

PEKING REVIEW

48

November 24, 1967

Cadres Should Go Among The Masses

Renmin Ribao editorial.

Publication of Burmese and Indonesian Editions of "Selected Works of Mao Tse-tung" Hailed

Article by Thakin Ba Thein Tin, First Vice-Chairman of the
Central Committee of the Communist Party of Burma, and
editorial by *Suara Rakjat Indonesia*.

Chinese Export Commodities Fair Opens

Show Up the Counter-Revolutionary Features of Sholokhov

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QUOTATIONS FROM CHAIRMAN MAO TSE-TUNG

The question of relations between superiors and subordinates should be properly solved, and the relations between cadres and the masses should be built up well. From now on, cadres should go to the grass-roots level and make investigations; they should persist in the mass line, consult the masses on matters that have come up, and be their pupils. In a certain sense, the fighters with rich practical experience are the wisest and the most talented.

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Only by speaking for the masses can he educate them and only by being their pupil can he be their teacher. If he regards himself as their master, as an aristocrat who lords it over the "lower orders," then, no matter how talented he may be, he will not be needed by the masses and his work will have no future.

*Talks at the Yen-an Forum on
Literature and Art (May 1942)*

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It is man's social being that determines his thinking. Once the correct ideas characteristic of the advanced class are grasped by the masses, these ideas turn into a material force which changes society and changes the world.

*Where Do Correct Ideas Come
From? (May 1963)*



Chairman Mao Tse-tung

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



Chairman Mao and Vice-Chairman Lin Piao Receive Comrades Studying or Attending Conferences in Peking

— Chinese red diplomatic fighters from Indonesia and experts from Burma are received on the same occasion

IN the unprecedentedly excellent situation prevailing in the great proletarian cultural revolution, Chairman Mao, our great teacher, great leader, great supreme commander and great helmsman, his close comrade-in-arms Vice-Chairman Lin Piao and Comrades Chou En-lai, Chen Po-ta, Kang Sheng, Li Fu-chun, Chiang Ching, Chang Chun-chiao, Chi Pen-yu and Yao Wen-yuan on the evening of November 14 received cadres of the Chinese People's Liberation Army and representatives of the revolutionary masses who are in Peking in classes for the study of Mao Tse-tung's thought; representatives of revolutionary mass organizations, P.L.A. and local cadres, all from a number of provinces and cities, who are attending conferences in Peking; the red diplomatic fighters who recently returned gloriously from Indonesia and the red experts and technicians who returned in triumph from Burma where they had helped with that country's construction.

"Chairman Mao, Chairman Mao! You are always in our thoughts! How we have hoped to see you!"

Chairman Mao, the red sun that shines most brightly in our hearts, and his close comrade-in-arms Vice-Chairman Lin Piao greet the comrades who are studying or attending conferences in Peking, the red diplomatic fighters, and the experts and technicians who were in Burma helping with that country's construction.



Gathered before the reception in the Great Hall of the People, these revolutionary fighters from different fields of work read quotations again and again from their shining red, treasured revolutionary book *Quotations From Chairman Mao Tse-tung* while waiting for that happiest of moments.

At 7:30 p.m., Comrade Chou En-lai announced: "Our great leader Chairman Mao and his close comrade-in-arms Vice-Chairman Lin Piao are here to meet you."

Beaming, Chairman Mao, the red sun that shines most brightly in our hearts, mounted the rostrum together with Vice-Chairman Lin Piao and other leading comrades. He greeted all present with the greatest gladness and cordiality.

A thunderous ovation resounded through the hall. Glowing faces turned to Chairman Mao like sunflowers seeking the sun. With great enthusiasm and happiness, the revolutionary fighters waved their copies of *Quotations From Chairman Mao Tse-tung* and in one continuous round of hearty cheers shouted: "Long live Chairman Mao!" "Long live the victory of the great proletarian cultural revolution!" "Long live the victory of Chairman Mao's revolutionary line!" "Long live the great thought of Mao Tse-tung!" and "Long live Chairman Mao! A long, long life to you!"

Walking firmly and vigorously from one end of the rostrum to the other, our most respected and beloved great leader Chairman Mao waved to the revolutionary fighters and applauded them.

Amidst a prolonged ovation, Vice-Chairman Lin Piao walked to the front of the rostrum and led all present in cheering: "Long live Chairman Mao!" "A long, long life to Chairman Mao!" and "Eternal life to Chairman Mao!"

As the reception came to an end, the revolutionary fighters happily sang: "The heavens are great, the earth is great, but they can't compare with the greatness of what the Party has done for the people. Dear as our parents are to us, Chairman Mao is dearer still!" They also sang: "Sailing the seas depends on the helmsman, the growth of all things depends on the sun, seedlings are nurtured by rain and dew, to make revolution we depend on Mao Tse-tung's thought." Many comrades wrote on the flyleaf of their treasured red books: "At 7:30 p.m. on November 14, 1967, I met Chairman Mao, the red sun that shines most brightly in our hearts."

Also present at the reception were Comrades Chen Yi, Li Hsien-nien, Hsu Hsiang-chien, Nieh Jung-chen, Yeh Chien-ying, Hsieh Fu-chih, Yang Cheng-wu, Su Yu, Wu Fa-hsien, Wang Tung-hsing, Yeh Chun, Liu Ning-i, Yu Chiu-li, Li Tien-yu, Wang Hsin-ting, Chiu Hui-tso, Li Tso-peng, Wang Hung-kun, Chang Hsiu-chuan, Yu Li-chin, Liu Chin-ping, Cheng Wei-shan, Li Hsueh-feng, Fu Chung-pi, Huang Tso-chen, Chen Hsi-lien, Sung Jen-chiung, Pan Fu-sheng, Tu Ping, Han Hsien-chu, Huang Yung-sheng, Liu Hsing-yuan and Wei Kuo-ching.

人民日报
RENMIN RIBAO

Cadres Should Go Among the Masses

A GREAT, far-reaching achievement of the great proletarian cultural revolution is this: the close links between the cadres and the masses have been greatly strengthened, and our Party's excellent tradition of consistently trusting the masses, staying close to them and leading them ahead has been greatly advanced.

Our great leader Chairman Mao recently instructed us: "The question of relations between superiors and subordinates should be properly solved, and the relations between cadres and the masses should be built up well. From now on, cadres should go to the grass-roots level

and make investigations; they should persist in the mass line, consult the masses on matters that have come up, and be their pupils. In a certain sense, the fighters with rich practical experience are the wisest and the most talented."

Maintenance by cadres of the most extensive, constant and close ties with the masses is a fundamental matter of great importance under the socialist system.

Ours is a socialist country under the dictatorship of the proletariat. Our cadres at all levels must represent the basic interests of the proletariat and the broad mass-

es of working people. The history of class struggle shows that only when our cadres maintain close ties with the masses can they represent the basic interests and demands of the masses and lead them along the socialist road.

Throughout the historical period of the dictatorship of the proletariat, classes and class struggle exist and the force of habit from the old society continues to exert its influence. So if cadres are divorced from the masses, there is the possibility of them being attacked and corrupted by the class enemy and of revisionism emerging. Therefore, the state of the ranks of the cadres — whether the cadres link themselves with the masses or are divorced from them — has a direct bearing on the consolidation and strengthening of the dictatorship of the proletariat and on the future of our political power.

Chairman Mao has always taught us: **“People do different types of work at different posts. But, no matter how high one’s official position, one should act as an ordinary worker among the people. It is absolutely impermissible to put on airs.”**

The overwhelming majority of cadres in our Party follow Chairman Mao’s instructions and share the joys and sorrows of the masses. But a small number of cadres over the years have begun to consider themselves “high-ranking officials,” to be out of the ordinary run, and put on airs. Some of them like to admonish people and are seriously divorced from the masses. This naturally causes dissatisfaction among the masses. Here lies one of the fundamental reasons for some people who have committed mistakes being criticized by the masses during the great proletarian cultural revolution.

All cadres, both old and new, those who have committed errors and those who have not, must take this lesson very much to heart.

In the last analysis, Chairman Mao’s proletarian revolutionary line is the line of **“from the masses, to the masses.”** The opinions and experience of the masses are the basis for our drawing up policies and the source from which the leadership draws its ideas. With regard to all Party workers, all their good ideas, opinions, plans and measures must be those which concentrate rather well the demands and wisdom of the revolutionary masses. Whoever does not act in this way but does things subjectively, does not consult the masses and does not learn from them, will inevitably meet setbacks.

Go to the masses, consult them frequently on matters that arise and be their students — this is a question concerning not only our methods of work, but our fundamental standpoint and attitude. It is a question of our world outlook.

The representatives of the bourgeoisie and all other exploiting classes in history have always stood matters upside down and regarded the masses as “ignorant mobs,” while seeing themselves as “overlords,” head and shoulders above others. The handful of Party per-

sons in authority taking the capitalist road, with China’s Khrushchov as their general representative, who were dragged out during the great proletarian cultural revolution, are just such a bunch who feared and suppressed the revolutionary masses and betrayed the revolutionary people. Our cadres must draw a clear line of demarcation between themselves and these people on this fundamental issue, and regard themselves as part of the masses, as the loyal servants, as the sons and daughters of the people.

It is a deep-going ideological revolution for cadres to go to the masses. It involves a process of **“fighting self-interest, repudiating revisionism,”** and it is a life-long undertaking. Maintain close links with the masses today and you can acquire tremendous revolutionary fighting will; weaken these links tomorrow and your thinking and feeling will change and stagnate. Cadres, both old and new, should be vigilant against this, should persist all their lives in going to the masses and should thoroughly remould their own bourgeois world outlook.

Often, the reason why cadres make mistakes stems from their being divorced from the masses. The fundamental way to correct mistakes is to go to the masses and take their criticism as a tremendous motivating power for the promotion of ideological revolutionization. Only by making self-criticism to the masses and receiving their criticism, education and constant supervision, can the small number of cadres who have made serious mistakes transform themselves, start afresh, make up for their mistakes with new contributions and rejoin the revolutionary ranks.

Chairman Mao’s proletarian revolutionary line and the series of extremely important instructions he has given during the great cultural revolution reflect in the most concentrated way the demands and wishes of the revolutionary masses, firmly grasp the most important and crucial questions of the current revolutionary movement, and therefore possess unlimited power. The masses of our revolutionary cadres must go to the people, publicize Chairman Mao’s latest instructions and bring his voice directly to the masses, and translate his instructions rapidly into conscious revolutionary action by the masses. At the same time, it is only by going to the masses that the cadres can really follow Chairman Mao’s great strategic plan closely, gain a deep understanding of his great strategic thinking and correctly carry out his proletarian revolutionary line.

Since the situation of the revolution is developing steadily, new things are emerging one after another and new questions are constantly being brought up on the agenda. In order to lead this great revolutionary movement well, we should, together with the masses, constantly study the new trends, new achievements, new experiences and new questions that arise in the movement, be good at discovering and promoting the revolutionary initiative of the masses, and give powerful support to those proletarian revolutionaries who are determined to carry the great proletarian cultural revolution through to the end. Our cadres should take a

positive and active attitude towards the mass movement, guide it skilfully, and avoid tailism. They should adhere to principle and correctly handle questions that arise in the mass movement.

In the current excellent situation, provided the cadres go to the masses, stay with them, be their pupils

before being their teachers, sum up the experiences, carry achievements forward, overcome shortcomings, be modest and prudent, and guard against arrogance and impetuosity, we can assuredly guide the great proletarian cultural revolution on to new victories.

(“Renmin Ribao” editorial, November 19.)

Warmly Supporting New Revolutionary Cadres

“Renmin Ribao” on November 16 reprinted the Shanghai “Wenhui Bao” editorial of November 10 with an editor’s note.

The editor’s note points out: “The ‘Wenhui Bao’ editorial, ‘Warmly Supporting New Revolutionary Cadres’ raises an important question in the great proletarian cultural revolution. We hope it will draw the attention of all comrades.

“In his latest instruction Chairman Mao teaches us: **The question of relations between superiors and subordinates should be properly solved, and the relations between cadres and the masses should be built up well. From now on, cadres should go to the grass-roots level and make investigations; they should persist in the mass line, consult the masses on matters that have come up, and be their pupils. In a certain sense, the fighters with rich practical experience are the wisest and the most talented.**

“We hope that in the excellent situation of today, the masses of new and veteran revolutionary cadres will resolutely implement this extremely important instruction of Chairman Mao’s. Holding still higher the great red banner of Mao Tse-tung’s thought, they should make serious efforts to carry out the mass line and, by taking **‘fight self-interest and repudiate revisionism’** as the key link, hold firm to the general orientation of the struggle, and strive to fulfil the historic tasks of the great proletarian cultural revolution.”

Excerpts from the editorial follow. — P.R. Editor.

THE rapid current of the great proletarian cultural revolution has brought a large number of revolutionary “nobodies” into the leadership of the revolution and leading bodies of the revolutionary “three-in-one” combinations. This is a great victory for Chairman Mao’s revolutionary line and one of the fruits of the great cultural revolution.

Well-planned training of large numbers of new revolutionary cadres and constant infusion of new blood

into revolutionary leading bodies is the strategic idea of Chairman Mao on training and bringing up tens of millions of successors to the revolutionary cause of the proletariat.

Chairman Mao teaches us: **“If our Party does not have a great many new cadres working in unity and cooperation with the old cadres, our cause will come to a stop.”** The revolutionary “three-in-one” combinations forged in the great proletarian cultural revolution, therefore, call not only for combinations composed of the revolutionary masses, the People’s Liberation Army and the revolutionary cadres, but also for combinations of the old, the middle-aged and the young. If these are well done, our revolutionary leading bodies will be constantly reinforced by new-born revolutionary forces and will always be militant and vital.

We must enthusiastically support and help the new revolutionary cadres. They are a new-born revolutionary shock brigade. As they lack experience in struggle, they may, for a time and in certain respects, fall short of the demands of the present struggle. Nevertheless, they will quickly improve their ability and overcome their weaknesses in the course of the struggle.

If we do not distinguish the main aspects from the minor ones but take a sceptical attitude towards the new-born forces, find fault with them and jeer at the feebleness of young shoots, we are quite likely to make mistakes in the matter of orientation. As Lenin pointed out: **“These are, essentially, methods of bourgeois class struggle against the proletariat, a defence of capitalism against socialism.”** We need to be particularly on guard against this.

In the provisional organs of power based on revolutionary “three-in-one” combinations, the veteran revolutionary cadres must treat the new revolutionary cadres correctly.

Veteran cadres should, out of a profound proletarian feeling and a revolutionary sense of responsibility, apply correct revolutionary principles in educating new cadres enthusiastically. They should use their own

experience gained in struggle, particularly the lessons drawn from the mistakes they have made, to educate the new cadres and make strict demands on them politically and help them mature politically more quickly. In this way, the new and veteran cadres will be able to hold power together and exercise it well.

At present, the sugar-coated bullet is often used by the bourgeoisie as an important means to corrupt new cadres. Revolutionary comrades must be vigilant against this.

To handle relations between new and veteran revolutionary cadres correctly, it is necessary to encourage the revolutionary spirit of learning from each other and overcoming one's own weaknesses by acquiring the strong points of others. New and veteran revolutionary cadres must have faith in and co-operate with each other. In the current struggle, they must unite still further and fight shoulder to shoulder.

To support and help the new revolutionary cadres is a matter of great importance in consolidating the revolutionary "three-in-one" combinations. All our veteran revolutionary cadres and the revolutionary masses should, together with the new revolutionary cadres, shoulder the two-fold task of revolution and production and smash the class enemy's criminal scheme to sow dissension between new and veteran revolutionary cadres, so as to consolidate the revolutionary political power of the proletariat.

Under no circumstances should the handful of traitors, special agents, diehard Party persons in authority taking the capitalist road and demons and monsters in society (the landlords, rich peasants, counter-revolutionaries, bad elements and the Rightists who have not remoulded themselves sufficiently) be allowed to worm their way into the ranks of revolutionary cadres.

GREAT CULTURAL REVOLUTION IN PROGRESS

How Tongji University's Tentative Programme for Transforming Education Was Born

A PRODUCT of the great proletarian cultural revolution, the bounteous fruit of the revolutionary mass criticism and repudiation — this is how revolutionary students, teachers and workers of the Shanghai Tongji University describe the tentative proposals they have worked out for the transformation of education (see *Peking Review*, No. 47, 1967, p. 9).

Their programme aims to turn the university into a "three-in-one" combination consisting of a tutorial, a designing and a building unit. Since its publication in *Renmin Ribao* on November 3, the programme has attracted wide attention for its bold and original ideas based on Chairman Mao's teachings, and has had strong repercussions up and down the country.

The process by which this programme was brought into being was itself a stirring example of struggle in the cultural revolution.

Chairman Mao teaches: **"There is no construction without destruction. Destruction means criticism and repudiation; it means revolution. It involves reasoning things out, which is construction. Put destruction first, and in the process you have construction."**

When the proletarian revolutionaries of Tongji University first tackled the problem of transforming education, they began with the destruction of the old educational system and its practices.

Through the struggle of the cultural revolution during the past year and more, they had come to see more clearly that the handful of Party persons in authority taking the capitalist road had pursued a counter-revolutionary revisionist line in the university. In furtherance of their purpose to restore capitalism, these capitalist roaders exercised a bourgeois dictatorship and placed the university under the domination of bourgeois reactionary academic "authorities" and bourgeois intellectuals who had not been well remoulded ideologically. Under the pretext of passing on knowledge, these people peddled revisionist trash to poison the minds of the students and train them as successors to the bourgeoisie.

The reactionary "authorities" in the Department of Architecture used to tell the students: "You will be trained into architects, that is, the equivalent of the conductor of an orchestra, not into masons."

Those teaching design often said that "fancy is the catch word in design. If a design is so fancy that it gives people a shock, so much the better."

Much of the teaching material was not only over-elaborate, repetitive, superfluous and foreign to China's actual conditions, worse still it was packed with feudal, capitalist and revisionist poison.

The bourgeois "authorities" lavished time and energy on the discussion of Western styles of apartment houses and villas, stream-lined structure, pavilions, terraces, palaces and other traditional types of architecture.

In the course of the revolutionary mass criticism and repudiation, the revolutionary students, teachers and workers at the university thoroughly exposed the

evils of the revisionist educational system. They came to appreciate more profoundly the significance of this teaching of Chairman Mao's: **"The period of schooling should be shortened, education should be revolutionized, and the domination of our schools by bourgeois intellectuals should by no means be allowed to continue."**

Early last July, a mass drive was launched in the university for the revolutionary criticism and repudiation of the revisionist line in education represented by China's Khrushchov, and of the domination of the university by bourgeois intellectuals. Many students went to factories and construction sites to undertake criticism and repudiation along with the workers. In the course of the revolutionary mass criticism and repudiation many preliminary programmes and proposals for the transformation of education emerged. On the basis of these proposals and the experience gained during the revolution in education in 1958, the embryo of a plan for a "three-in-one" combination was produced.

Through the working out of the embryonic programme, the Tongji University revolutionaries came to realize that it was impossible to revolutionize education without destroying the old educational system and the revisionist line, and without drawing a clear line of demarcation politically, ideologically and theoretically between the two classes, two roads and two lines.

Chairman Mao teaches: **"The masses are the real heroes" and "The revolutionary war is a war of the masses; it can be waged only by mobilizing the masses and relying on them."**

The preliminary project became a matter of great interest to the whole university and won the support of the university's Revolutionary Committee (provisional organ of power). To test its practicability, the proletarian revolutionaries decided to take it to the workers, peasants and soldiers in the course of the three great revolutionary movements of class struggle, the struggle for production and scientific experiment.

In August and September an investigation team was sent to building units, construction sites, and design institutes to solicit comments and criticisms from workers, technicians and engineers.

Armed with first-hand information thus collected the investigators under the leadership of the Revolutionary Committee then referred the preliminary plan back to the masses for extensive and thoroughgoing discussion.

Big-character posters were put up, numerous meetings were held and forums organized so that people could air their views and fully and frankly exchange ideas. Many other preliminary plans and proposals were presented.

Through comparative study of the diverse plans and by drawing on the merits of each of them, a final version, acceptable to the majority, was eventually produced. The new project, which combines teaching, designing and building, is named the "May 7th" Com-

mune in honour of Chairman Mao's May 7 instruction of 1966 which says: **"This holds good for students too. While their main task is to study, they should in addition to their studies, learn other things, that is, industrial work, farming and military affairs. They should also criticize the bourgeoisie."**

In the course of formulating the programme, the revolutionaries of Tongji learnt that so unprecedented a project could be drawn up only by relying on the masses to wage a "people's war." As Chairman Mao says in his latest instruction: **"The proletarian revolution in education should be carried out by relying on the masses of the revolutionary students, teachers and workers in the schools, by relying on the activists among them, namely, those proletarian revolutionaries who are determined to carry the great proletarian cultural revolution through to the end."**

Vice-Chairman Lin Piao has said that "Mao Tse-tung's thought is the guiding principle for all the work of the Party, the army and the country" and that "once Mao Tse-tung's thought is grasped by the broad masses, it becomes an inexhaustible source of strength and a spiritual atom bomb of infinite power."

The revolutionaries of Tongji University attribute their successful work in transforming education, in the first place, to their creative study and application of Chairman Mao's works, to the guidance of Mao Tse-tung's thought. They say that it is a young shoot nurtured by the invincible thought of Mao Tse-tung.

When the preliminary programme was first worked out, it was strongly resisted by certain bourgeois reactionary academic "authorities" who attempted to strangle in the cradle this new-born thing with its infinite vitality. They derided it as "Utopian Communism." Some even tried to slander it as "reformist" and "wrong in its general orientation."

Under these vicious attacks, the revolutionary students, teachers and workers made a still more assiduous study of the great leader Chairman Mao's teachings on classes and class struggle. They have come to see that since the proletarian educational revolution is an earth-shaking revolution on the educational front, it is bound to meet with resistance. And this strengthens their fighting will.

Chairman Mao teaches: **"Often, correct knowledge can be arrived at only after many repetitions of the process leading from matter to consciousness and then back to matter, that is, leading from practice to knowledge and then back to practice."**

With the support of the Shanghai Municipal Revolutionary Committee, Tongji University is now sending a group of revolutionary students, teachers and workers, along with technicians from the East China Institute of Industrial Design, to try out the programme at a construction site and to further improve it in the course of practice. They are determined to build the university into a great school of Mao Tse-tung's thought.

Basic Differences Between the Proletarian And Bourgeois Military Lines

TO seize and consolidate political power and carry its revolutionary struggle to complete victory the proletariat **"need[s] a correct Marxist military line as well as a correct Marxist political line."** Without the guidance of a correct political line, it is impossible to have a correct military line; without a correct military line, it is also impossible to implement and carry out a correct political line.

However, **"correct political and military lines do not emerge and develop spontaneously and tranquilly, but only in the course of struggle. These lines must combat 'Left' opportunism on the one hand and Right opportunism on the other. Without combating and thoroughly overcoming these harmful tendencies which damage the revolution and the revolutionary war, it would be impossible to establish a correct line and win victory in this war."**

Within our Party and army, in recent decades and in all historical stages of the development of the Chinese revolution, there have always been a sharp and acute struggle between two diametrically opposed military lines. One is the proletarian military line represented by Chairman Mao, the other is the bourgeois military line advocated by opportunists of the "Left" and Right. Chairman Mao's proletarian military line has been gradually developed and perfected in the course of this struggle against the bourgeois military line.

Our great leader Chairman Mao has created with genius the greatest, most comprehensive and scientific proletarian theory on military affairs. In the Kutien Congress Resolution, which was drawn up by him in 1929, and in a series of other military writings, Chairman Mao has formulated the most correct proletarian military line. This is the highest peak of the Marxist-Leninist concept of military affairs. It is the sharpest and most powerful weapon of the proletariat and revolutionary people the world over for defeating imperialism, modern revisionism and all reaction.

The great victory of the Chinese people's revolutionary war was a great victory for Chairman Mao's proletarian military line, for the thought of Mao Tse-tung.

Comrade Lin Piao, Chairman Mao's closest comrade-in-arms and our deputy supreme commander, has always most faithfully, resolutely and thoroughly implemented Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line and military thinking. At every major historical juncture in the last forty years, Comrade Lin Piao has invariably, unequivocally and resolutely upheld

Chairman Mao's correct line, safeguarded Mao Tse-tung's thought, waged an irreconcilable struggle against the wrong lines in the Party and the army, and made outstanding contributions.

China's Khrushchov and his agents, Peng Teh-huai and Lo Jui-ching, have persistently opposed Chairman Mao's proletarian military line and frantically pushed their bourgeois military line. After Peng Teh-huai had been exposed at the Lushan Meeting of the Party in 1959, Lo Jui-ching became the foremost champion of the reactionary bourgeois military line. He formed a conspiratorial anti-Party clique with Peng Chen, Lu Ting-yi and Yang Shang-kun and, protected and supported by China's Khrushchov, worked desperately to usurp military power on behalf of the bourgeois headquarters. In co-ordinating the cultural and military fronts, they were preparing to unleash a counter-revolutionary coup and subvert the dictatorship of the proletariat at an opportune moment.

Throughout the period of socialism, the struggle between the two military lines is in essence a struggle for military power between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie. It is an important component of the struggle, waged under the dictatorship of the proletariat, between the bourgeoisie attempting a come-back and the proletariat opposing such an attempt.

Whether to Give Prominence to Proletarian Politics or Not Is the Focus of the Struggle Between Chairman Mao's Military Line And the Bourgeois Military Line in Building Up Our Army

In the last forty years, the struggle between Chairman Mao's line and the bourgeois line in army building has always focussed on the fundamental question of whether to put politics or military affairs first, whether prominence should be given to politics or to military affairs.

The very essence of Chairman Mao's thinking and line on army building is the putting of proletarian politics to the fore in building a people's army. It is, first and foremost, to build an army politically.

In the Kutien Congress Resolution, a document of great historic significance which was drawn up by Chairman Mao himself and adopted at the early period after the founding of our army, Chairman Mao pointed out that **"military affairs are only one means of accomplishing political tasks"** and that **"the Chinese Red Army is an armed body for carrying out the political**

tasks of the revolution." He correctly explained the relationship between military affairs and politics, that is, **military affairs must be subordinated to politics and politics must command military affairs.**

The representatives of the bourgeoisie like Peng Teh-huai and Lo Jui-ching, who wormed their way into the Party, always opposed Chairman Mao's thinking and line on army building. They always opposed giving prominence to proletarian politics and, instead, advocated giving first place to military affairs, to technique.

During the War of Resistance Against Japan, two fundamentally antagonistic lines took shape on the question of how to deal with correctly the co-operation between the Kuomintang and the Communist Party and with the united front.

The proletarian revolutionary line represented by Chairman Mao advocated that our policy is **"one of independence and initiative within the united front, a policy both of unity and of independence."** It upheld **"the principle of absolute leadership of the Eighth Route Army by the Communist Party."**

The capitulationist line represented by Wang Ming and China's Khrushchov, advocated handing over the leadership of the anti-Japanese united front to the Kuomintang. With servile flattery, China's Khrushchov lauded Chiang Kai-shek as a "revolutionary banner" and wanted to hand over the army led by the Communist Party and place it under the leadership of the "national government."

To meet the needs of the capitulationist line, Lo Jui-ching issued a book entitled *Political Work in the Anti-Japanese Army*. In this book, instead of dealing with class struggle and the proletarian seizure of political power, he did his utmost to blow the trumpet for the Kuomintang's reactionary politics. He even asked the political commissars to "guarantee absolute obedience of the troops" to the command of Chiang Kai-shek, and he wanted to hand over the guns of the proletariat to Chiang Kai-shek.

During the War of Liberation, in a report on "How to Strengthen Political Work in the Army," Lo Jui-ching listed political, military, rear-service and other work as being on an equal footing, and opposed putting political work in first place. He said: "It is wrong to favour over-emphasis" of political work. Actually, what he meant by not over-emphasizing political work was to do away with proletarian politics and replace it with bourgeois politics.

Comrade Lin Piao, our deputy supreme commander, has always held high the great red banner of Mao Tse-tung's thought. After he took charge of the work of the Military Commission of the Central Committee of the Party, he personally supervised the formulation of "The Decision on Strengthening the Political-Ideological Work in the Army" on the basis of Chairman Mao's ideas on army building and the historical experience of our army.

He creatively advanced the ideas of the "four firsts"¹ and a series of policies, principles and important measures for putting proletarian politics to the fore, creatively studying and applying Chairman Mao's works, upholding the "four firsts," promoting the "three-eight" working style,² practising democracy in the three main fields³ and launching the "four-good" company movement.⁴ These policies, principles and measures carried forward the building of our army to an entirely new stage.

Chairman Mao has pointed out: **"The 'four firsts' is good; it is an invention. Since Comrade Lin Piao put forward the 'four firsts' and the 'three-eight' working style, the ideological-political work of the People's Liberation Army, as well as its military work, has developed remarkably, has become more concrete and at the same time has been raised to a higher theoretical plane than in the past."**

To put politics to the fore is to put Mao Tse-tung's thought to the fore, to arm commanders and fighters with Mao Tse-tung's thought and establish the absolute authority of Mao Tse-tung's thought. The great thought of Mao Tse-tung is the soul of our army, the corner-stone in building our army and the basic guarantee that our army will never change colour.

Dominated by personal ambition and his reactionary class instinct, Lo Jui-ching mortally feared and hated Mao Tse-tung's thought. He consistently opposed Comrade Lin Piao, who always holds high the great red banner of Mao Tse-tung's thought. He opposed him for actively promoting the mass movement to creatively study and apply Chairman Mao's works throughout the army, the Party and the country.

At the same time, he revered and respected the book on "self-cultivation" written by China's Khrushchov, and personally issued the order making this book compulsory reading for the whole army.

His purpose was to use this revisionist "self-cultivation" to corrupt the soul of our army, make us lose our orientation and depart from Chairman Mao's proletarian line on army building, and make us forget classes, class struggle and the dictatorship of the proletariat. His was a vain attempt to change the proletarian nature of our army fundamentally.

Lo Jui-ching used contests in military skill to obstruct politics and disrupt the study of Chairman Mao's works.

Vice-Chairman Lin Piao promptly corrected this mistake and again issued instructions to put politics to the fore. But Lo Jui-ching still resisted desperately and talked such nonsense as: "Military training itself is politics, the biggest politics." This argument which puts politics and military affairs on a par and replaces politics with military affairs is an out and out bourgeois military viewpoint.

Chairman Mao teaches us: **"Politics is the commander, politics is the soul of everything. Political work is the life-blood of all work."**

By spreading his revisionist fallacies, Lo Jui-ching wanted to subordinate politics to military affairs, to make military affairs command politics, deprive our army of its soul and turn our proletarian army into a bourgeois army.

In a society where there are classes and class struggle, no sphere of society exists in a vacuum. It is under the guidance either of proletarian ideology or of bourgeois ideology. The army is a tool of class struggle. Either it serves proletarian politics or it serves bourgeois politics. There has never been and never will be an army that is separate from politics.

All Khrushchovites who want to seize political power from the proletariat and restore capitalism seek to corrode the army ideologically, usurp military power, seize the gun. This is a very important step they want to take. Therefore, whether to put proletarian politics to the fore or not, whether to work for the revolutionization of people's minds or not has a vital bearing on whether the proletarian army will degenerate or not, on whether the gun is in the hands of the proletariat or the bourgeoisie. In the final analysis, it has a vital bearing on whether or not the proletariat can consolidate its political power after seizing it.

Whether to Fight a People's War or Not Is the Dividing Line Between Chairman Mao's Military Thinking and Bourgeois Military Thinking

Chairman Mao's great theory on people's war has developed Marxism-Leninism creatively and with genius. It not only points out the correct way for the Chinese people to win country-wide victory but also indicates the road to thorough emancipation for the oppressed nations and oppressed classes throughout the world.

In seeking their own emancipation, the most important thing for all oppressed nations and oppressed classes is to arm themselves with Chairman Mao's theory on people's war, to smash the old state apparatus with arms, to overthrow imperialism and its running dogs by force of arms and with arms to transform the entire world.

Whether one intends to fight a people's war or not, whether one dares to fight a people's war or not is the dividing line between Chairman Mao's military thinking and bourgeois military thinking, between Marxism-Leninism and revisionism, between genuine and sham revolution.

Chairman Mao teaches us: **"The revolutionary war is a war of the masses; it can be waged only by mobilizing the masses and relying on them."** **"Rallying millions upon millions of people round the revolutionary government and expanding our revolutionary war, we shall wipe out all counter-revolution. . . ."**

Chairman Mao's thinking on people's war is built on the ideological basis of fully trusting and relying on the masses.

As with all opportunists, the military thinking of Lo Jui-ching is founded on the theory that weapons decide everything. He does not trust the masses at all and does not rely on them. He opposes arming the masses, opposes the people's militia system and opposes Chairman Mao's great strategic idea of a people's war.

China's Khrushchov maintains that technique has pride of place, and that technique decides everything. Lo Jui-ching maintains that with new technical equipment, "any invading enemy can be annihilated on the sea, in the air or at the base from which it launches its attack." They use the theory of winning victory by superior weapons to oppose arming the masses, and dealing with imperialist aggression by people's war. They vainly hope that the enemy can be defeated by relying purely on technical equipment. This is typical bourgeois military thinking.

Is it true that under modern conditions, there is no need to rely on the masses in war, no need to wage a people's war? No, it is not. **"The contest of strength is not only a contest of military and economic power, but also a contest of human power and morale. Military and economic power is necessarily wielded by people."** Regardless of how developed modern weapons and technical equipment may be, how complicated the operations of modern warfare, victory in war is still decided by the support and assistance of the masses, by the struggle of the masses. In the final analysis, it depends on people's war. This is the most important and reliable guarantee for the defeat of the enemy.

Our great leader Chairman Mao has fully and most profoundly explained the importance of arming the masses. After country-wide victory, Chairman Mao told us time and again: **"The imperialists are bullying us in such a way that we will have to deal with them seriously. Not only must we have a powerful regular army, we must also organize contingents of the people's militia on a big scale. This will make it difficult for the imperialists to move a single inch in our country in the event of invasion."** **"Should the imperialists dare to unleash an aggressive war against our country, then we will turn the whole nation into soldiers; the militia will co-operate with the People's Liberation Army and at any time replenish it to crush the aggressors utterly."**

Vice-Chairman Lin Piao points out: People's militia work is fundamental to the building up of China's national defence, an important part of the strategic programme and a concrete application of the Party's mass line in warfare. Combining the building of a modern revolutionary armed force with organizing contingents of the people's militia is the concrete application of the principle of "walking on two legs" in the building up of China's national defence. It is an important development of Chairman Mao's concept of people's war under modern conditions.

The people's militia has always been an important component of our armed forces, a solid basis for the

waging of a people's war, and an instrument of our proletarian dictatorship. In fact, whether to have a militia or not is a major issue which affects the weakening or strengthening of the dictatorship of the proletariat.

China's Khrushchov and his agent Lo Jui-ching consider that the militia organized in accordance with Mao Tse-tung's thought is a main obstacle to their usurpation of Party and army leadership and to their realization of a capitalist restoration. They used a hundred and one ways to undermine the building of the militia and to oppose arming the masses. In building the militia, they also tried to spread purely military viewpoints and opposed putting proletarian politics to the fore. They vainly attempted to remould our militia with a bourgeois world outlook and so turn it into a tool for realizing their personal ambitions.

Chairman Mao teaches us: **"This army is powerful because of its division into two parts, the main forces and the regional forces, with the former available for operations in any region whenever necessary and the latter concentrating on defending their own localities and attacking the enemy there in co-operation with the local militia and the self-defence corps."**

After the winning of nationwide victory, Chairman Mao repeatedly gave instructions that **great efforts should be made to strengthen the building of regional forces. In addition to building themselves up ever more effectively, the regional forces should, in ordinary times and in co-operation with the local authorities, strengthen their mass work and do a good job in building the people's militia; in time of war they should draw on the people's militia to reinforce and expand their ranks and fight the enemy.**

China's Khrushchov and his accomplice Lo Jui-ching, while opposing the militia system, did their utmost to oppose the building of the regional forces. China's Khrushchov said: **"Should we or should not we have some (regional forces)? They leave farm production part of the time and return home in the busy farming season."** This absurd statement altogether negates the regional forces.

In accordance with his master's intentions, Lo Jui-ching for five years tried to keep secret Chairman Mao's instructions on strengthening the building up of the regional forces and refused to carry them out. Later on, although outwardly compliant he did not actually give in and repeatedly discounted them. In a hundred and one ways he attempted to undermine the building of the regional forces.

Vice-Chairman Lin Piao points out: **"Our army consisted of local forces as well as of regular forces; moreover, it energetically built and developed the militia, thus practising the system of combining the three military formations, i.e., the regular forces, the local forces and the militia."**

The system of combining these three military formations brings into play the enthusiasm of hundreds of

millions of people. A militant whole can thus be organized and the power of people's war can be brought into full play. If imperialism invades us, the militia are not only an inexhaustible reservoir for our army but can also lead the broad masses in waging widespread guerrilla warfare. The regional forces are the backbone in regional struggle against the enemy. They lead the vast militia in co-operating energetically with the main forces and continuously expand and are themselves transformed into main forces. This ensures the latter's growth and expansion.

With the regional forces and the vast militia fighting in co-operation with them, the main forces have their hands freed. They can form powerful "fists," seek and create favourable opportunities for battle, maintain their mobility and concentrate their strength to fight battles of annihilation.

China's Khrushchov and Lo Jui-ching wanted to cut out the militia as well as the regional forces. They opposed arming the masses and the use of people's war in dealing with an imperialist war of aggression; they staked the future of the country on technical equipment, fundamentally negating the concept of people's war. If we followed out Lo Jui-ching's theories, the fruits of victory we have won in hard struggle would be lost and the whole proletarian revolutionary cause would be lost.

Active Defence and Passive Defence Are Two Diametrically Opposed Principles of Strategic Guidance Between Chairman Mao's Military Line and the Bourgeois Military Line

Active defence is Chairman Mao's consistent strategic concept, and the fundamental guiding principle by which we have successfully fought revolutionary wars and dealt with imperialist aggression. It is also the correct guiding principle for the winning of victories in revolutionary wars by the peoples in other countries.

Chairman Mao teaches us: **"Active defence is also known as offensive defence, or defence through decisive engagements. Passive defence is also known as purely defensive defence or pure defence. Passive defence is actually a spurious kind of defence, and the only real defence is active defence, defence for the purpose of counter-attacking and taking the offensive."**

Whether one adopts the strategic principle of active defence or of passive defence is a fundamental question of strategic guidance which has a vital bearing on the outcome of a revolutionary war.

Active defence is founded on the ideological basis of the proletariat's thoroughgoing revolution and complete annihilation of the enemy forces. Its essence is to fight wars of annihilation. Only by fighting a war of annihilation, is it possible to constantly deplete and weaken the enemy forces, develop and strengthen our own forces and finally defeat the enemy. Waging a war of annihilation is the basic guiding thought in our conduct of war. This guiding thought must be implemented whether guerrilla or mobile warfare is the primary

form of warfare being waged, whether strategic guidance or battle operations are involved.

The history of the Chinese people's revolutionary war proves that only by firmly implementing our great supreme commander Chairman Mao's strategic principle of active defence, will we be sure to win battles and enable the revolutionary cause to develop successfully. Otherwise, we will lose battles and the revolutionary cause will suffer setbacks.

Comrade Lin Piao, our deputy supreme commander, has always most faithfully, resolutely and thoroughly defended and followed Chairman Mao's correct principle of active defence and opposed the wrong principle of passive defence. He has repeatedly called on us to study Chairman Mao's great strategic concept earnestly and resolutely ensure thorough implementation of Chairman Mao's strategic principle of active defence.

Lo Jui-ching has always opposed Chairman Mao's strategic concept and stood for passive defence. As early as the War of Resistance Against Japan, he followed Peng Teh-huai in opposing Chairman Mao's correct policy of boldly arousing the masses and starting up guerrilla war independently in the enemy's rear, of building anti-Japanese base areas and of developing the people's anti-Japanese armed forces. They had the presumption to concentrate the main forces of the Eighth Route Army for a war of attrition with the Japanese invaders. This caused serious setbacks to the development of the north China anti-Japanese base areas and our army there. In fact, these people supported and helped the Kuomintang. After usurping an important position in our army, Lo Jui-ching did his utmost in advocating the wrong policy of passive defence to meet the needs of the class capitulationist and national capitulationist line of China's Khrushchov. China's Khrushchov said: "Hold the enemy back" and "it will be bad if the enemy comes in." Lo Jui-ching also said: "Now conditions are different," and that the only method to be used was that of "blocking the water." Such absurd statements are nothing new, they are simply the same trash of passive defence, of "engaging the enemy outside the gates," which was criticized by Chairman Mao as early as the thirties.

Acting according to this wrong policy would inevitably lead to the building of defensive works everywhere and wide dispersal of forces to man them. In that way, we would always be in a passive position and this would lead finally to the wreck of the proletarian regime. This is the psychology characteristic of the successors to the Khrushchov revisionism of submission to imperialism and the fear of war.

The Chinese people are a great people armed with Mao Tse-tung's thought. In order to annihilate the enemy forces in large numbers, they dare to lure the enemy in deep, concentrate superior forces and annihilate the enemy forces when circumstances favour our victory. In the final analysis, it is only by annihilating

the enemy's effective strength, that it is possible to maintain positions.

They clamoured that "the conditions are different." What conditions are different? The imperialists do indeed have atomic bombs and nuclear weapons. But this is not so terrific! Marxists have at all times held that no matter what changes take place in technical equipment the basic laws of revolutionary war will never change.

"Weapons are an important factor in war, but not the decisive factor; it is people, not things, that are decisive." Final victory or defeat in war is determined by the ground forces in fighting successive battles, by the political consciousness and courage of the people and their spirit of sacrifice, by fighting with rifles, hand-grenades and bayonets, by hand-to-hand engagements, night fighting and fighting over a range of tens of metres. In combating an imperialist war of aggression, no matter what weapons the enemy may use, if they dare to go deep into our country, we will enjoy the maximum initiative, give full play to our strong points and advantages, use various methods to deal them blows, vigorously demonstrate the magic power of people's war and make sure that the aggressors will never go back alive.

China's Khrushchov and Lo Jui-ching frenziedly opposed Chairman Mao's strategic principle of active defence and made every effort to push the strategic principle of passive defence for no other purpose than that of meeting the political needs of imperialism and modern revisionism. Utterly betraying the cause of the proletarian revolution, they acted completely against the basic interests of the Chinese people and the peoples of the world.

On the eve of the great proletarian cultural revolution initiated and led by Chairman Mao himself, the counter-revolutionary revisionist Lo Jui-ching's plot to oppose Chairman Mao, Mao Tse-tung's thought and Chairman Mao's military line and to usurp the army leadership and oppose the Party, went completely bankrupt. The reactionary bourgeois military line pursued by him, and he also, were cast off by the commanders and fighters of the whole army.

Holding high the great red banner of Mao Tse-tung's thought, the revolutionary masses of the entire country are now bringing about an upsurge in revolutionary mass criticism and repudiation to overthrow and completely discredit the handful of top Party persons in authority taking the capitalist road, headed by China's Khrushchov. We must vigorously destroy the bourgeois military line and thoroughly wipe out their poisonous influence. We must establish the absolute authority of Mao Tse-tung's thought and of his military line in a big way, keep proletarian politics always to the fore, take further steps to promote the revolutionization of the ideology and organization of the whole army, ensure that the guns are held firmly in the hands of the proletariat at all times and defend the dictator-

ship of the proletariat so that our impregnable state of the proletariat will never change its political colour!

(Written by proletarian revolutionaries in the offices of the Headquarters of the General Staff of the Chinese People's Liberation Army.)

NOTES

¹“Four firsts”: this means giving first place to man in the correct handling of the relationship between man and weapons; giving first place to political work in the correct handling of the relationship between political and other work; giving first place to ideological work in the correct handling of the relationship between ideological

and routine tasks in political work; and giving first place to living ideas in the correct handling of the relationship between ideas in books and living ideas in ideological work.

²“Three-eight” working style: “three” refers to three mottoes: keep firmly to the correct political orientation, maintain a plain, hard-working style, and be flexible in strategy and tactics; and “eight” refers to the eight characters which mean unity, alertness, earnestness and liveliness.

³Democracy in the three main fields: this refers to political democracy, economic democracy and military democracy.

⁴A “four good” company is a company good in political and ideological work, good in the “three-eight” working style, good in military training and good in making arrangements for daily life.

Paeon to the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution

Chinese Export Commodities Fair Opens in Kwangchow

CHINA'S Autumn Export Commodities Fair opened on November 15 in Kwangchow amid the excellent situation which prevails in the great proletarian cultural revolution and illuminated by the brilliant thought of Mao Tse-tung. The south China port city, after more than a year's cultural revolution, is one of vigour and life. The 10-storeyed building of the fair which rises on the bank of the Pearl River is decked out in red bunting. The square in front is full of a festive atmosphere, with red flags flying, and red balloons trailing slogans which read: “Long live Chairman Mao, the red sun that shines most brightly in our hearts!” “Long live the great proletarian cultural revolution!” “Long live invincible Marxism, Leninism, Mao Tse-tung's thought!”

Our great leader Chairman Mao long ago proclaimed to the whole world: “**The Chinese people wish to have friendly co-operation with the people of all countries and to resume and expand international trade in order to develop production and promote economic prosperity.**” He also said: “**We are against no one except the domestic and foreign reactionaries who hinder us from doing business.**”

Businessmen from all the continents are now gathered in Kwangchow. The number of guests who attended the opening ceremony was greater than at any previous fair.

The current fair, the biggest in its history, has taken on an entirely new look. It reflects the magnificent achievements made by the Chinese people who, holding high the great red banner of Mao Tse-tung's thought, “**grasp revolution and promote production**” in the great proletarian cultural revolution. It also signifies China's surging advances in its socialist construction and the constant growth of its foreign trade.

The imperialists, the modern revisionists and the reactionaries of all countries, who have a violent hatred for China's cultural revolution, have been maligning the

Chinese Export Commodities Fair and making vicious attacks. But all their smug calculations of harming China have been completely dashed. The flourishing fair dealt a telling blow to the enemy.

Revolution Releases Productive Forces

The great spiritual force released by China's several hundred million workers and peasants in the cultural revolution, which has no parallel in history, has pushed forward the country's industry, agriculture and national defences at flying speed. The nearly 30,000 items on display bear eloquent witness to the new achievements attained in industry and agriculture throughout the country.

Visitors to the fair will note the new successes in China's rapidly developing oil and chemical industries. Oil output during the first nine months of 1967 surpassed that of the same period of last year, and output in 1966 was much higher than that of 1965. Of the 330 products on display in the chemical industry hall, over 90 are new ones, most of which have been successfully trial produced and put into regular production for the first time during the cultural revolution. Project by project, capital construction in the chemical industry is proceeding well.

There are more machines and instruments on exhibit at this fair than at any previous one. For every three machines, two have been either newly designed and trial produced or vastly improved upon during the cultural revolution. The machines hall contains a variety of machine tools and complete sets of large precision machines, including a high precision instrument lathe which can produce a 12-degree surface finish on parts, an achievement few countries can boast. This lathe was designed and manufactured by the revolutionary workers at the Shanghai Instruments and Me-

ters Factory during the great proletarian cultural revolution. The workers and staff had thoroughly repudiated the counter-revolutionary, revisionist line of slavishness, going slow and "liquidationism" (the opposite of self-reliance), the line pursued in the field of science and technology by the handful of Party persons in authority taking the capitalist road whose representative is China's Khrushchov and by the reactionary bourgeois academic "authorities." Bearing in mind Chairman Mao's teaching **"We must break away from conventions and do our utmost to adopt advanced techniques,"** they set their minds to blazing a trail of their own. One difficulty after another had to be overcome in the course of designing and trial production, but they persisted and finally succeeded in producing cutting tools made of Chinese hard-alloy steels. These new cutting tools now replace imported diamond cutting-tools and are being used to process high precision machine parts. The production cost is only 0.1 per cent that of imported diamond tools.

Exhibits in the agricultural and side-line products pavilion show the gains in both revolution and production won by the hundreds of millions of peasants and the mass of revolutionary cadres in the rural areas. They have been so successful because they hold aloft the great red banner of Mao Tse-tung's thought and firmly adhere to Chairman Mao's great call to **"grasp revolution and promote production,"** thoroughly criticizing and repudiating the revisionist line on agriculture pursued by China's Khrushchov. Thus great gains have been made this year in farming, forestry, animal husbandry, side occupations and fisheries, the summer and autumn harvest in grain being quite good in 1967. Oil-bearing crops such as soya beans, peanuts and rapeseed have registered marked increases. Cotton, which has gone up by a wide margin for the last four years, yielded another rich harvest this year. Jute, hemp and other fibre crops, silk cocoons, sugar cane and sugar beet and tobacco have all chalked up big increases. Quite a variety of grain and other farm products on view come from areas where conditions and the level of production were rather poor and low before but which can now offer the country export commodities for the first time.

The Proletariat of the East Is a Million Times Wiser Than the Bourgeoisie of the West

Chairman Mao teaches us: **"The masses have boundless creative power."** The mighty storm of the great proletarian cultural revolution is clearing away the dust and dirt in the minds of the people, transforming the spiritual make-up of hundreds of millions in China and giving them full scope for their wisdom and creativeness. Many ordinary young workers and technicians fresh from the schools have proved their mettle not only as courageous path-breakers in the cultural revolution but as a new shock force in production. They dare to challenge the reactionary bourgeois "authorities" and to declare war on the slavish mentality of blind faith in books and things foreign.

The more than 90 kinds of medical equipment at the exhibition include a surgical apparatus for use in re-attaching severed fingers and an ultrasonic diagnosing instrument suited for medical personnel doing mobile work in the rural areas. Many items for export have reached advanced world levels in quality and performance. On view is an electronic counter for counting corpuscles in the human body, an instrument which the imperialist countries tried to prevent China from having, but which is now produced, and for export as well, by young workers and technicians of the Shanghai Medical Apparatus Factory after much hard and tenacious work. On exhibit for the first time are Chinese-made artificial mitral ball-valves, a recent advance in cardiac surgery in China, and photographs showing their clinical application. This was made by the medical personnel of a People's Liberation Army hospital last year after carrying out extremely imaginative experiments over a period of two years and three months and smashing the imperialist blockade on technique. At present, only a few countries can produce such artificial ball-valves. In China today, this method is being popularized for clinical application.

Let those who claim to be so wise intensify their blockade. History will continue to prove that the proletariat in the East is a million times wiser than the bourgeoisie of the West.

Destroy Old Ideas, Culture, Customs and Habits, and Establish the New

The great proletarian cultural revolution has given rise to a vigorous movement for destroying the old ideas, culture, customs and habits and fostering the new ideas, culture, customs and habits. This has resulted in tremendous changes in many of China's products. Our great leader Chairman Mao points out: **"All decadent modes of thought and other unsuitable parts of the superstructure are daily crumbling."** Many consumer goods with a strong feudal or bourgeois flavour have given way to those having revolutionary political content. Conspicuous in this respect are the textile and light industry products shown at the fair. Ninety per cent of the textile goods exhibited consists of new products and varieties designed during the cultural revolution.

Traditional Chinese art crafts have also gone through many changes during the revolution. Revolutionary craftsmen have turned their art into a tool serving proletarian politics and the workers, peasants and soldiers. Among many fine works of this type on exhibit are pieces of sculpture and large-size embroidery eulogizing Chairman Mao, the red sun that shines most brightly in the hearts of the Chinese people; works depicting workers, peasants, and soldiers and heroes and heroines or portraying advanced people creatively studying and applying Chairman Mao's writings.

New Era With Mao Tse-tung's Thought As its Great Banner

The all-illuminating thought of Mao Tse-tung is the most powerful and the sharpest ideological weapon of

the world's revolutionary people in fighting imperialism, modern revisionism and all reaction.

In the book section at the fair, Chairman Mao's works are on display in many languages. The current fair will make it possible for more of Chairman Mao's works to be distributed all over the world, to meet the urgent needs of the revolutionary people.

China's revolutionary workers doing publishing work regard the production of Chairman Mao's works in all language editions to meet the demands of the revolutionary people everywhere as their sacred duty in supporting the world revolution. During the great proletarian cultural revolution, which has been going on for more than a year, they have turned out a vast number of copies of Chairman Mao's works in different foreign languages, in addition to large quantities of *Selected Works of Mao Tse-tung* and *Quotations From Chairman Mao Tse-tung* in Chinese.

Chairman Mao's works have been translated into scores of languages and those which bear the Chinese imprint are being distributed in 150 countries and regions of the world. One hundred times as many Chairman Mao's works in foreign language editions were distributed in 1966 as in 1952. The red book treasured by all the world's revolutionary people, *Quotations From Chairman Mao Tse-tung*, came out in 23 different languages during the great proletarian cultural revolution and was translated, published and distributed all in over a year's time. From October 1966 to September 1967, over 1,390,000 copies of *Quotations From Chairman Mao Tse-tung* in foreign language editions were distributed in 128 countries or regions.

However, the demand is still far from being satisfied. People in many countries or regions have taken on the job of translating and publishing Chairman Mao's works in large numbers. Available statistics, far from complete, show that more than 670 titles of Chairman Mao's writings, consisting of one or a selection of his works, have been translated and published in more than 60 countries or regions and in as many languages.

On display are many copies of Chairman Mao's works translated and published by friends in other lands. There is a copy of *Selected Works of Chairman Mao* and a copy of *Quotations From Chairman Mao Tse-tung* in the Laotian language, which were mimeographed on rather rough paper. The cover has a portrait of Chairman Mao in red. The fact that these two publications had to be mimeographed makes it clear how the world's revolutionary people long for Chairman Mao's



Visitors selecting Chairman Mao badges at the fair

works and how the revolutionary struggles of the world's people are in need of the guidance of Mao Tse-tung's thought.

Chinese revolutionary publishers and workers fully understand that all the revolutionary people have the warmest love for Mao Tse-tung's thought. Before the current fair, they produced large numbers of Chairman Mao's works in foreign languages. Some 150 countries or regions have placed orders for Chairman Mao's works. The current fair is ready to provide more friends with copies of Chairman Mao's works in the languages they urgently need.

'The rapid dissemination of the invincible thought of Mao Tse-tung throughout the world is the most important feature of the excellent international situation now obtaining. The unprecedented, great proletarian cultural revolution in China is giving a powerful impetus to the world revolution. Mankind today has entered a new revolutionary era, the era with Mao Tse-tung's thought as its great banner. The study and application of Mao Tse-tung's thought has become a worldwide mass movement whose scope and influence are without parallel in the history of Marxism-Leninism.'

Many letters filled with revolutionary fervour from friends abroad are exhibited in the book section. A Japanese friend wrote: "I give three cheers to the great proletarian cultural revolution, to its great development and victorious progress! My heart swells with joy to think that the day will come when the great proletarian cultural revolution led by the great Chairman Mao Tse-tung, a genius of the centuries, will be inherited by the people of the whole world."

A New Zealand friend said: "The heart of the world revolution is China. I join you in celebrating the dissem-

ination of Marxist thinking among the masses and in celebrating growing understanding and grasp of Mao Tse-tung's thought by the masses."

An American friend wrote: "We are very eager to obtain the red book of *Quotations From Chairman Mao*

Tse-tung, so as better to follow this great man, this great leader and teacher, and to dedicate ourselves to the movement he leads, which aims at turning the world into one of the people. I would like to get a copy of *Quotations From Chairman Mao Tse-tung* at any cost. Long live Chairman Mao and his teachings!"

The Sharpest Weapon for Burma's Armed Revolution

by THAKIN BA THEIN TIN

First Vice-Chairman of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Burma

THE Burmese edition of the four volumes of *Selected Works of Mao Tse-tung* came off the press on November 4, 1967. It is a priceless treasure and the sharpest ideological weapon which has been presented by the Chinese Communist Party and the Chinese people to the Communist Party and people of Burma, who have been carrying on armed struggle for almost 20 years. It represents inestimable and the greatest help for Burma's armed revolution from the Communist Party and people of China.

The publication of the Burmese edition of *Selected Works of Mao Tse-tung* is of tremendous political significance, particularly on the eve of the 50th anniversary of the October Socialist Revolution.

The modern revisionists, with the Soviet revisionist leading clique at their centre, have completely betrayed the road of the October Revolution which Lenin pioneered. They have betrayed the historic mission of the October Revolution, namely, the seizure of political power and the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat through violent revolution led by the proletariat, with a Marxist-Leninist political party as its nucleus, and on the basis of a worker-peasant alliance. They have betrayed proletarian internationalism, betrayed the interests of the Soviet people and the oppressed people of the world. They are doing their utmost to distort and attack Marxism-Leninism, the mighty, invincible ideological weapon for the proletariat and oppressed people of the world in their struggle for liberation.

In contrast, throughout the history of their revolutionary activity Comrade Mao Tse-tung and the Chinese Communist Party have been consistently loyal to the road of the great October Revolution. Experiencing all kinds of difficulties and sacrifices in the course of a protracted armed revolutionary struggle, they have shown incomparable proletarian revolutionary heroism, amazing perseverance and a hard-working spirit. And in the course of the protracted armed struggle and the struggle to establish the dictatorship

of the proletariat, they have gained extremely rich and profound experience in class struggle.

With the greatest wisdom Comrade Mao Tse-tung has integrated the universal truth of Marxism-Leninism with the practice of the Chinese revolution and socialist construction; at the same time he has summed up the historical experience of the international proletarian revolutionary movement and the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat, summed up the experience of the revolutionary peoples the world over in the struggle against imperialism, modern revisionism and all reaction; he has developed Marxism-Leninism with genius, creatively and comprehensively, raising Marxism-Leninism to a completely new stage, the stage of Mao Tse-tung's thought.

Comrade Mao Tse-tung is the great leader not only of the glorious Chinese Communist Party and the heroic 700 million Chinese people, but also of the proletariat and revolutionary peoples of the whole world. Comrade Mao Tse-tung is the successor to the revolutionary cause of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin and is the greatest Marxist-Leninist of our time.

Burmese Edition of "Selected Works of Mao Tse-tung" Published

Following its publication in Burmese last October of the first volume of the *Selected Works of Mao Tse-tung*, the treasured books of the world's revolutionary people, the Foreign Languages Press, Peking, has in quick succession published the remaining three volumes. In the Burmese edition each volume of the treasured books is divided into two so that the whole set consists of eight red-plastic-covered books.

Mao Tse-tung's thought is Marxism-Leninism of the era in which imperialism is heading for total collapse and socialism is advancing to worldwide victory. The *Selected Works of Mao Tse-tung* are Marxist-Leninist classics of the present era.

The publication of the Burmese edition of the *Selected Works of Mao Tse-tung* on the eve of the 50th anniversary of the October Revolution is not only an invaluable contribution to Burma's revolutionary cause but another demonstration of the infinite loyalty of Comrade Mao Tse-tung and the Communist Party of China to the truth of the October Revolution.

Lenin teaches us: **"Without revolutionary theory there can be no revolutionary movement."** Lenin's teaching is absolutely correct. We see clearly that without the thought of Mao Tse-tung, the revolutionary theory of the present era, there could be no revolutionary movement.

Donning the cloak of Marxism-Leninism, the Soviet revisionists, China's Khrushchov and their like frantically oppose Mao Tse-tung's thought — Marxism-Leninism of the present era. Both in the past and at present, they have devoted themselves to undermining all revolutionary movements, and have therefore thoroughly exposed themselves as renegades.

In the present era, one's attitude towards Mao Tse-tung's thought, acceptance or non-acceptance of Mao Tse-tung's thought as Marxism-Leninism of the present era, is the important criterion for judging whether or not one is a real Marxist-Leninist, a real revolutionary. To be a real Marxist-Leninist in the present era, it is not enough to accept Marxism-Leninism in general or just in words; one must recognize that Mao Tse-tung's thought is Marxism-Leninism of the present era and apply it in practice. Facts have fully proved that those who oppose Mao Tse-tung's thought all become traitors to the revolution and the people and are inevitably discarded and thrown on to the garbage dump of history.

However frantically the imperialists, the modern revisionists and all reaction oppose and attack Mao Tse-tung's thought, the revolutionary people of the world today are holding high the great militant banner of Mao Tse-tung's thought.

Marx, the founder of the theory of scientific socialism, points out: **"Theory also becomes a material force as soon as it has gripped the masses."**

Chairman Mao, the greatest Marxist-Leninist of our era, has taught us: **"Once the correct ideas characteristic of the advanced class are grasped by the masses, these ideas turn into a material force which changes society and changes the world."** Facts have proved that these teachings are absolutely correct.

Throughout the world today there is a surging tide of widespread, mass study and application of Mao Tse-tung's thought. It is a phenomenon unprecedented in the history of the development of Marxism-Leninism. We see clearly that once Mao Tse-tung's thought

is grasped by millions upon millions of people throughout the world, the revolutionary movement of the world proletariat and of all the oppressed people and oppressed nations forges ahead swiftly and vigorously.

China's great proletarian cultural revolution, initiated and led by Chairman Mao himself, is a world-shaking great movement without precedent in human history. It is a great movement in which Mao Tse-tung's thought is being directly integrated with the 700 million Chinese people, a quarter of the world's population. It is a great movement which is turning socialist China into a great school of Mao Tse-tung's thought. The great proletarian cultural revolution has smashed the bourgeois headquarters led by China's Khrushchov. It has thus smashed the fond dream of imperialism and revisionism to restore capitalism in China. Thus this revolution has further strengthened the dictatorship of the proletariat in China and made China the powerful vanguard and base of world revolution which no force on earth can destroy.

The most important experience and lesson gained in Burma's armed struggle during the past twenty years is: Victory is achieved whenever we integrate Mao Tse-tung's thought with the practice of Burma's revolution, and failure is inevitable whenever Mao Tse-tung's thought is violated; victory is achieved whenever we unswervingly follow the road of the Chinese revolution — the continuation of the October Revolution — and failure is inevitable whenever we turn against the road of the Chinese revolution.

Chairman Mao, the greatest Marxist-Leninist of our era, teaches us: **"Political power grows out of the barrel of a gun"** and **"without armed struggle neither the proletariat, nor the people, nor the Communist Party would have any standing at all . . . it would be impossible for the revolution to triumph."**

Running counter to these teachings of Chairman Mao, the Soviet revisionists, China's Khrushchov and their like stand for abolition of armed struggle and shamelessly advocate legalism, the seizure of political power through the parliamentary road.

The practice of Burma's revolution clearly proves that Marxism-Leninism, Mao Tse-tung's thought is the only truth, one which has been tested in practice, while all the various revisionist ideas are reactionary, counter-revolutionary fallacies.

Chairman Mao, the greatest Marxist-Leninist of our time, teaches us that it is imperative to adopt the strategy of using the countryside as the base and encircling the cities from the countryside, and to seize political power through protracted people's war.

Running counter to this, the Soviet revisionists, China's Khrushchov and their like advocate taking the cities as the base and seizing political power through legal, parliamentary struggle and through co-operation with the bourgeoisie.

The blazing flames of Burma's armed struggle have proved that only Marxism-Leninism, Mao Tse-tung's

thought is the true steel which stands all tests, while all the various revisionist ideas are inevitably reduced to ashes.

Chairman Mao, the greatest Marxist-Leninist of our time, teaches us that base areas can be established in the countryside for protracted people's war, even in a small country, so long as there is proletarian leadership with the Marxist-Leninist Party at the core, so long as the worker-peasant alliance is consolidated and so long as there are correct political, military and organizational lines.

The Soviet revisionists, China's Khrushchov and company trust the reactionary bourgeois rulers and take little account of the Communist Party and the masses; they overestimate the strength of the reactionary bourgeois rulers and underestimate the strength of the Party and the masses. From this point of departure, they allege that it is impossible to sustain protracted people's war in countries like Burma.

Burma's revolutionary armed struggle provides forceful proof that Marxism-Leninism, Mao Tse-tung's thought is the only genuine revolutionary thinking and that all the various revisionist ideas are so much counter-revolutionary and ultra-reactionary rubbish.

Therefore, basing ourselves on the historical experience of the Burmese revolution, we persist in taking Marxism-Leninism, Mao Tse-tung's thought as our theoretical basis, and in using Marxism-Leninism, Mao Tse-tung's thought to constantly educate all Party members; primarily we oppose revisionism, old and new, at home and abroad, while at the same time we oppose dogmatism, pragmatism, eclecticism and empiricism.

In order to carry the revolution forward and win final victory, it is particularly necessary, while developing armed struggle against the reactionary military regime of Ne Win — Burma's Chiang Kai-shek, to integrate Marxism-Leninism, Mao Tse-tung's thought with the whole Party, the whole army and the whole people in the most extensive and profound way. Therefore, we deeply believe that the publication of the Burmese edition of *Selected Works of Mao Tse-tung* will play a very important role in the Burmese revolution.

Till now, only those people in Burma who know English or Chinese have had the chance of studying the *Selected Works of Mao Tse-tung* in their entirety. With the publication of the Burmese edition of the *Selected Works of Mao Tse-tung*, the broad masses of the Burmese people who know only their mother tongue, and particularly the workers, peasants and fighters of the people's army, now have the chance to study the *Selected Works of Mao Tse-tung* in their entirety and to carry further their application of Mao Tse-tung's thought. This is of the greatest help to the Burmese revolution, because Mao Tse-tung's thought, that sharpest of ideological weapons, a weapon of tremendous power far overshadowing the atom bomb and the hydrogen bomb, is presented to the masses of the Burmese people.

In conclusion, it must be stressed that our Party and people's army will put Mao Tse-tung's thought in command and persist in armed people's struggle until final victory in the Burmese revolution is won.

Long live the ever-victorious thought of Mao Tse-tung!

The Burmese revolution is bound to win!

Study and Apply Mao Tse-tung's Thought Earnestly And Take the Road of People's War

— *Suara Rakjat Indonesia* hails publication of Vol. I of the
Selected Works of Mao Tse-tung (Indonesian edition)

THE publication of the Indonesian edition of the first volume of the *Selected Works of Mao Tse-tung* has been warmly hailed in a recent editorial by *Suara Rakjat Indonesia*, organ of the Indonesian Organization for Afro-Asian People's Solidarity, as a highly valuable and important internationalist contribution made by the Chinese people and the Chinese Communist Party to the Indonesian people, the Indonesian proletariat and its vanguard — the Indonesian Communist Party.

This and the publication last May of the Indonesian edition of *Quotations From Chairman Mao Tse-tung* are two victories among the many scored in all fields by China's great proletarian cultural revolution; and they

are victories for the invincible thought of Mao Tse-tung, the editorial declares.

It goes on to say: "This unprecedented and great proletarian cultural revolution personally directed by Chairman Mao Tse-tung and illuminated by the infinitely brilliant thought of Mao Tse-tung has destroyed the bourgeois headquarters headed by China's Khrushchov and shattered all the hopes and dreams of the imperialists, revisionists and reactionaries of all countries for a capitalist restoration in China. The cultural revolution has swept away with the power of a thunderbolt and the momentum of an avalanche all the barriers erected by the handful of top Party persons in

authority taking the capitalist road headed by China's Khrushchov. A movement to disseminate, propagate, study and apply Mao Tse-tung's thought is unfolding on an unprecedented scale. The work of publishing Chairman Mao's works is making giant stride forward. All revolutionary people of the world, especially those at present engaged in liberation struggles, are studying Mao Tse-tung's thought enthusiastically, earnestly and confidently, and applying it in their struggles as their most powerful weapon; they are resolved to take the path of China, the path of Mao Tse-tung, the path of the Chingiang Mountains, the path of people's war, which is the only path to liberation."

"The revolutionary Indonesian people, the Indonesian proletariat and its Party, the Indonesian Communist Party, truly understand from the experience of the Indonesian people and the lessons gained at the cost of their blood what the consequences are if the people who want revolution and the revolutionary party depart from Marxism-Leninism, depart from Mao Tse-tung's thought — the acme of Marxism-Leninism in the present era."

"Facts now show that people's armed struggle has begun in various areas in Indonesia. Though still on a small scale, the people's armed struggle, led by the Marxist-Leninist Indonesian Communist Party which is guided by the correct political and military lines of Mao Tse-tung's thought, will certainly persist and spread throughout the nation."

"Led by the Marxist-Leninist Indonesian Communist Party, the Indonesian people definitely will first seize political power in the countryside and establish revolutionary base areas there. In the protracted revolutionary struggle — a peasant armed struggle

under the leadership of the proletariat — these revolutionary base areas will grow from small ones into big ones. This is Mao Tse-tung's path, the path of 'a single spark,' the path of relying on the peasants and establishing rural revolutionary base areas, the path of encircling the cities from the countryside and finally seizing the cities and winning countryside victory."

Referring to important articles in Volume I of the *Selected Works of Mao Tse-tung*, the editorial says: "We may say without the least hesitation that Chairman Mao is the first great Marxist-Leninist who has in an all-round and comprehensive manner, systematically and scientifically formulated Marxist-Leninist military theory which is the most powerful weapon for the world's oppressed nations and oppressed peoples in their struggle for national liberation. *On Practice* and *On Contradiction* are Chairman Mao's famous philosophical works which are an important development of and tremendous contribution to the philosophy of dialectical and historical materialism, one of the three component parts of Marxism-Leninism."

The editorial says that "the Indonesian revolutionaries greet with great joy the publication of the first volume of the *Selected Works of Mao Tse-tung* (Indonesian edition), and wish to express their most sincere gratitude to the Chinese people and the Chinese Communist Party and Chairman Mao whom they love and respect. The Indonesian revolutionary people, having learnt a lesson at the cost of their own blood, are determined to study and apply Mao Tse-tung's thought in still greater earnest."

The editorial points out in conclusion: "The Indonesian struggle for liberation must inevitably take the road of people's war as charted by Comrade Mao Tse-tung."

"Quotations From Chairman Mao Tse-tung" Published in India

The Hindi edition of the *Quotations From Chairman Mao Tse-tung*, the red book treasured by the people of the world, was published by the Current Book Depot on October 1. This was an event of great joy among the Indian people.

The same publisher is preparing a Hindi translation of the *Selected Works of Mao Tse-tung*, Vol. I, scheduled to be published in December.

This year is the year in which the invincible thought of Mao Tse-tung has been widely disseminated among the Indian people. The revolutionary people of India, who have boundless love for Chairman Mao, study his works avidly and seriously. Many Indian revolutionaries are translating the *Quotations* into the various languages of India for publication. Quite a few brilliant works by Chairman Mao have already been published in these languages.

The supply of Chairman Mao's works translated and published in India is still lagging far behind the

demand; those who failed to get the works from the bookshops have borrowed and mimeographed them.

The revolutionary people of India acclaim Chairman Mao's writings as "the most precious book in the world." They have organized themselves into many groups for the study of Chairman Mao's works and are making great efforts to integrate the truth of Mao Tse-tung's thought with the practice of the Indian revolution. From numerous lessons in blood, more and more Indian people have come to realize that the only correct road for the Indian revolution is the road pointed out by Chairman Mao: that of seizing political power by relying on the masses and by building rural revolutionary base areas and encircling the cities from the countryside. Right now, advancing along this road, India's revolutionary people are rebelling against the Indian reactionaries in a big way and striving for their complete emancipation.

Defend the Cause of Great October Revolution And Carry the Anti-Revisionist Struggle Through to the End

— Excerpts from a speech by Comrade Kapo at a Tirana meeting in celebration of
the 50th anniversary of the October Revolution

COMRADE KAPO, Member of the Political Bureau and Secretariat of the Central Committee of the Albanian Party of Labour, made an important speech at a meeting in Tirana held by the Party's Central Committee and the Tirana Municipal Committee on November 7 in celebration of the 50th anniversary of the Great October Revolution. Revolutionaries in the Soviet Union will certainly rise in revolution and rebuild the Bolshevik Party, he stressed.

Comrade Kapo said: On the jubilee day of the 50th anniversary of the October Revolution, more than ever, the cause of socialism, the cause of the October Revolution calls upon the Marxist-Leninists, the real internationalists and all the consistent revolutionaries to raise to a new and higher stage their struggle against modern revisionism, the Soviet renegade leadership in particular, to thwart and smash the monstrous imperialist-revisionist counter-revolutionary plot, to expose and destroy the revisionist treachery, to defend the great banner of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin, and defend the cause of revolution and carry it from victory to victory.

Comrade Kapo said: The appearance of modern revisionism in the arena of history, especially the usurpation of power by the Khrushchov clique in the homeland of the October Revolution, in the first powerful socialist state in the world, marks a drastic regressive turning point in the Soviet Union. The history of the Soviet Union and of world communism knows no graver treachery than that of the Khrushchov clique, and nobody else has brought greater losses and more evil consequences to the Soviet Union and the world communist movement than the Khrushchov revisionists. Nobody thus far has done so much as these renegades to humiliate and discredit the Soviet Union, the socialist order and the cause of the October Revolution.

Instead of waging a life-and-death struggle against the international bourgeoisie and imperialism, the Khrushchov clique has based its whole foreign policy line on rapprochement, friendship, co-operation and alliance with U.S. imperialism, the head of world imperialism. The Soviet-U.S. alliance, which is becoming

closer with every passing day, has become today the biggest counter-revolutionary alliance ever known to history.

Comrade Kapo pointed out: Persistently going farther and farther along the road of betrayal of Marxism-Leninism and the cause of the October Revolution, the revisionist leadership of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union has led on to this counter-revolutionary road all its revisionist friends and allies that are at the head of the Communist and Workers' Parties of many countries. At present, on the jubilee day of the 50th anniversary of the October Revolution, the Soviet revisionists are trying to take the last step in their treachery towards the cause of communism by organizing with all the revisionist cliques a new international meeting. The aims which the Khrushchov clique of the Soviet Union is seeking to attain remain unchanged. It intends to proclaim the "condemnation" of China and Albania, to unite the world revisionist front in the struggle against Marxism-Leninism and revolution, to legalize with the support of an "international communist forum" its past and future pro-imperialist traitorous activities, to ease the contradictions between the revisionist factions, and to build up again its tottering domination in the disrupted revisionist camp. This new traitorous step is another testimony that the Khrushchov revisionists are sworn enemies of Marxism-Leninism and communism.

Comrade Kapo said: Just as the victory of the October Revolution and the whole of the revolutionary upsurge that burst forth everywhere in the world in its wake were achieved only on the basis of the determined struggle waged by the proletarian revolutionaries headed by Lenin against traitorous social-democracy and opportunism, today also the new revolutionary impetus and the victory of world revolution cannot be achieved without a ruthless struggle against the betrayal of the modern revisionists, with the Soviet leading group at the head.

Comrade Kapo emphasized: In order to overthrow the revisionist ruling clique in the Soviet Union, a leading role must be played by the revolutionary Communists and by the whole of the Soviet people. The

struggle of the Soviet proletarian revolutionaries against the Khrushchov renegade clique in its very lair is a great historic duty imposed by the vital interests of the Soviet Union, of the cause of socialism, of the world revolutionary and liberation movement. This is a difficult struggle requiring courage, firm determination, a high spirit of self-denial and sacrifice. But the Bolsheviks have never lacked these qualities, they have never been afraid of and have never shrunk before any enemy and have given indisputable proof of resistance and heroism, always fulfilling with honour their revolutionary duties. The time has come for the genuine Soviet revolutionaries to rise up in struggle and in revolution, to organize themselves and rebuild the Bolshevik Party, to restore the glorious traditions of October, the Party of Lenin and Stalin, to sound the clarion call of the decisive battle for the smashing of the revisionist counter-revolution and the re-establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat, to bring the Soviet Union on to the road of Marxism-Leninism, and to make it regain the place that belongs to it in the powerful army of the world proletarian revolution and advance to the forefront of the struggle for the triumph of the cause of socialism and communism throughout the world.

Referring to the counter-revolutionary "peaceful evolution" and capitalist restoration in the Soviet Union, Comrade Kapo said: Marxist-Leninists have to draw lessons from this in order to bar the road to the birth

of revisionism and the danger of capitalist restoration, and to carry the revolution through to the end along the road indicated by Marxism-Leninism and opened by the Great October. He stressed: The historic merit in working out this new experience belongs in the first place to the glorious Communist Party of China and to the great leader of the Chinese people, Comrade Mao Tse-tung, and to our Party of Labour and the respected and beloved leader of our people, Comrade Enver Hoxha. This experience marks a new, further development of Marxism-Leninism, it is a great contribution to the theory and practice of scientific socialism.

Comrade Kapo said: Whatever the clamour the Soviet renegades and the revisionists following them may raise and whatever the plots they may hatch up with the imperialists and reactionaries against red socialist China of Mao Tse-tung, they will fail ignominiously; they cannot halt the victorious forward march of a heroic people, of a heroic Party which is always true to the teachings of Marxism-Leninism and the thought of Mao Tse-tung. Our Party as well as all genuine revolutionaries and Communists deem it to be an important internationalist duty to support and champion the Communist Party of China and the People's Republic of China.

Comrade Kapo's speech was punctuated by repeated cheers of "The Party of Labour!" "Enver Hoxha!" "Marxism-Leninism!" "Enver — Mao Tse-tung!" and "People's China!" and by deafening applause.

The Chinese People Are Carrying Forward the Historical Experience of the October Revolution

— U.S. *Progressive Labor* denounces the Soviet revisionist clique for betraying the path of the October Revolution

IN a recent article to mark the 50th anniversary of the October Revolution, the bi-monthly *Progressive Labor*, organ of the U.S. Progressive Labor Party, denounced the Soviet revisionist ruling clique for betraying the path of the October Revolution, and said that the Soviet people will eventually restore the dictatorship of the proletariat in the Soviet Union.

Under the title "Follow the Path of the October Revolution, Defeat Imperialism and Modern Revisionism," the article said that the Great October Socialist Revolution established the first socialist state in the world. Every effort to reverse this development by the international bourgeoisie was repulsed by the Soviet people under the leadership of Lenin and later of Stalin. The Soviet people have a great record in smashing internal and external enemies. They defeated imperialist encirclement and smashed the Hitlerite forces into oblivion. They defeated the internal

enemies in the revolutionary ranks: Bernstein, Kautsky, Trotsky and other counter-revolutionaries.

The article pointed out that modern revisionism, represented by Khrushchov and now by his dutiful followers, has betrayed the road of the October Revolution. These renegades will ultimately be smashed by the Soviet people and the international working class.

The Chinese people guided by the great thought of Mao Tse-tung, the article said, are drawing the lessons from the experiences in the U.S.S.R. The great proletarian cultural revolution is guaranteeing that the dictatorship of the proletariat will be strengthened and made invincible in China. China today is carrying forward the historical experience of the October Revolution. Blazing new trails they are showing that revolution is invincible and will not be reversed.

The article stressed that Mao Tse-tung's thought has enriched Marxism-Leninism. China's great proletarian cultural revolution and the people's war in Vietnam clearly show this to be so.

The Soviet people and the people of other countries will draw from China's great proletarian cultural rev-

olution the correct conclusions, and the Soviet people will eventually restore the dictatorship of the proletariat in the Soviet Union. The international working class and all oppressed peoples will follow the path of the Great October Socialist Revolution, the article concluded.

China's Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution Is the Most Thoroughgoing and Fundamental Revolution

— Canadian *Progressive Worker* points out that the victory of the October Revolution and that of the Chinese revolution have changed the course of history

THE monthly *Progressive Worker*, organ of the Canadian Progressive Workers Movement, in an article in its November issue warmly acclaimed China's great proletarian cultural revolution initiated and led personally by Chairman Mao Tse-tung, the great leader of the revolutionary people of the world.

Comparing the development of the Russian revolution and the Chinese revolution, the article, entitled "Two Anniversaries," pointed out that the victory of Russia's October Revolution of 1917 and that of the Chinese revolution of 1949 are "two great historical events of world-shaking importance." It said: "These two events have changed the course of history, and the Chinese revolution, in particular with the great proletarian cultural revolution, is making an enormous contribution to shaping the future of mankind. Studying the pattern of development of these two revolutions the working class of the world will learn important lessons in the strategy and tactics of the proletarian socialist revolution."

It said: "The Russian revolution, under the leadership of Lenin and the Russian Bolsheviks, pioneered the seizure and consolidation of state power by the working class. . . . The revolution of 1917 was a source of inspiration to the working people of the world and clearly demonstrated to them the course to follow in the seizure of power." After paying tribute to the victories and tremendous achievements scored by the Soviet people in all fields after the October Revolution, the article pointed out that the problem of how to carry on the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat had not however been solved in the Soviet Union. Thus, after the death of Stalin, the revisionist clique headed by Khrushchov has usurped political power, overthrown the dictatorship of the proletariat and restored capitalism in the Soviet Union.

It strongly condemned the Soviet revisionist ruling clique for following a policy of capitulation to U.S.

imperialism. It pointed out that the Soviet revisionists have invited the imperialists to invest in the Soviet Union and to participate in the exploitation of Soviet workers. Under the guise of "aid" the Soviet revisionists engage in imperialist exploitation of the Afro-Asian countries. "They also hire themselves out as running dogs for the U.S. imperialists, exert effort to prevent the people from rising in struggle for national liberation and work to sabotage such struggles when they erupt."

The article said: "Soviet workers are confronted with the task of making a revolution for the second time. We are confident that revolution will come and that the Soviet working people will never again be misled by the revisionist agents of the bourgeoisie."

It went on to extol the great victory of the Chinese revolution won under the brilliant leadership of Chairman Mao. The founding of the People's Republic of China in 1949, it said, "opened the road to historic advances for the working people of the whole world — advances that have changed the face of the world and done much to shape the destiny of mankind."

It stressed: "Victory in China came after almost three decades of struggle, under the brilliant leadership of Mao Tse-tung. . . . The lessons learned from the rich experiences of these long years of struggle are of inestimable importance. But even more important are the lessons to be learned from the Chinese revolution after the seizure of state power and the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat. We can see that the complex problems of how to conduct revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat were not solved in the Soviet Union, with the result that the bourgeoisie were able to return to power through the revisionists' treachery. The solution of these problems became the prime task of the Chinese revolution; and

(Continued on p. 35.)



Mao Tse-tung's Thought

Lights the Whole World

World's Revolutionaries Denounce Soviet Revisionists' Betrayal of the October Revolution, Hail Mao Tse-tung's Thought Now Guiding the World Revolution

ON the occasion of the 50th anniversary of the October Socialist Revolution this year, revolutionary people and progressives in Asia, Africa and Latin America, condemned with one voice the revisionist ruling group of the Soviet Union for its betrayal of the October Revolution. At the same time they warmly hailed the thought of Mao Tse-tung now guiding the world revolution.

China: World's People's Mighty Revolutionary Bulwark

On November 7, *The Voice of the People of Thailand* broadcast an article entitled "Long Live the Spirit of the October Socialist Revolution!"

Under the brilliant leadership of the great leader Chairman Mao Tse-tung and the Chinese Communist Party, the article said, the Chinese people have carried on in the spirit of the October Socialist Revolution and built a powerful socialist country, making China the world's people's mighty revolutionary bulwark against imperialism headed by the United States.

Chairman Mao Tse-tung, the great leader of the Chinese people and the people of the world, it continued, has developed the Marxist-Leninist theory on the seizure of state power and the consolidation of the state power of the proletariat. The great proletarian cultural revolution in China will ensure the complete victory of China's socialist revolution, thereby making a great contribution to the revolutionary cause of the people of the world.

Under the profound influence of the October Socialist Revolution and illuminated by the splendour of the thought of Mao Tse-tung, the article noted, the people's armed struggle in Vietnam, Laos, Burma, India, Indonesia, the Philippines and Thailand and the revo-

lutionary struggles of the people in other Asian countries and in Africa and Latin America have dealt telling blows at imperialism, especially U.S. imperialism. They are marching from victory to victory along the path indicated by the October Socialist Revolution.

The article denounced the group of revisionist renegades in the Soviet Union for its collaboration with U.S. imperialism and the reactionaries of all countries in wantonly sabotaging and strangling the revolutionary struggles of the people of various countries.

It also strongly denounced the Soviet revisionist group of renegades for colluding with U.S. imperialism and the treacherous Thanom-Prapas clique in the criminal act of undermining the revolutionary struggle of the people of Thailand.

In conclusion, the article stressed that the world's revolutionary tide could not be checked. Guided by Marxism-Leninism, Mao Tse-tung's thought, the revolutionary people of the whole world are advancing along the path of the October Socialist Revolution.

Chairman Mao: The Greatest Marxist-Leninist of Our Time

The June 14 Revolutionary Movement of the Dominican Republic recently issued a statement which condemned "the gang of renegades, splittists and turncoats headed by the C.P.S.U. leading clique" who have usurped the leadership of the Party, army and state founded by the great Lenin and consolidated by Stalin and who are restoring capitalism in the Soviet Union and betraying the revolutionary interests of the peoples of Asia, Africa, Latin America and other parts of the world.

But this gang of renegades to Marxism-Leninism, the statement emphasized, would never be able to

achieve its counter-revolutionary and anti-communist aims "because all the genuine Marxist-Leninist Parties and the revolutionary people of the world, guided by the brilliant thought of Mao Tse-tung, the greatest Marxist-Leninist of our time, have risen against them and their accomplices and formed an impregnable wall against them."

The statement also said that "Comrade Mao Tse-tung, the great helmsman of the heroic Chinese people and the supreme teacher of world proletarian revolution," having summed up the international historical experience of the dictatorship of the proletariat and drawn important lessons from the Khrushchov revisionist group's usurpation of the leadership of the Soviet Party and state, has personally initiated and led the great proletarian cultural revolution in China. The great victory of this revolution "has sounded the death knell for all the remnants of capitalism in China, as well as for the imperialists, the modern revisionists and the reactionaries of all countries."

Chairman Mao Leads the People of the World in Revolution

The "Committee for Aid to the Peasant Struggle at Naxalbari" organized by the revolutionary section of the Indian Communist Party on November 11 held a mass meeting in Calcutta to mark the 50th anniversary of the October Revolution. The rostrum was bedecked with portraits of Chairman Mao Tse-tung, Lenin and Stalin. Participants at the meeting shouted "Red salute to Mao Tse-tung!" "Down with the neo-revisionists!" from time to time.

The meeting highly praised Chairman Mao Tse-tung for holding aloft the great banner of the October Revolution and leading the people of the world in revolution. It strongly denounced the Soviet revisionist ruling clique for betraying Marxism-Leninism and pursuing a revisionist policy. Speakers stressed that the Naxalbari peasants' armed struggle which was unfolding under the guidance of Mao Tse-tung's thought had pointed to the real path for the liberation of the Indian masses.

Mao Tse-tung's Thought: Acme of Marxism-Leninism in the Present Era

Matao Nagashima, a Japanese revolutionary Left-winger, in an article in the November issue of *Study of Mao Tse-tung's Thought* sharply denounced Khrushchov and his successors, traitors to the Soviet people, for selling out the first socialist country in the world, which was founded by Lenin.

His article stressed that the great leader Chairman Mao and the Chinese Communist Party armed with Mao

Tse-tung's thought were the first to recognize in the most penetrating way the ugly nature of Soviet modern revisionism. They have creatively applied Marxism-Leninism to the criticism of Soviet modern revisionism in the theoretical field.

The great Chairman Mao, the article continued, has developed Marxism-Leninism to a new stage, that of Mao Tse-tung's thought. This is why Mao Tse-tung's thought is praised as the acme of Marxism-Leninism in the present era. Anyone who wants to be a genuine Marxist-Leninist today must study Mao Tse-tung's thought and apply it in his action. This is why the distinguishing mark between a Marxist-Leninist and a revisionist is whether or not he supports and approves Mao Tse-tung's thought and whether or not he "studies Chairman Mao's writings, follows his teachings and acts according to his instructions."

Chairman Mao Has Comprehensively Inherited, Defended and Developed Marxism-Leninism

On the occasion of the 50th anniversary of the October Revolution, a Pakistan friend wrote a letter to the Hsinhua News Agency's Rawalpindi correspondent saying that the Soviet revisionist group "has completely trodden under foot the banner of the October Revolution" because it has now reached the stage of open collusion with U.S. imperialism and of conspiring with it against all the revolutionary movements in the world.

The letter reads in part: "Chairman Mao Tse-tung has comprehensively inherited, defended and developed Marxism-Leninism and creatively put forward the great theory of the continuation of revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat by summing up the new experience of class struggle in China, the Soviet Union and the rest of the world. The great proletarian cultural revolution launched and led by Chairman Mao himself marks a new stage in the development of Marxism in combating revisionism. It is to China and Chairman Mao Tse-tung, the great leader of the Chinese people, that the oppressed peoples of the world look for guidance in their struggle for emancipation. It is the great thought of Mao Tse-tung that is guiding the revolutionary movements in the world."

China Has Become the Base Area of World Revolution

A Somali writer noted in an article that capitalism is being restored in the first socialist state which was created by the October Revolution. But in China, he said, the great proletarian cultural revolution personally initiated and led by Chairman Mao has consolidated the

proletarian dictatorship and enabled China not to degenerate into a bourgeois state like the Soviet Union. "China has become the bastion and the base area of the world revolution and of the oppressed peoples and nations."

The article stressed: "With the radiance and truth of Chairman Mao's thought, the oppressed peoples and nations will be able to win their liberation. With the

radiance and truth of Chairman Mao's thought, the peoples who have already established the proletarian dictatorship will be able to consolidate this dictatorship. With the radiance and truth of Chairman Mao's thought, the peoples of those countries where political power has been usurped by revisionists like Khrushchov and Brezhnev will be able to overthrow that rule and re-establish the proletarian dictatorship."

Cambodian Territory Brooks No Violation

by "RENMIN RIBAO" COMMENTATOR

THE Royal Government of Cambodia has recently issued a statement strongly condemning U.S. imperialism for its vile scheme of deliberately violating Cambodia's territorial integrity. The Chinese people resolutely support the solemn statement of the Cambodian Government.

Of late, U.S. imperialism has instigated and helped the south Vietnam puppet clique and the reactionary Thai Government to make constant incursions into Cambodian territory. On October 29, an invading unit consisting of some 200 troops from Thailand, with the direct participation of U.S. armed forces, attacked the Tadeo post on the Cambodian border. This was another serious incident of U.S. imperialist aggression against Cambodia. After the event, the *New York Times* blatantly said that it was impossible for the United States to guarantee the non-violation of Cambodian frontiers by the U.S. or the south Vietnam puppet troops in fighting. This is tantamount to making a frank admission that the Johnson Administration is planning to extend its war of aggression against Vietnam to Cambodia and that U.S. imperialism will never give up its criminal ambition of aggression against Cambodia.

U.S. imperialism is stretching its sinister hands far and wide and is carrying out subversion, sabotage, intervention and aggression everywhere in the world. While committing such vile actions, it invariably claims that it is honouring an "international commitment" or doing "an unshirkable duty." U.S. imperialism has all along applied this gangster logic towards Cambodia. For years, U.S. imperialism has never ceased its military provocations, subversion and sabotage against Cambodia. At present, the Johnson Administration is frantically expanding its war of aggression against Vietnam and is actively preparing to spread the flames of war to the whole of Indo-China. It is in these circumstances that the United States is setting its propaganda machine in motion again to give wide publicity to its gangster logic.

The U.S. imperialists' undisguised assertion that they could not guarantee not to commit armed aggression against Cambodia is an extremely crude insult and provocation against the Cambodian Government and people. It is only natural that such an assertion has aroused the strong indignation of the Cambodian people. Facts have shown time and again that U.S. imperialism is the sworn enemy of the people of Cambodia and the rest of Indo-China; it is the most ferocious enemy of the people of the whole world.

Any country in the world, irrespective of its population and size, can frustrate the aggressive schemes of U.S. imperialism so long as it has the fearless spirit to struggle against it. The Vietnamese people have, by their valiant struggle, set a glorious example for the people of the world.

In the past few years, the Cambodian people have carried out a resolute struggle against U.S. imperialism in defence of their national independence and sovereignty. So long as they strengthen their unity and persist in struggle, they can certainly crush the interference and aggression by U.S. imperialism and its running dogs.

Our great leader Chairman Mao during a talk with friends from Asia, Africa and Latin America has pointed out: "**Our common enemy is U.S. imperialism, we all stand on the same front and need to unite with and support each other.**"

The Chinese people resolutely stand on the side of the Cambodian people in their just struggle against U.S. imperialism. If U.S. imperialism dares to extend the war of aggression to Cambodia, the 700 million Chinese people, who are armed with the great thought of Mao Tse-tung, will firmly back the Cambodian people in meting out severe punishment to the U.S. aggressor bandits!

(November 17)

Show Up the Counter-Revolutionary Features of Sholokhov

by SHIH HUNG-YU

In the "Summary of the Forum on the Work in Literature and Art in the Armed Forces With Which Comrade Lin Piao Entrusted Comrade Chiang Ching" (see "Peking Review," No. 23, 1967), an important fighting task assigned to us was to wage a struggle in the field of literature and art against modern revisionism with Soviet revisionism as its centre.

Revisionist literature and art are a variant of bourgeois literature and art. They peddle bourgeois wares under a socialist coating. The international historical experience of the dictatorship of the proletariat tells us: Revisionist literature and art are poison used by the bourgeoisie and its agents against the working people, as well as tools for the restoration of capitalism. They are a mouthpiece for the modern revisionist political line.

To safeguard Marxism-Leninism, Mao Tse-tung's thought, to reveal the reactionary nature of revisionist literature and art and to eliminate their pernicious influence, we must hold aloft the great red banner of Mao Tse-tung's thought during the unparalleled great proletarian cultural revolution and wage a resolute struggle against the revisionist literature and art of foreign countries.

Soviet revisionist literature and art are at the centre of foreign revisionist literature and art. The works of Sholokhov, Simonov, Ehrenburg, Tvardovsky and company, particularly some of the works by Sholokhov, father of Soviet revisionist literature and art, have spread a great deal of poison. In opening fire on revisionist literature and art, we should first of all "catch the big ones, catch Sholokhov" and criticize and repudiate the main works of these ringleaders of Soviet revisionist literature and art and eliminate their pernicious influence.
(Excerpts from "Renmin Ribao" editor's note.)

FOR 40 years, Sholokhov has been lauded as a "great writer" by the revisionists and the bourgeoisie in the Soviet Union and in other countries. Khrushchov praises him as "an excellent example," while China's Khrushchov regards him as a demigod. But when we take a look at the role he has played in the class struggle in the Soviet Union at each important historical moment, we can strip him of the cloak of "proletarian revolutionary writer" and show him up as a counter-revolutionary.

Mortal Enemy of the Dictatorship of the Proletariat

After the death of Lenin, the Bolshevik Party headed by Stalin staunchly defended the road of the October Revolution, smashed the frenzied attack of the anti-Party clique and consolidated the dictatorship of the proletariat. At this critical moment, Sholokhov sided with the anti-Party clique and took the lead in hoisting the black revisionist ensign of turning against the road of the October Revolution in the field of literature and art. He attacked violent revolution by the proletariat and the dictatorship of the proletariat, and worked vigorously to create public opinion so that the Trotsky-Zinoviev counter-revolutionary revisionist clique could usurp Party and government leadership.

The story *Road*, which he included in his first collection of short stories published in 1926, was in fact a self-portrayal of his renegade features when he, a grain collector, was captured by a bandit gang in 1921. When he recalled this episode 40 years later, he said: "I was too hard on the kulaks," "but they later turned me free. . . . How I wished to stay alive." From that time on, he has travelled a road of betraying the October Revolution.

In the novel *And Quiet Flows the Don*, written between 1926 and 1939, Sholokhov maliciously depicted the October Revolution and the revolutionary civil war to defend the proletarian political power as a "great tragedy" which ruined the "quiet and rich life" of the Don Cossacks, as a "greater anguish and calamity" than the imperialist war. The novel lavished praise on the blood-thirsty counter-revolutionary Gregory and the well-to-do Cossacks he represented, while viciously attacking Soviet power established by the October Revolution as a "new and worse system." Lenin pointed out after the October Revolution that those who cursed the Soviets set up for the first time in history by the toiling classes in Russia were "all the bourgeois scoundrels, the whole gang of blood-suckers, with Kautsky echoing them." And Sholokhov was precisely

echoing these bourgeois scoundrels and blood-suckers overthrown by the October Revolution.

Our great leader Chairman Mao said: **"We definitely do not apply a policy of benevolence to the reactionaries and towards the reactionary activities of the reactionary classes."** **"With regard to such reactionaries, the question of irritating them or not does not arise."** In a letter to Gorky in 1931, Sholokhov brazenly attributed the Cossack rebellion during the civil war to what he called "excessive actions" on the part of the Bolshevik Party and the Soviet political power. He did everything to defend the Cossacks' counter-revolutionary rebellion in the same manner in *And Quiet Flows the Don*. He portrayed the counter-revolutionary rebel Gregory as a "wavering middle character" who was "disgusted with both the revolution and counter-revolution." He tried hard to make people "believe" the "true words" of Gregory, the mortal enemy of Soviet power: "If the Soviet regime didn't oppress me, I wouldn't have opposed it." By preaching counter-revolutionary rebellion and demanding that the Soviet power renounce its right to suppress class enemies, Sholokhov was aiming at creating public opinion for counter-revolutionary restoration and the subversion of the dictatorship of the proletariat.

Immediately after publication, *And Quiet Flows the Don* was sharply criticized by the revolutionary masses in the Soviet Union as "defending the rebellion of the Cossack white bandits" and as a work "hostile and opposed to the proletariat." They said that its author was "in no way a proletarian writer" but "a representative of the Cossack kulaks and foreign aristocrats." The bourgeoisie and revisionists, on the other hand, were filled with joy and hailed the publication of the novel as "the birth of a Soviet classic," a work which, they said, "leaves little to be desired." The heated debate which developed around the novel was in essence a reflection, in Soviet literature and art, of the acute struggle between the forces for and against restoration, centring on the question of political power.

During the counter-revolutionary rebellion in Hungary in 1956, Sholokhov, because of his reactionary stand, again jumped forward to acclaim and defend the ghosts and monsters of the Petofi club, saying that they were "wavering" characters who, like Gregory, "joined the White Guard movement casually and blindly." All this shows that Sholokhov is indeed the father of the revisionist literature and art with which he has carried out counter-revolutionary activities under the dictatorship of the proletariat.

Faithful Disciple of Bukharin

Chairman Mao said: **"Without socialization of agriculture, there can be no complete, consolidated socialism."** The collectivization of agriculture represented a great decisive battle, a most extensive and penetrating socialist revolution, in which socialism defeated capitalism in the countryside. The Right opportunists rep-

resented by Bukharin did everything they could to oppose collectivization of agriculture and the elimination of kulaks. The Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (Bolsheviks) headed by Stalin waged an irreconcilable struggle against these representatives of the bourgeoisie within the Party and defended and upheld Lenin's line for the collectivization of agriculture.

In this sharp class struggle, Sholokhov served as the spokesman of the Bukharin Right opportunist clique on the literary and art front. The novel *Virgin Soil Upturned* (Book I) which he began writing in 1930 was a representative work which, under the cloak of opposing "Left" opportunism, eulogized the Right opportunist line and negated the movement for collectivization of Soviet agriculture. Stalin pointed out that, in the movement for collectivization of agriculture, **"the Right danger has been, and still is, the chief danger"** and that a fight against the errors of the "Left" distorters was **"a pre-condition for a successful fight against Right opportunism and a distinctive form of this fight."** But Sholokhov, in this novel, left no stone unturned to exaggerate the so-called "excessive actions" in the collectivization movement and described the "Left" deviation as the chief danger, presenting the vigorous collective-farm movement as devoid of mass support, as an "error" resulting from "coercion and orders." He openly portrayed Davidov, chairman of a collective farm, who actually implemented the Right opportunist line of excluding poor peasants, relying on rich middle peasants and shielding kulaks, as a representative of the "correct line." The novel also heaps praise on a hidden counter-revolutionary kulak. All this shows that Sholokhov is proceeding from the reactionary position of the Right opportunists in attacking the correct line for elimination of the kulaks and for all-round collectivization, lauding Bukharin's opportunist line and paving the way for the restoration of capitalism.

Sholokhov himself is an outright Right opportunist. Back in 1929 when the movement for collectivization began on a large scale, he was exposed in the press for protecting kulaks. In a letter to Stalin in 1933, he viciously attacked the collectivization movement, the socialist system and the Party's leadership, and described the collective farms during Stalin's time as "darker" than the villages under tsarist rule. He was severely criticized by Stalin for this. While he was hostile to socialist collective farms, he lauded the "useful, precious achievements" of "advanced capitalist farming" and shamelessly campaigned for "learning" from the capitalist countries, following his visits to Denmark, Sweden, Britain and France in 1935.

Renegade to People's Revolutionary War

Sholokhov utterly betrayed his ugly features of opposing people's war during the rigorous test of the war waged against the German fascists by the Soviet people under the leadership of Stalin during the 1940s, a war which concerned the future of socialism and the

destiny of mankind. Instead of praising the revolutionary heroism of the Soviet army and people, he did his best to spread pessimism and despondency in the political commentaries and novels he wrote during the war years. In his "Letter to American Friends," published only two years after the war began, he implored the United States to use its troops, pinning his hopes entirely on U.S. imperialism.

At a time when the revolutionary struggles of the people of Asia, Africa and Latin America were surging forward after World War II, he echoed Khrushchov in wildly opposing people's war. Scared out of his wits by U.S. imperialism's nuclear blackmail, he raved that the "shadow of the hydrogen bomb" was "ruining the sunshine of joyful life." He clamoured that "the major objective of mankind today was to strive for peace," thereby totally negating the basic task of carrying the world proletarian revolution through to the end. Chairman Mao taught us that "every just, revolutionary war is endowed with tremendous power and can transform many things or clear the way for their transformation" and that "only with guns can the whole world be transformed." But Sholokhov yelled: "Say 'no' to war." He raved: "No war can produce anything. Wars are destroyers." In order to "stay alive" he went so far as to collaborate with the imperialists and reactionaries of all countries and shouted about opposing people's revolutionary war "collectively."

The big poisonous weed *The Fate of a Man*, which he dished up hastily after the 20th Congress of the C.P.S.U., was evidence of his crime of opposing people's revolutionary war. Through the "miserable lot" of the renegade Sokolov during the Patriotic War, Sholokhov painted a lurid picture of the "sufferings" and "horror" of the war while glorifying the traitor who surrendered to the enemy and vilifying the great anti-fascist war as "burying" the Soviet people's "last joy and hope." At present when the people's war is surging high in Asia, Africa and Latin America, this piece of pacifist and capitulationist propaganda by Sholokhov and the film adapted from it by the Soviet revisionist clique to spread poison throughout the world constitute the greatest betrayal of the world revolution. After this novel was published, a host of poisonous weeds including *An Inch of Soil*, *Song of a Soldier* and *The Living and the Dead* which opposed Stalin and reviled revolutionary wars have been put out. It was precisely Sholokhov who stirred up the ill wind in Soviet revisionist literature and art of opposing revolutionary wars.

Storm-Trooper for the Restoration of Capitalism

Completely discarding his mask, Sholokhov further revealed his counter-revolutionary features at the important historical moment when the socialist Soviet Union once again confronted a decisive battle between two destinies and two futures after Stalin's death.

Chairman Mao taught us: "To overthrow a political power, it is always necessary, first of all, to create

public opinion, to do work in the ideological sphere." Sholokhov was a storm-trooper in creating public opinion for Khrushchov's usurpation of Party and government leadership. In the second year after Stalin's death, Sholokhov took the lead in completely negating the achievements of the revolutionary literature and art of Stalin's time at the Second Congress of the Union of Soviet Writers. He levelled his attacks directly at Stalin whom he had once called "dear father whom I warmly love throughout my life." At the 20th Congress of the C.P.S.U., he came out into the open and called for dismissing the Party leaders in the field of literature and art of Stalin's time.

While energetically opposing Stalin, he frantically cheered Khrushchov's revisionist line and wildly eulogized the restoration of capitalism. He lauded to the skies the out-and-out revisionist Programme of the C.P.S.U., saying that it was a "refreshing breeze," "a light shining upon mankind" and "an indestructible monument." He acclaimed the series of revisionist policies taken by Khrushchov in the economic field, such as material benefits and material incentives, and said that these policies opened up "a bright future for state farm workers and collective farmers." He even had the effrontery to describe the great regression and calamity resulting from the restoration of capitalism in industry and agriculture by Khrushchov as "magnificent events without parallel in history." He shamelessly praised Khrushchov's reactionary rule as "a fine period full of daring and creative spirit."

Chairman Mao said: "In the world today all culture, all literature and art belong to definite classes and are geared to definite political lines." "To keep step with Khrushchov" after the 20th Congress, Sholokhov hastily brought out his *Virgin Soil Upturned* (Book II) to serve the Soviet revisionist clique's revisionist political line and advocated the restoration of capitalism in the Soviet Union. In this novel, the Party leaders of the collective farms were guided by the concepts spread by Khrushchov of "everything for man and his happiness" and "man and man are friends, comrades and brothers." These Party leaders were presented as conniving at the spontaneous capitalist tendency among the collective farmers, allowing it to spread unchecked. They showed no vigilance against or even shielded those hidden reactionary officers and kulaks who wildly sabotaged the collective economy. Such "collective farms" negating the dictatorship of the proletariat and socialism have indeed degenerated completely into capitalist farms.

Sholokhov has also made use of the privileged position granted him by the Soviet revisionist clique to systematically peddle Khrushchov's revisionist line on literature and art.

He has actively advocated "a literature and art of the whole people" in direct opposition to Lenin's principle of the Party spirit of literature and Chairman Mao's orientation of literature and art serving the workers, peasants and soldiers. To cover up the

class nature of Soviet revisionist literature and art which serve a handful of old and new bourgeois elements, he has described literature as a "cause of conscience" and said that everything done by the artists is "for man, for mankind."

In order to maintain the privileged positions of Soviet revisionist writers, he vigorously opposes the ideological remoulding of writers. He lives in a villa and openly declares that there is no need for him to go to the "countryside," for it "wastes time and affects creative work."

He frantically opposes the criticism and repudiation of bourgeois literature and art and has made great efforts to foster new and old ghosts and monsters in literary and art circles. The big renegade Pasternak is, in his eyes, a "talented poet" and a large number of reactionary young writers who call themselves "offspring of the 20th Congress" are regarded by him as "real asset."

He has consistently opposed the method of combining revolutionary realism with revolutionary romanticism in writing; while he is against literature and art portraying the heroic images of workers, peasants and soldiers, he fanatically preaches a whole series of revisionist literary concepts, such as "truthful writing" and "writing about waverers," which are aimed at defaming socialism and the dictatorship of the proletariat.

Sholokhov's painstaking efforts to serve the Soviet revisionist leading clique's political line for restoring capitalism over the past decade and more has won its favours in return. Khrushchov paid him a visit in 1959, and later bestowed on him all kinds of medals and titles including Member of the Party's Central Committee and Deputy to the Supreme Soviet. After coming to power, the Brezhnev-Kosygin clique conferred on him the title of "socialist labour hero." He has, in fact, become the biggest representative of the bourgeoisie in the Soviet revisionist literary and art circles and the No. 1 representative, in the field of literature and art, of the privileged stratum of Soviet revisionists.

Faithful Lackey of Imperialism

Chairman Mao said: "The existence of bourgeois influence is the internal source of revisionism and surrender to imperialist pressure the external source." While actively campaigning for the restoration of capitalism at home, Sholokhov works hard abroad in the service of Khrushchov's general line of "peaceful co-existence" of which "Soviet-U.S. co-operation" is the soul. According to incomplete data, he has been to capitalist countries on some 30 occasions to engage in shameful dealings in the capacity of "plenipotentiary representative of Soviet cultural circles" bestowed on him by Khrushchov.

In August 1955, after the four-power summit conference ended in Geneva the month before, Sholokhov

proposed the convocation of a "round-table conference" of the world's writers. He urged the instilling of the so-called "Geneva spirit" into every aspect of international life, and showed particular interest in "Soviet-U.S. cultural exchange."

In 1959, he accompanied Khrushchov to the Camp David talks with Eisenhower which opened the criminal record of overt Soviet-U.S. collaboration in opposition to the world revolution. To mould public opinion, Sholokhov said on the eve of the talks, "Let us visit each other! We have nothing to argue about and no reason to fight one another." After the talks, he joyously acclaimed Khrushchov's wholesale sell-out as "excellent, wonderful!"

In 1963, the Soviet revisionist clique joined the United States and Britain in signing the pact on the partial ban of nuclear tests, thus openly entering into a counter-revolutionary "Holy Alliance" with imperialism, headed by the United States, and all reaction. On the very day the pact was signed, Sholokhov hastily peddled the "Moscow spirit" at a conference of European writers. He urged the writers to "find a common language," "reach agreement" in the same manner as the "important statesmen and diplomats" of the United States, Britain and the Soviet Union, and rig up a "Holy Alliance" of imperialist, revisionist and reactionary writers.

From the "Geneva spirit" to the "Moscow spirit," Sholokhov followed in the footsteps of his boss Khrushchov along a road of increasingly dirty betrayals, thus becoming a faithful lackey of imperialism.

His efforts as a lackey were eventually "rewarded" by his masters. In 1965 the Royal Academy of Sciences of Sweden awarded him the Nobel prize for literature "reserved for Western writers and Eastern traitors." This has all the more exposed his renegade features to the broad daylight.

History is the best witness. At every important historical moment in the class struggle in the Soviet Union, Sholokhov has invariably played the ignominious role of betraying the proletarian revolution and the dictatorship of the proletariat.

China's unprecedented, great proletarian cultural revolution has greatly inspired and pushed forward the revolutionary struggles of the revolutionary people of the world. The Soviet people, who have the glorious tradition of the October Revolution, will one day rise up to rebel against the Soviet revisionist leading clique. Today we expose Sholokhov to the bright light of Mao Tse-tung's thought, and tomorrow Sholokhov will be brought to trial before the revolutionary people of the Soviet Union. It is certain that the Soviet people will sweep him and Brezhnev, Kosygin and their like all into the dust-bin of history.

(Abridged translation of an article published by "Renmin Ribao" on October 22.)

Struggle Against Revisionism at a College Examination

A Chinese student studying in the Soviet Union denounces
the revisionist writer M. Sholokhov

On January 10, 1964, at an oral examination in a Soviet higher educational institution, a Chinese student studying in the Soviet Union sharply denounced the revisionist writer Mikhail Sholokhov. The following is an account (slightly abridged) of the student's answer to the question "What is the significance of Sholokhov's short story 'The Fate of a Man' in Soviet literature?" and remarks made by the presiding Soviet revisionist examiner. — Ed.

The examinee: In the years of the great Patriotic War, the Soviet people demonstrated their heroism to the whole world. Fearing no sacrifice, they refused to bow their heads before the brute force of the fascist hordes. New fighters quickly took the places of the fallen. Thousands upon thousands of inspiring heroes such as Matrosov, Zoya and Shura Kosmodemyansky, and others arose amid the trials and tribulations of the war. The Soviet people defeated fascist Germany, successfully defended their motherland, gave mighty help to the cause of liberation of the East European peoples and thereby made an immortal contribution to the cause of mankind's progress. They have good reason to be proud of this magnificent victory.

Sokolov, the chief character in the short story, *The Fate of a Man*, went through this great war like others. Sholokhov penned him as a hero calling for high praise. Now, let us see what were his thoughts during this great war, what he did and how he felt about it, and what Sholokhov wants to say in describing the fate of his hero:

Sokolov's dear ones died in the hungry year of 1922 and he was left alone. Marriage brought him happiness; he built his own nest, had a good wife who later bore a son and two daughters. He was particularly proud of his son for his keen intelligence. But the Patriotic War came and robbed him of his wife and children. His home was reduced to rubble and he was again alone. His grief knew no bounds. . . . While introducing him to readers, the author draws special attention to Sokolov's eyes, "eyes as if sprinkled with ashes, filled with such unforgettable death-like melancholy that it is painful to look into them."

Sholokhov felt deep compassion for the unhappy lot of his hero. Describing his fate, the author raised such questions as who destroyed Sokolov's happiness? How could his happiness be preserved? The answer to these questions is obvious. What the author means to imply is that it was the Patriotic War that ruined Sokolov's happiness; that without that war, Sokolov

would not have lost his family and would have been the happiest of men. This implies that to preserve Sokolov's happiness the Patriotic War should not have been fought and should have been opposed. Such is Sholokhov's line of thought.

Examiner: What? Sholokhov was opposed to the Patriotic War?

Examinee: Exactly. It may be mentioned in passing, that the film *The Fate of a Man* is packed with gloomy, terrifying scenes. The director, like Sholokhov, went to great pains to show how horrifying the Patriotic War was. But as we know, that war was a just war. Marxism-Leninism teaches us that just wars are what the people want and that only predatory, aggressive and unjust wars should be opposed. By raising his voice against the Patriotic War, was not Sholokhov actually opposing all just wars?

Examiner: The Soviet people lost 8 million lives in the war. Do you mean to say that all that sacrifice was necessary? The Patriotic War was a just war. But please remember that it brought the Soviet people the loss of no less than 8 million lives — nearly every one of us lost one of those dearest to him.

Examinee: But the Soviet friends I have had the pleasure to know think quite differently. They say proudly that it was the victory of the great Patriotic War that protected the independence of their Soviet motherland, upheld their national honour and gave a powerful impetus to the revolutionary struggles of the peoples of the whole world. It added a page of undying glory to the history of the international communist movement.

In his portrayals Sholokhov has distorted the image of the Soviet Communists. The only Communist in the story does not sound like a Communist at all. He is a wretched coward.

Examiner: A coward?

Examinee: He is. We need only recall that episode where the prisoners of war are spending the night in a church when a turncoat discovers Sholokhov's Communist. I quote the dialogue between them:

The turncoat: "I have no intention to answer for you. I'll be the first to point you out."

The Communist: "Please don't betray me, comrade. . . ."

The turncoat: "Your comrades remained behind the front lines. I'm not your comrade anyway."

To save himself from being handed over to the enemy, this Communist stoops so low as to call the turncoat "comrade" and abjectly entreats him not to betray him. Has he anything in common with a Communist? Has this portrayal anything in common with the image of, say, Zoya? Is this not sheer slander against Soviet Communists?

Examiner: But doesn't that Communist later on kill the turncoat?

Examinee: That's right.

Examiner: Is this not heroism?

Examinee: First of all, we must see what drives him to kill the turncoat and then, and only then, can we determine whether it is heroism or not. Seeing that the turncoat has made up his mind to betray him and that begging is of no use, the Communist decides to finish him off. He would not have killed him if the latter had promised not to betray him. So the Communist pleads with the turncoat to save his own skin, and for precisely the same purpose he kills the turncoat later. Can this in any way be compared with the revolutionary heroism of the Soviet Communists who have the courage to stare death in the face?

Examiner: Why should a Communist give up his life for nothing? Can't he be more flexible tactically?

Examinee: Tactical flexibility must be based on principle. Has not Lenin said that flexibility without principle is not true flexibility, but sophistry?

Examiner: Do you think that there are no villains among Communists?

Examinee: Of course, there are. However, can a particular villain represent the Communists? What impression did Sholokhov wish to leave on readers when he portrayed the only Communist in his story as a wretched coward? It is obvious that the impression he wanted to leave on his readers was that the Soviet Communists trembled before the enemy, before death, and begged for mercy for the sake of saving their own skins. This is a complete distortion of historical truth.

Examiner: That Communist is not the hero of the short story. It is Sokolov who is delineated as an image of the people. Why do you prefer to discuss a minor character instead of the hero?

Examinee: Very well then, let's see what sort of a "hero" is this Sokolov, this so-called "image of the people." He is called to the room of the commandant of the concentration camp and told to drink to the victory of the German army, he is not seized at that moment with that burning hatred for the enemy which characterizes the Soviet people. He doesn't have the courage to say: "I drink to my Soviet motherland!" because he knows that for such defiance he could be shot dead. So he merely says: "I drink to my own ruin and deliverance from torture." Thus he manages to remain whole, and later when a Nazi gives him "a small loaf of bread and a piece of fat," he is filled with gratitude. This, be it noted, is a favour from the

Nazis who are starving the prisoners of war. This "image of the people" holds the tiny loaf tight to his body and tumbles into his barracks. He shares it with all equally, each obtaining a thin slice. Under Sholokhov's pen, the hungry Soviet prisoners all enjoy these alms from the German fascists, but not one of them seems to understand the matter or is bold enough to declare: "To hell with this German loaf! I would rather starve to death than shamefully beg for my life. For the enemy is making a mockery of us."

How many of the finest sons and daughters of the Soviet people, how many fearless Soviet soldiers died a worthy death for the sake of the revolutionary ideals and their national honour! But Sokolov — that mock "image of the people" — shows not a trace of this fearlessness of the Soviet people, neither do the many other Soviet prisoners. The image of the Soviet people is deliberately distorted. Sokolov, in the eyes of the author, is a hero worthy of glorification, while in my opinion, he is not a hero at all but a complete egoist. This can be proved by the passages in which the Soviet people are joyously celebrating their victory after the Red Army has stormed Berlin. But on that very day of victory, what are Sokolov's sentiments? Because he has lost his son, he says in grim despair: "I've buried my last joys and hope in alien, German soil..."

For Sokolov, his son was his "last joys and hope." Here I must underline the word "last." It means that the loss of his son amounts to the loss of everything. This loss cannot be made up for even with the liberation of the motherland, the freedom of the people and the victory over the fascists.

Sokolov is a typical representative of those for whom "personal happiness is above all."

Examiner: You must understand Sokolov from the point of view of human feeling. Wouldn't you feel deeply grieved if you lost your son?

Examinee: The death of a son or daughter naturally grieves the parents. But if they die for the sake of the people, they die a worthy death and their parents should be proud of them. This is the true feeling of the proletariat; Sokolov's is not.

What is more, in *The Fate of a Man*, Sholokhov spared no pains in portraying the Soviet regime as devoid of human feeling. After demobilization, Sokolov, the author's beloved "hero," gets the job of a truck driver. One day, his truck hits a cow and the transport inspector confiscates his driving license. After that he roams from place to place looking for a job. Does not Sholokhov mean to say by this: "See! The Soviet regime denies such heroes as Sokolov work because of a small fault, and forces him to wander from place to place. What lack of 'human feeling!'"

Examiner: Why should you drag the Soviet regime in? On what grounds do you declare that the Soviet regime is devoid of "human feeling?"

Examinee: It is Sholokhov, not I, who alleges that the Soviet regime was devoid of human feeling. Tell me if that transport inspector, who takes away Sokolov's

driving license, does not represent the Soviet regime? I'm criticizing Sholokhov precisely because he calumniate the Soviet regime.

Examiner: That was a mistake on the part of a local functionary. Why should you attribute the mistake committed by an individual functionary to the Soviet regime?

Examinee: It is, I think, not uncalled-for to reiterate here that it is Sholokhov, not I, who portrays the Soviet regime as "devoid of human feeling." What message did Sholokhov want to give his readers by inventing the episode of Sokolov vainly seeking a job? The message is that the local agencies of the regime all treat this so-called "hero" with the same injustice, wherever he goes. Is this not because Sholokhov wants to convince his readers that the Soviet regime, for 30 years under Stalin's leadership, was "devoid of human feeling"?

Now I want to talk about the significance of the short story *The Fate of a Man* in the development of Soviet literature. In this work, Sholokhov preaches

bourgeois humanism from the tribune of Soviet literature and raises his voice against the Marxist-Leninist theory of class struggle. . . .

Examiner: How does bourgeois humanism come in here? You must explain how you have come to this conclusion.

Examinee: According to Marxism-Leninism, "History shows that wars are divided into two kinds, just and unjust. All wars that are progressive are just, and all wars that impede progress are unjust. We Communists oppose all unjust wars that impede progress, but we do not oppose progressive, just wars. Not only do we Communists not oppose just wars, we actively participate in them."

The bourgeois humanists take altogether a different point of view. They are against all wars, including just wars, without analysing them. Sholokhov is one of them. Under the slogan of opposition to war, he actually attacked such a sacred war as the great Patriotic War of the Soviet people. What is it if it is not bourgeois humanism?

(Continued from p. 25.)

the Chinese people, led by Chairman Mao Tse-tung, the greatest Marxist-Leninist of our era, are proving themselves equal to the responsibility that history has placed upon them."

The article pointed out that Chairman Mao quite early turned his attention to the solution of the problem of how to make revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat and wrote such outstanding works as *On Contradiction* and *On the Correct Handling of Contradictions Among the People* which clearly pointed the way to such a solution. "It is because Chairman Mao has made such a brilliant analysis of these problems and outlined practical solutions that his works are of such supreme importance precisely in this period of the victory of the forces of socialism over imperialism — the works of Mao Tse-tung is Marxism-Leninism in the present era."

Referring to the class struggle under the dictatorship of the proletariat, the article said that China's Khrushchov opposed Chairman Mao's correct line and advocated the theory of the dying out of class struggle in an attempt "to disarm and deceive the working masses of China and prepare the way for a return to power by the capitalists and landlords." The fallacies of China's Khrushchov are in fact a reproduction of what the Khrushchov revisionist clique advertises — "state of the entire people" and "Party of the whole people."

It says: "It was to combat this pernicious influence [spread by China's Khrushchov], and to make revolu-

tion against the handful of capitalist roaders in positions of authority, that Chairman Mao personally initiated and led the great proletarian cultural revolution. The proletarian cultural revolution, led by Mao Tse-tung, is the most thoroughgoing and fundamental revolution ever experienced by mankind. This revolution is solving the complex problem of how to carry on the class struggle and make revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat. The Chinese masses under the guiding genius of Mao Tse-tung, the greatest Marxist-Leninist of our era, are blazing new and hitherto uncharted paths on the road to communism — paths that will ultimately be travelled by hundreds of millions of working people around the world whose journey will be easier because Chairman Mao and the revolutionaries of China have blazed the trail ahead."

The article said with conviction: "The proletarian revolutionary line of Mao Tse-tung has occupied the dominant position in China for the past 18 years and the proletarian cultural revolution is guaranteeing that the line of Mao Tse-tung will stay dominant and that China will remain for ever red. We once again express our confidence in the ultimate victory of the revolutionary line of Mao Tse-tung and the total defeat of the imperialists, revisionists and all reactionaries."

It stressed: "Armed with the invincible thought of Mao Tse-tung, the Chinese people — and the people of the world — will overcome all difficulties, surmount all obstacles, and press onward to victory."

It concluded with "Long live the People's Republic of China! Long live the great proletarian cultural revolution! Long live Chairman Mao Tse-tung!"

“The Red Lantern” — A Working-Class Epic

Chairman Mao says: “If you are a bourgeois writer or artist, you will eulogize not the proletariat but the bourgeoisie, and if you are a proletarian writer or artist, you will eulogize not the bourgeoisie but the proletariat and working people: it must be one or the other.” It is precisely in accordance with this directive of our great leader Chairman Mao that *The Red Lantern*, a revolutionary modern Peking opera, eulogizes the heroes of the working class.

The Red Lantern was first staged by the China Peking Opera Theatre in the summer of 1964 at the National Festival of Peking Opera on Contemporary Themes. It tells how three generations of the family of Li Yu-ho, a railway worker and underground Party member, struggled against the Japanese invaders in 1940s. The red railway lantern serves as the liaison signal for the Party’s underground workers.

Utterly devoted to the Party, Li Yu-ho firmly believes in communism. He fights dauntlessly for the cause of the revolution, and is ready for any sacrifice. His heroic image as a well-steeled proletarian fighter is successfully built up from different angles in three major scenes:

“Narrow Escape at the Porridge Stall.” “Outwitting Hatoyama at the Banquet” and “Struggle at the Execution Ground.” The first shows Li Yu-ho displaying both quick intelligence and composure when he hides the secret code which the Japanese invaders are so anxious to lay their hands on. The “Banquet” scene is a face-to-face confrontation between Li on the one side and Hatoyama, the Japanese officer, and a traitor on the other. Armed only with revolutionary heroism in the face of his fully armed enemies, this ordinary Chinese worker angrily refutes the traitor’s philosophy of survival and takes a clear-cut stand in the struggle between the two classes and two different world outlooks. The third scene is of key importance; it rounds out the lofty image of Li Yu-ho. Making good use of the characteristics of Peking opera, its long passages of song bring out to the full the spiritual world of a proletarian fighter—his revolutionary heroism and revolutionary optimism. Imprisoned and facing imminent death, he sees that “the anti-Japanese prairie fire is already raging” and the Japanese invaders will surely be defeated; that New China will “come into being like the morning sun” and “the red flag will fly all over China.”

The grandma of the play is an image of the revolutionary mother. Her husband, Li Yu-ho’s teacher during his apprenticeship, gives his life in the famous 1923 February 7 Strike of railway workers. Since then, Li Yu-ho cares for her as if she were his own mother. Tempered and experienced in the class struggle, she is firm, unyielding, cool-headed and unruffled—her character adds up to the staunchness and steadfastness typical of the proletarian fighter.

Li Tieh-mei is the daughter of another comrade martyred in the

same strike and Li Yu-ho adopts her. She is presented in the opera as a swiftly maturing successor to the revolutionary cause. Born and growing up in the midst of acute and complex class struggles, she undergoes a series of stern tests—her adopted father is arrested, her grandmother tells her the family’s history (it is only then that she learns that the three generations of the family are not really related by blood), she has to move the secret code to a new hiding place under the very noses of the enemy and she is with her two dear ones when they are shot at the execution ground. All this, together with the noble example of her father and grandmother help to give this 17-year-old girl a revolutionary world outlook and turn her into a staunch revolutionary fighter.

The relationship between these people of three generations throws into bold relief the revolutionary class feeling of the proletariat. They come from different families, but in this life-and-death struggle, they are bound together by the closest ties, fighting with one heart and mind. As one falls, the next takes his place. Their revolutionary spirit of fighting to their last breath and their heroic deeds in bold and skilful struggle fully embody the fine qualities of the working people armed with Mao Tse-tung’s thought. All who have seen the opera acclaim it as a red lantern shining with the radiance of Mao Tse-tung’s thought.

The theatre experienced a series of class struggles—between the two roads on the literary and art front—centring around the question of how to create these revolutionary characters. In 1963 when Comrade Chiang Ching, the courageous pathbreaker in the cultural revolution, instructed the China Peking Opera Theatre to adapt *The Red Lantern* from a *huqu* (Shanghai opera), she clearly pointed out that the opera must project these heroic images with Communist Party member Li Yu-ho, a representative of the working class, as their centre. She also made it clear that “in producing revolutionary modern operas, we must direct our main efforts to eulogizing the positive characters.”



She demanded that all good means be used to portray Li Yu-ho.

However, the handful of counter-revolutionary revisionists in the theatre, in collusion with the counter-revolutionary revisionists in the old Propaganda Department of the Party's Central Committee and in the old Ministry of Culture, tried to do just the opposite. During rewriting and rehearsal of the work, they paid no attention to Li Yu-ho and went to great pains to give more perfect expression to the inner world of Hatoyama. They not only brought on to the stage again and again the man who betrays Li Yu-ho, but smuggled in the "traitor's philosophy" of China's Khrushchov, saying that "there must be some reason for him to turn traitor." They wanted to make him into someone who arouses "sympathy." It was only after Chiang Ching's severe criticism that this scheme was smashed. Then they insisted that all three — Li Yu-ho, the grandmother, and the girl Tieh-mei — were major characters, and wanted to give "equal importance to the three generations." In actual terms, they reduced Li to a supporting character by putting the stress on the grandmother in the first half of the play and on the girl in the later half.

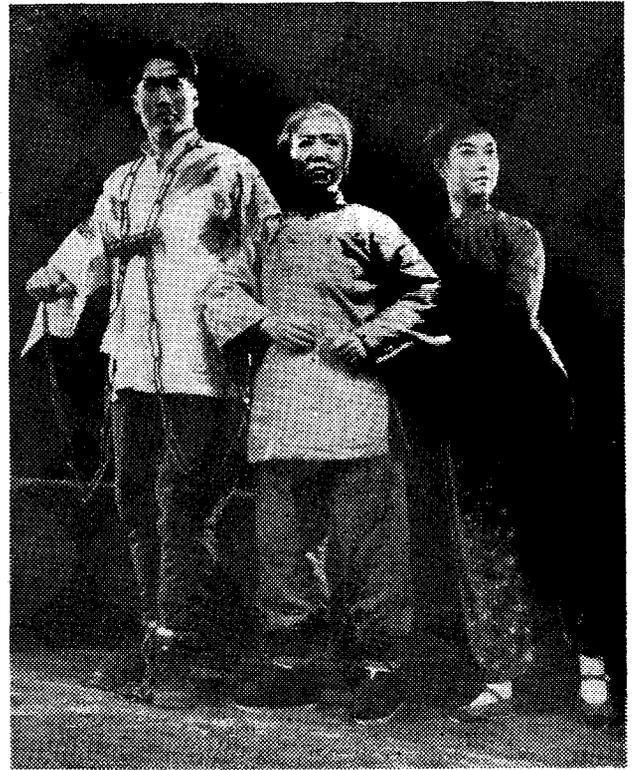
Comrade Chiang Ching suggested that, when coming to contact the liaison man in the very first act, Li Yu-ho should appear as an experienced Communist, self-possessed, a man of courage and nobility of spirit. The counter-revolutionary revisionists however had Li enter covering his face with a sleeve of his cloak, with a nervous musical accompaniment, and singing "the north wind blows hard in the dark. . . ." The scene breathed mystery and dread. The alert vigilance of the underground revolutionary was portrayed as cowardice. Yet the revisionists defended this as being "dramatic."

Take the scene at the porridge stall. It shows both the close relations which Li Yu-ho has with the working people and the quick wits and steadfastness of a Communist under sudden attack. While Comrade Chiang Ching deemed this scene

both good and necessary, the revisionists insisted on cutting it. They wanted Li Yu-ho, in a later scene, to tell his mother and daughter of this encounter with the enemy. This would have had Li Yu-ho praise himself, a display of individualist heroism which is entirely out of character for a Communist. Furthermore it would be violating the discipline of underground work.

Comrade Chiang Ching pointed out time and again that the execution scene is a major scene for Li Yu-ho. This scene enacts the meeting of the three generations in the prison and the deaths of Li Yu-ho and the grandmother. It should express the heroic working class spirit of "never giving in to the enemy even under torture." In the revised version, the scene of this encounter is purged of sentimentality. It rouses audiences with its revolutionary spirit; it calls on the people to advance wave upon wave along the path crimson with the martyrs' blood! The revisionists wanted to invest this scene with the "horrors" of revolutionary struggle. During the execution, after Li Yu-ho is shot down, they have the grandmother sentimentally ask Tieh-mei to raise her eyes for the last time to her grandmother. Then she falls, leaving Tieh-mei alone. This scene filled the onlooker with the sense that it was revolution that had brought the terror of the break-up of a family. This scene was rewritten only as a result of Comrade Chiang Ching's severe criticism and the opposition of revolutionary artists of the theatre.

With that invincible weapon, Mao Tse-tung's thought, Comrade Chiang



The execution scene. Determined never to betray the Party, the three generations defy death

Ching beat back all the varied attacks of the enemy. As a result, *The Red Lantern* has been warmly welcomed by the revolutionary people of China and other countries because of its synthesis of strong political content with artistic force of a relatively high level. The China Peking Opera Theatre has already given more than 300 performances of this opera. Worker, peasant and soldier audiences say that the play has been an education and encouragement to them, and that they will take Li Yu-ho as their example. When some overseas Chinese at a performance heard Li Yu-ho in face of death shout: "The Chinese people and the Chinese Communists will fight on so long as a single man remains!" they answered excitedly with the slogan: "Long live Chairman Mao!" On seeing the play, an African friend said: "It made me understand better how we should deal with the enemy in underground work." Acclaiming *The Red Lantern*, a Japanese friend said: "This play is a revolutionary flower raised in the great cultural revolution led by Chairman Mao."

ROUND THE WORLD

The richest source of power to wage war lies in the masses of the people.

Weapons are an important factor in war, but not the decisive factor; it is people, not things, that are decisive.

— Mao Tse-tung

D.R.V.

2,500 U.S. Planes Downed

The myth of U.S. "air superiority" has been smashed to pieces by the Democratic Republic of Vietnam which as of November 6 had shot down 2,500 U.S. aircraft and captured many American pilots. This is a resounding victory for the people's war which the heroic people of north Vietnam and their armed forces have been waging against the U.S. air pirates.

In the past three years or more, U.S. imperialism has time and again escalated its wanton bombing of north Vietnam. But each step in escalation has brought it more disastrous defeat.

A monthly average of 46 planes were downed from August 5, 1964, when the United States began its air raids on north Vietnam, to December 25, 1965, when it played its first "bombing pause" trick. In the ensuing five months from January 31, 1966 when Johnson ordered the resumption of bombing to June 29 of the same year, the monthly average increased to nearly 60 planes as a result of the determined efforts of the people and army of north Vietnam to repulse this new U.S. imperialist war escalation.

On June 29 last year, U.S. imperialism began its bombings of Hanoi, capital of the D.R.V., Haiphong and other important cities. The heroic defenders struck back still harder so that by the end of May this year the monthly average of U.S. plane losses had increased to 75.

Since June 5, 1967, the day they shot down the 2,000th U.S. aircraft, the army and people of north Vietnam have hit harder still at the

American air marauders. In the five months ending November 6, they shot down 500 U.S. planes, or 100 a month.

The greatest number of U.S. air pirates were shot down over those areas into which they intruded most often. Hanoi netted 35 aircraft from October 24 to 28. Forty-eight aircraft were shot down over Haiphong from August 31 to September 11. The army and people of Vinh Linh area near the demilitarized zone also distinguished themselves by bringing down three B-52s, reputedly America's "most powerful" strategic bombers.

SOUTH VIETNAM

Brilliant Monsoon Victory

Splendid news has come from the south Vietnam battlefields: The people and army there have in the rainy season between May and September put out of action more than 143,000 enemy troops, downed or destroyed on the ground more than 1,400 planes, destroyed or damaged 3,100 military vehicles and 107 ships and motor boats. Some 180 enemy strongholds and 50 command posts of military districts and teams were also demolished, 120 bridges blown up and 52 oil dumps with a total capacity of 25 million litres of oil and several hundred heavy artillery pieces destroyed.

Although these are incomplete figures, they constitute yet another magnificent victory won by the south Vietnamese people and army following the defeat of the "second dry season counter-offensive" launched by the U.S. imperialists last winter and spring when more than 175,000 enemy troops were put out of action.

The enemy casualty figures show that the total number of troops wiped out by the south Vietnamese army-men and people in the five months of the rainy season this year was more than double that in the same season last year and exceeded that for the seven months of the 1965-66 dry season by 29,000 men.

The total number of U.S. aggressors put out of action in the rainy season this year was 63,400, reaching almost the number of U.S. troops wiped out in the seven months of the 1966-67 dry season.

During this rainy season, the one million and more U.S., puppet and satellite troops found themselves in a more passive, vulnerable position than ever before. They had no chance to launch any large-scale offensive of long duration. Led always by the nose by the people's liberation armed forces, they received hammer blows wherever they were.

As soon as the monsoon began, the liberation armed forces launched a powerful offensive on the new battle front they have opened to the south of the demilitarized zone. The U.S. marines suffered disastrous defeats. In Quang Tri and Thua Thien Provinces, more than 10,000 enemy troops were wiped out in May alone, among them more than 6,400 Americans. When the alarmed American aggressors rushed heavy reinforcements from other areas to the rescue, the liberation armed forces in the Central Highlands seized the chance and mounted a fierce attack. In it, they wiped out six U.S. companies, inflicting nearly 1,000 casualties. Following this, they shelled the provincial capitals of Pleiku and Kon Tum and many other U.S. bases. This compelled the Americans to send part of the Saigon garrison as relief forces to the Central Highlands. However, the liberation armed forces launched fierce attacks in Saigon and the Mekong Delta where they carried out incessant raids against enemy-occupied cities and bases, cut his communication lines and inflicted heavy casualties.

By making the five provinces south of the demilitarized zone the main battlefield against the enemy, the

south Vietnamese people and army were able to pin down nearly 100,000 U.S. aggressor troops, including 75,000 marines, as well as large numbers of puppet and satellite troops and wipe out batch by batch large numbers of the enemy effectives. This victory, in turn, gave strong support to the struggle in other battle areas.

Throughout the rainy season, the liberation armed forces were active in various parts of south Vietnam. They launched co-ordinated attacks and accumulated many small victories to win a major victory. They also struck hard at the enemy communication lines and paralysed traffic on important highways. The enemy forces entrenched in cities and strongholds had a bad time. In the three months ending September, the liberation armed forces raided the enemy troops in 12 provincial cities and 40 district towns and bases and mounted 23 attacks on 11 airfields.

The losses suffered by the enemy troops in the rainy season were so heavy that acute wrangles developed among the U.S. aggressive troops and between the U.S. command in Vietnam and officialdom in Washington. Each tried to shift the responsibility

for the disastrous failure on to the other. Although the number of U.S. aggressor troops in south Vietnam has increased to near 470,000, American military chieftains have daily complained about the shortage of troops and arms and the slow transport of supplies. The low morale of the American troops has reached a nadir and is another big headache for U.S. imperialism.

The U.S. imperialists are neck deep in the ocean of people's war in south Vietnam and have no way out. Even the U.S. propaganda machine admits that the American aggressor troops "have repeatedly been forced into battle at a time and place picked by the enemy" and that they "were facing the danger of a Dien Bien Phu-type attack at any time."

LAOS

Rainy Season Exploits

A total of 5,106 enemy troops were put out of action during the last rainy season (June-October) by the Laotian patriotic armed forces and people. This included 3,104 killed. In the same period, 82 enemy aircraft were shot down or damaged, 33 ves-

sels were sunk and large quantities of weapons, ammunition and other military materials destroyed or captured.

These enemy losses, announced in a recent communique by the Supreme Command of the Laotian People's Liberation Army, almost equalled those for the seven months of the 1966-67 dry season and were three times bigger than in the rainy season of last year.

These exploits are significant in that they once again demonstrate the great power of people's war. They broke up the nibbling attacks of the U.S. imperialists and their lackeys and defeated their schemes to destroy the liberated areas and sharpened their internal contradictions. While the enemy is quagmired and facing an impasse, the Laotian patriotic armed forces and people are ready to wrest still greater victories in the current dry season.

Brilliant victories have been scored in the battle against the American air pirates. The U.S. aircraft shot down over Xieng Khouang Province on October 29 was the 700th in three and a half years.

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