



**CARRY
THE GREAT REVOLUTION
ON THE
JOURNALISTIC FRONT
THROUGH TO THE END**

— Repudiating the Counter-Revolutionary
Revisionist Line on Journalism of
China's Khrushchov

**FOREIGN LANGUAGES PRESS
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by the Editorial Departments of
Renmin Ribao, Hongqi
and *Jiefangjun Bao*

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PUBLISHER'S NOTE

Journalism is an instrument of class struggle. Ever since the founding of New China nineteen years ago, the proletariat and the bourgeoisie have been locked in a fierce, life-and-death struggle for leadership of the stronghold of journalism. The proletarian line on journalism represented by Chairman Mao maintains that proletarian journalism must be a powerful weapon for the proletarian revolution and for the dictatorship of the proletariat. But the counter-revolutionary revisionist line on journalism pushed by China's Khrushchov has tried to turn journalism into an instrument for subverting the dictatorship of the proletariat and restoring capitalism. This article by the editorial departments of *Renmin Ribao*, *Hongqi* and *Jiefangjun Bao* clearly lays out the grave facts of the intense struggle between the two lines on the journalistic front and gives a thorough repudiation of the counter-revolutionary revisionist line on journalism pursued by China's Khrushchov.

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Quotation from Chairman Mao Tse-tung

Before classes are abolished, the newspapers, the periodicals, the radio and the news agencies all have their class character and all serve particular classes.

**Quotation from
Chairman Mao Tse-tung**

Hold high the great banner of the proletarian cultural revolution, thoroughly expose the reactionary bourgeois stand of those so-called academic authorities who oppose the Party and socialism, thoroughly criticize and repudiate reactionary bourgeois ideas in the sphere of academic work, education, journalism, literature and art and publishing, and seize the leadership in these cultural spheres.

DURING the great proletarian cultural revolution, there has been and still is an extremely fierce class struggle on the front of journalism.

The various branches of journalism, including the newspapers, the periodicals, the radio and the news agencies, are all instruments of class struggle. Their propaganda influences the thinking, sentiments and political orientation of the masses. The grave struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie for leadership of the stronghold of journalism is a life-and-death struggle between them on the ideological front.

Chairman Mao has always attached great importance to proletarian journalism. He pointed out as far back as twenty years ago: **"To run a newspaper well . . . this is**

an important question of principle in our Party's work which is not to be taken lightly."¹ Chairman Mao has laid down a comprehensive proletarian line on journalism during the protracted class struggle of the Chinese revolution. This line demands that proletarian journalism serve the political line of the proletariat and be a powerful weapon for the proletarian revolution and for the dictatorship of the proletariat.

China's Khrushchov and the rest of the handful of top capitalist roaders in the Party have always been hostile to Chairman Mao's proletarian line on journalism and have always opposed it. Representing the interests of imperialism, the Kuomintang reactionaries and the landlords, rich peasants, counter-revolutionaries, bad ele-

¹ "A Talk to the Editorial Staff of the *Shansi-Suiyuan Daily*", April 2, 1948, *Selected Works of Mao Tse-tung*, Eng. ed., Foreign Languages Press, Peking, 1961, Vol. IV, p. 242.

ments and Rightists, they unscrupulously enforced a counter-revolutionary bourgeois line on journalism and placed renegades, enemy agents and capitalist roaders in various journalistic units, vainly attempting to turn journalism into an instrument for subverting the dictatorship of the proletariat and restoring capitalism.

In the tempestuous great proletarian cultural revolution, the press, almost without exception, has been one of the focal points in the struggle everywhere between various political forces. As a result of this struggle, China's Khrushchov and his agents in the field of journalism have been ferreted out. The bourgeois line on journalism they pushed has utterly gone bankrupt. Nevertheless, the class struggle is by no means over; the struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie for leadership of the press is by no means over. Therefore, we are faced with an important task: energetically to promote Chairman Mao's proletarian line on journalism and com-

pletely to liquidate the counter-revolutionary revisionist line on journalism.

**SHOULD THE PRESS CHEER AND SHOUT
FOR THE SOCIALIST REVOLUTION, OR
SHOULD IT CLEAR THE WAY FOR
CAPITALISM?**

On October 1, 1949, New China emerged like the red sun in the East. With the democratic revolution concluded in the main, the great socialist revolution began.

As early as April 1948, Chairman Mao pointed out in his brilliant work "A Talk to the Editorial Staff of the *Shansi-Suiyuan Daily*":

You comrades are newspapermen. Your job is to educate the masses, to enable the masses to know their own interests, their own tasks and the Party's general and specific policies.¹

¹ *Ibid.*, p. 242.

He stressed the need "to teach the people to know the truth and arouse them to fight for their own emancipation".¹ Therefore, as an instrument of public opinion for the dictatorship of the proletariat, journalism in New China must clear the way for the change-over from the democratic revolution to the socialist revolution.

China's Khrushchov did his utmost to oppose this change-over. He ranted that it was necessary to "let capitalists remain and develop for a number of decades".² He demanded that the press beat the drum and clear the way for capitalism in China.

Six months after Chairman Mao gave his talk to the editorial staff of the *Shansi-Suiyuan Daily*, China's Khrushchov came up with his big poisonous weed, "Talk to the North China Group of News-

¹ *Ibid.*, p. 245.

² "Speech at the Congress of Workers and Staff in Tientsin", April 28, 1949.

men", in open opposition to Chairman Mao's thinking on the press.

In this talk, China's Khrushchov raised the supra-class, bourgeois slogan: "Serve the readers." He alleged: "You serve your readers, those who read your newspapers. If your readers say your newspapers are good, then your work has been well done."¹

Readers fall into different classes. Readers of different classes definitely do not share the same likes and dislikes. To what class do the readers whom China's Khrushchov wanted to serve belong? If we take a look at his speeches after the historic Second Plenary Session of the Seventh Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party, we shall see very clearly.

In April 1949, shortly after the Second Plenary Session of the Party's Seventh

¹"Talk to the North China Group of Newsmen", October 2, 1948.

Central Committee, he rushed to Tientsin and cried out on behalf of the bourgeoisie: "At present our newspapers in their propaganda do not give the liberal bourgeoisie even the fourth place. The emphasis is not on unity but on attacking. This is quite inappropriate."¹ He clamoured: "The liberal bourgeoisie should have its place in propaganda!"²

In May, he said with a bitter note of complaint in Peking that the newspapers "report good news about the workers every day, but are not friendly to the capitalists and do not report good news about them".³ He exerted himself to plead for the capitalists, saying: "The capitalists said that our newspapers are no good. I say they are indeed not so good. I admit this

¹"First Comments on the Work in Tientsin", April 18, 1949.

²"Directive on the Work in Tientsin", April 24, 1949.

³"Speech at the First National Congress of Youth", May 12, 1949.

mistake. Our newspapers are somewhat biased. In the future we should adopt this attitude: right is right and wrong is wrong, good is good and 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 so, too!"¹

In August, he went to northeast China. In the tone of the capitalists, he said: "The capitalists feel like this: you often say you treat us fine, but the papers say we are bad. The papers report what is good about the workers but what is bad about the capitalists."²

To what enormous pains did China's Khrushchov go to plead again and again for a place for the capitalist class! The

¹ "Speech at the Meeting of Peking Cadres", May 19, 1949.

² "Speech at the Meeting of Cadres of the Northeast China Bureau (of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party)", August 28, 1949.

"readers" this No. 1 agent of the bourgeoisie had in mind are no other than his masters, the capitalists!

Chairman Mao pointed out in his report to the Second Plenary Session of the Party's Seventh Central Committee that, **after the country-wide victory of the Chinese revolution and the solution of the land problem, the basic contradiction internally was "the contradiction between the working class and the bourgeoisie"**.¹ Where the bourgeoisie holds a place, the proletariat has no place; where capitalism holds a place, socialism has no place. The aim of China's Khrushchov in trying to win a "place" in the papers for the capitalists was precisely to overthrow proletarian leadership and develop capitalism in China. As a matter of fact, the broadcasting

¹ See "Report to the Second Plenary Session of the Seventh Central Committee of the Communist Party of China", *Selected Works of Mao Tse-tung*, Eng. ed., FLP, Peking, 1961, Vol. IV, p. 369.

stations put out "My Dream Has Come True!", a feature prettifying Sung Feiching, a good friend of China's Khrushchov's and a big capitalist in Tientsin. The newspapers carried a sinister editorial entitled "Fight for a Rich Life for the Peasants of North China", which blatantly advocated the development of capitalism in the countryside, and such slogans backing up the spontaneous forces of capitalism in the countryside as "Work diligently to become prosperous and produce more to get rich" and "Grow cotton if you want to become prosperous".

The capitalists were beside themselves with joy and the landlords and rich peasants were all smiles; their agent had indeed brought them "good news" about developing capitalism!

China's Khrushchov had decided views on what he referred to as "right and wrong" and "good and bad". He was very unhappy that our newspapers were "biased" in favour of the proletariat and social-

ism; when the capitalists frowned, he hastened to admit "mistakes" and went to the extremes of servility. What a faithful lackey of the capitalists! And those lackeys of this lackey, the counter-revolutionary revisionist Lu Ting-yi and his like, went so far as to assert that "our Party papers and journals should adapt themselves to the needs of all classes, including the bourgeoisie", and they issued orders that Party papers at all levels "do not have to proclaim themselves as organs of the Chinese Communist Party, nor need they say they are organs of the government; let them be called such and such a paper of this or that place".¹ They were really thoroughgoing, abandoning even the name of the Communist Party, in order to curry favour with the capitalists and to change

¹ "Directive on Not Publicizing the Status of Party Papers at All Levels in the Future", issued by the old Propaganda Department of the Party's Central Committee, December 1949.

the Party's news media smoothly into a tool for capitalism. What downright shamelessness!

Chairman Mao says:

The birth of a new social system is always accompanied by shouting and uproar, that is to say, by the propagation of the superiority of the new system and the repudiation of the backwardness of the old.¹

China's Khrushchov did quite the opposite; he did his best to turn back the wheel of proletarian journalism and to make it a reactionary tool for stemming the tide of socialism and developing the capitalist system. **"Opportunists who want to stem the tide are to be found almost everywhere, but the tide can never be stemmed. Socialism is everywhere advancing triumphantly, leaving all obstructions be-**

¹Introductory Note to "Strengthening the Co-op — A Good Example", 1955.

hind."¹ Guided by Chairman Mao's revolutionary line, the great Chinese socialist revolution has broken through one set of obstructions after another put up by the capitalist roaders and advanced swiftly and vigorously.

CHINA'S KHRUSHCHOV'S POLICY FOR LIBERALIZATION AND THE ATTACK BY THE BOURGEOIS RIGHTISTS

In 1956 the socialist transformation of the ownership of the means of production on China's economic front had in the main been completed. Yet the bourgeoisie and its agents were not willing to step down from the stage of history. Taking advantage of the wholesale outburst and deluge of modern revisionism following the

¹Mao Tse-tung, Introductory Note to "The Enthusiasm of Workers' Families Is Very High During the Co-operative Movement", 1955.

Twentieth Congress of the Soviet Communist Party, they launched vengeful political counter-attacks in the vain hope of recapturing the positions they had lost. At that point, China's Khrushchov, thinking that the climate was suitable for a "capitalist comeback", called together a handful of capitalist roaders in journalistic circles on three consecutive occasions within a short period of some three weeks between May and June, issued sinister instructions and drew up a sinister programme, with the aim of placing the instruments of journalism under his control and making them serve his attempt to restore capitalism.

His three talks were vile and long-winded, so full of absurdities that they need not be refuted point by point. They all boiled down to one thing: opposing Chairman Mao's proletarian line on journalism, flagrantly advocating bourgeois liberalization and clearing the way for unbridled attacks by the Rightists all over the coun-

try. We select just three main fallacies from these talks for exposure before the public.

First: "What would be better for Hsinhua, to be a state news agency, or an unofficial one? In my view, it is better to be an unofficial news agency, not a state one."¹ Why? Choking with anger, he said: "Everything is now being officially run, even the agricultural co-operatives." He added that the Hsinhua News Agency should be "unofficially run", and that it "should not always stress its official status, still less rigidly bind itself".² What he called "officially run" was actually the dictatorship of the proletariat. Thinking that the dictatorship of the proletariat "binds" the bourgeois journalistic line, he demanded "freedom" to oppose

¹"Directive on the Work of the Hsinhua News Agency", May 28, 1956.

²"Second Directive on the Work of the Hsinhua News Agency", June 19, 1956.

the dictatorship of the proletariat and restore capitalism. Chairman Mao teaches us that **“before classes are abolished, the newspapers, the periodicals, the radio and the news agencies all have their class character and all serve particular classes”**.¹ Journalism must be led by, or “bound” to, a particular class, and journalism supposedly free of any “bonds” simply does not exist. It is bound either to the proletariat or to the bourgeoisie — one or the other. Where is ever the newspaper in the world that is above classes?

The bourgeoisie long ago advertised their press as “independent”, “free from party affiliations”, and “untrammelled by party connections”.² But more than a

¹“Talk at the Reception for Some of the Journalists and Publishers Attending the Chinese Communist Party’s National Conference on Propaganda Work”, March 10, 1957.

²“The Principles of Journalism”, by Casper S. Yost.

century has passed, and those newspapers that wear the “independent” label are nothing but tools for particular parties or financial groups. When China’s Khrushchov advocated “unofficial” papers, this was a mere camouflage, a means by which he tried to wrest “freedom” and “rights” from the proletariat for the bourgeoisie and demanded the removal of “bonds”. It can be seen that what he called being “unofficially run” meant abolition of leadership by the proletariat and by the Communist Party. In a word, it meant being run by the bourgeoisie.

Second: “Journalists in other countries stress that their news reporting is objective, truthful and impartial; objective, truthful and impartial reporting is their slogan. If we dare not stress objective and truthful reporting, but only stress standpoint, then, our reporting will be subjective and one-sided.”¹ Behold! China’s

¹“Directive on the Work of the Hsinhua News Agency”, May 28, 1956.

Khrushchov, this out-and-out slave of foreigners who prostrated himself in admiration before foreign bourgeois journalists, went so far as to demand that proletarian newspapers should take over their slogan in full.

Journalism has class character and partisanship, and supra-class "objective reporting" does not exist. To deceive the people and maintain the criminal rule of the bourgeoisie, bourgeois newspapers always reverse right and wrong, distorting objective facts at will and slandering the revolutionary people without scruple. How can they talk of being "objective", "truthful" and "impartial"! Beguiling words like "objective", "truthful" and "impartial" are but so many soiled fig-leaves to hide the fact that they are serving the bourgeoisie and safeguarding its interests!

The proletariat never conceals its views. The whole purpose of proletarian journalism is to reflect the demands of the proletariat and the revolutionary people and

to serve the interests of the overwhelming majority of the population. Relying on that sharpest of weapons, Marxism-Leninism, Mao Tse-tung's thought, proletarian journalists are not only able to comprehend the essence and laws of objective things but dare to reveal them in reporting. Only by taking a clear-cut proletarian stand can one reflect objective reality accurately. China's Khrushchov tried in vain to substitute the bourgeois slogan of "objectivity", "truthfulness" and "impartiality" for the partisanship and class character of the proletarian press. He alleged: "News reporting nowadays is biased — it mentions only what is good, and is therefore one-sided. It is necessary to mention both what is good and what is not good . . . to report what people there [in capitalist countries] say good about us and what they say to revile us."¹ "We should not only report about imperialism

¹ *Ibid.*

as it is but also report about the mistakes of Communist Parties as they are.”¹ This sermonizing, which appeared to be “impartial”, suited very well the interests of the handful of reactionaries and it could be welcomed only by the bourgeoisie and imperialism. He spoke about taking no stand but in fact he stood on the side of the enemies of the proletariat. What was described as “objective”, “impartial” and so forth was in fact a pack of lies, pure and simple!

Third: In the press “there should be a number of different views. Here is the place to ‘Let a hundred schools of thought contend’ ”.² It should be pointed out that within the ranks of the people, we do allow different views to be raised in free discussion in the press, “so that the advanced

¹“Second Directive on the Work of the Hsinhua News Agency”, June 19, 1956.

²“Directive on the Work of the Hsinhua News Agency”, May 28, 1956.

people can educate the backward people by the method of democracy and persuasion and backward ideas and systems can be conquered”.¹ But, with regard to all reactionaries, we must have unanimity of public opinion and we do not allow them to voice “different views” and must not give them any freedom. Lenin put it well:

We do not intend to make our publication a mere storehouse of various views. On the contrary, we shall conduct it in the spirit of a strictly defined tendency. This tendency can be expressed by the word Marxism.²

The proletarian press must struggle in a clear-cut way against various reactionary classes, reactionary groups and reactionary trends of thought which oppose Marxism-

¹Mao Tse-tung, **Introductory Note to the “Second Set of Material About the Hu Feng Counter-Revolutionary Clique”**, 1955.

²“**Declaration of the Editorial Board of *Iskra***”, September 1900.

Leninism, Mao Tse-tung's thought. Without waging such struggles, the proletarian press would lose its revolutionary character.

Using crafty tactics, China's Khrushchov negated the class content of the revolutionary policy **"Let a hundred schools of thought contend"** and tried to replace it with "a number of different views". As Chairman Mao has pointed out time and again, the "hundred schools" are in reality two schools, the proletarian and the bourgeois. The political tendency of a newspaper, in the last analysis, represents either the views of the proletariat or those of the bourgeoisie; it propagates either Marxism-Leninism, Mao Tse-tung's thought, or bourgeois, revisionist ideas. China's Khrushchov went the length of declaring that "it would be better if the Hsinhua News Agency opened its doors wide", that "I stand for opening the doors wide",¹ and that "the press is allowed a

¹"Directive on the Work of the Hsinhua News Agency", May 28, 1956.

bit of liberalism".¹ It is crystal clear that, in preaching the idea that "there should be a number of different views", he aimed at "opening the doors wide" to all sorts of bourgeois ideas and letting them run rife, while depriving Marxism-Leninism, Mao Tse-tung's thought, of its right to speak.

These were the set of revisionist policies for liberalization of the press worked out by China's Khrushchov, policies for "opening the doors wide" to the bourgeoisie. Chairman Mao time and again dealt this evil tendency of bourgeois liberalization head-on blows. In May 1957, Chairman Mao made a concentrated exposure and repudiation of this quite serious revisionist idea in the Party. He pointed out:

They deny the Party spirit and class nature of the press, they try to obliterate the differences of principle between pro-

¹"Second Directive on the Work of the Hsinhua News Agency", June 19, 1956.

letarian and bourgeois journalism, and they confuse journalism reflecting the collective economy of the socialist countries with journalism reflecting the anarchic economy of the capitalist countries with its inter-group competition. They admire bourgeois liberalism and oppose the leadership of the Party. They favour democracy and oppose centralism. They oppose the necessary, but not over-centralized, leadership, planning and control of culture and education (including journalism), which are indispensable to a planned economy. Close as brothers, they and the Right-wing intellectuals in society support each other and work in unison.¹

It was precisely the policies of China's Khrushchov for bourgeois liberalization that became the general programme for

¹“Things Are Undergoing a Change”, May 1957.

action of the handful of Party capitalist readers and bourgeois Rightists in journalistic circles for usurping proletarian positions in journalism and opposing the Party and socialism, that became the mobilization orders for the bourgeois Rightists to launch their wild attacks in 1957.

Shortly after the three talks given by China's Khrushchov and as a result of the concrete plotting of the counter-revolutionary revisionists Teng To, Wu Leng-hsi, Mei Yi and company, a series of “changes in format” and “reforms” were carried out in the press, radio and news agencies. They wanted to turn these organs of public opinion serving the dictatorship of the proletariat into “weapons of the public” and “society's organs of opinion”,¹ in order to “allow people with different views” to “voice different

¹“To the Readers”, an editorial in *Renmin Ribao* on the change in format, July 1, 1956.

opinions".¹ The Rightists in journalism also barked like mad dogs. They vilified the Party press as "the papers of officialdom", as "the one and only"; they wanted to "set up more non-Party newspapers", alleging that "newspapers run by groups of colleagues should become 'democratic parties' in the field of the press", and they went so far as to raise a hullabaloo that "it is permissible for newspapers under socialism to put on rival shows and to attack on minor issues and support on major ones".² For a time it appeared as if the "city might crumble under the weight of dark clouds" and the reactionary bourgeois line in journalism came out into the open. The handful of Party capitalist roaders in journalism, forging an alliance with the bourgeois Rightists, usurped the

¹ Mei Yi's talk at the Fourth National Conference on Radio Broadcasting, August 16, 1956.

² All quoted from the speeches at the first forum of journalists in Peking in May 1957.

leadership of some newspapers and used these positions in journalism to launch furious attacks on socialism. Special mention should be made of the old *Wenhui Bao* which was controlled by that notorious Rightist Hsu Chu-cheng. This paper—a great favourite of China's Khrushchov and a self-styled "disinterested", "unofficial" paper in which "men of letters discuss politics" and "discuss but do not interfere in politics"—became an anti-Party, anti-socialist shock force in 1957. Putting up China's Khrushchov's signboard of "objectivity" and "impartiality", it reported a host of reactionary items which ran counter to the facts, printed a host of reactionary statements and used a host of reactionary methods in layout, stirring up storms and churning up waves so as to throw the country into confusion, topple the Communist Party and put the bourgeois Rightists in its place. Countless facts show that the dark

clouds menacing journalistic circles in 1957 had their source in the three talks that China's Khrushchov gave in 1956.

From the very beginning, Chairman Mao saw that class struggle between the bourgeoisie and the proletariat on the political-ideological front was inevitable. In early 1957, in his famous works "On the Correct Handling of Contradictions Among the People" and "Speech at the Chinese Communist Party's National Conference on Propaganda Work", Chairman Mao made a scientific, systematic and incisive analysis of the contradictions, classes and class struggle in socialist society, expounded the laws governing class struggle in socialist society, advanced the theory, principles and policies for distinguishing contradictions between the enemy and ourselves from contradictions among the people and for handling these two types of contradictions correctly, and set forth the great revolutionary policy of the pro-

letariat, "Let a hundred flowers blossom and a hundred schools of thought contend". In connection with the political situation of the time, Chairman Mao firmly declared: "We must not be afraid of opening wide, nor should we be afraid of criticism and poisonous weeds."¹ "Only when ghosts and monsters are allowed to come out into the open can they be wiped out; only when poisonous weeds are allowed to come out of the ground can they be uprooted."² But, Teng To, an agent of China's Khrushchov, had the audacity to withhold Chairman Mao's words from the Party paper, refusing to publicize Chairman Mao's great strategic plan and keeping the Party's policy secret. On the con-

¹ "Speech at the Chinese Communist Party's National Conference on Propaganda Work", March 12, 1957, Eng. ed., FLP, Peking, 1966, p. 25.

² "The Bourgeois Orientation of *Wenhui Bao* Should Be Repudiated", July 1, 1957.

trary, he gave some non-Party papers controlled by the bourgeois Rightists a free hand to make distorted propaganda in order to prevent the poisonous weeds from being exposed in the press, and to interfere with and undermine the great struggle to counter-attack the bourgeois Rightists. Chairman Mao issued an extremely sharp criticism, saying: **The Party press should promptly give publicity to the Party's policies. It was a mistake not to report the conference on propaganda work. The conference was attended by both Party and non-Party people, why then has it not been reported in the press? Why is there no editorial on the Supreme State Conference? Why are the Party's policies being kept secret? There is a ghost here; where is this ghost? We used to say that it was the pedants who ran the papers, now we should say it is the dead. More often than not you sing against the Central Committee's policies.**

You dislike, you oppose, you disapprove of these policies.¹

The plots and tricks of all the counter-revolutionary revisionists were after all futile. On July 1 that year, Chairman Mao himself wrote an important editorial for *Renmin Ribao* — “The Bourgeois Orientation of *Wenhui Bao* Should Be Repudiated”. In this brilliant article and a series of related instructions, Chairman Mao made a highly concentrated generalization of the life-and-death struggle between the two classes on the political-ideological front (particularly in journalistic circles) in our country in 1957, sharply and penetratingly criticized and repudiated all the policies of China's Khrushchov for bourgeois liberalization, and swept away the dark clouds over journalistic circles. Those Rightist ghosts and freaks who were so cocky and noisy for a time met their doom under the impact

¹ Criticism of *Renmin Ribao*, April 1957.

of the mighty revolutionary power of Mao Tse-tung's thought.

A COUNTER-REVOLUTIONARY TACTIC FOR CREATING PUBLIC OPINION FOR CAPITALIST RESTORATION

At the Lushan Meeting in August 1959, the Peng Teh-huai anti-Party clique which was under the wing of China's Khrushchov sprang out in wild opposition to the general line, the big leap forward and the people's communes, and attempted to overthrow the proletarian headquarters headed by Chairman Mao. But their conspiracy failed. The great red banner of Mao Tse-tung's thought flew high and the Right opportunists were dismissed from office.

The Ninth Plenary Session of the Party's Eighth Central Committee held in 1961 under the direct guidance of Chairman Mao re-affirmed that "the Party's general line for socialist construction, the

big leap forward and the people's communes suit the actual conditions of China", and it pointed out sharply:

An extremely small number of unreformed landlord and bourgeois elements, accounting for only a few per cent of the population, are always attempting to stage a come-back... have taken advantage of the difficulties caused by natural calamities and of some shortcomings in the work at the primary levels to carry out sabotage activities.

China's Khrushchov, who always dreamed of restoring capitalism, once again extended his sinister hand into journalistic circles. During this period, a handful of capitalist roaders groomed by China's Khrushchov were already in control of many press units. Soon after the Ninth Plenary Session of the Eighth Central Committee, he told his agents in press circles: "Don't link news coverage too

closely with current reality. If you link them closely and report the concrete work and struggles of the moment, you are liable to make mistakes. You should learn to maintain links with current reality while keeping a certain distance from it. Don't restrict yourselves to the realities of the moment; you can also report things less closely connected with current struggles."¹

To "keep a certain distance from current reality" on the one hand and "report things less closely connected with current struggles" on the other—here was an even more sinister and cunning new tactic adopted by China's Khrushchov in the new situation. In the words of his henchmen, this was an "outflanking tactic", namely, "stressing no direct co-ordination" but using the method of "dealing with a small subject to show a big idea" and, from "different angles" and in "different

¹ "Directive on the Work of *Renmin Ribao*", 1961.

forms", and "with reservations", treating themes opposing the Party, socialism and Mao Tse-tung's thought in a "round-about" style of writing, so as to act in indirect "co-ordination"¹ with activities to restore capitalism.

This was an absolutely vicious counter-revolutionary tactic! The agents of China's Khrushchov in journalistic circles had a deep understanding of it. They came out with it plainly when they said: "It is a political necessity to write travelogues and essays imparting knowledge!" That notorious big renegade Teng To went so far as to exclaim with delight at a "meeting of the gods" sponsored by four Peking newspapers and journals that he would rely on this tactic to "strive to blaze a new trail!"²

¹ All quotations cited from "Comments by the Editorial Board of *Renmin Ribao* in Discussing the Special Column 'The Long and the Short'", 1962.

² Teng To's talk on July 28, 1961.

Well, what "new trail" did they in fact blaze? Wu Leng-hsi came forward to put in the Party paper a special column entitled "The Long and the Short" for the purpose of "reforming current abuses"; on the heels of the column "Evening Chats at Yenshan" came the "Three-Family Village" gangster inn jointly sponsored by Teng To, Wu Han and Liao Mo-sha; special programmes such as "Historical Tales" and "Reading and Appreciation" were put on by the radio; special columns imparting "knowledge" like "Rambling Talks of Yunnan" and "Rambling Chats at Lihsia" appeared one after another in many local newspapers, and so on and so forth.

It was precisely along this "new trail" that those renegades, enemy agents, scum of all sorts, ghosts and monsters, survivals of the feudal class, bourgeois "scholars" and "authorities" first raised their heads and looked around and then swaggered into press circles, becoming counter-

revolutionary hatchetmen of China's Khru-shchov and his agents. They collaborated with one another, used one another, and for their common "political needs", resorted to every possible plot and stratagem, such as using ancient things to satirize the present, reviling one thing while pointing at another, attacking by innuendo and "sailing the seas under a false flag", in an all-out counter-revolutionary campaign.

"Keep a certain distance from current reality"? What an out-and-out fraud! Just see how they brought out such corpses from feudal times as Hai Jui, Yu Chien and Li San-tsai and openly complained on behalf of Peng Teh-huai and his gang, who had been dismissed from office at the Lushan Meeting, and encouraged them. Was this "keeping a certain distance" from reality? They used all kinds of "stories", "fables" and "metaphors" to make unscrupulous attacks on the proletarian headquarters of the Party Central

Committee headed by Chairman Mao and on Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line. Was this "keeping a distance" from reality? Under cover of "learning useful knowledge, both ancient and modern", they went out of their way to sell the rotten ideas of the landlord and capitalist classes, in order to poison people's minds, undermine people's fighting morale and push "peaceful evolution" in an all-round way. Was this "keeping a distance" from reality? In point of fact, it was during this very period that big counter-revolutionary poisonous weeds were running wild in "reality". The activities of China's Khrushchov and company were very closely linked with "reality". Mei Yi, who worked with a will peddling the concept of "keeping a distance", betrayed the essence of this "theory" in a single statement. He said: "It may look as though it's unconnected with reality, but this is actually the best way to link up with reality. Not linking up means a link

too, for it is linked with the big reality."¹ Wasn't this so-called "big reality" the "reality" of China's Khrushchov's attempt to restore capitalism!

"Things less closely connected with current struggles"? Not at all! This was a soul-stirring class struggle. Hiding behind the screen of "things less closely connected with current struggles", they bent every effort to mould counter-revolutionary public opinion in the ideological sphere. Their method was to "decapitate with a soft knife". They were a gang of murderers who killed people without drawing blood. When the conditions were ripe, they would overthrow the dictatorship of the proletariat.

Suddenly came a clap of spring thunder. Just as these man-eating demons bared their fangs and unsheathed their claws, our great supreme commander Chairman Mao, at the Tenth Plenary Session of the

¹ Mei Yi's talk on June 18, 1962.

Party's Eighth Central Committee, issued this earth-shaking call: "**Never forget class struggle!**" Chairman Mao wisely pointed out in this statement:

To overthrow a political power, it is always necessary first of all to create public opinion, to do work in the ideological sphere. This is true for the revolutionary class as well as for the counter-revolutionary class.

Chairman Mao's brilliant concept educated the whole Party and the people throughout the country and dealt a crushing blow to the criminal activities of China's Khrushchov in using the positions of public opinion for restoring capitalism.

**CHINA'S KHRUSHCHOV WAS THE
CHIEF CULPRIT OPPOSING THE
PROPAGATION OF MAO TSE-TUNG'S
THOUGHT**

On the initiative and under the guidance of Comrade Lin Piao, close comrade-in-

arms of Chairman Mao, a mass movement for the creative study and application of Chairman Mao's works developed throughout the country. Time and again Comrade Lin Piao instructed the press to propagate Mao Tse-tung's thought energetically and to "hold aloft the great red banner of Mao Tse-tung's thought and run newspapers in the spirit of Chairman Mao's instructions".¹ It was at this juncture, namely, in 1964, that China's Khrushchov could no longer hold in check his mortal hatred for the propagation of Mao Tse-tung's thought. He sprang out to condemn newspapers for propagating Mao Tse-tung's thought "too much", ranting that "a certain danger is involved in doing too much".² At their master's voice, a hundred responses came from the lackeys. The agents of China's Khrushchov in journalism lost no time in

¹ "**Directive on Running Newspapers Well**", December 1960.

² A talk in 1964.

brandishing three big sticks — “formalism”, “over-simplification” and “vulgarization” — to block in every way the dissemination of the great thought of Mao Tse-tung and the reporting of the mass movement for the creative study and application of Chairman Mao’s works by workers, peasants and soldiers. They frantically blustered: “It’s impossible for the workers, peasants and soldiers to get quick results from their study of Chairman Mao’s works”,¹ and that the propagation of Mao Tse-tung’s thought “shouldn’t be done with a big hullabaloo”. They openly issued the order: “There has been a lot of publicity for some time about learning from the People’s Liberation Army and about studying the *Selected Works of Mao Tse-tung*. Now there is no need to report it so inten-

¹ A talk by Wu Leng-hsi in 1964 to members of the reporting department and theoretical department of *Renmin Ribao*.

sively and give it such prominence”,¹ and “no mention of an ‘upsurge’ should be made in regard to the study of Chairman Mao’s works”.² Acting on the instructions of China’s Khrushchov, the gang of counter-revolutionary revisionists who had usurped the leadership in China’s journalistic circles, cut to a bare minimum the dissemination of Mao Tse-tung’s thought. Whenever the phrase “holding high the great red banner of Mao Tse-tung’s thought” or “guided by the thought of Mao Tse-tung” appeared in a story, they would cross it out. They would either suppress arbitrarily stories about workers, peasants and soldiers studying Chairman Mao’s works or use reactionary tricks in layout to play them down.

¹ A talk by Wu Leng-hsi during April or May of 1964.

² A talk by Wu Leng-hsi in 1966 to a joint conference of leading members of the Peking press.

This prompts the question: Since China's Khrushchov and his agents in journalism shudder at seeing Mao Tse-tung's thought disseminated in the newspapers and are stung to make mad attacks on seeing reports featuring outstanding heroes armed with the thought of Mao Tse-tung, what then is the difference between them and the imperialists, the modern revisionists and the reactionaries who panic and call up the police and troops to make raids and beat up people as soon as they catch sight of a copy of *Quotations from Chairman Mao Tse-tung* or a Chairman Mao badge?!

Ours is a new era which has Mao Tse-tung's thought as its great banner.

The Eleventh Plenary Session of the Party's Eighth Central Committee stressed that "the most reliable and fundamental guarantee against revisionism and the restoration of capitalism and for the victory of our socialist and communist cause

is to arm the masses of workers, peasants and soldiers, revolutionary intellectuals and cadres with Mao Tse-tung's thought and to promote the revolutionizing of people's ideology".

Therefore, whether to propagate the great thought of Mao Tse-tung, or not to propagate it, or even to make counter-propaganda against it, is the watershed between the proletarian press and the bourgeois press, as well as a touchstone for distinguishing a Marxist-Leninist from a counter-revolutionary revisionist.

The most fundamental and most important task of the proletarian press is to propagate Mao Tse-tung's thought energetically and use Mao Tse-tung's thought to command everything, to examine everything critically and to transform everything.

Mao Tse-tung's thought is Marxism-Leninism of the present era. By propagat-

ing Mao Tse-tung's thought well, our newspapers will be able to help the masses free themselves from the ideological influences and shackles of the exploiting classes, resist corruption by revisionist and bourgeois ideology and promote the ideological revolutionization of the people.

Mao Tse-tung's thought is a powerful ideological weapon for opposing imperialism and for opposing revisionism and dogmatism. As an instrument of the dictatorship of the proletariat, socialist journalism energetically propagating Mao Tse-tung's thought and using Mao Tse-tung's thought to criticize and repudiate the counter-revolutionary ideology of the bourgeoisie and all other exploiting classes constitutes an important aspect of the dictatorship of the proletariat over the bourgeoisie in the superstructure, including all spheres of culture. This is of tremendous significance in defending the political power of the proletariat and preventing

the repetition in China of the restoration of capitalism which has taken place in the Soviet Union.

Mao Tse-tung's thought is the great theory of continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat. It is the guiding principle for all the work of the Party and the country. By holding high the great red banner of Mao Tse-tung's thought and persisting in giving prominence to Mao Tse-tung's thought in all our propaganda, our newspapers will be able to give correct guidance to the three great revolutionary movements of class struggle, the struggle for production and scientific experiment, and to organize and inspire the revolutionary people in their hundreds of millions to carry the socialist revolution through to the end along the route charted by Chairman Mao.

Mao Tse-tung's thought is the soul of our proletarian press. Only by propagating Mao Tse-tung's thought well, can our

press, in the course of protracted struggle to consolidate the dictatorship of the proletariat and to prevent the restoration of capitalism, play to the full "a tremendous role . . . as an organizer, inspirer, agitator, critic and driving force".¹ Our highest criterion for running our newspapers well is the successful propagation of Mao Tse-tung's thought. China's Khrushchov and his agents in the field of journalism went out of their way to sabotage the propagation of Mao Tse-tung's thought and tried to check the wide dissemination and popularization of Mao Tse-tung's thought. But this was all in vain. The vigorous study and application of Mao Tse-tung's thought by the masses of revolutionary people has become a great trend in our era. The brilliance of Mao Tse-tung's thought is illuminating all China and the whole world.

¹ Mao Tse-tung, "Letter to Comrades Liu Chien-hsun and Wei Kuo-ching", January 12, 1958.

THE GREAT PROLETARIAN CULTURAL REVOLUTION AND THE BANKRUPTCY OF THE BOURGEOIS LINE ON JOURNALISM OF CHINA'S KHRUSHCHOV

Like a clap of thunder, the great proletarian cultural revolution, which Chairman Mao personally initiated and is leading, blasted open the counter-revolutionary independent kingdom of the press controlled by China's Khrushchov and his agents, and shook the vast land of China. China's Khrushchov and his pack of lackeys Peng Chen, Lo Jui-ching, Lu Ting-yi, Chou Yang and company were thrown into confusion and their battle formation disrupted. To save themselves from their doom, they hastily cooked up in February 1966 the counter-revolutionary "Outline Report on the Current Academic Discussion" which reversed right and wrong and tried to suppress the revolution and shield villains. They used a host of schemes and stratagems to maintain their control over the

press in a futile effort to stamp out the raging flames of the revolution, shift the target of attack and cover their own retreat.

The May 16, 1966 Circular of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party — an epoch-making document worked out under the personal guidance of Chairman Mao — dealt China's Khrushchov and company a devastating blow. Chairman Mao called on the whole Party to **“hold high the great banner of the proletarian cultural revolution . . . thoroughly criticize and repudiate reactionary bourgeois ideas in the sphere of academic work, education, journalism, literature and art and publishing, and seize the leadership in these cultural spheres”**. In January 1967, the proletarian revolutionaries of *Wenhui Bao* in Shanghai rose to seize the leadership from the handful of Party persons in authority taking the capitalist road; thus the great storm of the “January Revolution” was set off first of all in journalistic

circles. Chairman Mao gave a very high appraisal of the seizure of power in *Wenhui Bao* when he pointed out: **“This is a great revolution, a revolution in which one class overthrows another.”**

The great cultural revolution on the journalistic front, just as on the other fronts, entered the new stage of waging the struggle to seize power from the handful of capitalist roaders in the Party. The forces of China's Khrushchov dominating press circles totally collapsed. Those poison-spreading and rumour-mongering old newspapers, such as *Yangcheng Wanbao* and *Nanfang Ribao*, one after another were closed down or stormed, and their leadership seized by revolutionaries. This is very good! Very good, indeed! It is a mighty victory for the great proletarian cultural revolution, a great victory for the invincible thought of Mao Tse-tung!

The sharp and bitter class struggle on the front of journalism over the past eighteen

years has provided us with extremely rich and valuable experience and lessons.

First, it is the fundamental task of the proletarian press, radio and news agencies unswervingly and consistently to propagate Mao Tse-tung's thought. The proletarian press must regard the spreading of Mao Tse-tung's thought as its most sacred duty. Efforts must be made to turn the press into a great school for the study, dissemination and popularization of Mao Tse-tung's thought, put Mao Tse-tung's thought in command of every aspect of news reporting, and relay the voice of Chairman Mao most promptly and accurately, so that the worker, peasant and soldier masses are imbued with Mao Tse-tung's thought, translate it into their conscious action and make it an inexhaustible force for transforming the world. There must be accuracy in the propagation of Mao Tse-tung's thought. Any word or action which distorts, tampers with or runs counter to Mao Tse-tung's thought, especially the base

tactic of opposing the red flag by waving "red flags", must be resolutely resisted, firmly opposed and thoroughly criticized and repudiated, whether it comes from the Right or from the extreme "Left". Preventing Chairman Mao's voice from being heard is a dirty trick commonly used by all the counter-revolutionary revisionists. Our press must act resolutely in the opposite way. Thus our press will be able to hold aloft the great red banner of Mao Tse-tung's thought and very clearly point out the orientation of struggle to the revolutionary masses at every stage.

In disseminating Mao Tse-tung's thought, it is imperative to persist in a tit-for-tat struggle against all reactionary ideas that oppose Marxism-Leninism, Mao Tse-tung's thought. At present, we must continue the mass exposure and mass criticism and repudiation of modern revisionism internationally. We must make further efforts to criticize and repudiate the counter-revolutionary revisionist line of China's Khru-

shchov, the bourgeois reactionary theory of "many centres", all manifestations of the reactionary bourgeois world outlook, such as the "mountain-stronghold" mentality, sectarianism and individualism, and all reactionary views that oppose the proletariat. Put destruction first, and in the process you have construction. It is in the course of the struggle against all sorts of bourgeois reactionary ideas that Mao Tse-tung's thought has developed.

Second, so long as the world is divided into classes, the press will remain an instrument of class struggle.¹ This is the basic viewpoint of Chairman Mao on the work of the press. The proletariat wants to keep the leadership of the press in its own hands and make it an instrument of the dictatorship of the proletariat; likewise,

¹ Quoted from "The Bourgeois Orientation of *Wenhui Bao* over a Period of Time", an article by the editorial department of *Renmin Ribao*, June 14, 1957.

the bourgeoisie tries hard to seize the leadership of the press and turn it into an instrument for subverting the dictatorship of the proletariat — this has been the focus of the struggle between the two classes on the front of journalism in our country over the past eighteen years. This struggle has not ended with the seizure of power by the proletarian revolutionaries. The representatives of the bourgeoisie will still plot to contend with the proletariat for the leadership in journalism by every vile means. Therefore, an important task for journalistic circles at present is conscientiously to purify the class ranks, so as to clear out the handful of die-hard capitalist roaders, renegades, enemy agents and reactionary men of letters as well as landlords, rich peasants, counter-revolutionaries, bad elements and Rightists. Only when this work is done well can a contingent of proletarian journalists be created, and the magnificent fruits of the great proletarian cultural revolution be consolidated and developed

organizationally. Journalistic units at all levels should all set up their own revolutionized, vigorous and militant leading group and boldly promote a host of newborn forces of the proletariat to responsible posts, so as to guarantee that the leadership of journalism in our country be firmly in the hands of proletarian revolutionaries who are loyal to Mao Tse-tung's thought, put proletarian politics to the fore and are full of revolutionary vigour. Attention must be paid to the fact that people may change, and therefore it is necessary constantly to clear out those elements who have become corrupt, and not allow them to get hold of newspapers or any other news medium.

Third, criticism and repudiation of the reactionary bourgeois line on journalism must be conducted in a deep-going and sustained way, so that its poisonous influence will be completely eliminated and the struggle between the two lines in journalistic circles carried through to the end.

In addition to overall criticism and repudiation of the bourgeois line on journalism historically, special attention must be paid at present to criticizing and repudiating the utterly wrong practices of using the news media to serve a particular bourgeois or petty-bourgeois faction only. The newspapers, radio and other news media everywhere must resolutely carry out all directives from the proletarian headquarters headed by Chairman Mao and with Vice-Chairman Lin Piao as its deputy leader, and criticize and repudiate bourgeois liberalism. To avert their doom, the handful of class enemies are trying by hook or by crook to spread rumours and slanders, fabricate "grape-vine news", disseminate all kinds of stories and gossip in a vain effort to palm off falsehood as truth and create confusion so as to interfere with the great strategic plan of Chairman Mao and undermine the great proletarian cultural revolution. We must resolutely expose such counter-revolutionary activ-

ities as these and strike hard at them. The revolutionary masses should be good at distinguishing truth from falsehood in the complicated class struggle and at seeing through the enemy's intrigues and plots. There are still some comrades in our own ranks who, with an eye to the selfish interests of their narrow faction, interpret the instructions of the proletarian headquarters out of context to meet their own needs, and release sensational news and pictures to create a certain public opinion; or, disregarding the overall situation and the interests of the proletariat, wilfully make public various materials and documents, thus causing serious cases of divulging Party and state secrets. All this is utterly wrong and is a vicious expression of the poisonous influence of the bourgeois line on journalism during the great cultural revolution, and this must be corrected resolutely. Chairman Mao has admonished us: **“What to publicize in the press depends**

on whether or not it benefits the people.”¹ **“Striving to suit the tastes of our enemies, of imperialism, in speaking and writing means deceiving the masses, with the result that our enemies are gratified while our own class is misled.”** We advise those who have been poisoned by the bourgeois line on journalism and who have still not awakened, to study this great teaching of Chairman Mao's earnestly.

“A Talk to the Editorial Staff of the *Shansi-Suiyuan Daily*” by Chairman Mao and his series of instructions on journalistic work issued over the years represent the sole correct guiding principle for us, the proletariat, in running newspapers, the radio, the news agencies and all other journalistic undertakings, and they also serve as our powerful weapon for criticism and repudiation of the reactionary bour-

¹ **Talk at a forum of heads of propaganda, cultural and educational departments of nine provinces and municipalities, March 6, 1957.**

geois line on journalism. We must resolutely live up to Chairman Mao's line on journalism and foster a serious, scientific and militant proletarian working style.

Fourth, journalistic organizations must take the road of "better troops and simpler administration", firmly adhere to the mass line and maintain close ties with the working class and the working masses.

Chairman Mao has taught us that **to run a newspaper well the fundamental issue is to revolutionize the ideology of its staff.**¹

He said:

Newspapermen must frequently go down and breathe fresh air and must not stay in Peking all the time. Those who go down should do other work as well as reporting.²

He has also said:

¹ A talk given in January 1964.

² A talk concerning *Renmin Ribao* given in January 1958.

With our newspapers, too, we must rely on everybody, on the masses of the people, on the whole Party to run them, not merely on a few persons working behind closed doors.¹

He again pointed out recently:

Newspapers must not be run behind closed doors. They must face the masses and must have the correct general orientation and at the same time be fresh and lively.

All journalistic organizations must resolutely follow the great teachings of Chairman Mao, courageously break the shackles of all sorts of old conventions and habits, face the masses and implement the policy for "better troops and simpler administration".

¹ "A Talk to the Editorial Staff of the *Shansi-Suiyuan Daily*", April 2, 1948, *Selected Works of Mao Tse-tung*, Eng. ed., FLP, Peking, 1961, Vol. IV, p. 242.

Why is it that so many people are needed to run newspapers and periodicals? It is imperative to have "better troops and simpler administration", strengthen the ties between journalists and the masses and effect a great revolution, so as completely to change the bourgeois overlords' style of work characterized by looking down on workers and peasants and running newspapers behind closed doors, and to carry out still better Chairman Mao's line of relying on the masses to run newspapers. "Better troops and simpler administration" is an extremely important organizational guarantee at present for running the proletarian newspapers well. Workers with proletarian consciousness and practical experience in production should be drawn on to the newspapers' staffs, and large numbers of worker and peasant correspondents who remain in production should be trained, so as to put an end to the situation in which intellectuals work in concentrated groups.

People working in journalism must go among the worker, peasant and soldier masses, must integrate themselves with the working people. They must take the proletarian stand and carry out thorough investigations and studies. They must be good at promptly reflecting typical cases of advanced things that have emerged from among the revolutionary masses and at promptly relaying the voices from among the proletarian revolutionaries and the revolutionary masses at large who call for advance. They must carry out the line of "from the masses, to the masses", concentrating the correct ideas of the masses and then persevering in them and carrying them through among the masses, as Chairman Mao has always taught us to do. Without solving this question, a proletarian newspaper cannot be run well and the power of leadership can be lost very easily. This is a question that needs to be solved more fully.

Let us hold high the great red banner of Mao Tse-tung's thought, closely follow Chairman Mao's great strategic plan, continue our victorious advance and carry the great revolution on the journalistic front through to the end!

把新闻战线的大革命进行到底

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