

# PEKING REVIEW

20

May 12, 1967

## **Betrayal of Proletarian Dictatorship Is Essential Element in the Book On "Self-Cultivation"**

Article by Editorial Departments of "Hongqi" and "Renmin Ribao"

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# QUOTATIONS FROM CHAIRMAN MAO TSE-TUNG

All revolutionary struggles in the world are aimed at seizing political power and consolidating it.

*This Year's Election* (September 1933)

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The socialist system will eventually replace the capitalist system; this is an objective law independent of man's will. However much the reactionaries try to hold back the wheel of history, sooner or later revolution will take place and will inevitably triumph.

*Speech at the Meeting of the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R. in Celebration of the 40th Anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution* (November 1957)

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In the final analysis, the dividing line between revolutionary intellectuals and non-revolutionary or counter-revolutionary intellectuals is whether or not they are willing to integrate themselves with the workers and peasants and actually do so.

*The May 4th Movement* (May 1939)



Chairman Mao Tse-tung

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



## Photo Exhibition "Chairman Mao Is the Red Sun In Our Hearts"

An exhibition entitled "Chairman Mao Is the Red Sun in Our Hearts," composed of huge photographs of Chairman Mao, opened in Peking on May 4 at the Museum of Chinese Art. It is being held at a time when the revolutionary people in all countries are celebrating the victory of China's great proletarian cultural revolution and on the eve of the 25th anniversary of the publication of Chairman Mao's *Talks at the Yanan Forum on Literature and Art*.

The 60 pictures to be seen trace Chairman Mao's activities in the great proletarian cultural revolution up to May Day this year, and they record the development of the revolutionary stage by stage. It is the first exhibition of its kind in China.

The central subject of the photo exhibition is Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line. Chairman Mao's unreserved trust in and support for the revolutionary masses and respect for their initiative can be seen in photos showing him reviewing the mighty contingents of the cultural revolutionary army from the Tien An Men rostrum or in an open car, showing him sitting with the young revolutionary fighters on the ground at Tien An Men Square enjoying the festivities on National Day evening last year or spending the May Day holiday with three million revolutionaries in Peking, or receiving foreign friends. These photos, in turn, reflect the broad revolutionary masses' boundless love, admiration and veneration for Chairman Mao.

Serving as the introduction to the exhibition is a written statement by Vice-Chairman Lin Piao: "**Comrade Mao Tse-tung is the greatest Marxist-Leninist of our era. He has inherited, defended and developed Marxism-Leninism with genius, creatively and comprehensively and has brought it to a higher and completely new stage.**"

In the main hall a big slogan which expresses the common aspiration of

millions of revolutionary people strikes the visitors' eyes: "Long live the great teacher, great leader, great supreme commander and great helmsman Chairman Mao!" Quotations from Chairman Mao and reproductions of the original hand-written scripts of his poems are also on exhibit.

One photograph shows Chairman Mao applauding the success of the 11th Plenary Session of the Eighth Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party at its closing last August. This session proclaimed the victory of the proletarian revolutionary line represented by Chairman Mao and the bankruptcy of the bourgeois reactionary line.

Another photograph shows Chairman Mao wearing a Red Guard armband and waving to one million Red Guards from the Tien An Men rostrum last August 18. A photograph records the scene of Chairman Mao with his close comrade-in-arms Comrade Lin Piao at his side on the Tien An Men rostrum, looking at the mighty contingent of paraders. It was on this occasion that Chairman Mao said to Comrade Lin Piao: "**This is a movement of a momentous scale. It has indeed mobilized the masses. It is of very great significance to the revolutionization of the thinking of the people throughout the country.**"

On the first day, thousands of Peking's workers, peasants, soldiers, Red Guards and revolutionary students and teachers went to see the exhibition. They were greatly encouraged and given more strength as they saw Chairman Mao's pictures, whom they longed to see for days and nights. Many wrote in the visitors' book pledges of their complete devotion to Chairman Mao, and their determination to thoroughly criticize and repudiate top Party people in authority taking the capitalist road and to carry the proletarian cultural revolution through to the end.

The proletarian and anti-imperialist revolutionary fighters who came to Peking all over the world were happy to see Chairman Mao's photos in the exhibition. They looked at the pictures of Chairman Mao — the most respected and beloved leader and the greatest Marxist-Leninist in this era — for quite a long, long time, wanting to impress Chairman Mao's image deeply in their minds. Time and again, they took pictures together in front of photos of him. As they left the exhibition hall, they often turned over their heads to review Chairman Mao's stately image and murmured: "Chairman Mao, we wish you good health, good health for ever."

## Statue of Chairman Mao Unveiled At Tsinghua University

A huge statue of Chairman Mao was unveiled at Tsinghua University in Peking on May 4.

Like a giant standing in the centre of the campus, the reinforced concrete statue on its plinth reaches to a height of 8.1 metres. Clad in a military greatcoat, the figure of Chairman Mao is full of energy and vitality, with his right arm stretched forward and pointing the way of ad-

vance for the revolutionary students and teachers and the hundreds of millions of Chinese people.

Set into the front of the plinth is a plaque bearing the inscription by Comrade Lin Piao which reads: "Long live our great teacher, great leader, great supreme commander and great helmsman Chairman Mao! A long, long life to him!"

This impressive statue was made by revolutionary young fighters of



the Ching kangshan Corps of Tsinghua University in co-operation with revolutionaries in many other units. It took more than one month to complete.

Members of the Ching kangshan Corps said: We want to carve, big and tall, the splendid figure of our great leader Chairman Mao. Whenever we lift our heads we shall be able to see him, and in this way Chairman Mao will always be with us!

Prior to the great cultural revolution, a handful of counter-revolutionary revisionists in authority at the university did their utmost to prevent the revolutionary students and teachers from studying Chairman Mao's works and from displaying his picture and quotations from his works. Yet they intended to set aside a big sum to erect statues of feudal scholars and reactionary bourgeois authorities on the campus.

When the proletarian cultural revolution, initiated and led by Chairman Mao, started in Tsinghua University, the revolutionary students and teachers, who had been suppressed for a long time by the revisionists, rose up in rebellion. They pasted up quotations from Chairman Mao all over the campus and hung his picture on the walls everywhere. However, the No. 1 Party person in authority taking the capitalist road, the back-stage boss of these revisionist elements, put forward the bourgeois reactionary line and sent a work team to the university to suppress the surging mass movement. Under these circumstances, the demand of the revolutionary students and teachers to erect a statue of Chairman Mao was again turned down without good reason, this time by the work team.

However, the proletarian revolutionary line represented by Chairman Mao won a decisive victory throughout the university. And this revolutionary demand of the revolutionary students and teachers was finally fulfilled.

### Comrade Sanmugathasan Arrives in Peking

Comrade N. Sanmugathasan, Member of the Political Bureau and

of the Secretariat of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Ceylon, arrived in Peking by plane on May 7 for a visit and medical treatment at the invitation of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party. He was accompanied by his wife and daughter.

Among those warmly welcoming the guests at the airport was Liu Ning-I, Member of the Central Committee and Member of the Secretariat of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party.

### Kwangsi Meeting Celebrates Successive Shooting Down Of Five U.S. Planes

The recent successive downing of five U.S. imperialist warplanes over Kwangsi was hailed as a new victory for the invincible thought of Mao Tse-tung at a meeting held by an air force unit of the Chinese People's Liberation Army in Kwangsi on May 6. Units and personnel who took part in the engagements were commended as good soldiers of Chairman Mao. More than 1,000 people attended the meeting, including Yu Li-chin, a leading member of the air force of the P.L.A.; Yang Mei-sheng, a responsible member of P.L.A. units under the Kwangchow command; and representatives of local revolutionary mass organizations and militia.

The meeting started with everybody singing the majestic song *The East Is Red*. The participants then recited in unison this quotation from Chairman Mao: "Just because we have won victory, we must never relax our vigilance against the frenzied plots for revenge by the imperialists and their running dogs. Whoever relaxes vigilance will disarm himself politically and land himself in a passive position."

Yu Li-chin read the orders of commendation issued by the Military Commission of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party. Messages and letters of greetings from revolutionary organizations and army units throughout the country were then read out, after which Yu Li-chin enthusiastically congratulated

the units concerned on their tremendous victories in three successive engagements with the enemy. He pointed out that they were victories for the infinitely radiant thought of Mao Tse-tung, for the proletarian revolutionary line represented by Chairman Mao, and for the great proletarian cultural revolution. They were the result of the units' firm implementation of our great leader Chairman Mao's instruction to take firm hold of the revolution, intensify preparedness against war, improve work and promote production. They were also the result of the units' response to Vice-Chairman Lin Piao's call to hold high the great red banner of Mao Tse-tung's thought, study and apply Chairman Mao's works in a creative way, give prominence to proletarian politics, and carry out the ideological revolutionization of man on a large scale. These victories, Yu Li-chin continued, constituted a powerful support to the Vietnamese people's war of resistance to U.S. aggression and for national salvation, and a great inspiration to the proletarian revolutionaries of China. They constituted still another heavy blow at imperialism and modern revisionism.

Yu Li-chin strongly condemned U.S. imperialism's crimes of aggression. He warned U.S. imperialism and its accomplices that they would come to no good end if they should dare to carry out provocations against the Chinese people who were armed with Mao Tse-tung's thought and who had steeled themselves in the great proletarian cultural revolution. He encouraged the commanders and fighters to guard against arrogance and impetuosity, raise their vigilance, be doubly prepared against war and win new merits for the people.

Yang Mei-sheng, in his speech, said that the resounding victories won by the heroic Chinese air force units once again proved how brilliant and correct Chairman Mao's thesis was that "weapons are an important factor in war, but not the decisive factor; it is people, not things, that are decisive." He added that people armed with Mao Tse-tung's thought constituted the greatest fighting force. The commanders and fighters of

(Continued on p. 29.)

Peking Review, No. 20

# Betrayal of Proletarian Dictatorship Is Essential Element in the Book on "Self-Cultivation"

by the Editorial Departments of "Hongqi" and "Renmin Ribao"

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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.

— MAO TSE-TUNG

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**T**HE book on the "self-cultivation" of Communists is the representative work of the top Party person in authority taking the capitalist road. It is a big poisonous weed opposed to Marxism-Leninism, Mao Tse-tung's thought. Its poison has spread throughout China and the world. It must be thoroughly criticized and repudiated.

What is the essential element in this book?

It is betrayal of the Marxist-Leninist theory of the dictatorship of the proletariat. And this betrayal of the theory of the dictatorship of the proletariat means complete, out-and-out betrayal of Marxism-Leninism itself and of the revolutionary cause of the proletariat.

Marx pointed out over a hundred years ago:

"... And now as to myself, no credit is due to me for discovering the existence of classes in modern society, nor yet the struggle between them. Long before me bourgeois historians had described the historical development of this struggle of the classes and bourgeois economists the economic anatomy of the classes. What I did that was new was to prove: 1) that the existence of classes is only bound up with particular historical phases in the development of production; 2) that the class struggle necessarily leads to the dictatorship of the proletariat; 3) that this dictatorship itself only constitutes the transition to the abolition of all classes and to a classless society. . . ." ("Marx to J. Weydemeyer," March 5, 1852, Karl Marx and Frederick Engels *Selected Works* in two volumes, F.L.P.H., Moscow, 1951, Vol. II, p. 410.)

Lenin again emphatically pointed out fifty years ago:

"It is often said and written that the main point in Marx's teachings is the class struggle; but this is not true. And from this untruth very often springs the opportunist distortion of Marxism, its falsification in such a way as to make it acceptable to the bourgeoisie. For the doctrine of the class struggle was created not by Marx, but by the bourgeoisie before Marx, and generally speaking it is acceptable to the bourgeoisie. Those who recognize only the class struggle are not yet Marxists; they may be found to be still within the boundaries of bourgeois thinking and bourgeois politics. To confine Marxism to the doctrine of the class struggle means curtailing Marxism, distorting it, reducing it to something which is acceptable to the bourgeoisie. Only he is a Marxist who extends the recognition of the class struggle to the recognition of the dictatorship of the proletariat. This is what constitutes the most profound difference between the Marxist and the ordinary petty (as well as big) bourgeois. This is the touchstone on which the real understanding and recognition of Marxism is to be tested." ("The State and Revolution," V.I. Lenin *Selected Works* in two volumes, F.L.P.H., Moscow, 1951, Vol. II, Part 1, p. 233.)

Like all opportunists in the history of the international communist movement, the author of the book on "self-cultivation" curtails and distorts the fundamentals of Marxism. Though he lards this nearly 50,000-word book with certain abstract phrases on class struggle, he makes no mention whatsoever of the actual class struggle and the dictatorship of the proletariat. Without the dictatorship of the proletariat, his talk about class struggle is, naturally, just deceitful rubbish, and wholly acceptable to the bourgeoisie.

This book was first published in July 1939 and reprinted many times during the War of Resistance Against Japan and the War of Liberation. None of these editions made any mention at all of the anti-Japanese war or the class struggle during this period\* nor did they mention the War of Liberation or the class struggle during that period, or the question of seizing political power. Such a book on "self-cultivation" could not do the least harm to Japanese imperialism, or U.S. imperialism and its lackey the Kuomintang of Chiang Kai-shek.

**During the War of Resistance Against Japan, Chairman Mao pointed out: "The seizure of power by armed force, the settlement of the issue by war, is the central task and the highest form of revolution" (Mao Tse-tung: *Problems of War and Strategy*) and "the development, consolidation and bolshevization of our Party have proceeded in the midst of revolutionary wars; without armed struggle the Communist Party would assuredly not be what it is today" (Mao Tse-tung: *Introducing "The Communist"*). Obviously, the development, consolidation and building of the Party and the ideological remoulding of Party members cannot be discussed outside the context of the revolutionary wars and the seizure of power by armed force. Yet in the very years of war when the guns were roaring and when political power was being seized, the top Party person in authority taking the capitalist road wanted people to indulge in "self-cultivation" oblivious of the fundamental task of seizing political power by armed force. "Self-cultivation" of this kind can only "cultivate" philistines who will not take part in revolutionary war and do not want to seize political power! The philistine products of such "cultivation" are no Communists at all, but Social-Democrats of the Second International.**

When a revised edition of the book on "self-cultivation" of Communists was printed in August 1949, and when it was re-published with many additions and deletions in August 1962, it dished up the same old stuff. Though revised and re-published on these dates, the book not only said nothing about the socialist revolution or the class struggle in socialist society, but remained completely silent about the dictatorship of the proletariat. The top Party person in authority taking the capitalist road was blatantly setting himself up in opposition to a whole series of great works by Chairman Mao, such as the "Report to the Second Plenary Session of the Seventh Central Committee of the Communist Party of China," "On the People's Democratic Dictatorship" and "On the Correct Handling of Contradictions Among the People." In flagrant opposition to Mao Tse-tung's thought, he wanted people to forget about

\* None of the editions of the book on "self-cultivation" published before 1962 made mention of the War of Resistance Against Japan. In the revised 1962 edition, a passage concerning the policy on the anti-Japanese national united front was added as an illustration in the section "The Unity of Theoretical Study and Ideological Self-Cultivation."

the socialist revolution, the class struggle in socialist society and the dictatorship of the proletariat and engage in "self-cultivation." "Self-cultivation" of this kind can only "cultivate" a Bukharin type of person who goes in for capitalism instead of socialism or a Khrushchov type of person who rejects the dictatorship of the proletariat and works to restore capitalism!

Though reprinted and revised many times, the book on "self-cultivation" does not mention the seizure of power by armed force or the dictatorship of the proletariat. Is this an accidental oversight? By no means.

The book discusses the question of the state. A Marxist cannot possibly discuss this question without mentioning the class nature of the state and the dictatorship of the proletariat. Yet the book on "self-cultivation" precisely throws out the dictatorship of the proletariat and talks abstractly about the question of the state in the manner of scholars in the pay of the bourgeoisie.

The author of the book on "self-cultivation" says that the proletariat "can build up a party and state apparatus with strict organization and discipline for the purpose of carrying on an irreconcilable struggle against all forms of corruption, bureaucracy and degeneration and to ceaselessly purge the Party and the state apparatus of those elements who are corrupt, bureaucratic and degenerate in their work," so that "the purity of the Party and the state apparatus can be preserved." We may ask: How can the proletariat build up its own state apparatus? Is it possible without a revolution by violence? Is it possible without smashing the old state machine? The book has precisely discarded these fundamental principles of Marxism-Leninism. It would seem, according to the author, that so long as Communists apply themselves energetically to "self-cultivation," a "utopia" will descend from the skies. What he has been dreaming of is nothing but a bourgeois state.

In the 1962 edition of the book, the words "set up a centralized and at the same time democratic state apparatus" are added to the above-quoted passage. This deliberate addition indicates the way the author sees the nature of our state. However, neither here nor elsewhere in the book, does he make any mention at all of exercising dictatorship over the class enemy. **Chairman Mao says that our proletarian state exercises dictatorship over the class enemy and "what applies among the people is democratic centralism."** By simply describing our state as "centralized and at the same time democratic," with no dictatorship over the enemy, what is the author of the book on "self-cultivation" doing if not opposing the dictatorship of the proletariat, preaching the Khrushchov theory of "the state of the whole people" and advocating bourgeois dictatorship?

The book describes at length "the cause of communism" as "the greatest and most arduous undertaking in human history." A Marxist would find it imperative to mention here that communism cannot be realized



without going through the dictatorship of the proletariat. But the author does not say a word about the dictatorship of the proletariat.

"What is our communist cause about? How should Party members advance it?" The author replies: "In that world there will be no exploiters and oppressors, no landlords and capitalists, no imperialists and fascists. There will be no oppressed and exploited people, no darkness, ignorance and backwardness, and so on. In such a society all humanity will consist of unselfish, intelligent, highly cultured and skilled Communists, mutual assistance and affection will prevail among men and there will be no such irrationalities as mutual suspicion and deception, mutual injury, mutual slaughter and war. It will of course be the best, the most beautiful and the most advanced society in human history." The author adds: "We Communists should be men of the boldest vision and revolutionary determination. Every Party member should gladly and solemnly resolve to shoulder the task of realizing communism, a task greater and more arduous than any in human history." After these and similar priest-like invocations and blessings, the author draws the conclusion: "This is my understanding of the cause of communism." In the answer given by the author and elaborated in high-flown phraseology, the one thing he excludes is precisely the dictatorship of the proletariat. That is how he understands the communist cause, and that is what he advocates for achieving it!

This sort of description of communist society is nothing new but has existed from ancient times. In China, there are such descriptions in the passage about "great harmony" in the chapter entitled "Li Yun" in the *Book of Rites* [edited by Tai Sheng, a scholar of the Western Han Dynasty — 206 B.C.-24 A.D.], in *The Journey to the Land of Peach Blossoms* by Tao Chien [poet of the Eastern Tsin Dynasty — 317-420] and in the *Book of Great Harmony* by Kang Yu-wei [leader of the 1898 Reform Movement]. Abroad there are a great number of works by French and British utopian socialists, containing the same stuff.

In the opinion of the author, communist society is a bed of roses, without darkness or contradiction; all is well, without the existence of opposites. Society will thereby cease to develop. Not only will society never change qualitatively but it seems it will never change quantitatively either and social development will then come to an end, and society will for ever remain the same. Here the author discards a fundamental Marxist law—that the development of all things, all human society, is set in motion by the struggle of opposites, by contradiction. What the author is doing here is preaching metaphysics and discarding the great theory of dialectical materialism and historical materialism.

**Marx said: "Between capitalist and communist society lies the period of the revolutionary transformation of the one into the other. There corresponds to this also a political transition period in which the state**

**can be nothing but the revolutionary dictatorship of the proletariat."** ("Critique of the Gotha Program," Karl Marx and Frederick Engels *Selected Works* in two volumes, F.L.P.H., Moscow, 1951, Vol. I, p. 30.)

**Lenin said: ". . . development towards communism, proceeds through the dictatorship of the proletariat, and cannot do otherwise, for the resistance of the capitalist exploiters cannot be broken by anyone else or in any other way."** ("The State and Revolution," V.I. Lenin *Selected Works* in two volumes, F.L.P.H., Moscow, 1951, Vol. II, part 1, p. 291.)

In his book on "self-cultivation," the top Party person in authority taking the capitalist road emphatically points out that following the political victory of the proletariat, it is necessary to "undergo a prolonged period of socialist reconstruction" before a country "can finally pass, through gradual transition, into communist society." Anyone with a particle of Marxism would have inevitably mentioned the dictatorship of the proletariat at this point! But there is actually still not a word about it! Obviously, his "prolonged period of . . . reconstruction" is not a period of the dictatorship of the proletariat, and his road of "gradual transition, into communist society" is not the road of the dictatorship of the proletariat.

It is crystal clear that the author of this book has his own complete ideological system, which is to "advance the communist cause" without the dictatorship of the proletariat. This is out-and-out betrayal of scientific communism, of Marxism-Leninism, Mao Tse-tung's thought. It is revisionism, pure and simple.

Far from mentioning the dictatorship of the proletariat himself, the author has even deleted the term from two passages quoted from Lenin.

This is what Lenin wrote:

". . . the bourgeoisie, whose resistance is increased *tenfold* by their overthrow (even if only in a single country), and whose power lies, not only in the strength of international capital, the strength and durability of their international connections, but also in the *force of habit*, in the strength of *small-scale production*. Unfortunately, small-scale production is still widespread in the world, and small-scale production *engenders* capitalism and the bourgeoisie continuously, daily, hourly, spontaneously, and on a mass scale. All these reasons **make the dictatorship of the proletariat necessary**, and victory over the bourgeoisie is impossible without a long, stubborn and desperate life-and-death struggle which calls for tenacity, discipline, and a single and inflexible will."

But the various editions of the book on "self-cultivation," including the revised 1962 edition, quote this passage as follows:

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Thus the author flagrantly deletes the words "make the dictatorship of the proletariat necessary" from the middle of this passage. Is this an accidental oversight? Clearly, in the eyes of this top Party person in authority taking the capitalist road, the dictatorship of the proletariat is not necessary.

In the other passage, what Lenin wrote is this:

"The abolition of classes means, not merely ousting the landowners and the capitalists — that is something we accomplished with comparative ease; it also means abolishing the small commodity producers, and they cannot be ousted, or crushed; we must learn to live with them. They can (and must) be transformed and re-educated only by means of very prolonged, slow, and cautious organizational work. They surround the proletariat on every side with a petty bourgeois atmosphere, which permeates and corrupts the proletariat, and constantly causes among the proletariat relapses into petty-bourgeois spinelessness, disunity, individualism, and alternating moods of exaltation and dejection. The strictest centralization and discipline are required within the political party of the proletariat in order to counteract this, in order that the organizational role of the proletariat (and that is its principal role) may be exercised correctly, successfully and victoriously. **The dictatorship of the proletariat means a persistent struggle — bloody and bloodless, violent and peaceful, military and economic, educational and administrative — against the forces and traditions of the old society.** The force of habit in millions and tens of millions is a most formidable force. Without a party of iron that has been tempered in the struggle, a party enjoying the confidence of all honest people in the class in question, a party capable of watching and influencing the mood of the masses, such a struggle cannot be waged successfully. It is a thousand times easier to vanquish the centralized big bourgeoisie than to 'vanquish' the millions upon millions of petty proprietors; however, through their ordinary, everyday, imperceptible, elusive and demoralizing activities, they produce the very results which the bourgeoisie need and which tend to restore the bourgeoisie."

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Here the author flagrantly deletes "the dictatorship of the proletariat means a persistent struggle — bloody and bloodless, violent and peaceful, military and economic, educational and administrative — against the forces and traditions of the old society," and he even cuts out the statement about the leadership given by the Communist Party. Is this another accidental oversight?

Why are the lines on the dictatorship of the proletariat again left out in the revised 1962 edition of the book on "self-cultivation"? There can only be one explanation, namely, that the author opposes our state of the dictatorship of the proletariat, and wants to change the dictatorship of the proletariat into the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie.

This amply proves that this top Party person in authority taking the capitalist road is a sworn enemy of the dictatorship of the proletariat. The dictatorship of the proletariat is absolutely intolerable to him. Wherever he sees the term he strikes it out.

Thus, shamelessly, the top Party person in authority taking the capitalist road emasculates the very soul of Marxism-Leninism.

For this man, who has betrayed the dictatorship of the proletariat, to talk about "be the best pupils of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin" is really the greatest insult to Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin.

The revised 1962 edition of the book on "self-cultivation" changes "be the best pupils of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin" into "be worthy pupils of Marx and Lenin." It deletes all of the following three passages originally quoted from Chapter Four of the *History of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (Bolsheviks)* — *Short Course*:

"Men carry on a struggle against nature and utilize nature for the production of material values not in isolation from each other, not as separate individuals, but in common, in groups, in societies. Production, therefore, is at all times and under all conditions social pro-

duction. In the production of material values men enter into mutual relations of one kind or another within production, into relations of production of one kind or another."

"The first feature of production is that it never stays at one point for a long time and is always in a state of change and development, and that, furthermore, changes in the mode of production inevitably call forth changes in the whole social system, social ideas, political views and political institutions—they call forth a reconstruction of the whole social and political order."

"[The dialectical method considers] invincible only that which is arising and developing."

Obviously, in 1962 when he deleted Stalin's name and all the passages he originally quoted from Chapter Four of the *History of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (Bolsheviks) — Short Course*, the author of the book on "self-cultivation" had no other purpose in mind than to conform to the needs of the Soviet revisionist clique to oppose Stalin, that is, also to oppose Leninism.

And in order to delete the name of Stalin, he made Engels a co-victim and deleted Engels' name too.

In none of its many reprints and revised editions does the book anywhere call on people to be good pupils of Chairman Mao. Nowhere does it so much as mention Mao Tse-tung's thought. This is another illustration of the fact that the author is a bogus Marxist but a genuine revisionist, because in our times to depart from Mao Tse-tung's thought means to depart from the fundamentals of Marxism-Leninism, just as when Marxism developed to the stage of Leninism, to depart from

Leninism meant to depart from the fundamentals of Marxism.

**Chairman Mao teaches us: "All revolutionary struggles in the world are aimed at seizing political power and consolidating it." (This Year's Election)**

In opposition to this, the top Party person in authority taking the capitalist road does not want the proletariat and the Communists to seize power and consolidate it; he reduces everything in the world to "self-cultivation."

"Self-cultivation is everything, the ultimate aim is nothing"—this is the book's formula, a hundred per cent revisionist formula, similar to that of the old-time renegade Bernstein's: "The movement is everything, the ultimate aim is nothing."

Is it true that the ultimate aim is nothing? Of course not! Like that old-time renegade Bernstein, the top Party person in authority taking the capitalist road harbours sinister, ulterior aims. He seeks to demoralize the ranks of the proletariat by inducing people to become revisionist through "self-cultivation," because the more they engage in such "cultivation," the farther they will slide down the road of revisionism. Before nationwide victory was won, he opposed the proletarian seizure of political power; and since the winning of nationwide victory, he has been opposing the dictatorship of the proletariat in a vain attempt to practise and restore capitalism. This is the precise purpose of his reactionary formula: "Self-cultivation is everything, the ultimate aim is nothing."

(Originally published in "Hongqi," No. 6, 1967 and "Renmin Ribao," May 8.)

人民日報  
RENMIN RIBAO

# The Whole Country Must Be Turned Into a Great School of Mao Tse-tung's Thought

**T**HE whole country should be turned into a great school for revolutionization—this was the momentous call made by our great leader Chairman Mao to people throughout the country in a letter to Comrade Lin Piao on May 7, 1966. Chairman Mao's "May 7 Directive" [see *Peking Review*, No. 32, 1966.] is an extremely important document of historic significance, an epoch-making, new development of Marxism-Leninism.

Turning all fields of work into great schools for revolutionization, where people take part in both industry and agriculture, in military as well as civilian affairs, is an idea consistently held by Chairman Mao.

In the "May 7 Directive," Chairman Mao further pointed out that commanders and fighters of the People's Liberation Army, workers, peasants, students and those working in commerce, in the service trades and in Party and government organizations should all learn politics, military affairs and culture. They should also criticize the bourgeoisie. They should make their own field of work their main activity and should concurrently engage in other activities. Everyone should be trained to become a new communist person with proletarian political consciousness and being developed in an all-round way.



This illuminating idea of Chairman Mao's has always been diametrically opposed to the revisionist line which the top Party person in authority taking the capitalist road has pushed to aggravate class differentiation, to widen the gap between workers and peasants, between town and countryside and between mental and manual labour and to plot for bringing about a restoration of capitalism.

This brilliant directive of Chairman Mao's clearly shows the way forward for China's great proletarian cultural revolution and is a powerful ideological weapon for accomplishing the great historic task of struggling against and overthrowing those persons in authority taking the capitalist road, criticizing and repudiating the reactionary bourgeois academic "authorities" and the ideology of the bourgeoisie and of all other exploiting classes, and transforming all parts of the superstructure which do not correspond with the socialist economic base.

In the storm of the great proletarian cultural revolution, our 700 million people have advanced along the navigation route so brilliantly lit up by Chairman Mao's "May 7 Directive," made use of the invincible, sharp weapon of Mao Tse-tung's thought and become courageous critics of the old world. Many previously unnoticed "nobodies" and many working people with rough hands now concern themselves with affairs of state, directing their attention to what is happening in the country, and meting out praise and censure in their writings. They are criticizing and repudiating the handful of Party persons in authority taking the capitalist road and the bourgeois reactionary line pursued by them, the reactionary bourgeois academic "authorities" of all stripes and the ideology of all exploiting classes. We are glad to see that a generation of new communist people is rapidly growing up in the course of this mass criticism and repudiation of an unprecedented scope.

At present, tremendous victories have been won in the great movement of the broad revolutionary masses **to criticize and repudiate the bourgeoisie**. But we must realize that the mass criticism and repudiation of the handful of top Party persons in authority taking the capitalist road, the mass struggle against them and the complete elimination of the evil effects brought about by their bourgeois reactionary line in all spheres over a long period is a great revolution of tremendous depth and scope, one that touches all people to their very souls.

In order to win complete victory in this struggle we must act in accordance with Chairman Mao's teachings, mobilize all P.L.A. commanders and fighters, workers, peasants, students and those working in commerce, in the service trades and in Party and government organizations, bring into play all positive factors that can be brought into play, concentrate our fire on the main target and plunge into the struggle with all our might and main.

Chairman Mao teaches us that people in every field of work should study politics. At the present time, the

most important political activity is the thoroughgoing refutation, discrediting, criticism and repudiation of the handful of top Party persons in authority taking the capitalist road and their bourgeois reactionary line. This is the best practical action for carrying out Chairman Mao's "May 7 Directive." Any move to distract attention from the target, direct the spearhead of attack downwards, fight unprincipled "civil war," and even resort to force, thereby shifting the target of attack, is extremely wrong.

Chairman Mao's "May 7 Directive" is the weapon for and also shows the way for struggle, criticism, repudiation and transformation. We should act in line with it and, according to different specific conditions, transform education, literature and art, and all other parts of the superstructure not in correspondence with the socialist economic base and thus consolidate and develop the socialist system.

In order to transform all parts of the superstructure which do not correspond with the socialist economic base and to turn the whole country into a great school of Mao Tse-tung's thought, a basic question in places where power should be seized is to establish a provisional revolutionary "three-in-one" organ of power, to introduce an entirely new organizational form of the organs of the dictatorship of the proletariat.

In accordance with the spirit of Chairman Mao's "May 7 Directive," provisional organs of power at various levels established by the proletarian revolutionaries after their seizure of power should be highly proletarianized and militant and identified with the masses. If only the signboard is changed while the old set of practices are preserved, the great proletarian cultural revolution will suffer setbacks.

In accordance with the spirit of Chairman Mao's "May 7 Directive," all those who take part in the "three-in-one" leading body should be revolutionized in thinking, in their work and in their style of work and living. They are, at the same time, committee members, representatives and ordinary working people. They must heed Chairman Mao's words: **"Serve the people wholeheartedly and never for a moment divorce ourselves from the masses."** If they become divorced from the masses, from physical labour and from their own positions, they are in danger of no longer representing anyone.

In accordance with the spirit of Chairman Mao's "May 7 Directive," all proletarian revolutionary fighters, especially those who take part in a "three-in-one" provisional organ of power, must maintain their good working style of hard struggle and the qualities of the working people. It is very dangerous if they are happy about sitting in an office, showing off, and vying with one another in extravagance and formalistic practices.

In a word, we must act in the spirit of Chairman Mao's "May 7 Directive," engage in industry and agri-



# On the Revolution in Peking Opera

Speech Made in July 1964 at Forum of Theatrical  
Workers Participating in the Festival of Peking  
Operas on Contemporary Themes

by CHIANG CHING

**I** OFFER you my congratulations on the festival, for which you have worked so hard. This is the first campaign in the revolution of Peking opera. It has achieved promising results and will have relatively far-reaching influence.

Peking opera on revolutionary contemporary themes has now been staged. But do we all look at it in the same way? I don't think we can say so yet.

We must have unshakable confidence in the staging of Peking operas on revolutionary contemporary themes.

It is inconceivable that, in our socialist country led by the Chinese Communist Party, the dominant position on the stage is not occupied by the workers, peasants and soldiers, who are the real creators of history and the true masters of our country. We should create literature and art which protect our socialist economic base. When we are not clear about our orientation, we should try our best to be so. Here I would like to give two groups of figures for your reference. These figures strike me as shocking.

culture and in civilian as well as military affairs. We must be able to work both at the top or down below and always be faithful servants of the people.

The People's Liberation Army is a great people's army personally founded and led by Chairman Mao and under the direct command of Comrade Lin Biao, and it is a great school of Mao Tse-tung's thought. Under the guidance of Chairman Mao's brilliant thought, this army concurrently engages in military activities and does production and mass work: it is a fighting force and at the same time a working force. As Chairman Mao has pointed out: **The People's Liberation Army has done this for decades; but now this tradition should be further developed.**

During the great proletarian cultural revolution, the People's Liberation Army has resolutely carried out Chairman Mao's wise policy decision that it should actively support the revolutionary Left, aid industry and agriculture, exercise military control and help in military and political training. Thus, in practice, the army has combined military affairs with study and with agriculture, industry and civilian affairs. It uses the all-illuminating thought of Mao Tse-tung to do propaganda work among the masses and arm and organize them. It attaches the utmost importance to trusting the masses and relying on them, and it gives all-out support to the proletarian revolutionaries in their struggle. It is bringing its fine tradition of giving prominence to proletarian politics into all spheres of work in our country and has greatly promoted the revolutionization of the thinking of proletarian revolutionaries and the broad masses. It has helped immensely to turn factories, rural areas, Party and government organizations, colleges and schools and all fields of work into

great schools of Mao Tse-tung's thought, further strengthened its ties with the masses and is still better supported and loved by them. The People's Liberation Army is a model in carrying out the momentous call in Chairman Mao's "May 7 Directive." It is an example for proletarian revolutionaries and the broad masses all over the country to emulate.

In accordance with the great instructions made all along by Chairman Mao, the People's Liberation Army is actively assisting the localities in military and political training. This is not only of tremendous historic significance for promoting our country's socialist revolution and socialist construction but is also of immense strategic importance for opposing any war of aggression which might be launched on us by the imperialists, modern revisionists and the reactionaries of all countries, for strengthening our national defence and for carrying out the idea of people's war.

We must have the lofty aspirations of the proletariat, dare to blaze new trails and carry out great undertakings never attempted by our forefathers. We must hold high the bright red banner of Mao Tse-tung's thought, build the whole country into a great school of Mao Tse-tung's thought and turn it into an impregnable state of the proletariat that will never change colour. **When such a thriving situation pertains in socialist China—a country with one-fourth of the world's population—we will be able to make a greater internationalist contribution.**

**Our goal must be attained. Our goal can certainly be attained.**

(*"Renmin Ribao"* editorial, May 7.)

Here is the first group: according to a rough estimate, there are 3,000 theatrical companies in the country (not including amateur troupes and unlicensed companies). Among these, around 90 are professional modern drama companies, 80 odd are cultural troupes, and the rest, over 2,800, are companies staging various kinds of operas and balladry. Our operatic stage is occupied by emperors and kings, generals and ministers, scholars and beauties, and, on top of these, ghosts and monsters. As for those 90 modern drama companies, they don't necessarily all depict the workers, peasants and soldiers either. They, too, lay stress on staging full-length plays, foreign plays and plays on ancient themes. So we can say that the modern drama stage is also occupied by ancient Chinese and foreign figures. Theatres are places to educate the people, but now the stage is dominated by emperors and kings, generals and ministers, scholars and beauties — by feudal and bourgeois stuff. This state of affairs cannot serve to protect but will undermine our economic base.

And here is the second group of figures: there are well over 600 million workers, peasants and soldiers in our country, whereas there is only a handful of landlords, rich peasants, counter-revolutionaries, bad elements, Rightists and bourgeois elements. Shall we serve this handful, or the well over 600 million? This question calls for consideration not only by Communists but also by all those literary and art workers who are patriotic. The grain we eat is grown by the peasants, the clothes we wear and the houses we live in are woven and built by the workers, and the People's Liberation Army stands guard at the fronts of national defence for us and yet we do not portray them on the stage. May I ask which class stand you artists take? And where is the artists' "conscience" you always talk about?

For Peking opera to present revolutionary contemporary themes will not be all plain sailing, there will be reverses; but if you consider carefully the two groups of figures I have mentioned above, there may be no reverses, or at least fewer of them. Even if there are reverses, it won't matter, because history always goes forward on a zigzag course but its wheels can never be made to turn backwards. It is our view that opera on revolutionary contemporary themes must reflect real life in the 15 years since the founding of our Chinese People's Republic, and that images of contemporary revolutionary heroes must be created on our operatic stage. This is our foremost task. Not that we don't want historical operas. Revolutionary historical operas have formed no small proportion of the programme of the present festival. Historical operas portraying the life and struggles of the people before our Party came into being are also needed. Moreover, we need

to foster some pace-setters, to produce some historical operas which are really written from the standpoint of historical materialism and which can make the ancient serve the present. Of course, we should take up historical operas only on the condition that the carrying out of the main task (that of portraying contemporary life and creating images of workers, peasants and soldiers) is not impeded. Not that we don't want any traditional operas either. Except for those about ghosts and those extolling capitulation and betrayal, good traditional operas can all be staged. But these traditional operas will have no audience worth mentioning unless they are carefully re-edited and revised. I have made systematic visits to theatres for more than two years and my observation of both actors and audiences led me to this conclusion. In future, the editing and revising of traditional operas is necessary, but this work must not replace our foremost task.

I will next discuss the question of where we ought to begin.

I think the key question is that you have to have plays. If you have only directors and actors and no plays there is nothing to be directed or acted. People say that plays form the basis of theatrical productions. I think that is quite true. Therefore attention must be devoted to creative writing.

In the last few years the writing of new plays has lagged far behind real life. This is even more true in the writing of libretti for Peking opera. Playwrights are few and they lack experience of life. So it is only natural that no good plays are being created. The key to tackling the problem of creative writing is the formation of a three-way combination of the leadership, the professional theatrical artists and the masses. Recently, I studied the way in which the play *Great Wall Along the Southern Sea* was created and I found that they did it exactly like this. First the leadership set the theme. Then the playwrights went three times to acquire experience of what life was really like. They even took part in a military operation to round up enemy spies. When the play was written, many leading members of the Kwangchow military command took part in discussions on it, and after it had been rehearsed, opinions were widely canvassed and revisions made. In this way, as a result of constantly asking for opinions and constantly making revisions they succeeded in turning out in a fairly short time such a good play that is a topical reflection of real life struggle.

In the case of the Shanghai Municipal Party Committee it was Comrade Ko Ching-shih himself who came to grips with this problem of creative writing. All localities must appoint competent cadres to handle the question of creative writing.

It will be difficult for some time yet to create libretti directly for Peking opera. Nevertheless, people have to be appointed right now to do the job. They must first be given some special training and then go out to get some experience of life. They can begin by writing something small and gradually work out full-length operas. Small works, if well written, are also very valuable.

In creative writing, new forces must be cultivated. Send them out into the world and in three to five years they will blossom and bear fruit.

Another way to get plays is by making adaptations and this is also useful.

Theatrical items for adaptation must be carefully chosen. First, we must see whether or not they are good politically and secondly whether or not they suit the conditions of the company concerned. Serious analysis of the original must be made when adapting it, its good points must be affirmed without unnecessary changes, while its weak points must be compensated. In adapting for Peking opera attention must be paid to two main questions: on the one hand the adaptations must ensure that they are in keeping with the characteristics of Peking opera, with singing and acrobatics, and the words must fit in with the rhymes in Peking opera singing. The language characteristic of Peking opera must be adopted. Otherwise the performers will not be able to sing. On the other hand, excessive concessions should not be made to the performers. An opera must have a clear-cut theme with a tightly knit structure and striking characters. It must never arise that, in order for a few principal performers to have star parts, the whole opera is made diffuse and flat.

Peking opera is an art that portrays things larger than life. At the same time, it has always depicted ancient times and people belonging to those times. Therefore, it is comparatively easy for Peking opera to portray negative characters and this is what some people like about it so much. On the other hand, it is very difficult to create positive characters, and yet we must build up characters of advanced revolutionary heroes. In the original version of the opera *Taking the Bandits' Stronghold* produced by Shanghai the negative characters stood out sharply, while the positive characters were quite colourless. Since the leadership attended to this question personally, this opera has been positively improved. Now, the scene about the Taoist Ting Ho has been deleted. The part of Tso Shan Tiao (the "Hawk" — nickname of the bandit leader) basically has not been altered (the actor who plays the part acts very well), but since the roles of Yang Tzu-jung and Shao Chien-po have been made more prominent, the images of those negative

characters have by comparison retreated into the background. It has been said that there are different views on this opera. Debates can be conducted on this subject. You must consider which side you stand on. Should you stand on the side of the positive characters or on the side of the negative characters? It has been said that there are still people who oppose writing about positive characters. This is wrong. Good people always account for the majority. This is true not only in our socialist countries, but even in imperialist countries, where the majority are labouring people. In revisionist countries, the revisionists are only a minority. We should place the emphasis on creating artistic images of advanced revolutionaries so as to educate and inspire the people and lead them forward. Our purpose in producing operas on contemporary revolutionary themes is mainly to extol the positive characters. The opera *Little Heroic Sisters on the Grassland* performed by the Peking Opera Troupe of the Inner Mongolian Art Theatre is very good. The librettist wrote the script for this opera with his revolutionary feeling excited by the outstanding deeds of the two little heroines. The middle section of the opera is very moving, but because the librettist still lacks experience of real life, worked on it in haste and had no time to give it careful polishing, the beginning and the end of the opera are not so good. As it is now, it looks like a fine painting placed in a crude old frame. With regard to this opera, there is one point more to which importance should be attached, and that is that a Peking opera has been composed for our children. In short, this opera has a firm foundation and is good. I hope that you writers for the theatre will go back to experience the life of the people and try your best to perfect your scripts. In my opinion, we should treasure the fruits of our labour, and shouldn't scrap them lightly. Some comrades are unwilling to revise their completed works, but this prevents them from making bigger achievements. In this respect, Shanghai has set us a good example. Because the Shanghai artists have been willing to polish their scripts over and over again, they have succeeded in improving *Taking the Bandits' Stronghold* to what it is today. All the items in the repertory of the present festival should be given further polishing when you return home. The items which have been acknowledged as successful should not be thrown aside lightly.

Before I finish I would like to express my hope that you will save some of your energy for studying one another's contributions to this festival so that people in all parts of the country will be able to see its achievements on the stage.

(Printed simultaneously by "Hongqi," No. 6, 1967 and the "Renmin Ribao" and "Jiefangjun Bao" of May 10.)



# Hail the Great Victory of the Revolution in Peking Opera

"Hongqi" Editorial, No. 6, 1967

**T**HE revolution of Peking opera sounded the opening call for China's great proletarian cultural revolution and served as a great beginning for it. It was a tremendous victory for Mao Tse-tung's thought, a tremendous victory for Chairman Mao's *Talks at the Yen-an Forum on Literature and Art!*

The dramatic arts are of great importance in the struggle between the two classes and between the two lines on the literary and art front. Our great leader Chairman Mao has always laid great stress on their importance. In 1944, Chairman Mao pointed out after seeing *Driven to Join the Liangshan Rebels* presented by the Yen-an Peking Opera Theatre:

"History is made by the people. Yet the old opera stage (and all the old literature and art divorced from the people) presents the people as though they were dirt. The stage is dominated by lords and ladies and their pampered sons and daughters. Now you have righted this reversal of history and restored historical truth, thus opening up a new life for the old opera. That is why this merits congratulations."

After the country was liberated, Chairman Mao further put forward the important policies of "letting a hundred flowers blossom and weeding through the old to let the new emerge" and "making the old serve the present and the foreign serve China." Chairman Mao's instructions, the supreme criteria for guiding the revolution in the dramatic arts, have solved a series of basic questions in this revolution.

Using Mao Tse-tung's thought, Comrade Chiang Ching discussed the great significance of the revolution of Peking opera and expounded its guiding principles as formulated by Chairman Mao, in her July 1964 speech at the forum of theatrical artists and workers participating in the festival of Peking opera on contemporary themes. This speech is an important document in the use of Marxism-Leninism, Mao Tse-tung's thought, to solve the problems in the revolution of Peking opera.

For a long time, because of the domination of the counter-revolutionary revisionist line in the field of literature and art represented by Chou Yang, Chi Yen-ming, Hsia Yen and Lin Mo-han, Chairman Mao's

revolutionary line could not be carried through in the field of Peking opera. Many bad operas glorifying emperors and kings, generals and ministers, scholars and beauties dominated the Peking opera stage. These bad operas played the reactionary role of disintegrating the socialist economic base to pave the way for the restoration of capitalism.

Abusing their usurped power and position, a handful of Party persons in authority taking the capitalist road and some reactionary "authority" overlords controlled Peking opera circles, and, by drawing deserters and traitors into their service and forming cliques in pursuit of their own selfish interests, turned these circles into an impenetrable independent kingdom of the feudal landlords and the bourgeoisie.

The top Party person in authority taking the capitalist road was the main pillar and support for bourgeois reactionary forces and all monsters and demons in Peking opera circles and the biggest obstacle to the revolution of Peking opera. For a long time he stubbornly opposed the revolution of Peking opera and spread the idea that "old operas have much educational value." He heaped praise upon *Yang Yeh-hui Visits His Mother*, an opera which disseminated a traitor's philosophy and the philosophy of survival. He said: "It doesn't matter much if this opera is staged. It has been sung for so many years; didn't New China emerge in spite of such singing?" He complimented *Fierce Tiger Village*, which made every effort to prettify people like Huang Tien-pa, a lackey of the feudal landlords, as "an opera which has been well revised." He even recommended to others such an obscene Peking opera as *The Emperor Flirts With the Waitress*. He worked closely with the top counter-revolutionary revisionists in the former Peking Municipal Party Committee and Chou Yang, Chi Yen-ming, Hsia Yen, Lin Mo-han, Tien Han, Chang Keng and company to utilize old Peking operas to serve a counter-revolutionary restoration of capitalism.

But the new-born forces will eventually defeat that which is decadent. Illuminated by the radiance of the great thought of Mao Tse-tung, guided by Comrade Chiang Ching and with the efforts of the great numbers of revolutionary comrades in Peking opera



circles, new revolutionary Peking opera finally broke through much resistance to burst forth from the old fortress of emperors and kings, generals and ministers, scholars and beauties.

Rich results have already been achieved in the revolution of Peking opera. Such model Peking operas as *Taking the Bandits' Stronghold*, *On the Docks*, *The Red Lantern*, *Shachiapang* and *Raid on the White Tiger Regiment* represent a most valuable achievement. They are fine models not only for Peking opera, but for proletarian literature and art as a whole. They also serve as fine examples for "struggle-criticism-transformation"\* on all fronts of the great proletarian cultural revolution. These splendid results of the revolution of Peking opera have shaken the entire field of the arts like a spring thunder, indicating that it is now time for the hundred flowers of the proletariat to bloom. This will have an immense impact and influence on the development of proletarian literature and art as a whole.

Only a short while ago, the handful of Party people in authority taking the capitalist road sneered at the vanguards in the revolution of Peking opera: "So you people want to capture the stronghold?" Yes, we do want to capture the stronghold, to attack this most stubborn "fortress" in theatrical art and to take this most closely guarded position of the bourgeois reaction-

\* "Struggle-criticism-transformation" is the abbreviation of the tasks summed up in the famous 16-point decision of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party concerning the great proletarian cultural revolution, which states, "at present, our objective is to struggle against and overthrow those persons in authority who are taking the capitalist road, to criticize and repudiate the reactionary bourgeois academic 'authorities' and the ideology of the bourgeoisie and all other exploiting classes and to transform education, literature and art and all other parts of the superstructure not in correspondence with the socialist economic base, so as to facilitate the consolidation and development of the socialist system." — *Tr.*

ary forces into the hands of the proletariat. Today, Peking opera has broken through the bonds of counter-revolutionary revisionism. The great red banner of Mao Tse-tung's thought now has been hoisted high over the opera stage. The stage once occupied by emperors and kings, generals and ministers, scholars and beauties has now been turned into a place where the workers, peasants and soldiers can fully display all their talents. The position for spreading feudalism and capitalism has been turned into one for the propagation of Mao Tse-tung's thought. This is a great victory for Chairman Mao's revolutionary line on literature and art, an earth-shaking transformation. It proves to the masses that the great thought of Mao Tse-tung is all-conquering. Can there possibly be any other old fortress that cannot be taken now that we have succeeded in taking the fortress of Peking opera which was under the strictest control of the counter-revolutionary revisionists and where the old forces were most stubborn?

The victories of the revolution in Peking opera have proclaimed the bankruptcy of the counter-revolutionary revisionist line on literature and art and opened up a brand new era for the development of new, proletarian literature and art.

The revolution of Peking opera is an important component part of China's great proletarian cultural revolution. We must make a high appraisal of the tremendous achievements in the revolution of Peking opera and lay great stress on its immense historical significance. A clear understanding of its achievements and significance will increase considerably our confidence in the great proletarian cultural revolution. We are convinced that after the great proletarian cultural revolution, a completely new situation never before seen in history, a flourishing and dynamic atmosphere in which a hundred flowers will bloom, will appear in the field of culture and art in our country.

## Young Intellectuals Must Integrate Themselves With the Workers And Peasants

CHINA'S youth, with revolutionary enthusiasm, are celebrating their own militant festival—their May Fourth Youth Day—in the high tide of the great proletarian cultural revolution and amidst the triumphs of successive victories won by Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line.

There has been an acute struggle between two lines throughout the history of China's youth movement. The proletarian revolutionary line represented

by Chairman Mao has consistently upheld the general orientation of integration with the workers and peasants. The highest generalization of this proletarian revolutionary line is to be found in Chairman Mao's two brilliant historic works, *The May 4th Movement* and *The Orientation of the Youth Movement*, published in 1939 in commemoration of the twentieth anniversary of the May 4th Movement. There, Chairman Mao pointed out: "In the Chinese democratic revolutionary

movement, it was the intellectuals who were the first to awaken." **"But the intellectuals will accomplish nothing if they fail to integrate themselves with the workers and peasants. In the final analysis, the dividing line between revolutionary intellectuals and non-revolutionary or counter-revolutionary intellectuals is whether or not they are willing to integrate themselves with the workers and peasants and actually do so."** Chairman Mao sharply criticized and repudiated the adverse current in the youth movement represented by Chen Tu-hsiu and Chang Kuo-tao, and gave a clear-cut direction to China's revolutionary youth movement. However, the No. 1 Party person in authority taking the capitalist road, who clung to the opportunist line, had the effrontery to counter Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line. Just two months after the publication of Chairman Mao's two brilliant works, he brought out his big poisonous weed, the book on the "self-cultivation" of Communists, urging the youth to divorce themselves from the sharp national and class struggles of the time and to engage in bourgeois individualist self-cultivation.

After the liberation of the country, Chairman Mao once again stressed integration of intellectuals with the workers and peasants. **He said: "Since their task is to serve the masses of workers and peasants, the intellectuals must, first and foremost, know them and be familiar with their life, work and ideas." He pointed out: "In order to have a real grasp of Marxism, one must learn it not only from books, but mainly through class struggle, through practical work and close contact with the masses of workers and peasants."** However, the No. 1 Party person in authority taking the capitalist road intensified his efforts to push through his bourgeois reactionary line. In league with a handful of revisionists who had entrenched themselves for a long time in leading positions in our cultural and educational fields, he did everything possible to enforce a whole series of U.S. imperialist and Soviet modern revisionist "theories" and systems of education, in a vain attempt to bring up the younger generation as successors to the bourgeoisie, divorced from reality, from labour, from the working people and from proletarian politics.

In the past 17 years, the struggle between the two lines has been particularly vigorous and acute on the question of who will win over the younger generation, the proletariat or the bourgeoisie.

The galaxy of young revolutionary path-breakers that has emerged in the great proletarian cultural revolution represents a completely new generation that has matured over a long period of nurturing by the Party and Chairman Mao. These young people have inherited and developed the glorious tradition of China's revolutionary youth of the years since the May 4th Movement. They have resolutely defended Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line. They have broken through the web of obstacles and barriers set up by the revisionist educational line and the bour-

geois reactionary line imposed on them by the handful of Party persons in authority taking the capitalist road, and they are marching ahead along the road of integrating themselves with the worker and peasant masses. Revolutionary students and intellectuals have gone in large numbers to the factories and villages to join the workers and peasants in physical labour, in study and in revolution. In the big decisive battle between the two classes, the two roads and the two lines, they have not only contributed to seizure of power by the proletarian revolutionaries on the basis of a great alliance, but have also achieved fruitful results in remoulding their own ideology.

The great and unprecedented proletarian cultural revolution has opened up the broadest vistas for the great mass of young intellectuals in the matter of integration with the worker and peasant masses.

We must realize that the struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie to win over the younger generation, the struggle between the two lines in the youth movement, is a serious, long-term class struggle. For a young revolutionary, integration with the worker and peasant masses is not a matter of a day, but a revolutionary orientation which he must follow steadfastly throughout his life. Only by tempering and remoulding themselves through long periods of mass struggle can young intellectuals develop into staunch and reliable successors to the proletarian revolutionary cause.

Chairman Mao has pointed out: **"The intellectuals often tend to be subjective and individualistic, impractical in their thinking and irresolute in action until they have thrown themselves heart and soul into mass revolutionary struggles, or made up their minds to serve the interests of the masses and become one with them."** At the present time, in certain revolutionary mass organizations, there exist such non-proletarian ideas as individualism, the tendency to seek the limelight, the "small group" mentality, and anarchism. The root cause of all this lies in the fact that these comrades have not sufficiently remoulded their world outlook. They still need to go through a long and arduous process of tempering in the mass struggle in order to become really well integrated with the worker and peasant masses.

Young revolutionary intellectuals must without exception always look upon the working people as their parents, and learn from and serve them sincerely and devotedly. We should learn from their firm proletarian stand and deep proletarian feeling, from their magnificent breadth of vision in seeing that they can finally emancipate themselves only by emancipating the whole of mankind, and we should enthusiastically help those cadres who have made mistakes, and those of the masses who have been deceived by the bourgeois reactionary line, to rise in revolution. We should learn from the example of plain living, hard struggle, industry and unpretentiousness of the working people. We should learn from their revolutionary qualities of

implacable hatred towards the enemy and kindness to their own comrades. We should learn from their strong proletarian revolutionary spirit, their scientific approach and their proletarian sense of organization and discipline. We should learn from their revolutionary characteristics of standing up for the truth, correcting mistakes and boldly making self-criticism.

The great People's Liberation Army is composed of soldiers who come from the ranks of the workers and peasants, who are sons of the people. It is a people's army without parallel in the world, an army founded by Chairman Mao himself and led by Comrade Lin Biao. The People's Liberation Army embodies the finest qualities of the workers and peasants. If they want to integrate themselves with the workers and peasants and learn from them, then the revolutionary young people who are steadfastly upholding Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line should resolutely support the People's Liberation Army, learn hard from it and always fight shoulder to shoulder with it and be at one with it.

At the present moment, the masses of revolutionary students and teachers must hold firmly to the revolutionary orientation Chairman Mao has charted

for the youth movement, participate in the extensive criticism and repudiation of the handful of top Party persons in authority taking the capitalist road and, step by step, fulfil the tasks of the struggle against the handful of Party people in authority taking the capitalist road in the schools, criticize and repudiate the reactionary bourgeois academic "authorities" and transform the educational system. They should co-ordinate these tasks effectively. Only so, will we be able to bring the rule of the bourgeois intellectuals in the field of education to an end, once and for all, and transform our schools from the very foundations upward. Only so, will we be able to train millions upon millions of proletarian intellectuals who are integrated with the workers and peasants in accordance with Chairman Mao's educational policy, and turn our educational institutions into great schools of Mao Tse-tung's thought like the former Chinese People's Anti-Japanese Military and Political College.

Revolutionary young comrades! Let us advance courageously along the road of integration with the workers and peasants charted for the intellectuals by Chairman Mao!

*("Renmin Ribao" editorial, May 4)*

# Carry the Mass Movement for Creative Study and Application of Chairman Mao's Works Forward to a New Stage

Peking Municipal Revolutionary Committee's Decision of May 5, 1967

(Excerpts)

**C**HAIRMAN MAO is the greatest Marxist-Leninist of our era. Mao Tse-tung's thought marks an entirely new stage in the development of Marxism-Leninism and is Marxism-Leninism at its highest level in our time. It is the guiding principle for all the work of the Party, the army and the country and the guide to action in the great proletarian cultural revolution. Proletarian revolutionaries rely on Mao Tse-tung's thought not only in seizing political power, but also in exercising and consolidating it.

The counter-revolutionary revisionist clique in the old Peking Municipal Party Committee, shielded and supported by the handful of top Party persons in authority taking the capitalist road, have, over the last ten years and more, viciously attacked our most

respected and beloved leader Chairman Mao, frenziedly opposed the invincible thought of Mao Tse-tung, and desperately sabotaged the mass movement to study and apply Chairman Mao's works creatively. Proletarian revolutionaries have boundless faith in, loyalty to and veneration and love for Mao Tse-tung's thought. We should study Chairman Mao's works diligently, work hard to establish the supremacy of Mao Tse-tung's thought, completely eradicate the pernicious influence of the counter-revolutionary revisionist line, plant the great red banner of Mao Tse-tung's thought over every inch of Peking's soil and assure that our capital city, where Chairman Mao has his home, remain for ever in the hands of the proletarian revolutionaries, and see to it that it never changes its colour.



The fighting tasks now before us are: to raise high the great red banner of Mao Tse-tung's thought, to expose, criticize and repudiate more comprehensively and penetratingly the handful of top Party persons in authority taking the capitalist road and the handful of counter-revolutionary revisionists in the old Peking Municipal Party Committee, and, in accordance with the differing circumstances of various units, gradually to shift to the work of struggle [the struggle against and 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 all other exploiting classes], and transformation [of education, literature and art and all other parts of the superstructure not in correspondence with the socialist economic base] and do this work well. In order to fulfil these glorious and arduous tasks, it is imperative to grasp even better the mighty ideological weapon of Mao Tse-tung's thought and establish it in a position of absolute authority. We should actively respond to the call of Comrade Lin Piao to elevate the mass movement for the creative study and application of Chairman Mao's works to a new stage.

The attitude taken towards Mao Tse-tung's thought — recognition or boycott, support or opposition, love or hate — is the watershed and touchstone distinguishing genuine revolutionaries from fake ones, dividing revolution from counter-revolution, and Marxism-Leninism from modern revisionism. The revolutionary people of the city should unequivocally place the creative study and application of Chairman Mao's works over and above everything else and use Mao Tse-tung's thought to command everything, guide everything, impel everything and remould everything.

The handful of top Party persons in authority taking the capitalist road are the chief representatives of capitalist restoration in China, the chief backstage bosses of the counter-revolutionary revisionist clique in the old Peking Municipal Party Committee. For 17 years, they have advanced and obstinately clung to a bourgeois reactionary line on all fronts and in every sphere. The proletarian revolutionary line represented by Chairman Mao has for a long time waged a resolute struggle against this bourgeois reactionary line. In the course of the all-out revolutionary criticism and repudiation, the revolutionary people of the city must seriously study Chairman Mao's teachings on the struggle between the two classes, between the two roads, and between the two lines. They must take the handful of top Party persons in authority taking the capitalist road as teachers by negative example, and overthrow and completely discredit the bourgeois reactionary line politically, ideologically and theoretically by linking it with the criticism and repudiation of the counter-revolutionary revisionist clique in the old Peking Municipal Party Committee and with the struggle, criticism and repudiation, and transformation in their

own units. This will help us to understand and grasp Mao Tse-tung's thought still more profoundly and carry out still more effectively the proletarian revolutionary line represented by Chairman Mao.

In transforming the objective world, proletarian revolutionaries must strive to transform their own subjective world. Comrade Lin Piao has said: **"We should regard ourselves as part of the strength in the revolution and at the same time constantly make ourselves a target of revolution. We should revolutionize ourselves in the revolution. Without doing this, it is impossible to make the revolution a success."** Mao Tse-tung's thought provides us with the sharpest weapon for transforming the objective as well as the subjective world. The city's proletarian revolutionaries must fight on the one hand and on the other, carry out rectification. They should study in earnest "the three constantly read articles" [*Serve the People*, *In Memory of Norman Bethune* and *The Foolish Old Man Who Removed the Mountains*], *On Correcting Mistaken Ideas in the Party* and others among Chairman Mao's brilliant works, carry on criticism and self-criticism, and start a great revolution in their innermost souls to destroy self-interest and foster devotion to the public interest. They should energetically sweep away all traces of anarchism, the "mountain-stronghold" mentality and individualism, and strengthen the revolutionary spirit, scientific approach and sense of organization and discipline of the proletariat so as to further expand and consolidate the great revolutionary alliance on the basis of Mao Tse-tung's thought and, with the proletarian Left as its core, form a mighty force of the proletarian cultural revolution.

In the current mass movement of all-out criticism and repudiation, the cadres who have made mistakes should take Mao Tse-tung's thought as a weapon with which to smash the spiritual shackles of the book on self-cultivation of Communists, and show by their deeds that they have now taken their stand on the side of the proletarian revolutionary line represented by Chairman Mao.

This May marks the 25th anniversary of the publication of Chairman Mao's *Talks at the Yanan Forum on Literature and Art*. In these talks Chairman Mao developed the Marxist-Leninist world outlook and theory of literature and art with genius, creatively and in an all-round way. It is an epoch-making classic and a programmatic document of the great proletarian cultural revolution. We must study earnestly this brilliant work.

In studying Chairman Mao's works proletarian revolutionaries should master the Marxist-Leninist method, that is, **to have specific problems in mind, to study and apply Chairman Mao's works in a creative way, to combine study with application, to study first what must be urgently applied so as to get quick results, and to strive hard to apply what is being studied.**



# Bankruptcy of Europe's New Scabs

by OBSERVER

A counter-revolutionary orgy sponsored by the Soviet revisionist group in power, who had assembled a handful of their hangers-on in Europe, took place at Karlovy Vary, Czechoslovakia from April 24 to 26.

Brezhnev, Kosygin and company kept busy for a whole year plotting that meeting. In their minds, they wanted it to be spectacular enough to raise the modern revisionists' courage, brace them up and to have the meeting last four days. But it only took two and a half days for the meeting to get bogged down. Brezhnev had to pack up and leave, and the meeting came to a hasty end, earlier than scheduled.

The meeting was one which spelled out the utter bankruptcy of Europe's new scabs.

Brezhnev, Kosygin and company took great pains to pull together such a meeting. They roamed from place to place, using soft and tough tactics. However, attendance was sparse and poor. Some Parties disobeyed the wand of Soviet revisionism and refused to attend. The Tito renegade clique also did not turn up, but its absence was accounted for by its special position as a long-time flunkey of U.S. imperialism, which it hoped to retain.

The meeting was one for the Soviet revisionists to plot further against China. At the meeting, Brezhnev took the lead in attacking China. Outside the meeting, Brezhnev and his gang undertook intense anti-China activities. But few had the nerve to come forward and oppose China openly at the meeting. Instead, they went out of their way to explain that the anti-China question "does not form part of the agenda of our conference." Why should something so queer happen? This was a mere attempt to make the meeting more deceptive and to ward off exposure and criticism by the Marxist-Leninists and revolutionary people. It shows that the Soviet revisionists had found it difficult at the meeting to openly fly the flag of united action against China. This reveals the awkward situation these anti-China heroes were in: They are not in a position to oppose China, much as they want to.

The Karlovy Vary conference had been contemplated as preparatory to a massive assembly of all the renegades and scabs of the world which the Soviet revisionists have been trying to knock together.

Brezhnev, Kosygin and company clamoured long ago about convening a "new world conference of Communist Parties." Some added that the "conditions are maturing." Others chimed in to say that "conditions become increasingly mature." Still others declared that "conditions have matured." It was quite a hullabaloo. But these cries suddenly silenced at the Karlovy Vary scab meeting. Did they no longer intend to call such a conference to oppose communism, China, the people, revolution and Marxism-Leninism, Mao Tse-tung's thought? That surely was not the case. It was that on this question these scabs had troubles which they dared not reveal, each having his own private ax to grind, and that they were beset with contradictions and found it hard to come to an agreement.

Brezhnev, Kosygin and company had hoped that the meeting would help them restore the "authority" of the baton of Khrushchov revisionism. But things did not come up to their expectations. The baton of Soviet revisionism became still less effective, the European revisionist cliques each mind its own business and the tendency to act on one's own has been growing. Though they try their best to conceal the fact, they have to admit, however reluctantly, that there are "differences" among them and it is "not a simple and easy task" to work out a common policy.

The Karlovy Vary conference revealed that the European modern revisionists are strange bed-fellows dreaming different dreams, each has something up his sleeve. They are divided and falling apart. The meeting was a big exhibition of the internal contradictions among the new European scabs.

The participants produced a statement containing empty talk about "peace in Europe" in abstract terms. They described the statement as a "programme of action" "for peace and security in Europe."

TASS reported: "Presided over by L.I. Brezhnev, the conference unanimously approved the text of a statement 'for peace and security in Europe' and a closing communique." As Brezhnev saw it, this "unanimity" demonstrated under his chairmanship was something to brag about.

As a matter of fact, the "unanimity" they achieved on the question of peace revealed exactly their true colours as a bunch of scabs. This is the same kind

of "unanimity" among the Second International renegades that Kautsky boasted about.

**Lenin said, "To Kautsky, the unanimous desire of the chauvinists who have betrayed socialism to deceive the workers, is proof of the 'unanimity' and viability of the International on the question of peace!!!"**

In using empty talk about "peace" to benumb the revolutionary will of the working class, the new scabs, Brezhnev and company, excelled old renegades like Kautsky in brazenness.

On the question of European "peace and security," the Karlovy Vary conference fell back on a lot of worn-out lingo, some picked up from the old revisionists, some from Khrushchov, some from Tito and some from the imperialists. This lengthy 7,000-word statement is crammed with stuff meant to deceive the people, such as, disarmament, abolition of the two military blocs, establishment of a European collective security system, all-European co-operation, convocation of a conference of European countries and united action with the socialist parties, and so on.

The very essence of this reactionary and hypocritical statement on "peace and security in Europe" is to oppose the proletarian revolution and the dictatorship of the proletariat and preserve the rule of imperialism, capitalism and revisionism in Europe.

What Brezhnev, Kosygin and company call "peace in Europe" means the "peaceful" evolution of the socialist countries to capitalism, the "peaceful" toleration by the working class in the capitalist countries of oppression and exploitation and the "peaceful" degeneration of the Communist and Workers' Parties into new Social Democratic Parties.

What Brezhnev, Kosygin and company call "security in Europe" means security for the privileged bourgeois stratum in the countries where the revisionist groups are in power, security for the reactionary ruling class in the imperialist and capitalist countries and the security of a handful of renegades and scabs in the Communist and Workers' Parties in the grip of modern revisionist groups.

The Karlovy Vary conference was a meeting serving U.S. imperialism. Desperately trying to maintain "peace and security" in Europe, they aim at helping U.S. imperialism "stabilize" Europe, suppress the revolutionary movements of the world's people, suppress the vigorously developing national-liberation movements in Asia, Africa and Latin America, particularly in Southeast Asia, and widen the war of aggression against Vietnam. The appeal issued by the Karlovy Vary conference for "aid" to Vietnam is a smokescreen designed to cover up their counter-revolutionary purpose of serving U.S. imperialism.

The meeting usurped the name of the "Communist and Workers' Parties in Europe." What kind of Communist Parties are they? The participants — the Brezhnev-Kosygin crowd from the Soviet Union, the

Ulbricht crowd from East Germany, the Gomulka crowd from Poland, the Novotny crowd from Czechoslovakia, the Zhivkov crowd from Bulgaria, the Kadar Janos crowd from Hungary, the Rochet crowd from France, the Longo crowd from Italy, the Gollan crowd from Britain, the Ibarruri crowd from Spain, etc. — all are renegades to Marxism-Leninism, working-class scabs and enemies of the revolutionary Communist Parties.

The meeting at Karlovy Vary was a meeting of representatives of the privileged bourgeois stratum of the Soviet Union and East European countries and the agents of the bourgeoisie of some capitalist countries in Europe; it was a meeting at which the new Social Democratic Parties took a further step in colluding with the old Social Democratic Parties. The new Social Democratic Parties and the old Social Democratic Parties in Europe have become a "maintenance club" to keep all reactionary rule, reactionary systems and reactionary forces going a bit longer.

The meeting reflected the panic, uneasiness and desperate death-bed struggle of the international bourgeoisie.

It inherited Khrushchov revisionism and reaffirmed the capitulationist line of coexistence of the 20th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union in a vain attempt to prop up the tottering rule of imperialism and capitalism. But, no matter how hard Brezhnev, Kosygin and company try to serve imperialism, corrupt the working class and oppose and sabotage revolution, they cannot in any way save imperialism and capitalism from inevitable doom.

**Comrade Mao Tse-tung has said: "The socialist system will eventually replace the capitalist system; this is an objective law independent of man's will. However much the reactionaries try to hold back the wheel of history, sooner or later revolution will take place and will inevitably triumph."**

Worldwide dissemination of the great thought of Mao Tse-tung and the powerful impact of China's great proletarian cultural revolution upon the world are giving further impetus to the revolutionary struggle of the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America and further rousing the working class and other labouring people of Europe, North America and Oceania to a new awakening.

Albania, the great beacon of socialism in Europe, shines in full splendour.

The Marxist-Leninist Parties and organizations of the European countries are growing in strength. We are convinced that these Parties and organizations, under the guidance of Marxism-Leninism, Mao Tse-tung's thought, and by rallying and leading the working class and other labouring people of Europe, will surely be able to overthrow the reactionary rule of imperialism, capitalism and revisionism and achieve their own complete emancipation.

(*Renmin Ribao*, May 4.)

*Peking Review*, No. 20



## Mao Tse-tung's Thought

### Lights the Whole World

#### **Chairman Mao Leads the World's Proletariat Victoriously Forward**

In a letter written on the eve of May Day, a group of Bulgarian Communist Party members expressed their warm greetings to the Communist Party of China which is led by the great helmsman Comrade Mao Tse-tung.

The letter says that the great helmsman Comrade Mao Tse-tung is not only guiding China's workers and peasants forward but also leading all the oppressed people and the proletariat of the world in their advance.

May Day, the greatest festival of the working people all over the world, has arrived, it says. For this day, thousands upon thousands of patriotic fighters have heroically laid down their lives in past bitter struggles for the proletariat. Therefore, all those living today must carry on their cause and be ready to sacrifice their lives when the occasion calls. "We are all looking to the Chinese Communist Party, which is the strongest Party in the world and which is leading the struggle to wipe out imperialism and winning the support of the advanced proletariat in every aspect."

The letter continues: We, a group of Communists who uphold Mao Tse-tung's thought, wish to send our

May Day greetings to the pure, heroic and industrious Chinese people, thousands and tens of thousands of times. We wish that they unite unflinchingly round the Chinese Communist Party and its Central Committee headed by Comrade Mao Tse-tung, the brilliant supreme commander and pure internationalist.

The letter goes on with these moving words: "Comrades, we are still keeping the portrait of our leader Mao Tse-tung so that everyone who loves him can see him. May our Comrade Mao Tse-tung have a long, long life! Long live Comrade Mao Tse-tung! Eternal glory to Mao Tse-tung's thought!"

It ends with the assurance that they will fight to liquidate imperialism and revisionism and uproot both, as one uproots the weeds.

#### **May Day in Kyoto, Japan**

Braving rain, a large contingent of high-spirited and determined people marched in Kyoto on May 1 in celebration of International Labour Day. The march was organized by the Kyoto Headquarters of the Japan-China Friendship Association (Orthodox). Heading the marchers was a sound truck decorated with a large portrait of Chairman Mao Tse-tung and many coloured flags. From the truck came the words of the song: "Sailing the seas depends on the helmsman, the growth of everything depends on the sun; fields of grain thrive on the rain and dew, and making revolution depends on Mao Tse-tung's thought. . . ."

At regular intervals, a young man shouted over a loudspeaker: "Long live Chairman Mao Tse-tung, the great revolutionary teacher!" "Long live the invincible thought of Mao Tse-tung!" "Long live the victory of China's great proletarian cultural revolution!" "Smash the anti-China schemes of the revisionists of the Japanese Communist Party!" and "U.S. imperialism get out of Vietnam!"

Marching at the head of the column were revolutionary workers, students, activists in the women's movement, and Kiyoshi Inoue, well-known historian and professor at Kyoto University, and Kondo, noted fighter in the Japan-China friendship



In Tirana, Albanian revolutionary masses in their May Day parade carry a big portrait of Chairman Mao and shout "Enver-Mao Tse-tung!"



movement. Wearing shiny Chairman Mao badges pinned on their jackets, they carried placards with slogans and sang revolutionary songs.

The young man Shoichiro Inoue, carrying a loudspeaker on his back and wearing a "Mao Tse-tung's Thought Red Guard" armband presented to him by a Chinese friend, was especially active in the parade. Before starting on the march, this young man who comes from a poor family, studied some quotations from Chairman Mao Tse-tung together with a few friends. They considered this May Day especially significant for Japanese youth since it was being militantly celebrated under the guidance of Mao Tse-tung's thought.

Uemura, a woman worker taking part in the demonstration, said that this year's May Day parade made her realize more deeply than before that Mao Tse-tung's thought is an inexhaustible fountain of energy. She said that in past parades, the demonstrators were asked to sing songs which were very feeble. "The more I sang them, the more tired I became. I always ended by leaving the ranks half-way," she said. "But this year, we marched under the portrait of Chairman Mao, singing revolutionary songs and shouting revolutionary slogans at the top of our voices. I felt myself bursting with energy."

### To Be a True Revolutionary

The plane was about to take off. The two Congolese (B) youths, who had been engaged in a long plane-side talk, had to shake hands and say good-bye to each other. But the one who was leaving had hardly reached the ramp when he was called back by the other who rushed forward and offered him a copy of the brightly



In Tokyo, workers, students and citizens in the parade celebrating May Day carry portraits of Chairman Mao and hold aloft placards of quotations from Chairman Mao

red *Quotations From Chairman Mao Tse-tung*. "Keep this book and never forget the revolution," he said emotionally.

After the plane had taken off, the youth remaining behind told a Chinese correspondent at the airport that the traveller was his younger brother who was going abroad to study. They had studied the *Quotations* together and compared notes. "My brother loves to read Chairman Mao's works better than anything else and he holds the great leader in the highest esteem. He looks admiringly at the portrait of Chairman Mao printed in the red book every time he opens it and starts reading."

"My brother will not be back for several years. At the last minute, I made up my mind to part with my beloved red book and give it to him because I want him to study Chairman Mao's works regularly and temper himself into a true revolutionary."

### The Great Red Sun Is Mao Tse-tung

by a Nigerian Friend

From China rises a great red sun,  
The great red sun is Mao Tse-tung,  
His thoughts are the sun's bright rays  
Which shine on all oppressed people  
And give them life —  
This is Mao Tse-tung's thought!  
The red sun is not for China alone,  
Neither are its rays for the Chinese people alone,  
It is a red beacon for the oppressed people of the world.  
The spark that kindled the Chinese revolution  
Now sets the world ablaze;  
The whole world now is filled with his thoughts.  
For anxious years I have longed for Mao Tse-tung,  
Who brings happiness to the working people.

Though distance is my undoing, my feelings travel far.  
How I long for your warmth, how I wish to sit at your feet,  
To drink from the sparkling stream of your thoughts,  
To become a humble disciple of your great wisdom.  
Your thoughts are immortal, your work is gigantic;  
Mao Tse-tung, great giant of the revolution,  
You have shattered the diabolical schemes of the Khrushchovs,  
You have punctured the paper tiger of U.S. imperialism.  
So let me journey to your side,  
To feel the rays of the red sun which are your thoughts;  
So that later I may return to Africa,  
To proclaim the truth of your great thought,  
The truth of your revolutionary fight and struggles,  
So that I may take part in that fight  
To struggle for the working people.



# Chinese Artists Perform for the World's Revolutionary People

SIX of China's theatrical troupes have made successful tours of more than a dozen Asian and African countries. They were the Chinese Folk Song and Dance Ensemble, the Tung Fang Song and Dance Ensemble, the Chinese Peking Song and Dance Ensemble, the Chinese Yunnan Acrobatic Troupe, the Chinese Tientsin Song and Dance Ensemble and the China Acrobatic Troupe. Their revolutionary songs and dances brought Mao Tse-tung's thought to the Afro-Asian peoples and they themselves gave expression to it by their own completely new mental outlook. They were widely acclaimed by the revolutionary Afro-Asian peoples and warmly praised as "artistic groups sent by Chairman Mao Tse-tung."

## **Serve the Workers, Peasants and Soldiers Wholeheartedly**

Chairman Mao has said: "All our literature and art are for the masses of the people, and in the first place for the workers, peasants and soldiers; they are created for the workers, peasants and soldiers and are for their use."

On their tours abroad, the Chinese artistic workers firmly kept Chairman Mao's teachings in mind.

Once the Chinese Folk Song and Dance Ensemble gave a performance at Ibb in Yemen. When the artists were about to leave, several groups of women who lived on the other side of the mountains arrived, hoping to see them perform. Costumes and stage properties had been packed, but, remembering Chairman Mao's teachings, members of the ensemble decided to postpone their departure and gave another performance at once. Afterwards many of the women were moved to tears. Holding the hands of the Chinese actresses they said: "You are the kindest people in the world. Please stay with us!" "We won't let you leave us!"

In Tokyo, the Peking Song and Dance Ensemble took advantage of the free time between appearances to visit factories and give small-scale performances for the Japanese working people. One day in Kanazawa city, they heard that the hotel waiters, because of pressure of work, had not been able to see them perform, so they gave a concert specially for several dozen of them in a hotel room.

Returning after a performance somewhere in the Laotian liberated areas, the Chinese Yunnan Acrobatic Troupe met a soldier of the Pathet Lao forces from

the frontline. Learning that he had not had the chance to see them, the troupe, though tired from their journey, put on a special performance for this one spectator. The soldier was moved to say: "What I have seen is not only your performance but also the devoted heart of the Chinese people."

On top of its large-scale public performances during its tour in Vietnam, the Tung Fang Song and Dance Ensemble also organized several mobile teams to take its militant songs and dances to the positions of the Vietnamese people's forces. After their performances the Chinese actresses brought out their sewing kits and mended the Vietnamese soldiers' uniforms. Greatly moved, the Vietnamese people's fighters said: "A needle and a piece of thread from you can link the fraternal feelings of our two peoples."

## **Artists of the Proletariat**

Chairman Mao has said: "China's revolutionary writers and artists, writers and artists of promise, must go among the masses; they must for a long period of time unreservedly and wholeheartedly go among the masses of workers, peasants and soldiers."

During their tour of Yemen, artists of the Chinese Folk Song and Dance Ensemble erected and dismantled the stage for every performance, and moved and got ready all the stage properties themselves. Once in Hodeida, the ensemble was caught in a heavy rain storm. But everyone set to work at once, removed the equipment from the truck and put up the stage in spite of the downpour. Yemeni friends were greatly moved and lent a hand.

When the Peking Song and Dance Ensemble arrived in the village of Kawashima near Tokyo, they found that the ripening rice crops of a local poor peasant had not been harvested because of the shortage of manpower. More than 30 young men and women, members of the ensemble, helped him to gather in the grain during their mid-day break. Lacking sickles, they used their bare hands. In less than one hour all the grain in this paddyfield was harvested. The local people enthusiastically told each other, "The Chinese actors and actresses are helping us with the autumn harvest; they are sent here by Mao Tse-tung."

In each place they visited, members of the ensemble always tidied their own hotel rooms and washed their clothes themselves and sometimes also helped in

the kitchen. A Japanese worker in a theatre who has seen many foreign artistic troupes remarked: "Chinese actors are really artists of the proletariat." An old waitress in one hotel said: "Although I have not seen Chairman Mao myself, these Chinese youngsters whom I have seen make me realize that Mao Tse-tung is truly a great man."

### Revolutionary Art, a Weapon for Battle

Chairman Mao has said: "Revolutionary culture is a powerful revolutionary weapon for the broad masses of the people."

Chinese artists firmly hold to Chairman Mao's revolutionary policy on literature and art and propagate Mao Tse-tung's thought everywhere and whenever the opportunity presents itself.

Many of the items in the programmes presented by the Chinese singers and dancers tell of the revolutionary storms raised by the Asian and African peoples and sing the praises of the peoples' anti-imperialist struggles.

In Africa, when the Chinese Folk Song and Dance Ensemble performed the dance *Fighting Africa*, the audiences, greatly excited, cheered and waved their clenched fists during the scene in which African freedom fighters smash their fetters and take up arms to fight heroically. A Zambian teacher said: "Your performances give expression to our struggles for freedom and give us added strength." Some other African spectators said: "Your militant songs and dances add to the people's fighting will, make them see the future and give them hope."

The Tung Fang Song and Dance Ensemble performed *Smash the Strategic Hamlet, Yankee Go Home!, Liberate the South* and other items at the positions of the Vietnamese People's Army. After the performances, the fighters said: "These are not simply performances

of plays; they are portrayals of real life. Seeing them, people want to take up their guns to fight." They also describe these songs and dances as "shells fired at the U.S. bandits."

In the Gaza region of Palestine, the Chinese Folk Song and Dance Ensemble composed and rehearsed the dance *We Will Certainly Return to Our Homeland!* to express the Chinese people's support for the Palestinian Arabs' struggle against imperialism. The local people were greatly moved by the performance, saying: "This is the first foreign troupe which has performed an item about the Palestinian people's struggle." Many spectators shouted together: "We will certainly fight our way back to rebuild our homeland!"

### The Hearts of the World's People Turn to Chairman Mao

No matter in what country or what place the Chinese artists performed, the mention of the name of the great leader Chairman Mao or the appearance of Chairman Mao's portrait on the stage immediately evoked thunderous cheers of "Long live Mao Tse-tung!" from the whole audience.

After seeing the performances of the Chinese artistic troupe, a Pakistan worker said: "Mao Tse-tung belongs not only to the Chinese people but also to the revolutionary people of the whole world." A Pakistan student said: "Chairman Mao Tse-tung is the real leader of the people. We love and respect him very much because he shows the way to the peoples who are struggling for independence and liberation."

A progressive Iraqi writer said: "Chairman Mao is the revolutionary teacher of the people all over the world. Mao Tse-tung is the red sun rising in the East whose brilliance will shine over the whole earth." Another Iraqi said: "I feel that Mao Tse-tung's thought is shining in Iraq now."

Zambian audiences said that they now understood the Chinese people and their support for the African people even better, and therefore loved and respected Chairman Mao still more and had a firmer faith in his teachings.

A Japanese girl said: "Seeing Chairman Mao's portrait frequently appear on the stage, I very much envy the Chinese people for having such a leader loved and respected by the people." Another spectator said: "When I saw Chairman Mao's portrait and heard the song *The East Is Red*, I was moved to tears." A Japanese railway worker wrote to the Chinese song and dance ensemble: "You are sent here by Chairman Mao. The Japanese people will keep Chairman Mao in mind for ever."



Chinese artists performing for fighters of the Laotian People's Liberation Army

# "RENMIN RIBAO" COMMENTARIES

## God of Plague as Vaccine Salesman

A U.S. Department of Commerce spokesman declared recently that because of "humanitarian considerations," the U.S. Government had informed American drug firms that they might sell certain vaccines to China. He took care to emphasize that this was a "serious proposal" and "no propaganda."

Bless them! These U.S. imperialist panjandrums have suddenly taken pity on us Chinese people and shown concern for our health! Shouldn't we shed tears of gratitude? Unfortunately, their proposal is so "serious" that people can see through it at once as nothing but a shoddy trick.

This "no propaganda" stunt reminds us of the proverbial thief who posted a marker saying: "The missing treasure is not buried here." It is propaganda, and extremely vicious anti-Chinese propaganda at that. What they have in mind is a profession of "friendship" for the Chinese people by which they hope to disguise their aggressive features and present monstrous U.S. imperialism as a god of mercy to dupe the people of the world. They also want to use such propaganda to spread rumours about rampant epidemics in an attempt to discredit China and poison relations between China and its neighbouring countries. This is the vicious purpose underlying the whole thing.

The so-called humanitarian considerations are even more disgusting. The Chinese people and the people of the whole world know only too well what U.S. imperialist "humanitarianism" means. When the U.S. imperialists helped Chiang Kai-shek fight the civil war and massacre countless Chinese, they called it "humanitarianism." When they launched their war of aggression against Korea and let loose bacteriological warfare, they called it "humanitarianism." Today, they are carrying out a policy of kill all, burn all and destroy all in south Vietnam and are indiscriminately bombing north Vietnam—this, too, they call "humanitarianism." And now we have this peerless god of plague, hanging out a battered shingle advertising vaccines for sale, noisily talking about "humanitarianism." It is absolutely ridiculous and outrageous!

**Chairman Mao Tse-tung pointed out long ago: "The governments of the imperialist countries, though they engaged in counter-revolutionary activities every day, had never told the truth in their statements or official documents but had filled . . . them with professions of humanity, justice and virtue."**

U.S. imperialism will never act otherwise. However, none of its honeyed words, sophistries, smiles, sham kindness and other gimmicks will produce any effect on the great Chinese people. They will only deepen their hatred, scorn and contempt for U.S. im-

perialism. The high and mighty in Washington should get this into their heads: better stop this finagling.

(April 29)

## Traitors Trafficking in Opium

**Karl Marx once said: "Religion is the opium of the people."** The ruling Soviet clique of revisionists, garbed as "Marxist-Leninists," are today openly trafficking in this kind of opium. They have recently compiled *Tales From the Bible* for children, a collection of stories brought out especially to poison the minds of the younger generation in the Soviet Union.

There is nothing strange in these revisionists taking a fancy to the Bible. Like all reactionary regimes, the sheet anchor of Soviet revisionist rule is based on the enslavement and exploitation of the people. These renegades follow a revisionist line that opposes and liquidates revolution, a line that brings about capitalist restoration. Hence they must use the ideology of the exploiting classes, including religion, as their instrument. They seek to dope and deceive the people with religion, in the hope that their revisionist "thrones" can thus be preserved and counter-revolutionary activities facilitated.

The arch renegade Khrushchov had a way of quoting the Bible in defence of his betrayal and capitulation to U.S. imperialism and for the purpose of sapping the fighting spirit of the revolutionary people of the world. Is it not quite normal therefore for the present Soviet revisionist rulers, who have completely inherited Khrushchov's mantle, to be keen on using the Bible to bring up revisionist successors?

By way of self-justification, the Soviet revisionists declared that the *Tales From the Bible* they compiled "will not carry any religious orientation." To be sure, that only means that the poisonous pills have a sugar coating. Obviously, their purpose is to publicize their "theory" of revisionism and philosophy of betrayal. In relating the story of "The Tower of Babel," the Soviet revisionists seek to advertise their doctrine of class reconciliation, of all men being brothers, so as to lull people into forgetting about classes and the class struggle and to give their general line of "peaceful coexistence" a footing. As for the story about Noah's Ark, which was Khrushchov's favourite, it is plain that they want to spread the nonsense about the possible extinction of mankind and urge people to refrain from opposing imperialism and to "throw in their lot" with imperialism on the same "Ark." Isn't their motive clear enough?

We would however like to make one suggestion to these gentlemen in Moscow: since you are compiling stories from the Bible, you should include that one about Judas Iscariot. By acquainting Soviet readers



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## Soviet Revisionists Fear the Truth, Ban "Peking Review"

The Soviet revisionist leading clique is mortally afraid of the dissemination of the truth. According to a report from Moscow, it has recently gone so far as to unwarrantedly ban the sale of *Peking Review* and order its post office to withhold copies of this weekly sent to subscribers in Moscow.

It was reported that a spokesman of the Soviet magazine distributing agency Soviet Press admitted on May 4 that the agency had dropped *Peking Review* from its catalogue. Another report said that a Moscow subscriber had not received copies of *Peking Review*, which were sent out regularly from Peking, since last November.

As timid as a mouse, the Soviet revisionist leading clique dreads the dissemination in the Soviet Union of Mao Tse-tung's thought—Marxism-Leninism at its highest level in the contemporary era. It dares not let the Soviet people hear the voice of the Chinese Communist Party and the Chinese people. Since China launched the great proletarian cultural revolution, the Soviet revisionist leading clique is filled with extreme fear and hatred for the tremendous changes taking place in China. That is why it has taken a new step in shutting off news about China from the Soviet people.

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with the story of how that traitor betrayed Jesus Christ for thirty pieces of silver, you will have helped the Soviet people recognize you as a wretched handful of traitors.

(May 5)

## Shameless Liars

*Izvestia* and *Life Abroad*, two Soviet journals, have been churning out slanders against China in recent articles—once again in collaboration with U.S. imperialism. They spread lies about negotiations in progress between China and West Germany on the exchange of trade delegations and the establishment of diplomatic relations and about China's "readiness" to recognize West Berlin as "part" of West Germany.

These are completely worthless canards, not fit to be refuted at all. The people and Government of China have been consistent and unequivocal in their stand on the problem of Germany. We firmly support the just struggle of the German people against U.S. imperialism and West German militarism and revanchism. And yet the Soviet revisionist traitors have seized on this tattered piece of anti-China rumour-mongering and made great use of it.

They were apparently so engrossed in their anti-China antics that they forgot to cover up their traces. Their lies rebound as slaps in the face of the liars themselves. It is none other than the Soviet revisionist renegades who, in league with U.S. imperialism, have

been appeasing the forces of West German militarism and flirting with the Bonn ruling circles at the expense of the people of Europe.

Capitulating to U.S. imperialism, they have written off the question of concluding a German peace treaty. They work energetically for what they call a "relaxation of tension" in Europe and plump for a so-called European collective security system. All this has greatly whetted the appetite of the West German militarists to swallow up the German Democratic Republic.

They have made one compromise after another to U.S. imperialism and West German militarism over the West Berlin issue. They have concluded a long-term trade agreement with Bonn and given implicit consent to the "West Berlin clause," thus in effect selling out West Berlin to these militarists.

With the tacit consent of the Soviet revisionists, the United States has set up a NATO nuclear planning commission through which West German militarism has gained a say in NATO nuclear strategy and a share in nuclear weapons.

For quite some time the Soviet revisionists have been wooing Bonn and putting in a good word here and there for the West German reactionaries. They say "positive changes" have appeared in West Germany and call for "peaceful co-operation" with it and support for the "rational, corresponding measures" taken by West Germany "in the interests of European peace."

At the recent Karlovy Vary meeting of Europe's scabs, Soviet revisionist chieftain Brezhnev virtually promised the West German militarists a free hand for their expansionist schemes in Europe. The road to international co-operation on the basis of equality and participation in European affairs is now open to them, Brezhnev brayed.

Try as they might, Brezhnev and his kind can in no way cover up their long list of crimes by some clumsy anti-China slanders. The mere fact that relations between China and West Germany were chosen for fabricating lies only shows up the utter shamelessness and stupidity of this bunch of renegades.

(May 6)

## They Call It "Bridge-Building"

Some time ago, the ruling Soviet revisionist clique clinched a deal with Fiat, Italy's biggest automobile monopoly. In this contract Fiat undertakes to build a plant in the Ukraine with an annual capacity of 600,000 small passenger cars.

This has enormously pleased U.S. imperialism. The U.S. Departments of Commerce and Defence promptly supported the Export-Import Bank in financing a 50 million dollar loan to Fiat for purchasing the required machinery from the United States. John T. McNaughton, U.S. Assistant Secretary of Defence, appearing before a House Committee, said approvingly that this



"will be an important element in President Johnson's program of building bridges to Eastern Europe. It is our opinion that such bridge-building serves our national security."

Why does Fiat's construction of an automobile factory at the request of the ruling Soviet revisionist clique suit U.S. "national security"?

Former Under-Secretary of State George Ball hit the nail on the head when he said meaningfully that the car was ideology on four wheels. He believed that the Russians would no longer be the same. In other words, helping the Soviet revisionist clique to build an automobile plant means helping it to corrupt the Soviet people with the Western bourgeois way of life and helping it to speed up the restoration of capitalism. This of course suits the "security" of U.S. imperialism. No wonder the American money-bags quickly reached for their cheque books.

Johnson's redoubled efforts to "build bridges" to the Soviet Union are obviously aimed at opening still wider the road for political and economic infiltration of the Soviet Union. As a matter of fact, U.S. imperialism has been building a bridge for pulling the Soviet Union back to capitalism ever since John Foster Dulles put forward the policy of "peaceful evolution." The ruling Soviet clique of revisionists has looked upon this bridge as being very valuable, and it does not mind stooping low to collaborate in the scheme with U.S. imperialism. It is the belief of these revisionists that once the bridge is built they can sit as equals at the same table with the U.S. imperialists to dominate the world. But all this is a pipe dream. Those who are bent on restoring capitalism, destroying the fruits of the October Revolution and betraying the interests of the Soviet people can come to no good end.

(May 8)

## THE WEEK

(Continued from p. 6.)

units who took part in the battles had scored remarkable success as a result of studying and applying Chairman Mao's works in a creative way, giving prominence to proletarian politics and energetically carrying out the revolutionization of man's thinking. They were really worthy of the name of good soldiers of Chairman Mao and staunch defenders of Chairman Mao's revolutionary line.

Representatives of the units and the commanders and fighters who had performed meritorious services in the battles spoke amid enthusiastic applause. They expressed their determination to always remember **Chairman Mao's teaching that "modesty helps one to go forward, whereas conceit makes one lag behind,"** raise the great red banner of Mao Tse-tung's thought still higher, heighten their vigilance a hundred-fold, and be fully prepared for combat. If the enemy should dare to intrude into Chinese territory, they would wipe it out resolutely, thoroughly, completely and wholly.

### "Pravda" Correspondent Ordered to Leave China

A responsible member of the Information Department of the

Chinese Foreign Ministry on May 6 summoned V. M. Pasenchuk, *Pravda* correspondent in Peking, and declared him *persona non grata*. He formally informed Pasenchuk to leave Chinese territory before May 13.

Pasenchuk has consistently taken a hostile attitude towards China. In his dispatch of April 14, he went so far as to openly and virulently attack the most respected and beloved great leader of the Chinese people Chairman Mao by name and to smear China's great proletarian cultural revolution. The responsible member of the Information Department sternly told him: "This is a rabid provocation against the 700 million Chinese people. We express our great indignation and contempt at your despicable and shameless action."

The responsible member added: "Chairman Mao Tse-tung is the greatest Marxist-Leninist of our times, the reddest red sun in the hearts of the people of China and the rest of the world. Mao Tse-tung's thought is the most powerful ideological weapon for the people of the world in their revolutionary struggles. The unprecedented, great proletarian cultural revolution, initiated and led by our great leader Chairman Mao himself, is a great, unprecedented event in the

socialist revolution and in the international communist movement. Sensing their impending doom, the group of modern revisionists, with the leadership of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union as their centre, are colluding with U.S. imperialism and the reactionaries of all countries in waging a desperate death-bed struggle. They have turned on their propaganda machine full blast and are using the most venomous language to wildly attack China's great cultural revolution and stir up anti-China hysteria, with the spearhead directed against Chairman Mao Tse-tung, the great teacher of the revolutionary people of the world and the great leader of the Chinese people. This fully exposes the renegade features of you counter-revolutionary revisionists who are afraid of the great might of Mao Tse-tung's thought and of Chairman Mao's high prestige among the people of the world."

The responsible member sternly warned the *Pravda* correspondent: "We will never allow any foreign correspondent in Peking to slander or attack in any way whatsoever Chairman Mao Tse-tung, the great leader of the Chinese people. Anyone who dares to attack our most respected and beloved great leader Chairman Mao will surely be knocking his head against the wall."

# ROUND THE WORLD

VIETNAM

## Bombs Cannot Save the Aggressors

**Historically, all reactionary forces on the verge of extinction invariably conduct a last desperate struggle against the revolutionary forces.**

— Mao Tse-tung

Since April 20, the U.S. air marauders have again and again bombed residential areas, industrial districts, airports and harbours in Hanoi, Haiphong and other cities in north Vietnam.

These wanton massive raids show up U.S. imperialism as both desperate and weak because, foiled both in battle and in its "peace" swindles, it has once again resorted to war escalation.

The Johnson Administration made strenuous efforts this year to scrape up enough troops to launch its "second dry season offensive" in south Vietnam. But it suffered still heavier casualties and bigger defeats. In the first quarter, south Vietnam's heroic liberation army men and civilians put out of action more than 80,000 enemy troops, including over 45,000 U.S. and accomplice troops.

As U.S. imperialism finds the going tougher, the Soviet revisionist ruling clique becomes still more fervent in serving its needs. At the very moment when the United States was taking a new step up the ladder of war with large-scale bombing of north Vietnam, Soviet Deputy Foreign Minister Kuznetsov hastened to New York and talked behind closed doors with the U.S. delegate to the U.N. While the U.S. delegate declared afterwards that secret Soviet-American diplomacy was "needed for peace" in Vietnam, the Soviet diplomat talked himself hoarse at a U.N. special committee meeting about the Vietnam war being "a special danger" that caused "alarm." He was helping the U.S. bandits to intimidate the Vietnamese people and trying to cover up the U.S. war escalation by a "peace talks" smokescreen.

However, the battle-tested Vietnamese people are not to be cowed. In

one week from April 20 to 26, north Vietnam's army men and civilians brought down scores of invading U.S. planes.

In the two years and more since U.S. imperialism extended the war of aggression to north Vietnam, it has tried to achieve its aims by bombing. It has tried alternately to induce "peace talks" through a bombing pause and to force capitulation through resumed bombing. When its blackmail fails, it goes one step further in war escalation. It all adds up to more places to be bombed and more bombs dropped with the objective still unachieved.

The U.S. aggressors can find no way of averting their doom. They are bound to be engulfed in the vast ocean of people's war in Vietnam.

EUROPEAN DETENTE, SOVIET STYLE

## U.S. Transfers Troops to Vietnam

The U.S. State Department announced on May 2 that, in accordance with an agreement reached on April 28 among the United States, Britain and West Germany, Washington will withdraw 35,000 troops from West Germany. They include two brigades and the rear services of the 24th Infantry Division totalling 28,000 men and four fighter-bomber squadrons with more than 6,000 men. The Western press noted that this constituted 15 per cent of U.S. troops in West Germany and 50 per cent of its combat aircraft there.

U.S. imperialism has decided on this substantial withdrawal from West Germany in order to enlarge still further its aggressive war against Vietnam. A Pentagon official admitted that the troops being pulled out could be immediately as-

signed to Vietnam. In fact, ever since 1965 the United States has been transferring its troops from Europe to the East to widen its adventure in Asia. A total of 40,000 men has already been withdrawn from Europe. The coming withdrawal will be the biggest so far.

The decision to withdraw U.S. troops en masse from West Germany comes when U.S. imperialism is in dire straits in its aggression against Vietnam. It comes when it is facing a grave shortage of troops because of its serious defeats in south Vietnam and when Westmoreland, the commander of the U.S. aggressive forces in Vietnam, has cried out for more men, on this occasion for another 160,000.

The decision also comes right on the heels of the Karlovy Vary conference (see p. 21) during which Brezhnev and company skirted around the questions of a German peace treaty and West Berlin but called for "European peace and security" in order to stabilize the position of U.S. imperialism in Europe. So it comes to this: while the Soviet revisionist leaders are fraternizing with U.S. imperialism in Europe, the latter is transferring tens of thousands of its aggressive troops from Europe to the East to massacre the Vietnamese and other Asian peoples.

While Brezhnev at the Karlovy Vary conference called for "united action" in "aiding" the Vietnamese people, what the Soviet revisionist scabs actually did was to take "united action" with U.S. imperialism in the expansion of its war of aggression against Vietnam. This is another exposure of the Soviet revisionist



Cartoon from "Renmin Ribao"

leaders as a pack of renegades who practise "sham support and real betrayal" on the Vietnam question, renegades who are accomplices of U.S. imperialism in suppressing the world revolution.

#### U.S. IMPERIALISM IN YEMEN

### Caught Red-Handed

The Arab people have again seized hold of the paw which U.S. imperialism has stretched out to commit aggression.

Taizz, Yemen, was the scene of a big anti-U.S. protest on April 26. The demonstrators broke into the U.S. embassy and ripped up the American flag. They later smashed up the local "Point 4" office of the U.S. Agency of International Development. The next day all schools and shops were closed. On the 29th, there was a protest strike and hartal in Sanaa, Yemen's other major city. In an April 27 statement the Yemeni Government declared that it had abrogated all agreements with the U.S. Agency of International Development and demanded that all its personnel get out of Yemen immediately.

In the name of "aid," U.S. imperialism has long carried out unbridled subversion and sabotage in Yemen. As the Yemeni government statement pointed out, investigation showed that most of the sabotage activities in Yemen were engineered

by the "Point 4" office from behind the scenes. The statement said that bazooka shells, a secret wireless set and weapons had been found in its Taizz compound. On April 25, two Americans fired four bazooka shells from this compound at a Yemeni ammunition depot and injured four Yemenis. These two Americans were arrested by the Yemeni Government.

Right on the territory of a sovereign country brazen U.S. imperialism has committed these flagrant acts of aggression. Yet when the Yemeni people protested on April 26, Americans in the "Point 4" office fired at the demonstrators. And on April 27, the U.S. Charge d'Affaires in Yemen had the effrontery to lodge a protest with the Yemeni Government and demand the release of the detained Americans and even "compensation" for the "Point 4" office. He served a "verbal ultimatum" to the effect that the U.S. Government would withdraw its recognition of the Yemen Arab Republic if the Yemeni Government failed to comply with the demands within 24 hours.

Yemeni President Sallal rightly rejected this arrogant threat. He declared that the Yemeni Government would continue its investigations and put the culprits on trial and would abolish the privileges granted to American aircraft. In the face of this firm stand, Washington was compelled to take back its

"verbal ultimatum," cancel its restrictions on the Yemeni Ambassador to the United States and withdraw all its "Point 4" personnel as demanded.

The Yemeni people's struggle to defeat U.S. aggression and uphold Yemen's sovereignty is far from ended. There is no doubt however that, after this incident, the Yemeni people will be still more vigilant against the intrigues of U.S. imperialism.

### Shorter Notes

**U.S.-British military bases in the Indian Ocean.** The United States and Britain have agreed to set up a number of joint military bases in the Indian Ocean. These will include those on Diego Garcia, Chagos Archipelago, Aldabra, Farquhar and Desroches. Each will have the "use of any facilities built by the other." This was announced in a White Paper published in London on April 25.

From what has been revealed in the bourgeois press, the intentions of the U.S. and British imperialists in establishing the bases are two-fold. They want to encircle China and to fill the "dangerous gap" between the U.S. 7th Fleet cruising in the South China Sea and the U.S. 6th Fleet in the Mediterranean in order to suppress the national-liberation struggles in Southeast Asia and areas around the Indian Ocean.

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## PEKING REVIEW

May 12, 1967

Vol. 10, No. 20

Published in English, French, Spanish,  
Japanese and German editions

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#### ROUND THE WORLD

# THE WORKS OF MAO TSE-TUNG

in pamphlet form

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Half-cloth or paper cover 18.5 × 13 cm.

Pocket-size paper cover edition 14.5 × 9 cm.

Published by: **FOREIGN LANGUAGES PRESS**, Peking, China

Distributed by: **GUOZI SHUDIAN** (China Publications Centre), Peking, China

*Order from your local dealer or write direct to the*

**Mail Order Department of GUOZI SHUDIAN**, P.O. Box 399, Peking, China