

# PEKING REVIEW

26

June 24, 1966

**Chairman Mao Has Elevated  
Marxism-Leninism to a Completely  
New Stage With Great Talent**

— Comrade Lin Piao's letter

***Carry Out the Cultural Revolution  
Thoroughly and Transform the  
Educational System Completely***

**Chinese Party and Government  
Delegation Headed by Comrade  
Chou En-lai Visits Rumania**

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# PEKING REVIEW

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DECISION OF C.P.C. CENTRAL COMMITTEE AND STATE COUNCIL

# On Reform of Entrance Examination and Enrolment in Higher Educational Institutions

**T**HE Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party and the State Council issued a notice on June 13 announcing that, to ensure the successful carrying out of the cultural revolution to the end, and to effect a thorough reform of the educational system, a decision had been made to change the old system of entrance examination and enrolment of students in higher educational institutions and to postpone this year's enrolment of new students for colleges and universities for half a year.

The full text of the notice follows:

Considering that the great cultural revolution is only now developing in the colleges, universities and senior middle schools, a certain period of time will be needed in order to carry this movement through thoroughly and successfully. Bourgeois domination is still deeply rooted and the struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie is very acute in quite a number of universities, colleges and middle schools. A thoroughgoing cultural revolution movement in the higher educational institutions and senior middle schools will have most far-reaching effects on school education in the future. Meanwhile, though it has been constantly improved since liberation, the method of examination and enrolment for the higher educational institutions, has failed, in the main, to free itself from the set pattern of the bourgeois system of examination; and such a method is harmful to the implementation of the guiding policy on education formulated by the Central Com-

mittee of the Party and Chairman Mao, and to absorption into the higher educational institutions of a still greater number of revolutionary young people from among the workers, peasants and soldiers. This system of examination must be completely reformed. Therefore, time is also needed to study and work out new methods of enrolment.

In view of the above-mentioned situation, the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party and the State Council have decided to postpone for half a year the 1966 enrolment into the higher educational institutions so that, on the one hand, they and the senior middle schools will have enough time to carry out the cultural revolution thoroughly and successfully and, on the other hand, there will be adequate time for making all preparations for the implementation of a new method of enrolment.

In order that enrolment and the opening of a new semester in the senior middle schools shall not be affected, the students graduating from senior middle school this term in schools where the cultural revolution is still under way should be properly accommodated and their time-table arranged by the school authorities so that the movement may be carried out thoroughly and successfully; in the case of students in schools where the movement is completed before enrolment into the higher educational institutions has begun, their schools should organize them to participate in productive labour in the countryside or in the factories.

## Nationwide Acclaim for Decision to Change College Entrance Examination System

**T**HE decision by the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party and the State Council to change the entrance examination system for college students has been warmly welcomed by revolutionary teachers and students, as well as workers, peasants and soldiers throughout the nation. They hail the decision as a new victory for Mao Tse-tung's thought.

As soon as the radio announced the decision on the evening of June 17, revolutionary teachers and students in Peking joyously passed the news on. Holding aloft portraits of Chairman Mao Tse-tung and beating drums and gongs, group after group of teachers and students went to the offices of the Party's Central Committee and the State Council to deliver messages of greetings. Many

converged on Tien An Men Square in the heart of the capital and held meetings there. They expressed full support for the decision and pledged to follow the instructions of the Party's Central Committee and Chairman Mao, carry the great proletarian cultural revolution through to the end, thoroughly eradicate the bourgeois and revisionist lines in education, guarantee that the great red banner of Mao Tse-tung's thought would for ever fly high in the field of proletarian education and that Mao Tse-tung's thought would be

passed on from generation to generation.

Revolutionary teachers and students of Peking University, in the city's western suburb, where major successes have been won in the cultural revolution, wrote letters to the Party's Central Committee and Chairman Mao, and walked into the city late at night to deliver them. Second-year students specializing in palaeontology in the university's geology and geography department declared in their letter that they were determined to smash all existing systems of bourgeois education and replace them with a system of proletarian education. They added: "In the past two years of our university life, we have become deeply aware of the corrosive effects of bourgeois ideology coming in through various channels. If these channels were not blocked, it would be possible for the bourgeoisie to stage a come-back and our country to change colour. Only by doing away completely with the old systems will it be possible to achieve a thorough remoulding of bourgeois intellectuals, prevent the emergence of a new bourgeois intellectual aristocracy, and ensure that our Party and our country will never change colour."

The students vowed to the Party's Central Committee and their beloved leader Chairman Mao that they were determined to pass on the great red banner of Mao Tse-tung's thought from generation to generation and see to it that the plot of the bourgeoisie to restore its rule would never succeed. They continued: "In our hearts, the highest authority is Chairman Mao, our greatest, wisest and most beloved leader, and the invincible thought of Mao Tse-tung."

Teachers and students of middle schools, including final-year students in junior and senior middle schools, also went in groups to the offices of the Party's Central Committee and the State Council, singing revolutionary songs on their way to express their joy and revolutionary determination, and their love for Chairman Mao. A leading member of the State Council met them and said that he would pass on their warm greetings and their pledges to Chairman Mao

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### Comrade Chou En-lai to Lead Party and Government Delegation on Visit to Albania

Chou En-lai, Vice-Chairman of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China and Premier of the State Council of the People's Republic of China, will soon lead a Chinese Party and government delegation to the People's Republic of Albania on a friendly visit at the invitation of the Central Committee of the Albanian Party of Labour and the Council of Ministers of the People's Republic of Albania.

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Tse-tung, Chairman Liu Shao-chi and Premier Chou En-lai. He encouraged them to hold high the great red banner of Mao Tse-tung's thought and carry the great proletarian cultural revolution through to the end. With great animation, the students shouted: "Long live the Chinese Communist Party!" "Long live Chairman Mao!" "Thoroughly transform the educational system!" and "Long live the great proletarian cultural revolution!"

At the Peking No. 1 Girls' Middle School, where the students were the first to propose the abolition of the old college entrance examination system, and at the Peking No. 4 Middle School, where the students were the first to endorse the proposal, the decision made by the Party's Central Committee and the State Council was received enthusiastically. When it was announced over the radio, the teachers and students of both schools shouted: "Long live Chairman Mao!" and "Long live the Chinese Communist Party!" They excitedly repeated to one another: "We have the support of the Party's Central Committee and Chairman Mao!" They expressed their determination to hold still higher the great red banner of Mao Tse-tung's thought, serve as vanguards in the great proletarian cultural revolution, be brave revolutionaries in Mao

Tse-tung's era and carry the revolution through to the end. Letters and telegrams expressing congratulations have been pouring into the two schools in an endless stream since the announcement of the decision.

### Support From Workers and Peasants

Model workers and peasants in Peking hailed the decision as a success for the great proletarian cultural revolution which is now developing in depth and as a fresh victory for Mao Tse-tung's great thought. Expressing wholehearted support for the wise decision, the well-known worker-engineer Ni Chi-fu said: "Facts show that it is absolutely impossible to transform the educational system completely without thoroughly toppling the bourgeois 'authorities' in the educational field and without seizing the educational positions from the tight grip of the bourgeoisie." Ni Chi-fu had only studied off and on for three years in the old society. After liberation, with the help of the Communist Party, he studied in a spare-time school and then at a secondary technical school. He is now an engineer trained by the working class itself. He stressed that the Party and Chairman Mao had led the Chinese workers to liberation politically and had also helped them to become masters of science and culture.

Model peasant Li Tsung-ho, secretary of the Party general branch of a production brigade of a people's commune on the outskirts of Peking, said that the change in the college entrance examination system was an important measure for the complete emancipation of poor and lower-middle peasants. "It is an important guarantee for the permanent control of state power by our proletarian class and one that will ensure that our descendants carry on the revolution under the guidance of Mao Tse-tung's thought," he said.

### Support From Students Across The Land

In Shanghai, Tientsin, Wuhan, Canton and other major cities, revolutionary teachers and students voiced

firm support for the decision. They described the decision as one of great historic significance and a heavy blow at the old ideas on education and the old educational system of the exploiting classes which had ruled China for thousands of years. They added that it was a new victory for the great proletarian cultural revolution and for Mao Tse-tung's great thought.

In Shanghai, hundreds of last-year middle school students gathered in front of the office of *Jiefang Ribao* (Liberation Daily) and presented the editorial board with letters addressed to the Party's Central Committee and Chairman Mao in support of the decision. At the city's Shihpei Middle School, one student said: "The old college entrance examination system served the schemes of the bourgeoisie for a come-back. It helped to train successors for the capitalist class. We will carry forward our revolution under the leadership of the Party's Central Committee and Chairman Mao." Another student said: "We want to be tested in the three great revolutionary movements — class struggle, the struggle for production and scientific experiment. Our examination halls are in the factories and in the villages, and the most important content for our examinations is the creative study and application of Chairman Mao's works."

There was a particularly enthusiastic welcome among the sons and daughters of workers and poor and lower-middle peasants. Feng Yung-shu, son of a poor peasant now studying in a senior middle school in Chengtu, said: "The decision fully shows the confidence and hope placed on us as successors to the revolution." Li Ya-chin, a student at a senior middle school in Liaoning Province in northeast China, said: "The old examination system placed school marks above everything. It excluded children of workers and peasants and trained successors for the bourgeoisie. As a worker's daughter, I must be a successor to the proletarian revolution. We must train ourselves in the college of class struggle and devote our life to serving the workers, peasants and soldiers."

Many proposals are being put forward by teachers and students for revision of the curricula and including Chairman Mao's works as a required subject. Revolutionary teachers and students in Shenyang in northeast China have suggested that teaching materials be thoroughly revised. They have also asked for the inclusion of writings by workers, peasants and soldiers on their study of Chairman Mao's works as important teaching material.

### Students of National Minorities Rejoice

Teachers and students of various nationalities throughout the country acclaimed the decision and voiced their support at meetings and by posters written in bold Chinese characters. They also sent letters and telegrams to the Party's Central Committee and Chairman Mao expressing their determination to follow the teachings of the Party's Central Committee and Chairman Mao, to follow the example of the revolutionary students in Peking in daring to think, daring to speak out and take action, daring to break through all obstacles and make revolution, carry the great proletarian cultural revolution through to the end, thoroughly smash the bourgeois and revisionist lines and systems of education and become successors to the proletarian revolution.

Lo Kuei-yi, a student of the Chuang nationality studying in the middle school of the Kwangsi Nationalities Institute, described the decision as a happy event for the sons and daughters of the poor and lower-middle peasants of the various national minorities. He said: "Before liberation, neither I, my father nor my grandfather had the opportunity to learn to read. It is only after liberation and under the leadership of the Party and Chairman Mao that I have the chance to go to school. But in the past the teachers demanded that we concentrate only on our textbooks, thereby diverting our attention from politics. Acting on their instructions, we took notes in class, compared notes after class, learnt the notes by heart before examinations and answered examination questions in ac-

cordance with the notes, and then we forgot everything we had learnt right after the examinations. Such an educational system cannot lead us to devote ourselves to serving the people. It can only lead us in the opposite direction and is therefore diametrically opposed to the aspirations of the working people. We must completely smash it."

The teachers and students of the Lhasa Middle School and the Normal School of Tibet unanimously adopted a message which they sent to the Party's Central Committee and Chairman Mao, their most respected leader, expressing full support for the decision. Lhozang Chudra, a final-year student at the Lhasa Middle School, who came from the family of a former serf, said that in the past the children of Tibetan serfs were deprived of the right not only to study but even to speak. "Only under the leadership of the Party and Chairman Mao," he said, "are children of former serfs like me able to go to school. But the class enemies, unreconciled to their defeat, used the old examination system as a weapon in their attempt to exercise dictatorship over the children of the emancipated serfs. We will never tolerate this. With the backing of the Party and Chairman Mao, we will overthrow all the bourgeois and feudal lords no matter how overbearing they are."

The consensus among the people all over the land is that the decision has completely opened the door for the workers, peasants and soldiers to master culture. Commanders and fighters of the Chinese People's Liberation Army and instructors and cadets at military academies everywhere in China acclaimed it as a decision of great historic significance and of lasting value to the training of successors to the proletarian revolution. They said that it fully reflected the aspirations of the workers, peasants and soldiers. They added: "Schools are important battlefields in the fight between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie for winning over the younger generations. The complete abolition of the old educational system is a revolu-

(Continued on p. 24.)

## FROM CHAIRMAN MAO'S WORKS:

"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."

— "Where Do Correct Ideas Come From?"

# Chairman Mao Has Elevated Marxism-Leninism to a Completely New Stage With Great Talent

— Comrade Lin Piao's Letter

*Following is a letter written by Comrade Lin Piao on the creative study and application of Chairman Mao Tse-tung's works on the industrial and communications front. It was printed in "Renmin Ribao" and all other Peking papers on June 19. — Ed.*

**T**HE industrial and communications departments have stressed putting politics in command and putting politics first. It is very good to do this. It is very helpful for raising the level of political consciousness of the working class and for strengthening our socialist construction. It will further increase the initiative and creativeness of the working class and make our socialist cause flourish more. You are putting energetic study of Chairman Mao's works as the first item in all policies guiding the work of industrial and communications departments. That is very good.

China is a great socialist state of the dictatorship of the proletariat and has a population of 700 million. It needs unified thinking, revolutionary thinking, correct thinking. That is Mao Tse-tung's thinking. Only with this thinking can we maintain vigorous revolutionary enthusiasm and a firm and correct political orientation.

Mao Tse-tung's thought reflects the objective laws of the domestic and international class struggle; it reflects the fundamental interests of the proletariat, of the working people. Mao Tse-tung's thought has not grown spontaneously from among the working people; it is rather the result of Chairman Mao's inheriting and developing with great talent the ideas of Marxism-Leninism on the basis of great revolutionary practice. It has summed up the new experiences of the international communist movement and elevated Marxism-Leninism to a completely new stage.

Therefore, it is essential to imbue the workers and peasants with Chairman Mao's thought through the creative study and application of his works. Only so can the mental outlook of the working people be changed and spiritual forces be transformed into tremendous material strength.

The industrial and communications departments have started acting in this way in the last few years. The current meeting of these departments has summed up experience and put forward new measures. Fresh successes will certainly be achieved.

Lin Piao

March 11, 1966

# Chinese Party and Government Delegation Headed by Comrade Chou En-lai Visits Rumania

**A** CHINESE Party and Government Delegation, led by Comrade Chou En-lai, Vice-Chairman of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party and Premier of the State Council, is now in Rumania at the invitation of the Central Committee of the Rumanian Communist Party and the Government of the Rumanian Socialist Republic. The delegation which arrived in Bucharest, the Rumanian capital, by special plane on the afternoon of June 16, includes Chao Yi-min, Alternate Member of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party, Chiao Kuan-hua, Vice-Minister of Foreign Affairs, and Tseng Yung-chuan, Chinese Ambassador to Rumania, who was already in Bucharest.

More than 200,000 Rumanians—Party and government leaders and officials, workers, students and other citizens of the capital accorded the delegation a rousing welcome. Carrying the national flags of the two countries and summer flowers, they had assembled at the airport, and lined the way to the state guest house to greet Comrade Chou En-lai. They showered with flowers the car in which he drove past with Comrade Ion Gheorghe Maurer, Member of the Executive Committee and of the Permanent Presidium of the Central Committee of the Rumanian Communist Party and Chairman of the Rumanian Council of Ministers, who had gone to the airport to meet the delegation.

Both Comrade Chou En-lai and Comrade Maurer spoke at the welcoming ceremony at the Baneasa Airport, where huge portraits of Mao Tse-tung and Nicolae Ceausescu, General Secretary of the Central Committee of the Rumanian Communist Party, of Chou En-lai and Maurer, were on display.

Comrade Maurer, in his speech, first welcomed and expressed comradely regards for the Chinese Party and Government Delegation. This visit, he said, would provide another opportunity to demonstrate the friendship and comradely cooperation between the Parties and the people of the two coun-

tries. He expressed his belief that the visit of the Chinese Party and Government Delegation to Rumania would make important contributions to developing the relations between the two countries and Parties in all fields of work and to strengthening the unbreakable friendship between Rumania and China on the basis of mutual respect, mutual benefit and proletarian internationalism. This, he said, accorded with the interests of the people of Rumania and China and the interests of the common cause of socialism and peace.

Expressing hearty thanks for the magnificent welcome extended to him and the Chinese delegation he led, Comrade Chou En-lai paid tribute to the Rumanian people, who, he said, under the leadership of the Rumanian Communist Party and Government, have adhered to the policy of independence and achieved brilliant successes in socialist construction. The Rumanian people, he added, have consistently opposed the imperialist policies of aggression and war, supported the struggle of the oppressed peoples and nations for liberation, and made unremitting efforts to safeguard world peace.

The Rumanian people, Comrade Chou En-lai added, have opposed control and interference from outside,



Comrade Chou En-lai (left) and Comrade I.G. Maurer at the Bucharest airport

defended the independence and sovereignty of Rumania, and made useful contributions to upholding the principles governing relations between fraternal countries and fraternal Parties. He noted that there are close ties of friendship and co-operation between the two Parties, countries and peoples. He expressed confidence that this visit would help deepen their mutual understanding, and further strengthen their relations of friendship, mutual assistance and co-operation.

Later that day, Comrade Chou En-lai and members of the delegation called on Nicolae Ceausescu and other Rumanian Party and state leaders at the building of the Central Committee of the Rumanian Communist Party and they had a comradely, warm and friendly talk. At noon on the following day, Comrade Chou En-lai and other members of the Chinese delegation were feted at a grand banquet by the Central Committee of the Rumanian Communist Party and the Rumanian Council of Ministers at which both Comrade Chou En-lai and Comrade Ceausescu spoke. Their speeches were punctuated by warm applause (for text of Comrade Chou En-lai's speech see below).

During their visit, besides seeing Rumania's socialist achievements, the Chinese delegation, held official talks on June 17 with a Rumanian Party and Government Delegation. The talks, which continued on the following days, proceeded in an atmosphere of comradeship and sincerity. Comrade Chou En-lai and members of the Chinese delegation, accompanied by Comrades Ceausescu, Maurer and E. Bodnaras, Member of the Executive Committee and First Vice-Chairman of the Council of Ministers, arrived at Constanta on June 19 for a visit to this famed scenic spot on the Black Sea coast. They were warmly welcomed by more than 100,000 people of the city.

The next big city the Chinese delegation visited was Craiova in southern Rumania. There, with most of the city's population pouring on to the streets to welcome the distinguished guests from China, the Chinese delegation visited a chemical combine and the "Power" works, one of the country's major industrial giants. To the more than 6,000 "Power" workers who held a welcome meeting at the works, Chao Yi-min, member of the Chinese delegation, said: "Marxist-Leninists have always believed that there is no such thing as a saviour in this world, that the masses must rely entirely on themselves to save themselves, rely on themselves to make revolution and also rely on themselves in construction." "To be independent of others and rely on one's own efforts means to steadily enhance the socialist consciousness of the people of a particular country, to rely on their industrious labour and wisdom, make full use in a planned way of that country's own resources and bring into play all potentials of its socialist construction in accordance with the common laws of socialist revolution and socialist construction, proceeding from the concrete conditions of the country and under the guidance of Marxist-Leninist ideology." "Self-reliance," he added, "not only does not preclude but calls for exchange of what one has for what one has not and co-operation with other friendly countries on the basis of equality and mutual benefit."

China, he declared, "firmly adheres to the policy of self-reliance that gives rise to its economic upsurge, not only for the happiness of its own people, but for the sake of giving still better support to the struggles of the world's oppressed nations and peoples for liberation. Our policy of self-reliance in construction is in no way nationally egoistical, but the integration of patriotism with internationalism."

The Chinese delegation is continuing its tour of the country.

## Comrade Chou En-lai's Speech

### — At the Banquet Given by the Central Committee of the Rumanian Communist Party and the Rumanian Council of Ministers

*Following is the full text of the speech made by Comrade Chou En-lai, Vice-Chairman of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party and Premier of the State Council of the People's Republic of China, at the banquet given by the Central Committee of the Rumanian Communist Party and the Rumanian Council of Ministers in honour of the Chinese Party and Government Delegation on June 17. — Ed.*

**Dear Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu,  
Dear Comrade Chivu Stoica,  
Dear Comrade I.G. Maurer,  
Dear Hosts:**

We, the Chinese Party and Government Delegation, were accorded an enthusiastic welcome by the Ruma-

nian people on our arrival in Bucharest. And now, you are holding for us this grand banquet, and Comrade Ceausescu has just said many warm and friendly words about the Chinese Communist Party, the Chinese Government and the Chinese people. Please allow me, in the name of the Chinese Communist Party, the Chinese Government and the Chinese people, to express our hearty thanks to the fraternal Rumanian Communist Party, Rumanian Government and Rumanian people.

The proletariat of Rumania led by its vanguard — the Rumanian Communist Party, uniting with the people of the whole country, waged protracted and heroic struggles, and in 1944, staged the renowned "August 23" armed uprising, overthrew the reactionary rule of in-



ternal and external enemies, and founded the new state of the people, thus ushering in a new epoch in Rumanian history. Since liberation, the Rumanian people through staunch struggles and industrious labour have overcome various difficulties both from within and from without, and attained important achievements in socialist transformation and socialist construction. You are now striving to realize the new Five-Year Plan. The Chinese people heartily congratulate the fraternal Rumanian people on their achievements in various fields and believe that the Rumanian people, under the leadership of the Rumanian Communist Party, will certainly gain new and greater successes in advancing along the path of socialism.

The Communist Party, Government and people of Rumania are opposed to the imperialist policies of aggression and war and have made unremitting efforts to defend peace in Europe and the world. The Communist Party, Government and people of Rumania have struggled unceasingly to defend Rumania's independence and sovereignty and the principles guiding the relations between fraternal Parties and fraternal countries. You may rest assured that in their just struggle the Rumanian people will always have the firm support of the Chinese people.

The Chinese people, under the leadership of the Chinese Communist Party and holding high the great red banner of Mao Tse-tung's thought, have made great achievements both in socialist revolution and in socialist construction. Our country has now entered into the period of the Third Five-Year Plan for construction, and a new high tide in production and construction is advancing on a sound basis.

Great Lenin taught us, "The transition from capitalism to communism represents an entire historical epoch. Until this epoch has terminated, the exploiters inevitably cherish the hope of restoration, and this hope is converted into attempts at restoration." China's experiences testify to the perfect correctness of this foresight of Lenin.

Comrade Mao Tse-tung pointed out that after China completed the socialist transformation of the ownership of the means of production, "class struggle is not yet over. The class struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie, the class struggle between various political forces, and the class struggle in the ideological field between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie will still be long and devious and at times may even become very acute." In order to build socialism and prevent a restoration of capitalism, it is necessary to stick fast to the dictatorship of the proletariat and carry through to the end the socialist revolution on the political, economic, military, ideological and cultural fronts.

With the deepening development of the socialist revolution in our country, the class struggle in the ideological field has inevitably come to the fore. At present, a great socialist cultural revolution is being unfolded in our country. This is not only a struggle which fosters

what is proletarian and liquidates what is bourgeois and which touches the people to their very souls but also a crucial question concerning whether the dictatorship of the proletariat and the socialist economic base in our country can be consolidated and can advance, a crucial question affecting the destiny and future of our Party and state. Through this great cultural revolution we want to thoroughly demolish all the old ideology and culture and all the old customs and habits, which, fostered by the exploiting classes, have poisoned the minds of the people for thousands of years, and to create and foster among the broad masses of people a new ideology and culture and new customs and habits—those of the proletariat. The spearhead of this great cultural revolution is directed chiefly against a small handful of anti-communist villains who have donned the cloak of communism and a small handful of anti-Party, anti-socialist and counter-revolutionary bourgeois intellectuals. Our policy towards the mass of intellectuals coming from the old society is one of uniting with them, educating and remoulding them. We are convinced that this great cultural revolution will vigorously push ahead the socialist cause of our country in all fields.

At present, the revolutionary forces of the working class and labouring people throughout the world are growing steadily in strength, the national-liberation movements in the broad regions of Asia, Africa and Latin America and the anti-imperialist revolutionary movements of the people of all countries are forging ahead with tremendous momentum. U.S. imperialism and its accomplices are finding themselves in increasing difficulties. The great victories of the Vietnamese people in their anti-U.S. struggle for national salvation have punctured the U.S. imperialist paper tiger and have greatly inspired the revolutionary struggles of the people of the whole world. Although U.S. imperialism is energetically playing in Vietnam its counter-revolutionary dual tactics of war and peace talks, although it has instigated a series of counter-revolutionary coups d'etat in Afro-Asian countries, tries to suppress the revolutionary struggles of various peoples and has whipped up an adverse current of reaction, it cannot save itself from its sealed fate of doom.

The 1957 Declaration and the 1960 Statement have laid down the principles guiding the relations between fraternal countries and fraternal Parties. The fraternal countries must base their mutual relations on principles of complete equality, respect for territorial integrity, respect for state sovereignty and independence, non-interference in internal affairs, and mutual support and mutual assistance in accordance with proletarian internationalism. Among the fraternal Parties it is essential to put to practice the principle of unity on the basis of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism, the principle of mutual support and mutual assistance, the principle of independence and equality, and the principle of attaining common views through consultations. The modern revisionists have totally violated these principles. They practise big-nation chauvinism and

splittism against the fraternal countries and fraternal Parties, but capitulationism towards U.S. imperialism. They unite with imperialism, and try hard to control the socialist countries and undermine and stamp out the revolutionary struggles of all peoples. We maintain that in order to safeguard the unity of the socialist camp and of the international communist movement on the basis of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism, and in order to combat imperialism and its lackeys, it is necessary to oppose modern revisionism.

Comrades, the Chinese and Rumanian Parties, the two countries and two peoples have established profound friendship in the course of their protracted revolutionary struggles. Our relations are in accord with the principles of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism. In recent years, our relations of friendship and co-operation in the political, economic, cultural, scientific, technological and other fields have further developed. Our two Parties have regularly exchanged views and experiences on important international problems of common interest and on questions regarding the socialist cause. Henceforth in the

common cause of building socialism and in the common struggle against the imperialists headed by the United States and the reactionaries of the various countries, against big-nation chauvinism and for world peace, national liberation, people's democracy and socialism, we will continue to consolidate and develop the relations of friendship and co-operation between the Chinese and Rumanian Parties, the two countries and two peoples.

Now, I propose a toast to

the fraternal friendship and unity between the Chinese and Rumanian Parties, the two countries and two peoples,

new and still more tremendous successes of the Rumanian people in the cause of socialist construction,

the revolutionary unity of all peoples of the world,

the health of Comrade Ceausescu, Comrade Chivu Stoica, Comrade Maurer and other leading comrades of the Rumanian Party and Government,

the health of all comrades present here!

## Vice-Premier Chen Yi Speaks on the New Situation in China's Socialist Revolution and Construction

- The Chinese people's movement to learn from Chairman Mao's works is of great historic significance. The great socialist cultural revolution will exert a far-reaching influence in the world.

ON the evening of June 20 Tran Tu Binh, Ambassador of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam and doyen of the diplomatic corps in Peking, gave a banquet to thank the Chinese Foreign Ministry for organizing a trip to Shantung Province for the foreign envoys in China.

Vice-Premier Chen Yi attended and in his speech spoke on the tremendous significance of the great socialist cultural revolution which is now going on in China. He said: "Our great socialist cultural revolution is a paramount event which has a vital bearing on China's socialist revolution and socialist construction; at the same time, such a great, vigorous and thorough cultural revolution in China with a population of 650 million will inevitably exert a far-reaching influence in the world. The Chinese people are determined to carry this great revolution through to the end. We are convinced that, through this struggle, the socialist consciousness of our people will be greatly enhanced, the socialist revolutionary spirit will be greatly developed, the advance of our cause of socialist construction will be greatly hastened, and our Party and coun-

try will be guaranteed for ever against turning revisionist and against the restoration of capitalism through peaceful evolution. Only so can the Chinese people give still better support and help to the revolutionary struggles of the peoples of the world."

Vice-Premier Chen Yi also said: "The recent trip has enabled you to get a full picture about the daily development of the socialist construction in our country, the brand-new revolutionary mental outlook of the Chinese people and the penetration of Mao Tse-tung's thought into people's minds. The trip has also enabled you to experience for yourselves the sincere friendly sentiments of the Chinese people towards the people of other countries and towards foreign friends. I believe that this kind of trip is conducive to the promotion of our mutual understanding and friendship.

"At present, the domestic situation of our country is excellent. Tremendous successes have been achieved in all fields of our socialist construction; a new upsurge in production and construction has emerged

*(Continued on p.12.)*

# The Brilliance of Mao Tse-tung's Thought Illuminates the Whole World

"Renmin Ribao" on June 16 carried under the above heading a report by Hsinhua correspondents and an editor's note. We print this note and the first instalment of the report below. — P.R. Editor.

## "Renmin Ribao" Editor's Note

The revolutionary peoples of the world express, each in their own tongue, their boundless love for Chairman Mao Tse-tung and their infinite admiration for his thought. They say, "Mao Tse-tung is the great helmsman of the world revolution"; "the brilliant light of Mao Tse-tung's works illuminates the revolutionary path of the people of the world"; and "Mao Tse-tung's thought is the never-setting sun."

Mao Tse-tung's thought is the thought by means of which all the oppressed nations and oppressed people in our era are seeking to liberate themselves. It is Marxism-Leninism creatively developed throughout the long practice of the Chinese revolution. It is Marxism-Leninism creatively developed during the present great struggle of the people of all countries against imperialism, modern revisionism and all reaction. It is the acme of Marxism-Leninism in our era.

Comrade Mao Tse-tung is the greatest genius of our times. Rarely has history seen such a revolutionary leader as Comrade Mao Tse-tung, a leader who has gone through struggles of such duration, such complexity, such intensity and such many-sidedness. Comrade Mao Tse-tung stands on the most commanding height and sees the farthest. He makes the most penetrating analysis of problems, is the first to detect new problems and to work out the most thorough solutions. Mao Tse-tung's thought is not only the greatest treasure of the Chinese people, it is the common treasure of the revolutionary people of the whole world.

Wherever the bright light of Mao Tse-tung's thought reaches, the people find their bearings in the struggle for liberation and take hope in the victory of their revolution. Mao Tse-tung's thought gives them strength, wisdom, courage and confidence in their struggle. As it becomes more and more widely disseminated throughout the world, the revolutionary struggles of the oppressed and exploited people will grow with increasing vigour. The days of imperialism are numbered.

WHEREVER we went in the world in the course of reporting the news, from the Pacific to the Atlantic, from Asia, Africa and Latin America to Europe, we witnessed the profound friendship of the people everywhere for the Chinese people. But what was especially heart-warming and unforgettable was the sincere love of the peoples of the world for our great leader, Chairman Mao Tse-tung, and their infinite love for his works. The first thing most of the friends we met abroad did was to inquire after Chairman Mao's health, and they wished him long life. They said, "It is a blessing for the revolutionary people of the world that Chairman Mao enjoys good health." Many of them asked for such mementoes as the *Selected Works of Mao Tse-tung* or a silk portrait of the Chairman which they regarded as a most precious gift. Many said they had read his *Selected Works* over and over again and would never tire of reading them for the hundredth time. They would gaze fondly at the Chairman's por-

trait and were reluctant to put it away. They told us with deep emotion, "You are the luckiest of people because you have such a great leader as Mao Tse-tung! We are also very lucky because we have made friends with the Chinese people who are taught by Mao Tse-tung! Mao Tse-tung belongs to you and he also belongs to us. He belongs to the revolutionary people of the world!"

What we have seen and heard in foreign lands shows that our respected and beloved leader Chairman Mao is not only the great leader of all the nationalities in our country but also the great leader of the revolutionary people of the world. Mao Tse-tung's thought is the acme of contemporary Marxism-Leninism, living Marxism-Leninism at its highest, and a most powerful ideological weapon against imperialism and modern revisionism. In the surging revolutionary struggle of the world's people today, Mao Tse-tung's thought shines forth daily with greater radiance, lighting the hearts

of the revolutionary people of the world and indicating the road to victory in the revolution.

### **Completely Defeat the Enemy With the Magic Weapon of People's War**

As we write, we vividly recall many moving stories and stirring scenes. Dear readers, you may have already read many combat stories about the heroic sons and daughters of south Vietnam. But do you know that many of them carry Chairman Mao's works in their packs while fighting the vicious U.S. aggressors?

We visited many outstanding guerrilla units where the flames of war were raging both in the virgin forests on the high mountains and in the liberated areas that stretch over the vast plains of south Vietnam. The

guerrillas unfolded people's war, ceaselessly struck hard blows at the enemy and wiped him out. They were adept at carrying out guerrilla warfare, raids, ambushes, mine warfare, bamboo spike warfare, "wasp" warfare, and all the other innovations of people's war. They learnt the experience of the Chinese revolutionary wars from Chairman Mao's works. They steadily applied and creatively developed this experience in their own fighting practice, and badly mauled the U.S. aggressors. Their victories in struggle have reaffirmed Chairman Mao's brilliant thesis that imperialism and all reactionaries are paper tigers. We visited a famous guerrilla unit active in the area around Highway No. 1 in the central part of south Vietnam. This unit had fought more than 150 battles in a single year. On one

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*(Continued from p.10.)*

in the whole country; and the entire national economy has entered the period of a new leap forward. This is the result achieved by the Chinese people through persistently putting Mao Tse-tung's thought in command and carrying through the socialist revolution. However, we are clearly aware that there are still quite a few shortcomings in our construction work. We most sincerely welcome criticisms and comments from the diplomatic envoys and other friends from various countries.

"Some friends say that one can better understand why the masses of the Chinese people so ardently love Chairman Mao's works when one leaves the city of Peking and visits other parts of China. This is, in my opinion, quite right. The Chinese people are now in the midst of an enthusiastic campaign to learn from Chairman Mao's works. This is a movement of great historic significance. With his great genius Chairman Mao has creatively and comprehensively developed Marxism-Leninism. In their protracted revolutionary struggle, the Chinese people have deeply realized that the banner of Mao Tse-tung's thought is the banner of victory. Once Mao Tse-tung's thought grips the masses of the people, it can change their mental outlook and turn into a tremendous material force. Under the guidance of Mao Tse-tung's thought, our people and our country can certainly make ever greater contributions to the cause of the liberation and progress of mankind.

"As everyone knows, a great and vigorous socialist cultural revolution is now going on in our country. The occurrence of this great revolution is the inevitable outcome of our country's historical development. For the old ideology and culture and the old customs and habits, which have been fostered by all the exploiting classes for thousands of years, hinder the continued progress of our socialist revolution and socialist construction, poison the minds of our people and must be thoroughly repudiated and liquidated. The broad masses of the people want to create and foster a new proletarian ideology and culture and new proletarian

customs and habits so as to consolidate our proletarian dictatorship and socialist economic base and propel the uninterrupted development of our entire cause of socialist construction. Our method for conducting this great revolution is to use Mao Tse-tung's thought as the weapon to criticize the old things mentioned above. Those we rely on are the broad masses of workers, peasants and soldiers, the revolutionary cadres and revolutionary intellectuals. We deal blows only at a handful of anti-Party, anti-socialist and counter-revolutionary bad elements. As for the numerous intellectuals who come from the old society, we still follow the policy of uniting with, educating and remoulding them."

Vice-Premier Chen Yi stressed that "the fact that we can now launch this great and vigorous cultural revolution and, through this revolutionary struggle, remove a handful of anti-Party and anti-socialist elements precisely demonstrates that our country is more consolidated and unified than ever and that our Party will become purer and more consolidated and will have a still greater fighting power. As our friends present here will see, this will be borne out by the facts."

He said that in the face of this great revolution, the overthrown exploiting class elements, a mere handful who were unwilling to step down from the stage of history, were putting up a death-bed struggle. "The recent incident in Peking in which foreign friends were knifed and wounded by the counter-revolutionary Yang Kuo-ching was a manifestation of this death-bed struggle. The dictatorship of the proletariat in China is today incomparably powerful and consolidated, and any counter-revolutionaries daring to engage in scheming and disruptive activities will certainly meet with annihilative blows. The counter-revolutionary criminal Yang Kuo-ching has been duly punished, and his criminal attempt to undermine the friendship between the peoples of China and the rest of the world has completely failed. No reactionary forces can undermine the friendship between the Chinese people and the people of the other countries in the world."



Carrying portraits of Chairman Mao and slogans reading "Long live Chairman Mao," young people of the liberated areas in south Vietnam welcome a visiting Chinese journalists' delegation.

fighting hamlets. Relating her experience in struggle, a woman cadre told us how back in 1961 she and her comrades had planned to get rid of the "strategic hamlets" when they were being set up everywhere by the enemy. She had attended an important conference to study instructions and discuss plans for action. During the conference, she drew inspiration from a study of the "Report on an Investigation of the Peasant Movement in Hunan" in the *Selected Works of Mao Tse-tung*. She said, "I paid special attention to the question of mobilizing and arming the peasants." She and her comrades had later led the peasant masses in actively unfolding a movement for the demolition of the "strategic hamlets" in a coastal province and had won remarkable victories. She told us with deep

emotion, "We must use the magic weapon of people's war to rout the enemy."

occasion they succeeded in ambushing and destroying an enemy convoy of trucks in a matter of minutes and in capturing several American "advisers." The members of the unit had learnt by heart Chairman Mao's famous 16-character formula on guerrilla warfare: "The enemy advances, we retreat; the enemy camps, we harass; the enemy tires, we attack; the enemy retreats, we pursue," and they successfully applied it in battle. An art troupe of the Liberation Army composed a song based on the 16-character formula and included it in performances for the army and people of the liberated areas so that it helps them to understand and master the formula.

### The Works of Chairman Mao Give Them Inexhaustible Strength

We will always remember the night we spent in the thick forests of the Truong Son Mountains. That night a unit of the Liberation Army held a bonfire party for us. When the night descended over the jungle, a bonfire was lit, and the fighters clapped their hands and sang to celebrate their combat victories. After the party began, a young fighter stood up and said, "First of all, allow us to convey our sincere regards to Chairman Mao through our comrades from China." This was greeted with warm applause. We told them that Chairman Mao was enjoying good health and had recently attended a mass rally in Tien An Men Square in Peking in support of the Vietnamese people's struggle against U.S. aggression and for national salvation. Our words drew a round of stormy applause. Then a woman guerrilla stood up and said, "We thank Chairman Mao and the Chinese people for their solicitude and support. We wish Uncle Mao long life. May the Chinese people win still greater victories under his leadership!" Then came another round of warm applause from the fighters. To the rhythm of clapping hands, they loudly sang the song *Liberate the South*.

Laos is noted for its dense forests. Apart from travelling to the cities of Khang Khay and Xieng Khouang, we visited some earthworks and battery positions at the front where fighting was raging. We also called on peasants in the mountainous areas. There were over a dozen portraits of Chairman Mao at the command headquarters of the patriotic armed forces in Xieng Khouang area. We saw the same portrait in the home of every leading figure in Xieng Khouang city. Chairman Mao, our great and wise leader! You are with the Laotian people while they fight their battles or engage in productive labour. Your works have become their most powerful weapon in their struggle and the brilliance of your great thought illuminates their road of advance leading to victory and fills them with inexhaustible strength. Our ears still ring with the Laotian friends' endless words of gratitude to Chairman Mao, and their eloquent expressions of love and esteem for him are still fresh in our minds.

We passed through many "strategic hamlets" only recently demolished by the people and visited many

A leading member of the military command of the patriotic neutralist forces of Laos said to us, "Today the Chinese people, led by the long-tested Chinese Communist Party and Chairman Mao Tse-tung and with their rich experience in struggle, have become the strongest pillar of the revolutionary struggle of the people of the world and the bulwark of their fight against U.S. imperialism." He added, "In our struggle we must distinguish who is the enemy and who the friend. Even among friends, we must distinguish who is true and who false, and who is the staunchest and the most reliable." "This is what we learnt from the works of

Chairman Mao Tse-tung," he added. A leading cadre of the Laotian paper *People's Liberation Army* in Khang Khay has studied Chairman Mao's works every day since the beginning of 1962. He diligently keeps notes while studying. He believes that one can draw unlimited strength from Chairman Mao's works and that they give him a clear understanding and a staunch fighting will. He said, "We now place the hope of world revolution in the Communist Party of China and particularly on Chairman Mao. Mao Tse-tung is the Lenin of our time." In the presence of Chairman Mao's portrait, he said feelingly, "Chairman Mao's works have given us immense help. We will do what Chairman Mao has said, namely, truly revolutionize ourselves, temper ourselves into steadfast revolutionary fighters and carry the revolution through to the end."

People of various circles in the liberated areas of Laos are most anxious to study the works of Mao Tse-tung. Not long ago, six hundred pamphlets of Mao Tse-tung's articles translated into the Thai language were sent to Khang Khay, where a meeting of cadres of two units of the patriotic forces of Laos was being held. The meeting was also attended by responsible personnel from different administrative departments and the armed forces and by responsible cadres of the province and counties of Xieng Khouang. The meeting was all astir when these pamphlets arrived. The participants said happily, "Truth has arrived," "This is the most welcome gift." A responsible official of the Xieng Khouang Province, just back from a visit to China, eagerly pressed his request that more pamphlets be distributed to his staff. He said, "Our cadres long ago asked me to bring back some works of Mao Tse-tung. They are anxious to study them." A representative from the Central Committee of the Neo Lao Haksat told the participants: "These books are very precious. When you return to your places, you should all study them earnestly." He proposed that priority should be given to the armed forces in the distribution of the books.

We visited the heroic frontline at Mount Phou Khouth and saw how ardently the fighting people and soldiers love Chairman Mao. They spontaneously cheered "Long live Chairman Mao!" whenever they heard his name over the radio or in speeches. Three combat heroes, pointing to the shining medals of Chairman Mao on their chests, told us, "The medal of Chairman Mao is the most precious gift for us. We will protect it even in the toughest battle. We will never let anything stain the medal of great Chairman Mao." We also heard a touching story of how, during a battle, people discovered a notebook among the effects of a fighter who had died a hero's death. On the first page was a photo of Chairman Mao cut out from a pictorial magazine. On the back of the photo was written: "We love you dearly, Chairman Mao."

### Into Battle With Mao Tse-tung's Works

A surging revolutionary tide is sweeping across the vast continent of Africa. Africa is awakened, Africa

is fighting. The clarion of revolutions is to be heard everywhere here. Revolutionary Africa is with you, our beloved great leader, Chairman Mao.

Unforgettable memories carry us back to the Congo (B). Its awakened and fighting women held a huge parade on March 8 this year to celebrate International Working Women's Day. Marching through the streets of the capital, once trampled upon by the iron heel of the colonialists, they enthusiastically shouted slogans expressing their determination to fight to the end for freedom and liberation. Suddenly, a most exciting scene came into sight. A large portrait of Chairman Mao appeared in a column of the parade. The people applauded and cheered "Long live Mao Tse-tung!" This scene in far-away Africa so roused us that tears fell from our eyes.

Waging a life-and-death struggle against the old and new colonialists headed by U.S. imperialism, the patriotic fighters in the Congo (L) carry the works of Chairman Mao to the battlefield, anxious to arm themselves with Mao Tse-tung's theory of people's war. The leader of a guerrilla unit told us, "Chairman Mao's works have become a vital necessity for the Congolese guerrillas, who cherish them as treasures." During rest periods, the guerrillas gather to study and discuss the works of this great Marxist-Leninist. "Mao Tse-tung must have lived here in our Africa, otherwise how is it that every sentence in his works seems to be written for us?" the guerrillas say to each other.

Chairman Mao's thought has found its way deep into the hearts of the people in Algeria both in the seven years of fierce fighting in the war of national liberation and in the years of reconstruction since independence. Most unforgettable is the memory of how, at the frontlines, on the border and in the mountains, we met many officers and men of the Algerian National Liberation Army who are well versed in Chairman Mao's military thinking. On the first night of our first visit to Algeria's eastern front, we saw by the bedside of a general staff officer a book explaining Chairman Mao's "16-character formula." Once, we saw the four volumes of the French translation of the *Selected Works of Mao Tse-tung* in the office of a political commissar in the barracks of the National Liberation Army near the border. On his desk we also saw Chairman Mao's celebrated work, "Problems of Strategy in China's Revolutionary War." The pages were covered with line after line of notes in Arabic. In those years it was extremely difficult to get hold of a copy of Chairman Mao's works at the front in Algeria. Sometimes they had to seek out Chairman Mao's ideas on people's war indirectly, from works by French writers on China.

Once we put up for the night at the home of a friend by the name of Briki. He told us how he went to the Kabylia mountain areas to study the experience of guerrilla warfare there. The commanding officers in these areas, while acquainting him with their struggle, said to him again and again, "This is Mao Tse-tung's theory" or "This is what Mao Tse-tung says."



This library for young people in Zanzibar has many revolutionary books. The most popular among them are the works of Chairman Mao

After the independence of Algeria, articles on the study of Chairman Mao Tse-tung's thought often appeared in the press. His works were spread more widely, and more people studied them. Thousands upon thousands of copies of Chairman Mao's works have already been sold in Algeria.

#### Grasp the Truth That "Political Power Grows Out of the Barrel of a Gun"

Zanzibar's heroic people carried out an armed revolution in January 1964. With axes, machetes, clubs and iron rods, they seized arms from the enemy and overthrew the reactionary feudal rule that had long been propped up by the imperialists. Whenever they talked to us about this historic event, many revolu-

tionary militants who took part in the armed uprising expressed their gratitude for the guidance of Mao Tse-tung's thought and for his works which had helped many of them to see the truth. They cited Chairman Mao, saying: Wherever there is oppression, there is resistance; everything reactionary is the same; if you don't hit it, it won't fall. Since the victory of their revolution, the Zanzibar people have been holding on tightly to their rifles, and maintaining high revolutionary vigilance against the enemy's schemes of subversion. Many of them quoted Chairman Mao's words that the enemy will not be reconciled to their defeat. So long as imperialism holds a sword in its hand, we too must follow its example and take up the sword. And we will never abandon our vigilance.

A Member of Parliament in Somalia related how he felt after reading Chairman Mao's essay, "Analysis of the Classes in Chinese Society." It helped him ascertain who are enemies and who are friends. He came to understand on which people he should rely and with which people he should unite in the national-liberation united front against imperialism and colonialism, and the importance of building up nuclei for the national-liberation struggle. Having grasped these primary questions of revolution, he said he felt a burst of light, and his confidence and resolve in the national revolution were strengthened. His study of the article, he added, was like seeing a bright lamp suddenly light up, illuminating the path ahead on a long dark night.

—HSINHUA CORRESPONDENTS

(To be continued.)

## Carry Out the Cultural Revolution Thoroughly and Transform the Educational System Completely

ON June 13 the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party and the State Council issued a notice announcing the decision to transform the existing entrance examination method of enrolling students in institutes of higher learning and to postpone the 1966 enrolment in these institutes for half a year. This decision is an important measure for carrying out thoroughly the great cultural revolution in the field of education and completely transforming China's educational system.

Today the vast numbers of revolutionary students, administrative and other staff and teachers in many universities, colleges and middle schools in Peking and other places are holding aloft the great red banner of Mao Tse-tung's thought, breaking through all the obstacles and restraints imposed by the bourgeois royalists and directing a fierce barrage of fire at the black anti-Party and anti-socialist line in the field of education. However, this struggle has only just begun and there are still many stubborn bourgeois strongholds which

have not yet been breached. If the entrance examination of enrolling new students went ahead as usual just now, this would undoubtedly bring the great proletarian cultural revolution in the field of education to a stop half way, cripple the revolutionary enthusiasm of the Left students and encourage the counter-revolutionary arrogance of the bourgeois Right. This decision of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party and the State Council is an enormous support to the development of the great proletarian cultural revolution, a tremendous encouragement to the Left students and a heavy blow for the bourgeois Right.

For a long time now the broad masses of workers, peasants and soldiers, and revolutionary students and teachers have made it clear that they are very angry about the old entrance examination system of enrolling students, and have been urgently demanding that it should be scrapped once for all. The two letters to the Central Committee of the Party and Chairman Mao which are carried in our paper today, one written by students of the fourth class in the senior third grade at Peking No. 1 Girls' Middle School and the other by students of the fifth class in the senior third grade at Peking No. 4 Middle School, and the many other unpublished letters which have come in from the masses strongly demand the abolition of the old system of admitting students. The two letters are full of inexhaustible sincerity and loyalty to the Party and the people, they are brimming over with revolutionary spirit, they demonstrate the spirit of daring to think, to speak, to act, to break through and to make revolution which imbues the revolutionary youth of the Mao Tse-tung era; they reflect the desire of the great numbers of revolutionary teachers and students and voice the sentiments of the revolutionary masses.

The Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party and the State Council took the decision to abolish the existing entrance examination method of enrolling students in institutes of higher learning in accordance with Chairman Mao's instructions and the demands of the masses. Beginning this year, a new method of enrolment, a combination of recommendation and selection, in which proletarian politics are put first and the mass line is followed, will go into effect; the best students will be admitted, selected from among those recommended for their outstanding moral, intellectual and physical qualities. The same method will be used in enrolling students of senior middle schools.

Again and again, the Central Committee of the Party and Chairman Mao have pointed out that the old bourgeois educational system, including the enrolling of students by examination, must be thoroughly transformed. This old examination system of enrolling students is most dangerous and harmful to our socialist cause. It places not proletarian but bourgeois politics in command, it places school marks in command. This system is a serious violation of the Party's class line, shuts out many outstanding children of workers, poor and

lower-middle peasants, revolutionary cadres, revolutionary armymen and revolutionary martyrs, and opens the gates wide to the bourgeoisie to cultivate its own successors. This system is a great obstacle to the revolutionizing of young people's minds and encourages them to become bourgeois specialists by the bourgeois method of "making one's own way" and achieving individual fame, wealth and position.

For a long time now, a handful of anti-Party and anti-socialist bourgeois representatives have opposed the educational policy of the Party and Chairman Mao and used the old entrance examination system as a weapon of class struggle against the proletariat, of dictatorship over the children of workers and poor and lower-middle peasants. In the current great cultural revolution, these bourgeois royalists have been attacking the proletarian Left and suppressing and sabotaging the mass movement in the great proletarian cultural revolution, once again using the pretext that they were "interfering with lessons and wasting study time" and threatening that they "would not go up to a higher class or be admitted to a higher school."

The facts show that the old examination system of enrolment has become a stumbling block in socialist education and the great proletarian cultural revolutionary movement.

It is through schools that the proletariat trains and cultivates its successors for the proletarian cause and through schools, too, the bourgeoisie trains its successors for purposes of a capitalist come-back. There is sharp class struggle here, between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie, to win over the younger generation. The Party's Central Committee and Chairman Mao Tse-tung have always placed great weight on proletarian education and on revolutionizing the educational system. Chairman Mao has put forward the policy that education must serve proletarian politics and must be combined with productive labour; he has pointed out that "our educational policy must enable everyone who gets an education, to develop morally, intellectually and physically and become a cultured, socialist-minded worker." The series of instructions given by Chairman Mao on proletarian education light the way in China's socialist and communist cause like a great beacon.

The representatives of the bourgeoisie who have wormed their way into the educational world and are against the Party, against socialism and against Mao Tse-tung's thought, hate the socialist revolution bitterly and are deeply antagonistic to the cultural emancipation of the worker, peasant and soldier masses. Using the positions they have occupied in the field of education, they have persistently carried out a bourgeois and revisionist educational line and done everything within their power to impede and sabotage the educational line mapped out by the Party's Central Committee and Chairman Mao. Unless this black anti-Party and anti-



socialist line is eliminated, it is impossible to carry out the educational line of Chairman Mao.

The transformation of the present entrance examination system represents a true break-through in the struggle to apply Chairman Mao Tse-tung's educational line consistently and eliminate the bourgeois educational line thoroughly. That will be the beginning of a complete revolution in the whole of the old educational system. It is not only the system of enrolment that requires transforming, all the arrangements for schooling, for testing, for going up or not going up to the higher class and so on must be transformed, and so must the content of education. Further studies must be made as to how to implement the policy of combining education with productive labour. We must relegate to the morgue all the old teaching material that goes against Mao Tse-tung's thought, that seriously departs from the three great revolutionary movements of class struggle, the struggle for production, and scientific experiment, or that inculcates an exploiting class world outlook. New teaching material must be compiled under the guidance of Mao Tse-tung's thought and the principle of putting proletarian politics first. The junior classes in primary schools can study some extracts from Chairman Mao's works and the senior classes can study more of them and also some of the articles including *Serve the People*, *In Memory of Norman Bethune* and *The Foolish Old Man Who Removed the Mountains*. Middle school students can study *Selected Readings From Mao Tse-tung's Works* and articles related to these readings. College students can study *Selected Works of Mao Tse-tung*. The study of Chairman Mao's works should be listed as a required course in all schools, whether primary or intermediate or institutions of higher learning.

This revolution in the educational system, beginning with the change in the system of enrolment, is a tit-for-tat struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie, between the road of socialism and the road of capitalism. It is a revolution that will destroy the bourgeoisie's "nursery" and eradicate the poisonous roots of revisionism. As the letter from the revolutionary pupils of the Peking No. 4 Middle School declares: "What we are out to smash is not just an examination system but the cultural shackles imposed on the people for thousands of years, the breeding ground in which intellectual aristocrats and high-salaried strata are nurtured, the stepping stone to modern revisionism. This revolutionary action of ours will deal the bourgeoisie a fatal blow." The transformation of the educational system in the final analysis affects the question of what sort of successors we shall produce, the question of whether we shall pass on Mao Tse-tung's thought from generation to generation, the question of whether our Party and country will change colour.

A thoroughgoing revolution in the educational system will destroy the influence of the old, exploiting class educational ideas which have dominated for several thousand years, ever since Confucius, and will extirpate

one of the important seats of power of the bourgeois "authorities" and scholar-tyrants in the field of ideology. Those anti-Party, anti-socialist representatives of the bourgeoisie, and the monsters of all sorts, will not reconcile themselves to being defeated. They always stubbornly defend their reactionary positions, fight every inch of the way and never willingly retreat a single step. If we don't hit them, they won't fall, and after they fall they try to stand up again. Therefore, the transformation of the educational system will certainly be a process of sharp and complex class struggle. We must at all times be ready to meet every challenge presented by the reactionary classes and their representatives, and to deal them resolute and destructive blows.

We must warn those anti-Party and anti-socialist bourgeois "authorities" who are entrenched in the educational world: the food you eat is provided by the working people, the clothes you wear are provided by the working people, and yet under the signboard of "serving the people" you are doing evil against the people and the revolution. You have taken the offsprings of the reactionary classes to your bosoms and in a hundred and one ways have thwarted, spurned and attacked the children of the working people. You have collaborated with and encouraged the anti-Party and anti-socialist bourgeois "specialists" and "professors" to spread widely bourgeois and revisionist poison. With so much wickedness to your account, with such a debt you owe the people, can we possibly allow you to continue your misdeeds without exposing you, without criticizing you, without fighting you? Don't imagine that you will remain on your "thrones" just because you have established a group of royalists, don't dream that you will be able to carry on and get by. Don't harbour any illusion that after a time you will revert to your former state and resurrect your reactionary class "hereditary treasures." This is absolutely out of the question. Responding to the fighting call of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party and Chairman Mao, the masses of the workers, peasants and soldiers and of the revolutionary cadres and revolutionary intellectuals have made up their minds to expose all you monsters, to uproot you, to rid you of all your "imposing airs" and smash your bourgeois "hereditary treasures" to pieces.

The transformation of the educational system is a complicated and difficult task. So long as we, in firm accordance with Chairman Mao's instructions, have full confidence in the masses, rely on them, mobilize them fully, and energetically develop the mass movements, we shall certainly be able to destroy the stubborn strongholds of the bourgeoisie and win complete victory for the revolution of educational system.

Let the great red banner of Mao Tse-tung's thought fly high over our proletarian educational front! Let it fly for ever!

(*Renmin Ribao* editorial, June 18.)

## Peking Students Write to Party Central Committee And Chairman Mao Strongly Urging Abolition of Old College Entrance Examination System

The fourth class of the senior third grade at Peking No. 1 Girls' Middle School in a letter sent on June 6 to the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China and Chairman Mao Tse-tung, has proposed that senior middle school graduates go straight into the midst of the workers, peasants and soldiers, to integrate themselves with the masses, temper themselves and grow in the storms of the three great revolutionary movements and in the first place get "ideological diplomas" from the working class and the poor and lower-middle peasants. The letter also proposed that the Party select the best from among the fine sons and daughters of the proletariat, young people who truly serve the broad masses of the workers, peasants and soldiers, and send them to study in the higher educational institutions. The text of the letter follows:

Dear Central Committee of the  
Chinese Communist Party,

Dear Chairman Mao,

We are senior graduating students of the Peking No. 1 Girls' Middle School. With powerful revolutionary sentiments filling our hearts, we are writing to you to express our determination to stand for a thorough revolution, for the thorough destruction of the old educational system in its entirety.

With the advance of the world revolution and the steady deepening of the great socialist-cultural revolution in our country, we feel increasingly that **the young people of our generation are definitely a key generation in the Chinese and world revolution to carry on what has been achieved and to press ahead to the future. The history of the proletarian revolution has pushed us into the arena of the world revolution, has turned Peking into the centre of the world revolution and our respected and beloved Chairman Mao has become the great standard-bearer of the contemporary world revolution; the Chinese people have become the main force of the world revolution and China has become its red base. It demands that we defend the red political power won at the cost of the blood and lives of countless revolutionary martyrs and predecessors; inherit the spirit of our predecessors in carrying on the revolution resolutely through to the end; shoulder the heavy task of carrying China's socialist revolution through to the end, wiping out imperialism, revisionism and the reactionaries of all countries and carrying the world revolution through to the end. It demands that we take over Mao Tse-tung's thought which is great, correct and invincible, and pass it on to the coming generations. This generation of ours is truly a most crucial generation!**

Dear Central Committee of the Party and dear Chairman Mao, you place boundless hopes on us. You

have said: "The world is as much yours as ours but ultimately it is yours. You young people are full of vitality and at a stage of vigorous growth; you are like the sun at eight or nine in the morning. We put our hopes on you. . . . The world belongs to you and the future of China belongs to you."

Dear Central Committee of the Party and dear Chairman Mao, we are students who will soon graduate from senior middle school. In this great cultural revolution, the responsibility falls first of all on our shoulders to smash the old college entrance examination system. We wish to express our views on the existing system of admittance to higher schools.

We hold that the existing system of admittance to higher schools is a continuation of the old feudal examination system dating back thousands of years. It is a most backward and reactionary educational system. It runs counter to the educational policy laid down by Chairman Mao. Chairman Mao says that education must serve the politics of the proletariat and be integrated with productive labour. "Our educational policy must enable everyone who gets an education, to develop morally, intellectually and physically and become a cultured, socialist-minded worker." But the existing educational system is not set up in accordance with this directive of Chairman Mao. In fact it is extending and prolonging the three major differences—between manual and mental labour, between worker and peasant and between town and country. Concretely, we make the following charges against it:

1. Many young people are led not to study for the revolution but to immerse themselves in books for the university entrance examination and to pay no heed to politics. Quite a number of students have been indoctrinated with such gravely reactionary ideas of the exploiting classes as that "book learning stands above all

else," of "achieving fame," "becoming experts," "making one's own way," "taking the road of becoming bourgeois specialists," and so on. The present examination system helps the spread of these ideas.

2. It makes many schools chase one-sidedly after a high rate in the number of their students who will be admitted to higher schools and as a result many become "special" and "major" schools which specially enrol "outstanding students." These schools have opened the gates wide to those who completely immerse themselves in books and pay no attention to politics and have shut out large numbers of outstanding children of workers, peasants, and revolutionary cadres.

3. It seriously hampers students from developing morally, intellectually and physically and particularly morally. This system fundamentally ignores the ideological revolutionization of the youth. It is, in essence, exactly what is preached by the sinister Teng To gang: "teaching one in accordance with his ability" and "using one in accordance with his ability."

Therefore, this system of admittance to higher schools serves a capitalist restoration; it is a tool for cultivating new bourgeois elements and revisionists. No wonder the sinister Teng To anti-Party gang regards it as its finest treasure and that the U.S. imperialists gleefully place their hopes of "peaceful evolution" on China's "bureaucrats in the field of technology" and "experts in the field of ideology."

Respected and beloved Chairman Mao, you have repeatedly taught us that "we should support whatever the enemy opposes and oppose whatever the enemy supports." As the enemy claps his hands and applauds the old system so desperately, can we allow it to continue to exist? No! Not for a single day! Today, in this great and unprecedented cultural revolution, we must join the workers, peasants and soldiers in smashing it thoroughly. We suggest in concrete terms that:

1. **Beginning this year, we abolish the old system of enrolling students to the higher schools.**

2. **Graduates from senior middle schools should go straight into the midst of the workers, peasants and soldiers and integrate themselves with the masses.**

We think that at a time when their world outlook is being formed, young people of seventeen or eighteen years old should be tempered and nurtured in the storms of the three great revolutionary movements [of class struggle, the struggle for production and scientific experiment—*Ed.*]. They should first of all get "ideological diplomas" from the working class and the poor and lower-middle peasants. The Party will select the best from among the fine sons and daughters of the proletariat, young people who truly serve the broad masses of workers, peasants and soldiers, and send them on to higher schools. We absolutely do not agree that one should go among the workers, peasants and soldiers after one's graduation from college because at that time one's world outlook will have basically been formed, and

any remoulding will have become difficult. Moreover, some persons who have acquired "knowledge" think that they have got the "capital" to bargain with the Party and the people.

3. **If a number of students must be admitted to institutions of higher learning this year, we request the Party to select them directly from among the graduates of the senior middle schools.** Everything we have belongs to the Party and the people, we have no right to bargain whatsoever. We will go with firm determination to any place we are asked to go to by the Party and wherever we go, we must take root, germinate, blossom and bear fruit there.

We are young people armed with Mao Tse-tung's thought; we have been imbued with a revolutionary consciousness. The old system of entrance examination can only repress our demand for revolution. If we smash it, we will study even more consciously for the revolution.

We hold that **by acting in this way we will not only save a great deal of manpower and material resources for the socialist construction of our country, but, what is still more important, we will uproot the poisonous revisionist source of "bureaucrats in the field of technology" and "experts in the field of ideology" and do away with an important condition which engenders ideas of "achieving fame and fortune," of "making one's own way" and "following the road of becoming bourgeois specialists."** It is a great revolution in the educational circle.

Of course, we know that to thoroughly smash the existing entrance examination system of enrolling students to higher schools needs time and experience. It calls even more for the heightening of the people's level of political consciousness. But anyway, our proletarian revolution will not allow it to exist any longer. If a change of the entrance examination system throughout the whole country is unfeasible at the moment, then we ask that it be done experimentally here in Peking. If this cannot be carried out for the time being in all Peking's schools, then we ask determinedly that it be experimented with in our class. In the present great socialist cultural revolution, our whole class has furthermore come to understand that **we must be staunch, dependable successors to the proletarian revolution, that we can never allow Mao Tse-tung's great thought to be lost in our generation, that we can never let the proletarian revolution, both of China and the world, cease to continue in our generation.** We have also come to understand that the present great cultural revolution is a great revolution that touches the people to their very souls, a great creation in world history! We know that the road we are going to take is an untrodden road. **But we are the youth of the Mao Tse-tung era. The Chinese revolution as well as the world revolution call on us to be the revolutionary vanguard of the world's youth. We must be those who dare to think, to speak, to do, to break through and to make revolution. We know the road we are going to take is**

a new road, a new road that leads to communism. We must and can tread out our proletarian road. Of course, we will still meet many "tigers" on the road of revolution. But can revolutionary youth be frightened by them? We regard the obstacles put up by backward ideologies, by our families, and by public opinion as nothing. We are determined to cleave through and to overpower the ill winds and evil forces! What we need is the dauntless, heroic spirit of a revolutionary who "knows there are tigers on the mountain, but insists on taking that road."

Dear Central Committee of the Party, dear Chairman Mao, please rest assured! We are fully prepared to wipe out all the tigers on our way! We have a most extremely powerful weapon—Mao Tse-tung's great thought. With that weapon in our hands we will fear nothing, neither heaven nor earth, nor any monsters. With that weapon in our hands, we can follow this road to its end. No one will lag behind. Dear Communist Party, respected and beloved Chairman Mao, the youth here by Chairman Mao's side should be sent to the most

difficult places. Please rest assured, Chairman Mao; we are standing by, awaiting your instructions!

Dear Central Committee of the Party, dear Chairman Mao, please rest assured: Our generation is a generation that persists in the revolution, in thorough revolution. We will assuredly take over the great red banner of Mao Tse-tung's thought, and hand it down from generation to generation!

We hope, if it is agreed by the Party's Central Committee and Chairman Mao, that this letter be sent as a proposal to all senior middle school graduates this year and to the teachers and students of all schools in Peking.

Long live our dearest and most respected leader Chairman Mao!

The Fourth Class of the Senior Third Grade  
at Peking No. 1 Girls' Middle School

June 6, 1966

### Support for Revolutionary Proposal

## Revolutionary Students of Peking No. 4 Middle School Write to Chairman Mao

The revolutionary students of the 5th class of the senior 3rd grade of the Peking Municipal No. 4 Middle School have written to Chairman Mao endorsing the revolutionary proposal made by the Peking No. 1 Girls' Middle School to the Party's Central Committee and Chairman Mao that the old college entrance examination system be abolished. The entire body of revolutionary teachers and students of the No. 4 Middle School made a further proposal to teachers and students throughout the city supplementing the earlier proposal. The texts of the letter and the proposal follow.—Ed.

#### Respected and beloved Chairman Mao:

We have read the letter our fellow students of the No. 1 Girls' Middle School sent you and we fully endorse their views. After discussion, we added some points. When these were broadcast to the whole school, they were enthusiastically supported by all the revolutionary teachers and students, and it was unanimously decided that they be put before the teachers and students of all Peking as a proposal.

We are submitting to you a copy of this proposal, and we eagerly look forward to your instructions to us.

Wishing you a long life.

Revolutionary students of the 5th class of  
the senior 3rd grade of the Peking  
Municipal No. 4 Middle School

June 11, 1966

## Dare to Make the Sun and Moon Shine in New Skies

WE most enthusiastically hail the proposal of the No. 1 Girls' Middle School for the abolition of the college entrance examinations. We fully support this great revolutionary step. We believe that this proposal is timely and well put; it heightens the militant determination of the revolutionary youth, punctures the arrogance of the lordly bourgeois "authorities" and

deals the bourgeois "scholar-tyrants" a hard blow. With the deepening of the great socialist cultural revolution, the reactionary nature of the present college entrance examination system has been increasingly and thoroughly revealed. Its poison has spread far and its effect has been wide in scope. For many years it was used by the exploiting classes as an instrument for fooling the

people and grooming successors for the ruling classes. Today, under socialism, it has become a major means of training successors for the bourgeoisie and for bringing about a revisionist restoration.

It gravely violates the class line of the Party. It does not put politics in command but school marks in command; it does not bring up proletarian successors but bourgeois successors.

It puts vocation foremost and relegates politics to the background; it encourages students to "make one's own way," to take the road of becoming "white experts," i.e., bourgeois specialists, of seeking personal fame, gain, and position and it gravely obstructs the revolutionization of the youth.

It is a new form of the imperial examination system; it hobbles the minds of revolutionary youths, and renders them incapable of following Chairman Mao's instructions to develop morally, intellectually and physically in a lively, vigorous and active way.

Today, when the great socialist cultural revolution is developing in depth, in the great era of Mao Tse-tung, we absolutely will not tolerate for a single day longer this criminal system poisoning the youth of New China. We will resolutely smash it. We propose:

1. **Immediately abolish entrance, examinations to higher educational institutions.**

2. **Senior middle school graduates must first of all go out among the workers, peasants and soldiers to temper themselves, to get the approval of the workers, peasants and soldiers in the course of the three great revolutionary movements of the class struggle, the struggle for production and scientific experiment, and receive from them "ideological diplomas."**

3. **Enrol large numbers of steadfast revolutionaries from among the workers, peasants and soldiers who are tested in class struggle for further studies.**

4. **Speed up implementation of the part-work, part-study, and part-farming, part-study educational system, which is the socialist and communist line of education.**

5. **Select for enrolment into higher educational institutions students from among the present crop of graduates whose proletarian stand is firm and who are active in the great socialist cultural revolution.**

**Chairman Mao teaches us: Without destruction, there will be no construction. Destruction comes first and construction comes in the course of destruction. Destroy the old of capitalism, and set up the new of socialism. What we are out to smash is not just an examination system but the cultural shackles imposed on the people for thousands of years, the breeding ground in which intellectual aristocrats and high-salaried strata are nurtured, the stepping stone to modern revisionism. This revolutionary action of ours will deal the bourgeoisie a fatal blow. Like a cornered beast putting up a desperate resistance, the bourgeoisie will**

**inevitably make a last-ditch struggle and fight against us stubbornly to the end. They curse us for daring to "revolt" and "overturn the heavens." You bourgeois lords, you are quite right! That is just what we are out to do: to revolt against the old bourgeois system and overturn the heavens of capitalist restoration. Let them curse as they like! Truth comes out of curses. Victory comes out of struggles. Without the great destruction of today, there can be no radiant tomorrow for the proletariat. Fellow students! The revolutionary road is never a smooth one; on this road, we will encounter countless hidden impediments and raging storms. Fellow students! Comrades! Our revolutionary forbears had their heads cut off and shed their blood for the revolutionary cause of the proletariat: they gave up their lives for the Party; they gave their blood for a new world. Can we today care only about our own personal futures? Is there any personal interest we still cannot give up? All that we have belong to the Party and to the people. We have no personal future apart from the future of the Party and the people. The needs of the country and the Party are our needs; they are our highest ideals. Whatever conforms to Mao Tse-tung's thought, we will resolutely undertake; whatever does not conform to it, we will resolutely oppose. He who is not afraid of death by a thousand cuts dares to unhorse the emperor. Fellow students! Comrades! We unanimously resolve:**

Without a thorough reform of the college entrance examination system, without orders from the Party's Central Committee and Chairman Mao, we are determined not to enter the examination halls. We swear to become socialist workers, peasants and soldiers, not bourgeois college students!

Ours is a revolutionary generation. The only duty we have is to take over the great banner of socialist revolution and pass it on; we have no other rights. We pledge to the Party: **We will always follow the Party and Chairman Mao; we will always take the revolutionary road of integrating ourselves with the workers, peasants and soldiers and shoulder the great and heavy responsibility entrusted to us by the times!**

**Revolutionary comrades, arise! Hold high the great red banner of Mao Tse-tung's thought! Let us charge forward in the struggles of the cultural revolution! We will be brave vanguards of the proletarian revolution!**

Comrades, the future of China, the future of the world, belong to us; they belong to the youth who are always revolutionary!

Now we, the entire body of revolutionary teachers and students of the Peking Municipal No. 4 Middle School, propose this to the revolutionary comrades of the whole city: **Immediately abolish the college entrance examination system!**

The entire body of revolutionary teachers  
and students of the Peking Municipal  
No. 4 Middle School

June 10, 1966

# Freely Mobilize the Masses; Completely Defeat The Sinister Counter-Revolutionary Gangs

**T**HE revolutionary students and staff and faculty members of Nanking University have dragged out the anti-Party, anti-socialist counter-revolutionary Kuang Ya-ming [former First Secretary of the Communist Party Committee and President of Nanking University]. This is most gratifying.

The reorganization of the Peking Municipal Committee of the Communist Youth League and the dismissal from their official posts of those anti-Party, anti-socialist elements and the seizure of their power, is another most gratifying event.

Recently, the broad masses of workers, peasants and soldiers, and the masses of the revolutionary cadres and revolutionary intellectuals, holding high the great red banner of Mao Tse-tung's thought and carrying forward the proletarian cultural revolution in a big way, have charged against all stubborn strongholds of the bourgeoisie and won victory after victory.

What does the counter-revolutionary incident of Kuang Ya-ming suppressing the revolutionary mass movement tell us?

It tells us that monsters like Kuang Ya-ming, those sinister counter-revolutionary gangs which oppose the Party and socialism, will never voluntarily step down from the stage of history; they will never be reconciled to their defeat. They will certainly put up a desperate resistance and make a death-bed struggle. They will certainly take all sorts of treacherous and deadly measures to suppress the revolutionary mass movement and to maintain their tottering counter-revolutionary rule.

Representatives of the bourgeoisie who oppose the Party and socialism usurp the name of the Party and use the many departments under their control as their positions from which to carry out anti-Party activities. They use a complete set of tools of dictatorship against the revolutionary masses and the proletarian Left. In an organized and planned way and under leadership, they oppose the great socialist cultural revolution launched by the Party's Central Committee and Chairman Mao. When the movement just begins and the masses are not yet mobilized, they try to stir up an ill wind, spreading rumours and creating confusion in order to sidetrack the masses, and set up one obstacle after another to bind the masses hand and foot. As soon as the proletarian Left speaks up and posts a few *dazibao*

[posters written in big characters hung up for everybody to see], they rant and rave and go into hysterics. They organize encircling attacks against the Left and curse and threaten it, accusing it of all sorts of crimes in order to persecute the Left politically. Fellows like these use the strange logic that whoever exposes them, whoever stands opposed to their sinister gang are "opposing the Party" and "opposing the Central Committee." The result of their doing this is exactly contrary to what they seek; it completely unmasks the real faces of these royalists and counter-revolutionaries and sounds the death knell announcing their utter failure.

In those departments and units where the bourgeoisie's representatives have usurped the leadership, the present great cultural revolution is a struggle for taking back the power of leadership, a struggle for transforming the bourgeois dictatorship into the proletarian dictatorship. This struggle must never be carried out in a reformist way. There must be no "peaceful transition," no "two combining into one": a thoroughgoing revolutionary method must be employed; all monsters must be dragged out and struggle be waged against them till they stink, till they are down and till they collapse once and for all.

Winning victory in this struggle calls for freely mobilizing the masses. One's attitude towards the mass movement, to support it or to stand against it, is an extremely important criterion for determining who is a revolutionary and who is a counter-revolutionary. We must warmly and wholeheartedly support the revolutionary mass movement, enthusiastically plunge ourselves into it, and guide it correctly. We must steadfastly depend on the proletarian Left, regard the workers, peasants and soldiers as the main force of the revolution, unite with the more than 95 per cent of the masses and the cadres to concentrate our firepower on the target, to open fire on the anti-Party and anti-socialist sinister gangs, on the stubborn bourgeois strongholds and on all monsters.

Revolutionary *dazibao* are magic mirrors which reveal all monsters for what they are; they are the most effective means of freely mobilizing the masses to launch fierce attacks against the enemies. All anti-Party, anti-socialist counter-revolutionaries fear *dazibao* the most, while all revolutionary masses like them the best and consider them the most powerful new-type

weapon to expose and vanquish the enemies. You put up one; I put up another. Every anti-Party, anti-socialist crime can thus be exposed and every anti-Party, anti-socialist sinister gang will be dragged out so that they find no place to hide, nor anywhere to escape. What we need is to put up *dazibao* on an extensive scale, engage in great debates, fully air our views, greatly boost the spirit of the proletarian Left and the revolutionary masses and sweep away the arrogance of the representatives of the bourgeoisie, the bourgeois "academic authorities" and all monsters.

We must launch a massive attack on the strongholds of the bourgeois diehards. If the representatives of the bourgeoisie who are opposed to the Party, socialism and Mao Tse-tung's thought continue to lord it over the people, we must make their names public in the newspapers, dismiss them from their posts, remove them from their offices, seize the authority given them and resolutely carry out reorganization. In the case of organizations like the former Peking Municipal Party Committee, which persisted in its opposition to the Party,

socialism and Mao Tse-tung's thought, it is unthinkable that we would not reorganize it! As for the former Peking Communist Youth League Committee, which served as an accomplice of the former Peking Municipal Party Committee and madly poisoned the youth and children, it is unthinkable that we would not reorganize it! And what should we have done if not dismiss men like the chieftains of these counter-revolutionary strongholds!

We must freely mobilize the masses, overthrow all counter-revolutionary sinister gangs which are opposed to the Party, socialism and Mao Tse-tung's thought, and capture all the positions they have entrenched themselves in and place these firmly under the control of the proletariat.

We must raise high the great red banner of Mao Tse-tung's thought and carry the great proletarian cultural revolution through to the end. We will definitely not call off the struggle until complete victory is won.

*("Renmin Ribao" editorial, June 16.)*

## Revolutionary Big-Character Posters Are "Magic Mirrors" That Show Up All Monsters

**T**HE great proletarian cultural revolution is now in full spate. We must stand at the forefront of this movement and actively guide it.

It is necessary to arouse the masses without reservation and adopt the method of full and frank expression of views and opinions, of putting up posters written in big characters and of carrying out great debates. It is necessary to let the masses speak out fully, expose all the representatives of the bourgeoisie who oppose the Communist Party, socialism and Mao Tse-tung's thought, expose all the monsters and, one by one, smash to pieces the reactionary bastions of the bourgeoisie.

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

The revolutionary big-character posters are very good!

They are "magic mirrors" to show up the monsters of all kinds. With everybody putting up such posters, it is possible, quickly and from all sides, to reveal the true face of the sinister anti-Party and anti-socialist gangs.

These posters set out all kinds of opinions and bring out all kinds of contradictions. And through

these opinions and contradictions we should come to understand the situation and discover and solve the problems.

By presenting the cardinal issues of right and wrong and getting everybody to discuss, examine, appraise and criticize them, the revolutionary big-character posters concentrate in a single day 20 years' education of the masses, particularly in raising the proletarian consciousness of the younger generation.

In a big way, the revolutionary big-character posters fortify the high resolve of the proletariat, of the masses of the workers, peasants and soldiers, and in a big way deflate the arrogance of all the anti-Party and anti-socialist reactionaries and the high and mighty bourgeois "authorities."

The attitude towards these revolutionary posters is an important yardstick in the current great cultural revolution by which to differentiate genuine from sham revolutionaries and proletarian revolutionaries from bourgeois royalists.

Are you a revolutionary? Then you are bound to welcome these posters, stand up for them, take a lead in writing them and encourage the masses to write them freely and expose the problems freely.

Are you a royalist? Then you are bound to be scared to death of such posters. You will turn pale with fear and come out in a cold sweat at the sight of them, and in every possible way you will try to suppress the posters put up by the masses.

Fear of the big-character posters means fear of the masses, fear of the revolution, fear of people's democracy, fear of the dictatorship of the proletariat.

There are a few people in authority who have taken the capitalist road; their minds are like granite. They do not allow the masses to make revolution and write big-character posters. And when the masses write them, they use their position and power and, under a host of pretexts, organize the royalists to write counter-revolutionary big-character posters to encircle and attack the revolutionary big-character posters and suppress the proletarian revolutionaries. We are not afraid of these actions of theirs. The fact they come out and serve as teachers by negative example raises the vigilance of the masses and helps them to distinguish right from wrong on cardinal issues. Isn't that a very good thing!

Chairman Mao says: "We must have faith in the masses; we must have faith in the Party. These are two cardinal principles. If we doubt these principles, we shall accomplish nothing."

Precisely for this reason — precisely because we have full confidence in the masses, and are absolutely convinced that under the leadership of Chairman Mao, our great, glorious and correct Party enjoys tremendous and unshakable prestige among them — we encourage the masses to write big-character posters in order to facilitate our struggle against the enemy and improve our work and in order to ensure that our socialist cause goes forward still more healthily and in still greater strides.

Let us freely arouse the masses, freely encourage them to write big-character posters and, under the great banner of Mao Tse-tung's thought and the leadership of the Party's Central Committee, resolutely carry the great proletarian cultural revolution through to the end!

(*"Renmin Ribco"* editorial, June 20.)

## THE WEEK

(Continued from p. 5.)

tion aimed at digging up the poisonous roots of revisionism. We must make the current great proletarian cultural revolution a complete success, thoroughly implement the educational line formulated by the Party's Central Committee and Chairman Mao, and guarantee that schools are run in such a way as to train successors to the proletarian revolution holding high the great red banner of Mao Tse-tung's thought."

Many armymen expressed full support for the revolutionary proposal of the Peking students. They praised the young people living in the era of Mao Tse-tung for being in the van of the revolution, daring to rise against the bourgeoisie, daring to topple outdated systems and daring to smash the old world to pieces.

### Afro-Asian Writers' Bureau Emergency Meeting Issues Statement

The emergency meeting of the Afro-Asian Writers' Bureau issued a statement which reads as follows:

The emergency meeting of the Afro-Asian Writers' Bureau, held in

Peking on June 20, 1966, and attended by Cameroon, Ceylon, China, Ghana, Indonesia, Japan and Sudan, expresses its great indignation and strongly condemns the splittist meeting in Cairo, usurping the name of the Afro-Asian Writers' Bureau, with the intrigue to remove the Afro-Asian Writers' Bureau from Colombo to Cairo, a crime committed by the Soviet splittists to create an open split in the Afro-Asian peoples' movements.

As everyone knows, the Afro-Asian Writers' Conference, like all the other Afro-Asian fraternal movements, is completely independent. But, some people always attempt to convert the Afro-Asian Writers' Conference to an organization subordinate to the Permanent Secretariat of the Afro-Asian Peoples' Solidarity Organization in Cairo. This is absolutely preposterous.

The Afro-Asian Writers' Bureau, with Mr. R.D. Senanayake as the Secretary-General, is the sole legitimate permanent organ of the Afro-Asian Writers' Conference, which, naturally, enjoys the support of all the revolutionary Afro-Asian writers.

The forthcoming Afro-Asian Writers' Emergency Meeting to be held in Peking from June 27 to July 6, 1966, decided by the bureau through

democratic consultation and reaffirmed by the bureau meeting, held in Peking from June 9 to 10, 1966, is the only legal one, while the splittist meeting in Cairo is completely illegal.

The meeting resolutely points out that the bureau meeting will be held as scheduled, from June 23 to 24, 1966, in Peking and that the Afro-Asian Writers' Emergency Meeting will be held from June 27 to July 6, 1966, in Peking, and that they will definitely be crowned with great success.

The meeting warmly welcomes the Afro-Asian writers who are now streaming from various Afro-Asian countries to attend the Afro-Asian Writers' Emergency Meeting in Peking.

The splittist meeting at Cairo is cooked up by the chief culprit, the Soviet splittists. These renegades who have made up their mind to sabotage, split and undermine the great anti-imperialist cause of the Afro-Asian peoples, particularly the present great struggle against U.S. imperialism waged by the heroic Vietnamese people, are doomed to complete failure.

Victory belongs to the revolutionary Afro-Asian writers.



# Foreign Ministry Statement Denounces The "Seoul Meeting"

- Resolutely opposes and condemns U.S. imperialism for plotting and organizing a new aggressive alliance.
- Resolutely opposes and condemns the intensified U.S.-Soviet collusion against China.

FROM June 14 to 16, 1966 a so-called "Ministerial Meeting of the Asian and Pacific Region" was held in Seoul after elaborate planning by U.S. imperialism and under its direct manipulation. Participating in the meeting were Japan, the puppet clique in south Korea, the puppet clique in south Vietnam, the Chiang Kai-shek clique, "Malaysia," Thailand, the Philippines, Australia and New Zealand. The Vientiane authorities of Laos were represented by an observer.

This cohort of accomplices, puppets and vassals of U.S. imperialism made frantic anti-Communist and anti-Chinese outcries at the meeting. They issued a "joint communique" in which they advocated "greater co-operation and solidarity among the Asian and Pacific countries . . . against any external communist aggression or infiltration," decided to set up a "standing committee" and announced that another so-called "Ministerial Meeting of the Asian and Pacific Council" would be held in Bangkok. They brazenly supported U.S. imperialism in its war of aggression against Vietnam and acted in co-ordination with its counter-revolutionary dual tactics of expanding this war while carrying on the "peace talks" intrigue; at the same time, they openly backed up the forcible occupation of south Korea by U.S. imperialism and supported the illegal U.N. resolution on Korea.

This meeting represented an important step taken by U.S. imperialism, after shifting the centre of gravity of its strategy to the East, to accelerate the knocking up of a new aggressive military and political alliance with Japan as the core in furtherance of its plot of expanding the war of aggression in Asia. It was, moreover, a component part of the intensified U.S.-Soviet collusion to combat China and oppose the national-liberation movements and people's revolutionary struggles in Asia.

The Ministries of Foreign Affairs of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea and the Democratic Republic of Vietnam have respectively issued statements exposing and denouncing this meeting.

The Chinese Government and people hereby state: We resolutely oppose and condemn U.S. imperialism for

its crime of plotting and organizing a new aggressive alliance in an attempt to expand its war of aggression in Asia and resolutely oppose and denounce the scheming activities of the United States and the Soviet Union in stepping up their collusion against China.

In order to prepare for this meeting, U.S. imperialism directed its vassals to hold two preparatory meetings at ambassadorial level as early as March 1965 and again in April 1966. In last February, U.S. Assistant Secretary of State for Far Eastern Affairs William Bundy clamoured for the formation of an "alliance for the containment of China" by the U.S. puppets and vassals in Asia. Vice-President Hubert Humphrey and other important U.S. officials also made extensive tours to work for the convening of this meeting. Thus, it was only after manoeuvring for over a year that U.S. imperialism managed to bring about the meeting.

Why did U.S. imperialism spare no effort to stage this farce?

As everyone knows, the situation with respect to the people's anti-U.S. revolutionary struggle in Asia, Africa and Latin America is now excellent, while U.S. imperialism is suffering one defeat after another in its war of aggression in Vietnam and is bogged down there deeper and deeper without being able to pull itself out. In particular, the Chinese people's firm opposition to the U.S. imperialist policies of aggression and war and their resolute support for the anti-U.S. struggles of all peoples have upset the global strategy of U.S. imperialism. All the military blocs under the control of U.S. imperialism are disintegrating or paralysed. In these circumstances, U.S. imperialism is thrown into a great panic. In order to save itself from defeat and extricate itself from its difficult position, it has, on the one hand, readjusted its counter-revolutionary global strategy by shifting the centre of gravity of its strategy from Europe to Asia and, on the other hand, gathered its accomplices and vassals in the Asian and West Pacific region in an attempt to gang them up with Japan as the nucleus so as to tighten the military encirclement of the People's Republic of China, to prepare for armed attacks on China and the Democratic

People's Republic of Korea and to further expand its war of aggression against Vietnam. By means of such a new aggressive alliance they also wish to undermine and suppress the national-liberation movements and people's revolutionary struggles in this region. The "Seoul meeting" was the first step taken by U.S. imperialism to realize the above-mentioned aggressive designs.

At the "Seoul meeting" the Sato government of Japan played the role of the chief accomplice. The Japanese reactionaries have consistently supported the United States in its war of aggression against Vietnam and have turned Japan into a military base and logistic centre for U.S. imperialism. Under the direction of the United States, they signed last year the "ROK-Japan Treaty" with the Pak Jung Hi clique, plotted a "North-east Asia military alliance" and drew up the "Operation Three Arrows" plan for attacking China and Korea. Last April, Japan further convened a "ministerial conference for economic development of Southeast Asia" to step up expansion in Southeast Asia. All this shows that, fostered by U.S. imperialism, Japanese militarism is raising its head again and is serving as a "shock brigade" of U.S. imperialism in its scheme to expand the war of aggression in Asia.

The Chiang Kai-shek clique worked the hardest for this meeting, making fanatical anti-Communist outcries at the meeting and vainly attempting to realize its fond dream of a "come-back to the mainland" by relying on the prop of U.S. imperialism and its vassals. Taiwan is a part of China's territory. In dragging into the meeting the Chiang Kai-shek remnant gang which had long been repudiated by the Chinese people, U.S. imperialism was making a grave provocation to the Chinese people. This proves once again that U.S. imperialism is the sworn enemy of the Chinese people.

The Soviet revisionist leading group has published a TASS statement sanctimoniously denouncing the "Seoul meeting." This is a sheer fraud. The Soviet revisionist leading group has all along taken U.S.-Soviet collaboration for world domination as the maximum programme of Soviet foreign policy. It has played the ignominious role of an accomplice of U.S. imperialism in its aggressive activities in Asia and the whole world. The Soviet leaders have long colluded with U.S. imperialism in carrying out unbridled anti-Chinese activities and frenziedly sabotaging the revolutionary movements of the people of Asia and the whole world. To cater to the needs of U.S. imperialism in encircling China and in its war of aggression against Vietnam, they have been advocating the establishment of a "European security system" and actively co-ordinating with U.S. imperialism in shifting the centre of gravity of the latter's counter-revolutionary global strategy from Europe to Asia. At a time when the peoples of Korea and Japan are vigorously unfolding struggles against the "ROK-Japan Treaty," the Soviet leaders have been in a passionate embrace with the Sato government and have lauded the Japanese reactionaries as

"the stabilizing force in Asia." On the Vietnam question, the Soviet leaders have all along worked hand in glove with U.S. imperialism and run errands for the Johnson Administration's "peace talks" intrigue. They have all along supported Indian expansionism against China. They have been flirting with the reactionaries of Indonesia, Thailand, Laos and "Malaysia." They have even sent delegates to sit in international meetings of various descriptions together with delegates of the puppet cliques of south Korea and south Vietnam and the Chiang Kai-shek clique. All these facts prove that the Soviet revisionist leading group has already formed a counter-revolutionary alliance with U.S. imperialism and has become the saboteur of the revolutionary movements of the people of Asia and the whole world. The gesture made by the Soviet revisionist leading group in regard to the "Seoul meeting" is entirely a double-dealing trick of sham support but real betrayal. The people of Asia and the whole world have come to see more and more clearly that the Soviet revisionist leading group is an accomplice of U.S. imperialism. To oppose U.S. imperialism and its lackeys, it is imperative to combat the Soviet modern revisionists, and no "united action" must be taken with them.

It can be anticipated that following the farce of the "Seoul meeting," U.S. imperialism will undoubtedly go still further and continue to rig up a new anti-Communist and anti-Chinese military and political alliance in Asia and the West Pacific region. Its scheme will be of no avail, for any "alliances" formed by these puppets and vassals who are spurned by all can neither gain any political capital for these American lackeys nor in any way save the U.S. aggressors from their inevitable doom. U.S. imperialism, modern revisionism and the reactionaries of different countries are all paper tigers. Their efforts will come to nought in the face of the storm of the great people's revolutionary struggles in Asia and the West Pacific region.

The Chinese people are prepared against U.S. imperialism's expansion of its war of aggression in Vietnam and Indo-China and against its intensified deployment for launching armed attacks on China and the Democratic People's Republic of Korea. Should U.S. imperialism dare to impose a war on the Chinese people, the Chinese people will definitely go along with it to the very end. The Chinese people resolutely support the Vietnamese people in their struggle against U.S. aggression and for national salvation, resolutely support the Korean people in their struggle against the U.S. imperialist forcible occupation of south Korea and for the reunification of their fatherland, resolutely support the peoples of Japan, Laos, Cambodia, Thailand and other Asian countries in their valiant struggles against U.S. imperialism and its lackeys. The Chinese people are determined, together with the other peoples of Asia and the world, to contribute to the thorough defeat of U.S. imperialism and its followers.

(June 21, 1966.)

# Exposing New U.S. Fraud Over Nuclear Weapons

by OBSERVER

CHINA successfully conducted its third nuclear test on May 9. The next day, at Comrade Mehmet Shehu's farewell banquet, Premier Chou En-lai in his speech again expounded China's consistent stand on the question of nuclear weapons. He pointed out that China had already proposed to the United States that the two countries undertake the obligation of not being the first to use nuclear weapons against each other. But U.S. imperialism had rejected China's proposal. China's third successful nuclear test and Premier Chou En-lai's speech dealt another heavy blow at U.S. imperialism, caused a turmoil in the United States, and threw the U.S. Government into a very awkward position.

In these circumstances, at the Sino-American ambassadorial talks on May 25 the U.S. Government proposed that the Chinese Government consider linking its non-first use of nuclear weapons draft agreement to the U.S.-British-Soviet treaty on partial cessation of nuclear testing. Then on June 3, the U.S. Government disclosed the content of this proposal through the *New York Times* to the effect that "neither would be the first to use nuclear weapons, providing the Chinese would agree to stop their atomic testing."

This card played by the U.S. Government was just another of its big frauds on the question of nuclear weapons.

As early as October 16, 1964, the day China conducted its first nuclear test, the Chinese Government proposed the holding of a summit conference of all the countries of the world to discuss the complete prohibition and thorough destruction of nuclear weapons with the undertaking not to use nuclear weapons as the first step towards the complete prohibition of nuclear weapons. The Chinese Government was the first to announce that at no time and in no circumstances would China be the first to use nuclear weapons. It also proposed to the United States that before a world summit conference is held, China and the United States first reach an agreement on the question of undertaking not to use nuclear weapons. But the U.S. Government adamantly refused to do so. Now the U.S. Government suddenly indicates that it may "consider" an agreement on an undertaking not to be the first to use nuclear weapons. Does this mean that it has changed its previous position? No, definitely not.

The U.S. promise that it will consider the question of not using nuclear weapons first is false; its real intention is to fasten China to the tripartite partial nuclear test ban treaty.

Just what is the tripartite treaty? It is a criminal concoction by the two nuclear overlords—the United States and the Soviet Union—to consolidate their nu-

clear monopoly, to bind all the peace-loving countries hand and foot and to hoodwink the people of the world. It is a gross betrayal of the interests of the people of the Soviet Union and other peoples of the world by the leaders of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. The Chinese Government was the first to oppose the treaty and oppose it most firmly. At no time and in no circumstances shall we subscribe to it. This solemn position taken by China is known to the whole world and the U.S. Government, too, is well aware of it.

Why then should the U.S. Government bring this preposterous proposal forward now and publicize it widely round the world? The reason is quite simple. The rapidity of China's progress in developing nuclear weapons has gone far beyond U.S. expectations, and has accelerated the bankruptcy of its nuclear monopoly and nuclear blackmail policy. Thus, Washington thought up this scheme to snare China into accepting the tripartite treaty with the bait that it may "consider" the non-first use question. By this it hopes to restrict China's development of nuclear weapons while it continues to develop them in a big way. This is a scheme to save its nuclear monopoly. If China refuses to be taken in, the United States would have a plausible excuse to refuse to undertake the obligation that it will not be the first to use nuclear weapons, and put all blame on China.

Washington has overrated its own cunning in believing that this swindle can extricate it from its awkward position. The swindle is too clumsy and can be seen through by anyone with common sense. China's proposal that the two countries undertake not to use nuclear weapons against each other is a practical step towards the elimination of the threat of a nuclear war and towards the complete prohibition and thorough destruction of nuclear weapons, while the tripartite treaty is a serious move to legalize the U.S. development of nuclear weapons and its policy of nuclear blackmail and to increase the threat of nuclear war. How can one mention them in the same breath and "link up" these two things which have nothing in common but conflict with each other? By deliberately tying them together, the U.S. Government is in fact proposing that we forsake principles and strike a deal with it. This is absolutely impossible. The Chinese Government will never do such a thing. If we did so, it would amount to betraying and selling out the people of the world and helping the United States to consolidate its nuclear monopoly and carry out its policy of nuclear blackmail. In that case would we be any different from the Khrushchov revisionists? Would we not commit a historic crime?

At the Sino-American ambassadorial talks, the U.S. Government proposed to consider the Chinese proposal not to use nuclear weapons first in conjunction with the tripartite partial nuclear test ban treaty. Then it deliberately disclosed the contents of this in a blare of propaganda. The purpose behind all this is also to induce China to join in the so-called disarmament talks. In 1965, when the 20th Session of the United Nations General Assembly passed a resolution for a world disarmament conference, the U.S. and Soviet representatives in the assembly sang a duet, one saying that there was the "possibility" of admitting China to the conference and the other declaring that China's participation in the conference was "essential." Recently, on the same day that the *New York Times* disclosed what went on at the last Sino-American ambassadorial talks, the U.S. State Department spokesman, Robert McCloskey, said: "We are, of course, always interested in whether there is any indication that the Chinese Communists might be seriously interested in workable disarmament agreements." These activities were meant to sound out our reaction. However, we wish to tell the United States straight out that all your efforts in this regard are in vain.

We have long seen through what U.S. imperialism calls disarmament. Disarmament in its dictionary means arms expansion. By general disarmament it means general arms expansion. The United States has been talking a lot about "disarmament" in order to deceive world opinion and hide its general arms expansion and war preparations. More than one thousand sessions of various disarmament meetings have been held in the postwar years, but the armaments of U.S. imperialism have increased enormously instead of being reduced. U.S. military spending has increased from U.S.\$14,300 million in 1947 to approximately U.S.\$60,000 million this year and its armed forces from 1.58 million men in 1947 to over 3 million men this year. The United States has more than 2,000 military bases and installations and more than one million troops abroad. This is general and complete arms expansion to the full, offering not the slightest resemblance to disarmament.

Today, the sharpest outstanding international question is the Vietnam question, not the disarmament question. U.S. imperialism is stepping up its aggression against Vietnam and threatening to spread the war flames to the whole of Indo-China and China. In such conditions, what disarmament is there to speak of? How can one sit at the conference table and discuss disarmament with U.S. imperialism? If one does so, it will hold no practical significance. On the contrary, it will divert the people of the world from their target of struggle so that U.S. imperialism may extend its war of aggression at will. Therefore, China will definitely not attend any world disarmament conference at the United Nations or outside it.

The disarmament question has always been a subject in the political dealing between the Soviet modern revisionists and U.S. imperialism. After signing the treacherous tripartite treaty, the Soviet Union intensi-

fied its collusion with the United States on the so-called question of the prevention of nuclear proliferation. As the United States expanded its war of aggression against Vietnam, the Soviet Union, in response to the U.S. requirement, in July last year resumed the Geneva disarmament conference which had been broken off for ten months. The Soviet delegate openly said: "I do not want to make our discussions dependent on Vietnam." He even said that it was precisely because of the international situation being greatly aggravated by U.S. aggression against Vietnam that "maximum efforts must be exerted" so that headway may be made at the Geneva disarmament conference. The reason why the Soviet leaders were so impatient to strike a deal on the question of the prevention of nuclear proliferation was a hasty attempt to maintain the hegemony of the two nuclear powers — the Soviet Union and the United States — through such a treaty so that they may collaborate in dominating the world, and at the same time to create the false impression that the international situation has relaxed so as to slacken and paralyse the anti-U.S. imperialist struggle of the revolutionary people of the world. This again exposes the reactionary features of the Soviet leaders as U.S. imperialism's accomplices pushing forward the line of Soviet-U.S. collaboration for world domination.

Such things as the tripartite treaty, the world disarmament conference, the prevention of nuclear proliferation and the linking of China's non-first use proposal to the tripartite treaty on partial cessation of nuclear testing are all aimed at restricting and depriving China and all other peace-loving countries of their legitimate right to develop their own armed forces for self-defence and their right to possess and develop nuclear weapons. In a word, they only permit the United States to carry out all-round arms expansion while forbidding the peace-loving countries of the world and particularly the Asian and African countries to possess armed forces for self-defence. They only permit the United States and the Soviet Union to have nuclear weapons while forbidding the other countries to have them. But this will never do. China's success in its three nuclear tests has dispelled the fond dreams of the United States and its accomplices and given immense encouragement to the peace-loving countries and people of the world. In such circumstances, it is all the more certain that the U.S. attempt to introduce a new fraud over the question of nuclear weapons is doomed to failure.

The Chinese Government always advocates the complete prohibition and thorough destruction of nuclear weapons. China's purpose in conducting nuclear tests and developing nuclear weapons is to counter the U.S. nuclear threat, break its nuclear monopoly and finally destroy nuclear weapons. As long as the United States holds on to its nuclear weapons, China will determinedly continue to develop nuclear weapons and will never slacken its vigilance. The various frauds perpetrated by the United States on the question of nuclear weapons can produce no other result than its own self-exposure. ("Renmin Ribao," June 20.)

# Speech of Head of Chinese Delegation

— At World Peace Council in Geneva

- Soviet leaders denounced for using the World Peace Council to peddle the U.S. "peace talks" fraud on the question of Vietnam.
- Should U.S. imperialism dare to unleash a war against China, it will suffer a devastating counter-blow.

*The World Council of Peace concluded its four-day meeting in Geneva on June 16. Throughout the session, there was an intense and tit-for-tat struggle between the two different lines of genuine or sham opposition to imperialism and genuine or sham support for the revolutionary struggles of the people of various countries.*

*The Soviet delegates, by resorting to the tactics of sham democracy but real control, carried through on a series of major international issues the general line of their foreign policy of "Soviet-U.S. collaboration" which they peddled. They strained every nerve to turn the World Peace Council into a diplomatic tool of the Soviet Union with the aim of serving U.S. imperialism.*

*The Chinese delegation, holding high the great red banner of Mao Tse-tung's thought, thoroughly exposed the real nature of the Soviet revisionist leading group as servitors of U.S. imperialism who are betraying the revolutionary interests of the Vietnamese people and trying to fan up anti-China sentiments.*

THE Vietnamese people's struggle against U.S. aggression and for national salvation is the focus of the present struggles of the people of the world against U.S. imperialism. Giving full play to the enormous power of people's war, the heroic south Vietnamese people have battered the U.S. aggressor troops and won brilliant victories one after another. The army and people in the northern part of Vietnam have also achieved great successes in bringing down many U.S. air marauders. The victories of the Vietnamese people have greatly enhanced the fighting will of all the revolutionary people of the world, and seriously punctured the arrogance of the U.S. imperialist paper tiger. They have effectively tied down and weakened U.S. imperialism, supported the national-liberation movements and revolutionary struggles of the people of various countries and made outstanding contributions to the defence of world peace.

U.S. imperialism is doomed in Vietnam. But it is not reconciled to its defeat. It is actively resorting to the counter-revolutionary dual tactics, using the black-mail of war expansion to promote its "peace talks" fraud and spreading the smokescreen of "peace talks"

*From the very start, the manipulators of the meeting resorted to extremely undemocratic ways in an attempt to impose the Soviet leading group's revisionist line on the world peace movement. At the closing session, they forbade discussion and set the voting machine in motion to force a number of documents through the meeting.*

*The Chinese and Albanian delegations voted against the general document and the documents on European security, the 18-nation disarmament committee and the structure of the World Peace Council. They did not take part in the vote on the documents on Vietnam and Cuba, and on other documents. The Chinese delegation stated its objections to the appointment of Chandra, of India, as General Secretary of the council.*

*The delegates from the Democratic Republic of Vietnam, south Vietnam, Japan and Korea abstained from voting on some documents and voted against others.*

*Following are excerpts from the speech delivered by Li Chu-wen, head of the Chinese delegation, at the opening session of the council. — Ed.*

to cover up its crime of war expansion in an attempt to continue its occupation of south Vietnam. For the same purpose, it is plotting repeatedly to use the United Nations which is under its control, to intervene in the Vietnam question.

It must be pointed out that in the U.S. "peace talks" manoeuvres, the Soviet leading group has been acting as the most faithful and zealous broker. They have tried by every means to co-ordinate their activities with U.S. imperialism in peddling the "peace talks" swindle in an attempt to help the United States stamp out the flames of the Vietnamese people's revolutionary struggle and bring the Vietnam question into the orbit of "Soviet-U.S. collaboration."

Moreover, the Soviet leaders continuously peddle this "peace talks" fraud through the World Council of Peace. We all remember the farce staged at the World Peace Congress held in Helsinki a year ago when a U.S. delegate went up to the rostrum and proposed the sending of a "peace mission," and the Soviet delegates immediately took the lead in giving him a standing ovation. Recently, under the deliberate plot of the Soviet leaders, the leading body of the W.C.P. com-

piled and circulated a brochure entitled *World Focal Point—Vietnam* which sets forth five “premises” for the settlement of the Vietnam question through “peaceful negotiations,” unscrupulously shielding U.S. imperialism and serving its “peace talks” fraud. In that document, the South Vietnam National Front for Liberation, the sole genuine representative of the people of south Vietnam, is described as a “negotiating partner” and, under the pretext of “self-determination” for south Vietnam and its “internal affairs,” the brochure stands for continued division of Vietnam to prevent the Vietnamese people from reunifying their motherland. Among the five so-called “premises,” the key to the solution of the Vietnam question, that is, the immediate withdrawal of all U.S. aggressor troops from south Vietnam, is not mentioned at all. On the contrary, it responds to Washington’s oft repeated trick of so-called “negotiations before withdrawal,” “withdrawal during negotiations” and “symbolic withdrawal,” which in fact means negotiations without withdrawal, by an “actual start of this withdrawal operation” and “an . . . end . . . to the increase of American . . . troops.” It also advocates with ulterior motives that the interested countries, including the People’s Republic of China, should be assembled in Geneva to give guarantee for such withdrawal. The brochure also levels malicious attacks at China and tries to undermine the militant friendship between the Chinese and Vietnamese people. All this serves the “peace talks” manoeuvres of U.S. imperialism and enables it to hang on in south Vietnam. This is a most naked programme of betraying the Vietnamese people’s struggle. We must find out whence this programme of betrayal comes from, and thoroughly expose and denounce it.

In supporting the Vietnamese people’s struggle against U.S. aggression and for national salvation, one must be genuine and sincere, and not hypocritical and dishonest as is the case with the Soviet leading group. **The Soviet leading group pretends to aid Vietnam, but actually, it attempts to control the Vietnam situation and strike a deal with U.S. imperialism under the pretext of aid to Vietnam.** This so-called aid by the Soviet leading group is not only deplorably meagre in quantity, but mostly consists of obsolete or outmoded weapons. Nevertheless, it goes all out to boast about it. It even spreads rumours that China “hampers” the transit of Soviet aid material to Vietnam in order to vilify China and whip up an anti-China campaign. The Soviet leading group attributes its failure to aid Vietnam effectively to the fact that the Soviet Union has no common boundary with Vietnam, but it has given large quantities of weapons and war materials to India which also has no common boundary with the Soviet Union. Besides, while clamouring so loudly about its “aid” to Vietnam, it has reached a tacit understanding with the United States, so that the latter can continuously move its troops from Europe to Vietnam for the expansion of its aggressive war. **All this shows that the Soviet leading group is playing a game of phoney aid and real betrayal. It puts up the signboard of “aiding Vietnam” only to deceive the people and cover up its acts**

of serving U.S. imperialism. The true feature of the Soviet modern revisionists as renegades, who betray the interests of the Vietnamese people and of all the other revolutionary peoples, is exposed more and more clearly to the people of the world.

The Chinese people have always unswervingly supported the Vietnamese people in their just struggle to resist U.S. imperialist aggression, defend the north, liberate the south and reunify their fatherland, and have always given all-out support to the Vietnamese people in thoroughly defeating the U.S. aggressors. Whatever the sacrifices and whatever the circumstances, this stand of ours is unshakable.

U.S. imperialism is deliberately spreading the flames of war to the whole of Indo-China and to China, and continuously intensifying its war provocations against China. We want to warn U.S. imperialism: The Chinese people cherish peace, but are not afraid of war. Should you impose a war on China, what lies in store for you can only be your own complete destruction. In his interview given to a correspondent of the Pakistan paper *Dawn* on April 10 this year, Premier Chou En-lai of our State Council made a four-point statement on China’s policy towards the United States of America. The full text is as follows:

(1) **China will not take the initiative to provoke a war with the United States. China has not sent any troops to Hawaii; it is the United States that has occupied China’s territory of Taiwan Province. Nevertheless, China has been making efforts in demanding, through negotiations, that the United States withdraw all its armed forces from Taiwan Province and the Taiwan Straits, and she has held talks with the United States for more than ten years, first in Geneva and then in Warsaw, on this question of principle, which admits of no concession whatsoever. All this serves as a very good proof.**

(2) **The Chinese mean what they say. In other words, if any country in Asia, Africa or elsewhere meets with aggression by the imperialists headed by the United States, the Chinese Government and people definitely will give it support and help. Should such just action bring on U.S. aggression against China, we will unhesitatingly rise in resistance and fight to the end.**

(3) **China is prepared. Should the United States impose a war on China, it can be said with certainty that, once in China, the United States will not be able to pull out, however many men it may send over and whatever weapons it may use, nuclear weapons included. Since the 14 million people of southern Vietnam can cope with over 200,000 U.S. troops, the 650 million people of China can undoubtedly cope with 10 million of them. No matter how many U.S. aggressor troops may come, they will certainly be annihilated in China.**

(4) **Once the war breaks out, it will have no boundaries. Some U.S. strategists want to bombard China by relying on their air and naval superiority and avoid a ground war. This is wishful thinking. Once the war gets started with air or sea action, it will not be for the United States alone to decide how the war will**

**continue. If you can come from the sky, why can't we fight back on the ground? That is why we say the war will have no boundaries once it breaks out.**

This four-point statement by Premier Chou En-lai gives full expression to the firm resolve of the 650 million Chinese people to fight against U.S. imperialist aggression.

At the time of the explosion of China's first and second atom bombs, the Chinese Government already issued statements explaining its stand on the question of nuclear weapons and concretely proposed the holding of a summit conference of all the countries of the world to discuss the complete prohibition and thorough destruction of nuclear weapons. But disregarding the statements of the Chinese Government, U.S. imperialism continues to develop and produce large quantities of nuclear weapons of various types and further expanded its nuclear bases throughout the world, particularly its nuclear bases surrounding China and stepping up its nuclear blackmail and threats against China and other peace-loving countries. At the same time, the Soviet leading group is working hand in glove with U.S. imperialism in actively scheming for a so-called "treaty for the prevention of nuclear proliferation" to engage in further nuclear fraud. Under such circumstances, China of course cannot but take the necessary defence measures. Recently, after its successful nuclear explosion containing thermo-nuclear material, China solemnly declared once again that at no time and in no circumstances would China be the first to use nuclear weapons. **China's purpose in conducting necessary and limited nuclear tests and in developing nuclear weapons is to oppose the nuclear blackmail and threats of U.S. imperialism and its collaborators, to oppose the U.S.-Soviet collusion for maintaining nuclear monopoly and undermining the revolutionary struggles of all oppressed peoples and nations, and to defend national security and world peace.**

**The imperialists' and reactionaries' attacks on China for developing nuclear weapons are entirely untenable. Why should the United States and the Soviet Union be allowed to produce large quantities of nuclear weapons, while China, placed under their nuclear blackmail and nuclear threats, is not entitled to possess nuclear weapons for self-defence? Certain people openly declared their intention of dragging China into the so-called disarmament conference under U.S.-Soviet collaboration in order to bind our hands and try to deprive us of the right to develop nuclear weapons necessary for self-defence. They will never succeed.**

Under the direction of the Soviet baton, the leading body of the World Peace Council continuously advocates the "prevention of nuclear proliferation," while at the same time clinging desperately to so-called "general and complete disarmament." As is well known, the so-called disarmament has long since become a smoke-screen of U.S. imperialism to cover up its arms expansion. The disarmament conference is no more than a political bargaining place for U.S.-Soviet collaboration.

Facts in the 20 years since World War II have proved that U.S. imperialism is not working for general and complete disarmament but for general and complete arms expansion. The U.S. imperialists will never lay down their butcher's knife. To persist in advocating "general and complete disarmament" in order to realize "a world without war" while imperialism still exists, is only to try to delude others and themselves.

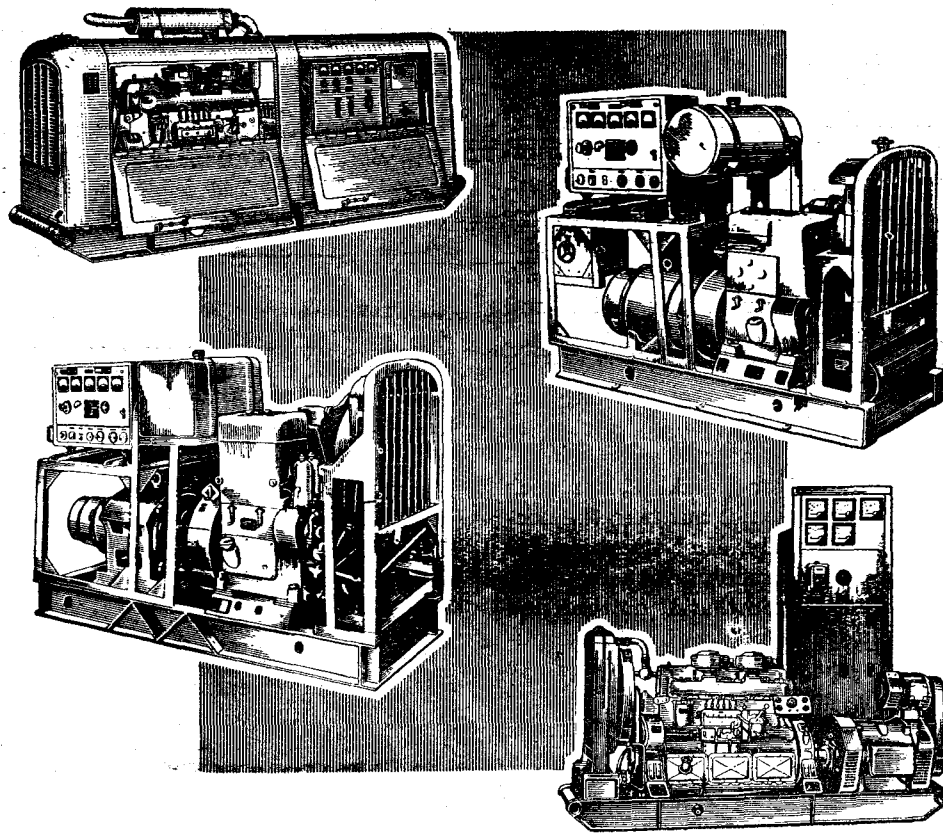
**In order to isolate U.S. imperialism to the maximum extent and deal it the most telling blows, an international united front against U.S. imperialism and its lackeys must be established, which is the broadest and not a narrow one, the most genuine and not a sham one. This united front must be based on the anti-imperialist revolutionary unity of all the people of the world. This united front certainly cannot include the accomplices of U.S. imperialism. The Soviet leading group puts up a signboard of anti-imperialism, but instead of opposing U.S. imperialism and supporting the revolutionary and national-liberation struggles of the peoples of the world, it is in fact collaborating closely with U.S. imperialism and serves as its voluntary fire-brigade in putting down the flames of revolutionary struggles, thus becoming the accomplices and collaborators of U.S. imperialism. They repeatedly clamour for "united action." How could we take "united action" with those who unite with U.S. imperialism? If we do so, would we not be having "united action" with U.S. imperialism?**

The peoples of the world always support and encourage each other in their struggles. The Chinese people draw great encouragement and strength from the struggles of the people of various countries. We firmly support the just struggles of the people of various countries. We firmly support the struggle of the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America against imperialism and old and new colonialism headed by the United States and to win and safeguard national independence. We firmly support the struggle of the people of the countries in Western Europe, North America and Oceania against U.S. imperialism and domestic monopoly capital, for national sovereignty, democratic rights and social progress. We believe that it is the people and not a small handful of moribund reactionary forces who decide the course of history. **Chairman Mao Tse-tung, the great leader of the Chinese people, has said: "People all over the world, be courageous, dare to fight, defy difficulties and advance wave upon wave. Then the whole world will belong to the people. Monsters of all kinds shall be destroyed."**

The whole world is in a process of great upheaval, great division and great reorganization. The masses of the people who constitute more than 90 per cent of the world's population want revolution. All the people of the world should unite and resolutely oppose U.S. imperialism, modern revisionism and all reactionaries, who are but a handful of scums and enemies of the people. **The revolutionary struggles of the people will sweep away all obstacles in their way and continue to surge forward with powerful momentum.**

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