

# PEKING REVIEW

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## Hold High the Revolutionary Banner of Criticism and Bring About a Revolutionary Great Alliance

*Renmin Ribao* editorial.

### Growing Mass Movement to Criticize And Repudiate the Book on "Self-Cultivation" of Communists

*Evidence of the Crime of the No. 1 Party  
Person in Authority Taking the Capitalist  
Road in Advocating the System of  
Capitalist Exploitation*

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Chairman Mao Tse-tung

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

# QUOTATIONS FROM CHAIRMAN MAO TSE-TUNG

Everything reactionary is the same; if you don't hit it, it won't fall. This is also like sweeping the floor; as a rule, where the broom does not reach, the dust will not vanish of itself.

*The Situation and Our Policy After  
the Victory in the War of Resistance  
Against Japan*

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When the people overthrew the rule of imperialism, feudalism and bureaucrat-capitalism, . . . to which way China should head — towards capitalism or towards socialism. Facts have now provided the answer: only socialism can save China.

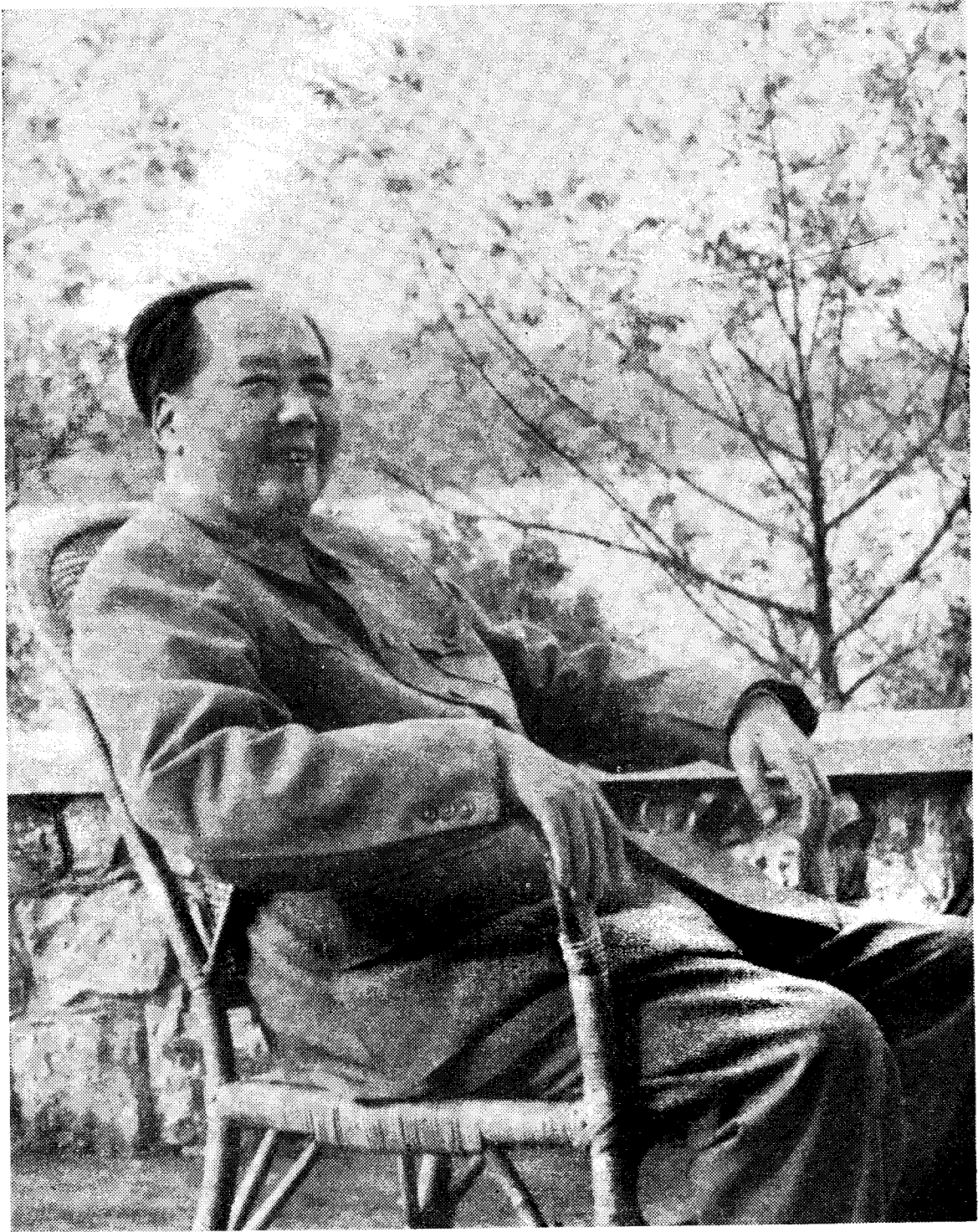
*On the Correct Handling of Contradictions Among the People*

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The revisionists deny the differences between socialism and capitalism, between the dictatorship of the proletariat and the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie. What they advocate is in fact not the socialist line but the capitalist line.

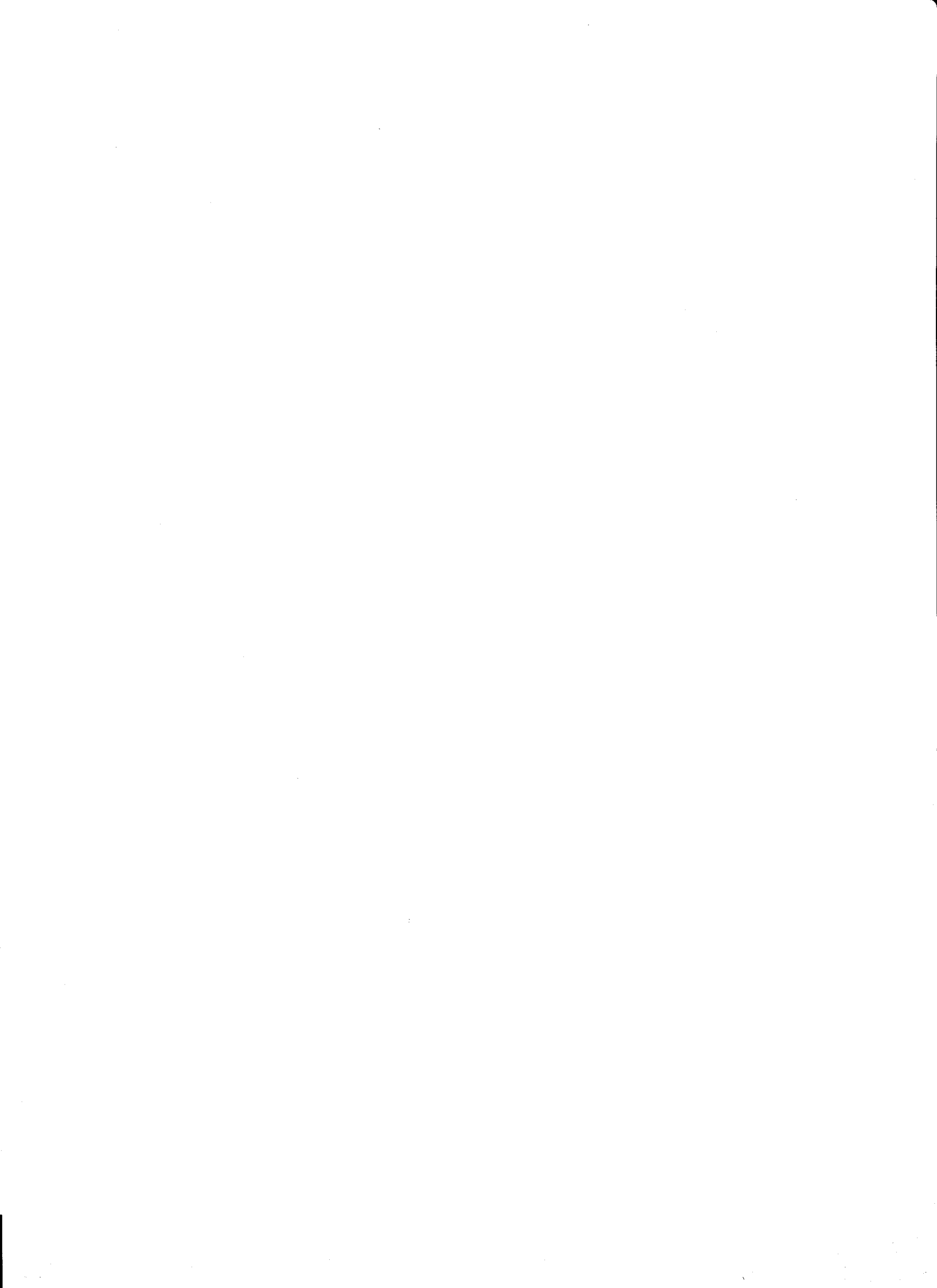
*Speech at the Chinese Communist  
Party's National Conference on  
Propaganda Work*





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## Central Committee of C.P.C. Sends Regards to Comrade Grippa

**T**HE Central Committee of the Communist Party of China on April 12 sent a message to the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Belgium, conveying its sincere regards to Comrade Jacques Grippa and the other comrades who were unjustifiably arrested by the reactionary authorities during an anti-U.S. demonstration by the Belgian people on April 8, and expressing its strong protest against the fascist outrage by the Belgian authorities. The message reads:

"Upon learning of the unjustifiable arrest of Comrade Jacques Grippa and other comrades by the reactionary authorities during an anti-U.S. demonstration by the Belgian people on April 8, we, in the name of the Chinese Communist Party and the Chinese people, express our strong protest against this fascist outrage by the Belgian authorities and our sincere regards to Comrade

Jacques Grippa and the other comrades.

**"Comrade Mao Tse-tung has said: 'People of the world, unite and defeat the U.S. aggressors and all their running dogs! People of the world, be courageous, dare to fight, defy difficulties and advance wave upon wave. Then the whole world will belong to the people. Monsters of all kinds shall be destroyed.'** We shall always hold high the great red banner of Mao Tse-tung's thought and, together with the people of Belgium and the rest of the world, carry through to the end the struggle against U.S. imperialism and its accomplice, Soviet modern revisionism, and against all the reactionaries!

**"Long live proletarian internationalism!**

**"Long live Marxism-Leninism, Mao Tse-tung's thought!**

**"Long live the great unity of the people of the world!"**

### Kang Sheng Fetes Two Swedish Marxist-Leninists

Comrade Kang Sheng, Member of the Standing Committee of the Political Bureau of the Chinese Communist Party's Central Committee, on April 15 received and had a cordial talk with Comrades Nils Gosta Holmberg and Frank Baude, two visiting Swedish Marxist-Leninists. Comrade Kang Sheng gave a banquet in their honour.

### Fresh Aggression by Indian Troops Protested

The Chinese Foreign Ministry on April 11 sent a note to the Indian Embassy in China, strongly protesting against the fresh aggression and provocation against China committed recently by Indian troops who crossed the China-Sikkim boundary and surreptitiously put up false border

markers on the Chinese side of the boundary.

Indian troops recently constructed seven stone piles, each over a metre high, on the Chinese side of Kailu La on the China-Sikkim boundary and demolished a Mani pile at Kailu La, which was regarded as a traditional boundary mark by the border inhabitants of both countries. These seven stone piles, clandestinely erected by the Indian troops, go well beyond the original Mani pile into Chinese territory. It is perfectly clear that this action by the Indian troops is a vain attempt to unilaterally alter the China-Sikkim boundary and thereby create new tension along the border and sabotage the friendship between China and Sikkim.

The note said: "The boundary between China and Sikkim has long been formally delimited, and there is neither any discrepancy between the maps nor any disputes in practice.

This has been recognized by the Indian Government as well. However, acting contrary to what it has said, the Indian Government has continually made use of Sikkim territory to commit acts of aggression against China." Recalling the fact that in September 1965 Indian troops, ordered by the Chinese Government, had levelled within a set time limit part of their military structures for aggression built on Chinese territory and scampered away, the note added: "But now, only a year and a half later, the Indian Government is reverting to its former practice. It is conducting fresh aggression and provocation against China by resorting to a new manoeuvre of surreptitiously erecting boundary marks across the boundary on Chinese territory. What is the purpose of this?"

"The Indian Government," the note said, "is finding it harder and harder to get along. It urgently needs to divert the attention of the Indian people and to beg for alms from U.S. imperialism and Soviet modern revisionism by further hiring itself out to them. And now, out of their fear and hatred of the great Chinese proletarian cultural revolution, U.S. imperialism and Soviet modern revisionism are plotting to stir up a new anti-Chinese wave in the world. It is under these circumstances that the newly formed Indian Congress government raised an anti-China hue and cry as soon as it assumed office."

After citing the repeated vilifications against China made by Indian President Radhakrishnan, Prime Minister Indira Gandhi, Minister for External Affairs Chagla and Minister of Defence Swaran Singh of the newly formed Indian Government, the note said: "When these facts are viewed together, is it not clear what is the purpose of the recent provocative activities conducted by the Indian troops along the China-Sikkim border?"

The note said in conclusion: "The Chinese Government must tell the Indian Government in all seriousness:

*(Continued on p. 20.)*

# Hold High the Revolutionary Banner Of Criticism and Bring About a Revolutionary Great Alliance

ON April 13 this paper [*Renmin Ribao*] carried a report on how the young revolutionary fighters of the Shanghai No. 6 Girls' Secondary School brought about a revolutionary great alliance in that school in the course of the mass criticism and repudiation of and struggle against the No. 1 Party person in authority taking the capitalist road and the bourgeois reactionary line represented by him. At the same time, we reprinted the editorial of the Shanghai paper, the *Wenhui Bao*, entitled "More on the Promotion of a Great Alliance Through Mass Criticism and Repudiation." This news dispatch and editorial brought up an extremely important question in the present stage of the great proletarian cultural revolution.

The experience of the Shanghai No. 6 Girls' Secondary School and the *Wenhui Bao* editorial show that to bring about a revolutionary great alliance through revolutionary mass criticism and repudiation and to seize power from a handful of Party persons in authority taking the capitalist road represent the general orientation of the revolutionary struggle at the present time. The bourgeois reactionary line is today's main obstacle to the formation of an alliance of proletarian revolutionaries. In order to criticize and repudiate this line, the spearhead must be directed at the No. 1 Party person in authority taking the capitalist road, and at the same time we must closely link this struggle with the tasks of struggle, criticism, repudiation and transformation\* in the localities, departments and units, and bring about a revolutionary great alliance through joint struggle. We hold that these principles are correct and universally applicable.

To unite the great majority of the masses and cadres and to concentrate efforts to attack a handful of Party persons in authority taking the capitalist road are important guiding ideas of the proletarian revolutionary line represented by Chairman Mao. However, the bourgeois reactionary line represented by the No. 1

\* The tasks of struggle, criticism, repudiation and transformation refer to the struggle against and the overthrow of those persons in authority taking the capitalist road; criticism and repudiation of the reactionary bourgeois academic "authorities" and the ideology of the bourgeoisie and of all other exploiting classes; and transformation of education, art and literature and all other parts of the superstructure not in correspondence with the socialist economic base.

Party person in authority taking the capitalist road is diametrically opposed to this. Its advocates direct the struggle at the masses and create serious antagonisms among them. On the question of cadres, they carry out the reactionary policy of "hitting hard at many in order to protect a handful." Their aim is to shield a handful of counter-revolutionary revisionists, maintain their reactionary rule and conspire to bring about a capitalist restoration.

Therefore, we must firmly adhere to the general orientation of the struggle, and expose, criticize, repudiate and struggle energetically against the No. 1 Party person in authority taking the capitalist road, against a handful of Party persons in authority taking the capitalist road in our localities, departments and units, and against the bourgeois reactionary line which they persist in carrying out. If we take as the main target of our struggle the masses who have been hoodwinked by the bourgeois reactionary line, then we will let the real enemy slip away. This will hinder the forging of the revolutionary great alliance, divert and weaken our criticism of the No. 1 Party person in authority taking the capitalist road and of a handful of counter-revolutionary revisionists. We should never do this.

It must be pointed out that the great alliance we talk about is a revolutionary great alliance, one which adheres to Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line, and engages in the common struggle to criticize and repudiate a handful of Party persons in authority taking the capitalist road. It is not a hotch-potch of proletarian revolutionary organizations on the one hand and conservative organizations which persist in the bourgeois reactionary line on the other. However, in dealing with the masses who joined conservative organizations, proletarian revolutionaries should act according to Chairman Mao's instructions concerning the correct handling of contradictions among the people, use the formula of **unity — criticism — unity** and patiently help them. We should win them over and educate them in the course of the struggle to accuse, criticize and repudiate the No. 1 Party person in authority taking the capitalist road and the handful of counter-revolutionary revisionists, so that they will realize that they themselves are victims of the bourgeois reactionary line and so that they will rise to rebel against their conservative organizations, completely break with the bourgeois

# Evidence of the Crime of the No. 1 Party Person in Authority Taking the Capitalist Road in Advocating The System of Capitalist Exploitation

A report on the visit of the No. 1 Party person in authority taking the capitalist road in April 1949 to the privately owned Tungya Woollen Textile Mill in Tientsin (now the No. 3 Woollen Textile Mill of the Tientsin Municipality)

by Staff Members of the "Renmin Ribao" Editorial Department

**"Renmin Ribao" editor's note:** Reading this report, one can see that the No. 1 Party person in authority taking the capitalist road even went so far as to undisguisedly and shamelessly flatter and boost the bourgeoisie and laud the system of exploitation. This is a telling exposure of his bourgeois reactionary nature, a

telling exposure of his vain scheme to develop capitalism in China.

Our great leader Chairman Mao has pointed out: When the people overthrew the rule of imperialism, feudalism and bureaucrat-capitalism, . . . which way should China head — towards capitalism or towards so-

reactionary line and return to Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line. With regard to the very few leaders of the conservative organizations who stubbornly persist in their erroneous views, we should expose, criticize and repudiate them and isolate them from the masses. Reactionary organizations such as the "United Action Committee" should be resolutely attacked and thoroughly disintegrated, and their chief culprits must be punished according to law. Only in this way can we consolidate and expand the great alliance of proletarian revolutionaries.

Chairman Mao teaches us again and again: **We must work conscientiously to unite with all those who can be united. The proletariat must emancipate not only itself but also mankind as a whole. Without emancipating the whole of mankind the proletariat cannot finally emancipate itself.** At the moment we particularly must bear this great teaching of Chairman Mao's in mind.

It is necessary for the revolutionary great alliance to have a clear-cut stand, persist in struggle, acquire the prerequisites for success and pay attention to methods of work.

A clear-cut stand means that we must bring about the revolutionary great alliance on the principled basis of Mao Tse-tung's thought, use this invincible weapon to carry out the mass criticism and repudiation of the No. 1 Party person in authority taking the capitalist road and the bourgeois reactionary line represented by him, and establish the firm revolutionary Left as the core of leadership of the great alliance.

To persist in struggle means that we must bring about and promote the revolutionary great alliance in the course of the struggle against the No. 1 Party person in authority taking the capitalist road and a handful of

counter-revolutionary revisionists, and in the struggle to criticize and repudiate the bourgeois reactionary line.

To acquire the prerequisites for success means that the proletarian revolutionaries who uphold Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line must have the upper hand, and also the support and trust of the broad revolutionary masses.

To pay attention to methods of work means that we must make strenuous efforts to encourage, advise and give proper guidance to the masses to bring about a great alliance consciously and voluntarily. We cannot dissolve revolutionary mass organizations simply by means of administrative orders or amalgamate them by "combining two into one."

In the present mass criticism and repudiation, all those who were deceived and the cadres who have made mistakes must completely remove the poisonous effects on themselves of the bourgeois reactionary line. They must resolutely support the revolutionaries, learn from them and get close to them. If they have feelings of resentment and dissatisfaction towards the revolutionaries, they will be unable to correct their mistakes and, moreover, they could possibly be used as instruments for a capitalist come-back by a handful of Party people in authority taking the capitalist road.

Proletarian revolutionary fighters and revolutionary comrades, let us closely unite and advance along the victorious road of the proletarian cultural revolution under the great banner of Mao Tse-tung's thought and in the common struggle to carry out mass criticism and repudiation of the No. 1 Party person in authority taking the capitalist road and the bourgeois reactionary line represented by him!

("Renmin Ribao" editorial, April 15.)



cialism? Facts have now provided the answer: only socialism can save China.

*But the No. 1 Party person in authority taking the capitalist road acted against this. On the eve of the victory of China's democratic revolution, he went around crying his wares, singing the same tune as utterly reactionary big capitalists, doing his utmost to spread the idea that "exploitation has its merits" and scolding the workers, saying that "to rebel is not justified." His aim was to encourage the bourgeoisie to cruelly exploit the broad masses of workers, to lead China on to the capitalist road, pushing China back into the darkness of semi-colonial and semi-feudal society, driving the labouring masses back to a sub-human standard of life and so force history back a giant step.*

*"A tree may prefer the calm, but the wind will not subside." In class society, class struggle is an objective reality independent of man's will. Since the west wind of the class struggle waged by the bourgeoisie will not subside, and since the west wind of savage attack launched against us by the No. 1 Party person in authority taking the capitalist road will not subside, the proletariat should raise a powerful east wind to prevail over the west wind and overwhelm all its enemies; under the guidance of the great thought of Mao Tse-tung, it should organize mass criticism and repudiation of the No. 1 Party person in authority taking the capitalist road and the handful of counter-revolutionary revisionists and thoroughly refute, overthrow and completely discredit them.*

*Let us thoroughly expose the poison spread by this person in the political, economic, cultural and ideological fields, thoroughly criticize and repudiate the bourgeois reactionary line and make this movement of all-out criticism and repudiation a mighty force moving everything forward.*

On January 15, 1949, Tientsin was liberated.

On March 5, 1949, the Second Plenary Session of the Seventh Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party was convened in Hsipaipo Village, Ping-shan County, Hopei Province. Our great leader Chairman Mao in his report to the session pointed out in clear-cut terms to the entire Party and to the people throughout the country:

**"On whom shall we rely in our struggles in the cities? Some muddle-headed comrades think we should rely not on the working class but on the masses of the poor. Some comrades who are even more muddle-headed think we should rely on the bourgeoisie. As for the direction of industrial development, some muddle-headed comrades maintain that we should chiefly help the development of private enterprise and not state enterprise. . . . We must criticize these muddled views."**

**"Restriction versus opposition to restriction will be the main form of class struggle in the new-democratic**

**state. It is entirely wrong to think that at present we need not restrict capitalism and can discard the slogan of 'regulation of capital'; that is a Right opportunist view."**

The No. 1 Party person in authority taking the capitalist road, however, busily harped on an opposite tune. He campaigned as best he could for the development of capitalism in China.

On April 21, 1949, he paid a visit to the Tientsin Tungya Woollen Textile Mill as it was then called.

This mill was founded in 1932 with a capital of 230,000 yuan, of which 100,000 yuan had been invested by Han Fu-chu, at that time governor of Shantung Province and a big warlord. Soon after, the general manager of the mill Sung Fei-ching curried favour with China's biggest vampires, "the four big families," and succeeded in inducing H.H. Kung to invest in the mill. In 1936, the capital of the enterprise shot up from 230,000 yuan to 1 million yuan. In 1937, after Peiping [now Peking] was occupied by the Japanese invaders, Sung Fei-ching made a deal with the Peiping headquarters of the Japanese invading armies, undertaking to produce gunny sacks for military use. To step up production, nearly half the mill's capacity was devoted to this. In this way he became an accomplice of Japanese imperialism in its aggression against China. From then on, Sung Fei-ching devotedly served imperialism internationally and hung on to the coattails of the Kuomintang reactionaries at home. As the saying goes "a valet serving two masters, feeds his family from two kitchens." Politically Sung was exceedingly reactionary.

The mill was visited by a number of notable reactionary figures. Among them were:

Rear-Admiral Lodge of the U.S. imperialist marine corps;

John Leighton Stuart, U.S. imperialist ambassador to China;

E.A. Locke, Jr., private representative of U.S. imperialist chieftain President Truman;

Thomas Tien, a cardinal appointed by the Vatican;

H.H. Kung, minister of finance of the Chiang Kai-shek gang; and

Ku Cheng-kang, minister of social affairs of the Chiang Kai-shek gang.

Sung Fei-ching's reactionary arrogance swelled mightily when he heard that such a "big shot" as the No. 1 Party person in authority taking the capitalist road was going to Tientsin to call on capitalists. At a small discussion meeting called at the time by the Tientsin Municipal Committee of the Chinese Communist Party, he fiercely challenged the sponsors of the meeting and viciously attacked the Communist Party, saying: "Since the Communist Party advocates freedom of speech and freedom of religion, then I have the freedom not to believe in Marxism-Leninism and the freedom to oppose communism."

That No. 1 Party person in authority taking the capitalist road took quite a fancy to both the Tungya Woollen Textile Mill which exploited the workers so ruthlessly that it was known as "a civilized hell" and to that utterly reactionary big capitalist Sung Fei-ching. He invited Sung Fei-ching and other capitalists to a discussion and paid a special call on Sung at the Tungya Mill itself. On these occasions he brazenly declared "exploitation has its merits." He cried "to rebel is not justified" and shared Sung Fei-ching's "dream" of developing capitalism.

### Advocating "Exploitation Has Its Merits"

At the discussion forum, Sung Fei-ching harped on the same tune as in the past: "They [the workers] are poor in a small way, I am poor in a big way, and we all are poor. I have built factories and have fed so many workers, but in the end I am held to be an exploiter. I really don't know what is meant by exploitation."

The No. 1 Party person in authority taking the capitalist road replied: Mr. Sung, you do not understand the meaning of the two characters *po hsueh* (exploitation). *Po hsueh* is a translation of a foreign expression and it can be found in the Communists' dictionary, too. If you don't like the term, well, it can be changed! But in point of fact you are undertaking to feed workers. The more factories you build, the more workers you exploit, the better. At present, you are running a single factory and are exploiting one thousand people, but it would be even better if, in the future, you were to run ten factories and exploit ten or twenty thousand people.

He also said: "Exploitation by capitalists is a historical service, and no Communist will blot out the services performed by the capitalists. Curses are curses, but the services are still there. Of course there is also crime in it, but the service is great, while the crime is small. Today, capitalism in China is in its youth, and this is precisely the time to develop its historical, positive role, the time for it to perform its services. Efforts should be made promptly not to let the opportunity pass. Today, capitalist exploitation is legal, and the more of it the better. Dividends should be raised."

He also said: "Today, not only is capitalist exploitation not a crime, but, on the contrary, it has its merits. In casting aside feudal exploitation, capitalist exploitation has its progressive character. Today, the trouble is not too many factories built and too many workers exploited, but too few. The sufferings of the workers and peasants arise from their having no one to exploit them. If you are able to exploit more, you will be benefiting both the state and the people, and everybody will approve of it."

When someone mentioned the fact that Sung Fei-ching, with an eye to squeezing more blood and sweat from the workers, had issued stock to the workers and gone in for making workers and staff "share-holders,"

that No. 1 Party person in authority taking the capitalist road was full of praise and said: This is in the nature of a co-operative.

Finally, when Sung Fei-ching complained: "The workers go on strike and it is not easy to run the factory. Let it go out of business!" That person immediately consoled him and said: You should work well. Happiness is just beginning. There will always be a future for you even when communism arrives, and those who should ride in limousines will still ride in limousines. Perhaps then you will not be called a manager, but your status will remain the same.

### Clamouring "To Rebel Is Not Justified"

When the No. 1 Party person in authority taking the capitalist road visited the mill, the workers, just liberated from the depths of misery, were bitterly against cruel exploitation by the capitalists. Having heard some of the workers' views from the military representative in the mill, this No. 1 Party person in authority taking the capitalist road, in the presence of Sung Fei-ching, asked him contemptuously when he had joined the revolution and said that with regard to policy he should go in for quite a considerable bit of study to understand it. Soon after this, the military representative was transferred from the mill simply because he had spoken up for the workers.

Upon the strong demand of the workers, this No. 1 Party person in authority taking the capitalist road met for a very brief interview with the workers' representatives in the presence of Sung Fei-ching. The scene at the time of the meeting was like this: his wife, overcoat over her arm, stood on one side of him, while on the other stood a person holding a thermos flask for him. Behind him stood the portly capitalist.

Old workers recall that on that occasion this No. 1 Party person in authority taking the capitalist road told the workers that their status had now been raised. He added: In the old days you would not have been able to see a person like me! I rank at least second, if not first in China.

He said that the policy being carried out was one of benefiting both labour and capital. He urged the workers to do a good job in production and have confidence in Manager Sung because he was able to run the mill well.

In conclusion he warned the workers that they should not make trouble because the capitalists were not going to rebel and the workers should do what the company told them to.

### Sharing the Same "Dream" With the Capitalists

This visit filled Sung Fei-ching with "new hope and new life." On April 30 he sent a letter to this No. 1 Party person in authority taking the capitalist road which contained "My Dream" — his sinister plan for the development of capitalism.

"My Dream" was written in 1947. Sung Fei-ching planned according to this blue-print, to expand the original woollen mill into a trust consisting of woollen mills, hemp mills, chemical works, rayon factories, iron works and a printing house. To realize his ambition, he put forward a whole set of sinister measures such as the big Western bourgeoisie use to exploit the workers, including making workers and staff "share-holders," "specialization of workers" and "company towns," etc.

In this letter Sung Fei-ching set out in detail his plans of "adding a night shift," "buying more raw wool to increase production" and "preparing to build a second gunny sack mill." In conclusion, he said, "I hereby with respect present my outline for your learned consideration. In future, I shall report to you promptly how matters progress and seek your guidance."

Shortly afterwards, Sung Fei-ching received a reply from the No. 1 Party person in authority taking the capitalist road expressing high appreciation. The reply said, "I am very pleased to learn that in your company the employees and workers are united and that labour and capital are making joint efforts to expand production. I am also very pleased to hear your plan to build a new mill. I hope you will continue your efforts in accordance with the policy of giving due consideration to both public and private interests and benefiting both labour and capital. The future is bright. The resurgence of the country and nation is at hand."

Sung Fei-ching said: "My ideal of expanding the enterprise is a dream that I have had for many long years. It is coming true only today. For me this marks a turning-point from passive waiting to active development."

At that time, many law-breaking capitalists in Tientsin cast away their "worries." They felt as "great a satisfaction" as if they had got a "shot in the arm." They shouted in unison: "Long live new democracy!"

The No. 1 Party person in authority taking the capitalist road tried to develop capitalism in China by relying on bloodsuckers like Sung Fei-ching. This dream came to nothing. Sung Fei-ching soon afterwards cheated the state of about 4 million yuan, fled to Hongkong and finally died in South America.

Under the leadership of the great leader Chairman Mao, the Chinese people are marching with firm steps along the broad road of socialism. They will use poisonous weeds as fertilizer. The fact that the No. 1 Party person in authority taking the capitalist road and the big bloodsucker echo each other gives people yet another lesson in classes and class struggle and enables them to see more clearly the features of the No. 1 Party person in authority taking the capitalist road as one who has betrayed the revolution and the proletariat!

*(From "Renmin Ribao," April 15.)*

## **Top Party Person in Authority Taking the Capitalist Road Is Mortal Foe of Working Class**

**— Accusations by Revolutionary Workers and Cadres of the Tientsin No. 3 Woollen Textile Mill and P.L.A. Men Helping Industry There**

**R**EVOLUTIONARY workers and cadres of the Tientsin No. 3 Woollen Textile Mill and the P.L.A. cadres and fighters helping industry there, using the invincible thought of Mao Tse-tung as their weapon and out of their own personal experiences, sternly exposed and denounced the monstrous crimes of the top Party person in authority taking the capitalist road who visited the Tungya Woollen Textile Mill — the predecessor of the present mill — in 1949 and loudly championed the capitalist road. They angrily pointed out that what this Khrushchov of China loves is the bourgeoisie and what he hates is the proletariat. What he fosters is capitalism and what he opposes is socialism. He relies on the capitalists and attacks the workers. He advocates that "exploitation has its merits" and "to rebel

is not justified" and denies that "exploitation is a crime" and "to rebel is justified." He is on no account a "veteran revolutionary," but a pseudo-revolutionary, a counter-revolutionary!

Veteran worker Chai Wen-yu, who became a child-labourer for the capitalists at 15, said indignantly at a forum:

"In April 1949, when Tientsin had just been liberated, class struggle was very sharp and the top Party person in authority taking the capitalist road — he who bragged that he was 'if not the No. 1 at least the No. 2' 'important person' in China — came to 'inspect' our mill. As soon as he arrived, he went straight to the office of the big capitalist for a private conference.

When they had talked enough and showed their mutual love and respect enough, he came out, accompanied by the big capitalist, and haughtily received the representatives of the workers and the military representative. What's even more intolerable was that when the military representative exposed many facts about how this capitalist sabotaged production, cruelly exploited the workers and treacherously suppressed the workers' movement, this self-styled 'veteran revolutionary' gave the military representative a dressing-down on behalf of the capitalist! He also shamelessly fawned upon the capitalist, saying: You are providing the workers with a living; the more factories you build, the more workers you exploit, the better. Here spoke a real spokesman of the bourgeoisie!"

Team leader Chao Chi-ting of the spinning room, another veteran worker, said: "It's quite true that the top Party person in authority taking the capitalist road loves, thinks, and talks of nothing but capitalism. He and big capitalist Sung Fei-ching of our mill were as thick as thieves. Before liberation, this Sung had written an article called 'My Dream,' in which he said that his ambition was to 'develop' his factory, with about a thousand workers at that time, into ten big enterprises employing tens of thousands of workers, and that he aspired to build a satellite town in Tientsin's western suburbs named after him. What he wanted, of course, was to shut generation after generation of workers in it to be his slaves and be subjected to his exploitation."

"When the top Party person in authority taking the capitalist road discovered that they were brothers of the same 'dream,' he praised him greatly and told him to open up more and more factories. This person also said that when socialism arrives, the state will ask this capitalist to run 16 factories and will increase his salary. Sung Fei-ching, out of his mind with joy, said later: 'My ideal of expanding the enterprise is a dream that I've had for many long years. It is coming true only today!' A few days later, he wrote to that person saying that he was going to expand production and open new factories. That person wrote back saying that the news gave him 'great pleasure.' Just imagine! The 'socialism' of that person fell in exactly with the 'dream' of the big capitalist! And how well his 'pleasure' fit in with the frenzied attacks of the capitalist!"

Veteran worker Chiu Lien-chi of the combing room and a Communist Party member, said: "The top Party person in authority taking the capitalist road always looked down on us workers. He lauded the bourgeoisie to the skies. He even talked such nonsense as 'in the cities, it's production that counts. The capitalists have more knowledge than us, than the workers. They hold a very high position in city production.' He even praised Sung Fei-ching, this faithful slave of the imperialists, this reactionary capitalist, as 'enlightened,' 'progressive,' and a man who 'serves the people.' But a wolf is always a wolf. This capitalist Sung Fei-ching, with the nature of a wolf, would not change. Not satis-

fied with drinking our blood, he plotted to betray our country and go over to the enemy. We fought him bitterly, but the top Party person in authority taking the capitalist road protected him, and enabled him to swindle huge loans from the state and foreign currency with which he fled abroad."

"Was the mill closed down after the capitalist ran away? No, it was not. On the contrary, guided by the infinitely bright light of Mao Tse-tung's thought, we workers have made this mill run better and better. It is now mechanized, the variety of products has been increased and output has been raised many times. Facts have proved that once the workers have grasped Mao Tse-tung's thought, they will become most wise and most intelligent. We of the working class are running socialist factories and other enterprises by relying on Mao Tse-tung's thought and it is only by relying on the working class that socialism can be built. When the top Party person in authority taking the capitalist road advocates reliance on capitalists, he wants to let the capitalists sit once again on the backs of us workers and ride roughshod over us. We will absolutely not tolerate this."

Chou Yu-chin, a P.L.A. armyman, said: "**Our great leader Chairman Mao teaches us that: 'In a society rent by class struggle, if there is freedom for the exploiting classes to exploit the working people, there is no freedom for the working people not to be exploited.'** But the top Party person in authority taking the capitalist road ignores the historical facts and slanders the working people. He denies that there is class struggle and openly opposes Chairman Mao. He rattles on that 'the labouring people are not against exploitation; on the contrary, they welcome it.' Is this true? Absolutely not!"

"Before I joined the army, I was a worker in this mill in Tientsin. My father was also a worker in this mill before liberation. We understand very well the meaning of exploitation and the meaning of revolution. In pre-liberation days, the workers in the former Tungya Mill struggled under the leadership of the Chinese Communist Party against the capitalists. They went on strike more than once to oppose exploitation. In 1946, they staged a mammoth strike against the ruthless exploitation by the capitalists. The latter collaborated with the Kuomintang regime which sent a large number of armed men to suppress the workers. But the workers persisted in their struggle and finally won. Doesn't this illustrate the fact that where there is exploitation and oppression there is resistance and struggle? If the workers 'welcome exploitation,' how can one account for the workers' strikes? This top Party person in authority taking the capitalist road speaks entirely for the capitalists. He tries to drive us back again to living like beasts of burden and subject us to exploitation. We firmly oppose this."

Tien Wei-fang, an old worker in the power room, said: "When Tientsin was just liberated, the workers said: the sunlight of Chairman Mao shines in the



Tungya Mill and we workers are now emancipated and become the masters! The top Party person in authority taking the capitalist road, however, instead of backing us up, asked us not to 'make trouble' but to listen to the advice of the company and to have faith in capitalist Sung Fei-ching who was manager as well."

"In times of hard struggle, workers in the former Tungya Mill followed Chairman Mao's teaching that 'to rebel is justified' and launched a tit-for-tat struggle against the capitalists in which we smashed all the

mill's 'rules and regulations'—the shackles fettering the workers! The top Party person in authority taking the capitalist road by bare-faced lying slanders the workers' revolutionary actions as 'making trouble.' What if we insist on 'making trouble?' We are determined to 'make trouble!' We workers are born 'trouble-makers' against the capitalists! We are determined to put the rule of the capitalists into complete disorder and 'make trouble' against the top Party person in authority taking the capitalist road till he is overthrown, discredited and removed from his post!"

## Growing Mass Movement to Criticize And Repudiate the Book on "Self-Cultivation" of Communists

**C**RITICISM and repudiation of the No. 1 Party person in authority taking the capitalist road has grown into a nationwide mass movement denouncing him for the vile crime of using his book on "self-cultivation" to poison the minds of the mass of Party members and the revolutionary people.

### A Manifesto for Capitalist Restoration

Revolutionaries of the Higher Party School of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party in an article quote the words of **Chairman Mao**: "To overthrow a political power, it is always necessary first of all to create public opinion, to do work in the ideological sphere. This is true for the revolutionary class as well as for the counter-revolutionary class." They point out that the printing of large numbers of the third edition of this pernicious book in August 1962 represented a vain attempt on the part of this No. 1 Party person in authority taking the capitalist road to prepare public opinion for the restoration of capitalism.

Under the wise leadership of our great leader Chairman Mao, China, says the article, has achieved brilliant victories both in the socialist revolution and socialist construction. But around 1962, the modern revisionists represented by the Soviet Khrushchov clique, working in collusion with imperialism and the reactionaries of various countries, made use of China's temporary economic difficulties to launch a big-scale anti-China campaign. They rabidly attacked China's three red banners [the Party's general line for building socialism, the great leap forward and the people's communes], and vilified our Party and Chairman Mao as "dogmatic," "sectarian," "splittist," and so on. For

a time, dark clouds filled the sky and evil winds blew from all directions. It was precisely at this time that the No. 1 Party person in authority taking the capitalist road, after secret planning and careful revision, unleashed his re-edited book on "self-cultivation," a manifesto for a counter-revolutionary restoration of capitalism in China.

The new edition of this book says not a word about opposing imperialism and modern revisionism. On the contrary, echoing the international modern revisionists, it fiercely attacks what it describes as "dogmatism" and "'Left' opportunism." The first edition of the book does not mention at all the word "dogmatism." This was deliberately added and most strongly attacked in the 1962 edition. This was obviously done to chime in with the international reactionary forces; it was aimed to prepare public opinion in China for a capitalist restoration.

Speaking at an April 3 mass rally sponsored by the Congress of Red Guards of Peking Universities and Colleges to criticize and repudiate this book on "self-cultivation," a representative of the Ching kangshan Corps of Tsinghua University called the book an out-and-out revisionist programme of Party building. He declared that, with the aim of preparing public opinion for a capitalist restoration in China, this No. 1 Party person in authority taking the capitalist road had done his utmost over a long period to use his reactionary book to corrode and poison the minds of our Party members and the masses of young people. The former Party Committee of Tsinghua University, he said, had "educated" Party members and cadres exactly in the way prescribed in this book. Instead of urging Party

members to be the servants of the people, it grandiosely declared that: "After some decades, a number of state leaders will emerge from among our Tsinghua graduates." This kind of education had made some people look upon joining the Party or work as a cadre as a ladder for social climbing. Instead of urging Party members to share the life and destiny of the masses and accept supervision by the masses, it called on Party members to make revolution exclusively against others in accordance with the preposterous theories of this pernicious book. Instead of urging the Party members to go out among the masses to face the world and brave the storm, and temper themselves in practice, it advised them to closet themselves in their studies, divorced from the masses, "to think of their faults" and "cultivate themselves" and climb up the social ladder in accordance with the nonsense prescribed in this book. Poisoned by it, they were liable to become captives of revisionism.

### Openly Opposes Mao Tse-tung's Thought

At a rally called by the proletarian revolutionaries in Tsingtao, Shantung Province, to criticize and repudiate this pernicious tract on "self-cultivation," representatives of revolutionary workers and revolutionary young fighters unanimously denounced it as a poisonous weed opposed to Marxism-Leninism, opposed to Mao Tse-tung's thought. They pointed out that the Eleventh Plenary Session of the Party's Eighth Central Committee declared: "Comrade Mao Tse-tung is the greatest Marxist-Leninist of our era. Comrade Mao Tse-tung has inherited, defended and developed Marxism-Leninism with genius, creatively and in an all-round way, and has raised it to a completely new stage." **Comrade Lin Piao called on us to "study Chairman Mao's writings, follow his teachings, act according to his instructions and be his good soldiers."** The book on "self-cultivation," however, makes no mention of Chairman Mao's great contribution to Marxism-Leninism. It merely talks about being good students of Marx and Lenin, but never mentions that we should learn from Chairman Mao and be his good students. Especially vicious was that, while vilifying the mass movement for creatively studying and applying Chairman Mao's works as "over-simplification" and "philistinism," this No. 1 Party person in authority taking the capitalist road reprinted and put on sale in 1962 large numbers of his book on "self-cultivation," a big poisonous weed, in a vain attempt to use his revisionist "theories" to oppose Mao Tse-tung's thought.

### Divorced From Political Struggle; Negates The Class Struggle

The article written by revolutionaries of the Higher Party School of the Party's Central Committee says:

"In July 1939, the No. 1 Party person in authority taking the capitalist road made a report at the Marx-Lenin Institute at Yen-an. That was the first time he

came out with his big poisonous weed on 'self-cultivation' of Communists.

"At that time over half of China was occupied by the Japanese invaders. The Chinese Communist Party was leading the Chinese people in a heroic War of Resistance Against Japan. But, Chiang Kai-shek's Kuomintang was busily scheming to split the anti-Japanese national united front. It was active in opposing the Communists but passive in resisting the Japanese invaders and was plotting to surrender to them. The U.S., British and French imperialists were plotting a Far East 'Munich,' pressing China to surrender.

"Within the Party, the influence of the Right capitulationist line of 'everything through the united front' and 'everything must be submitted to the united front' vigorously peddled by the Right opportunists represented by Wang Ming was far from eliminated although it had been severely criticized and repudiated at the Sixth Plenary Session of the Sixth Central Committee of the Party. The dangers of capitulation, split and retrogression were growing daily in the anti-Japanese national united front.

"In this situation of serious national crisis and extremely complicated class contradictions, the book on 'self-cultivation' brought out at that time by the No. 1 Party person in authority taking the capitalist road had no mention of the revolutionary struggle of the time; it said nothing about boldly arousing the masses, defeating Japanese imperialism or saving the nation from crisis; it said nothing about opposing the Kuomintang's plot against the Communists and for capitulation; it said nothing about our Party's leadership and the principle of independence and initiative in the united front; and it said nothing about the principled struggle within the Party against Right capitulationism. Even the words 'resist Japan and save the country' do not appear. On the contrary, he talked enthusiastically about Confucius and Mencius and their teachings and about self-cultivation of the bourgeoisie. This is a theory of 'self-cultivation' which is divorced from political struggle and negates the class struggle."

On April 8, a rally attended by 20,000 workers, peasants, soldiers, revolutionary cadres and young Red Guards was held in Peking to criticize and repudiate the book on "self-cultivation." In his speech the representative of the Peking Garrison Command of the People's Liberation Army said: **Chairman Mao has taught us that the fundamental question of revolution is political power.** One's stand on whether the dictatorship of the proletariat should be maintained throughout the period of transition has always been a touchstone distinguishing Marxist-Leninists from all kinds of revisionists. In this poisonous weed of a book on "self-cultivation," the No. 1 Party person in authority taking the capitalist road says not a word about the seizure of political power as the fundamental question of revolution or about the proletarian dictatorship; he avoids talking about armed struggle, the seizure of

political power and the smashing of the bourgeois state machine.

### Advocates Subjective Idealism

At a Tsingtao meeting for criticism and repudiation, a representative of the revolutionary students and teachers of the Shantung Institute of Oceanography answering the question "What theory should a Communist Party member take as his guide and how should he remould his thinking?" said: Chairman Mao has taught us that Communists and all revolutionary people should remould their subjective world in the course of their revolutionary practice in transforming the objective world, in the three great revolutionary movements—the struggle for production, the class struggle and scientific experiment. **Chairman Mao has also taught us: "We Communists ought to face the world and brave the storm, the great world of mass struggle and the mighty storm of mass struggle."**

What this poisonous weed of a book on "self-cultivation" propounds is nothing but a reactionary subjective idealist theory of "self-cultivation." It advocates divorcing oneself from the revolution and from political struggles; it makes no mention of the need for one to go among the masses of workers, peasants and soldiers and integrate oneself with them, and it says nothing about learning from the masses. Instead, it asks people to shut themselves away behind closed doors, work hard and seriously "cultivate" themselves; it advocates eliminating all vestiges of incorrect ideas through study, self-reflection and self-criticism; it recommends "rectifying" and "liquidating" non-proletarian ideas by means of the "theoretical knowledge" learnt from books and by means of one's "revolutionary qualities." Moreover, in so many words it calls on Party members to learn from such feudal idealist thinkers as Confucius, Mencius and Tseng Tzu, and lauds the feudal idealist sermons of these thinkers as "classics" and enjoins Communists to learn from them.

### Publicizes Bourgeois Individualism

A young revolutionary fighter of the Tsingtao Medical College said: This book on "self-cultivation" publicizes a typically bourgeois individualist world outlook and philosophy. It goes directly counter to Chairman Mao's brilliant thinking on "**wholly**" and "**completely**" serving the people, "**utter devotion to others without any thought of self**" and "**proceeding in all cases from the interests of the people.**" Its author is an out-and-out salesman-philosopher of the bourgeoisie. By "cultivating" himself according to this philosophy, a Communist will become a representative of the bourgeoisie—short-sighted, selfish, a seeker after gain and given to sharp practices—and even a careerist like Khrushchov.

Revolutionary students and teachers of the Tsingtao Chemical Engineering Institute revealed that the author of this book on "self-cultivation," the No. 1 Party person in authority taking the capitalist road,

shamelessly declared that personal interests must be attended to and that there can be no collective interest without personal interest. In his book he raves about completely merging the personal interests of a Party member with the general interests and objectives of the Party and the proletariat. This runs directly counter to the "**selflessness**" and "**utter devotion to others without any thought of self**" consistently advocated by Chairman Mao. The core of the bourgeois world outlook is self-interest whereas the core of the proletarian world outlook is devotion to the public interest, and these are mutually exclusive. The struggle between proletarian and bourgeois ideologies is concentrated in the struggle between devotion to the public interest and self-interest. There is no room for compromise. When the No. 1 Party person in authority taking the capitalist road did his best to publicize the ideas of "perfecting oneself through self-cultivation," "seeking to make one's own progress," pursuing one's "personal interest within the public interest," and "when necessary, it [the Party] will even give up some of its work in order to preserve comrades," he was actually peddling his reactionary bourgeois individualism.

Instructors and cadets of a certain institute under the General Rear-Service Department of the Chinese People's Liberation Army declared: This book instils the poison of bourgeois ideas into people, advocates "taking small losses for the sake of big gains" and asserts that one can "improve oneself," "enhance one's ability" and become a "hero," a "leader," or an "important person" by working for the Party.

### Propagates Slavish Obedience

On April 7, *Beijing Ribao* (Peking Daily) published an editorial entitled "Down With the Reactionary 'Docile Tool' Theory." It declares: "In order to push through his counter-revolutionary revisionist political line, the No. 1 Party person in authority taking the capitalist road vigorously propagated the revisionist organizational principle of blind obedience in his book on 'self-cultivation' of Communists. In 1958, he prettified and embellished this organizational principle and summed it up in concrete terms as the 'docile tool' theory and presented it to the public."

The editorial points out: In May 1958, at the Second Session of the Eighth National Congress of the Party, **Chairman Mao personally guided the working out of the general line of going all out, aiming high and achieving greater, faster, better and more economical results in building socialism. He called on the people throughout the country to discard fetishes and superstitions, emancipate their minds and carry forward the communist spirit of daring to think, speak and act.** Guided by the light of the general line, the people throughout the nation, with soaring enthusiasm and courage, brought about the world-shaking, all-round great leap forward in the national economy. Chairman Mao, great proletarian revolutionary, warmly extolled this unprecedented revolutionary mass movement and

appraised it very highly. He said: "Never before have the masses been so high in spirit, so strong in morale and so firm in determination." And "Do the Chinese working people still look like slaves as they did before? No, they have become the masters."

But the No. 1 Party person in authority taking the capitalist road openly proposed a course opposite to that of Chairman Mao's. On June 30, he made a speech summing up the discussion on "Should Communists Have Personal Aspirations?" organized by the old *Beijing Ribao*. On the basis of this speech, an editorial entitled "What Should Be the Aspirations of a Communist?" was worked out, approved by that person himself and printed in the old *Beijing Ribao* on July 29. Thus the reactionary "docile tool" theory made its formal debut. Its pernicious influence spread throughout the country and caused grave harm.

This theory is madly opposed to Mao Tse-tung's thought, and the Party's general line for building socialism. In order to prevent the cause of socialist revolution from developing in depth, it vainly attempts to impose a slave mentality on the revolutionary masses and bind them hand and foot.

The person who put forward the "docile tool" theory took a bourgeois reactionary stand and had the deepest contempt for the masses, regarding them as "beasts of burden" and "slaves." His idea was that "cattle and horses are animate tools," "slaves are regarded by slave-owners as living tools" and "people, even more so, are living tools"; he distorted the relationship between the Party leadership and rank-and-file members as one between man and tool, between slave-owner and slave, a relationship of absolute obedience.

The editorial goes on to say: For a long time, the No. 1 Party person in authority taking the capitalist road and the handful of counter-revolutionary revisionists have persistently advocated the "docile tool" theory in a vain attempt to turn the mass of our Party members into obedient, slavish philistines and muddle-headed people blind and without lofty ideals.

In this great proletarian cultural revolution which has no parallel in history, this theory has once again become an important weapon for them. They seek to use it to oppose the proletarian revolutionary line represented by Chairman Mao and to push through their bourgeois reactionary line. In order to maintain their tottering rule, they resort to what they call "Party spirit," "sense of organization" and "sense of discipline" so as to suppress the revolt of Party members and prevent them from making revolution.

Wang Lien-sheng, a student of Tsinghua University said that in this respect the book on "self-cultivation" of Communists also ran counter to the consistent teachings of Chairman Mao. **Chairman Mao said: "Communists must always go into the whys and wherefores of anything, use their own heads and carefully think over whether or not it corresponds to reality and is really well founded; on no account should they follow blindly**

**and encourage slavishness."** He also said: **Erroneous leadership that endangers the revolution should not be accepted without qualification; it should be firmly resisted.** The book on "self-cultivation" of Communists goes into detail in advocating that Communist Party members should "take up demanding tasks even while being subjected to unjustified disgrace," "suffer wrong in the general interest," practise "forbearance" and "compromise," and "return good for evil." This book vigorously peddles class conciliation and blind obedience. Wang went on to say that he himself had been deeply poisoned by these ideas and dared not entertain the slightest doubt about the handful of persons in authority taking the capitalist road. When his opinion differed, he would examine himself to see what was wrong and try to accept as soon as possible the ideas of his superior. In the current great cultural revolution, he had put the "conservative" spirit, instead of the "revolutionary" spirit, above everything else.

### **Rid the World of the Evil Influence of the Book on "Self-Cultivation" of Communists**

On April 10, more than 15,000 proletarian revolutionaries of Peking from the scientific and technical fields gathered at a rally to indignantly denounce and accuse the No. 1 Party person in authority taking the capitalist road. They condemned his towering crimes of extending his sinister hands into scientific and technical circles, frantically pushing the bourgeois reactionary line, corrupting people's minds with his notorious book which is a big poisonous weed, and attempting to bring about a capitalist restoration in China. Sidney Rittenberg, an American friend invited to the rally, spoke at the meeting.

He made a penetrating criticism, repudiation and accusation of this infamous book. This big poisonous weed, he said, had been spread about the world and had had an extremely bad influence. It had been spread around in many fraternal Parties and had poisoned proletarian revolutionaries in various countries. It answered the needs of imperialism. The U.S. imperialist paper *New York Times*, for its own ulterior motives, had many years ago described this No. 1 Party person in authority taking the capitalist road as the so-called Marxist-Leninist theoretician of the Chinese Communist Party. This was an attempt to use his counter-revolutionary revisionist theory to prevent the spread throughout the world of Mao Tse-tung's thought which will emancipate mankind. According to this book, to be a good Communist, Sidney Rittenberg pointed out, one must slavishly obey instructions, be docile, not make trouble and must not even get angry and struggle against criminal activities harmful to the interests of the people. The book uses the decadent capitalist philosophy of "taking small losses for the sake of big gains" to corrupt revolutionaries and turn Communists into his slaves and docile tools. This big poisonous weed, Rittenberg concluded, must be thoroughly exposed and criticized and its evil influence must be completely eliminated all over the world.



# The Traitor's Philosophy of China's Khrushchov

by HUNG PIN

**I**N sharp and intense class struggles, real Marxist-Leninists and proletarian revolutionary fighters must show their proletarian revolutionary integrity. In all circumstances, they must draw a clear-cut line of distinction between the enemy and themselves and be determined with fearless heroism to overwhelm the enemy and never yield.

**Chairman Mao teaches us: "No matter what the difficulties and hardships, so long as a single man remains, he will fight on." He also says: "Wherever there is struggle there is sacrifice, and death is a common occurrence. But we have the interests of the people and the sufferings of the great majority at heart, and when we die for the people it is a worthy death."**

Proletarian revolutionaries are wholeheartedly devoted to the public interest; devoid of selfish aims, they work solely for the interests of the proletariat and the people; that is why they are unyielding and undaunted in the face of the enemy. To defend the revolutionary principles of Marxism-Leninism, Mao Tse-tung's thought, and the proletarian, revolutionary interests of socialism and communism, they stand ready to give up their all, even their lives.

China's Khrushchov, however, has consistently peddled the reactionary bourgeois philosophy of survival, the philosophy of traitors. In his book on "self-cultivation" of Communists, he argues that a Communist "has the greatest self-respect and self-esteem. For the sake of the Party and the revolution he can be most forbearing and tolerant towards comrades and can suffer wrong in the general interest, . . . He knows how to take good care of himself in the interests of the Party and the revolution and how to strengthen both his grasp of theory and his practical effectiveness." As for the Party organization, he says, "As far as possible, the Party will attend to and safeguard its members' essential interests; . . . and, when necessary, it will even give up some of its work in order to preserve comrades."

As used in the reactionary, preposterous theory of this Khrushchov of China, the phrase "in the interests of the Party and the revolution" is just a subterfuge to deceive people. In reality what he advocates is putting oneself, one's personal interests and one's own

life in the first place. He sings the very same tune as Khrushchov and Co. who preach that survival is everything, and assert that "everyone wants to live," "everyone wants to live better" and that the policy of the Communist Party "is a policy of the highest humanity."

Steeped to the very depths of his being in the idea of putting survival ahead of everything, this No. 1 Party person in authority taking the capitalist road gave currency to a policy of making "false confessions"\* and euphemistically termed it a method of "preserving strength" and "striving for legal existence." This is purely and simply a shameless traitor's philosophy. It is precisely the theory of survival advocated by Khrushchov and Co., the theory that principles are irrelevant when one's head has been chopped off.

In defending this philosophy, the top Party person in authority taking the capitalist road says that he is only speaking about "false confessions" while his real purpose is to "preserve strength"; when he says "taking good care of oneself," he means he is taking into consideration "the interests of the Party and the revolution." He thinks that making such confessions is only a "shortcoming," and that in evaluating a man with this "shortcoming," people should take into account his contributions and merits and not simply write them off at one stroke. In line with this view, he thinks that those who betray the revolution and surrender to the enemy can become "revolutionary heroes." This is the traitor's sophistry which he used in his manoeuvres to recruit deserters and form cliques to pursue selfish interests, and engage in insidious activities to usurp the leadership of the Party and government and restore capitalism.

This traitor's philosophy is sophistry justifying self-confessions, betrayal of the revolution and surrender to the enemy; it is a reactionary, preposterous theory which obliterates the dividing line between the enemy and ourselves and protects traitors. We must rebel

\*On the eve of the outbreak of the War of Resistance Against Japan (1937-1945), the top Party person in authority taking the capitalist road spread around the philosophy of survival. He directed certain Communist Party members to make confessions, telling them to publish open "anti-Communist statements" and vow "firmly to oppose Communists" thus surrendering to the Kuomintang and betraying the Communist Party.

and make revolution against the No. 1 Party person in authority taking the capitalist road and the handful of counter-revolutionary revisionists under him—the publicists for this sophistry of traitors; we must resolutely overthrow them and pin them down so that they never rise again. In accordance with the long-standing teachings of our great, most respected and beloved leader Chairman Mao, proletarian revolutionaries must preserve their integrity on matters of

principle, preserve it to the end of their days. They must value their proletarian revolutionary integrity more than their own lives. If a man, no matter who, ultimately commits such a monstrous evil as to betray the revolution, even if he has done nine and ninety good deeds, he is a traitor, and that crosses out everything else.

*(Abridged translation of an article in "Guangming Ribao," April 7, 1967.)*

## **A Book Which Propagates Reactionary Bourgeois "Self-Cultivation"**

by SHIH HUNG-CHUN

**T**HE book on the self-cultivation of Communists is purely 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, promotes bourgeois individualism in a devious way, advocates slavishness, and opposes Marxism-Leninism, Mao Tse-tung's thought. In short, it wants only bourgeois "self-cultivation," not the dictatorship of the proletariat.

Whether or not to carry out revolution by violence, to seize political power and to establish and consolidate the dictatorship of the proletariat have always been the focal points of the struggle waged by Marxism-Leninism, Mao Tse-tung's thought, against all kinds of opportunism and revisionism.

The fundamental question of revolution is one of political power. This is the basic principle of Marxism-Leninism.

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

However, the No. 1 Party person in authority taking the capitalist road, donning the cloak of Marxism-Leninism, openly strikes up a tune that runs counter to this basic principle of Marxism-Leninism, Mao Tse-tung's thought.

In his book on the self-cultivation of Communists, he does not say one word about the realization of com-

munist through revolution by violence, the smashing of the old state machine and the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat. Yet he says such things as "in each country it is for the Communist Party and the people there to transform it by their own efforts, and in that way the whole world will be transformed step by step into a communist world." This spreads, in fact, the idea of peaceful transition. He asks Communists to "diligently" undertake "self-cultivation" in order to bring about this peaceful transition.

In the book he never demands that Communists take the seizure and consolidation of political power as the highest interest of the proletariat and the other working people or calls on them to fight heroically for proletarian seizure and consolidation of political power. On the contrary, he advises every Communist to practise "self-cultivation" in order to "raise his own level" and become a "mature and seasoned statesman" with "the greatest self-respect and self-esteem."

In the book on the self-cultivation of Communists, he completely goes against Chairman Mao's teachings. He does not demand that a Communist face the world and brave the storm and change the subjective and objective worlds in the class struggle to seize and consolidate political power. Instead he advises a Communist to divorce himself completely from the living class struggle and to shut himself up indoors and practise "self-cultivation" through the method of "study, self-reflection and self-criticism."

In this book, in a hundred and one ways, he undertakes to stifle the revolutionary spirit of rebellion and propagate slavishness so that Communists will not defend the dictatorship of the proletariat and wage resolute struggles against careerists, like himself, of the Khrushchov type who vainly attempt to usurp the leadership of the Party, army and government. What he spreads

is a "self-cultivation" in accordance with the slavish standards of "suffering wrong in the general interest," "returning good for evil," and "absolute, unconditional. . . subordination to the superior."

In a word, political power for the proletariat is not what is wanted, only bourgeois "self-cultivation"; this is the fallacy of "self-cultivation" formulated by the No. 1 Party person in authority taking the capitalist road.

As a matter of fact this fallacy is nothing new; it is garbage picked up from the refuse-heap of history.

From the feudal rulers of all China's dynasties down to Chiang Kai-shek, the public enemy of the people, they have all, without exception, held high the reactionary sermonizing on "self-cultivation" formulated by such feudal ideologists as Confucius and Mencius and used them to benumb the people in order to safeguard their rule and their system of exploitation.

From Bernstein and Kautsky down to Tito and Khrushchov, all old and new revisionists have used "humanism" and "man's self-perfection" and other fallacies on "self-cultivation" to carry out the policy of deceiving the people so that the proletariat and other working people in the capitalist countries and colonies would forget this fundamental question of seizing political power and thus the capitalist man-eating system would be maintained and consolidated. By means of this policy, they have also tried to make the proletariat and the other working people already holding political power forget this fundamental question of consolidating political power so that careerists like Khrushchov could carry out counter-revolutionary restoration by usurping the leadership of the Party, army and government.

The fallacies on "self-cultivation" publicized by all exploiting class rulers and all old and new revisionists are lies to deceive the people. When the exploited rise up to overthrow their rule, the exploiters will remove their masks, take more brutal measures and carry out frenzied suppression to kill millions of people.

Is it possible for the exploited and oppressed proletariat and other working people to give up the struggle to seize political power by armed force and practise "self-cultivation" with all "seriousness" according to the doctrine of the No. 1 Party person in authority taking the capitalist road? Is it possible for the proletariat in the capitalist countries to shut themselves up at home for "self-cultivation" divorcing themselves from their struggle against the bourgeoisie and their central task of seizing political power? Is it possible for the proletariat and other working people in Asia, Africa and Latin America to leave their blood-stained battle-fronts for national liberation in order to "cultivate" themselves? Is it possible for the Communists upholding the proletarian revolutionary line in the countries where the modern revisionists have usurped political power and carried out a restoration of capitalism to undertake

"self-cultivation" neglecting their life-and-death struggle against modern revisionism and their struggle to seize power? No. Absolutely not! If they did so, they would be subjected to exploitation and oppression for ever, and never achieve their emancipation and witness the bright future!

Can the proletariat and other working people who have already taken political power "cultivate" themselves according to the doctrine of the No. 1 Party person in authority taking the capitalist road? No. Definitely not! If we shut ourselves in a room and make painstaking efforts to practise "self-cultivation" and neglect the struggle between the two classes and the two lines, and the struggle to consolidate the dictatorship of the proletariat and prevent capitalist restoration, people like Khrushchov will come into power, capitalism will be restored, the people will suffer and the nation will face calamity.

The self-cultivation advocated by the reactionary ruling classes and their representatives is nothing but opium to benumb the working people at all times and under all circumstances. If the proletariat and other working people believed in his book on the self-cultivation of Communists and forgot about political power, they would lose sight of the central point and forget the orientation, the politics and the fundamental viewpoints of Marxism.

**Chairman Mao teaches us: "You should pay attention to state affairs and carry the great proletarian cultural revolution through to the end!"** The most important of all affairs of state, the people and the Party is political power. From the very beginning, the great proletarian cultural revolution which is unprecedented in history has been a great struggle to seize power from a handful of Party people in authority taking the capitalist road. This handful of people vainly tried to use the book on the self-cultivation of Communists to make the people forget the struggle between the two lines and avoid the acute and complicated struggle to seize power, thereby killing off the people's revolutionary rebel spirit.

**Chairman Mao teaches: "In the last analysis, all the truths of Marxism can be summed up in one sentence: 'To rebel is justified.' " "A revolution is an insurrection, an act of violence by which one class overthrows another."** It is precisely these great teachings that have encouraged the proletarian revolutionaries to aim at and open heavy fire against the handful of counter-revolutionary revisionists headed by the No. 1 Party person in authority taking the capitalist road. Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line is assured of winning complete and thoroughgoing victory! The political power of our great socialist motherland will always firmly remain in the hands of the proletariat.

*(An abridged translation of an article published in "Renmin Ribao," April 11.)*

# "With Power and to Spare We Must Pursue the Tottering Foe"

— Once and for All Bury the Counter-Revolutionary Revisionist Clique of the Former Peking Municipal Committee of the Chinese Communist Party

A YEAR ago today, the journal *Qianxian* (Frontline) and the former *Beijing Ribao* (Peking Daily) published some material on the *Notes From Three-Family Village* and the *Evening Chats at Yenshan* together with a carefully written editorial note. This was the notorious big counter-revolutionary political conspiracy of April 16 which pretended criticism and repudiation but actually covered things up and sacrificed the pawns to save the generals.\*

The ringleaders of this big political conspiracy were the heads of the counter-revolutionary revisionist clique of the former Peking Municipal Committee of the Chinese Communist Party and the No. 1 Party person in authority taking the capitalist road who supported them from behind.

Over the past 17 years, the handful of counter-revolutionary revisionists in the former Peking Municipal Party Committee, supported by the No. 1 Party person in authority taking the capitalist road, consistently waved "red flags" to oppose the red flag and followed an out-and-out counter-revolutionary revisionist line in the political, economic, ideological, cultural and other fields, launching all-round wild attacks against the Party, socialism and Mao Tse-tung's thought.

They went all out to slander and viciously attack our great leader Chairman Mao while fanatically praising the No. 1 Party person in authority taking the capitalist road.

They were terrified of Mao Tse-tung's thought, abhorred it and fought it tooth and nail, trying in every way to disrupt the great mass movement for the creative study and application of Chairman Mao's works, while pushing the sales of the book on the "self-cultivation" of Communists, that big poisonous weed opposed to Mao Tse-tung's thought.

They obstinately opposed Chairman Mao's theory on classes and class struggle but energetically trumpeted the theory of the "dying out of class struggle" and peddled the revisionist rubbish about "class collaboration" and "inner-Party peace" propagated by the No. 1 Party person in authority taking the capitalist road.

They ganged up with the No. 1 Party person in authority taking the capitalist road in opposing the dictatorship of the proletariat and exercising the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie; they used every trick up their

sleeve to threaten, deceive, attack and persecute those revolutionary masses who resisted and opposed their counter-revolutionary revisionist rule.

They opposed giving prominence to proletarian politics but did their best to give prominence to bourgeois politics, vigorously sold the counter-revolutionary economism of the No. 1 Party person in authority taking the capitalist road, used material incentives in a big way and put work, technique and money in command, in a futile attempt to lead the masses into the mire of capitalism and revisionism.

Encouraged by the No. 1 Party person in authority taking the capitalist road, they used all the propaganda media in their power to spread large amounts of feudal, capitalist and revisionist poison. They shot a great number of poisonous arrows at the Party, socialism and Mao Tse-tung's thought, such as *Hai Jui Dismissed From Office*, *Evening Chats at Yenshan* and *Notes From Three-Family Village*, in order to prepare public opinion for overthrowing the dictatorship of the proletariat and restoring the capitalist system.

They opposed Chairman Mao's proletarian policy on education, but did their utmost to railroad through the revisionist policy on education advanced by the No. 1 Party person in authority taking the capitalist road and guided the students to concentrate all their efforts on becoming professionally "expert" and not politically "red" and to become divorced from proletarian politics, in order to train them as successors to their capitalist restoration.

They faithfully carried out the revisionist organizational line of the No. 1 Party person in authority taking the capitalist road by recruiting deserters and renegades and forming cliques for their private interests. They gathered together ghosts and monsters everywhere and handed out positions to trusted associates, turning the Peking municipality into a water-tight "independent kingdom."

They wildly opposed the socialist education movement in the cities and countryside and actively pushed forward the opportunist line which is "Left" in form and Right in essence of the No. 1 Party person in authority taking the capitalist road. They shielded the handful of Party people in authority taking the capitalist road and the landlords, rich peasants, counter-revolutionaries, bad elements and Rightists, and cruelly attacked poor and lower-middle peasants and revolutionary cadres.

\* See article "On 'Three-Family Village'" by Yao Wen-yuan, *Peking Review*, Eng. ed., No. 22, 1966, p. 5. — Tr.



Supported by the No. 1 Party person in authority taking the capitalist road, they frenziedly undermined the great proletarian cultural revolution. They resisted the criticism and repudiation of *Hai Jui Dismissed From Office*, vainly attempted to divert the serious political struggle on to the wrong track of "purely academic" discussion, shield the bourgeois Rightists and encircle and suppress the proletarian Left, vainly hoping to stamp out the raging flames of the great proletarian cultural revolution kindled by Chairman Mao himself.

....

The counter-revolutionary revisionist clique of the former Peking Municipal Party Committee was sinister, venomous and ambitious; it did everything vile and committed monstrous crimes. It was a gang of enemies that wormed its way into our ranks, a time bomb planted by the side of Chairman Mao. This desperate clique aimed at a counter-revolutionary coup d'etat. It was the shock force of the No. 1 Party person in authority taking the capitalist road in his conspiracy to usurp the leadership of the Party and the state!

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

The struggle between the proletarian revolutionaries and the counter-revolutionary revisionist clique of the former Peking Municipal Party Committee is a struggle for the seizure of power, a struggle between the ef-

forts of the bourgeoisie to stage a come-back and the proletariat's efforts to prevent their come-back.

The complete overthrow of the counter-revolutionary revisionist clique of the former Peking Municipal Party Committee and elimination of all its noxious influences is a major issue which concerns the carrying of the great proletarian cultural revolution through to the end, the consolidation of the dictatorship of the proletariat and the future and destiny of the Party and state and of the world revolution.

At present, great mass revolutionary criticism and repudiation of the No. 1 Party person in authority taking the capitalist road is being unfolded throughout the country. The thorough criticism and repudiation of the counter-revolutionary revisionist clique of the former Peking Municipal Party Committee represents a development in depth of this great mass revolutionary criticism and repudiation.

The great thought of Mao Tse-tung is the most powerful ideological weapon for criticizing and repudiating the bourgeoisie and revisionism. Only by holding high the great red banner of Mao Tse-tung's thought and making a serious, creative study and application of Chairman Mao's works can we refute, overthrow and completely discredit the No. 1 Party person in authority taking the capitalist road and the handful of counter-revolutionary revisionists in the former Peking Municipal Party Committee, can we penetratingly criticize, thoroughly repudiate and completely refute and discredit their counter-revolutionary revisionist line!

*(Excerpts from "Beijing Ribao"*  
*[Peking Daily] editorial, April 16.)*

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*(Continued from p. 5.)*

You must draw lessons from your past experience, stop provocative activities along the China-Sikkim border and cease all your calumnies against China, otherwise you are bound to eat the bitter fruits of your own making."

### **Spring Export Commodities Fair Opens in Kwangchow**

China's 1967 Spring Export Commodities Fair opened in Kwangchow on April 15. Attending the fair were foreign businessmen from scores of countries and areas of the five continents.

The fair is being held at a time when the great proletarian cultural revolution is in a high tide and when an excellent situation has emerged in which tremendous success has resulted from the warm response by the revolutionary people of the whole country to Chairman Mao's great call

to "take firm hold of the revolution and promote production." The grand scale and new features of the fair reflect the great political and economic achievements made by the Chinese people who are holding high the great red banner of Mao Tse-tung's thought.

The first thing foreign guests attending the fair did was to buy *Quotations From Chairman Mao Tse-tung*, Chairman Mao's works and badges with a profile of Chairman Mao. Various Chinese business groups at the fair have organized propaganda teams to spread Mao Tse-tung's thought among the guests and give them accounts of the enormous success of China's great proletarian cultural revolution.

The excellent situation that has emerged in China's industrial and agricultural production during the great proletarian cultural revolution has laid an even sounder material basis for the nation's foreign trade.

More than 20,000 kinds of export commodities are on display, of which over 4,000 are new, and most of these have been produced during the great cultural revolution. In addition, there are models and samples of some of China's latest products over the last few years in the fields of science and technology and in industrial production, including synthetic benzene and synthesized insulin which have been successfully manufactured for the first time in the world and are now in production.

The spring fair reflects the vigorous growth of China's foreign trade. Last year, China's export plan was overfulfilled. More was exported in the first quarter of this year than during the corresponding period in 1966. With great efforts by the proletarian revolutionaries in the foreign trade departments, it is expected that the fair will have still greater success than before.

# Chairman Mao Is the Greatest Marxist-Leninist

— Article by E.F. Hill, Chairman of the Australian Communist Party (Marxist-Leninist)

**E.F. HILL**, Chairman of the Australian Communist Party (Marxist-Leninist), in an article published in the *Vanguard* on April 13, stressed that Chairman Mao Tse-tung "is the greatest living Marxist-Leninist." "In contemporary world the position of Mao Tse-tung is of critical importance. One's attitude to him is a watershed dividing the Marxist-Leninists, revolutionaries, from the revisionists, from those who would adapt the working class and the working people to capitalism," he wrote.

Hill pointed out that Chairman Mao has made a gigantic contribution to the treasure house of Marxism-Leninism. "Mao Tse-tung is a foundation member of the Chinese Communist Party. From the very beginning of his revolutionary activities he saw with Marxist-Leninist clarity, and with genius, the reality of the contemporary world and of China. He elucidated the theory of the Chinese revolution." Hill drew particular attention to the conclusion drawn from reality by Chairman Mao that the revolutionary forces must have an army. "From that theory arose the fact and practice of the Chinese Liberation Army. That practice has absolutely confirmed the correctness of his theory. This army is an army of a special kind. Mao Tse-tung developed the theory of the liberation army as the chief arm of the dictatorship of the proletariat. That theory has been proved correct in practice right up to this very moment in the great proletarian cultural revolution."

Highly praising the theory elaborated by Chairman Mao that a single spark can start a prairie fire, he declared: "The liberated bases of the Chinese revolution were the practice of this theory. The correctness of the theory was proved in the practice of China's liberation."

He went on to say that "Mao Tse-tung elaborated and developed the theory of the revolutionary Party, the Communist Party. In accordance with that theory the Chinese Communist Party was built in practice. The practice of the Chinese Communist Party in leading the liberation of China proved the correctness of the theory."

He pointed out that Chairman Mao Tse-tung has elucidated and developed the Marxist-Leninist theory of knowledge and of dialectics in *On Practice* and *On Contradiction* and developed systematically the Marxist-Leninist theory of art and literature in *Talks at the Yen-an Forum on Literature and Art*. Practice has

proved the correctness of these theories which have become a material force.

"Mao Tse-tung has elaborated and developed in a unique way the theory of the continuing existence of classes and class struggle in socialist society. Practice gave rise to theory and confirmed theory. Today the earth-shaking proletarian cultural revolution is demonstrating the correctness of the theory. The theory and practice of Mao Tse-tung's thought are guaranteeing China against a return to capitalism," Hill stressed.

Referring to the current international situation, he said: "The central contradiction in the world today is the struggle of the oppressed peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America against imperialism and in the first place, against U.S. imperialism. Mao Tse-tung has elaborated the theory and practice of struggle. Practice is demonstrating the correctness of Mao Tse-tung's views." He emphatically pointed out: "Revisionism is the main danger to the revolutionary forces. This theory in the contemporary world is a product of the thought of Mao Tse-tung. Imagine the disaster to the revolutionary forces if the genius of Mao Tse-tung had not challenged Soviet modern revisionism. In the days gone by it was not so clear to see. But with the far-sightedness of genius Mao Tse-tung has laid bare the nature of revisionism. Practice has a million-fold confirmed his correctness."

Hill then stressed the importance of the great Chinese proletarian cultural revolution to the future of China and the world revolution. He pointed out that Mao Tse-tung has performed an inestimable service in rousing the Chinese people to take up the fight against modern revisionism. Without that fight, the Chinese people were in danger of going back to capitalism. Now that the masses have been aroused and a handful of Party persons in authority taking the capitalist road exposed, a new stage of China's advance and the advance of Marxism-Leninism throughout the world has been reached. The Marxist-Leninist forces are advancing by leaps and bounds.

Hill concluded: "On every field Mao Tse-tung has developed Marxism-Leninism. His defence and development of the dictatorship of the proletariat means that the oppressed people of all the world have a weapon of unprecedented power in the liberated China." Mao Tse-tung's thought "is a beacon light," he said.



## Mao Tse-tung's Thought

Lights the Whole World

### **Guidance to Guerrilla Warfare in Latin America**

The revolutionary fighters of Latin America, who are at the forefront of the struggle against U.S. imperialism, warmly acclaim Chairman Mao's brilliant theory on people's war, and hail the thought of Mao Tse-tung as the guide in guerrilla warfare in Latin America.

A Colombian friend said: The thought of Mao Tse-tung is not only the guiding thought of the Chinese people, but also of the Colombian revolution and the world revolution. Chairman Mao's theory on people's war is a universal truth applicable to the whole world. People all over the world must arm themselves with Mao Tse-tung's thought and resolutely overthrow imperialism and revisionism.

This Colombian friend continued: "Chairman Mao's theory on people's war has a particular significance in Colombia. More and more, the war carried on by the peasants in the hills is being integrated with Chairman Mao's theory. This foretells that our revolution will eventually be successful."

A Dominican friend said: "Chairman Mao is the greatest Marxist-Leninist of our era. With genius, he has creatively developed Marxism-Leninism in all its aspects, as shown, in particular, by his brilliant definition 'imperialism and all reactionaries are paper tigers,' and by his illustrious teachings on people's war and the existence of classes and class struggle in socialist society. Chairman Mao is carrying forward the banner of Lenin and has raised it to the highest peak. Chairman Mao is the leader acknowledged by the proletariat throughout the world, the great standard-bearer of the revolution of the world's people."

A friend from Venezuela said: "The revolutionary flames kindled by Comrade Mao Tse-tung not only rage all over China, they light up the whole world. We are all Chairman Mao's pupils. The road travelled by the Chinese people under his guidance is the road we are going to take too."

A Peruvian journalist declared: "Every page of Chairman Mao's books has been written not only for the Chinese people but for the Peruvian people and the world's people as well. Though material aid is important, aid in the form of Mao Tse-tung's thought is more

important. University students in Peru took the writings of Chairman Mao with them, and went into the hills to fight a guerrilla war. According to the teachings of Chairman Mao, it is necessary to arouse and arm the peasants in order to make revolution effectively. Otherwise the revolution will not succeed. This is true with Peru. We shall certainly act according to the instructions of Chairman Mao, arouse the peasants and engage in armed struggle."

A friend from Guatemala said: "Mao Tse-tung's thought is a spiritual atom bomb. We shall take the thought of Mao Tse-tung back home to spur on the revolution in our country."

### **Enthusiast for Dissemination of Mao Tse-tung's Thought**

A Somali friend working in a printing house sent a Chinese correspondent a number of cards, seven by four inches, on which quotations from Chairman Mao are printed. Although he can speak Italian, he began studying Chairman Mao's works three months ago by listening to oral translations of an English version of *Quotations From Chairman Mao Tse-tung* since no Italian version was available at that time. Later, much to his joy, he got a mimeographed copy of the *Quotations* in Italian, and he read the book with great eagerness.

With a view to helping others grasp the great thought of Mao Tse-tung, he carefully printed quotations in Italian and English from Chairman Mao on dozens of cards, as gifts for his friends. He selected those quotations exposing U.S. imperialism and calling on the world's people to rise up against oppression by U.S. imperialism, such as "What imperialism fears most is the awakening of the Asian, African and Latin American peoples, the awakening of the peoples of all countries. We should unite and drive U.S. imperialism from Asia, Africa and Latin America back to where it came from," and so on.

When the correspondent called on this friend there was a portrait of Chairman Mao on the wall of his home. In answer to the question "where is Chairman Mao," his little child who is just learning to speak, pointed to the portrait and told the guests: "Chairman Mao, Chairman Mao." Like his father, the child also has deep feelings for Chairman Mao.

# "RENMIN RIBAO" COMMENTARIES

## The Man Talks Nonsense

AT his first press conference, on April 8, since usurping presidential power, Suharto, chief of the Indonesian Right-wing military clique, loudly boasted that his regime was following an "anti-imperialist" policy which was "actively independent," "not attached to any foreign ideology," and one that would "contribute to a world order based on abiding peace and social justice." This is sheer nonsense!

The Suharto set-up is dependent on U.S. imperialism and collaborates with Soviet revisionism. It has thrown Indonesia's doors wide open to imperialism and provided opportunities for the influx of the forces of Soviet revisionism. His "active independence" means nothing less than active betrayal of Indonesia's national interests.

The regime headed by Suharto has imposed a reign of fascist terror at home, killing Indonesian Communists and other patriots en masse and brutally persecuting Chinese nationals living in Indonesia. Substitute "attached to the ideology of U.S. imperialism and Soviet revisionism" for Suharto's "not attached to any foreign ideology," and one will find his words actually mean frenzied opposition to communism, to China and to the people.

The Suharto regime which rode to power on the coat-tails of imperialism is at the beck and call of the U.S. imperialists at each turn. "Anti-imperialism," in Suharto's vocabulary, actually means servile submission to U.S. imperialism.

The Suharto regime backs U.S. imperialism's policy of aggression against Vietnam to the hilt and has done much to patch together a military bloc for the use of U.S. imperialism to build a hostile ring encircling China. Thus, what he means by "contributing to a world order" is actually to serve as a despicable pawn of U.S. imperialist aggression in Asia.

Here you have a traitor to his country, who seeks aggrandisement by betrayal, talking volubly about "independence." Here you have a lackey of U.S. imperialism who talks big about "anti-imperialism." The word "shame" must have escaped the man completely!

Suharto and his kind go in for such high-sounding lies because the handful that makes up this fascist military clique is such an odious lot that something has to be done to make them a little more presentable in order to hang on to power. That is all there is to it!

Will Suharto offend U.S. imperialism and Soviet revisionism by talking about "anti-imperialism"? Certainly not. In fact, U.S. imperialism is only too glad to have its running dog put on a human skin so as to carry out better its foul running-dog mission. As for the Soviet revisionists, they naturally also like to see

their "friend" really dressed up a bit because this will somewhat redound to their "credit." While talking at length about "anti-imperialism," Suharto could not keep from adding: "Foreign aid is highly needed." As a matter of fact, these words were quite unnecessary. Even if he had not laboured the obvious, U.S. imperialism and Soviet revisionism would have lavished hand-outs on these reactionaries just the same.

(April 13)

## Replica of the K-K-N Company

RIDDLED with internal and external difficulties, the Right-wing military regime in Indonesia has been bartering away the country's interests at an accelerated rate in exchange and return for the support of the two main benefactors, U.S. imperialism and the Soviet revisionist ruling clique. One of the latest measures taken by this regime in this direction is to open the door still wider for the penetration by foreign capital into Indonesia.

Needless to say, this treacherous measure of the Indonesian reactionaries has immensely pleased the U.S. imperialists and the Soviet revisionist clique. It is to be recalled that after the promulgation by the Suharto regime of foreign investment laws at the end of last year, the Americans got in first and immediately concluded with the Indonesian military regime an agreement by which American monopoly capital obtained the privilege of carrying out what can only be plunder and exploitation in Indonesia. Not to be outdone, the Soviet revisionist ruling clique also expressed through its commercial representatives in Djakarta its willingness to invest in Indonesia in accordance with the foreign investment laws. The steps of the U.S. imperialists and those of the Soviet revisionists indeed match each other very well in bolstering up the Indonesian Right-wing military regime to suppress and exploit the Indonesian people!

There is, however, a difference. The U.S. imperialists are doing it in a big and brazen way, while the Soviet revisionists who tail closely behind are trying to give the impression of doing it with some reluctance. Only recently the Soviet revisionists pretended to criticize the Indonesian authorities for opening the door wide for the penetration of foreign capital into Indonesia's economy. No sooner did the echo of this statement die down than the revisionists hastily and impatiently made their way through that "wide door," thereby becoming fellow travellers with the imperialist blood-suckers.

Why are the Soviet revisionists following in the footsteps of the U.S. imperialists so closely? Actually, this is close collaboration. They have ganged up all along in giving strong backing to the Indonesian mili-

tary regime. One whitewashes it, the other paints it up. One gives it money as "aid," the other as "credit"; one provides weapons, the other ammunition. In a word, both are doing their utmost in propping up the Suharto regime, encouraging it and giving it one blood transfusion after another. U.S. imperialism, Soviet revisionism and Indonesian reaction have become blood brothers. In the calculations of the Soviet revisionist ruling clique, its investment in Indonesia means not only support for the reactionaries but also profit for itself. Why shouldn't it therefore enter into this competition?

In pursuance of its "U.S.-Soviet collaboration for world domination," the Soviet revisionist ruling clique long ago joined up with the U.S. imperialists in supporting the reactionaries of all countries in order to recruit new members for their counter-revolutionary "holy alliance." Mention may be made of that disreputable K-K-N Co. set up by Nikita Khrushchov and J.F. Kennedy with Nehru in India (now still going but only as a shaky concern). The situation in Indonesia today indicates that a replica of that notorious firm has been found in that country.

(April 14)

## This "Banner of Socialism"

*New Times* and *Life Abroad*, mouthpieces of the Soviet revisionist ruling clique, recently lavished acclaim on the Pope's "encyclic" issued at the end of March which, they allege, contains criticism of capitalism and colonialism and raises questions which have for half a century been raised in the banner of socialism. If they are to be believed, the Pope not only is a fighter against colonialism but a resolute opponent of capitalism and a standard-bearer of socialism.

As everybody knows, the Vatican is a pliant tool of imperialism, a stronghold of international reaction, and a loyal apologist for the capitalist system. Like all other reactionaries, its anti-communist, anti-popular class nature will never change. The high-faluting but hypocritical phrases in the "encyclic" which are designed to deceive are not worth a kopeck.

It is preposterous for the Vatican, which controls gold reserves worth more than 10,000 million dollars, to attack "the rich for keeping what they do not need"! It is preposterous for the papal court, which owns more than 400,000 hectares of land in Italy alone, to attack "landowners who misuse their vast properties"! It is preposterous for the Pope, who rakes in fabulous sums from tin mines in Bolivia, copper mines in Chile, plantations in Angola, etc., to attack "men who drain money from a country and transfer it abroad," or to attack "colonial powers which look after their own interests alone"!

All such nonsense only shows up the utter hypocrisy of the Vatican. And yet the Soviet revisionist ruling clique heaps unstinted praise on this "papal encyclic." What purpose can they have other than to help the Pope deceive the people?

What the Soviet revisionists have in mind is crystal clear. They long ago joined with the Vatican. The papal court has become a centre for political deals between them and the U.S. imperialists. Only the other day, Podgorny, one of their chieftains, went personally to the Vatican in his capacity as head of state of the U.S.S.R. to pay homage to the pontiff and discuss with him in secluded chambers plans for helping U.S. imperialism with its policy of aggression against Vietnam. In the counter-revolutionary "holy alliance" which the Soviet revisionists and the U.S. imperialists are knocking together, the Pope plays an important role. It is plain that by energetically embellishing the Vatican, the Soviet revisionists hope to whitewash their own renegade behaviour of associating with this ultra-reactionary force.

The very fact that they have shamelessly praised this counter-revolutionary element as a fighter against colonialism and a standard-bearer of socialism speaks volumes for the true meaning of their "anti-imperialism" and "anti-colonialism." Does this not expose beyond question the real nature of their so-called "socialism"?

(April 17)

## Interlude in U.S.-Soviet Collaboration

It made headlines in the U.S. bourgeois press. Official Soviet representatives had approached the U.S. Department of the Interior, applying for permission to bid for the contract to provide the Grand Coulee Dam in Washington state, U.S.A., with Soviet turbines.

What can one say about the motive of the government of a country, which claims to be a socialist big power, to compete with U.S. monopoly capitalists for a contract just like an ordinary contractor?

Can it be that Soviet material and technological capacities have sufficiently satisfied the needs of construction at home and there is enough to spare? That is of course not the case; it is rather the opposite. Didn't the Soviet revisionist ruling clique run advertisements some time ago in the U.S. papers seeking to do business and inviting American investments? Hasn't it been courting Japanese monopoly capital to "develop" Siberia?

Can it be that they want to earn some U.S. dollars by getting this turbine tender? Undoubtedly, clinching the deal would be welcome to the Soviet revisionist ruling clique who are sadly lacking in foreign exchange. This would at least enable it to import more fashionable American coats and shoes to lend some glamour to their so-called "communism."

However, the whole thing is more a political deal than a business transaction. The Johnson Administration has repeatedly expressed the desire to "bridge" over the gap with the Soviet Union. Has Washington not thrown out the bait in the form of eased restrictions



on trade between the two countries? Isn't it only natural then that the Soviet revisionist ruling clique should respond eagerly and take every opportunity to reciprocate in building the "bridge"?

It is under such circumstances that the Soviet revisionist ruling clique takes up the cue and openly pro-

poses to take part in the bidding. Although this is only an interlude in U.S.-Soviet collaboration, it shows clearly that the Soviet revisionist ruling clique will stop at nothing in seeking "co-operation" with the United States.

(April 18)

# Pursue the Enemy After Gaining Victory

## - Statement of the Afro-Asian Writers' Bureau on the Beirut Bogus "Third Conference of Afro-Asian Writers" Engineered by the Soviet Revisionists

**T**HE illegal, splittist and bogus "third conference of Afro-Asian writers" in Beirut, engineered by the Soviet revisionist leading clique, beat a hasty retreat and came to an abrupt end on March 29, 1967, amidst great contradiction, difficulties and confusion.

It was a boomerang on the Soviet revisionists and a great exposure of their reactionary, counter-revolutionary and capitulationist line.

The Afro-Asian Writers' Bureau hereby conveys its profound respects to and highest admiration for all progressive and revolutionary writers, national-liberation organizations and other progressive organizations as well as progressive international organizations of Asia and Africa, who, in response to our appeals, have dealt heavy blows to the Soviet revisionist splittists not only by ignoring their invitation to attend the Beirut meeting but also by issuing solemn statements, press communiques and interviews, denouncing and strongly condemning this conspiracy and plot against the progressive and revolutionary Afro-Asian writers and people.

The Sri Lanka (Ceylon) Writers' Association, the Ceylon Young Writers' Association, the Afro-Asian Solidarity Association of Ceylon, the Chinese Writers' Union, the Afro-Asian Solidarity Committee of China, the Japanese Council for the Afro-Asian Writers' Conference, the Pakistan Writers' Guild, the Pakistan National Organization for Afro-Asian People's Solidarity, the Senegalese Liaison Committee for Afro-Asian Writers, the Somali Writers' Association, the Somali Journalists' Association, Free Pen Society of the Sudan, Syrian Liaison Committee for Afro-Asian Writers, Tanzanian Writers' Association, the progressive and revolutionary writers of Indonesia, Japan, Malaya, Thailand and Turkey, the Nationalist Organization of Angola, Pan-Africanist Congress of Azania, the Bechuanaland People's Party, the Basutoland Congress Party, the General Secretariat of the Movement for Self-Determination and Independence of the Canary Islands, the Mozambique Revolutionary Committee, the Mozambique African National Union, the Swaziland Progressive Party, the South West African National Union, the Afro-Asian Journalists' Association and the Peace

Liaison Committee of the Asian and Pacific Regions were amongst those organizations that issued public statements and gave press interviews denouncing and condemning the illegal, splittist, bogus conference in Beirut.

A joint statement condemning the Beirut bogus conference was issued by the revolutionary writers, journalists and freedom fighters from 20 countries and regions, namely Angola, Azania, Lesotho, Botswana, Cameroon, Ceylon, China, Indonesia, Iran, Japan, Jordan, Malaya, Mozambique, Niger, North Kalimantan, South West Africa, the Sudan, Thailand, Yemen and Zimbabwe.

Further, the writers' organizations of Cambodia, the Congo (B), Guinea, Mali, Pakistan and many other countries were amongst those that totally boycotted the illegal, splittist, bogus conference in Beirut.

In addition to the above, heroic Albanian writers, who are standing at the forefront of the anti-imperialist and anti-revisionist struggle in Europe, also gave us their militant support.

Prior to the bogus "third conference," the revisionists repeatedly bragged that 300 delegates from 70 countries of Asia and Africa would attend this conference. In fact, the conference was attended by only a little bit more than 100 persons from over 30 countries of Asia and Africa. And even then, more than half of this number was made up of members of the Soviet revisionist delegation and delegations from three other countries.

The small number of countries represented and the small total number of participants at the bogus conference and the great number of statements condemning the bogus "third conference" issued by so many writers' organizations, writers, and nationalist parties in Afro-Asian countries are clear evidence of the utter helplessness, miserable failure and complete isolation of the reactionary capitulationist line pursued by the Soviet revisionists.

Apart from the handful of puppets already in the Soviet revisionists' pocket, some of the participants succumbed to pressure from them. Others had been

trapped into this plot, while still others were lackeys of U.S. imperialism. It is of significance to note that the general secretary of UNESCO from whom the Soviet revisionists begged financial assistance for this plot was amongst the invitees to this bogus conference.

An analysis of the Soviet revisionists' intentions as manifested at the Cairo bogus preparatory meeting deliberations prior to the bogus "third conference," the general report steered by them at the bogus "third conference," the speech of the head of the Soviet revisionist delegation at the bogus conference itself and the "general declaration" issued at the end of the bogus conference and the reaction to them of even those who had participated in it, show that this bogus "third conference" is a white banner hoisted by the Soviet revisionists for realizing U.S.-Soviet cultural collaboration and consolidating the "U.S.-Soviet holy alliance," and that it is another serious crime committed by the Soviet revisionists in trying to sell out the Afro-Asian people's revolutionary cause.

It must be remembered that not a single document or even a single sentence or phrase condemning imperialism, headed by the United States, or supporting the Afro-Asian people's struggle against imperialism was issued at the bogus preparatory meeting in Cairo.

As a continuation of this revisionist betrayal, not a single word or phrase was used to condemn the U.S. imperialist crimes in Vietnam or to support the just stand of the well-known four-point stand of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam and five-part statement of the South Vietnam National Front for Liberation and the well-known appeal of President Ho Chi Minh, either in the general report placed before the bogus "third conference," or in the speech of the Soviet revisionist delegation, or in the "general declaration" finally issued at the end of the bogus conference. On the contrary, the Soviet revisionists pursued the path of naked betrayal of the Vietnam people's sacred cause by supporting the "peace negotiations" sponsored by the U.S. imperialists in order to force the Vietnamese people to lay down their arms and surrender to U.S. imperialism. The "general declaration" of the bogus "third conference" only "demands an immediate end to the barbarous bombing and to escalation of U.S. aggression in Vietnam," thus nakedly exposing the manoeuvres of the Soviet revisionists to serve U.S. imperialism by peddling the "peace negotiations" for it. When U.S. imperialism is now wildly expanding the war of aggression in Vietnam in line with the policies decided at the Guam conference, the Soviet revisionists, instead of demanding the complete withdrawal of all U.S. and satellite troops from south Vietnam, the dismantling of all U.S. military bases in south Vietnam, and demanding that the United States get out of Vietnam and allow the south Vietnamese people to settle their own affairs in accordance with the programme of the South Vietnam National Front for Liberation, merely demanded "peace negotiations" and an immediate end to bombing and war "escalation," while allowing the U.S. aggressors to continue their

occupation of the territory of Vietnam and hang on in south Vietnam. Is this not the same as the "new proposals" recently peddled for U.S. imperialism by U Thant? This is no more than providing camouflage for the U.S. scheme to expand their aggressive war and force the Vietnamese people to succumb to the U.S. aggressors under the pressure of their bombs and shells. It fully exposes the traitorous features of the Soviet revisionist leading clique on the Vietnam question in capitulating to U.S. imperialism and selling out the Vietnamese people's sacred struggle against U.S. aggression and for national salvation.

On the question of support for the Palestine Arab people to oppose Israel, the tool for aggression of U.S. imperialism, the Soviet revisionists have also, as on the Vietnam question, nakedly revealed their ugly features in betraying the Arab people's revolutionary cause, thus facing the opposition from the participants of the Arab countries. The Soviet revisionist delegation deliberately avoided discussion of the actual nature of the Palestinian people's struggle. Far from condemning the crimes of aggression committed by U.S. imperialism, they worked hand in glove with the Indian delegation in deliberately obstructing the genuine aspirations of the Palestine Arab people. They argued that they took this stand because they "had not studied" the Palestine question and that they were only interested in literature and poetry, not in politics.

For the moment, we will not discuss what kind of "literature" and "poetry" the Soviet revisionists are interested in. Our question is: Are you really not interested in politics? Certainly you have no interest in revolutionary politics, nay, you stubbornly oppose them. You are interested in reactionary politics and not only interested in them, but preoccupied with them. You have no interest in supporting the revolutionary struggle of the Palestinian people, but you have a great interest in colluding with Israel! Have you not recognized Israel—the imperialist tool for aggression against the Arab countries—as a state and established diplomatic relations with it? Are you not sending group after group of people from the Soviet Union to settle down in Israel? Why have you refused the Palestine Liberation Organization to set up an office in Moscow, when other countries, including China, have allowed such offices? Why are you so interested in vigorously propagating, especially in Arab countries, the so-called "Tashkent spirit" and advocating "conciliation" and "peaceful coexistence" between the Palestinian people and Israel, the U.S. imperialist tool for aggression, while the Arab people and the people of other Afro-Asian countries are demanding the liquidation of Israel? You are, actually, much interested in such politics. You completely disregard the demand, which was made at the Emergency Meeting of Afro-Asian Writers, participated in by 53 Afro-Asian countries and regions and 5 Afro-Asian international organizations and held in Peking, last year, in support of the Vietnamese people's struggle against U.S. aggression, that all political relations with Israel be

severed and that an economic and cultural boycott be instituted against Israel. On the contrary, you continue to have diplomatic and other relations with Israel, thus completely betraying the sacred cause of the Arab people. Does this not make crystal clear what kind of political interest you have? Is not the plot of "talking about only literature, not politics" completely exposed?

The revolutionary Afro-Asian writers are concerned not only about revolutionary politics, but also about revolutionary art and literature. They hold the view that politics cannot be separated from art and literature. They follow what the great leader, Chairman Mao Tse-tung, says, "[Our purpose is] to ensure that literature and art fit well into the whole revolutionary machine as a component part, that they operate as powerful weapons for uniting and educating the people and for attacking and destroying the enemy, and that they help the people fight the enemy with one heart and one mind." Therefore, more than 160 writer delegates from 53 Afro-Asian countries and regions at the Peking Emergency Meeting, besides adopting 34 resolutions firmly supporting the people's struggle of various countries of Asia and Africa against U.S.-led imperialism and old and new colonialism, repeatedly exchanged views on the question of revolutionary art and literature and unanimously adopted a "Resolution on the Service of Literature to the Anti-Imperialist Revolutionary Struggle." They appealed to all revolutionary Afro-Asian writers "to create and develop Afro-Asian anti-imperialist revolutionary and national new culture and new literature and art of the masses of the people, and to sing the praises of the revolutionary struggle of the Afro-Asian peoples for winning and safeguarding national independence through national forms which are popular and are loved by the masses." But the Soviet revisionist writers are not interested in such revolutionary art and literature. What they are most interested in is to lay wreaths at the grave of Kennedy, the chieftain of U.S. imperialism, and write such "poems" as *The City of Yes and the City of No*, which shamelessly praises Western capitalism. These are out-and-out traitorous, counter-revolutionary political activities! We must point out that it was by no means accidental that the Soviet revisionists sent the notorious and traitorous "poet" Yevtushenko straight from visiting Kennedy's grave to Beirut for the bogus "third conference." This typical representative of revisionism was like a white banner set up at the bogus "third conference" by the Soviet revisionists. He said in his message to the bogus conference, "Now the West is not the West of the past and the East is not as it was, either. When two are approaching each other, they have already come together." This is a confession by the Soviet revisionists of U.S.-Soviet cultural collaboration and of the counter-revolutionary "U.S.-Soviet holy alliance," a confession by them of surrender to U.S. imperialism and confirmation of their theory of "peaceful coexistence" with U.S. imperialism. This reveals their real purpose in holding the

bogus "third conference." This is the real "general declaration" of the bogus "third conference."

In the ideological field, the Soviet revisionists vigorously publicized so-called "fraternity," "humanitarianism," "anti-war movement" and "human solidarity and unity" in the "general declaration" of the bogus "third conference" in order to serve counter-revolutionary capitulationist politics. This is utter revisionist stuff, for they clearly make no differentiation between the exploiter and the exploited, the oppressor and the oppressed, the robber and the robbed, or between enemy and friend, but propagate "fraternity" and "solidarity and unity" between them, all without discrimination.

This is the essence of revisionism which, like opium, paralyses the exploited, the oppressed, the victims of aggression and the robbed, and tries to bring about a compromise, a reconciliation between them and the exploiters, oppressors, aggressors and robbers to the benefit of the latter. This is precisely the way in which the Soviet revisionists are betraying the revolutionary cause of the Afro-Asian people, selling out the interests and gains of the Soviet people, won through the Great October Socialist Revolution, led by the great Lenin, and developing capitalism in the Soviet Union by allowing American and other Western monopoly capitalists to invest in industrial projects in the Soviet Union and exploit the Soviet people. This is precisely the policy followed by the Soviet revisionists as agents of U.S. imperialism to restore capitalism in the Soviet Union and bring about U.S.-Soviet collaboration for world domination. This is precisely the capitulationist line they publicized at the bogus conference in Beirut.

In the organizational field, in order to pursue their reactionary and capitulationist political line, the Soviet revisionists set up a so-called "Afro-Asian Writers' Association" at the bogus "third conference," which will be financed by UNESCO and will admit the United States as a "guest member." But, due to the exposure of this dirty bargain in our previous statements, the Soviet revisionists did not dare to have it discussed and adopted openly at the conference. They did not dare to mention a single word in the "general declaration" about this organization, which embodies the U.S.-Soviet collaboration in the cultural field. Here, we see the guilty conscience of the Soviet revisionists. All this shows how covertly the Soviet revisionists realized their dirty plot.

This bogus conference also brought to light the political plot of the Soviet revisionist alliance with U.S. imperialism to oppose China. While doing their utmost to serve U.S. imperialism in peddling the "peace talks" plot, the Soviet revisionists viciously and wildly attacked, by insinuation in the "general declaration," the world-shaking great cultural revolution of China, which has a mighty and far-reaching influence on the revolution of the Afro-Asian people and the people of the world. But, like "mayflies lightly plotting to topple

**the giant tree,"** the Soviet revisionists cannot do any harm, whatsoever, to the revolutionary cause of the great Chinese people and the great Afro-Asian people, but only show their fear of China's great cultural revolution.

From the white banners hoisted at the bogus "third conference" by the Soviet revisionists in the political, ideological and organizational fields, we can see that they intended, through the convocation of the bogus "third conference," to carry out more extensively U.S.-Soviet cultural collaboration and to consolidate the counter-revolutionary "U.S.-Soviet holy alliance" to take a further step in conspiring to undermine and sell out the revolutionary cause of the Afro-Asian people. Just as our statement, dated March 21 [see *P.R.*, No. 14, 1967, p. 20], pointed out, the Soviet revisionists would "lift a rock only to drop it on their own feet"; they have now further exposed the ugly features of their splittist and capitulationist line. They have met with strong denunciation and condemnation from numerous Afro-Asian writers and people and suffered yet another miserable defeat. Nevertheless, the Soviet revisionists are not reconciled to their defeat and, therefore, we can by no means slacken our vigilance. We appeal to all progressive and revolutionary Afro-Asian writers and people to further expose and unmask the

betrayal, conspiracy and plot engineered by the Soviet revisionists. We must pursue the enemy after gaining victory.

Regarding the revolutionary Third Afro-Asian Writers' Conference, scheduled to be held in Peking this year, writers' organizations, nationalist parties, progressive and revolutionary writers and freedom fighters from more than 40 countries in Asia and Africa have, during the past few days, issued statements expressing their support for it. Statements, communiques and press interviews expressing support for us are constantly streaming into our office. We will surely live up to their hopes. Together with the host country, our Bureau will ensure the success of the Third Conference. The great victories gained in China's great proletarian cultural revolution, personally launched and led by the great leader, Chairman Mao Tse-tung, have created very favourable conditions for the successful holding of the Third Conference of Afro-Asian Writers. With other progressive and revolutionary Afro-Asian writers, we will surely and thoroughly smash the splittist and capitulationist line of the Soviet revisionists and contribute still more to the Afro-Asian people's revolutionary cause of solidarity against imperialism.

April 13, 1967

## Overseas Chinese Struggle Valiantly Against Indonesian Reactionaries

**I**N the new wave of anti-China, anti-Chinese hysteria raised by the Indonesian Right-wing fascist military regime, great numbers of toiling overseas Chinese and other persecuted Chinese nationals of different social strata, holding aloft the great red banner of Mao Tse-tung's thought, have been forced to launch a determined, tit-for-tat and just struggle in self-defence against persecution and expropriation.

The masses of toiling overseas Chinese in Indonesia are guided and inspired by the invincible thought of Mao Tse-tung in their struggle which has dealt a heavy blow to the shameful joint conspiracy of the Indonesian reactionaries and the imperialists and modern revisionists to oppose China. It has greatly inspired the Indonesian people and strengthened their revolutionary determination. It is also a great encouragement to the revolutionary masses in China who are now carrying out the great proletarian cultural revolution.

Wherever there is oppression there is resistance. The struggle against persecution waged by the toiling overseas Chinese masses in Indonesia ranges from Northern Sumatra in the west to East Java in the east. In Northern Sumatra, many victimized Chinese nationals have joined hands in waging a struggle of self-

defence. In West Java, where the reactionary atmosphere is very intense, the Indonesian reactionary authorities were forced by the resolute struggle of local Chinese nationals to release a number of innocent overseas Chinese arrested illegally. In Surabaya, Kediri, Ngandjuk, Probolinggo, Malang, Madiun and Bondowoso in East Java, many overseas Chinese have risen up to oppose the collection of the "poll-tax," which is terribly high, and the "transferring" of the shops they run. As a result, the Indonesian reactionary authorities have been compelled repeatedly to postpone the time limit for paying the "poll-tax," and their illegal activities to demand that Chinese-run shops be "transferred" have mostly come to nothing. In the struggle against persecution, the masses of toiling overseas Chinese have shown the spirit of dauntlessness in face of beatings, imprisonment and death. One heroic, revolutionary collective after another has come to the fore in the course of the struggle. They have greatly heightened the morale of the toiling Chinese nationals and the revolutionary people of Indonesia, and have greatly deflated the arrogance of the Indonesian reactionaries.

In their heroic struggle against persecution and expropriation, the masses of toiling overseas Chinese, closely uniting with persecuted Chinese of other social

strata, bear firmly in mind the teaching of their great leader Chairman Mao that **"all reactionaries are paper tigers,"** and dare to struggle and persist in struggle. They have won one victory after another. The victimized overseas Chinese have held demonstrations in many places, shouting slogans and singing revolutionary songs to oppose the unwarranted persecution by the Indonesian reactionaries. In Kediri city in East Java, the persecuted overseas Chinese have undertaken one large-scale struggle after another. On March 3, some one thousand of them marched in columns to the police station to demand the release of 33 overseas Chinese who had been illegally arrested. Later the same month, the Rightist reactionary authorities in the city arrested more than 60 Chinese nationals and an overseas Chinese toiler died as a result of the suppression to which they were subjected. The indignant local Chinese nationals rose to express their strong protest, but the Rightist authorities unleashed armed troops and police to suppress and open fire on them, causing a serious bloody incident. In the face of enemy bayonets and the crackle of wild gunfire, several hundred Chinese nationals bravely stood firm, reading aloud quotations from Chairman Mao Tse-tung. They continued their struggle for three hours when the enemy was forced to retreat. At the beginning of February in Madiun, an overseas Chinese was persecuted to the point that he died as a result of the pressure put on him by the Indonesian reactionary authorities to pay the "poll-tax." His funeral procession was made up of thousands of overseas Chinese and Indonesians who demonstrated in the streets. On March 11 in Malang, when more than 4,000 Chinese nationals took part in a one-and-a-half kilometre long funeral procession for an overseas Chinese, who had been persecuted to death by the reactionary authorities, the latter sent out large numbers of armed troops and police who broke up the procession and fired on the people. Angered by this, the crowds continued to march on. One young overseas Chinese shouted as blood flowed from his wounded leg: "Don't be afraid, march on!" Having failed to suppress them, the reactionary troops and police had to withdraw in disorder. Then large numbers of armoured cars and police cars kept watch on the funeral procession all the way.

In Situbondo, East Java, the Indonesian reactionary authorities in carrying out anti-China and anti-Chinese laws indulged in a frenzy of arrests of Chinese nationals and looted their property. On April 6, they opened fire on Chinese nationals, causing a serious bloody incident in which Huang Chien-min was killed and Yang Ching-jung and Chen Yung-chen were wounded. Infuriated by this fascist atrocity, more than 200 overseas Chinese carried Huang Chien-min's body to the front of the district headquarters in Situbondo, and together with more than 100 members of their families, wrathfully accused the reactionary military and administrative authorities of murder. Scores of the reactionary armymen were frightened and a police representative had to come forward to give their "guarantee"

for the funeral arrangements and an assurance for the safety of the lives of the overseas Chinese.

In the course of their struggle against the Indonesian reactionary authorities many persecuted overseas Chinese undertook the creative study and application of Chairman Mao's works and drew infinite strength from it. When Indonesian thugs outrageously raided the concentration camp set up at the overseas Chinese middle school in Medan, flagrantly smashing things up, robbing the unarmed inmates of their means of subsistence and even opening fire on them, these persecuted overseas Chinese thought of Chairman Mao's teaching: **"We will not attack unless we are attacked; if we are attacked, we will certainly counter-attack."** This filled them with strength and more than 200 of them charged towards the thugs who became badly frightened and fled in panic. Once an overseas Chinese barber and his friends were attacked from all sides by a group of thugs. Stones rained upon them, wounding them. But when they thought of this teaching of Chairman Mao's, **"All men must die . . . to die for the people is weightier than Mount Tai,"** they gained additional courage and strength, fought on firmly and in the end put the thugs to rout. Typical of the remarks made by persecuted overseas Chinese are: "Since the Indonesian reactionaries persecute us so brutally, we must take full account of them. We are guided by the great invincible thought of Mao Tse-tung. Because of this, we can think and see clearly, have greater courage and staunchness and will be victorious in struggle."

The just struggle which the overseas Chinese in Indonesia have waged against persecution and expropriation has the sympathy of the masses of the Indonesian people who have drawn encouragement from it. In West Java there have been cases where Indonesian village heads, angered by the Indonesian Right-wing authorities' unwarranted arrest of overseas Chinese, have resigned in protest. In some places, Indonesian people have joined overseas Chinese in their demonstrations against the brutal persecution of Chinese nationals by the Indonesian reactionary authorities.

The Chinese Government and people are closely following the new anti-China and anti-Chinese campaign now being mounted by the Right-wing fascist regime of Indonesia. The mass of the revolutionary Chinese people feel great concern for the overseas Chinese in Indonesia and express firm support for them in their courageous struggle. They point out emphatically that the Indonesian reactionaries are terrifying in appearance, but in reality they are not so powerful. The just struggle which overseas Chinese in Indonesia are waging against persecution will again prove the correctness of the irrefutable truth advanced by the great leader Chairman Mao: **"All reactionaries are paper tigers . . . it is not the reactionaries but the people who are really powerful."** The reactionary Indonesian Government is obstinately stepping up its anti-China and anti-Chinese campaign and it will reap the evil consequences from this.



# ROUND THE WORLD

## PUNTA DEL ESTE CONFERENCE

### Plot for "Economic Integration"

The conference of the American heads of state which closed in Uruguay's Punta del Este on April 14 was a clear attempt by Yankee imperialism to tighten its political, military and economic control over Latin America on the pretext of "economic integration."

Under U.S. manipulation, the conference adopted a "declaration" for "economic integration" announcing that a Latin American "common market" will be formed within 15 years starting 1970. The Latin American countries suffer from U.S. imperialism's exploitation in many ways — among them its practice of buying cheap and selling dear, its harsh credit terms and high tariff barriers against Latin American exports. They have time and again demanded that U.S. loans and "aid" be given on less stringent terms and that Washington remove its trade restrictions. This has led to many bitter quarrels at previous inter-American conferences. At this conference Johnson again turned down the Latin American demands while calling for the "opening up of the inner frontiers of Latin America." This can only give Yankee imperialism a still freer hand for economic robbery and political subversion. "Economic integration," as advocated by Johnson, is nothing but a neo-colonialist strategem for tightening U.S. imperialism's hold on Latin America.

Outside the conference, Johnson also had secret talks with certain Latin American heads of state to discuss so-called "communist guerrilla subversion." And it was against this background that Onganía, chief-tain of Argentina's military regime, raised the question of "continental security measures" against "subversive activities." His plan, however, failed to win any support from the others and the Yankee scheme to rig up an inter-American military machine and intensify the suppres-

sion of the people's revolutionary movements collapsed.

Western news agencies admit that some Latin American heads of state were disappointed with the conference results. Ecuadorian President Arosemena, for example, refused to sign the declaration because "it does not meet the needs of developing countries like Ecuador."

Knowing Yankee imperialism for what it is, the Latin American people cherish no illusions about the conference and will have nothing to do with its decisions. Protests were widespread in a number of Latin American countries. In Montevideo, there were strikes and demonstrations. While shouts such as "Johnson go home" and "Away, Johnson — butcher of the Vietnamese people" resounded in the streets, a South Vietnam National Front for Liberation flag was flown on a ship off Punta del Este's shores. Johnson was so frightened by the popular protest that he had a thousand plainclothesmen sent from the United States to protect himself.

## HUMPHREY IN WESTERN EUROPE

### Scorned by the People

Rebuffed by the people of the Netherlands, Italy, Britain, West Germany, France and Belgium, U.S. Vice-President Humphrey has returned to Washington after an inglorious visit to Western Europe. For two weeks he was busy in the six countries trying to justify the U.S. aggressive war in Vietnam. But all he did was to underline the extreme unpopularity and isolation of U.S. imperialism among the world's people.

Even the U.S. bourgeois press could not deny that Humphrey got a "hot reception." In London, the words "Yanks, get out of

Vietnam" and "Humphrey murderer" dogged him wherever he went. In Brussels, he faced a barrage of rotten eggs and fruit. In Bonn, demonstrators burnt an effigy of Johnson before the U.S. Embassy. Anti-U.S. leaflets were distributed in Rome. When Humphrey visited the opera house there, yellow paint from a plastic bag thrown at him landed on his dress suit. Half a lemon splattered in his face as he got into a car in Florence. Later, when he left the car, he was hit by a potato thrown from a window. In Paris, where he claimed to have spent a "very pleasant day," residents burnt an American flag and smashed the windows of the U.S.I.S. office. Humphrey dared not go out to dine in the evening as his hotel was surrounded by shouting crowds. When he went to lay a wreath before the statue of George Washington, he was again confronted with demonstrators. He drove away in such haste that his motorcycle escorts could hardly catch up with him.

U.S. imperialism has always tried to deceive the American people with the lie that its policy towards Vietnam has wide "understanding" and "sympathy" around the world. How-



Fly away, Humphrey! Cartoon in "Renmin Ribao"

ever, when U.S. imperialist war crimes in Vietnam suffer popular condemnation in Western Europe, long considered by the U.S. ruling circles to be a "quiet continent," how much stronger must be popular feelings elsewhere against U.S. imperialism!

### Shorter Notes

**India under U.S.-Soviet "nuclear umbrella."** Chagla, Indian External Affairs Minister, has disclosed that his government is now definitely out to obtain a joint U.S. and Soviet "guarantee against nuclear attack." L.K. Jha, secretary of the Indian Prime Minister, has just completed exploratory talks on the matter in Moscow (an East European embassy in New Delhi revealed that the Soviet authorities might "go along with India's desire") and is now in Washington for the same purpose. Chagla himself will go to Geneva for talks with U.S. and Soviet representatives.

On the pretext of meeting a "nuclear menace" from China, New Delhi is forming an open military alliance with U.S. imperialism and Soviet revisionism directed against China and India's other neighbours.

**Pakistan rejects U.S.-Indian pressure.** Pakistan President Ayub Khan has said: "India's policy is not that it should live in peace with Pakistan and therefore how can they ask us to cut our armed forces?" He pointed out that the Indian Government did not want to discuss the Kashmir question seriously but instead kept on talking about holding discussions on the reduction of armed forces.

At Washington's prompting, New Delhi has approached the Pakistan Government for a mutual reduction of armed forces to a ratio of four to one in India's favour. U.S. imperialism has been applying economic pressure to coerce Pakistan to accept.

**NATO supreme command forced out of France.** The headquarters of the supreme command of the U.S.-controlled NATO military bloc has moved to Belgium amidst the strong protests of the Belgian people. It was forced out of Paris after 16 years' existence.

Taking advantage of the fact that the United States is quagmired in south Vietnam, the de Gaulle government has made a series of moves to challenge U.S. hegemony. A year ago, it announced France's withdrawal from the NATO military or-

ganization beginning July 1, 1966, and ordered the removal from France before April 1, 1967, of all NATO and U.S. military personnel as well as military establishments and facilities. The U.S. was thus compelled to pull out 30,000 troops and two major headquarters and evacuate 14 air bases and 40 army installations from France.

**Americans Protest U.S. aggression in Vietnam.** Some 400,000 Americans demonstrated against U.S. aggression in Vietnam on April 15. In New York, nearly 300,000 people took part in the five-hour parade which rounded off with a protest rally in front of the United Nations headquarters. More than 100 young men burnt their draft cards in public to show their determination to go to prison rather than be sent to south Vietnam as cannon-fodder. Afro-American marchers carried placards reading "Black men should fight white racists, not Vietnamese freedom fighters" and "No Vietnamese ever called me a nigger." For the first time American Indians took part in a demonstration of this kind.

On the west coast, 100,000 people came out on the same day to attend the biggest Vietnam protest rally so far held in San Francisco.

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