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## **PATRIOTISM OR NATIONAL BETRAYAL?**

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*Hongqi* Commentator

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# QUOTATIONS FROM CHAIRMAN MAO TSE-TUNG

All erroneous ideas, all poisonous weeds, all ghosts and monsters, must be subjected to criticism; in no circumstance should they be allowed to spread unchecked.

*Speech at the Chinese Communist  
Party's National Conference on  
Propaganda Work*

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The young people are the most active and vital force in society. They are the most eager to learn and the least conservative in their thinking. This is especially so in the era of socialism.

*Introductory Note to "A Youth Shock  
Brigade of the No. 9 Agricultural  
Producers' Co-operative in Hsinping  
Township, Chungshan County*

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U.S. imperialists and the reactionaries of all countries are paper tigers. The struggle of the Chinese people has proved this. The struggle of the Vietnamese people is proving it.

*Statement Supporting the People of the  
Congo (L.) Against U.S. Aggression*



Chairman Mao Tse-tung

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





# PATRIOTISM OR NATIONAL BETRAYAL?

— On the Reactionary Film *Inside Story of the Ching Court*

by CHI PEN-YU

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“At no time since it was shown all over the country has the film ‘*Inside Story of the Ching Court*’ — described as patriotic though in fact a film of national betrayal — yet been criticized and repudiated.”

— Chairman Mao Tse-tung: “*Letter on the Question of Studies on ‘The Dream of the Red Chamber’*”

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WHEN that new day dawned over the east of the world in October, 1949, the China that had been weighed down by calamities rose to its feet like a giant.

Guided by Mao Tse-tung's thought, the Chinese people, after countless bitter struggles, finally threw off the three big mountains of imperialism, feudalism and bureaucrat-capitalism and liberated the whole country.

The storm of the great people's revolution was washing away the filth from the land of China. But the reactionary ruling classes, unreconciled to their doom, continued to mount frenzied, large-scale counter-attacks in every field. The class struggle was very acute. On the cultural and ideological fronts it was especially complicated, and the reactionary films, plays, operas, songs, books and journals that flooded the world of culture were important propaganda weapons in the big counter-attacks carried out by the reactionary ruling classes against the revolutionary people. One of the most prominent examples was the reactionary film *Inside Story of the Ching Court*, which in 1950 was still being widely shown in Peking, Shanghai and other cities.

What should be the attitude of the victorious Chinese people in face of these large-scale counter-attacks by reactionary culture? Should they carry out a proletarian cultural revolution, or compromise or surrender to the reactionary culture rampant in society? Every revolutionary comrade faced a new choice and test.

Around this reactionary film, the proletarian revolutionaries headed by Chairman Mao waged a serious struggle against a handful of Party people in authority

taking the capitalist road. It was the first important struggle on the cultural and ideological fronts in liberated China.

Chairman Mao sternly pointed out: **The *Inside Story of the Ching Court* is a film of national betrayal and should be criticized and repudiated.** He also said: **Somebody called it patriotic; I consider it national betrayal, national betrayal through and through.** But the counter-revolutionary revisionists Lu Ting-yi and Chou Yang and a certain Hu, a standing vice-director of the Propaganda Department of the Party's Central Committee at that time, and others, as well as the top Party person in authority taking the capitalist road who was supporting them from behind, stubbornly clung to their bourgeois reactionary stand and openly opposed Chairman Mao's directive. They asserted that this reactionary film was “patriotic” and refused to criticize and repudiate it.

Comrade Chiang Ching, then a member of a committee for guiding the work of the cinema under the Ministry of Culture, upheld the proletarian revolutionary line of Chairman Mao and at a number of meetings proposed that the film *Inside Story of the Ching Court* should be firmly criticized and repudiated. However, Lu Ting-yi, Chou Yang, Hu and others vigorously opposed this proposal and did their best to advertise the “patriotic progressiveness” of this reactionary film. When Comrade Chiang Ching wanted to act according to Chairman Mao's directive, they threw at her the reactionary talk of their boss behind the scenes, the top Party person in authority taking the capitalist road, and said: “Comrade so and so holds that it is a pa-

triotic film." Firmly upholding the truth, Comrade Chiang Ching stood her ground and in no uncertain terms refuting their reactionary and ludicrous statements insisted that the film should be criticized and repudiated. They had to give way, but perfunctorily appointed an historian of reactionary views to write a short fake criticism which was really aimed at shielding the film. They considered even such an article "too sharp," and held up publication, thus smothering a major struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie on the cultural and ideological fronts.

In 1951, Chairman Mao personally led the struggle on the cultural and ideological fronts to criticize the reactionary film *The Life of Wu Hsun*.<sup>\*</sup> In 1954, he initiated another major nationwide struggle, namely, the criticism of Yu Ping-po's *Studies on "The Dream of the Red Chamber"*<sup>\*\*</sup> and the reactionary ideas of Hu Shih. On October 16 of the same year, Chairman Mao wrote a letter to the comrades in the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Party and other comrades concerned, sternly criticizing certain "important people" in the Party who suppressed attacks by new-born forces against the bourgeoisie and were its willing captives. In his letter, Chairman Mao again raised the question of the reactionary film *Inside Story of the Ching Court*. Referring to the article written by two young men criticizing *Studies on "The Dream of the Red Chamber,"* Chairman Mao pointed out:

**This is the first serious attack in thirty years and more on the erroneous views of the so-called authoritative writer in the field of the studies of *The Dream of the Red Chamber*. The authors are two Youth League members. First they wrote to the *Wenyi Bao* (Literary Gazette), to ask whether it was all right to criticize Yu Ping-po, but they received no reply. Ignored by the *Wenyi Bao*, they wrote to teachers at their alma mater—Shantung University—and got their support. Their article refuting *A Short Study of "The Dream of the Red Chamber"* was carried in the university journal *Wenshizhe* (Literature, History and Philosophy). Then the problem came back again to Peking. Some people wanted this article to be reprinted in the *Renmin Ribao*, to arouse discussion and criticism. This was not done because certain people opposed it, giving various reasons (mainly that it was "an article written by unimportant people" and "the Party paper is not a platform for free debates").**

<sup>\*</sup> *The Life of Wu Hsun* was a most pernicious counter-revolutionary film which fervently praised the landlord class and its lackeys, frenziedly advocated the most shameless slavishness and capitulationism, and maliciously slandered the peasants' revolutionary struggles. Wu Hsun (1858-1896) was a landlord's toady whom the film turned into a "great man" willing to sacrifice himself to provide poor peasant children with a chance to study.—Tr.

<sup>\*\*</sup> *Studies on "The Dream of the Red Chamber"* is a book which evaluated this classical novel from the bourgeois idealist point of view and used bourgeois methods of textual research.—Tr.

As a compromise, the article was allowed to be reprinted in the *Wenyi Bao*. Later, the "Literary Legacy" page of the *Guangming Ribao* carried an article by the two young men refuting Yu Ping-po's book, *Studies on "The Dream of the Red Chamber."* It seems likely that the struggle is about to start against the bourgeois idealism of the school of Hu Shih which has been poisoning young people in the field of classical literature for the last thirty years and more. This struggle has been sparked by two "unimportant people," while the "important people," usually taking no notice of it or even obstructing it, advocate a united front on idealism with bourgeois writers and make themselves willing captives of the bourgeoisie. It was almost the same when the films *Inside Story of the Ching Court* and *The Life of Wu Hsun* were shown. At no time since it was shown all over the country has the film *Inside Story of the Ching Court*—described as patriotic though in fact a film of national betrayal—yet been criticized and repudiated. *The Life of Wu Hsun* has been criticized, but the lessons have not yet been drawn; now comes the bizarre situation when Yu Ping-po's idealism is tolerated and vigorous critical essays by some "unimportant people" are obstructed. This warrants our attention.

Yet class struggle is independent of man's will. Even after Chairman Mao put the question forward so sharply, the handful of counter-revolutionary revisionists headed by Lu Ting-yi and the top Party person in authority taking the capitalist road who supported them from behind, still continued to cling to the bourgeois reactionary stand and stubbornly opposed Chairman Mao's instructions. Twelve years have elapsed since 1954, but the *Inside Story of the Ching Court*, which is a reactionary, out-and-out traitorous film, remains uncriticized.

The unprecedented, great proletarian cultural revolution has once again brought this question up.

Debts have to be paid sooner or later. In the present movement of the great proletarian cultural revolution, this reactionary and completely traitorous film, which has remained uncriticized since the liberation, must be subjected to thorough criticism and repudiation by the revolutionary masses. The handful of counter-revolutionary revisionists who opposed Chairman Mao's directive and the top Party person in authority taking the capitalist road who supported them from behind, must also be thoroughly criticized and repudiated by the revolutionary masses during this movement. Accounts must be settled with them in full for their crimes of flagrantly opposing Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line and of recklessly opposing the Party and Mao Tse-tung's thought. The revolutionary masses must overthrow this handful of counter-revolutionary revisionists, remove the top Party person in authority taking the capitalist road from his position and make him stand aside.

The reactionary film *Inside Story of the Ching Court* is a film with a so-called historical theme. It deals with the Reform Movement of 1898 and the struggle of the Yi Ho Tuan Movement in the last years of the Ching Dynasty. It openly takes the stand of imperialism, feudalism and the reactionary bourgeoisie, freely distorts historical facts and prettifies imperialism, feudalism and bourgeois reformism. While eulogizing the royalists, it slanders the revolutionary mass movement and the heroic struggle of the people against imperialism and feudalism and advocates national capitulation and class capitulation.

This reactionary film was made by the Yunghua Film Company, a reactionary film studio whose first film was *The Soul of a Nation*. This conjured up the phantom soul of Wen Tien-hsiang to revive the soul of the dying Chiang Kai-shek regime. The *Inside Story of the Ching Court* was its second production. The scenario writer Yao Ke is a reactionary scribbler who holds stubbornly to the counter-revolutionary stand. He once edited the reactionary monthly *Tien Hsia*, opposed the Chinese revolution and actively served British-American imperialism and the comprador-bourgeoisie. Later he went over to the Kuomintang reactionaries and wrote a series of vulgar, reactionary plays. He was a small running-dog of the reactionary ruling classes. On the eve of China's liberation, he escaped to Hongkong. There is nothing strange in a reactionary anti-Communist, anti-popular, literary man writing such a reactionary scenario as *Inside Story of the Ching Court*. But it is indeed strange that the director and certain vice-directors of the Propaganda Department of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party who donned the cloak of "Communists" and "proletarian revolutionaries," and the top Party person in authority taking the capitalist road who supported them from behind, should show such favour to this extremely reactionary, thoroughly traitorous film, extol it as "patriotic," and actively serve as spokesmen for imperialism, feudalism and the reactionary bourgeoisie. Doesn't this call for deep thought?!

On the question of the attitude to be adopted towards this reactionary, thoroughly traitorous film, what are the major differences in principle between the proletarian revolutionaries headed by Chairman Mao on the one hand and the handful of counter-revolutionary revisionists and the top Party person in authority taking the capitalist road who supported them from behind, on the other hand? To sum up briefly, there are three differences: namely, what should be one's attitude towards imperialist aggression; towards the Yi Ho Tuan revolutionary mass movement; and towards bourgeois reformism?

## What Should Be One's Attitude Towards Imperialist Aggression?

The contradiction between imperialism and the Chinese people is a principal contradiction in modern

Chinese society. Imperialism is the first and most ferocious enemy of the Chinese people. What attitude should one take towards imperialist aggression is a question of first importance for the revolution.

The reactionary film *Inside Story of the Ching Court*, praised as "patriotic" by a handful of counter-revolutionary revisionists and the top Party person in authority taking the capitalist road who supported them from behind, is, on the question of imperialist aggression, a perfect reflection of an utterly shameful and servile attitude of fear and worship of imperialism and pro-imperialism.

It reveals a mortal fear of the imperialist aggression committed by the so-called "eight-power allied expedition" organized by Britain, the United States, Germany, Russia, Japan, France, Italy and Austria. It assiduously spreads fear of imperialism, crying that "since the Sino-Japanese War of 1894, China has suffered financial losses, her armed forces are poorly equipped and weak, . . . and she is far inferior to the enemy in strength," that "it must not start hostilities with any foreign country." Hsu Ching-cheng, a high-ranking mandarin, is so scared of imperialism that he wails aloud.

Chairman Mao teaches us that **before the wild beasts of imperialism revolutionary people must not show the slightest timidity**. But in the eyes of the scenarist and those who praised the film, there is no alternative but to surrender helplessly to imperialist aggression—all this is naked national capitulation, the philosophy of traitors.

Moreover, the film painstakingly advocates worship of imperialism and pro-imperialism; it goes all out to spread illusions about imperialism and openly peddles the theory of national betrayal. Through the mouth of the emperor's concubine Chen Fei,\* an agent of imperialism in the film, the scenarist openly welcomes the imperialist aggression against China. Chen Fei puts it bluntly: "The foreign powers will certainly not blame Your Majesty"; "I am sure that the foreign powers will not harm Your Majesty, but on the contrary will help Your Majesty restore the throne and regenerate the imperial regime." Sun Chia-nai, a high-ranking mandarin, also asserts: "The envoys of both the Eastern and Western Powers are sympathetic towards Your Majesty." A comparison of this with the counter-revolutionary propaganda of the imperialists who committed aggression against China at the time, shows clearly that the film advocates just what the imperialists advocated. To deceive its people, tsarist Russia, for example, alleged that it was "not fighting against China," "but merely putting down a riot, suppressing rebels and helping China's legitimate government to restore order." In *The War in China*, his first article on China written as early as 1900, Lenin mercilessly refuted such counter-revolutionary arguments put forward by the aggressors.

\*Chen Fei (1876-1900), concubine of Emperor Kuang Hsu.



What in fact is that "patriotism" in *Inside Story of the Ching Court* so extolled by a handful of counter-revolutionary revisionists and the top Party person in authority taking the capitalist road who supported them from behind? The "patriotism" they praised turns out to be the so-called "patriotism" of the Emperor Kuang Hsu and his ilk who did not hesitate to rely on imperialism to restore and consolidate their rule over the people, as is described in the film. After the Chinese people had overthrown the reactionary rule of imperialism and feudalism, they still continued to urge the people to learn the "patriotism" of becoming traitors in order to restore and consolidate the exploiting classes' rule over the people. Such is their vicious intention!

Chairman Mao teaches us: **"The specific content of patriotism is determined by historical conditions. There is the 'patriotism' of the Japanese aggressors and of Hitler, and there is our patriotism. Communists must resolutely oppose the 'patriotism' of the Japanese aggressors and of Hitler."** Likewise, we must resolutely oppose the so-called "patriotism" (namely, an out-and-out theory of national betrayal) advocated by a handful of counter-revolutionary revisionists and the top Party person in authority taking the capitalist road.

The traitorous argument about welcoming imperialism to help China "regenerate the imperial regime" advocated by the film is of the same stock as the gangster logic of U.S. imperialism. Singing the same tune as those imperialists did when they carried out aggression against China, ex-U.S. Secretary of State Acheson in his 1949 "White Paper" talked at length about U.S. "concern" for China and described aggression as "friendship." In **"Cast Away Illusions, Prepare for Struggle," "Friendship or Aggression?"** and other articles, Chairman Mao had already sternly rebutted such counter-revolutionary gangster logic. He pointed out that it is **"the logic of the U.S. mandarins" to describe aggression as "friendship."** Yet a handful of counter-revolutionary revisionists and the top Party person in authority taking the capitalist road who supported them from behind, yielded to imperialist pressure and were mortally afraid of imperialism. They vainly hoped to arrange a compromise with imperialism, and get "understanding" and "help" from it. They were deeply dissatisfied with Chairman Mao's great call **"cast away illusions, prepare for struggle."** That they energetically boosted this reactionary, out-and-out traitorous film *Inside Story of the Ching Court* was in fact an open opposition to Chairman Mao's criticism and repudiation of Acheson's "White Paper." This was an unbridled attack on Mao Tse-tung's thought.

Obviously, the reason why this reactionary film company and reactionary scribbler made such a film on the eve of China's liberation, a film that advocates imperialist "help" in "regenerating the imperial regime," was that they wanted to use their film to arouse public opinion for their own reactionary purposes and openly advocate reliance on U.S.

imperialism to suppress the revolutionary movement of the Chinese people, a stratagem they proposed to the Kuomintang reactionaries who were on their last legs. The film entirely takes the stand of imperialism and the Kuomintang reactionaries. It represents an attempt to help prop up the toppling reactionary regime to meet the needs of U.S. imperialist aggression against China and to serve U.S. imperialism and its lackeys. The handful of counter-revolutionary revisionists who paid lip-service to "opposing imperialism," and the top Party person in authority taking the capitalist road who supported them from behind, eulogized such a reactionary, out-and-out traitorous film and called it "patriotic." Doesn't this expose their true features as sham anti-imperialists and genuine capitulationists? What country do they love? What they love is a country belonging to the imperialists, a country belonging to the landlords and the bourgeoisie, but not our great motherland under the dictatorship of the proletariat. The "patriotism" they eulogize is nothing but a theory of national betrayal which all the revolutionary people of our country want to trample underfoot.

One thing in particular needs to be pointed out. It is by no means accidental that the top Party person in authority taking the capitalist road should have praised a reactionary, out-and-out traitorous film as "patriotic." As early as the first days of the victory of the War of Resistance Against Japan, he was frightened when faced with aggression by U.S. imperialism and its lackeys. Despairing of the future of the Chinese revolution, he actively promoted within the Party a line of national capitulation and class capitulation in what he described as a "new stage of peace and democracy." Chairman Mao called on us to **cast away illusions, to give the enemy tit for tat and fight for every inch of land**, whereas this person energetically spread illusions about peace with U.S. imperialism and its lackeys and impudently wrote articles in newspapers in which he expressed gratitude for U.S. imperialist "help" to China and begged for "peace" from U.S. imperialism in an attempt to benumb the fighting will of the people. He even deceived the people by saying that "the main form of struggle in the Chinese revolution has become peaceful and parliamentary. It is legal mass struggle and parliamentary struggle," "there should be a change in the whole of the Party's work," and "all political issues should be settled peacefully." Chairman Mao said that **as our enemies were sharpening their swords, we must sharpen ours too.** Yet this person wanted the people to hand over the weapons in their hands. Energetically advertising the theory of national betrayal, he took the enemy as his father and wanted to be a willing servant of U.S. imperialism. He said: "Since the U.S. is bound to find compradors in China, we, too, may act as its compradors, red compradors!" Compradors are compradors. They are running dogs of the imperialists. What's this about "red compradors"? It is a pure lie. With such a mean and shameless slave mentality, long ago eager to be im-

perialist compradors, they found the reactionary, out-and-out traitorous film *Inside Story of the Ching Court* extremely well suited to their taste. This was because the theory advocated by Chen Fei, the imperialist agent in the film, that imperialism might help China "regenerate the imperial regime" exactly reflected their traitorous mentality of eagerly wanting to become compradors of imperialism!

"Hearts which have a common beat are linked." This is a line of verse the Emperor Kuang Hsu reads out in the film while looking dejectedly at a lake. This is an apt description of the fact that the handful of counter-revolutionary revisionists and the top Party person in authority taking the capitalist road shared the feelings of Kuang Hsu, his concubine and their ilk. On the question of serving as imperialist agents, the handful of counter-revolutionary revisionists and the top Party person in authority taking the capitalist road who supported them from behind echoed the views of the landlords and the bourgeoisie of over 60 years ago. This is the ideological and class root of their praise for the "patriotism" of this reactionary, out-and-out traitorous film.

## What Should Be One's Attitude Towards The Yi Ho Tuan Revolutionary Mass Movement?

Chairman Mao says: "In the final analysis, the innumerable truths of Marxism may be expressed in one sentence: 'rebellion is justified.'"<sup>2</sup> What should be one's attitude towards the revolutionary movement of all-out rebellion against imperialism and feudalism launched by the revolutionary masses of the Yi Ho Tuan? Should one support it or oppose it? Should one praise it or hate it? This is a touchstone distinguishing genuine revolutionaries from fake, revolutionaries from counter-revolutionaries.

The Yi Ho Tuan movement which shook our vast land was a great anti-imperialist, anti-feudal revolutionary mass movement in modern Chinese history. It was a great movement typifying the initiative of the Chinese people in history. At that time, the Yi Ho Tuan carried on revolutionary activities everywhere, in town and countryside, throughout most of the northern part of China. They set up more than 800 meeting places in the city of Peking itself, the political centre where the enemy exercised the tightest rule. Youths who had joined the Yi Ho Tuan drilled regularly every day under the palace walls behind Ching Shan.

At a crucial moment when our country was in process of being partitioned amongst the imperialists, the Yi Ho Tuan heroes stepped forth bravely, raised aloft the great revolutionary banner of patriotic struggle against imperialism and carried on a heroic struggle against the imperialist robbers and their lackeys. They splashed the street corners with slogans of every description which gave expression to the firm resolve of the Chinese people to fight the imperialists:

"Restore to us our land and rights! We'll fight our way

Through seas of fire and over mountains of knives!

What does it matter if the Emperor has surrendered? We'll not rest till the last foreign invader is dead."

They held the imperialists in contempt; they strictly banned imported goods. The street bearing the name "Legation Street" they renamed "Block the Aliens Street" and the Yu Ho Bridge: "Stop the Aliens Bridge." Demonstrating in the streets, the Yi Ho Tuan heroes often shouted the slogan "Kill the foreign devils!" in unison with the inhabitants, making the imperialists shudder. Some foreigners were so frightened that they put themselves into coffins and hired professional mourners to carry them out of the city.

In June, 1900, Yi Ho Tuan revolutionary activities reached a climax. Day and night, in groups of 30, 40 or 50, the Yi Ho Tuan detachments from Peking's outlying districts marched on the city. Scores arrived each day. The guards at the city gates stood at attention to salute them and shouted to the crowds to make way. Long columns of the revolutionary people in red turbans, red sashes, and shoes trimmed in red, armed with swords and spears, marched with great dignity in grand parades through the streets of Peking city. And the blacksmiths outside Chienmen worked through the night before their blazing furnaces making swords and spears for the Yi Ho Tuan.

Faced with the frenzied repression of the imperialist aggressor forces, the revolutionary masses of the Yi Ho Tuan pitted their primitive swords and spears heroically against the invaders armed with modern rifles and guns. They demonstrated the Chinese people's militant, revolutionary spirit of 'fearlessness. In the famous battle at the railway town of Langfang to halt the enemy's advance on Peking, the Yi Ho Tuan "blockaded in the train and heavily challenged with spears" an allied force of more than 1,500 men led by British Admiral Seymour. The enemy suffered casualties amounting to nearly 50 per cent of his strength, and beat a panicky retreat to Tientsin. Later Seymour recalled his fright that had the "Boxers" been armed with Western weapons, the allied force he led would have been annihilated. In the battle to defend Tientsin, the Yi Ho Tuan fought the aggressors' army hand-to-hand. At the railway station, in one engagement alone they killed or wounded more than 500 men of an opposing Russian aggressor force of 2,000. The imperialists were forced to admit that there had not been anything like the way the Chinese fought the Western soldiers in the bitter battle at Tientsin which went on tenaciously for over a month. In the battle at Yangchun, the American imperialist aggressor army was mercilessly trounced by the Yi Ho Tuan fighters. From then on, the imperialist aggressor armies shuddered at the very bugle note of the Yi Ho Tuan. They wailed: "Those long brass trumpets that can make one's blood curdle horribly..."

Young people formed a most active and lively force during the Yi Ho Tuan movement. They performed immortal deeds in this great revolutionary movement. The "Hung Teng Chao" (Red Lanterns) that shook China and the world was an organization of young women from many places in northern China. They formed themselves into a well-disciplined force, did military exercises and defended their homeland. They were dressed in red, wore red caps, carried red lanterns and red spears. They fought at the front and ferreted out spies in the rear. Playing an active part in the Yi Ho Tuan ranks and resolutely opposing imperialism and its lackeys, they displayed the heroic, anti-imperialist, anti-feudal revolutionary spirit of China's young women.

"The Hung Teng Chao (Red Lanterns), and the Yi Ho Tuan are like real brothers and sisters. They are united as one, and as one they fight the foreign officials." This ditty expressed the resolute determination of the Hung Teng Chao to fight the imperialists.

Tales of the heroic deeds of the Hung Teng Chao have circulated widely among the masses of the people ever since. One saying was: "Those Hung Teng girls stare death fearlessly in the face when they charge the enemy positions. Their only worry is that they may lag behind in the fighting." Another comment was: "Since the reigns of Taokuang and Hsienfeng all the battles at sea and on the land in coastal China against the alien invaders ended in defeat" but "now these girls are giving the foreigners such a trouncing that their victories have struck terror into the hearts of those foreign countries, and stirred the spirits of the Chinese people."

The heroic struggle of the Yi Ho Tuan is the glory and pride of the Chinese people and one of the foundation stones of the great victory of the Chinese people fifty years later. It gave the aggressors a taste of the iron fists of the Chinese people and smashed the imperialists' pipe dream of "partitioning" China. Waldersee, commander of the invading imperialist army, reported to the German Kaiser: Your Majesty may entertain the idea of partitioning China, but let it not be forgotten... there is still immense vitality in them. The Chinese have not lost all their bellicosity, which may be seen in the recent "Boxer Movement." Whether Europe or America or Japan, he said, no country is intellectually or militarily equipped for the job of ruling over this one-quarter of mankind. It is therefore an ill-advised policy to try dismemberment.

Real Marxists have always enthusiastically praised revolutionary mass movements of such a tremendous scale. In his great works, Chairman Mao highly appraises the Yi Ho Tuan movement and extols its heroic deeds again and again. He regards the Yi Ho Tuan movement as an important stage in the development of China's bourgeois democratic revolution. Chairman Mao has pointed out: The Yi Ho Tuan war was a just war against the oppressors. Like other revolutionary wars of the Chinese people in the last hundred years, it "testifies to the Chinese people's indomitable spirit in

fighting imperialism and its lackeys."<sup>3</sup> It shows that "we Chinese have the spirit to fight the enemy to the last drop of our blood, the determination to recover our lost territory by our own efforts, and the ability to stand on our own feet in the family of nations."<sup>4</sup> "Thanks to the Chinese people's unrelenting and heroic struggle during the last hundred years, imperialism has not been able to subjugate China, nor will it ever be able to do so."<sup>5</sup>

But the reactionary and thoroughly traitorous film *Inside Story of the Ching Court*, praised by a handful of counter-revolutionary revisionists and the top Party person in authority taking the capitalist road supporting them from behind, expresses a deep-rooted class hatred for the anti-imperialist revolutionary mass movement of the Yi Ho Tuan, and does its best to defame and slander it. The film portrays the revolutionary action of the Yi Ho Tuan against imperialism as a sort of barbarous turmoil. It tries its utmost to smear the Yi Ho Tuan, maliciously attacking it as "mad" "mobs" who "committed murder and arson," and as "ignorant people" who engaged in "witchcraft."

These malicious slanders uttered against the Yi Ho Tuan by the film and those who praised it are completely in tune with the views of the imperialists. At that time Dean Acheson, a chieftain of U.S. imperialism, cursed the Yi Ho Tuan movement in his "White Paper" as "the anti-foreign disturbances in China" and "the Boxer Rebellion." The hired intellectuals of U.S. imperialism in China were also unbridled in their attacks against the Yi Ho Tuan movement as an "offspring of ignorant superstition and hysterics of the mob," as a "perpetrator of senseless acts" and as "Boxers" who committed murder and arson.

**Was it the Yi Ho Tuan organized by the Chinese people that went to the imperialist countries in Europe and America and to Japan to stage rebellion and "commit murder and arson"? Or was it the imperialist countries that came to invade China, this land of ours, to oppress and exploit the Chinese people and so aroused the masses of the Chinese people to resist imperialism and its lackeys and corrupt officials in China? This is a major question of right and wrong which must be debated and cleared up.**

The real bandits who massacred people and committed arson were none other than the imperialists and their lackeys. According to the admissions of Alfred Von Waldersee, head of the invading imperialist troops, these troops, after occupying Peking, burnt, massacred, plundered, raped, destroyed cultural treasures and committed all manner of crimes. Following their occupation of Peking, the imperialist troops were granted special permission to loot openly for three days. This was followed by robbery on an individual basis. They plundered everywhere, from the imperial court and mansions of the princes to the homes of ordinary people. "The windows facing the lakeside were widely opened; court officials were alarmed to see a line of camels coming." The historical relics stored in the



Summer Palace, a treasure-house of the feudal emperors, were carried away by the aggressors to Tientsin by camels, and this took many a month. Many relics preserved for centuries in China, including the *Yung Lo Encyclopedia*, were burnt or stolen by the imperialists. Waldersee also confessed that there were many cases of rape, brutality, wilful murder and senseless arson in the course of plunder. As for the massacre and suppression of the Yi Ho Tuan by the imperialists' lackeys, it was even more brutal and callous.

With deep indignation, Lenin condemned the crimes of massacre and arson committed by the imperialist aggressors. He wrote:

**"The European governments (the Russian Government among the very first) have already started to partition China. . . . They began to rob China as ghouls rob corpses, and when the seeming corpse attempted to resist, they flung themselves upon it like savage beasts, burning down whole villages, shooting, bayoneting and drowning in the Amur River [Heilungkiang River] unarmed inhabitants, their wives, and their children. And all these Christian exploits are accompanied by howls against the Chinese barbarians who dared to raise their hands against the civilized Europeans."**<sup>6</sup> But the film and those who praised it have turned things upside down and assisted the evil doers, portraying the imperialist aggressors who committed murder, arson, robbery and rape as envoys of civilization while slandering as "barbarous rioters" the heroic and indomitable Yi Ho Tuan who resolutely resisted imperialist aggression. This is the genuine philosophy of quislings and traitors.

The patriotic, anti-imperialist struggle of the Yi Ho Tuan was closely linked with the anti-feudal struggle. The battle cries of the Yi Ho Tuan were: "Kill the foreigners and wipe out corrupt officials." A ditty of the time runs as follows: "Slay the foreigners and kill the beastly mandarins; great hopes will shine before the common people when the foreigners and mandarins are gone." "First kill the foreign devils and then beat up the corrupt officials." Such were their simple and forthright anti-imperialist and anti-feudal revolutionary slogans. They deeply hated the feudal ruling class. In 1900 when the Yi Ho Tuan controlled Peking, most of the offices of the mandarins of the Ching Dynasty in the capital and the mansions of princes, dukes and aristocrats were watched over by members of the Yi Ho Tuan. The Yi Ho Tuan on many occasions caught officials who were notorious for their crimes, especially those subservient to imperialism, and forced them to kowtow and repent at the altar set up by the Yi Ho Tuan. Those who had committed the most heinous crimes were put to death.

Yet the film slanders the Yi Ho Tuan as a tool of the feudal rulers. The film portrayed Chao Shu-chiao, a high-ranking mandarin of the Ching Dynasty, as one who had said: "The Empress Tzu Hsi [the Empress Dowager] is begged to issue an order to organize the Yi Ho Tuan into an imperial army." The

empress gladly accepted this suggestion. In this way the Yi Ho Tuan was made out to be partisans of the Empress Tzu Hsi. This is an utterly vicious slander.

For a short period the rulers of the Ching Dynasty adopted the policy of deceiving and softening up the Yi Ho Tuan. For a time this policy had some effect and some members of the Yi Ho Tuan were misled into an erroneous understanding of the rulers of the Ching Dynasty. Some detachments of the Yi Ho Tuan put forward the slogan "Support the Ching Dynasty and wipe out the foreigners." This reflects, on the one hand, the complicated nature of the class contradictions at that time and, on the other hand, the fact that people's understanding of imperialism and its lackeys at that time remained at the stage of perceptual knowledge.

Chairman Mao has taught us that man's knowledge develops from the lower to the higher stage and from perceptual knowledge to rational knowledge. "Similarly with the Chinese people's knowledge of imperialism. The first stage was one of superficial, perceptual knowledge, as shown in the indiscriminate anti-foreign struggles of the movement of the Taiping Heavenly Kingdom, the Yi Ho Tuan movement, and so on. It was only in the second stage that the Chinese people reached the stage of rational knowledge, saw the internal and external contradictions of imperialism and saw the essential truth that imperialism had allied itself with China's comprador and feudal classes to oppress and exploit the great masses of the Chinese people. This knowledge began about the time of the May 4th Movement of 1919."<sup>7</sup> Therefore it is absolutely impermissible to slander the Yi Ho Tuan movement as a tool of the feudal rulers only because it failed to see clearly the nature of imperialism and feudalism. As stated above, along with their anti-imperialist activities, the Yi Ho Tuan never for a moment ceased their activities against the Ching Dynasty. Even after the appearance of the slogan "Support the Ching Dynasty and wipe out the foreigners," Chu Hung-teng [Red Lantern Chu], leader of the Yi Ho Tuan, worked out a plan for an attack on Peking and persevered in the anti-feudal struggle.

It was solely to meet the needs of imperialism and the feudal landlord class that the reactionary film *The Inside Story of the Ching Court* so unscrupulously slandered and attacked the anti-imperialist, anti-feudal struggle of the Yi Ho Tuan movement. Their slanders and attacks against the revolutionary masses of the Yi Ho Tuan movement reflect the bitter hatred of the class enemy for the peasants — the main force of the Chinese revolution — and the bitter hatred of the class enemy for the new-democratic revolutionary movement led by our Party. — The handful of counter-revolutionary revisionists and the top Party person in authority taking the capitalist road who was supporting them from behind were singing the same tune as imperialism and feudalism when they applauded this reactionary, thoroughly traitorous film which opposes the Chinese revolution and insults the revolutionary

masses. When they did this they were simply serving as mouthpieces for the counter-revolutionary propaganda of imperialism and feudalism. This has completely exposed their counter-revolutionary class stand which is that of the landlords and bourgeoisie.

The fact that the top Party person in authority taking the capitalist road so bitterly hates the revolutionary mass movements in history helps us to understand better why, in the current great proletarian cultural revolution, he put forward, in collaboration with another top Party person in authority taking the capitalist road, a bourgeois reactionary line in a vain attempt to extinguish the revolutionary flames set alight by Chairman Mao himself, why he confused right and wrong and turned things upside down, organized converging attacks against revolutionaries, suppressed the masses and carried out a white terror, and why he tried in a hundred and one ways to boost the arrogance of the bourgeoisie and crush the spirit of the proletariat.

### **What Should Be One's Attitude Towards Bourgeois Reformism?**

One's attitude towards bourgeois reformism is, in reality, a question of one's attitude towards the socialist road and the capitalist road.

With regard to this fundamental question which concerns the future of the Chinese revolution, differences of principle have long existed between the proletarian revolutionaries headed by Chairman Mao and the Party people in authority taking the capitalist road. These differences of principle became even more acute after China was liberated. The question of what attitude should one take towards the reactionary film *The Inside Story of the Ching Court* was a point at which these differences came to a head. This was the first fight at close quarters in the struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie and between the socialist road and the capitalist road on the cultural and ideological fronts. In this fight, in their evaluations of the film, the proletarian revolutionaries headed by Chairman Mao, on the one hand, and the handful of Party people in authority taking the capitalist road, on the other, gave completely different answers to the question of which direction should China take.

A handful of counter-revolutionary revisionists and the top Party person in authority taking the capitalist road, who was supporting them from behind, did their best to boost this reactionary film which opposes revolution and sings the praises of reformism. They aimed to get help from the dead souls of bourgeois reformism and using the latter's names, robes and slogans to spread capitalism in China.

The Reform Movement of 1898 which the film glorifies was a reformist movement of the Chinese bourgeoisie. This movement was launched by certain members of the feudal ruling class and a number of bourgeois reformers who were starting to break away

from the feudal ruling class. They launched this movement under the threat of a revolutionary storm and the disaster of national subjugation and in the interests of the landlords and the bourgeoisie. This was an attempt to lead China on to the road of capitalism through reformist modernization and constitutional reform from above.

Under the historical conditions of the time, the 1898 Reform Movement was, to some extent, a blow against the ideological domination of the feudal ruling class and it played a certain enlightening role in the process of ideological emancipation. We have always taken note of this point. However, such recognition means making a critical assessment of historical personages and incidents from the viewpoint of historical materialism. It does not in any way mean an unprincipled glorifying of the 1898 Reform Movement and its representative participants. The representative persons of the 1898 Reform Movement were themselves rulers who exploited and oppressed the working people. Their reformist goal did not and could never serve the interests of the people's revolution; they aimed at consolidating their rule and exploiting the people even more effectively. What they wanted to change was not the essence but only some minor aspects of the old order. The illusion they cherished was simply the gradual transformation by devious means of the landlord economy into a semi-landlord and semi-capitalist economy (actually a semi-feudal and semi-colonial economy). This was an attempt to head off the people's revolutionary movement and suppress the revolution in unapparent ways. Even at that time, therefore, reformism could never be the way out for the Chinese people.

At the end of the 19th century, there already existed two roads of social reform in China: One was the bourgeois reformist road which meant the attempt to get to capitalism by means of constitutional reform and modernization from above. In the historical conditions of China at that time, this could not be other than a false, impassable and reactionary road because China lacked the historical conditions for reformist modernization such as existed in Western Europe and Japan. China was then being gradually reduced to a semi-feudal and semi-colonial state under imperialist aggression. Yet Kang Yu-wei and Liang Chi-chao, leaders of the Chinese bourgeois reformists, placed their hopes for constitutional reform and modernization precisely on imperialism. They cherished the illusion that they could go over completely to the side of imperialism and rely on its strength to realize their aims of constitutional reform and modernization. The result of that could only be to bring a wolf into the house and accelerate the process of reducing China to a semi-colonial, semi-feudal state, in which the development of capitalism in China would be absolutely out of the question. The other road of social reform was for the broad masses to rise up and make revolution by armed struggle. Both the Taiping Revolution and the Yi Ho Tuan movement took this road. These

revolutions did not achieve final victory because they lacked proletarian leadership. However, they dealt heavy blows at imperialism and feudalism and promoted China's historical advance.

"I raise my sword to laugh at the sky." A most tragic and moving episode of the 1898 Reform Movement was the death of Tan Szu-tung, a courageous and enlightening thinker. His death announced the premature end of this movement and the bankruptcy of the bourgeois reformist road. Half a century later, however, the reactionary film *Inside Story of the Ching Court* again advocated bourgeois reformism, which had long ago gone bankrupt. This film does its utmost to spread the nonsensical idea that "if China is to become rich and strong, there must be constitutional reform and modernization!" Through the mouth of the Emperor Kuang Hsu, the film gives high praise to constitutional reform and modernization, extravagantly lauding reformism in such words as "Meiji reforms," "the imperial decree on constitutional reform," and "if China continues to reform in this way, in less than 30 years it will become the richest and most powerful state in the world!" This is a crazy call for a bourgeois republic, for Western bourgeois civilization and for the bourgeois reformist road, which will never be tolerated by the revolutionary people!

The film lauds to the skies the representative persons of bourgeois reformism, the Emperor Kuang Hsu in particular. It says that the emperor "wearied his brain and suffered much vexation" . . . "in the interests of the state and the people," and pictures him as saying "as long as the affairs of state are going well . . . personal health is of little account."

Especially vicious is the way that the film, while singing the praises of emperors, kings, ministers and generals and prettifying bourgeois reformism, tries by every means to smear the working people and vilify the masses as a "mob." Towards the end of the film, the scenarist, through distorted and slanderous images of peasants and village women, extravagantly glorifies the Emperor Kuang Hsu, praising him as a "good emperor," "helping us, the people" and saying that "we all think of His Majesty!" The villagers "offer" eggs and other refreshments to the Emperor Kuang Hsu. On his departure, the film shows "the people kneeling along the roadside to see him off." The film gives currency to the slander that "the masses are most obedient and most easily satisfied." Are the masses of people really such easy-going, obedient, base and ugly mobs? It is absolutely impermissible to smear the working people! Chairman Mao teaches us: "The people, and the people alone, are the motive force in the making of world history."<sup>8</sup> That the handful of counter-revolutionary revisionists and the top Party person in authority taking the capitalist road, who supports them from behind, have done so much to sing the praises of this reactionary film which glorifies emperors and kings, ministers and generals, smears the working people and preaches bourgeois reformism only serves to expose their true colours of

all-out opposition to Marxism-Leninism, Mao Tse-tung's thought.

The Chinese people won revolutionary victory through protracted armed struggle under the leadership of Chairman Mao, and on the eve of the founding of the People's Republic of China, Chairman Mao himself summed up the revolutionary struggles of the past one hundred years, criticizing and repudiating the bourgeois reformist road and proclaiming that "Western bourgeois civilization, bourgeois democracy and the plan for a bourgeois republic have all gone bankrupt in the eyes of the Chinese people." What angers people especially is the fact that after all this the handful of counter-revolutionary revisionists and the top Party person in authority taking the capitalist road should have described this reactionary, out-and-out traitorous film, which sings the praises of bourgeois reformism and advocates the capitalist road, as a "patriotic" film and put it on show in a big way in every part of China without criticism and repudiation. If this can be tolerated, what cannot be tolerated?

In his article, *On the People's Democratic Dictatorship*, Chairman Mao states: "From the time of China's defeat in the Opium War of 1840, Chinese progressives went through untold hardships in their quest for truth from the Western countries." Chinese who then sought progress maintained that "only modernization could save China, only learning from foreign countries could modernize China." "The Japanese had been successful in learning from the West, and the Chinese also wished to learn from the Japanese." But, "imperialist aggression shattered the fond dreams of the Chinese about learning from the West. It was very odd — why were the teachers always committing aggression against their pupil? The Chinese learned a good deal from the West, but they could not make it work and were never able to realize their ideals." "The salvos of the October Revolution brought us Marxism-Leninism." "Under the leadership of the Communist Party of China, the Chinese people, after driving out Japanese imperialism, waged the People's War of Liberation for three years and have basically won victory." "Bourgeois democracy has given way to people's democracy under the leadership of the working class and the bourgeois republic to the people's republic. This has made it possible to achieve socialism and communism through the people's republic, to abolish classes and enter a world of Great Harmony. Kang Yu-wei wrote *Ta Tung Shu*, or the *Book of Great Harmony*, but he did not and could not find the way to achieve Great Harmony. There are bourgeois republics in foreign lands, but China cannot have a bourgeois republic because she is a country suffering under imperialist oppression. The only way is through a people's republic led by the working class."<sup>9</sup>

A handful of counter-revolutionary revisionists and the top Party person in authority taking the capitalist road disregarded the historical facts as well as the warnings given by Chairman Mao. They continued



to use the reactionary and out-and-out traitorous film, *Inside Story of the Ching Court*, to prettify Western bourgeois civilization, prettify bourgeois democracy, prettify the bourgeois republic, and advocate bourgeois reformism and the capitalist road. This amounts to flagrantly opposing Mao Tse-tung's thought and vainly attempting a restoration of capitalism in China. They put all their efforts into extolling the reactionary film, *Inside Story of the Ching Court*, precisely because this film, which opposes revolution and eulogizes reform, serves to beat the gongs and clear the way for them to stage a capitalist restoration. What they did was in effect to use people of former times to sing the praises of capitalism and the road of bourgeois reformism, to use this film to mislead the masses and prettify bourgeois reformism, their ultimate purpose being to overthrow the people's regime, undermine our dictatorship of the proletariat, and place the fruits of the victory of the revolution in the hands of the bourgeoisie.

The serious struggle that developed around the reactionary film, *Inside Story of the Ching Court*, is by no means merely a question of one film, but a struggle between the two classes, the bourgeoisie and the proletariat, a struggle between Marxism-Leninism, Mao Tse-tung's thought on the one hand, and bourgeois reformist and revisionist ideas on the other, a struggle between an attempt at capitalist restoration and the efforts of the proletariat opposed to capitalist restoration. In the final analysis, it is a struggle to determine who will win, capitalism or socialism.

Under the leadership of their great leader Chairman Mao, the Chinese people fought hard, bloody battles, advanced wave upon wave, and finally carried the struggle against imperialism and feudalism to victory. With the whole country liberated, where should liberated China go? To whom should the fruits of victory belong? Which class was entitled to pick the peaches that had grown, watered by the blood and lives of thousands upon thousands of revolutionary martyrs? Such major questions were the focus of the struggle waged between various classes in Chinese society not only at that time; they remain so even today.

The bourgeoisie wanted to snatch the fruits of victory from out of the hands of the people. They wanted to pick the peaches. They wanted China, just liberated, to take the capitalist road. The top Party person in authority taking the capitalist road was the one to pick the peaches on behalf of the bourgeoisie.

Since liberation, the top Party person in authority taking the capitalist road has gone on dreaming night and day of capitalist restoration, obstinately clinging to his bourgeois world outlook, zealously yearning for bourgeois reformism, and trying his utmost to stop the Chinese revolution halfway, thus giving a big boost to capitalism.

Chairman Mao has said that **the founding of the People's Republic of China on October 1, 1949, marked**

**the basic completion of the stage of new-democratic revolution and the beginning of the stage of socialist revolution.** The top Party person in authority taking the capitalist road, however, harped on a contrary tune, painstakingly preached "consolidation of the new-democratic order," and campaigned for the development of capitalism in China.

Before and after the showing throughout the country of the reactionary film, *Inside Story of the Ching Court*, he campaigned everywhere, making many sinister speeches, issuing many sinister directives, energetically praising the so-called "progress" and "glory" of the capitalist system, and spreading the absurd idea that "exploitation is no crime," "to rebel is not justified." Marx said: "**Capital comes [into the world] dripping from head to foot, from every pore, with blood and dirt.**"<sup>10</sup> But, the top Party person in authority taking the capitalist road had this to say: "In China, there is not too much capitalism, but too little"; "It is necessary to develop capitalist exploitation for such exploitation is progressive"; "Instead of being an evil, capitalist exploitation today is a contribution." He loudly stated that "the working people do not oppose exploitation, but welcome it"; and that "the more the capitalists, the more the exploitation, the more satisfaction we will have." He even shamelessly told a number of capitalists that "the agony of the workers is unemployment. What they fear is that no one will exploit them. Therefore, they feel it better to be exploited than not"; "The workers want you to exploit them. If you do not exploit them, they will be miserable"; "The capitalists are also serving the people"; "If you are able to exploit more, you will be benefiting both the state and the people"; "The more you exploit, the greater will be your merit and glory"; "Exploitation by the capitalists has its merits in history and such merits are immortal." He energetically spread the idea that "exploitation is legal," saying: "It is legal to make profit, however great it may be. It is also legal to indulge in beautiful clothes, rouge and powder and wining and dining." Talking like a clown, he addressed capitalists: "Messrs. capitalists! I beg you to exploit me! If you exploit me, I shall be able to feed myself and my wife and children will be able to live. If you do not exploit me, that will be terrible."

When the workers did not accept his stinking reactionary theories, he slandered them as "lacking political understanding and having a low level of political consciousness." Speaking like an accomplice of the capitalists, he maliciously threatened the workers: "If the workers are unruly, it is legal (for the capitalists) to struggle against (them)."

At the same time, he also vigorously advocated the development of capitalist economy in the rural areas, clamouring for "long-term protection of the rich-peasant economy," advancing the "four freedoms" (freedom of usury, of hiring labour, land sale and private enterprise). He advocated vigorous efforts to foster the type of peasant "who owns three horses, a

plough and a cart" so as to develop the rich-peasant economy. He talked such nonsense as: "At present exploitation saves people and it is dogmatic to forbid exploitation. Now there must be exploitation and it should be welcomed. If the refugees from south of the Great Wall who go to northeast China are exploited by the rich peasants there, these refugees will be very grateful for such exploitation"; "Hiring hands is not exploitation; it increases the wealth of society." He also proposed that there should be "no limitation" on hiring hands to till the land. "It is legal to hire hands to till the land; this benefits the masses too." He claimed that "those who exploit can also be socialists" and that "there is nothing to be afraid of, should there be ten thousand rich-peasant Party members in northeast China." He tried to get the capitalist economy to swiftly flood the rural areas.

In singing the praises of the man-eating capitalist system of exploitation, not even the hired scholars of the bourgeoisie and the motley crew of apologists for old and modern revisionism could catch up with this top Party person in authority taking the capitalist road.

Each plant yields its own particular fruit; each class speaks in its own terms. The top Party person in authority taking the capitalist road thinks and loves capitalism and talks capitalism too. The cannibal philosophy that he peddles serves entirely to develop capitalism and safeguard the bloody system of exploitation of man by man. His voice is the voice of vampires and parasites. This thoroughly exposes his filthy, ugly bourgeois soul.

In trying to justify himself, the top Party person in authority taking the capitalist road said that his case was one of "a veteran revolutionary meeting new problems."

What a "veteran revolutionary meeting new problems"!

Could there be a "veteran revolutionary" so frantically carrying out activities to restore capitalism?

Could there be a "veteran revolutionary" who would so wildly oppose our great leader Chairman Mao and the great thought of Mao Tse-tung?

If he really is a "veteran revolutionary," then let him explain:

Why is it that, on the eve of the outbreak of the War of Resistance Against Japan, you preached so vigorously the philosophy of survival, a capitulationist philosophy, a traitor's philosophy, and directed some people to make confessions and surrender to the Kuomintang and betray the Communist Party, openly publish "anti-Communist statements" and vow "firmly to oppose communism"?

Why is it that, after the victory of the War of Resistance, you advanced the capitulationist line of "a new stage of peace and democracy"?

Why is it that, after liberation, you did your utmost to oppose the socialist transformation of capitalist

industry and commerce, oppose agricultural co-operation and slash the number of agricultural co-operatives?

Why is it that, after the completion of the transformation of capitalist industry and commerce, agriculture and handicrafts, you painstakingly propagated the dying out of class struggle and actively advocated class collaboration and the liquidation of class struggle?

Why is it that, during the three difficult years, you echoed the ghosts and monsters at home and abroad in viciously attacking the three red banners [the Party's general line for building socialism, the great leap forward and the people's communes], while advocating the revisionist line of "the extension of plots for private use and of free markets, the increase of small enterprises with sole responsibility for their own profits or losses, the fixing of output quotas based on the household" and "the liquidation of struggle in our relations with imperialism, the reactionaries and modern revisionism, and reduction of assistance and support to the revolutionary struggle of other peoples"?

Why is it that you republished in 1962 that poisonous weed, that deceitful book on self-cultivation of Communists which does not advocate revolution, class struggle, the seizure of political power and the dictatorship of the proletariat, which opposes Marxism-Leninism, Mao Tse-tung's thought, preaches a decadent bourgeois world outlook and the reactionary philosophy of bourgeois idealism?

Why is it that in the socialist education movement you put forward and pushed through the opportunist line which was "Left" in form but Right in essence to sabotage the socialist education movement?

Why is it that in the course of the great proletarian cultural revolution you have colluded with another top Party person in authority taking the capitalist road in putting forward and carrying out the bourgeois reactionary line?

There is only one answer: You are not at all a "veteran revolutionary"! You are a sham revolutionary, a counter-revolutionary. You are a Khrushchov lying right beside us!

During the past 17 years, a handful of counter-revolutionary revisionists, with the support of the top Party person in authority taking the capitalist road, have launched a frenzied, all-round attack on the proletariat, spreading a great deal of poison in the fields of politics, economy, culture and education.

In this great proletarian cultural revolution, we must follow Chairman Mao's teachings, organize a mighty cultural army of the proletarian revolution, thoroughly smash the frenzied attacks by this handful of counter-revolutionary revisionists and the top Party person in authority taking the capitalist road, dig out the main root of revisionism in our country, overthrow careerists and conspirators like Khrushchov, prevent such bad elements from usurping the leadership of the Party and the state and guard against the restora-

# The Bourgeois Reactionary Line on the Question Of Cadres Must Be Criticized and Repudiated

“HONGQI” COMMENTATOR

HIT hard at many in order to protect a handful” is a component part of the bourgeois reactionary line. Many facts have proved this. Tsinghua University under the control of a certain person who put forward the bourgeois reactionary line is a typical example. The investigation made by members of this journal's staff on how the work team sent to Tsinghua University dealt with the question of cadres is most illuminating in this respect.

Taking a reactionary bourgeois stand, those few persons who have put forward the bourgeois reactionary

line have racked their brains to protect the handful of Party people in authority taking the capitalist road and quell the vigorous mass movement of the great proletarian cultural revolution. They sent out large numbers of work teams and directed them to hit hard at the revolutionary masses and label them “counter-revolutionaries” and, at the same time, hit hard at the masses of cadres and label large numbers of good or comparatively good cadres members of a “sinister gang.” All this runs counter to the proletarian revolutionary line represented by Chairman Mao and aims at leading

tion of capitalism, so as to guarantee that our country will never change its colour!

“With power and to spare we must pursue the tottering foe.” This great proletarian cultural revolution initiated and led by our great leader Chairman Mao himself is aimed precisely at mobilizing the hundreds of millions of people to pursue relentlessly the handful of counter-revolutionary revisionists and the top Party person in authority taking the capitalist road who supports them from behind, to recapture all the citadels they usurped and ensure that Mao Tse-tung's thought occupy all positions. It is precisely as Comrade Lin Piao said in speaking about this great proletarian cultural revolution: “It is a big campaign; it is a general attack on the ideas of the bourgeoisie and all other exploiting classes.” We must respond to the great call of Chairman Mao to hold high the revolutionary banner of criticism and repudiation, plunge bravely into the struggle, thoroughly criticize, repudiate and eliminate in all fields the noxious influences of the bourgeois reactionary line represented by the top Party person in authority taking the capitalist road, we must vigorously destroy the old ideas of the exploiting classes and establish the complete ascendancy of Mao Tse-tung's thought.

The road of struggle is tortuous and its development is uneven. There is resistance along the road of advance. We must overcome all difficulties, break down all resistance and carry the great proletarian cultural revolution through to the end; we must not give up halfway.

Unfurl the red banner of the great and invincible thought of Mao Tse-tung all over China; may it shine for ever in splendour!

Long live the victory of the movement of the great proletarian cultural revolution led personally by our respected and beloved leader Chairman Mao!

(“Hongqi,” No. 5, 1967.)

## NOTES:

<sup>1</sup>“The Role of the Chinese Communist Party in the National War,” *Selected Works of Mao Tse-tung*, Eng. ed., Foreign Languages Press, Peking, 1965, Vol. II, p. 196.

<sup>2</sup>Mao Tse-tung, “Speech at the Meeting of People From Various Walks of Life in Yen-an Celebrating Stalin's 60th Birthday Anniversary.”

<sup>3</sup>“The Chinese Revolution and the Chinese Communist Party,” *Selected Works of Mao Tse-tung*, Eng. ed., F.L.P., Peking, 1965, Vol. II, p. 314.

<sup>4</sup>“On Tactics Against Japanese Imperialism,” *Selected Works of Mao Tse-tung*, Eng. ed., F.L.P., Peking, 1965, Vol. I, p. 170.

<sup>5</sup>“The Chinese Revolution and the Chinese Communist Party,” *Selected Works of Mao Tse-tung*, Eng. ed., F.L.P., Peking, 1965, Vol. II, p. 314.

<sup>6</sup>V.I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Foreign Languages Publishing House, Moscow, 1960, Vol. IV, p. 374.

<sup>7</sup>“On Practice,” *Selected Works of Mao Tse-tung*, Eng. ed., F.L.P., Peking, 1965, Vol. I, p. 301.

<sup>8</sup>*Quotations From Chairman Mao Tse-tung*, Eng. ed., F.L.P., Peking, 1966, p. 118.

<sup>9</sup>“On the People's Democratic Dictatorship,” *Selected Works of Mao Tse-tung*, Eng. ed., F.L.P., Peking, 1961, Vol. IV, pp. 412-414.

<sup>10</sup>K. Marx, *Capital*, Eng. ed., Foreign Languages Publishing House, Moscow, 1954, Vol. I, p. 760.



the great proletarian cultural revolution astray and bringing it on to the bourgeois road.

Very great successes have already been achieved in mass criticism and repudiation of the bourgeois reactionary line. It is especially necessary now to emphasize criticism and repudiation of the bourgeois reactionary line on the question of cadres, and criticism and repudiation of "hitting hard at many in order to protect a handful" which is a component part of the bourgeois reactionary line.

Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line on the question of cadres is diametrically opposed to the bourgeois reactionary line. The struggle between the two lines on the question of cadres began a long time ago.

The few persons, who put forward the bourgeois reactionary line in the great proletarian cultural revolution, had earlier carried out a line which was "Left" in form but Right in essence and "hit hard at many in order to protect a handful" in the socialist education movement. Some Current Problems Raised in the Socialist Education Movement in the Rural Areas (the 23-article document) which was drawn up under the personal guidance of Chairman Mao, was a criticism and a repudiation of those few persons. That document pointed out that the majority of the cadres are good or comparatively good and unity of more than 95 per cent of the cadres should gradually be achieved. Towards cadres who have committed mistakes, the policy of "**learning from past mistakes to avoid future ones, curing the sickness to save the patient**" should be applied. The emphasis is on attacking a handful of Party people in authority taking the capitalist road. The Decision of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party Concerning the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, drawn up under Chairman Mao's personal guidance, also embodies this spirit.

However, the persons who put forward the bourgeois reactionary line always act to the contrary. They stubbornly cling to the reactionary bourgeois standpoint. In the great proletarian cultural revolution, they intensified their efforts to carry out the bourgeois reactionary line by attacking the broad masses of the people and the broad masses of cadres in order to protect a handful of Party people in authority taking the capitalist road.

What the handful of Party people in authority taking the capitalist road, big and small, are most afraid of are the revolutionary masses and the revolutionary cadres, and particularly the integration of the revolutionary cadres with the revolutionary masses. The few persons who put forward the bourgeois reactionary line incite the masses to struggle against the cadres on the one hand, and on the other, incite the cadres to suppress the masses. This is an attempt to kill two birds with one stone, that is, to suppress the revolutionary masses and at the same time suppress the revolutionary cadres. They try to prevent the cadres from stepping forward

to make revolution and to set cadres and masses sharply against each other. Therefore, in the course of bringing about the revolutionary "three-in-one" combination, it is necessary to thoroughly criticize and repudiate the bourgeois reactionary line in relation to the cadre question.

At the present time, the handful of Party people in authority taking the capitalist road are attempting to put the blame for "indiscriminately overthrowing" the cadres on the young revolutionary fighters, on the proletarian revolutionaries, and on the headquarters of the proletariat. They pretend to show concern for the cadres, pull to their side some people who do not know the truth, and sow discord between the cadres and the young revolutionary fighters, and between the cadres and the headquarters of the proletariat. They vainly attempt to undermine the revolutionary "three-in-one" combination, exclude the genuine revolutionary cadres and wreck the proletarian revolutionaries' struggle to seize power. They even put on a disguise and try in every way to worm their way into the leading bodies of the "three-in-one" combination, so as to bring about a counter-revolutionary restoration of capitalism. This is a big conspiracy and must be thoroughly exposed. The broad masses of the people and the broad masses of cadres must increase their vigilance and never allow themselves to be taken in by it.

Many of the cadres who were persecuted and attacked by the bourgeois reactionary line are good cadres or comparatively good. These comrades must bravely step forward to firmly support the revolutionary masses, thoroughly criticize and repudiate the bourgeois reactionary line, concentrate on exposing and striking at the handful of Party people in authority taking the capitalist road and plunge without reservation into this fiery struggle. Only in this way can they become one with the revolutionary masses and contribute their share to the struggle to seize power, and at the same time remould themselves in the struggle. You must never be fooled again by a certain book on the self-cultivation of Communists. This book is deceitful talk, divorced from the living class struggle, from the revolution and from the political struggle; it never talks about the question of political power as the fundamental question of revolution and never talks of the question of the dictatorship of the proletariat. It propagates an idealist theory of self-cultivation and in a devious way promotes bourgeois individualism and slavishness, and opposes Marxism-Leninism, Mao Tse-tung's thought. The more one cultivates oneself in terms of this book, the more revisionist one becomes and the farther one degenerates into revisionism. This book must be thoroughly criticized and repudiated and its pernicious influence liquidated. Criticism and repudiation of this book is an important component of criticism and repudiation of the bourgeois reactionary line.

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# "Hit Hard at Many in Order to Protect a Handful" Is a Component Part of the Bourgeois Reactionary Line

(An Investigation of How the Work Team at Tsinghua University  
Carried Out the Bourgeois Reactionary Line on the Question  
Of Cadres in June and July of 1966)

by "Hongqi" Editorial Department Staff Members

*Following is an abridged translation of an investigation report by staff members of the "Hongqi" Editorial Department. The report was published in "Hongqi," No. 5, 1967. — Ed.*

**T**SINGHUA UNIVERSITY formerly had 11 leading cadres at the university level (1 Party committee secretary and concurrently the president, 5 deputy secretaries of the Party committee and 5 vice-presidents), 145 middle level cadres including former deputy section chiefs of the Party committee, deputy secretaries of the Party general branches and deputy directors of the administrative departments and teaching departments. It formerly had more than 400 cadres at the basic level including deputy secretaries of the Party branches of the faculty and staff and deputy heads of the teaching research groups. In all, the university had more than 500 cadres.

When the work team came to the university to announce the "seizure of power" and to exercise the power and functions of the Party committee on June 9, 1966, all the former Party and administrative cadres at the university level and of teaching departments and teaching research groups were "set aside." Political instructors and secretaries of Party branches (even Party branch committee members) in classes were not excepted.

## After the work team came to the university, its measures in treating the cadres divided roughly into three stages:

**The first stage**—from June 9 when the work team came to the university to June 23. The work team "dismissed" all cadres "from office" and "set them aside." Then every cadre was told to make a self-criticism so as to "pass the test," and this was done on a big scale. The work team carried out a line of "hit hard at many in order to protect a handful."

**The second stage**—from June 24 to July 15. The work team carried out on a big scale the "anti-Kuai" struggle [Kuai Ta-fu is a revolutionary student who was among the first to rise up and criticize the work team for following the bourgeois reactionary line]. At the same time, it made use of the cadres to struggle against the masses and incited the cadres to carry out an

organized attack on the revolutionary Left in order to "make amends for their crimes by good deeds."

**The third stage**—from July 16 to early August when the work team was withdrawn from the university. The work team carried out large-scale "criticism and repudiation" and "struggle" against the sinister gang. The cadres continued to make self-criticisms. A section of the cadres were "shelved" [meaning their problems would be dealt with later on].

## The concrete measures taken by the work team were:

**(I) Not to make a class analysis of the cadres, excluding and overthrowing them all.**

On the morning of June 11, after the work team came to the university, its deputy leader Yang—called a meeting of all the cadres of the university to announce that the work team had come to "seize power" at Tsinghua and demanded that the cadres present should "make an honest confession."

Members of the work team spread these ideas among the students: "Since Chiang — is rotten, everything is rotten, from the Party committee and Communist Youth League committee down to the Party general branches of the teaching departments, Communist Youth League sub-committees and Party branches. None of the cadres at any level is good"; "Tsinghua is a devils' den"; and "the whole Party organization at Tsinghua is a huge royalist party." They even said: "The Party at Tsinghua is a gangster party"; "the cadres at Tsinghua are all of one cut"; and "the cadres at Tsinghua could not be reformed even in eight years."

The work team forbade the cadres to read big-character posters, take part in the movement or attend any meeting. It isolated them completely from the masses and made them stay all day long in their rooms to pore over a certain book on self-cultivation of Communists. The work team told the cadres to study this book over and over again and, taking it as a criterion, to write a self-criticism. The work team said that "you committed errors in the past precisely because you studied this book too little."

The posts of secretary of the Party general branches and Party branches in different teaching departments were filled concurrently by members of the work team or those they appointed. And the people they appointed to these posts were mainly those they regarded as "the Left."

On July 12, the Provisional Party General Branch of the Department of Mechanical Engineering was set up. At the inaugural meeting the work team announced and had approved that Ho —, Hu —, and Chang — [candidate Party members] had become full-fledged Party members (Ho and Hu, two months before the time of their candidation was up), then appointed Ho — to be deputy Party secretary and Chang —, Hu — and Chang — to be members of the Party general branch committee. When this was announced Chang — herself felt this was all too "sudden." When other people asked her about this, she denied it and this went the rounds as a joke.

In the Automatic Control Department, the work team hastily made Liu — a full-fledged Party member before her time of candidation was up and appointed her to be deputy secretary of the provisional Party general branch. This evoked a host of dissenting views from among the masses.

**(II) Confuse the two different types of contradictions so as to "hit hard at many in order to protect a handful."**

Problems of the ordinary cadres were dealt with like contradictions between ourselves and the enemy. Thirty-nine out of the 55 cadres including Party branch committee members and heads of teaching research groups and above in the Mathematics and Mechanics Department were branded by the work team as members of the "sinister gang," or following a "sinister line," accounting for 71 per cent of the total. All 12 members of the Party general branch committee in this department were branded as members of the "sinister gang."

As soon as the work team arrived at the university some students posted a "ten-point order" to the cadres in the form of a big-character poster. The work team described this big-character poster as "boosting the morale of the proletariat and deflating the arrogance of the bourgeois royalists." The work team also had it broadcast throughout the university, announced in every teaching department and conveyed to all the cadres. Its main contents were: the cadres

(1) must make a thorough confession of the "sinister organizations";

(2) must confess the false uprising and expose the plotters behind the scenes;

(3) hand over the "black list" to the work team before June 14;

(4) without the permission of the work team, to stay in their living quarters and be ready to turn up for interrogation whenever they are wanted;

(5) obey the orders of the work team unconditionally;

(6) do nothing to hamper the members of the work team.

It followed that all the cadres were confined indoors, writing self-criticisms and reports on their ideology and activities and other matters all day long. Whenever they wanted to step out of the university grounds they had to first ask for leave. Even those teachers and students who acted as political instructors and heads of grades had to do the same.

On the other hand, the work team did its utmost to protect the handful of people in authority who were truly taking the capitalist road. Chiang — stayed all the time at the Ministry of Higher Education and never returned to the university. On July 23, Wang — had this to say: "The nature of Chiang's case has yet to be decided." Liu — (first deputy secretary of the university's Party committee) and Hu — (deputy secretary of the university's Party committee) attended the city's three-level cadres' conference at the Peking Hotel between May 25 and June 28. Ho — (deputy secretary of the university's Party committee) was then convalescing at Hsiangshan [Fragrance Hill] and did not return to the university until July 18. After their return to the university, there was only one "struggle meeting" against Liu and Hu. The work team tried by every means to protect Ai — (deputy secretary of the university's Party committee) who remained at the university. Owing to mounting public indignation, the work team was compelled to hold a perfunctory "struggle meeting" against him.

**(III) Make every cadre at the basic level do a self-criticism.**

All the cadres were set aside. In this way, those in authority taking the capitalist road did not find themselves isolated.

Cadres at the basic level were indiscriminately made to do a self-criticism. Liu — got this instruction from someone on June 18: As for the question of Party member cadres "passing their test," let the students discuss whether it is necessary to criticize all Party member cadres and make them do a self-criticism. So Yeh — and others in their report to the Municipal Party Committee on June 20 put it in clear-cut terms: As for the cadres at the basic level (including political instructors, Party branch secretaries and committee members), "the general practice is to let them make a self-criticism and let the masses help them with criticism." In the Mechanical Engineering Department, some heads of grades had to make self-criticisms four or five times before they were reluctantly allowed to "pass the test." Even some committee members of the Communist Youth League branches and activists were placed by the work team among those who needed to "pass the test."

The policy of the work team towards cadres at the basic level was, in their own words:

"to peel layer after layer" (meaning level by level from below upwards, exposing the cadres at the basic level first and then the university's Party committee);



"to clear up the outlying areas first and then attack the sinister line"; and

"to let the little devils expose the big devils" (meaning from below upwards).

The work team spread this among the masses: "The cadres at Tsinghua all belong to the 'M' category" (meaning "monsters"). Tsinghua cadres at the lower and upper levels had joined together as "sworn brothers." The work team members even said: "Those at the lower levels are even worse than those at the upper levels."

Guided by the bourgeois reactionary line, Yang —, deputy leader of the work team, personally made arrangements for meetings at which cadres at the basic level were to make self-criticisms. He said: "Attention must be paid to combining the deflating of their arrogance with the tactics of getting them to repent." He added that there should be no "leniency" towards the cadres. "The utmost efforts should be made so that not a single bad person sneaks away."

In fact, almost all Party member cadres were made to make self-criticisms. The work team demanded: "Any Party member who blindly carried out the directives of the former Municipal Party Committee must make self-criticism," and "any Party member who blindly carried out the directives of the university Party committee must make self-criticism."

Therefore, people remarked: In Tsinghua, "Party members are not as good as Youth League members and Youth League members are not as good as non-Party masses."

In the Mathematics and Mechanics Department, this kind of extraordinary thing happened: Soon after it came to the university, the work team asked a non-Party member "old professor" Tu — (an old bourgeois intellectual) to call a meeting of the Party general branch committee of the department. This Tu told the committee members: "The work team wants you to confess honestly." The work team even designated a Party member to act as Tu's secretary and take notes for him.

**(IV) Make use of cadres to struggle against the revolutionary masses.**

Between June 24 and July 15, the work team waged the so-called "anti-Kuai" struggle. And this time they used cadres to direct the spearhead of their struggle against the revolutionary masses.

Taking advantage of the cadres' eagerness to "pass the test" and "be liberated," the work team encouraged them to "oppose Kuai," saying that this was "a golden opportunity" for the cadres to "touch themselves to the very soul" and to "make amends for their crimes by good deeds." To meet the needs of "opposing Kuai," the work team let Tseng —, head teacher of Kuai Ta-fu's class, "pass the test" ahead of time.

Some cadres failed to obtain the approval of the work team though they made self-criticisms a number of times. But if they "made contributions in opposing

Kuai," they could "pass the test" very quickly. In order to "oppose Kuai," Wang — urged cadres to "show their support for the work team by concrete actions." Wang wanted the Party and Youth League organizations to resume activities when "debates" with Kuai Ta-fu began, and asked the Party members to clarify their position, so as to "pass the test." Those cadres who did not "oppose Kuai" would be "shelved" for a long time and have no chance to "pass the test."

On July 10, this Wang said that the criticism and repudiation of only a few typical persons would serve to educate the great majority and that this was not contradictory, for this would help elevate their consciousness in the course of struggle and liberate a number of Party members and cadres.

**After the work team withdrew from the university, the "three provisional organizations" in Tsinghua fostered by the work team (the Provisional Preparatory Committee for the Cultural Revolutionary Committee, the Provisional General Headquarters of the "Red Guards," and the Provisional Presidium of the Cultural Revolutionary Congress, which were all headed by Ho — and Liu —), continued while they were in power to carry out the bourgeois reactionary line on the question of cadres.**

**(I) In the name of opposing the work team's "Rightist trend" towards cadres, continue to spread the idea of "overthrowing all."**

They said: "Revisionism in Tsinghua University is a rotten tree. The trunk is the university's Party committee and the branches consist of all the cadres under it," and therefore they must be "overthrown en bloc," otherwise "the roots cannot be eradicated."

**(II) The formation of the so-called "groups of the sinister gang to reform through labour" and widespread enforcement of "reform through labour."**

They divided the cadres into three categories:

members of the sinister gang — cadres at the university level, and secretaries and deputy secretaries of the Party general branches;

people following the sinister line — committee members of the Party general branches and secretaries of the Party branches;

henchmen of the sinister gang — staff of the Party general branches and activists.

Then three groups for "reform through labour" were formed.

Some of the political teachers and political instructors were also forced to "reform through labour."

Of all the 500 and more cadres in the university, 70 per cent were required to "reform through labour." Those exempted were mostly the elderly or in poor health.

# China's Revolutionaries Condemn Top Party Person in Authority Taking The Capitalist Road

THE publication of *Hongqi* Commentator's article "The Bourgeois Reactionary Line on the Question of Cadres Must Be Criticized and Repudiated" and Chi Pen-yu's important article "Patriotism or National Betrayal?" has sounded a new clarion call in the great proletarian cultural revolution. It has aroused the greatest indignation of the broad masses of proletarian revolutionaries throughout the country against the top Party person in authority taking the capitalist road. In the last few days, rallies, parades and demonstrations were held in China's major and medium-sized cities to condemn him. With soaring militant spirit, the proletarian revolutionaries and revolutionary masses expressed the determination to follow Chairman Mao's teachings to organize a mighty cultural revolutionary army, resolutely overthrow the top Party person in authority taking the capitalist road and dig out the main roots of revisionism in our country.

**The People's Liberation Army.** Commanders and fighters pledged that they would stand most determinedly on the side of the proletarian revolutionary line represented by Chairman Mao and, fighting shoulder to shoulder with the proletarian revolutionaries of the whole country, resolutely overthrow and thoroughly criticize and repudiate him. From their personal experience, they criticized his evil book on self-cultivation at meetings and discussions. They pointed out that the book was a poisonous weed which this top Party person in authority taking the capitalist road used to corrode the souls of the revolutionary people; the more one cultivates oneself according to this book, the more revisionist one becomes. It must be completely refuted so as to eradicate its poisonous effect. Some said that the invincible thought of Mao Tse-tung represents the rain and sunshine which nurture us revolutionary fighters and that they have decided to be Chairman Mao's good soldiers who do not fear hardships or death and are wholly dedicated to the service of the people.

A veteran soldier of a P.L.A. unit under the Nanking Command said: The top Party person in authority taking the capitalist road invariably came out into the open at every turning point in the march of history to harp on a tune in opposition to Chairman Mao. When the U.S.-Chiang bandit gang was actively preparing to launch the civil war in China, Chairman Mao issued the militant call "to give them tit for tat and fight for every inch of land." But behind the back of Chairman Mao, that top Party person in authority

taking the capitalist road put forward his absurd reactionary theory of the so-called "new stage of peace and democracy," and pursued the policy of capitulation and compromise towards the traitor Chiang Kai-shek with the result that our Shansi-Chahar-Hopei Border Region suffered unnecessary losses because we were utterly unprepared when Chiang Kai-shek launched the civil war against us. If not for the fact that our great leader Chairman Mao repudiated and corrected this capitulationist line in time, it would have been impossible for us to achieve victory throughout the country.

**Peking.** In the capital, people poured into the streets after working hours to hold parades and demonstrations at Tien An Men, angrily shouting slogans: "Down with the top Party person in authority taking the capitalist road!" and "Completely repudiate and discredit that evil book on self-cultivation!"

Poor and lower-middle peasants of the Haitien People's Commune said that this top Party person in authority taking the capitalist road worked energetically for class compromise in the countryside and spread the theory of the dying out of class struggle, clamouring as he did for "long-term protection of the rich peasant economy." This fully exposed him as the spokesman for the landlords and rich peasants and laid bare his big plot for a counter-revolutionary restoration. We poor and lower-middle peasants are dead set against this! An old poor peasant said with emotion: "It is so true that the people of a particular class have their own special way of talking. We have followed Chairman Mao closely and fought against the class enemies for dozens of years, whereas that top Party person in authority taking the capitalist road has all along championed what he called the "four freedoms" [freedom of usury, hiring labour, land sale, and running private enterprise], and advocated the extension of plots for private use and of free markets, the increase of small enterprises with sole responsibility for their own profits or losses, and the fixing of output quotas based on the household. He also advocated the liquidation of struggle in our relations with imperialism, the reactionaries and modern revisionism, and reduction of assistance and support to the revolutionary struggle of other peoples. Doesn't this show his true colours as someone working for a capitalist restoration?"

An order for urgent mobilization was issued by the Committee of the Congress of Red Guards of Peking's

Universities and Colleges which called on its members to launch an all-round and fierce general offensive against this top Party person in authority taking the capitalist road. Interviewed by *Renmin Ribao* reporters, Nieh Yuan-tzu, head of the leading group of the congress and director of the Xinbeida Commune, said: "The current great proletarian cultural revolution is an all-out decisive battle between the two ideologies, two lines and two classes over the last seventeen years, that is, an all-out decisive battle between the thought of Mao Tse-tung and revisionist ideas, between the proletarian revolutionary line and the bourgeois reactionary line and between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie. In a word, it is a great decisive battle to decide who will win, socialism or capitalism. It is a great, deep-going revolution on the political and ideological fronts. To win complete victory in this revolution, it is necessary to launch a general offensive against and settle the final account with this top Party person in authority taking the capitalist road and the bourgeois reactionary line he represents." "Only by carrying out an extensive struggle against and extensive repudiation of this bourgeois reactionary line," she added, "shall we be able to establish the supremacy of the thought of Mao Tse-tung, to ensure the complete victory of the proletarian revolutionary line represented by Chairman Mao, and guard against a capitalist restoration and peaceful evolution."

**Shanghai.** On April 1, Shanghai proletarian revolutionaries held a big demonstration. From early morning, columns of demonstrators streamed into the streets from schools, offices and factories and marched towards the offices of the Shanghai Municipal Revolutionary Committee.

Young Red Guards and revolutionary students and teachers from Tongji and Jiaotong Universities said:

"Chairman Mao, the reddest red sun in our hearts, has always supported revolutionary mass movements and actively encouraged 'unimportant people' to rebel against the 'important people.' Since the liberation, the top Party person in authority taking the capitalist road, together with the bourgeoisie, have vainly tried to wrest the fruits of victory from the hands of the people: they are day-dreaming." They also said: "Chairman Mao teaches us: **'He who is not afraid of death by a thousand cuts dares to unhorse the emperor.'** We have long made up our minds to study and apply Chairman Mao's works creatively and to arm ourselves so as to thoroughly refute and discredit the top Party person in authority taking the capitalist road."

Revolutionary workers of the Shanghai Glass-making Machinery Works and other factories and plants said indignantly: "The road to success for the capitalists means the road to poverty and misery for us workers, and yet the top Party person in authority taking the capitalist road dared to say such preposterous things as 'in China, there is not too much capitalism, but too little' and 'the working people do not oppose exploitation, but welcome it.' This is reactionary through and through. He doesn't smell like a Communist in the slightest."

**Shansi.** Vice-Chairman of the Shansi Provincial Revolutionary Committee Chen Yung-kuei, the Party secretary of the Tachai Production Brigade of Hsiyang County and a national labour model, said: "In the past dozen years or more, our Tachai Production Brigade, following the socialist road pointed out by the great leader Chairman Mao, and by self-reliance and hard work, has turned the old, poverty-stricken Tachai into a prosperous, advanced, socialist new Tachai. We have

*(Continued on p. 39.)*

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## Treat Young Revolutionary Fighters Correctly

**O**UR great leader Chairman Mao has pointed out: "The young people are the most active and vital force in society. They are the most eager to learn and the least conservative in their thinking. This is especially so in the era of socialism."

The great proletarian cultural revolution initiated and led by Chairman Mao personally is training millions of young revolutionary fighters. The successors to the revolutionary cause of the proletariat are tempering themselves in the great storms of the class struggle.

Great numbers of young revolutionary fighters, who have grown strong and been nurtured by Mao

Tse-tung's thought, are Chairman Mao's most loyal Red Guards. They have boundless love for Chairman Mao and are infinitely loyal to the great thought of Mao Tse-tung. Standing on Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line, they have struck hard at the bourgeois reactionary line, relentlessly rebelled against a handful of Party people in authority taking the capitalist road, vigorously destroyed the four olds (old ideas, culture, customs and habits) of the exploiting classes and fostered the four news (new ideas, culture, customs and habits) of the proletariat, contributing immortal exploits to the great proletarian cultural revolution in our country.



Now, in the new stage in which the proletarian revolutionaries are joining forces and bringing about the revolutionary "three-in-one" combination to seize power from a handful of Party people in authority taking the capitalist road, the young revolutionary fighters have made new exploits and new contributions.

Together with the worker and peasant masses, they have thoroughly foiled the latest counter-attack by the bourgeois reactionary line and have become revolutionary pathbreakers in the struggle to seize power from a handful of Party people in authority taking the capitalist road.

They have actively conducted exchanges of revolutionary experience on a big scale, forged the great alliance of proletarian revolutionaries, united with the broad revolutionary masses, and formed a mighty force of the cultural revolution.

They have creatively studied and applied Chairman Mao's works, implemented Chairman Mao's policy on cadres, and brought about the revolutionary "three-in-one" combination by carrying out the principle that "early or late, all who make revolution deserve equal treatment."

In a fine display of precious revolutionary consciousness and creativeness, they have, at the time of decisive battle between the two classes, put forward the revolutionary slogan that "while seizing power from a handful of Party people in authority taking the capitalist road, seize power from the concept of self-interest in our own minds." Taking Mao Tse-tung's thought as the weapon, they have overcome non-proletarian ideas, and greatly strengthened the revolutionary spirit, scientific approach and sense of organization and discipline of the vast revolutionary ranks of the proletariat.

They have bravely defended Chairman Mao's policy of revolutionary "three-in-one" combination and dealt staggering blows to the adverse current for capitalist restoration.

Nobody can write off the heroic deeds of the young revolutionary fighters. They are a worthy shock force of the great proletarian cultural revolution and they have embodied the general orientation of the revolution from the very beginning.

Of course, it is also necessary to make a class analysis of the young revolutionary fighters.

Since old China was a country with vast numbers of petty bourgeoisie, all kinds of petty-bourgeois and bourgeois trends of thought inevitably find expression in the ranks of the young revolutionary fighters.

At the present time of decisive battle between the two classes and two lines, the class struggle is extraordinarily acute. In these circumstances, such non-proletarian ideas as the tendency to seek the limelight, small-group mentality, anarchism and individualism will also be reflected in the ranks of the young revolutionary fighters. This is not at all strange. Because they lack experience in struggle, they are politically immature, and they are not good enough at making a class ana-

lysis of things, therefore, at a turning point in the development of the revolution, some revolutionaries tend to make this or that mistake. If young revolutionary fighters fail to boldly face their own shortcomings and mistakes and instead let various kinds of non-proletarian ideas inundate their minds, they are in danger of being used by the class enemy.

It must be pointed out that as regards the millions of young revolutionary fighters who have breached and stormed the enemy citadels in the great proletarian cultural revolution, their essence and the main current are good. With regard to the non-proletarian ideas existing in their ranks, we should actively and patiently guide them to overcome these ideas by means of proletarian ideology. At the same time, we should have the conviction that the young revolutionary fighters, who have grown up and been nurtured by Mao Tse-tung's thought, can certainly educate and liberate themselves. Whoever fails to see this will make a big blunder.

How to treat young revolutionary fighters involves the questions of how to assess the struggle between the two lines in the past few months, how to treat the mass movement of the great proletarian cultural revolution, the question of class stand, whether to stand on the side of Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line or on the side of the bourgeois reactionary line, and the important question of whether or not to train and bring up successors to the proletarian revolutionary cause. To negate the young revolutionary fighters is to negate the great proletarian cultural revolution. To attack the young revolutionary fighters is to attack the great proletarian cultural revolution.

At present, an adverse current has emerged in society which is aimed at a counter-revolutionary restoration of capitalism. A handful of Party people in authority taking the capitalist road are using tricks and plotting against young revolutionary fighters. They sow discord among them, pulling one section to their side and attacking another in a vain attempt to split the ranks of the young revolutionary fighters and lead them astray.

At the same time, like a thief crying "stop thief," they are trying to attack the young revolutionary fighters by shifting the blame on them for the reactionary policy of "hit hard at many in order to protect a handful" on the question of cadres which the few people, who advanced the bourgeois reactionary line, consistently advocated. They work hand in glove with ghosts and monsters in society to seize on some shortcomings and mistakes of the young revolutionary fighters to attack them for a particular fault without considering the whole, so as to negate completely the general orientation of the young revolutionary fighters and even manipulate the already collapsed conservative organizations to try to reverse the previous decisions and again label some of the young revolutionary fighters "counter-revolutionaries." They are doing this to oppose the proletarian

revolutionary line of Chairman Mao and negate the great achievement made so far in the great proletarian cultural revolution. We must resolutely rebuff this adverse current and thoroughly smash it!

Some cadres carried out the bourgeois reactionary line and thus stood opposed to the young revolutionary fighters. Most of these cadres now have returned or are returning to the side of Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line, standing shoulder to shoulder with the young revolutionary fighters. However, there are a small number of cadres who still feel offended by the young revolutionary fighters for having criticized, repudiated and struggled against their own mistakes, and are sceptical about the latter's general orientation. They even harbour a sense of antagonism against the young fighters. If they persist in doing so, the nature of the contradiction may then be transformed and this would be very dangerous.

All revolutionary cadres must step forward and, together with the young revolutionary fighters and revolutionary masses, take an active part in criticizing and repudiating that part of the bourgeois reactionary line which advocates "hitting hard at many in order to protect a handful," to direct the spearhead of struggle against the handful of Party people in authority taking the capitalist road and against the top Party person in authority taking the capitalist road.

The struggle waged by the proletarian revolutionaries to seize power from the handful of Party people in authority taking the capitalist road is a decisive battle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie.

The struggle is fierce, and there will still be zigzags and reversals. However, the class enemy's frenzy only shows that he is in a death-bed struggle, and it will never amount to much! He is doomed to failure! **"Plum blossoms welcome the whirling snow; small wonder flies freeze and perish."** Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line will definitely triumph!

Young revolutionary fighters, you must understand deeply that you have a great historic mission in this great proletarian cultural revolution. You must always be loyal to Chairman Mao and the proletarian revolutionary line of Chairman Mao. You must be more diligent in creatively studying and applying the works of Chairman Mao, and modestly learn from the revolutionary veteran cadres and the great People's Liberation Army. You must be one with the worker and peasant masses, eliminate self-interest and foster devotion to public interest and constantly raise your class consciousness and understanding of policy to a higher level. You must dare to stand up for the truth and dare to correct mistakes. You will make new and greater contributions to the struggle to achieve the revolutionary "three-in-one" combination, and succeed in winning victory in the joint struggle to seize power and the complete victory in the great proletarian cultural revolution!

Young revolutionary fighters, closely follow our great supreme commander Chairman Mao in carrying the revolution through to the end!

*("Renmin Ribao" editorial, April 2.)*

# Boldly Mobilize the Masses, Smash the Scheme for Counter-Revolutionary Restoration

by WANG HSIAO-YU\*

**T**HE great proletarian cultural revolution, personally initiated and led by our great leader Chairman Mao, is a great pioneering creation unparalleled in the world. The fundamental aim of this great cultural revolution is to thoroughly eradicate the root cause of capitalism and revisionism in China, and to solve the contradictions between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie and between the socialist and capitalist roads. The struggle to seize power is a decisive battle between the proletarian revolutionaries and the handful of Party people in authority taking the capitalist road in the great proletarian cultural revolution.

The victory by the proletarian revolutionaries in the struggle to seize power has dealt a fatal blow to the

handful of Party people in authority taking the capitalist road. However, the struggle between the two classes, two roads and two lines has not thereby ceased. That handful of Party people will certainly be in league with those landlords, rich peasants, counter-revolutionaries,

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bad elements, Rightists and all kinds of ghosts and monsters in society who adhere to the reactionary stand; they will certainly resort to waging a life-and-death struggle against us in various new forms, in the vain attempt to recover their lost power, sabotaging the revolutionary "three-in-one" combination and attacking the proletarian revolutionaries. This is a new feature in their activities aimed at a counter-revolutionary restoration.

The revolutionary "three-in-one" combination put forward by Chairman Mao is the guarantee of both the victory in the struggle to seize power, and the consolidation of state power. The handful of Party people in authority taking the capitalist road have been doing all they can to distort the correct principle of the revolutionary "three-in-one" combination. They have vainly attempted to remove its revolutionary essence and turn it into a hotch-potch of "two combined into one." They have tried by every conceivable means to sow discord among revolutionary mass organizations and revolutionary leading cadres and the People's Liberation Army, and by means of their influence, to direct their own collaborators to worm their way into the revolutionary "three-in-one" organ of power. In the present circumstances, this is the class enemy's most cunning and vicious tactic of taking the fortress from within. Their goal is to recapture their lost leadership and to re-impose a counter-revolutionary bourgeois dictatorship over the proletarian revolutionaries.

How to treat the revolutionary masses and revolutionary mass organizations in the course of the great proletarian cultural revolution is a major issue of right and wrong. It was true before the seizure of power; it is also true now after the seizure of power.

After their victorious seizure of power, the revolutionary mass organizations in Shantung Province, with a view to carrying the great proletarian cultural revolution through to the end, immediately set out to launch a rectification campaign centring around the creative study and application of Chairman Mao's works, to sum up their experience in struggle, straighten out their ideas, improve their working style and increase their fighting strength. This precious revolutionary consciousness and creativeness is very fine.

On the other hand, the handful of Party people in authority taking the capitalist road and some people harbouring ulterior motives seized the chance to make a great fuss and launch a vengeful counter-attack on the proletarian revolutionaries. They distorted facts, concocted stories, supported one section of the people in attacking another and incited people to struggle against each other. They did everything in their power to vilify the revolutionary path-breakers. Some of them went so far as to openly threaten those revolutionary mass organizations which had criticized, repudiated and struggled against them. They always tried to "spy out the land" and seek an opportunity to take class revenge on the proletarian revolutionaries in a vain attempt to

undermine the revolutionary mass organizations, quell the vigorous revolutionary mass movement initiated by our great leader Chairman Mao himself, and scuttle the great proletarian cultural revolution halfway.

**Chairman Mao teaches us: "The imperialists and domestic reactionaries will certainly not take their defeat lying down and they will struggle to the last ditch. After there is peace and order throughout the country, they will still engage in sabotage and create disturbances in various ways and will try every day and every minute to stage a come-back. This is inevitable and beyond all doubt, and under no circumstances must we relax our vigilance."** The present appearance of this adverse current aimed at a counter-revolutionary restoration is not strange. It is due to the workings of the objective law of class struggle and is independent of man's will. What is important is that we proletarian revolutionaries must always keep a cool political head, bear in mind Chairman Mao's teachings, be prompt in seeing through all plots and tricks of the handful of Party people in authority taking the capitalist road and carry out tit-for-tat struggle against them.

In order to smash this adverse current aimed at a counter-revolutionary restoration, the proletarian revolutionaries in Shantung Province, under the leadership of the Provincial Revolutionary Committee, have given full play to the revolutionary strength of the broad masses of the people. That we must trust the masses, rely on them, respect their initiative and let them educate and liberate themselves and let them rise to make revolution themselves in the course of the struggle is a long-standing teaching of Chairman Mao. Provided that we unswervingly carry out the proletarian revolutionary line represented by Chairman Mao and fully mobilize the broad revolutionary masses, the handful of Party people in authority taking the capitalist road who are attempting to effect a counter-revolutionary restoration will be exposed to the bright light of day and there will be no place for them to hide.

#### **"Policy and tactics are the life of the Party."**

In order to smash this adverse current aimed at a counter-revolutionary restoration, the proletarian revolutionaries of Shantung Province, under the leadership of the Provincial Revolutionary Committee, have made deep and intensive investigations and studies. On this basis, they have strictly differentiated between the two kinds of contradictions. They have sharply distinguished those people among the masses who have been deceived from the handful of Party people in authority taking the capitalist road who have schemed for a counter-revolutionary restoration. They have strictly distinguished the leading cadres who have really stepped out to make revolution from that handful of Party people in authority taking the capitalist road who have tried to fish in troubled waters and resorted to counter-attack in revenge. They have firmly grasped the general orientation of the struggle and are determined to turn



its spearhead directly at the handful of Party people in authority taking the capitalist road.

Mao Tse-tung's thought is the life-blood of the proletarian revolutionaries. The proletarian revolutionaries of Shantung Province, by relying upon the great invincible thought of Mao Tse-tung, have already won a great victory in the struggle to seize power. By acting according to the instructions of Chairman Mao, they will certainly be able to unite the broad revolutionary

masses so as to thoroughly smash this adverse current aimed at a counter-revolutionary restoration and be able to build the revolutionary "three-in-one" combination still more effectively and carry out the rectification campaign in the revolutionary organizations still more successfully, so as to carry the great proletarian cultural revolution through to the end!

*(Excerpts from an article in "Hongqi" No. 5, 1967.)*

## Grasp Revolution, Promote Production

# Industry Flourishes After Seizure Of Power

THE great proletarian cultural revolution is a powerful motive force for the development of the social productive forces in our country." This thesis contained in the Decision of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party Concerning the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution (the "16-Point Decision") is increasingly proving to be true in practice. After seizing power from the handful of Party people in authority taking the capitalist road, the proletarian revolutionaries and revolutionary workers and staff on the industrial front have won new successes in both revolution and production.

**Shanghai.** In Shanghai, China's biggest industrial centre where the storm of the power seizure known as the "January Revolution" originated, the proletarian revolutionaries who seized power, together with the mass of the workers and staff, under the leadership of the Shanghai Municipal Revolutionary Committee, have rapidly overcome the aftermath of counter-revolutionary economism in industry. They have established new proletarian revolutionary order and have won one victory after another. Gross industrial output value in January and February topped the corresponding figure of the preceding year by 3.4 per cent. Production has continued to improve since the beginning of March. Many factories have fulfilled ahead of schedule the state plan for the first quarter. The output of products important to national construction and the people's livelihood such as steel, forgings and rolled stock, walking tractors, rolling equipment, agricultural pumps, diesel engines, chemical fertilizers, insecticides, cotton yarn, cotton fabrics, artificial fibres, paper, watches and canned foods reached or surpassed the corresponding levels of 1966.

The proletarian revolutionaries and workers and staff on Shanghai's industrial front have creatively studied and applied Chairman Mao's writings with prob-

lems that have arisen in revolution and production in mind; they have striven to destroy the concept of self-interest and foster devotion to the public interest, to eradicate bourgeois ideas and foster proletarian ideas, and have thereby strengthened their revolutionary spirit, scientific approach and sense of organization and discipline. As a result, their morale and drive have soared as never before. Production problems of long standing have begun to be solved and weak links have been strengthened. Record output has been scored by many important enterprises, including the openhearth shop of the Shanghai No. 1 Iron and Steel Works, the second converter shop of the Shanghai No. 3 Iron and Steel Works, and China's first automatic basic oxygen furnace shop which was commissioned not long ago. Shanghai's cotton textile industry which has all along led the country in per unit output has further increased production and improved quality. Many factories have developed ahead of schedule important new products which the country urgently needs.

All this shows that successes can be achieved in both revolution and production provided that **Chairman Mao's instructions on taking firm hold of the revolution and promoting production** are firmly carried out, that work is done according to the "16-Point Decision," that revolution is given first place and put in command over production, and that the masses are fully aroused and relied upon and their initiative respected.

**Shansi.** As the proletarian revolutionaries in Shansi Province win one victory after another in their struggle to seize power, the situation in industry in that province improves month by month. Gross industrial output value in January was considerably higher than the corresponding figure of 1966; the February figure was fully 9.3 per cent over that of the preceding year; and fairly big increases were registered in March.

Following Chairman Mao's instructions on forming revolutionary "three-in-one" combinations, proletarian revolutionaries in an increasing number of factories in the province have, on the basis of great alliance, treated the cadres correctly, united with the great majority of the masses, and established and perfected revolutionary "three-in-one" provisional organs of power. They have formed two set-ups to lead the revolution and production respectively and have thus gained political and organizational assurance for "taking firm hold of the revolution and promoting production."

In the past, those in authority taking the capitalist road in certain factories gave prominence to production technique and devoted their attention solely to fulfilling production targets. The proletarian revolutionaries who have seized power have changed all this. They vigorously give prominence to proletarian politics and to Mao Tse-tung's thought and follow Chairman Mao's revolutionary line in everything they do. The proletarian revolutionaries in the coal mining industry organized mass discussions which gave the miners a deep understanding of the importance of increasing production in coal-rich Shansi in relation to the growth of the national economy as a whole. This greatly increased the miners' enthusiasm and drive. In the famous Tatung Colliery, average daily output has doubled in the past month.

The People's Liberation Army has played a big role in all this. Following Chairman Mao's directive that the People's Liberation Army should not only support the masses of the Left and agriculture, but they should also help industry, P.L.A. commanders and fighters have gone to factories and mines to propagate Mao Tse-tung's thought and the policies of the Party, pass on the army's experience in political work, and help the proletarian revolutionaries organize and run production. By taking part in the cultural revolution and in productive labour together with the workers and staff, the army men have cultivated deep class sentiments in them and have given them a lead by their fine style of work.

**Heilungkiang.** The excellent situation in the revolution in Heilungkiang Province has been a powerful spur to industrial production. Gross industrial output value in January and February exceeded that in the same period of 1966 and output has been rising month after month. Among 50 major products, output in 27 went up in February. Fairly big increases have been reported in tractor-drawn implements, industrial pumps, plastic products, artificial fibres, bicycles, paper and soap.

The picture in transport is most encouraging. In the Harbin Railways Administration, for example, the situation has been improving since the proletarian revolutionaries seized power in mid January. Compared with that month, the March turn-round rate was 15 per cent higher and punctuality of both passenger and freight trains has now attained 95 per cent — reaching or surpassing the previous peak. Before the power seizure, the handful of Party people in authority taking the capitalist road deliberately created confusion by

luring some of the workers and staff away from their posts by economism and by paralyzing the command system. All this gravely affected transport.

After seizing power on the basis of great alliance, the proletarian revolutionaries formed a revolutionary "three-in-one" combination and founded a revolutionary committee. Many revolutionary cadres have taken part in leadership work and a sound command system has been set up. Displaying a fine spirit as masters in their own house, workers and staff have raised efficiency and speeded up loading and unloading. They worked hard for five days and nights and succeeded in shipping out all the goods that had been piled up over the past months at the Harbin station. The freight handled in those five days was nine times the normal amount. This success exploded the absurd theory that "since production techniques and management are complicated in transport, industrial and mining enterprises, seizing power would hamper production." It vividly showed that it is the revolutionary workers, revolutionary technical personnel and revolutionary cadres, and not those in authority taking the capitalist road, who are most concerned about socialist production and who are the most proficient in production techniques and management, and that once the proletarian revolutionaries have taken power into their own hands they are able to bring all positive factors into play and develop production by leaps and bounds.

**Kweichow.** The struggle to seize power is going ahead triumphantly in factories and mines in Kweichow Province in southwest China, and the situation in industry is encouraging.

The Kweiyang Cotton Mill, which created a good form for realizing the great alliance of proletarian revolutionaries (see *Peking Review*, Nos. 11 and 12, 1967), has recently been credited with a fresh creation — the establishment of a revolutionary management system. Before the seizure of power, the mill had 22 departments staffed by administrative cadres who accounted for about 8 per cent of all employees. At one time 18 per cent of all personnel were non-productive. The handful of Party people then in authority taking the capitalist road stood aloof and relied on the reactionary bourgeois technical "authorities" and a maze of rules and regulations to exercise a bourgeois dictatorship over the rank and file, thus stifling their initiative. After the seizure of power, the proletarian revolutionaries, through full mass discussion, adopted the principle of serving production, the workshops and the masses and abolished all 22 departments. In their place, only four offices were set up to give leadership to the revolution and production. This enabled 30 per cent of the non-productive personnel to be transferred to work in the shops. Most of the technical personnel who formerly had divorced themselves from the masses and actual production and were confined to work in the departments have also gone to the shops to live, study and struggle together with the rank and file. Thus a new management system facilitating the grasping of the rev-

olution and promotion of production has taken shape, and a good beginning has been made for eradicating the evil influence of the former capitalist, revisionist management methods.

**Shantung.** The proletarian revolutionaries in Tsingtao, major port city in Shantung Province, took over power towards the end of January. Inspired by this victory, the revolutionary workers and staff in industry and transport in that city have boldly shouldered the two-fold task of carrying on the revolution and running production and have achieved significant successes in both. Gross industrial output in the first quarter showed a 29 per cent increase over the corresponding figure of the previous year and surpassed the state plan by 3.7 per cent. Such major products as rolled stock, machine tools, sodium carbonate, cotton yarn and cotton prints

increased by more than 20 per cent over the first quarter of 1966.

A great change has taken place since the take-over. As a result of sabotage by the handful of Party people in authority taking the capitalist road, output at the Tsingtao Steel Mill dropped to its lowest point in history just prior to the take-over. After power was seized, the revolutionary workers and staff pushed output of 15 products to an all-time high and went on to fulfil the first quarter plan for major products ten days ahead of time. Taking the Letter From the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party to Revolutionary Workers and Staff and Revolutionary Cadres in Industrial and Mining Enterprises Throughout the Country (see *Peking Review*, No. 13, 1967) as their programme of action, revolutionary workers and staff in Tsingtao are carrying production to new heights.

## U Thant's "New Proposals" Are A Big Fraud

by COMMENTATOR

ON March 28, one week after U.S. imperialism's sinister Guam conference where it masterminded moves for expanding the war of aggression against Vietnam, U.N. Secretary-General U Thant made public the so-called "three-step" proposals for the settlement of the Vietnam war issue. Prior to this, the representative of the Soviet revisionists at the United Nations had conducted stealthily behind-the-scenes activities with U Thant and U.S. representative Goldberg. U Thant's "new proposals" were greeted with approval the day they were released by the Johnson Administration which had Dean Rusk praising them in glowing terms at his press conference. It is clear to the discerning eye that these "proposals" bear the "Made in U.S.A." trade mark and represent another big joint U.S.-Soviet fraud and conspiracy to force capitulation through war.

U Thant's "proposals" are even worse than his "three-point" programme of last year. The first point of the previous programme was "halt bombing of north Vietnam." This was aimed at supporting the U.S. machinations of inducing "peace talks" through a bombing pause and forcing "peace talks" through bombing. Now, in his "new proposals," the first point is not "halt bombing" but "a general standstill truce." This is entirely designed to meet the increased demands of U.S. imperialism which is exacting a higher price.

According to U Thant's "new proposals," "preliminary talks" are to be held and the "Geneva Conference reconvened" on the pre-condition of "a general standstill truce." In fact, "general truce" is the core of these

"proposals." What is the meaning of this "general truce" advocated by U Thant? It is a refurbished version of Johnson's "principle of reciprocity." What Johnson dreams of doing is to force north Vietnam to stop assisting compatriots in the south in their war of resistance against U.S. aggression and for national salvation, under the condition of continued U.S. forcible occupation of south Vietnam, in exchange for a "halt in the bombing" of north Vietnam. U Thant demands that, under the same condition of continued U.S. forcible occupation of south Vietnam, not only north Vietnam stop its assistance to the south Vietnamese people's struggle, but that the south Vietnamese people stop their resistance to the U.S. aggressors, in exchange for a U.S. "truce." So the essence of his "new proposals" is that the Vietnamese people should lay down their arms and cease fighting while the more than 400,000 U.S. aggressor troops remain in occupation of their territory—that they should go down on their knees before the U.S. aggressors and capitulate under the pressure of U.S. bombs and guns. This is a monstrous insult to the 31 million heroic Vietnamese people!

The United States is the aggressor and Vietnam the victim of aggression. There is only one fundamental solution to the Vietnam question, and that is for every single American aggressor to get out of Vietnam, bag and baggage. If the premise is that the American aggressors may still continue to forcibly occupy Vietnamese territory and hang on to south Vietnam, then it is nothing but a hoax to talk of "a general standstill truce,"



"holding preliminary talks" and "reconvening of the Geneva Conference." It is out-and-out deception to hold any such "talks" in whatever form, regardless of whether the United States appears on the scene alone or shows its hand together with a few of its accomplices and yes-men.

The so-called "four kinds of talks" suggested by U Thant are all the same; it doesn't matter whether the United States alone is the sponsor or if it is assisted by this accomplice or that flunkey. Whatever the form may be, this will in no way alter the essence of the "peace talks" fraud.

At present U.S. imperialism is frantically expanding its aggressive war in accordance with the policy decided on at the recent Guam conference. In south Vietnam, it is busily deploying troops and mounting large-scale offensives against the liberated areas. In north Vietnam, it is continuing its wanton bombings and carrying out new war escalation. It is also preparing to spread the flames of war to the whole of Indo-China and Southeast Asia, or even to China. At the time when U Thant made public his "new proposals," U.S. Secretary of State Dean Rusk openly threatened that if the Vietnamese people were not willing to give in, the United States would "meet our commitments in south Vietnam." And U.S. officials have outrageously called for "the destruction of north Vietnam's will." The fact that U Thant chose this time to cast his "new proposals" is apparently aimed at helping the U.S. aggressor to force the Vietnamese people to surrender by means of war and to cover up, by the "peace talks" smokescreen, the Johnson Administration's criminal manoeuvres to widen its war of aggression in Vietnam.

A Foreign Ministry spokesman of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam made a comment on March 27 seriously pointing out that to call on both sides to cease fire and hold unconditional negotiations while the United

States is committing aggression against Vietnam and taking serious steps in its military escalation in both parts of Vietnam is to make no distinction between the aggressor and the victim of aggression, to depart from reality and to demand that the Vietnamese people accept the aggressors' conditions. With strong emphasis, the spokesman reiterated that the Vietnam question has nothing to do with the United Nations and that the latter has absolutely no right to interfere in any way in the Vietnam question.

The United Nations is a tool in the hands of U.S. imperialism, and U Thant is its faithful stooge. The several plans so far put forward by U Thant for the alleged purpose of solving the Vietnam question have all been in the service of U.S. imperialism. The Vietnam question must be resolved by the Vietnamese people themselves. The United Nations has no right whatsoever to meddle in it, nor should U Thant be permitted to intervene.

**Chairman Mao has said: "When we say 'imperialism is ferocious,' we mean that its nature will never change, that the imperialists will never lay down their butcher knives, that they will never become Buddhas, till their doom."**

The Chinese people, together with the Vietnamese and other peoples of the world, are determined to smash the big "peace talks" conspiracy plotted by the United States in league with the Soviet Union and being carried out in the person of U Thant. The Chinese people will resolutely support and assist the Vietnamese people to carry through their war of resistance to U.S. aggression and for national salvation to the end. The heroic Vietnamese people have already won great victories in their sacred, revolutionary war. Provided they persist in the fight, final victory will surely be theirs!

*("Renmin Ribao," March 31.)*

## News Analysis

# South Vietnam Liberation Army Is Fighting Brilliantly

**T**HE South Vietnam Liberation Armed Forces have been fighting bitterly and courageously against the enemy in the first quarter of this year. Displaying the unrivalled power of people's war, their heroic units have fought a number of successful campaigns. Besides crushing a series of large-scale "mopping up" operations of the U.S. aggressors, they have lately on their own initiative launched frequent attacks and have put enemy forces out of action time and again. These battles have achieved brilliant results.

April 7, 1967

## In Desperation, U.S. Imperialism Ventures On an Expanded War

**Chairman Mao has taught us: "Make trouble, fail, make trouble again, fail again . . . till their doom; that is the logic of the imperialists and all reactionaries the world over in dealing with the people's cause, and they will never go against this logic."**

During the dry and rainy seasons last year, the U.S. aggressors, the south Vietnamese puppet troops and the

armed forces of the U.S. satellites sustained heavy losses—a total of 340,000 men, including nearly 110,000 Americans, either killed or wounded.

The U.S. aggressors, however, are not reconciled to their defeat. Since the beginning of this year, U.S. President Johnson has been sending out many missions abroad for surreptitious “peace talks” activities; the revisionist Soviet chieftains, who are working hand in glove with the Johnson Administration, have been equally busy. But behind this smokescreen of “peace talks” U.S. imperialism made another frenzied move to escalate the war in south Vietnam. Since the “dry season offensive” last November, it has sent another 80,000 men into south Vietnam, thus bringing the size of its aggressive armed forces there to 427,000. It has increased the number of its aircraft by 50 per cent while its artillery forces are now four times as large as at the same time last year. Between January and March this year, the U.S. aggressors have greatly intensified their military activities.

This year, during the “dry season offensive,” the American aggressors got together practically all their mobile forces to carry out extensive “mopping up” operations centring on the Tay Ninh and Thu Dau Mot Provinces, the Central Highlands, the province of Quang Tri which is located at the southern flank of the demilitarized zone and the liberated base areas in Thua Thien Province. These “mopping up” operations were larger in scale than the 1965-66 “dry season offensive” and also lasted longer.

During this latest “dry season offensive,” the U.S. aggressors, by throwing large numbers of troops into sustained and repeated “mopping up” operations, vainly hoped to compel the main strength of the South Vietnam Liberation Armed Forces to fight a decisive engagement with them. They wanted in this way to extricate themselves from their difficulties in south Vietnam as they are being worn down in a prolonged war and suffering one defeat after another. Prior to the recent Guam conference, Washington had already taken a number of steps to expand the war; it worked out a programme to further expand the war at the conference.

On the face of it, the U.S. aggressors look quite fierce, but in actual fact they are weak and nervous. Even high-ranking commanders of the U.S. aggressors’ army headquarters, as was disclosed by the Western press, were worried from the very beginning that they would have “to suffer great losses” and knew that these “mopping up” operations were a “great risk.” This reveals the mentality of a desperate gambler and shows up the nature of a paper tiger as outwardly strong and inwardly weak.

### **Flexible in Strategy and Tactics, the South Vietnamese Army and People Hit the U.S. Troops Hard**

During the first quarter of the year, the heroic south Vietnamese people and their Liberation Armed

Forces, surmounting every difficulty they faced in the counter “mopping up” operations, firmly grasped the initiative in the war to inflict heavy casualties on the U.S. aggressors and smashed the enemy offensives one by one.

The South Vietnam Liberation Armed Forces have applied a flexible strategy and tactics. When they entered the liberated areas, the U.S. aggressor troops, as if they had fallen into a labyrinth, could not tell where the Liberation Armed Forces were. The latter, on the other hand, relying on the masses and moving secretly and swiftly, appeared suddenly to annihilate the enemy, chewing him up mouthful by mouthful so that many minor victories added up to major victories. One Japanese correspondent who entered the Tay Ninh Province with the U.S. aggressors, reported that although the U.S. troops kept their attack a top secret, the highly mobile liberation army had already shifted its positions in good order by the time they arrived. Another Japanese newspaper report also noted the liberation army’s flexibility, saying it had withdrawn long before the U.S. troops appeared: every operation, it added, was like a game of hide-and-seek between the U.S. troops and the liberation army. Being brave, flexible and good at fighting at close quarters and in the dark—qualities which are characteristics of a people’s army—the Liberation Armed Forces launched repeated counter-attacks at times and places which were to their advantage and wiped out the enemy’s massive effective strength, thus putting him in a position of passivity and exposing him to attack.

Since last January, the army and people in various south Vietnamese provinces have unfolded extensive struggles against the “mopping up” operations. Last February, in particular, saw frequent attacks by the Liberation Armed Forces in various base areas from Quang Tri to Mui Ca Mau. In Thu Dau Mot and the Mekong Delta provinces, every enemy “mopping up” operation was followed by fresh counter-offensives against the enemy soon after the operation was crushed. The U.S. aggressors, who had stationed tens of thousands of troops in and around Quang Tri Province south of the demilitarized zone, have been badly mauled by the South Vietnam Liberation Armed Forces in the last few months. The Western press has acknowledged that in some places the main forces of the U.S. aggressors have been pinned down and unable to move.

During the period under review, the local units and guerrilla forces of the south Vietnamese people have been especially active. Divided into small units, the guerrilla forces in the big areas embracing Quang Tri near the 17th Parallel and southernmost Mui Ca Mau took the initiative everywhere and launched attacks, which played an important role in the fighting. With high morale and following their own ingenious style of warfare, they imposed severe punishment on the enemy. Somewhere in Gia Dinh Province, they laid mines all over the ground and wiped out over 200 U.S. invaders and destroyed 54 armoured vehicles in a single engagement. In another, the same unit finished off over 100

American invaders, brought down eight helicopters and sank two LSTs. The mines and traps laid by the masses in Tay Ninh Province were no less effective. According to the Western press, heavy enemy casualties in a "mopping up" operation were due to these mines and traps. Now that the U.S. troops have in recent months taken over the garrison duties of the puppet forces at various strongholds and along the highways in many areas, they have become targets of attack for the guerrillas' widespread offensives.

While the civilians and armed units in the liberated base areas were making heroic counter-offensives against the "mopping up" operations, the south Vietnam liberation army kept on penetrating into the enemy-occupied areas and carrying out exterior-line operations by launching well-planned, successful surprise attacks on the U.S. aggressors' command posts, barracks, rear supply bases, airfields and communication facilities. These moves, thanks to the bravery and high skill with which they were executed, have caused great manpower and material losses to the enemy and effectively tied down his armed forces. According to preliminary statistics, beginning from February, the Liberation Armed Forces made no fewer than 40 formidable raids on the U.S. airfields and supply bases at Da Nang, Pleiku, Chu Lai, Tra Cu, Vinh Long, Nha Trang, Bien Hoa and Long Binh. The air force base at Pleiku alone was subjected to four attacks between January 6 and 10. Chu Lai was raided twice in less than a month and the supply base at Long Binh has been hit hard four times since the U.S. invaders started their "dry season offensive." On February 13, the liberation army artillery moved right into the city area of Saigon and shell-ed the headquarters of the U.S. aggressor troops. These attacks are a proof of the fact that the South Vietnam Liberation Armed Forces have in bitter fighting tempered themselves into a revolutionary army with a strong will to fight and have attained a high level of proficiency in the art of war. They also point to the fact that the U.S. troops whose morale is low and who are widely dispersed, are, as a Chinese saying goes, in the awkward position of not being able to fasten the jacket without exposing the elbow.

### **People's Armed Forces Are Winning Brilliant Victories While the Paper Tiger is in Dire Straits**

After three months' spirited fighting, the South Vietnam Liberation Armed Forces have thus smashed the "mopping up" operations successively launched by the U.S. aggressors. Moreover, they have gone a step further by taking the initiative to attack and knock out the enemy, winning brilliant victories.

In strategic Tay Ninh Province, the Liberation Armed Forces in the first half of February smashed "mopping up" operations involving some 8,000 U.S. troops of which more than 1,000 were put out of action. Beginning from February 22, the U.S. aggressors mustered over 40,000 men to start the largest-ever "mopping up" operation in their war of aggression against Viet-

nam. Since February, however, the army and people of Tay Ninh have altogether wiped out over 8,000 U.S. aggressors, destroyed large numbers of tanks, armoured and other military vehicles and brought down many helicopters. As we go to press, fierce campaigns are still going on against the "mopping up" operations in this area. The smashing victory in the Tay Ninh battles well illustrates how determined the army and people of south Vietnam are to defeat the U.S. aggressors. This iron will of theirs cannot be subdued by any force on earth, nor can it be shaken by any kind of intrigue.

In Thu Dau Mot and Gia Dinh Provinces, after nearly a month's fighting, the army and people there have crushed a large-scale "mopping up" operation under Westmoreland's personal command, putting out of action between January 2 and 29 more than 3,100 U.S. invaders and destroying or damaging 204 army vehicles. More than 2,600 of these 3,100 U.S. troops met their fate in Ben Cat County, Thu Dau Mot, where the Liberation Armed Forces engaged the enemy more than 270 times.

In the Mekong Delta and the central area of Trung Bo, the army and masses annihilated three puppet infantry battalions, one armoured battalion, four companies and 16 platoons in the first 20 days of the year. Later, the Liberation Armed Forces there again launched extensive attacks in which large numbers of U.S. and puppet troops were wiped out.

In Quang Tri, Thua Thien, Quang Ngai, Kon Tum, Binh Dinh and Bien Hoa Provinces, too, large numbers of U.S. and puppet troops suffered the same lot in extensive attacks launched by the Liberation Armed Forces.

Over the last three months, the United States, under the smokescreen of "peace talks," has been pouring reinforcements into south Vietnam, doing its utmost to intensify its military operations. But, the U.S. aggressors have gained nothing except that thousands of G.I.s were added to their casualty lists. A recent statement by an American general well reveals the U.S. anxiety in south Vietnam, where, in its desperate struggle, it has lost the initiative, became exposed to attack and is at the end of its tether. He said: The U.S. armed forces naturally wish to fight a Stalingrad-type of war of decision with the "Vietcong." But, the actual situation is that their advance today can be counted only by centimetres—occupying one place this day and losing another the next.

**Chairman Mao has said: "After travelling the hard stretch of road we shall reach the highway to victory. This is the natural logic of the war."** The army and people of south Vietnam, persevering in protracted and heroic struggle, have brought about an excellent revolutionary situation. The south Vietnamese people, as long as they persevere in the war against U.S. aggression and for national salvation, keep their hold on the U.S. aggressors and wage protracted war against them, are sure to wear down this beast which is the U.S. aggressors, drag it to the grave and win final, complete victory!





## Mao Tse-tung's Thought

# Lights the Whole World

### *Hail the 40th Anniversary of the "Report on an Investigation of the Peasant Movement in Hunan"*

British and Azanian progressives in London have highly praised the brilliant thought of Chairman Mao contained in his great historic work *Report on an Investigation of the Peasant Movement in Hunan*, on the occasion of the 40th anniversary of its publication.

A British worker, Henderson Brooks of Coventry, told Hsinhua: "All revolutionaries and all Marxist-Leninists should welcome, support and give leadership to every genuine revolt of the people and every mass revolutionary movement. The attitude one adopts towards such movements is a yardstick for measuring whether a person is really progressive, a true revolutionary and a responsible Marxist-Leninist."

Speaking with enthusiasm, he said that Chairman Mao has always supported the exploited and oppressed peoples and has always championed the cause of the oppressed people in making revolution with unswerving consistency. "When the reactionaries were saying, 'It's terrible!' about the peasant movement in Hunan, Comrade Mao Tse-tung said: 'It's fine!'"

The stand of the imperialists, the modern revisionists and the reactionaries today is the same as that of the reactionaries in Hunan 40 years ago, Brooks stressed. "Confronted with the great proletarian cultural revolution taking place in China, they say: 'It's terrible!' We revolutionary workers say: 'It's fine!' The waverers say: 'They are going too far!' We Marxist-Leninists say: 'Carry on, you revolutionary workers, peasants, army-men and Red Guards. You are helping us, the exploited and oppressed workers of the capitalist countries, as well as yourselves. You are genuine proletarian internationalists. . . .'"

British friend Colin Penn said that although the concrete situation in Britain today is different from that in China in 1927, "the basic principles so clearly enunciated by Chairman Mao still hold good and are easily appreciated by ordinary people." He added, "For us here today, Chairman Mao's analysis is an inspiration and a guide." "Militant Marxist-Leninists are determined to act on the teachings of Mao Tse-tung."

Ahmed Gora Ebrahim, assistant representative of the Pan-Africanist Congress of Azania in London, said, "Although this report was presented 40 years ago by Chairman Mao, it is of great significance in guiding all Marxist-Leninists today."

He continued that "imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism were introduced through reactionary violence and are maintained by reactionary violence and therefore must be overthrown by revolutionary violence. In this report, Chairman Mao correctly points out that **'without using the greatest force, the peasants cannot possibly overthrow the deep-rooted authority of the landlords which has lasted for thousands of years.'** This is also true of the struggle of the African, Asian and Latin-American peasants against imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism."

### *Zanzibar People's Deep Affection For Chairman Mao*

The Zanzibar people imbued with a strong revolutionary spirit show deep respect and great esteem for Chairman Mao Tse-tung.

"We will follow Mao Tse-tung's principles, because these are the genuine principles of Karl Marx," says a slogan in Swahili pasted on the door of a clinic in Zanzibar. This slogan was written by a Zanzibar medical worker to express his infinite respect and admiration for Chairman Mao, the great leader of the world's revolutionary people. He studies Chairman Mao's works regularly, especially the book, *Quotations From Chairman Mao Tse-tung*, of which he has a copy of the English edition. He eagerly translates into Swahili for his friends such celebrated theses of Chairman Mao's as that imperialism and all reactionaries are paper tigers and that political power grows out of the barrel of a gun. He also often holds discussions with the nurses on selected passages in the *Quotations From Chairman Mao Tse-tung*. "Chairman Mao is the Lenin of our times," he said. "His statements are completely correct."

Some youths of Zanzibar's Kisiwandui District put up on a prominent wayside tree a big portrait in colour of Chairman Mao in military uniform so that the endless stream of pedestrians passing by every day can see Chairman Mao, the great leader of the people of China and all revolutionary people of the world.

A friend living on Pemba Island had seen Chairman Mao on his visit to China. He told his Chinese friends in Zanzibar excitedly: "When I was in China and met the great leader Chairman Mao, it was the happiest moment in my life." Taking a copy of the brightly red *Quotations From Chairman Mao Tse-tung* from his pocket, he added, "I'll do as the Chinese Red Guards do: study the *Quotations* every day and act according to Chairman Mao's instructions. I read a paragraph from the *Quotations* every day before I start work. Mao Tse-tung's thought is the sharpest weapon. Revolutionary people must get hold of this weapon." With deep feelings he joined his Chinese friends in singing in Chinese the song *Sailing the Seas Depends on the Helmsman* and in shouting: "Long live Chairman Mao!"

### **Benefits From Studying the "Three Constantly Read Articles"**

Since last November, groups to study the "three constantly read articles" by Chairman Mao [*Serve the People, In Memory of Norman Bethune, The Foolish Old Man Who Removed the Mountains*] have mushroomed throughout Yamaguchi Prefecture in Japan. Revolutionary people of various social strata, including workers, peasants, youth, intellectuals and students, have taken part enthusiastically in this study movement.

Chinese correspondents in Japan recently interviewed three study groups composed of young workers and high school students in Shimonoseki city, Yamaguchi Prefecture. The three groups share a common feature: all their members are requested to review their thoughts and their work every day in the light of the spirit of the "three constantly read articles." When they discussed the benefits derived from their study, they unanimously agreed that the three articles are imbued with the dauntless, militant spirit of fearing no sacrifice and difficulties in the service of the people's cause; they embody the lofty spirit of the revolutionary heroism of the proletariat in struggling to create a new world.

A woman working in a medium-sized enterprise said: "Formerly, I thought only of myself no matter what. But after studying the 'three constantly read articles,' I have come to realize that it is my duty to join the masses of the Japanese workers to struggle for the liberation of the Japanese people. With this idea in mind, my vision is broadened. I am ready to give my life at any moment for the Japanese people's liberation." "If I die for the revolution it is a worthy death," she added.

A nurse said: "I am deeply moved after reading Chairman Mao's article *In Memory of Norman Bethune*. **Chairman Mao teaches us that a man's ability may be great or small, but if he has the spirit of absolute selflessness, he is already noble-minded and pure, a man of moral integrity and above vulgar interests, a man**

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### **In Praise of the Helmsman**

Following is a current folk song in Albania acclaiming Chairman Mao. — Ed.

*In the East over 70 years ago,  
The great Marxist-Leninist, Mao Tse-tung, was  
born.  
You have triumphed in all crises,  
The hero's song echoes everywhere.  
You have braved many tempestuous waves,  
Always emerging in brilliant victory.  
The imperialist wild beasts,  
Vainly hoped to carve up China.  
But under your leadership,  
All enemy schemes were smashed to bits.  
Reversing right and wrong, the revisionist  
gentlemen  
Are trying hard to deceive the world's people.  
They speak sweet words to cover up the truth,  
While they viciously split the socialist camp.  
It is you, the great Mao Tse-tung,  
Who is making Marxism-Leninism shine brighter,  
Sending the revisionist renegades fleeing in fright!  
Oh, the great socialist China —  
You have shaken the world.  
With unparalleled might, today  
You stand towering to the skies!  
Leading you in your advance  
Is the hero who has no match on earth!  
Mao Tse-tung has proclaimed to the world:  
Complete victory for Marxism-Leninism is in  
sight!  
With the wise leadership of Mao Tse-tung,  
The victory of the world's people is certain!  
From the distant Adriatic shores, we wish you  
eternal health,  
Long, long life to Chairman Mao, helmsman of the  
revolution!*

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**who is of value to the people.** I will learn from Bethune's spirit of utter devotion to others without any thought of self, and will learn from his internationalist spirit. We must work for the liberation not only of the Japanese people but of the people all over the world."

A girl working for a progressive newspaper said that after she had studied the "three constantly read articles," she came to see that one cannot honestly strive for the emancipation of the Japanese people if one thinks of one's selfish interests and seeks one's own fame and fortune. Consequently, she saw the necessity of eradicating the concept of self and fostering the concept of public, of energetically exposing and repudiating bourgeois ideology and firmly building up the ideology of serving the people with absolute devotion.

# The Greatest Revolutionary Movement In History

- Chairman Mao Tse-tung is the greatest revolutionary standard-bearer of the world's people.
- China's great cultural revolution is the greatest and most thoroughgoing revolution.

*"Renmin Ribao" on March 24 published the main points in an article "The Greatest Revolutionary Movement in History," by Nguyen Bui, a Vietnamese friend. An abridged translation follows. — Ed.*

"China's great proletarian cultural revolution, initiated and led by Chairman Mao himself, is the greatest and most thoroughgoing proletarian revolutionary movement ever seen in the history of mankind."

"Chairman Mao, the greatest proletarian revolutionary of the present era, has scientifically summed up the historical experience of the Soviet and Chinese revolutions; he has analysed the deep-rooted social base of the emergence of revisionism and the restoration of capitalism in the Soviet Union and other socialist states, and pointed out clearly that in socialist society classes and class struggle still exist, and the possibility also exists of a restoration of capitalism and the transformation of the dictatorship of the proletariat into bourgeois dictatorship.

"The purpose of China's great proletarian cultural revolution is to solve fundamentally and completely the contradictions between the two classes, the proletariat and the bourgeoisie, and between the two roads, socialist and capitalist. This is a great and arduous struggle, not only affecting the destiny and future of China but also determining whether or not we shall achieve victory in our struggle against U.S. aggression and for national salvation, whether or not the cause of the proletariat throughout the world can continue to advance. Therefore, whether or not one is willing to squarely face the real objective and significance of this great revolution in China and whether one resolutely supports or opposes this revolution constitute a yardstick for telling a genuine revolutionary from a pseudo-revolutionary."

The article also says: "Imperialism headed by the United States, modern revisionism with the C.P.S.U. leading clique as its centre, and all kinds of reactionaries throughout the world are now hysterically slandering and attacking China's great proletarian cultural revolution and the Red Guards. They even went so far as to viciously attack Chairman Mao, the great leader of China's and the world's revolutionary movements of our time, and Mao Tse-tung's thought.

"Our people and the revolutionary people of the world are not at all surprised at such shameless slanders and attacks by imperialism and modern revisionism, for the two have formed a 'Holy Alliance' and are the mortal

enemy not only of the Chinese people but also of the Vietnamese people and all revolutionary people in the world.

"Imperialism and modern revisionism insolently slander and attack China's great cultural revolution, alleging that it is terrible. But we unreservedly support and enthusiastically acclaim China's great cultural revolution, declaring that it is fine. We say that it is fine because it thoroughly eradicates the social base giving rise to revisionism, prevents a capitalist restoration in China and further consolidates the dictatorship of the proletariat and the socialist system in China. Its success will facilitate the transition to communism in China and will greatly speed the historical progress of our people's cause against U.S. aggression and for national salvation and of the cause of proletarian revolution in the world. This is a great, historic contribution by Chairman Mao, the great leader of the people of China and the world."

"That imperialism and modern revisionism bitterly hate and vilify Chairman Mao and his thought is no surprise to us," says the article. "Ever since the leading clique of the C.P.S.U. completely betrayed Marxism-Leninism and degenerated into despicable revisionists, it is Chairman Mao who has been holding aloft the revolutionary banner of opposition to imperialism and modern revisionism and defending Marxism-Leninism and the proletarian revolution. Chairman Mao has become the greatest revolutionary standard-bearer leading the Chinese people and the revolutionary people of the world in the bitter struggle against imperialism and revisionism. He is the greatest proletarian revolutionary of the present era, the great Lenin of the era in which capitalism is heading for complete destruction and socialism is gaining worldwide victory. Mao Tse-tung's thought is the beacon for the proletarian revolution in our time. This is a fact acknowledged by all revolutionary people in the world.

"The Vietnamese people, who have long suffered from imperialist oppression and exploitation, have gained, through their exceedingly arduous struggles, a deep understanding of the great guiding role of Mao Tse-tung's thought, especially his great thought on people's war, in their resistance to French aggression and their present struggle against U.S. aggression and for national salvation."

"Mankind is fortunate to have Mao Tse-tung at a time when Marxism-Leninism is threatened with



emasculatation, the international communist movement is threatened with collapse, the proletarian revolution has been gravely undermined, the national-liberation struggles in various countries have met with bloody suppression by imperialism and our cause against U.S. aggression and for national salvation is threatened with betrayal, all of this because of the betrayal by the C.P.S.U. leading clique. It is the great Mao Tse-tung who has defended the essence of Marxism-Leninism against emasculatation, who has saved the international communist movement from collapse, who has taken up the heavy task of the proletarian revolution and prevented it from being undermined, who has rescued the national-liberation struggles from being strangled, and who, by exploding every type of 'peace talks' scheme, has pre-

vented a sell-out of our cause of resisting U.S. aggression and saving the country."

The article says in conclusion: "Chairman Mao is worthy of the name of the great teacher, great leader, great supreme commander and great helmsman of the proletariat and revolutionary people of the whole world in the nineteen sixties. Together with the revolutionary people of the world, we, the Vietnamese people, feel it a great honour and a great happiness to have Mao Tse-tung, the great Lenin of our time. We wholeheartedly wish long life to Chairman Mao, the greatest teacher, leader, supreme commander and helmsman of our time, hoping that he will lead us in realizing the loftiest ideal of mankind — a communist society without exploitation and oppression of man by man."

# A Great Victory for Mao Tse-tung's Thought

— The world's revolutionary people hail Chinese proletarian revolutionaries' struggle to seize power from a handful of persons in the Party who are in authority and taking the capitalist road

**U**NDER the personal leadership of the great teacher, great leader, great supreme commander and great helmsman Chairman Mao, China's great proletarian cultural revolution, the broadest, most profound and largest revolutionary mass movement in world history, is entering a new stage of winning decisive victory.

China's proletarian revolutionaries are closing their ranks and, forming an irresistible torrent of the great proletarian cultural revolution, are launching a fierce general offensive against a handful of persons in the Party who are in authority and taking the capitalist road: they are carrying out the struggle for the seizure of power. The revolutionary people of the whole world are encouraged and inspired by the excellent situation in China which is seething with enthusiasm.

Kei Jinguji, managing director of the Yamanashi Prefectural Headquarters of the Japan-China Friendship Association (orthodox), said that the outstanding feature of China's great proletarian cultural revolution at the present stage is the great alliance of the proletarian revolutionaries to seize power from the handful of Party people in authority taking the capitalist road. This is a life-and-death struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie.

The current seizure of power is effected from below by the mass movement called for and supported by Chairman Mao, he continued. This testifies to Chairman Mao's full confidence in the revolutionary masses. This struggle, he said, demonstrates Chairman Mao's famous thesis that "the people, and the people alone, are the motive force in the making of world history."

Kei Jinguji pointed out that the Chinese proletarian revolutionaries' seizure of power from a handful of Party people in authority taking the capitalist road is intended to establish completely new organs of power that are full of vitality and suit the socialist economic base. This is a major development of Marxism-Leninism by Chairman Mao, he said. It shows that Mao Tse-tung's thought has developed to a completely new stage.

An activist in the Japan-China friendship movement living in Mitaka City, Tokyo, said: "The great alliance of China's proletarian revolutionaries and their seizure of power from the Party people in authority taking the capitalist road is a necessary law of the development of class struggle and a great victory of Mao Tse-tung's thought. This seizure of power from below has opened a new era in the history of international proletarian revolution and international proletarian dictatorship."

Referring to the great international significance of the struggle to seize power, this activist pointed out that this struggle launched by China's proletarian revolutionaries under the guidance of Mao Tse-tung's thought not only guaranteed raising China's socialist revolution to a higher stage, but also encouraged the struggle of the revolutionary people of the world, especially the masses of the Japanese people in their struggle for national liberation.

He said: "This great struggle has given a telling blow to U.S. imperialism, the reactionaries of various countries, the Soviet modern revisionists and their old

and new followers. It has dealt a fatal blow to the treason of the so-called 'Party of the entire people' and 'state of the whole people' peddled by the Khrushchov revisionists who wear the mask of a 'Leninist Party.'

He said that the struggle to seize power by China's proletarian revolutionaries shows that Chairman Mao has creatively developed the Marxist-Leninist theory on proletarian dictatorship and has added a new weapon to the arsenal of Marxism-Leninism.

A member of the "Mao Tse-tung's Thought Research Group" in Osaka said that the struggle to seize power by the proletarian revolutionaries in the cultural revolution going on in China has greatly enriched and developed the experiences of the Paris Commune and the Great October Socialist Revolution, and has made new contributions to the liberation of mankind.

A Burmese literary worker in a recent article full of revolutionary fervour pointed out that the revolutionary people of the world hail the new, great, decisive upsurge in China's great proletarian cultural revolution. Let us beat drums and gongs and blow trumpets to honour the revolutionary rebel workers, peasants and other working people of China who have plunged triumphantly into the great proletarian cultural revolution with the force of an avalanche, he said.

"We are fully convinced," he said, "that under the guidance of Mao Tse-tung's thought and his personal leadership, the proletarian rebels will unite with the masses of the revolutionary people of China and overcome all obstacles put up by the bourgeoisie and win glorious victory in this revolution that will make China for ever red and radiate red rays throughout the world."

A group of Burmese workers in a joint letter to Chinese friends said: "At present, the proletarian revolutionary rebel organizations in China, responding to the call of Chairman Mao, are fiercely firing at a handful of persons in authority in the Party who are taking the capitalist road. The proletariat and the masses of working people in Shanghai and Shansi have seized back the seal of power and have become their own masters. This is a great victory of the proletarian revolutionary line represented by Chairman Mao and a great victory of the invincible thought of Mao Tse-tung. This is something for us and the oppressed people of the world to imitate, learn from and be proud of."

One Pakistan friend said that seizing power by the Chinese proletarian revolutionaries in alliance with the Chinese People's Liberation Army and revolutionary leading cadres was the best and most thorough answer to the usurpation of state power by the counter-revolutionary revisionists. It was of tremendous significance as a guide not only to China's great proletarian cultural revolution but also to all countries and Communist Parties in which modern revisionism has emerged or become dominant.

"Chairman Mao Tse-tung has enriched the theory and practice of Marxism-Leninism on how to persist in proletarian revolution and proletarian dictatorship in

a socialist society by calling on the Chinese proletarian revolutionaries to unite and seize power," he pointed out.

"This is a new historic contribution of Mao Tse-tung's thought on the question of how to prevent and combat modern revisionism in a socialist country," he added.

A social worker in Rawalpindi said that the Soviet revisionist ruling clique was panic-stricken by the Chinese proletarian revolutionaries' great struggle to seize power. The Soviet revisionists fear that this revolutionary move by the Chinese people will touch off a revolt of the Soviet revolutionary people against their revisionist rule, he noted. This is why the Soviet revisionist ruling clique, in order to maintain their power, are now desperately collaborating with the U.S. imperialists in spreading worthless slanders against China's great cultural revolution.

The Singapore paper *People's Tribune* pointed out: "The Chinese people have taken to task, one by one, the representatives of the bourgeoisie, the careerists and intriguers hidden in the revolutionary ranks, exposed their anti-socialist features to the broad light of day, dismissed them from their offices and seized power from them. This is an excellent thing over which the revolutionary people of the whole world rejoice."

Nimrod Sejake, Representative of the Pan-Africanist Congress of Azania (South Africa), in a recent letter to a Hsinhua correspondent, praised the great victory won by the Chinese proletarian revolutionaries in their joint seizure of power through the "three-in-one" combination. "While the oppressed and exploited peoples of the world received this news with jubilation, the imperialists, colonialists, neo-colonialists, and the modern revisionists and their flunkies were disheartened." The letter added that the joint seizure of power through the "three-in-one" combination ensures that all power will be exercised still more properly and that the great proletarian cultural revolution will be carried through to the end.

A Sudanese student named Karim said that the seizure of power by proletarian revolutionaries in Shanghai and other places in China from a handful of Party people in authority taking the capitalist road is a fresh triumph of Mao Tse-tung's thought and "a new victory marking a new stage in the great proletarian cultural revolution."

He said that the proletarian revolutionaries' seizure of power from a handful of Party people in authority taking the capitalist road provides a new guarantee that China will remain red for ever. "This is a hard blow at the U.S. imperialists and Soviet revisionists who are dreaming of bringing about a capitalist come-back in China," he added.

Farouk, another Sudanese student, said that it was a very fine thing that the Chinese proletarian revolutionaries were seizing power from those who had become obstacles to the advance of the revolution.

## Indonesian Government Condemned for Sabotaging China's Bringing Back Victimized Chinese

A responsible member of the Commission for Overseas Chinese Affairs, in a statement to the Hsinhua News Agency on March 29, strongly condemned the Indonesian Government for obstructing the Chinese Government in sending a ship for the fourth time to bring back victimized Chinese nationals who wished to return to their motherland. As a result of such obstruction, the ship the Chinese Government was sending was unable to sail. The Indonesian Government must be held fully responsible for all the consequences arising therefrom.

On each of the three previous occasions when China sent a ship to Medan for victimized Chinese, the responsible member pointed out, the Indonesian reactionaries had made trouble but had failed ignominiously. This time, the Indonesian reactionaries deliberately obstructed proceedings by unreasonably putting restrictions on the number of visas they would issue for members of the group in charge of bringing back the victimized Chinese.

The responsible member stressed that the Indonesian reactionary ruling clique was a faithful lap-dog fed by U.S. imperialism and openly petted by Soviet revisionism. The Indonesian Government's frenzied anti-China and anti-Chinese activities had been carried out specifically for the needs of U.S. imperialism and Soviet revisionism in their joint anti-China activities. At the same time, owing to the ever sharpening class contradictions at home, the Indonesian reactionaries, after usurping political power, had done their utmost to launch an anti-China and anti-Chinese adverse current in order to shift the target of the domestic struggle and to attempt to sever connec-

tions between the overseas Chinese and the Indonesian people.

The anti-China and anti-Chinese activities of the Indonesian Government have not only seriously trampled underfoot the legitimate rights of the overseas Chinese but have also greatly damaged the interests of the Indonesian people, causing serious difficulties to the Indonesian economy. At present, discontent is mounting among the Indonesian people who are standing ever closer to the toiling overseas Chinese. **It is exactly as Chairman Mao has said: "Lifting a rock only to drop it on one's own feet" is a Chinese folk saying to describe the behaviour of certain fools. The reactionaries in all countries are fools of this kind."**

## Red Guards Explode TASS Lie

**T**ASS, the official mouthpiece of Soviet revisionism, in a dispatch on March 27 made up the lie that the Red Guards of the Ching Kang Mountains Corps of Tsinghua University "had detained a car with Soviet diplomats" for six and a half hours on Peking's western outskirts and "tried to overturn the car into a roadside ditch." *Renmin Ribao* published an article on April 1 by the Red Guards concerned, sternly refuting the falsehood spread by TASS.

At three o'clock on the afternoon of March 26, on the road to Yuchuan-shan in Peking's western suburbs, a black car, in violation of traffic regulations, overtook a vehicle on the inside and hit and damaged a jeep which was just turning off the road. The black car tried to make off when four Red Guards of the Ching Kang Mountains Corps of Tsinghua University who were passing by went up to ask the foreigners in the car what their nationality was, and demanded that they apologize for the mishap. The foreigners refused to answer but, instead, put their car into gear and tried to drive through the crowd which had gathered. Even more in-

tolerable was the fact that they yelled at the Red Guards saying, "Do you want money? We have money, we have money," while throwing sweets from the car in a deliberate insult.

When the traffic police arrived to investigate, the foreigners turned out to be Borisov, second secretary of the Soviet Embassy, and other members of the embassy staff. Following the usual procedure, the traffic police drew a chart of the spot where the incident occurred and asked the Soviet diplomats to sign it. But the latter procrastinated for more than six hours before they finally admitted their responsibility and signed. The article by the Red Guards said: For their violation of traffic rules and collision with another vehicle on Chinese soil, what the Chinese Red Guards demanded of the diplomats of Soviet revisionism was that they should apologize and what the traffic police demanded of them was that they should sign an on-the-spot investigation chart. Weren't these the minimum requirements? "Gone are the days," the article added, "when the imperialists could do as they liked and swagger about on Chinese territory. Aren't the Soviet revisionist diplomats day-dreaming that they should put on the superior airs of the imperialists of bygone years in front of the Chinese people today?"

TASS had distorted the facts and fabricated lies with the despicable aim of hoodwinking the Soviet people, fanning up anti-China sentiments and undermining the friendship between the Chinese and Soviet peoples. The article said: "The Chinese people and Red Guards are friendly to the Soviet people. What we oppose is only a handful of out-and-out renegades and scabs, that is, the Soviet revisionist leading clique which has betrayed the great Lenin and the great Soviet people. The Soviet people will ultimately see through their schemes aimed at sowing discord between the Chinese and Soviet peoples."



# ROUND THE WORLD

## "U.N. MISSION" IN SOUTH YEMEN

### Anglo-U.S. Imperialist Trick

On instructions from Washington and London, a "U.N. mission" arrived in Aden on April 2 for "unofficial consultations" to help establish a "caretaker government" and "supervise the elections." This is part of a joint Anglo-American neo-colonialist plot of "feigning a retreat to stage another onslaught."

With a garrison of 18,000, Aden is one of Britain's biggest overseas bases and is a stronghold protecting British colonial interests in the Middle East, East Africa and the regions east of Suez. To hang on to Aden and South Yemen as a whole, British imperialism has employed both "tough" and "soft" tactics — ranging from bloody massacre to political deception in the form of "granting independence."

All this has failed in its purpose. The anti-imperialist armed struggle has continued and grown in scale. Besides the numerous guerrilla groups, a national liberation army is being built up. Fighting now goes on in 16 sectors as against 12 last year. The nationalists not only strike at the enemy in the outlying "Aden Protectorate" but also spring raids on heavily guarded Aden.

In the cities also there has been unprecedented growth of the anti-imperialist mass movement. In the past two months and more, three general strikes and large-scale demonstrations have been held, involving thousands upon thousands of workers, employees, students and shop-keepers. The arrival of the "U.N. mission" in Aden touched off still another general strike. When British colonial troops opened fire on them, the demonstrators hurled hand-grenades and shot at their oppressors from the rooftops.

The British imperialists, no longer able to carry on in the old way, now work hand in glove with the U.S. imperialists using neo-colonialist tac-

tics to preserve their grip on the southern part of the Arabian Peninsula. Having declared that South Yemen would be "granted independence" in 1968, they are now trying to keep their troops there under the name of "U.N. peace-keeping forces."

However, the South Yemeni people, with three years of armed struggle behind them, will not be fooled. They see with increasing clarity that the U.N. is a tool of U.S. imperialism, and the "U.N. peace-keeping forces" are but a special international gendarmerie which the United States and the Soviet Union together use to quell the anti-imperialist struggles in Asia, Africa and Latin America. Abdul Qawee Mackawee, Secretary-General of the Front for the Liberation of Occupied South Yemen, recently declared, "The United Nations is an instrument of aggression of Western imperialism. Britain hopes to use the United Nations to preserve its colonial interests in South Yemen. This is only a pipe dream. We will never permit the repetition of the 1960 Congolese (L) tragedy in South Yemen."

## "REFERENDUM" IN SOMALI COAST

### Stiff Popular Resistance

By their powerful resistance to the French-engineered "referendum" the people of Somali Coast (French Somaliland) have made it a dismal failure. The French colonialists resorted to the hoax hoping that it would help them maintain their tottering tyrannical rule. It has only made the opposition to them stronger still.

When de Gaulle toured the Somali Coast last September, he promised the local people that they could freely decide their

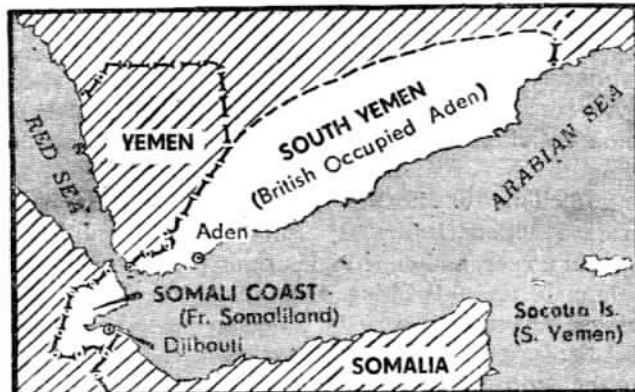
future. But this was soon followed by the large-scale deportation of lawful citizens. Leaders who stood for independence were arrested and there was no freedom of speech. Thousands were imprisoned in special camps.

In defiance of armed intimidation, the people put up a fight against the fake "referendum" which took place on March 19. On March 20, when Djibouti's shops were closed in protest, demonstrators fought fiercely with the French colonial troops.

For several days on end, the French colonialists savagely suppressed the demonstrators, even using helicopters to attack them with bombs. Many were killed or wounded. In addition to the French garrison of 6,000, several hundred paratroopers were flown from France to launch surprise attacks against the local population. Thousands were arrested and sent to desert detention areas.

Known for their tradition of courageous struggle, the people of Somali Coast have not been daunted by the ruthless French suppression. They are fighting back on an even bigger scale. A general strike in Djibouti on March 23 paralysed the port and the colonial authorities are now in great difficulties.

On March 21, the Somali Government issued a statement declaring the "referendum" invalid and supporting the struggle of the Somali Coast nationalists. Prior to that, a mammoth demonstration was held in the capital, Mogadishu. The paraders marched to both the French and American embassies where they roared slogans against imperialism.



(Continued from p. 22.)

won the highest praise from our most respected and beloved great leader Chairman Mao. But the top Party person in authority taking the capitalist road dares to oppose Chairman Mao by actively advocating the development of a capitalist economy in the countryside. Protected by his counter-revolutionary revisionist line, a handful of Party people in authority taking the capitalist road used every means to oppose Tachai, scheming to tear down this red banner personally hoisted up by Chairman Mao and pave the way for the restoration of capitalism in the countryside." "The article in *Hongqi*," continued Chen Yung-kuei, "is really good. It has peeled off the mask of a 'veteran revolutionary' from the top Party person in authority taking the capitalist road, and has greatly raised the fighting spirit of us proletarian revolutionaries and punched a hole in the arrogance of the handful of Party people in authority taking the capitalist road."

**Shantung.** The 3rd Plenary Session of the Shantung Provincial Revolutionary Committee which ended on April 2 issued a call to proletarian revolutionaries throughout the province. This call asked them to take emergency action against the top Party person in authority taking the capitalist road, thoroughly smash the class enemy's plot for a counter-revolutionary restoration, and consolidate and develop the victory in the struggle to seize power. The Revolutionary Committee called on proletarian revolutionaries never to let their guard down because of victory, but to hold high the revolutionary banner of criticism and repudiation, courageously go into battle, thoroughly criticize and eradicate all poisonous influences of the bourgeois reactionary line represented by the top Party person in authority taking the capitalist road in all its aspects, and completely smash the adverse current of a bourgeois counter-revolutionary restoration.

**Kweiyang.** A rally and parade by proletarian revolutionaries in the Kweiyang area, which took place on April 2, angrily denounced the heinous crimes of the top Party person in authority taking the capitalist road.

At the rally, Chi Hsiu, a standing committee member of the Kweichow Provincial Revolutionary Committee, stressed the fact that a handful of Party people in authority taking the capitalist road in Kweichow Province has ignored Chairman Mao's instructions for a long time and only followed the reactionary instructions of their "venerable master" — the top Party person in authority taking the capitalist road. Closely collaborating with each other, they have actively promoted counter-revolutionary revisionism in Kweichow in a vain attempt to turn it into the rear base for a capitalist restoration. If their schemes are allowed to succeed, our country will change colour.

Over 4,000 representatives of the 15 million revolutionary peasants in the province belonging to various nationalities joined in the rally and demonstration. They were in Kweiyang to take part in the Representative Conference of Poor and Lower-Middle Peasants in Kweichow Province. Young commune peasant Mo Wen-kuang, a member of the Miao nationality, said: "The mountains, however high, cannot hide the sun. The great leader Chairman Mao is the reddest red sun in the hearts of us Miao people. We will steadfastly follow the direction pointed out by Chairman Mao, resolutely take the socialist road and consolidate the collective economy. We will certainly overthrow anyone who dares to oppose Chairman Mao and Mao Tse-tung's thought!"

In the past few days, the *Renmin Ribao* and other papers throughout the country have also carried many articles by workers, peasants, soldiers and revolutionary cadres criticizing and repudiating the top Party person in authority taking the capitalist road.

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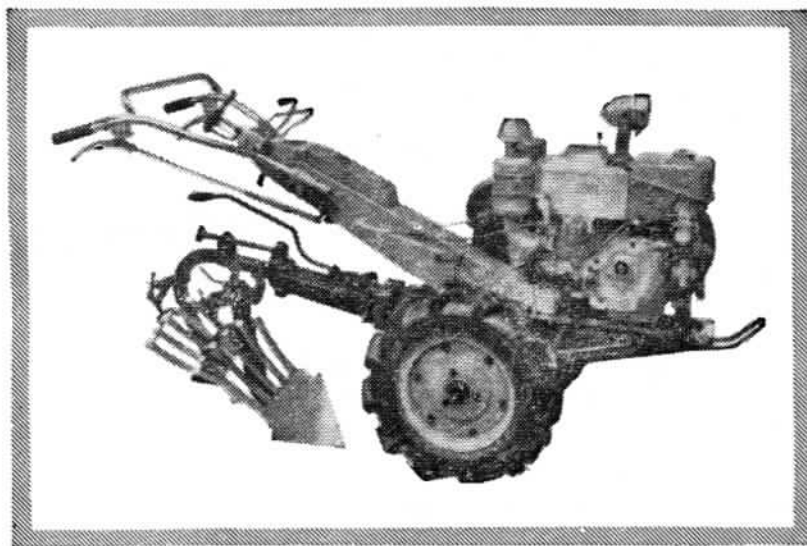
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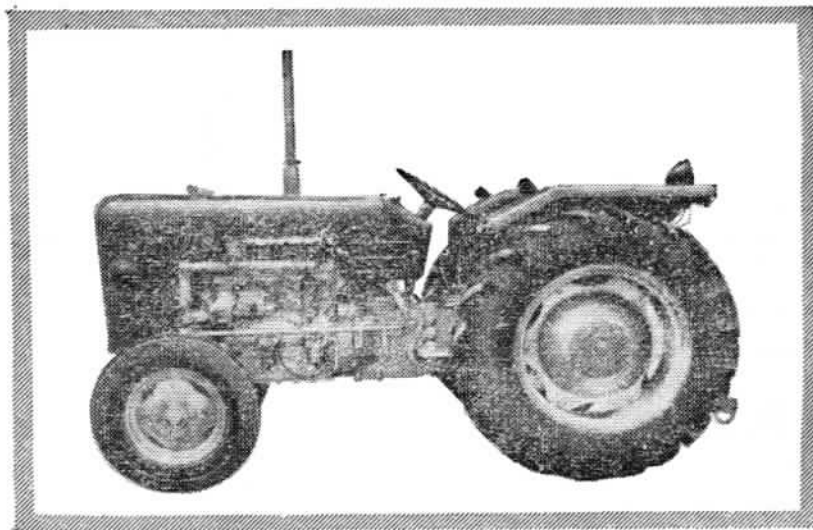
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