after two men who claimed to be "correspondents" of the Jiji [a most reactionary "news agency" in the service of U.S. imperialism] made provocations at the premises of the Liao Cheng-chih office, the reactionary Japanese Government sent a large number of policemen and plainclothesmen to create an incident at the residence of the Chinese personnel and beat up two drivers.

On September 9, riding on trucks which broadcast Japanese militarist songs and escorted by Japanese police, fascist hooligans with clubs in their hands arrived at the residence of the Chinese personnel. Standing on one of the trucks was Bin Akao, head of the "Japan Patriots' Party" violence group. He blatantly slandered Chairman Mao, the great leader of the Chinese people and the revolutionary people of the world, the Chinese Communist Party and the People's Republic of China. The Chinese personnel and their Japanese friends who rushed to the scene upon hearing the news were exceedingly indignant at the outrages. They immediately lodged a protest with the Japanese police who were conniving with the hooligans, and demanded that they take immediate measure to stop such outrages. However, the police not only ignored this demand but even committed fascist atrocities against the bare-handed Chinese personnel, suppressing their legitimate protest action and wounding many of them.

With the connivance of the Japanese police, the Right-wing hooligans made provocations in front of the residence of the Chinese personnel for one and a half hours.

Following the teachings of the great leader Chairman Mao, the Chinese personnel defied brute force and put up a valiant struggle. In face of the club-

wielding hooligans and police, they fearlessly shouted "Long live the great leader Chairman Mao!" While resisting and countering the police outrage, they sang songs of quotations from Chairman Mao Tse-tung. They also sternly and angrily refuted the enemy slanders and abuse.

Japanese friends of all circles and patriotic Chinese nationals rushed to the scene to support the just struggle of the Chinese personnel. The Japanese friends and the Chinese personnel linked their arms and fought shoulder to shoulder, giving expression to the militant friendship of the Japanese and Chinese peoples and the lofty internationalism of the revolutionary Japanese people.

The Tokyo Liaison Office of the Liao Cheng-chih Office and Chinese correspondents in Japan held a press conference on the evening of September 9. Wu Shu-tung, representative of the liaison office, pointed out at the press conference that the incidents on September 8 and 9 were a grave step taken by the Sato government in pursuing a reactionary policy of currying favour with the United States, alliance with the Soviet Union, opposition to China and the people and sabotage of China-Japan friendship and trade. This was a new escalation of its rabid anti-China campaign.

He said, "The Sato government must bear full responsibility for all the grave consequences arising from its anti-China campaign."

Wu Shu-tung announced that the liaison office and the Chinese correspondents have put forward the following serious demands to the Sato government through the Tatsunosuke Takasaki Office: 1) the Japanese Government must openly admit its mistakes and guarantee against recurrence of similar incidents; 2) the Japanese policemen, who committed the atrocities, and their instigators must be severely punished; 3) the Chinese side reserves the right to raise further demands with the Sato government.

More than 200 Japanese friends and young Red Guards held a meeting in Peking on September 10 strongly protesting against Sato's visit to Taiwan. They also sharply condemned the Sato government's fascist atrocities against the Chinese personnel.

their own territory of Taiwan. Anyone who creates "two Chinas" in the criminal attempt to separate Taiwan from China will meet with complete failure.

The 700 million Chinese people who are armed with the all-conquering thought of Mao Tse-tung and are victoriously carrying out the great proletarian cultural

revolution are invincible. The Sato government in taking such unscrupulous hostile actions against China and committing aggression in Asia will come to no good end. It will be buried by the Chinese, Japanese and other Asian peoples like its predecessor, the Tojo gang!

("Renmin Ribao" editorial, September 10.)

The "Non-Capitalist Road" Preached by Soviet Revisionists Is in Fact the Colonial Road

AFTER its seizure of power, the reactionary Ne Win group of Burma has been flaunting the banner of "socialism" to dupe and hoodwink the public. Ne Win worked out a sort of programme for "nationalization" and made the false claim that Burma "is forging ahead towards the goal of socialism."

The Soviet revisionist clique, on its part, lauds the Ne Win group for bringing about "socialism" by "practical actions," on the ground that Burma is carrying out a "nationalization" programme. It has even described Burma as having "taken the lead among the young Afro-Asian countries which have taken the road of non-capitalist development."

According to the "theory" of the Soviet revisionist clique, any country which carries out a "nationalization" programme may be considered as having taken the "socialist road." Thus, the clique has actually acclaimed such fascist hangmen as Ne Win as laureates of "socialism" and helped them dupe the masses so as to maintain their reactionary rule. This is out-and-out treachery.

There are different kinds of nationalization in the world; there is the nationalization by a socialist state as well as by a capitalist state. The nature of the nationalization is determined by the class in power. Only the nationalization that is carried out by the proletariat after it has taken power is socialist, while the nationalization by the bourgeoisie is capitalist and is just another means of fleecing the working people.

As early as in the 70's of the 19th century, Friedrich Engels scathingly repudiated the despicable trickery of representing any nationalization or state-ownership as "socialism." He noted that "since Bismarck went in for state ownership of industrial establishments, a kind of spurious socialism has arisen, degenerating, now and again, into something of flunkeyism, that without more ado declares all state ownership, even of the Bismarckian sort, to be socialistic." If this logic were to be followed, Engels continued, then "the Royal Maritime Company, the Royal porcelain manufacture, and even the regimental tailor shops of the Army would

also be socialistic institutions, or even, as was seriously proposed by a sly dog in Frederick William III's reign, the taking over by the state of the brothels."

It has now become the vogue for the monopoly capitalist groups of the imperialist countries and the bureaucrat-comprador bourgeoisie of the semi-colonial, semi-feudal countries to palm off nationalization as "socialism." As a matter of fact, nationalization in the imperialist countries is aimed at accelerating capital concentration and accumulation and stepping up exploitation of the working people and annexation of the small and medium-sized enterprises. It results in intensifying cut-throat competition among the various monopoly capitalist groups in one country and sharpening the rivalry and expansion of the various monopoly capitalist groups on an international scale. In the case of a semi-colonial, semi-feudal country like Burma, the aim of its fledgling bureaucrat-comprador bourgeoisie in carrying out nationalization is to swallow up the small and medium-sized enterprises of the national and petty bourgeoisie and suck the blood of the working people, as well as to become fattened by selling itself out to U.S. imperialism and Soviet revisionism. It is in fact by relying on "nationalization" that Ne Win's military bureaucrat-monopoly capitalist group has grown and developed.

The Soviet revisionist renegade clique has enthusiastically described the nationalization carried out by Ne Win as the "socialist road." By so doing, the clique aims at preventing the Burmese people from rising to destroy the state apparatus of the landlord and bureaucrat-capitalist classes and obstructs their fight for complete national independence. In this way the Soviet clique hopes to abrogate once and for all the Burmese people's revolutionary tasks of opposing imperialism and feudalism. This on the one hand helps the Ne Win group maintain its reactionary rule, and on the other hand helps the Soviet revisionist clique itself to join U.S. imperialism in vigorously pursuing neo-colonialism, controlling Burma politically, economically and militarily and enslaving and plundering the Burmese people under cover of "assisting" Ne Win to go

the "non-capitalist road." In short, the "non-capitalist road" the Soviet revisionist clique advocates is the colonial road.

But the Burmese people will never countenance such counter-revolutionary nonsense by the Soviet revisionist renegades. Under the leadership of the Communist Party of Burma and guided by Mao Tse-tung's

thought, the Burmese people, holding aloft the great banner of people's revolutionary war, are using revolutionary violence in their struggle to overthrow the reactionary rule of imperialism and its running dogs in Burma so as to win the complete liberation of the Burmese nation and people.

(By "Renmin Ribao" Commentator, August 24.)

Ne Win Clique's "Nationalization" Is a Big Fraud

The Ne Win clique feverishly pushes on with its "nationalization," a policy designed to bleed the Burmese people white. The result is that Burma's economic crisis has gone from bad to worse and the people are in the abyss of suffering.

THE Ne Win reactionary regime has boasted all along that it was in order to build a "socialist economic system" and "to take the Burmese road of socialism," that it adopted the policy of "nationalization."

Facts however give the lie to Ne Win's "nationalization" measures. Taken by a regime of the landlords and the bureaucrat-comprador bourgeoisie, they are nothing but a device to plunder the country. Through them Ne Win & Co. have robbed and swallowed up the Burmese business world. Their plundering has been on a really big scale and their rapacity has known no bounds.

In 1963, the Ne Win clique first of all nationalized the banks, rice trade, and the petroleum and forestry industries. This was followed by the proclamation of a predatory decree to take over medium and small enterprises owned by the national bourgeoisie and petty bourgeoisie, those of the overseas Chinese not excepted. In 1964, things went further. All wholesale firms, retail business and general goods stores in Rangoon and throughout the country came under "nationalization."

The *Working People's Daily*, a government mouthpiece, in its April 23, 1964 issue disclosed that more than 10,000 shops and commercial firms had been taken over.

In September of the same year the regime announced that more than 34 farm products, which the peasants are forced to sell at cut prices, had been put under government control. It further declared in January 1966 that 426 industrial, agricultural and marine products were to be purchased and sold by the state.

And so Burma's economic arteries — finance, banking, foreign trade, industry and transport and communications — as well as the commercial channels in town and country have all fallen into the clutches of the army and the bureaucrat-comprador bourgeoisie represented by the Ne Win clique.

"Nationalization" has made fortunes for the luminaries of the Ne Win junta. They became important members of the Burmese Government and, exercising control and monopoly in the world of business and trade, turned comprador-capitalists themselves. Cap in hand, they also paid visits to imperialist countries for

aid and investment. A large number of officers, transferred from the army, now hold jobs as directors and managers of the "nationalized" enterprises, and in the process a big monopoly clique of military officers and bureaucrats has come into existence.

From the very beginning, the Ne Win junta has used its influence and power over the army to line its pockets with state funds and credits and grabbed private enterprises to develop the military's monopoly capital. In 1951, the clique boosted military monopoly capital by openly using the signboard of the "Defence Services Institute." All this company's initial capital of 600,000 kyats came from a government "loan" and many of its branches were formed by amalgamating state-owned and private enterprises. By 1958-59 the "Defence Services Institute" had expanded into a large monopoly concern with control over 16 enterprises, including banking, shipping, foreign and domestic trade, industry, fishery, construction and the service trades.

In 1962 the Ne Win military clique replaced the "Defence Services Institute" with the "Burma Economic Development Corporation," a trust with army men's capital which included 32 enterprises. After coming to power the Ne Win group amalgamated these enterprises with the "nationalized" "state-owned enterprises" and expanded the army men's bureaucrat monopoly capital.

Although the regime "nationalized" imperialist banks and enterprises, it not only decided to repay the capital within three months but continued to collude with the monopoly capital groups of Western countries. In recent years it has grown more and more dependent on U.S. imperialism and Soviet revisionism and accepts U.S. military and economic "aid" while selling out Burma's national interests.

Meanwhile, the Ne Win government, far from touching the landlord class, has preserved it intact. The peasants, who form 80 per cent of the population, have no land or not enough land and are suffering more and more from the feudal exploitation. Actually the so-called "socialist transformation" of agriculture has strengthened the reactionary rule of the landlords and rich peasants and intensified the ruthless exploitation of the peasants.

In madly pushing forward this kind of "nationalization" policy the Ne Win regime can only aggravate Burma's growing economic crisis and bring calamity to the people's livelihood. In the last two years especially,

production in Burma's industry and agriculture has dropped sharply. Medium-sized and small industries have closed down one after the other or shown a fall in production due to lack of raw materials. The number of unemployed climbed to 1.8 million and the rural economy, with a one-third drop in rice output, is head-

ing for bankruptcy. On top of this, "nationalization" has disrupted the channels of trade and there is an acute shortage of grain, edible oil, cloth, medicine and other daily necessities. Prices have rocketed and black marketing is rampant. Ne Win's big hoax of "nationalization" and "socialism" has been thoroughly exposed.

Facts Speak Louder Than Slanders

by the Revolutionary Rebel Headquarters of the Ministry of Agriculture

WRITING in the Soviet weekly *New Times*, Y. Kosyukov, a Soviet revisionist correspondent expelled from China not long ago, fabricated the lies that the cultural revolution had a "destructive impact" on China's economy, that "many Chinese never see meat, milk, sugar, eggs or butter" and that the Chinese peasants have to "live on vegetables and wild roots." The fiction produced by Kosyukov is nothing new. It is trash picked up from the pack of lies spread by Khrushchov, the chieftain of the revisionist gang.

In dishing up these clumsy lies, Kosyukov is "lifting a rock only to drop it on his own toes." He cannot detract in the least from the brilliance of China's great proletarian cultural revolution.

The Chinese people, in response to Chairman Mao's great call to "grasp the revolution and promote production," have worked in a high, militant spirit and scored one victory after another in industry and agriculture in the midst of the triumphant song of the cultural revolution. This year China is again reaping an excellent harvest in agriculture and animal husbandry, with good results in the output of grain, cotton, oil-bearing crops, sugar cane and sugar beet, and of pork, vegetables and fruit. The total output of summer harvested grain and rapeseed in the first half of this year went up by about 10 per cent and the state purchase of pigs, cattle and sheep also rose by over 10 per cent in the first six months of this year, compared with the corresponding period last year. These facts are an eloquent proof that the great cultural revolution now developing in depth has opened up broad prospects for the continued leap forward of China's industry and agriculture and that the market both in town and country is flourishing.

With regard to grain production, on the basis of the successive increases of the preceding years, the national output in 1966 hit a new record in post liberation China, again showing a considerable rise over that of 1965. The living standards of poor and lower-middle peasants in the vast rural areas have improved. They have resolutely implemented Chairman Mao's wise instruction: "preparedness against war, preparedness against natural calamities and everything for the people." While overfulfilling the state grain delivery and purchase plan, they have expanded the collective grain reserve in a planned way and at the same time improved

their own life. Kosyukov's assertion about the peasants being forced to "live on vegetables and wild roots" is a downright lie.

In the production of non-staple food, the situation in the purchase and supply of meat, vegetables and fruit is better than ever before. In 1966, when the great proletarian cultural revolution started, sales of pork, poultry, milk powder and sugar shot up from 14 to 25 per cent compared with 1965, and vegetable oil was up by 5.4 per cent. The increase in fruit sales is particularly outstanding. In 1966, sales of the most popular fruits such as apples, pears and citrus fruits, were half as much again as in 1965. The per capita annual consumption of pork rose by 9 per cent in the cities and 18 per cent in the countryside. The supply of eggs also grew. These living facts are a resounding slap in the face for Kosyukov.

In China's markets, the foodstuffs on sale are abundant, cheap, and of a great variety and a high quality. The food stores are plentifully stocked with meat, eggs and fresh vegetables. Such abundant supply is something the Soviet revisionists can hardly expect in their own country.

Kosyukov, who had stayed in China for five years, deliberately distorted the real situation in China's market and spread lies in order to follow his master in colluding with U.S. imperialism and opposing China. This only serves to expose his ugly features as a scribe selling out his soul in the service of the Soviet revisionists.

These vicious slanders cannot do the least bit of harm to the Chinese people. Falsehood cannot be turned into truth even if it is repeated a thousand times; nor can it prevent the Soviet people from learning the facts.

In the Soviet newspapers of recent years, one often comes across statements and reports sadly acknowledging that "the output of grains lags far behind the plan," that "the rate of development of agriculture has shown a sharp decline" and that this has "necessitated large purchases of wheat from the markets abroad." Most recently the Soviet revisionists concluded an agreement with Canada for the import of 2 million tons of wheat. It is these wastrels who have reduced the Soviet Union with vast and fertile land to dependence on imported food and brought serious hardships to the Soviet people.

Khrushchov has a notorious catchphrase: "goulash communism." Khrushchov's successors, Brezhnev, Kosygin and the like, are sliding farther and farther down the road of subservience to imperialism and restoration of capitalism at home. It is a stinging irony for these revisionists that their line has removed beef and even potatoes [two of the principal ingredients of goulash — Ed.] from the table of the Soviet working people.

A report in *Pravda* of November 22, 1966, by its special correspondent said: "Many farms have failed to fulfil the plan for the state purchase of potatoes. The city's Party Committee called a meeting of the leading cadres of various government offices 'pressing' for the delivery of potatoes." The meeting decided that "every student and physician is required to deliver a bagful of potatoes and those who do not have them may pay for them. Some people had to buy potatoes from other districts in order to make the delivery."

The Soviet revisionist Minister of Agriculture, V.V. Matskevich, also acknowledged that the annual output of potatoes had dropped between 1961 and 1965 and that "now the amount of beef available is far short of meeting the demands of the country. It is not possible to obtain the necessary quantity of beef from the existing herds of cattle."

While the privileged strata are leading a decadent bourgeois life, the working people under the Soviet revisionists are suffering increasing hardships. The Soviet newspaper, *Trud*, once reported that "potatoes, macaroni and meat or canned meat are not seen in the canteens for workers." Someone wrote down in the comments book of a restaurant: "We haven't had vegetables and potatoes for a long time." There are often no vegetables, fresh meat or dairy products for the masses of the Soviet people. The *Moscow Evening News* last May reported the remarks exchanged between a customer and a shop-assistant as follows:

"Any apples?"

"No."

"How about lemons and oranges?"

"No."

"There are probably some carrots, eh?"

"No," the girl shop-assistant answered, quite unperturbed.

This is by no means an isolated phenomenon. Such shortage of food and vegetables is the inevitable result

of the restoration of capitalism in the Soviet Union. Although summer is the vegetable season in the Soviet Union, the "shelves of the greengrocers' remain empty" except for garlic from the U.A.R., string beans from Bulgaria and tomatoes from the East European countries. For the ordinary people, however, these imported goods are "such luxuries that they dare not even look at them." The *Moscow Evening News* on June 27 reported the "good news" that the price of tomatoes was dropping to two roubles a kilogramme (equivalent to more than one yuan and 20 cents per catty). The price of tomatoes in Peking at that time was three to four cents per catty.

Isn't it thought-provoking that such scarcity and hardships should have occurred in the Soviet Union, the native land of Lenin, on the eve of the 50th anniversary of the October Revolution and when the much-vaunted "Seven-Year Plan" of the Soviet renegade group is supposed to be fulfilled? Owing to the revisionist policies carried out by the Soviet revisionist ruling clique, such as "profit taking command," "material incentive," "free market," "encouragement of private economy," etc., the socialist economy in the Soviet Union has degenerated into capitalist economy. The rampancy of bourgeois influence in both city and countryside has accelerated class differentiation and plunged the masses of the Soviet people once again into the depths of misery.

To cover up the restoration of capitalism in the Soviet Union, the Soviet revisionist ruling clique blames the "bad weather" for the depressed state of agricultural production. This is pure deception. P.P. Lobanov, President of the All-Union Lenin Academy of Agricultural Sciences, writing in *Pravda*, frankly admitted that "it is incorrect merely to attribute the low yield in grains in many areas of the country to the lack of mineral fertilizers and bad weather conditions."

Chairman Mao has pointed out: "**Opportunists who try to check the mighty current are to be found almost everywhere, but this current cannot be checked. Socialism is triumphantly advancing everywhere, sweeping aside every stumbling-block in its path.**" The Soviet people who have a glorious tradition will finally topple the Soviet revisionist ruling clique and stamp out the parasites and blood-suckers. The red banner of Leninism will fly over the Kremlin once again. Let the revolutionary storm rage more violently!

(Slightly abridged)

(Continued from p. 29.)

ism is inseparable from the struggle against the United States, the plutocracy which acts as vassals of a foreign power and Soviet revisionism.

The appeal concluded by declaring that the Greek Marxist-Leninists will organize underground Marxist-Leninist groups in various places and firmly root themselves among the people. By tenacious work and with

high revolutionary spirit, they will shoulder the arduous task of opposing their domestic and foreign rulers. Holding high "the revolutionary banner and the triumphant banner of Marxism-Leninism, they will turn every factory, every village, every street, every place where they live and work into a stronghold of struggle against U.S. imperialism and for democracy and liberation." "Greek fascism will certainly be smashed."

ROUND THE WORLD

THE PHILIPPINE COUNTRYSIDE

Vigorous Guerrilla Warfare

Led by the Philippine Communist Party, the People's Liberation Army has in recent months conducted an active guerrilla war in the mountainous and rural areas. This, coupled with good propaganda and organizational work among the masses, has made the situation still more favourable for the revolution.

On September 5, the liberation army ambushed a patrol of the government constabulary in Tarlac Province north of Manila. A number of enemy soldiers were killed. When the Philippine authorities massed troops for a "mopping-up" operation, there was no trace of the attackers. On August 27, another well-executed ambush took place in the Apalit area of Pampanga Province. After a fierce fight, a liberation army detachment wiped out an army patrol and captured all its weapons and equipment.

Even according to incomplete figures given by the Philippine press, there were 14 such attacks by the liberation army from January to August.

Pampanga in Central Luzon and several other provinces north of Manila are the areas where the liberation army is most active. Besides carrying out propaganda work among the masses and organizing them, it has also helped the people to root out corrupt officials, local despots and special agents. All this has the full backing of the peasant masses. Altogether, some 30 landlords and local despots were executed during the first eight months of the year.

The people's forces are most active in Central Luzon because the land is concentrated in the hands of a few and exploitation is the most ruthless. Under the feudal system

there, the harshly plundered peasants harbour a deep hatred for the exploiters. And, being the reliable ally of the proletariat, they wholeheartedly support the Philippine Communist Party and the People's Liberation Army. With more and more peasants taking part in the armed struggle, a blazing fire will be lit in the Philippine countryside.

Chairman Mao pointed out as far back as 1939 that in semi-colonial and semi-feudal China the revolutionary armed struggle "takes the form of peasant war under proletarian leadership." This describes the nature of the armed struggle which the Philippine Communist Party is leading. By adhering to Mao Tse-tung's thought, the Philippine people will be victorious.

THE TITO CLIQUE — U.S.-SOVIET LACKEY

New Plot Against Arab States

Following Tito's mid-August visit to the Arab countries (see *Peking Review*, No. 36, p. 31), Yugoslav Foreign Minister Nikezic went to Washington for confidential talks with Johnson and Rusk. On August 30, Nikezic handed Johnson a personal message from Tito dealing with the latter's plan for the Middle East. Meanwhile, similar messages were also delivered to the Soviet authorities and the British and French Governments.

The next day, after the plan had been "okayed" by Johnson and Rusk, Nikezic rushed to New York to meet U.N. Secretary-General U Thant, and the Western press reported that the Tito clique was ready to submit its plan to the forthcoming General Assembly session.

Its principal points are said to be:

• in return for the withdrawal of the Israeli aggressor forces, the Arab

states will "end the state of war" and give "recognition" to Israel as well as guaranteeing "free navigation" through the Gulf of Aqaba and the Suez Canal.

• the United States, the Soviet Union, Britain and France will guarantee the above provisions' implementation under the name of the U.N. Security Council and through the dispatch of a U.N. emergency force to the region.

This "plan" is a mere revamping of the secret agreement on the Middle East which Johnson and Kosygin were reported to have reached in Glassboro, while, in its turn, the secret agreement was an elaboration of the "five principles" which Johnson put forward in June for the "settlement" of the Middle East question. In other words, U.S. imperialism, the instigator of Israeli aggression against the Arab countries, is now collaborating with the Soviet Union to try and impose still more humiliating terms on the latter so that it may further expand and strengthen its neo-colonialist rule in the Middle East.

Tito had in fact gone to the U.A.R. (where he concentrated his efforts), Syria and Iraq with U.S.-Soviet blessings. He brought pressure to bear on these countries and insidiously tried to estrange them from one another. The activities of the Tito clique in the United States and United Nations were geared to the U.S.-Soviet manoeuvres to influence the course of the Arab states' summit conference in Khartoum. Also, the Tito group sent several envoys to African and Latin American countries to peddle its plan and pick up votes for the coming U.N. General Assembly.

All these activities by the Tito renegade group which is at the beck and call of both U.S. imperialism and Soviet revisionism warrant attention. They indicate that U.S. imperialism and Soviet revisionism are organizing a new, joint conspiracy in the United Nations to compel the Arab countries to accept capitulation.

(Continued from p. 6.)

of Tanzania and the Republic of Zambia on the construction of the Tanzania-Zambia railway. Premier Chou En-lai attended the signing ceremony. Vice-Premier Li Hsien-nien signed the agreement for the Chinese Government, while Tanzanian Minister of Finance Amir H. Jamal and Zambian Minister of State A.J. Soko affixed their names for the Governments of Tanzania and Zambia. The agreement will further strengthen the friendship between the Chinese, Tanzanian and Zambian peoples and will promote economic and technical co-operation between the three countries.

Premier Chou received all the members of the Tanzanian-Zambian United Economic Delegation on the same evening and had a friendly talk with them. The delegation left Peking for home the next day.

Chinese Crew Smashes Anti-China Provocation by Italian Authorities

The Chinese freighter *Li Ming* triumphantly sailed up to a wharf in the centre of Genoa on September 5 with quotations from Chairman Mao and the slogans "Salute to the working people of Italy!" and "Long live the friendship between the Chinese and Italian peoples!" posted on board the ship.

The vessel arrived in Genoa on August 13, but was tightly cordoned off by armed Italian troops and police and forbidden to unload its cargo simply because the crew had posted up quotations from Chairman Mao and slogans about friendship between the Chinese and Italian peoples. (See *Peking Review*, No. 36, 1967.) After 23 days of heroic struggle, the crew completely smashed the anti-China provocation by the Italian authorities who were compelled to withdraw their fascist measures and agreed to let the ship sail, with quotations from the great leader Chairman Mao, to a wharf in the centre of the city to unload. This is a great victory for the Chinese crew

in their struggle to defend their inviolable right to study and spread Mao Tse-tung's thought on board ship and to uphold the dignity of their motherland.

When the freighter drew alongside the wharf, the Italian longshoremen enthusiastically greeted the Chinese sailors. Crew members of foreign ships at anchor also greeted them by waving at them.

Holding high the great red banner of Mao Tse-tung's thought, the crew of the freighter and the staff members of the Chinese Commercial Representative's Office in Italy had waged a tit-for-tat struggle against the Italian authorities' fascist measures for more than three weeks. The crew had vowed they would not hesitate to shed blood and make sacrifices in their determined efforts to carry their struggle through to the end. They had demonstrated the heroic spirit of the Chinese people who, armed with Mao Tse-tung's thought, could never be intimidated by brute force.

The just struggle of the Chinese crew won wide support from the Italian people. Many progressive Italian organizations held meetings and sent representatives to Genoa with letters expressing support for the crew. A dockers' union in Genoa sent an ultimatum to the Italian authorities, warning them that if they failed to stop all their hostile measures against the freighter by September 5, the dockers in Genoa would hold a general strike. Representatives of Italian enterprises that had established trade ties with China visited the Chinese Commercial Representative's Office to express their disapproval of the Italian authorities' hostility towards the Chinese people and sabotage of Sino-Italian trade. They also made representations to the Italian authorities concerned. The victory of the Chinese freighter, therefore, was also a victory for all those Italian people who stood for friendship between the Chinese and Italian peoples and for increased trade between the two countries, and who supported the just struggle of the crew.

Chairman Mao has said: "Lifting a rock only to drop it on one's own

feet' is a Chinese folk saying to describe the behaviour of certain fools. The reactionaries in all countries are fools of this kind." The victory won by the crew of the Chinese freighter in Genoa once again proves the irrefutable truth of this quotation from Chairman Mao, a quotation which the Italian authorities are most afraid of and which they failed to force the Chinese crew to remove.

Chinese Red Cross Society Decides Not to Attend The Hague Meetings

The Red Cross Society of China issued a statement on August 24 announcing its decision not to attend the 29th session of the Board of Governors of the League of Red Cross Societies and the meeting of the Council of Delegates scheduled to be held at The Hague on September 5, and that it would no longer continue as a member of the Executive Committee of the League of Red Cross Societies. The statement strongly condemned some of the leaders of the International Red Cross for consistently following U.S. imperialism, performing services for the latter's hostile plot against the Chinese people and to create "two Chinas," and for aiding its aggression against Vietnam.

The statement pointed out that some of the leaders of the International Red Cross, complying with the wishes of U.S. imperialism while disregarding repeated protests from the Chinese Red Cross Society, had smuggled into the 20th International Red Cross Conference elements of the Chiang Kai-shek gang, who had been repudiated by the Chinese people, and staged a "two Chinas" farce. The statement reiterated that "the Government of the People's Republic of China is the only legitimate government representing the Chinese people, and the Red Cross Society of China is the only national Red Cross organization recognized by the Government of the People's Republic of China. Only the Government of the People's Republic of China and the Red Cross Society of China have the right to attend International Red Cross conferences. Should U.S. im-

perialism and its followers dare to use the agenda of The Hague meetings to make any scheme aimed at continuing to create 'two Chinas' at the forthcoming International Red Cross conferences, they would be held responsible for all the consequences arising therefrom."

The statement cited facts denouncing some of the leaders of the Inter-

national Red Cross for having become tools serving U.S. imperialist aggression against Vietnam and accomplices in suppressing the just struggle of the Vietnamese people. The Red Cross of Soviet revisionism had also taken an active part in the plots of the leaders of the International Red Cross and had worked hand in glove with U.S. imperialism,

betraying the interests of the Vietnamese people.

The statement declared that, in the absence of its delegation, the Chinese Red Cross Society would in no way be committed to, or undertake any responsibility for, any resolution adopted at the 29th session of the Board of Governors or at the meeting of the Council of Delegates.

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