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QUOTATIONS FROM CHAIRMAN MAO TSETUNG

Socialist society covers a considerably long historical period. In the historical period of socialism, there are still classes, class contradictions and class struggle, there is the struggle between the socialist road and the capitalist road, and there is the danger of capitalist restoration. We must recognize the protracted and complex nature of this struggle. We must heighten our vigilance. We must conduct socialist education. We must correctly understand and handle class contradictions and class struggle, distinguish the contradictions between ourselves and the enemy from those among the people and handle them correctly. Otherwise a socialist country like ours will turn into its opposite and degenerate, and a capitalist restoration will take place. From now on we must remind ourselves of this every year, every month and every day so that we can retain a rather sober understanding of this problem and have a Marxist-Leninist line.

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The Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution is a powerful motive force for the development of the social productive forces in our country.

* * *

We the Chinese nation have the spirit to fight the enemy to the last drop of our blood, the determination to recover our lost territory by our own efforts, and the ability to stand on our own feet in the family of nations.

CHAIRMAN MAO ON CONTINUING THE REVOLUTION UNDER THE DICTATORSHIP OF THE PROLETARIAT

Using Marxist-Leninist Law of the Unity of Opposites to Examine Socialist Society

Marxist philosophy holds that the law of the unity of opposites is the fundamental law of the universe. This law operates universally, whether in the natural world, in human society, or in man's thinking. Between the opposites in a contradiction there is at once unity and struggle, and it is this that impels things to move and change. Contradictions exist everywhere, but they differ in accordance with the different nature of different things. In any given phenomenon or thing, the unity of opposites is conditional, temporary and transitory, and hence relative, whereas the struggle of opposites is absolute.

"On the Correct Handling of Contradictions Among the People" (February 27, 1957)

The law of contradiction in things, that is, the law of the unity of opposites, is the fundamental law of nature and of society and therefore also the fundamental law of thought. It stands opposed to the metaphysical world outlook. It represents a great revolution in the history of human knowledge.

"On Contradiction" (August 1937)

In each thing there is contradiction between its new and its old aspects, and this gives rise to a series of struggles with many twists and turns. As a result of these struggles, the new aspect changes from being minor to being major and rises to predominance, while the old aspect changes from being major

to being minor and gradually dies out. And the moment the new aspect gains dominance over the old, the old thing changes qualitatively into a new thing.

Ibid.

Changes in society are due chiefly to the development of the internal contradictions in society, that is, the contradiction between the productive forces and the relations of production, the contradiction between classes and the contradiction between the old and the new; it is the development of these contradictions that pushes society forward and gives the impetus for the supersession of the old society by the new.

Ibid.

Opposition and struggle between ideas of different kinds constantly occur within the Party; this is a reflection within the Party of contradictions between classes and between the new and the old in society. If there were no contradictions in the Party and no ideological struggles to resolve them, the Party's life would come to an end.

Ibid.

As already mentioned, so long as classes exist, contradictions between correct and incorrect ideas in the Communist Party are reflections within the Party of class contradictions. At first, with regard to certain issues, such contradictions may not manifest them-

selves as antagonistic. But with the development of the class struggle, they may grow and become antagonistic.

Ibid.

The task of Communists is to expose the fallacies of the reactionaries and metaphysicians, to propagate the dialectics inherent in things, and so accelerate the transformation of things and achieve the goal of revolution.

Ibid.

Classes, Class Contradictions and Class Struggle Exist in Socialist Society

Never forget class struggle.

Quoted in "Along the Socialist or the Capitalist Road?" by the editorial departments of *Renmin Ribao* and *Hongqi*, August 15, 1967

After the enemies with guns have been wiped out, there will still be enemies without guns; they are bound to struggle desperately against us, and we must never regard these enemies lightly. If we do not now raise and understand the problem in this way, we shall commit the gravest mistakes.

"Report to the Second Plenary Session of the Seventh Central Committee of the Communist Party of China" (March 5, 1949)

After the country-wide victory of the Chinese revolution and the solution of the land problem, two basic contradictions will still exist in China. The first is internal, that is, the contradiction between the working class and the bourgeoisie. The second is external, that is, the contradiction between China and the imperialist countries.

Ibid.

In China, although in the main socialist transformation has been completed with respect to the system of ownership, and although the large-scale and turbulent class

The period of transition is full of contradiction and struggle. Our present revolutionary struggle is even more profound than the armed revolutionary struggles of the past. It is a revolution that will for ever bury the capitalist system and all other systems of exploitation.

Quoted in "Struggle Between the Two Roads in China's Countryside" by the editorial departments of *Renmin Ribao*, *Hongqi* and *Jiefangjun Bao*, November 23, 1967

struggles of the masses characteristic of the previous revolutionary periods have in the main come to an end, there are still remnants of the overthrown landlord and comprador classes, there is still a bourgeoisie, and the remoulding of the petty bourgeoisie has only just started. The class struggle is by no means over. The class struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie, the class struggle between the different political forces, and the class struggle in the ideological field between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie will continue to be long and tortuous and at times will even become very acute. The proletariat seeks to transform the world according to its own world outlook, and so does the bourgeoisie. In this respect, the question of which will win out, socialism or capitalism, is still not really settled.

"On the Correct Handling of Contradictions Among the People" (February 27, 1957)

Class contradiction, the class struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie and the struggle between the socialist road and the capitalist road exist throughout the transitional period. We shall go astray if we forget this fundamental theory and practice of our Party over the last dozen years or so.

Quoted in "Forward Along the High Road of Mao Tsetung Thought," *Hongqi* editorial, No. 13, 1966

Socialist society covers a considerably long historical period. In the historical period of socialism, there are still classes, class contradictions and class struggle, there is the struggle between the socialist road and the capitalist road, and there is the danger of capitalist restoration. We must recognize the protracted and complex nature of this struggle. We must heighten our vigilance. We must conduct socialist education. We must correctly understand and handle class contradictions and class struggle, distinguish the contradictions between ourselves and the enemy from those among the people and handle them cor-

rectly. Otherwise a socialist country like ours will turn into its opposite and degenerate, and a capitalist restoration will take place. From now on we must remind ourselves of this every year, every month and every day so that we can retain a rather sober understanding of this problem and have a Marxist-Leninist line.

Quoted in "A Theoretical Weapon for Making Revolution Under the Dictatorship of the Proletariat—In Commemoration of the 10th Anniversary of the Publication of Chairman Mao's *On the Correct Handling of Contradictions Among the People*," *Hongqi* editorial, No. 10, 1967

Class Struggle Under the Dictatorship of the Proletariat Is, in Essence, Still the Question of Political Power

The aim of every revolutionary struggle in the world is the seizure and consolidation of political power. Similarly, the sole aim of counter-revolution in desperately struggling against the revolutionary forces is the preservation of its political power.

Quoted in *Renmin Ribao*, January 22, 1967

"Don't you want to abolish state power?" Yes, we do, but not right now; we cannot do it yet. Why? Because imperialism still exists, because domestic reaction still exists, because classes still exist in our country. Our present task is to strengthen the people's state apparatus — mainly the people's army, the people's police and the people's courts — in order to consolidate national defence and protect the people's interests.

"On the People's Democratic Dictatorship" (June 30, 1949)

After the country-wide victory of the Chinese revolution and the solution of the land problem, two basic contradictions will still exist in China. The first is internal, that is, the contradiction between the working class

and the bourgeoisie. The second is external, that is, the contradiction between China and the imperialist countries. Consequently, after the victory of the people's democratic revolution, the state power of the people's republic under the leadership of the working class must not be weakened but must be strengthened.

"Report to the Second Plenary Session of the Seventh Central Committee of the Communist Party of China" (March 5, 1949)

Revolutionary dictatorship and counter-revolutionary dictatorship are by nature opposites, but the former was learned from the latter. Such learning is very important. If the revolutionary people do not master this method of ruling over the counter-revolutionary classes, they will not be able to maintain their state power, domestic and foreign reaction will overthrow that power and restore its own rule over China, and disaster will befall the revolutionary people.

"On the People's Democratic Dictatorship" (June 30, 1949)

According to the Marxist theory of the state, the army is the chief component of state

power. Whoever wants to seize and retain state power must have a strong army.

"Problems of War and Strategy" (November 6, 1938)

In the historical period of socialism it is necessary to maintain the dictatorship of the proletariat and carry the socialist revolution through to the end. Only thus is it possible to prevent the restoration of capitalism, carry forward socialist construction and prepare the conditions for the transition to communism.

Quoted in "On Khrushchov's Phoney Communism and Its Historical Lessons for the World," *Renmin Ribao*, July 14, 1964

In the era in which classes and class struggle still exist both at home and abroad, the working class and the masses who have seized state power must suppress all counter-revolutionary classes, groups or individuals resisting the revolution, stop their activities aiming at a come-back and prohibit all coun-

ter-revolutionaries from exploiting freedom of speech for counter-revolutionary purposes.

Editor's note to the "Second Instalment of the Material on the Hu Feng Counter-Revolutionary Clique," *Renmin Ribao*, May 24, 1955

Those representatives of the bourgeoisie who have sneaked into the Party, the government, the army and various spheres of culture are a bunch of counter-revolutionary revisionists. Once conditions are ripe, they will seize political power and turn the dictatorship of the proletariat into a dictatorship of the bourgeoisie. Some of them we have already seen through, others we have not. Some are still trusted by us and are being trained as our successors, persons like Khrushchov, for example, who are still nestling beside us. Party committees at all levels must pay full attention to this matter.

Quoted in the May 16, 1966 Circular of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party, *Renmin Ribao*, May 17, 1967

The Main Target of the Revolution Under the Dictatorship Of the Proletariat Is the Handful of Party Persons in Power Taking the Capitalist Road

Who are our enemies? Who are our friends? This is a question of the first importance for the revolution and it is likewise a question of the first importance for the great cultural revolution.

Quoted in "A Great Strategic Measure," *Renmin Ribao* and *Hongqi* editorial, June 1, 1967

The fundamental contradiction to be solved by the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution is the contradiction between the two classes, the proletariat and the bourgeoisie, and between the two roads, the socialist and the capitalist. The main target of the present

movement is those Party persons in power taking the capitalist road.

Quoted in Comrade Lin Piao's speech at the Peking rally to receive revolutionary teachers and students from all parts of China, *Renmin Ribao*, September 16, 1966

Guard against revisionism, and especially its emergence in the Central Committee of our Party.

Quoted in "Grasp the Principal Contradiction, Hold to the General Orientation of Struggle — Study the May 16, 1966 Circular of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party" by *Hongqi* Commentator, No. 7, 1967

They [successors to the revolutionary cause of the proletariat] must especially watch out for careerists and conspirators like Khrushchov and prevent such bad elements from usurping the leadership of the Party and the state at any level.

Quoted in "On Khrushchov's Phoney Communism and Its Historical Lessons for the World," *Renmin Ribao*, July 14, 1964

Hold high the great banner of the proletarian cultural revolution, thoroughly expose the reactionary bourgeois stand of those so-called academic authorities who oppose the Party and socialism, thoroughly criticize and repudiate reactionary bourgeois ideas in the sphere of academic work, education, journalism, literature and art and publishing, and seize the leadership in these cultural spheres. To achieve this, it is at the same time neces-

sary to criticize and repudiate those representatives of the bourgeoisie who have sneaked into the Party, the government, the army and all spheres of culture, and to clear them out or transfer some of them to other positions. Above all, we must not entrust these people with the work of leading the cultural revolution. In fact many of them have done and are still doing such work, and this is extremely dangerous.

Quoted in the May 16, 1966 Circular of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party

Proletarian revolutionaries, unite and seize power from the handful of Party persons in power taking the capitalist road!

Quoted in "Be Models in Forming the Revolutionary Great Alliance," *Renmin Ribao* editorial, August 17, 1967

The Most Important Thing in Continuing the Revolution Under the Dictatorship of the Proletariat Is to Unfold The Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution

"In the past we waged struggles in rural areas, in factories, in the cultural field, and we carried out the socialist education movement. But all this failed to solve the problem because we did not find a form, a method, to arouse the broad masses to expose our dark aspect openly, in an all-round way and from below." Now we have found this form—it is the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution.

Quoted in Comrade Lin Piao's "Report to the Ninth National Congress of the Communist Party of China" (April 1969)

Without broad democracy for the people, it is impossible for the dictatorship of the proletariat to be consolidated or for political power to be stable. Without democracy, without arousing the masses and without supervision by the masses, it is impossible to exercise effective dictatorship over the reactionaries and bad elements or to remould them effectively; they will continue to make trouble and may stage a come-back. We must be

vigilant on this question, and I hope comrades will give it serious thought.

Quoted in "An Epoch-Making Document" by the editorial departments of *Renmin Ribao*, *Hongqi* and *Jiefangjun Bao*, May 17, 1968

Marxism consists of thousands of truths, but they all boil down to the one sentence, "It is right to rebel." For thousands of years, it had been said that it was right to oppress, it was right to exploit, and it was wrong to rebel. This old verdict was only reversed with the appearance of Marxism. This is a great contribution. It was through struggle that the proletariat learned this truth, and Marx drew the conclusion. And from this truth there follows resistance, struggle, the fight for socialism.

"Speech at the Rally Celebrating Stalin's 60th Birthday Held by All Circles in Yenan" (December 21, 1939)

The big-character poster is a very useful new weapon, which can be used in the cities and the rural areas, in factories, co-operatives, shops, government institutions, schools, army units and streets—in short, wherever the masses are to be found. It has already been widely used and should always be used.

“Introducing a Co-operative” (April 15, 1958)

The Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution is in essence a great political revolution carried out under the conditions of socialism by the proletariat against the bourgeoisie and all other exploiting classes; it is a continuation of the prolonged struggle waged by the Chinese Communist Party and the masses of revolutionary people under its leadership against the Kuomintang reactionaries, a continuation of the class struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie.

Quoted in “Of the Land of Hibiscus Glowing in the Morning Sun — Hail the Establishment of the Hunan Provincial Revolutionary Committee,” *Renmin Ribao* and *Jiefangjun Bao* editorial, April 10, 1968

The current Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution is absolutely necessary and most timely for consolidating the dictatorship of the proletariat, preventing capitalist restoration and building socialism.

Quoted in the “Communique of the Enlarged 12th Plenary Session of the Eighth Central Committee of the Communist Party of China,” adopted on October 31, 1968, *Renmin Ribao*, November 2, 1968

The present great cultural revolution is only the first; there will inevitably be many more in the future. The issue of who will win in the revolution can only be settled over a long historical period. If things are not properly handled, it is possible for a capitalist restoration to take place at any time. Let no one in the Party or among the people in our country think that everything will be all right after one or two great cultural revolutions, or three or four. We must be very much on the alert and never lose vigilance.

Quoted in “Guiding Light for the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution — In Commemoration of the 25th Anniversary of the Publication of *Talks at the Yen-an Forum on Literature and Art*,” *Renmin Ribao* editorial, May 23, 1967

We have won great victory. But the defeated class will still struggle. These people are still around and this class still exists. Therefore, we cannot speak of final victory. Not even for decades. We must not lose our vigilance. According to the Leninist viewpoint, the final victory of a socialist country not only requires the efforts of the proletariat and the broad masses of the people at home, but also involves the victory of the world revolution and the abolition of the system of exploitation of man by man over the whole globe, upon which all mankind will be emancipated. Therefore, it is wrong to speak lightly of the final victory of the revolution in our country; it runs counter to Leninism and does not conform to facts.

Quoted in Comrade Lin Biao’s “Report to the Ninth National Congress of the Communist Party of China” (April 1969)

Carrying the Socialist Revolution in the Realm of the Superstructure Through to the End

True, the productive forces, practice and the economic base generally play the principal and decisive role; whoever denies this is not a materialist. But it must also be admitted that in certain conditions, such aspects as the

relations of production, theory and the superstructure in turn manifest themselves in the principal and decisive role. . . . When the superstructure (politics, culture, etc.) obstructs the development of the economic base, political

and cultural changes become principal and decisive.

"On Contradiction" (August 1937)

We recognize that in the general development of history the material determines the mental and social being determines social consciousness, we also — and indeed must — recognize the reaction of mental on material things, of social consciousness on social being and of the superstructure on the economic base.

Ibid.

To overthrow a political power, it is always necessary first of all to create public opinion, to do work in the ideological sphere. This is true for the revolutionary class as well as for the counter-revolutionary class.

Quoted in the "Decision of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party Concerning the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution" (adopted on August 8, 1966), *Renmin Ribao*, August 9, 1966

Reactionary culture serves the imperialists and the feudal class and must be swept away. Unless it is swept away, no new culture of any kind can be built up. There is no construction without destruction, no flowing without damming and no motion without rest; the two are locked in a life-and-death struggle.

"On New Democracy" (January 1940)

The proletariat must exercise all-round dictatorship over the bourgeoisie in the realm of the superstructure, including the various spheres of culture.

Quoted in "Advance Along the Road Opened Up by the October Socialist Revolution — In Commemoration of the 50th Anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution" by the editorial departments of *Renmin Ribao*, *Hongqi* and *Jiefangjun Bao*, November 6, 1967

In every place or unit where power must be seized, it is necessary to carry out the policy of the revolutionary "three-in-one" combination in establishing a provisional organ of power which is revolutionary and representative and enjoys proletarian authority. This

organ of power should preferably be called the Revolutionary Committee.

Quoted in "On the Revolutionary 'Three-in-One' Combination," *Hongqi* editorial, No. 5, 1967

Struggle-criticism-transformation in a factory, on the whole, goes through the following stages: establishing a three-in-one revolutionary committee; carrying out mass criticism and repudiation; purifying the class ranks; consolidating the Party organization; and simplifying the administrative structure, changing irrational rules and regulations and sending office workers to the workshops.

Quoted in "The Working Class Must Exercise Leadership in Everything" by Comrade Yao Wen-yuan, *Renmin Ribao*, August 26, 1968

The length of schooling should be shortened, education should be revolutionized, and the domination of our schools and colleges by bourgeois intellectuals should not be tolerated any longer.

Quoted in "The Whole Country Should Become a Great School of Mao Tsetung Thought," *Renmin Ribao* editorial, August 1, 1966

To accomplish the proletarian revolution in education, it is essential to have working class leadership; the masses of workers must take part in this revolution and, in co-operation with Liberation Army fighters, form a revolutionary three-in-one combination with the activists among the students, teachers and workers in schools and colleges, who are determined to carry the proletarian revolution in education through to the end. The workers' propaganda teams should stay permanently in the schools and colleges, take part in all the tasks of struggle-criticism-transformation there and will always lead these institutions. In the countryside, schools and colleges should be managed by the poor and lower-middle peasants — the most reliable ally of the working class.

Quoted in "The Working Class Must Exercise Leadership in Everything" by Comrade Yao Wen-yuan, *Renmin Ribao*, August 26, 1968

“Fight Self, Criticize Revisionism” Is the Basic Programme For the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution in the Ideological Sphere

Before a brand-new social system can be built on the site of the old, the site must be swept clean. Invariably, remnants of old ideas reflecting the old system remain in people's minds for a long time, and they do not easily give way.

Introductory note to “A Serious Lesson,”
*The Socialist Upsurge in China's
Countryside* (1955)

The Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution is a great revolution that touches people to their innermost being and aims at solving the problem of their world outlook.

Quoted in “Advance Along the Road
Opened Up by the October Socialist
Revolution — In Commemoration of the
50th Anniversary of the Great October
Socialist Revolution” by the editorial
departments of *Renmin Ribao*, *Hongqi*
and *Jiefangjun Bao*, November 6, 1967

We must be good at guiding those people in our ranks with petty-bourgeois ideas on to the path of the proletarian revolution. This is crucial to the success of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution.

Quoted in “Use Mao Tsetung Thought
to Remould Our World Outlook,” *Ren-
min Ribao* editorial, June 30, 1967

Fight self, criticize revisionism.

Quoted in Comrade Lin Piao's speech at
the rally celebrating the 18th anniversary
of the founding of the People's Rep-
ublic of China (October 1, 1967), *Ren-
min Ribao*, October 2, 1967

There is no construction without destruction. Destruction means criticism and repudiation, it means revolution. It involves reasoning things out, which is construction. Put destruc-

tion first, and in the process you have construction.

Quoted in the May 16, 1966 Circular of
the Central Committee of the Chinese
Communist Party

Revisionism is one form of bourgeois ideology. The revisionists deny the differences between socialism and capitalism, between the dictatorship of the proletariat and the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie. What they advocate is in fact not the socialist line but the capitalist line. In present circumstances, revisionism is more pernicious than dogmatism. One of our current important tasks on the ideological front is to unfold criticism of revisionism.

“Speech at the Chinese Communist
Party's National Conference on Prop-
aganda Work” (March 12, 1957)

In our country bourgeois and petty-bourgeois ideology, anti-Marxist ideology, will continue to exist for a long time. Basically, the socialist system has been established in our country. We have won the basic victory in transforming the ownership of the means of production, but we have not yet won complete victory on the political and ideological fronts. In the ideological field, the question of who will win in the struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie has not been really settled yet. We still have to wage a protracted struggle against bourgeois and petty-bourgeois ideology. It is wrong not to understand this and to give up ideological struggle. All erroneous ideas, all poisonous weeds, all ghosts and monsters, must be subjected to criticism; in no circumstance should they be allowed to spread unchecked. However, the criticism should be fully reasoned, analytical and convincing, and not rough, bureaucratic, metaphysical or dogmatic.

Ibid.

Peking Review, No. 39

Vietnamese Party and Government Leaders Cable Chinese Party and Government Leaders

Thanking Chinese People for Their Profound Condolences on Passing Away Of President Ho Chi Minh

Peking,

Comrade Mao Tsetung, Chairman of the Central
Committee of the Communist Party of China,

Comrade Lin Piao, Vice-Chairman of the Central
Committee of the Communist Party of China,

Comrade Chou En-lai, Premier of the State
Council of the People's Republic of China:

The Vietnamese people are deeply touched by the
profound and sincere feelings expressed by the fra-
ternal Chinese people at the passing away of President

Ho Chi Minh, the respected and beloved leader of the
Vietnamese working class and the Vietnamese people
and the most intimate comrade-in-arms of the Chinese
people. The messages of condolences sent by the Chi-
nese Party and Government, the dispatch of the Chi-
nese Party Delegation headed by Comrade Chou En-lai
and the Party and Government Delegation headed by
Comrade Li Hsien-nien to Hanoi to extend condolences
and to attend the funeral of President Ho Chi Minh,
and the moving scenes that took place in the

(Continued on p. 13.)

Acknowledgement by the D.R.V.N. Embassy in China

When the Vietnamese people mourned for the
death of President Ho Chi Minh, the leading com-
rades of the Chinese Party and state, representa-
tives of government institutions and other organ-
izations, the People's Liberation Army, enterprises,
people's communes, schools as well as people
from all walks of life in Peking came to the Em-
bassy of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam in
China and presented wreaths to pay tribute to the
memory of President Ho Chi Minh. This expressed
the profound sympathies of Chairman Mao, the
Chinese Party and Government and the fraternal
Chinese people for the extremely great loss of the
Vietnamese people, and reaffirmed their resolute
support for the Vietnamese people's cause of re-
sistance against U.S. aggression and for national
salvation. The various departments concerned

gave full support to the holding of a solemn
memorial meeting by the D.R.V.N. Embassy.

The D.R.V.N. Embassy also received messages
of condolence and letters of sympathy from all
parts of China.

The D.R.V.N. Embassy expressed heartfelt
thanks to the respected and beloved Chairman
Mao, to the Chinese Party and state leading com-
rades and all comrades for their sincere, profound
feelings.

The D.R.V.N. Embassy also expressed their
heartfelt thanks to the ambassadors, charges
d'affaires, and diplomatic officials of the fraternal
and friendly countries and other foreign friends
in Peking, who came to the embassy to express
their condolences on the death of President Ho
Chi Minh or sent cables and letters expressing
their sympathies.

Embassy of the Democratic Republic of
Viet Nam in China
Peking, September 14, 1969

Chairman Mao and Vice-Chairman Lin Approve Conferring Title of "Combat Hero" on Sun Yu-kuo and Nine Other Comrades

OUR great leader Chairman Mao and his close comrade-in-arms Vice-Chairman Lin Piao have personally approved recently the order by the Military Commission of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party conferring the title of honour "Combat Hero" on Sun Yu-kuo and nine other comrades who defended the sacred territory of our great motherland with their blood and lives during the self-defence counter-attack battles on Chenpao Island against the armed provocations of Soviet revisionism. A rally was held recently in Shenyang to confer the title on them.

The order issued by the Military Commission of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party said: During the counter-attacks in self-defence on Chenpao Island on March 2 and 15, 1969, against armed provocations by Soviet revisionism, the Chinese frontier guards acted on the teachings of our great leader Chairman Mao: "**We will not attack unless we are attacked; if we are attacked, we will certainly counter-attack**" and "**Give tit for tat and fight for every inch of land.**" They held aloft the great red banner of Mao Tsetung Thought, gave prominence to proletarian politics, displayed the revolutionary spirit of "**fearing neither hardship nor death,**" and smashed the armed provocations by the Soviet revisionist intruders. During the battles, Comrade Sun Yu-kuo and the nine other comrades fought bravely, tenaciously and with resourcefulness and determination in face of frenzied enemy attacks under cover of artillery, tanks and armoured cars, and defended the sacred territory of our great motherland with their blood and lives and safeguarded its dignity.

To commend the ten comrades' heroic deeds, the order added, it has been decided to confer the title of honour "Combat Hero" on Sun Yu-kuo, Tu Yung-chun,

Hua Yu-chieh, Chou Teng-kuo, Leng Peng-fei, Sun Cheng-min, Yang Lin, Chen Shao-kuang, Wang Ching-jung and Yu Ching-yang. The order calls on all commanders and fighters in the army to learn from them their noble qualities of boundless loyalty to the people, the Party and the great leader Chairman Mao, their revolutionary spirit of "**fearing neither hardship nor death,**" their high proletarian consciousness of being ruthless towards the enemy and kind to the people and their comrades, and their fine style of fighting — daring to fight, good at fighting and fighting indomitably.

The order calls on all commanders and fighters in the army to hold the great red banner of Mao Tsetung Thought still higher, carry out in an all-round way the fighting tasks set by the Ninth Party Congress, heighten their vigilance, strengthen their preparedness against war, be ready at any time to smash all provocations by imperialism, revisionism and all reaction, and make new contributions to serving the people in the struggle to defend our great motherland's sacred territory.

On behalf of the Military Commission of the Party's Central Committee, Chen Hsi-lien, leading comrade of the P.L.A. units under the Shenyang Command, read the order at the rally conferring the title of honour "Combat Hero" on Comrade Sun Yu-kuo and the nine other comrades.

Tseng Shao-shan, another leading comrade of the P.L.A. units under the Shenyang Command, spoke at the rally.

Chenpao Island, he pointed out, has always been the sacred territory of our great motherland. The Soviet revisionist renegade clique has committed towering crimes by making repeated armed intrusions and provocations on Chenpao Island and in other areas along the Sino-Soviet border. In the self-defence counter-attack battles on March 2 and 15, our frontier guards

acted on our great leader Chairman Mao's teachings: "We will not attack unless we are attacked; if we are attacked, we will certainly counter-attack" and "Give tit for tat and fight for every inch of land." They held high the great red banner of Mao Tsetung Thought, gave prominence to proletarian politics, displayed the revolutionary spirit of "fearing neither hardship nor death," and severely punished the Soviet revisionist aggressors. In this way, they exposed the real paper-tiger features of Soviet revisionism and triumphantly defended the sacred territory of our great motherland. The victory of the self-defence counter-attack battles on Chenpao Island once again proves that men armed with Mao Tsetung Thought are the greatest fighting power. It is a great victory for Mao Tsetung Thought.

Tseng Shao-shan urged the commanders and fighters of the P.L.A. units and the militiamen to warmly respond to the call of the Military Commission of the Party's Central Committee and learn from the heroes their boundless loyalty to the people, the Party and the great leader Chairman Mao. He called on them to do their best to study and apply Mao Tsetung Thought in a living way, constantly raise their consciousness of continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the

proletariat, further display the thoroughgoing proletarian revolutionary spirit of "fearing neither hardship nor death" and be ready at all times to resolutely, thoroughly, wholly, and completely wipe out all enemies who dare to invade!

On behalf of the ten combat heroes, Comrade Sun Yu-kuo spoke amid warm applause. Expressing his determination to our great leader Chairman Mao, he said with great feeling: We will regard the honour given us by Chairman Mao, the Party and the people as a new impetus for us to continue the revolution. We will always study Chairman Mao's writings, follow his teachings, act according to his instructions and be his good fighters. We will maintain high vigilance against the schemes of aggression by U.S. imperialism and Soviet revisionism and be prepared at all times to defend every inch of the sacred territory of our socialist motherland with our blood and lives.

A representative of the Liaoning Provincial Revolutionary Committee and the Shenyang Municipal Revolutionary Committee, a representative of the revolutionary masses and a representative of the Red Ninth Company, a Model Unit in the Study of Chairman Mao's Works, also spoke at the meeting.

(Continued from p. 11.)

People's Republic of China where condolences were expressed on the passing away of President Ho Chi Minh, have given full expression to the inherent, fine relations of close unity and of sharing weal and woe between the people of our two countries.

The Chinese Party and Government have always stood on our side and given wholehearted support and assistance to the entire Vietnamese people in their war against U.S. aggression and for national salvation and to the cause of socialist construction of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam till complete victory.

On behalf of the Vietnamese people, the Viet Nam Workers' Party, the National Assembly and Government of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam, we express our heartfelt thanks to the Chinese people, the Communist Party of China, the National People's Congress of the People's Republic of China and the Chinese Government.

The Vietnamese people, the Viet Nam Workers' Party, the National Assembly and Government of the

Democratic Republic of Viet Nam are determined to strive to realize the will of President Ho Chi Minh, to strengthen the solidarity and friendship with the fraternal People's Republic of China so as to make the friendship between our two countries and Parties still closer and ever-lasting.

Ton Duc Thang, Acting President of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam,

Le Duan, First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Viet Nam Workers' Party,

Truong Chinh, Chairman of the Standing Committee of the National Assembly of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam,

Pham Van Dong, Premier of the Government of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam.

Hanoi, September 16, 1969

September 26, 1969

13

Never Forget the Dictatorship of The Proletariat

— A Fundamental Question in the Struggle Between Marxism and Revisionism

by Chi Yung-hung

THE great leader Chairman Mao pointed out at the First Plenary Session of the Party's Ninth Central Committee that the central task of our struggle-criticism-transformation movement is to "Unite for one purpose, that is, the consolidation of the dictatorship of the proletariat. This must be fully achieved in every factory, village, office and school."

The Constitution of the Communist Party of China adopted by the Party's Ninth National Congress says: "The basic programme of the Communist Party of China is the complete overthrow of the bourgeoisie and all other exploiting classes, the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat in place of the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie and the triumph of socialism over capitalism. The ultimate aim of the Party is the realization of communism."

The dictatorship of the proletariat is the quintessence of Marxism. It is on this fundamental question that renegades, from Chen Tu-hsiu to Liu Shao-chi, from Lassalle to Bernstein, and to Brezhnev today, thoroughly exposed their true features. It can be said that betrayal of the dictatorship of the proletariat is the essential characteristic of all revisionists, old or new. The theory of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought on the dictatorship of the proletariat emerged and developed precisely in the struggle against the opportunist and revisionist trends of all descriptions.

As far back as the end of 1843 to early in 1844, in the Preface to *A Criticism of the Hegelian Philosophy of Right*, Marx for the first time expounded the fact that the proletariat is the social force capable of realizing the socialist revolution and that "the criticism of weapons" must be made by the proletariat against the capitalist system which "must be overthrown by material force." Marx advanced the idea of overthrowing the capitalist system by violent revolution. In 1845-46, Marx and Engels pointed out in *The German Ideology* that, to achieve "the abolition of the old form of society in its entirety and of mastery itself," the proletariat "must first conquer for itself political power." By the end of 1847 to the beginning of 1848, in the *Communist Manifesto*, they further pointed out that the working class must accomplish "the forcible overthrow of all existing social conditions," putting forth the brilliant theory of "the state, i.e., the proletariat organized as the ruling class."

In 1852, Marx summarized the experience of the 1848-49 revolution in Europe and the class struggle in

France from 1848 to 1850. In his letter to Weydemeyer, he clearly stated: "Long before me bourgeois historians had described the historical development of this class struggle and bourgeois economists the economic anatomy of the classes. What I did that was new was to prove: 1) that the existence of classes is only bound up with particular historical phases in the development of production, 2) that the class struggle necessarily leads to the dictatorship of the proletariat, 3) that this dictatorship itself only constitutes the transition to the abolition of all classes and to a classless society." This extremely important thesis of Marx's laid the theoretical foundation for the theory of the dictatorship of the proletariat and clearly distinguished scientific socialism from utopian socialism as well as all types of sham "socialism."

In 1871, the proletariat of Paris made the first attempt ever made by the world proletariat to seize political power. Full of enthusiasm, Marx and Engels immediately summed up the experience of the Paris Commune. From the revolutionary practice of the Commune, Marx drew the conclusion that "the working class cannot simply lay hold of the ready-made state machinery, and wield it for its own purposes," but must use violent revolution to smash the bourgeois state machinery and establish the dictatorship of the proletariat.

After the Paris Commune, Marx and Engels waged a tit-for-tat struggle against all shades of opportunism in the communist movement to defend the theory of the dictatorship of the proletariat. In 1874-75, in *Conspectus of Bakunin's "Statehood and Anarchy,"* Marx exposed and criticized the anarchist views of Bakunin and others which negated the dictatorship of the proletariat. In 1875, Marx sharply criticized Lassallean opportunist views reflected in the *Gotha Programme* of the German Social-Democratic Party and put forward his famous thesis: "Between capitalist and communist society lies the period of the revolutionary transformation of the one into the other. There corresponds to this also a political transition period in which the state can be nothing but the revolutionary dictatorship of the proletariat."

After the death of Marx and Engels, the struggle between those who opposed and those who defended the theory of the dictatorship of the proletariat became still sharper. Wildly opposing Marx's brilliant

Critique of the Gotha Programme, Bernstein of the Second International was the first to come out openly to rehabilitate Lassalle. He slandered the Marxist theory of violent revolution as "Blanquist" "Left" adventurism. Kautsky chimed in that the aim of the proletariat is "the conquest of state power by winning a majority in parliament."

At this critical juncture in the international communist movement when revisionist trends of thought ran rampant, the great Lenin boldly stepped forward to wage a tit-for-tat struggle against the revisionists who had betrayed the dictatorship of the proletariat. On the eve of the October Revolution, Lenin wrote the brilliant *The State and Revolution*, again pointing out the "remarkable observation" concerning the dictatorship of the proletariat in Marx's letter to Weydemeyer in 1852. Lenin stressed that "those who recognize only the class struggle are not yet Marxists," "only he is a Marxist who extends the recognition of the class struggle to the recognition of the dictatorship of the proletariat."

Lenin not only defended and developed the Marxist theory of the dictatorship of the proletariat in the unrelenting struggle against the revisionists, but also led the Great October Socialist Revolution to victory and founded the first state of the dictatorship of the proletariat in the world. On the basis of the practice of the October Revolution, he pointed out in clear terms: "The dictatorship of the proletariat is not the end of class struggle but its continuation in new forms."

Compared with a century or even half a century ago, the content of the entire world proletarian revolution today is much deeper, the scale much broader, and the struggle much more intense. The new historical epoch poses a series of new and important questions for Marxist-Leninists, but in the final analysis, the struggle still revolves around the central question of the revolution — the dictatorship of the proletariat.

The Soviet revisionist renegade clique completely betrayed the dictatorship of the proletariat after usurping the leadership of the Soviet Party and state. It has flaunted the banner of "the state of the whole people" and "the Party of the entire people" and again laid out the entire assortment of junk peddled by the opportunist leaders of the Second International, such as opposition to violent revolution, opposition to the smashing of the old state machinery, opposition to the dictatorship of the proletariat, and so forth. The programme adopted at its 22nd congress made no bones about this. It said that the dictatorship of the proletariat "has ceased to be indispensable in the U.S.S.R." Khrushchov raved: "Some comrades are of the opinion that the dictatorship of the proletariat should be retained until the final victory of communism has been achieved," and this "approach to the processes taking place in life is, I would say, scholastic. . . ." Just what is this "life" in the Soviet Union? History has mercilessly given the reply: It has degenerated into a state under the most savage and the darkest dictatorship of fascism

and dictatorship of the bourgeoisie. The handful of renegades headed by Brezhnev have not just donned Khrushchov's mantle and carried out bloody slaughter and suppression of the proletariat and revolutionary people at home and actively pushed a social-imperialist policy abroad. They have also taken over the aggressive colonialist ventures of the old tsars and plundered and oppressed their "fraternal countries," thereby completely revealing their vicious features as new tsars.

The renegade, hidden traitor and scab Liu Shao-chi — China's Khrushchov — is the deadly enemy of the proletarian revolution and proletarian dictatorship. After the victory of the War of Resistance Against Japan, he advertised "the new stage of peace and democracy" and the parliamentary road, saying that "at present the main form of the struggle of the Chinese revolution has changed from armed struggle to non-armed and mass parliamentary struggle." In that sinister book *Self-Cultivation*, which he took great pains to write in 1939 and brought out in a revised edition in 1962, he treacherously cut out Lenin's important conclusion that "the dictatorship of the proletariat is essential" in a vain attempt to prepare public opinion for the overthrow of the dictatorship of the proletariat and the restoration of the bourgeois dictatorship.

In the struggle against revisionism at home and abroad, our great leader Chairman Mao inherited, defended and developed the Marxist theory of the dictatorship of the proletariat, and further put forward the great theory of continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat. This is a great, epoch-making contribution made by Chairman Mao to Marxism-Leninism.

Chairman Mao has repeatedly taught us: "Experience in the class struggle in the era of imperialism teaches us that it is only by the power of the gun that the working class and the labouring masses can defeat the armed bourgeoisie and landlords; in this sense we may say that only with guns can the whole world be transformed." "The seizure of power by armed force, the settlement of the issue by war, is the central task and the highest form of revolution. This Marxist-Leninist principle of revolution holds good universally, for China and for all other countries."

After leading the Chinese proletariat and working people in seizing political power and establishing the people's democratic dictatorship, i.e., the dictatorship of the proletariat, Chairman Mao personally guided the great revolutionary practice of China's socialist revolution and socialist construction. He solved the question of how the proletariat, after seizing power, should continue to carry out the socialist revolution, prevent the restoration of capitalism and consolidate the dictatorship of the proletariat. Chairman Mao incisively pointed out: "Socialist society covers a considerably long historical period. In the historical period of socialism, there are still classes, class contradictions and class struggle, there is the struggle between the socialist road and the capitalist road, and there is the danger of

capitalist restoration. We must recognize the protracted and complex nature of this struggle. We must heighten our vigilance. We must conduct socialist education. We must correctly understand and handle class contradictions and class struggle, distinguish the contradictions between ourselves and the enemy from those among the people and handle them correctly. Otherwise a socialist country like ours will turn into its opposite and degenerate, and a capitalist restoration will take place. From now on we must remind ourselves of this every year, every month and every day so that we can retain a rather sober understanding of this problem and have a Marxist-Leninist line." This Marxist-Leninist line advanced by Chairman Mao is our Party's lifeline. It is precisely under the guidance of this proletarian revolutionary line of Chairman Mao's that the 700 million Chinese people launched the momentous Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution which has won great victories. This is the victory of Mao Tsetung Thought, the victory of Chairman Mao's theory of continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat. Nevertheless, class struggle has not ended. This complex and sharp struggle is a protracted one.

Marxist-Leninist Parties adhere to making the replacement of bourgeois dictatorship by proletarian dictatorship their basic programme. In contrast, the bourgeoisie and its representatives vehemently oppose the establishment of the proletarian dictatorship by the proletarian Parties and their adherence to it. Besides resorting to open suppression and subversion, they more often adopt the tactics of deception and "evolution." They either advocate "legalism" and "peaceful growth into socialism" like Kautsky and his ilk, or clamour for a "free people's state" like Lassalle, or, like Khrushchov, peddle the "state of the whole people" or, like Liu Shao-chi, pronounce that the function of the state is to "organize social life." Tactics vary, but the aim remains the same — to transform the dictatorship of the proletariat into the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie. Recently, the Soviet revisionist renegade clique, which has long degenerated completely into social-imperialism, is again going in for deception to defend its treachery. Brezhnev is even more wily than his predecessor Khrushchov. On the one hand he openly announces the abandonment of the dictatorship of the proletariat. On the other hand, like a juggler, he maliciously distorts and changes the real revolutionary content of the dictatorship of the proletariat while paying lip service to the "dictatorship of the proletariat," in order to cover up, however slightly, his shameless renegade face. In his report to the sinister Moscow meeting, he said: ". . . in one form or another the dictatorship of the proletariat, i.e., state leadership of the building of socialism by the working class, is inevitable during the entire period of transition from capitalism to socialism." He went on to lay down three tasks for the "dictatorship of the proletariat": "preserving high rates of gross economic growth," "accelerating scientific and technological progress," and "raising the standard of living of the working people."

Brezhnev has actually come up with a brand-new formula: the dictatorship of the proletariat means "state leadership" over so-called "economic construction."

Brezhnev denies that classes and class contradictions still exist in socialist society; he never speaks of the fact that violent suppression of the overthrown classes by the socialist state still has to be carried out. This does not mean that this handful of renegades wants to negate the role of violence. What this clique opposes is revolutionary violence and revolutionary suppression by the dictatorship of the proletariat; what it wants is the constant intensifying of counter-revolutionary violence to suppress the proletariat and the revolutionary people. Still it hangs out the signboard of "the state of the whole people" out of a guilty conscience. This only reveals the Soviet revisionist renegade clique's hypocrisy.

One must not only listen to a person's words, but also observe his deeds. What does Brezhnev mean by "preserving high rates of gross economic growth"? He means stepping up capitalist restoration, increasing the exploitation of the working people in the Soviet Union and expansion abroad, and stepping up capitalist "free competition" in order to carry out counter-revolutionary arms expansion and war preparations, and thus bring about the "growth" of the new bourgeoisie at "high rate." What does he mean by "accelerating scientific and technological progress"? He means "accelerating" science and technology to serve the needs of Soviet revisionist social-imperialism's domestic and foreign policies, in order to strengthen U.S.-Soviet collaboration to divide the world and intensify the enslavement of the Soviet proletariat and the so-called "fraternal countries," which are nothing but new colonies against which the Soviet revisionists have carried out aggression and have occupied. What does Brezhnev mean by "raising the standard of living of the working people"? He means swelling the income of a handful of people in the privileged strata, using "material incentives" to sap the revolutionary will of the working class and the labouring people, buying up scabs and splitting the workers' ranks, all in a vain bid to make the working people forget the basic tasks of the dictatorship of the proletariat and allow themselves to be fleeced and oppressed by the Kremlin-imposed bourgeois dictatorship.

All this phrase-mongering by which the bourgeoisie swindles the working class — can it not be found in the "inaugural addresses" of many presidents of imperialist countries? What a farce when Brezhnev, standing beneath the emblem of the old tsars, wildly threatens to use armed force in carrying out colonialist expansion, but at the same time prattles about "the dictatorship of the proletariat" to his cronies!

Historical dialectics cannot be resisted. The great practice of the proletarian revolution and proletarian dictatorship in the world over the past century or more has fully proved the truth pronounced by Marx in his letter to Weydemeyer: "The class struggle necessarily

leads to the dictatorship of the proletariat." This cannot be stopped by any force. Brezhnev's ugly performance tells us by negative example: Genuine Marxist-Leninist Parties must persist in armed revolution and the dictatorship of the proletariat and constantly criticize all opportunist trends of thought. Lenin repudiated all that lot of chieftains of the Second International, including Bernstein, Kautsky and Plekhanov, making it possible for the Bolsheviks to really unite under the banner of Leninism and win the great victory of the October Revolution. Today, Chairman Mao is leading us in criticizing and repudiating modern revisionism from Khrushchov to Brezhnev and smashing the renegade, hidden traitor and scab Liu Shao-chi's counter-revolutionary revisionist line, making it possible for the whole Party to become unprecedentedly united under the great banner of Mao Tsetung Thought and fight for new victories in socialist revolution and socialist construction.

The great leader Chairman Mao pointed out during a talk in October 1968: **"According to the Leninist viewpoint, the final victory of a socialist country not only requires the efforts of the proletariat and the broad masses of the people at home, but also involves the victory of the world revolution and the abolition of the system of exploitation of man by man over the whole globe, upon which all mankind will be emancipated.**

Therefore, it is wrong to speak lightly of the final victory of the revolution in our country; it runs counter to Leninism and does not conform to facts." This great teaching of Chairman Mao's lights up the road of advance for the Chinese people and the people of the world. The final victory of the proletarian revolution involves **"the abolition of the system of exploitation of man by man over the whole globe, upon which all mankind will be emancipated."** This is the greatest revolution in the history of mankind. Such a deep and thoroughgoing revolution must necessarily experience the most serious and sharpest class struggle and will inevitably go through a protracted, repeated and tortuous process. The victories won by the international proletariat for more than a century have been brilliant ones, and the tasks ahead are no less glorious and arduous. Establishing the dictatorship of the proletariat and continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat is the bright road to communism for all mankind. The proletariat is convinced that it will win the world. Chairman Mao long ago solemnly declared: **"The socialist system will eventually replace the capitalist system; this is an objective law independent of man's will. However much the reactionaries try to hold back the wheel of history, sooner or later revolution will take place and will inevitably triumph."**

China's Petroleum Industry Advances With Big Strides on the Road Of Self-Reliance

GUIDED by invincible Mao Tsetung Thought, the petroleum industry in China has made rapid progress. A modern oil industry has been initially established and is developing. This is a tremendous achievement for China's oil workers who have firmly carried out Chairman Mao's great policy of **"maintaining independence and keeping the initiative in our own hands and relying on our own efforts"** and who have waged heroic struggles against the sabotage plots of imperialists, revisionists and reactionaries, and against the counter-revolutionary revisionist line pushed by the arch renegade Liu Shao-chi.

By emancipating their minds and doing away with all sorts of fetishes and superstitions, the oil workers have discovered abundant oil deposits as a result of a great deal of prospecting. China's petroleum output has risen greatly since liberation. A number of big, modern oil refineries have been set up in China, the

variety of oil products has rapidly increased and quality has constantly improved. China became practically self-sufficient in oil in 1963. Now it has become entirely self-sufficient in regard to quantity, variety and quality of oil for the country's national economy, national defence construction and the development of science and technology. Science and technology in the petroleum industry have developed apace and have caught up with or surpassed advanced world levels in many important aspects.

The oil workers' determination has grown still firmer and their morale stronger during the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution. In response to Chairman Mao's great call: **"The working class must exercise leadership in everything,"** they have mounted the political stage of struggle-criticism-transformation in the realm of the superstructure. Many outstanding workers have joined the leadership in the new-born red power — the revolutionary committees. Six outstand-

ing workers who are Party members attended the Ninth National Congress of the Chinese Communist Party. The mass movement for the living study and application of Mao Tsetung Thought has been carried out in a broader and more deep-going way on the entire oil industry front. The situation in both revolution and production is excellent. Oil production capacity now doubles that of 1965, the year before the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution. All these achievements are a great victory for Mao Tsetung Thought and a great victory in the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution.

China's petroleum industry has developed in the acute struggle between the two classes, the two roads and the two lines.

The great leader Chairman Mao teaches us: **"On what basis should our policy rest? It should rest on our own strength, and that means regeneration through one's own efforts."** **"Maintaining independence and keeping the initiative in our own hands and relying on our own efforts"** has been Chairman Mao's great, consistent strategic concept and the Chinese people's fundamental principle in building socialism. Frantically opposing this great principle of Chairman Mao's, the renegade, hidden traitor and scab Liu Shao-chi feverishly advocated the slavish comprador philosophy and the doctrine of trailing behind at a snail's pace. He babbled: "Is it feasible to invest so much money to build our own oil industry?" He insisted that we should depend on other countries for everything. It was particularly during the time when China's national economy was suffering from temporary difficulties arising from sabotage by the Soviet revisionist renegade clique and from serious natural disasters that the Soviet revisionists collaborated with the U.S. imperialists in wildly opposing China and tried to strangle it by cutting off oil supplies. What Liu Shao-chi advocated entirely suited the needs of U.S. imperialist-Soviet revisionist collaboration against China.

Under the guidance of Chairman Mao's brilliant thinking **"maintaining independence and keeping the initiative in our own hands and relying on our own efforts,"** China's oil workers displayed a fearless, heroic spirit. Undaunted by the enemy's blockade, they resolved to rely on their own efforts and follow China's own road of industrial development. The battle to open up the Taching Oilfield, which began in 1960, was a political battle and a battle of determination to fight for superiority over the imperialists, revisionists and reactionaries. Tens of thousands of oil workers came to Taching from all parts of China and began building the oilfield under extremely difficult conditions. They assiduously studied Chairman Mao's brilliant works such as the "three constantly read articles" and two philosophical articles (*On Practice* and *On Contradiction*), gaining inexhaustible wisdom and strength from them. "Build a big oilfield and let the imperialists, revisionists and reactionaries tremble," "we will start work if conditions permit; we will also start work by creating the conditions for ourselves if conditions do not exist" — such

were the slogans guiding their actions. Carrying forward the revolutionary tradition of fearing neither hardship nor death displayed by the Red Army in scaling snow-capped mountains and treading through the grassland during the Long March, they fought difficulties by every means. When there were not enough vehicles and hoists, people carried the equipment. In the absence of water tanks and water pipes, they used basins and buckets to bring water from hundreds of metres away. As there was no housing, they pitched tents or dug caves in the ground for shelter. There were no vegetables when they arrived, so they ate wild herbs. It was with such dogged revolutionary will that the heroic people of Taching built the world's first-class oilfield in three years' time — at high speed and of a high technical level. This crushed the criminal efforts of the imperialists, revisionists and reactionaries to undermine China's socialist construction and dealt their running dog Liu Shao-chi a swingeing blow.

The construction of the Taching Oilfield attests that our country's petroleum industry, built up by self-reliance, has entered a new stage. Following Chairman Mao's great teaching: **"Break down foreign conventions and follow our own road in developing industry,"** the workers there have, through repeated practice, blazed a new road in developing our own petroleum industry with greater, faster, better and more economical results.

In 1964, the great leader Chairman Mao issued the call **"In industry, learn from the Taching Oilfield,"** thus affirming that the road of the Taching Oilfield is the correct road for the development of industry in our country. In response to Chairman Mao's call, China's working class unfolded a campaign of learning from the Taching Oilfield. The revolutionary spirit of this oilfield has borne fruit throughout China. For example, the Yumen Oilfield, which is an old one, had been exploited over a long period and production there gradually decreased. A handful of capitalist roaders and bourgeois reactionary technical "authorities" spread pessimism, saying that "production at the Yumen Oilfield is dropping and will never rise. There's no point in working here any more. We'll see how it winds up!" Inspired by Chairman Mao's call **"In industry, learn from the Taching Oilfield,"** the workers at the Yumen Oilfield declared: "Petroleum is needed by both the Chinese revolution and the world revolution. We will make the old oilfield make new contributions!" Under the leadership of the revolutionary committee during the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, a team to explore the field's potentiality was formed. It was composed of workers, revolutionary technicians and revolutionary cadres, with the workers as the main force. They investigated each well which had been abandoned by capitalist roaders and reactionary technical "authorities." After a survey, they restored them one by one, thus giving new life to the old oilfield. Once again oil gushed from the wells. The area of the oilfield kept expanding and oil production is steadily increasing.

The few oil refineries left over by old China were all poorly equipped. In the early days of the People's Republic of China, they could produce only 12 ordinary oil products. Following Chairman Mao's teaching: **"The Chinese people have high aspirations, they have ability, and they will certainly catch up with and surpass advanced world levels in the not too distant future,"** the oil workers began the battle to scale the heights of advanced world refining techniques as the Taching Oilfield was being built at a high speed and to a high level. They carried out a "three-in-one" mass technical innovation campaign in which the workers, revolutionary cadres and revolutionary technicians took part, with the workers as the main force.

They showed the revolutionary spirit of daring to think, speak up and act. Possessing no technical data, they carried out research and experiments on their own. Lacking blueprints and technical literature, they drew designs themselves. And they made all the equipment and meters they needed. In a little more than three years of arduous struggle, they mastered a series of techniques in oil refining, such as a new way of catalytic cracking, new delayed coking installations and production of new catalysts. They built a number of modern oil refineries using these new techniques and renovated old ones. Catalysts, an important subsidiary material in oil refining, were all imported in the past. In order to sabotage China's production of high-grade oil products, the Soviet revisionist renegade clique cut off the supply. Aware of the Soviet revisionists' scheme, China's oil workers turned their hatred into strength. Working vigorously, they quickly succeeded in trial producing catalysts and started production in quantity. The Soviet revisionists' scheme ended up in a dismal failure.

In the course of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, China's daring oil workers have continued to carry out large-scale technical innovations in accordance with Chairman Mao's teaching **"... go on discovering,**

inventing, creating and advancing," and constantly improved China's oil-refining technique. In the last few years, China has built a number of new-type oil-refining installations and successfully trial produced many new oil products.

Before China was liberated, all equipment for its petroleum industry was imported, not excluding spare parts. Since liberation, with the development of New China's metallurgical and machine-building industries, a large number of plants have been set up to manufacture oil industry equipment, many types of which can now be mass produced.

China attributes its rapid progress in the oil industry's science and technology to invincible Mao Tsetung Thought, which has imbued its oil workers with inexhaustible wisdom and creativeness. The No. 1202 and No. 1205 drilling teams at the Taching Oilfield, known as "iron and steel" teams, actuated by lofty ideals, established a world record in 1966 when each team drilled 100,000 metres with relatively old drills. This record beats the U.S. imperialists' record of 90,300 metres and is nearly double the Soviet revisionists' 1968 national record of 52,000 metres.

Under the wise leadership of the Party Central Committee with Chairman Mao as its leader and Vice-Chairman Lin as its deputy leader, China's oil workers, following Chairman Mao's policies **"Be prepared against war, be prepared against natural disasters, and do everything for the people"** and **"Grasp revolution and promote production and other work and preparedness against war,"** are continuously marching in big strides with vigour and vitality along the road of maintaining independence and keeping the initiative in their own hands and relying on their own efforts and striving to conquer new peaks in world science and technology so as to make still greater contributions to the Chinese revolution and the world revolution.

Tremendous Development in China's Textile Industry

GUIDED by Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line and displaying the revolutionary spirit of self-reliance and hard work, China's textile workers have turned a semi-colonial textile industry into a modern and prosperous textile industry. Dependent on imports of almost all equipment, the semi-colonial industry that existed before the founding of New China lacked most raw materials and production had neared a standstill. China now has long become self-sufficient in cotton, wool, silk, hemp and other raw materials needed for the textile industry. With its rich resources,

the country has been able to supply what is needed in producing various textile goods. Chinese-made textiles are exported to more than one hundred countries and regions.

The textile industry is one of the oldest industries in China. Before liberation, the workers were savagely oppressed and exploited under the rule of imperialism and Kuomintang reactionaries. Production was declining. The Chinese market was flooded with piece-goods from imperialist countries while the working people had to wear rags.



Inspired by the spirit of the Ninth Party Congress, the Peking No. 3 Cotton Mill's revolutionary workers, vigorous and militant, are working to win new and greater victories.

The Chinese working class became the leading class after liberation. Guided by Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line, the workers carried forward the socialist revolution and rapidly rehabilitated and developed industrial production.

However, the arch renegade Liu Shao-chi and his agents in the textile industry pushed a counter-revolutionary revisionist line without restraint, advocating "material incentives," "putting profits in command" and "relying on experts to run the factories," in a futile attempt to lead China's industry on to the road of capitalism.

Holding high the great red banner of Mao Tsetung Thought during the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, the revolutionary workers and revolutionary cadres in the textile industry toppled the handful of absolutely unrepentant Party persons in power taking the capitalist road and roundly criticized Liu Shao-chi's counter-revolutionary revisionist line. In this struggle, they have greatly raised their consciousness of class struggle and the struggle between the two lines. In resolutely implementing Chairman Mao's instruction "We must pay close attention to . . . cotton cloth," they have put revolution in command of production and given the latter a big boost. This has brought about a situation in which China's textile industry is flourishing and developing by leaps and bounds. Cotton yarn output in the first eight months of this year was 34.5 per cent above the corresponding period of 1965, the year before the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution began. Big rises have also been made in the production of other textile products.

The revolutionary workers are diligently studying and applying Mao Tsetung Thought in a living way. To speed up their ideological revolutionization, they are arming themselves with Chairman Mao's great

theory of continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat.

The revolutionary workers in the Peking General Knitwear Mill are applying the tremendous enthusiasm generated by the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution to production. Using the slogan "Tending machines for the revolution," they have set new production records again and again. The mill's 1968 knitwear goods output was 59.84 per cent higher than that

of 1965, and it met this year's state quota, which is 31.4 per cent above that of 1968, 112 days ahead of schedule. This marks an all-time high for the mill.

The revolutionary workers at the Shanghai No. 17 State Cotton Mill set up the mill's revolutionary committee in the beginning of 1967 after seizing back that portion of power usurped by the handful of Party persons in the mill taking the capitalist road. Greatly inspired and elated, the revolutionary masses, while discussing the plan for 1968, proposed big increases in production to top the mill's highest record set in 1966. The workers said: "Now that power is in our hands, we proletarian revolutionaries must do a first-rate job in grasping revolution and promoting production." This revolutionary ardour has given rise to soaring enthusiasm among the mill's workers. Giving prominence to proletarian politics and launching a mass drive for technical innovations, they worked hard and made a big leap in production. The mill's 1968 output of cotton yarn surpassed that of 1966 by 15.33 per cent while cotton cloth went up by 12.7 per cent. Average cotton yarn production per spindle in 1968 doubled that of 1949.

While maximum use has been made of the original plants and productive potential which was brought into full play, large-scale planned capital construction has been undertaken. Thousands of cotton, woollen, hemp, silk, printing and dyeing and knitwear mills have been built or expanded. Productive capacity for cotton, woollen, hemp, silk and other textile goods is very much higher than in the early days after liberation. Although the chemical fibre industry was non-existent in old China, a number of modern viscose and synthetic fibre mills have been built since liberation. Modern textile enterprises of different sizes and scope have now been set up in every province, municipality and

autonomous region. They were generally built in provinces, municipalities and autonomous regions where cotton, wool, hemp, silkworm cocoons and other raw materials abound. Some cities which basically had no modern textile enterprises before liberation now have fairly large-scale modern ones.

Since 1957, following Chairman Mao's teaching **"We should set up more small and medium enterprises,"** China has paid closer attention to setting up textile enterprises of those sizes. This has helped bring all positive factors into play and speeded up the development of the industry. At the same time, printing and dyeing, woollen and silk mills having national characteristics have been built in a planned way in areas inhabited by minority peoples. From north and south of the Tienshan Mountains to the banks of the Lhasa River, from the Inner Mongolian grasslands to the Yunnan and Kweichow highlands, modern textile mills have been established one after another. The Sinkiang Uighur Autonomous Region did not have a single spindle before liberation; now it has four cotton mills, one cotton textile and printing and dyeing complex, three woollen mills, one silk reeling and weaving complex as well as knitwear plants. The growth of the textile industry in these areas has expanded the ranks of the working class, promoted the economy and strengthened the revolutionary unity of the people of all nationalities in the motherland.

China's textile machinery industry, which constitutes the material and technical foundation for the whole textile industry, started from scratch 20 years ago. It has grown from turning out small to big and from single to diversified products. Now, Chinese-made textile machines of various types not only fully satisfy domestic needs for developing the textile industry at a high speed, but are also exported to over a dozen countries in Asia, Africa and other regions, helping them build scores of modern textile enterprises. This is a great victory for Chairman Mao's principle of **self-reliance**.

Before liberation, China only had a few poorly equipped, technically backward plants making spare parts for textile machinery. With the founding of New China, the textile workers were determined to take the road pointed out by Chairman Mao and rely on their own efforts to build up the industry through mass movements. They amalgamated the textile machinery repair shops and expanded and transformed them in a planned way. According to their respective technical conditions, they carried out specialized production, with the state helping to co-ordinate the entire industry. Thus, in a matter of two or three years, New China succeeded in making whole sets of textile machinery, a task old China had not been able to do for more than half a century.

Acting in accordance with Chairman Mao's teaching to **"do away with all fetishes and superstitions and emancipate the mind,"** the revolutionary workers showed the spirit of daring to think, act and make revolution. With great momentum, they carried out tech-

nical revolution which brought about a fundamental change in the textile machinery industry. They used machines to do jobs that required heavy labour, and by renovating outdated machine tools made them into highly efficient precision equipment.

The China Textile Machinery Plant relied on foreigners and copied foreign blueprints to make one type of loom before liberation. Yet the machine it produced at enormous cost was of poor quality and sold poorly. Production came to a halt. After liberation, the workers in this plant relied on their own efforts to make repeated technical innovations. They succeeded in steadily improving the loom and cutting costs to the bone. From only one type of loom which turned out ordinary cloth, the plant now can produce more than twenty types of looms for weaving various kinds of cloth. The plant's production capacity is over 26 times that of twenty years ago.

The quality and efficiency of China's textile machinery has steadily improved as a result of the joint efforts of the textile machinery plants, textile mills and scientific research departments. Many Chinese-made textile machines have reached or surpassed advanced world standards. An example of this is a new high-output carding machine made during the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution. It has incorporated innovations by textile workers throughout the country and uses high-speed carding parts and a new stripping method as well as automatic control and dedusting equipment. One such machine produces over 25 kilogrammes of carded cotton per hour.

The textile workers in Shanghai and other places have during the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution conscientiously studied Chairman Mao's teaching: **"We cannot just take the beaten track traversed by other countries in the development of technology and trail behind them at a snail's pace."** They have launched mass movements for technical innovations and inventions, saying: "We'll produce what foreign countries have and outstrip them. And we'll make what foreign countries don't have."

Close co-ordination in "three-in-one" teams of workers, technicians and revolutionary leading cadres has been established. In the spirit of "the Foolish Old Man who removed the mountains," these teams have persisted in carrying out scientific experiments and succeeded in making textile equipment that has attained or surpassed advanced world standards. They have, for instance, manufactured a new type of spinning frame which uses high-speed spindles, increasing per-thousand-spindle output of medium-count yarns by 25 per cent per hour.

Tempered in the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution and filled with complete confidence in victory, the revolutionary textile workers, guided by Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line and tremendously inspired by the spirit of the Ninth Party Congress, are working in militant spirits and with great vigour to win new and greater victories.

Brilliance of Mao Tsetung Thought Lights Up a Cotton Area

CHITUNG County in Kiangsu Province is situated on the north bank of the Yangtse River and on the shores of the Yellow Sea. Imperialism, feudalism and bureaucrat-capitalism wreaked havoc in this region before liberation. What with the lack of repairs in river dykes and soil erosion, natural calamities and oppression by reactionary regimes, tens of thousands of poverty-stricken peasants who were made homeless and had their families torn apart were forced to drift from place to place.

Since the founding of New China 20 years ago, the 970,000 revolutionary people of Chitung have followed Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line and marched forward in giant strides along the broad road of socialist collectivization. The county is now renowned throughout the nation as a high-yielding grain and cotton area. Per-*mu* yield of ginned cotton averaged 162 *jin* in 1968, the highest in its history, while that of grain was 954 *jin*. This amounted to an average of 109 *jin* of ginned cotton and 124 *jin* of grain supplied to the state by each person in the county. In this way, they have made new contributions to the socialist revolution and socialist construction of our motherland.

Giving Prominence to Politics Is Fundamental

How can high yields in grain and cotton be won? By relying on giving prominence to proletarian politics or giving prominence to production, on man or on putting technique in command? The struggle between the two classes, the two roads and the two lines has always been sharp and fierce in Chitung. Instigated by a handful of capitalist roaders in the old Party committees of the province and special administrative region, the old county Party committee faithfully pushed the arch renegade Liu Shao-chi's counter-revolutionary revisionist line of putting "production first" and putting "technique in command." This seriously hampered the development of productive forces. During the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, the broad masses of the poor and lower-

middle peasants and revolutionary cadres in this county, in accordance with Chairman Mao's great teaching "Never forget class struggle," have firmly grasped class struggle and revolutionary mass criticism, and greatly promoted their own ideological revolutionization. And this in turn has brought about a new look in both revolution and production in the county.

After the First Production Brigade of the Hsishih People's Commune succeeded in bringing in bumper grain and cotton harvests in 1964, the cadres became complacent and talked nothing but production and cotton all day long, throwing class struggle to the winds. Some commune members also became engrossed in production and relaxed their struggle against the enemy. Taking advantage of the situation, the landlords, rich peasants, counter-revolutionaries and bad elements began to spread rumours, incite people and undermine collective production. The spontaneous capitalist tendency became more and more serious in this brigade with the result that, although more than 70 *jin* of chemical fertilizers were applied to every *mu*, the per-*mu* yield of ginned cotton in 1965 dropped by 15 per cent as compared with that of the previous year.

"Historical experience merits attention." As the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution developed in depth in the cities and countryside all over the country, the brigade's revolutionary committee was set up, and it lost no time in summing up past experiences and lessons. Everyone soberly concluded: A firm grasp should be maintained on what is most fundamental and emphasis in their work should be on the key links. The better the situation in revolution and production and the richer the material aspect is, the more attention should be paid in never slackening class struggle and never forgetting to put revolution in command of production. So they firmly grasped class struggle, ferreted out the landlords who had sabotaged the collective economy, and relentlessly criticized Liu Shao-chi's fallacies such as "production first" and the theory of "the dying out of class struggle."

"Grasp class struggle and all problems can be solved." Revolutionary enthusiasm in this brigade soared, and production rose steadily. That year, the year when the brigade's revolutionary committee was set up, although only 19 *jin* of chemical fertilizers were applied to every *mu* and the area was hit by a lengthy drought seldom experienced before, the brigade's per-*mu* yield of ginned cotton jumped to 180 *jin*, an all-time high in its history.

Be Prepared Against War, Be Prepared Against Natural Disasters, and Do Everything for The People

In 1958, the Chitung cotton area sold several hundred thousand *dan* of ginned cotton to the state, but had to rely on the state for its grain supply. "How can we always go on relying on the state for our grain supply?" some poor and lower-middle peasants asked one another. "What should we do if there are natural disasters or enemy intrusions?"

Strive for self-sufficiency in grain and achieve high yields in both grain and cotton—this has been the poor and lower-middle peasants' aspiration over many years. But, at the bidding of the arch renegade Liu Shao-chi, the handful of capitalist roaders in the old Party committees of the province and special administrative region spared no efforts to "put cotton in command" and vigorously peddled the sinister ware of "more cotton, more bonuses and more money" in an attempt to lead the peasants of the cotton area on to the capitalist road. Following Chairman Mao's great teaching **"Be prepared against war, be prepared against natural disasters, and do everything for the people,"** the broad masses of the poor and lower-middle peasants withstood this adverse current. Displaying the spirit of being masters of the country, they began to delve carefully into ways and means of reaping bumper harvests in grain and cotton. When the fulfilment of the state's plan was assured, they re-adjusted their own plans for planting these two crops, improved cultivation techniques and adopted the system of intercropping grain and cotton. The upshot was that Chitung County's total cotton output not only had not decreased, but it increased year by year, and the grain it grew made it more than self-sufficient.

"Farming for the revolution" or "farming for one's self"—these are two diametrically opposed world outlooks. As regards the broad masses of the poor and lower-middle peasants and revolutionary cadres who have been tempered in the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, the concept of "farming for the revolution" has taken deeper root in their minds than ever before.

In the late autumn of 1967, the Hsiangyang People's Commune was in the process of drawing up a plan for increasing production in 1968. While working in the field, Tsao Yu-fa, a disabled demobilized armyman and leader of the 5th Production Team of the 12th Production Brigade, overheard some peasants calculating the year's work-points and making arrangements for personal comforts with their increased income in the next year. Chairman Mao's teaching "to proceed in all cases from the interests of the people and not from one's self-interest or from the interests of a small group" flashed through Tsao Yu-fa's mind. Recalling his bitter life in the old society and touching the scars on his body, he thought of the miserable life of the oppressed and exploited people all over the world. This aroused his deep hatred for the arch renegade Liu Shao-chi.

Should we concern ourselves with the small accounts of individuals or with the big accounts of the revolution? This is a struggle between the two roads and between two kinds of thinking. We must never equivocate on this question. Tsao Yu-fa immediately consulted the other cadres, and they decided to seize this opportunity to launch a revolutionary mass criticism of this devious tendency still in its embryonic form.

Tsao was the first to speak at a criticism meeting. He said: In the old society, my family had worked for three generations as farm labourers who hired themselves out by the year or the month to the landlords and had suffered bitter exploitation and oppression. The fallacies of "putting work-points in command" and "material incentives" spread by the arch renegade Liu Shao-chi are nothing but sugar-coated poison, his sinister aim being to lead us back to the old society and subject us to a miserable life once again. If we only concern ourselves about personal accounts, and not about the country's big account, we will commit great mistakes.

The concept of "farming for one's self" was dealt a severe blow during the revolutionary mass criticism, and this opened up new vistas for the peasants. The broad masses of the poor and lower-middle peasants gallantly put forward the militant slogan: "Standing at the estuary of the Yangtse River, we look towards Tien An Men; we are alongside the Yellow Sea, but we have the interests of the people of the whole world at heart." Thus, they have closely linked grain and cotton production with the great ideal of the world revolution.

After a year of hard struggle, the Hsiangyang People's Commune reaped unprecedented bumper harvests

in grain and cotton. Under the leadership of the commune's revolutionary committee, the poor and lower-middle peasants and the revolutionary masses vehemently repudiated the fallacies of counter-revolutionary economism preached by the arch renegade Liu Shao-chi such as "keep less in the collective in order to distribute more to the members" and "the more one reaps the more one eats." Everyone said: In order to prepare against war and against natural disasters, the more bumper harvests we reap, the more we will economize on grain, and the more grain we will sell to the state as well as keep in the commune. Last year, the commune overfulfilled the task of delivering and selling grain and cotton to the state, and increased the amount to be kept in reserve by the collective.

The Might of the Mass Line

Under the guidance of Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line, the poor and lower-middle peasants and revolutionary cadres in Chitung County launched a tit-for-tat struggle against Liu Shao-chi's counter-revolutionary revisionist line of "relying on experts" and putting "technique first." They smashed all sorts of irrational rules and regulations and conventions which had curbed the masses' initiative and creativeness. "The masses have a potentially inexhaustible enthusiasm for socialism," and this enthusiasm has burst forth like a volcano.

In 1965, the handful of capitalist roaders in the old Party committees of the province and special administrative region rushed a group of bourgeois "experts" and "authorities" to the Tahsing People's Commune. Brushing aside the masses, these "experts" trumpeted: "Growing cotton depends on chemical fertilizers and insecticides; reaping bumper harvests depends on technique." They only stressed technique, and spent the whole day measuring the height of the cotton plants and counting the number of cotton bolls. Cotton production that year, however, was 10 per cent less than in 1964. Instead of taking the responsibility themselves, these "experts" shifted it on to the masses and blamed them for having no technique.

Was this the case? No!

In trying to establish their "authority" in 1966, these bourgeois "experts" cultivated three *mu* of a "high-yielding" experimental plot in the 8th Production Team. Side by side with this "high-yielding" experimental plot, right across a ditch, was the poor and lower-middle peasants' experimental plot of exactly the same size.

In the course of experimentation, the "experts" relied on chemical fertilizers, insecticides and foreign dogmas which had nothing to do with the reality, while the poor and lower-middle peasants relied on invincible Mao Tsetung Thought.

In the thinning process, the "experts" determined 5,500 cotton plants for each *mu*. They said: "To get a

high yield, the cotton plants cannot be too dense; everything depends on growing more flowering branches." The poor and lower-middle peasants studied Chairman Mao's teaching that correct ideas "come from social practice, and from it alone; they come from three kinds of social practice, the struggle for production, the class struggle and scientific experiment." Summing up the lessons learnt from past experience and taking the natural conditions of the locality into account, they decided to grow some 6,800 cotton plants on every *mu* of their experimental plot.

Before the cotton flowers budded, the "experts" applied 80 *jin* of chemical fertilizers to each *mu* at a time. The poor and lower-middle peasants, on the other hand, applied the fertilizers according to actual needs, with an eye to the weather, the soil and the growth of the cotton plants.

One month later, the cotton plants on the experimental plot of the "experts" were as high as a table, but those on the peasants' plot were only stool-high. Puffed up, the "experts" said arrogantly at that time: "See! Our cotton plants are tall and dark green. What have you got to say?" The poor and lower-middle peasants replied firmly: "Your plants are tall, but look at our bolls. We'll see what the result will be!"

Another month passed. The cotton plants cultivated by the "experts" were so cramped together that the sunshine could not reach them and the air could not circulate freely. The stems were high and the leaves big, but the bolls were small. The poor and lower-middle peasants' experimental plot presented a different picture: The air could circulate freely and the sunshine could penetrate, the stems were short and the leaves yellowish green and the branches were bursting with bolls. At this time, the "experts" became greatly worried, just like ants on a hot pan. To let in the sunshine and more air, they busied themselves clipping off the old leaves below and spacing out the top part. They also did what they could to check the growth of the cotton plants. But it was no use.

That year, despite the large amounts of insecticides, chemical fertilizers and work and the fact that the cost for each *mu* was more than 80 yuan, the cotton plants cultivated by the "experts" yielded only 120 *jin* of ginned cotton per *mu*. With less insecticides, chemical fertilizers and work, and with each *mu* costing only a little over 30 yuan, the poor and lower-middle peasants brought in 180 *jin* of ginned cotton from every *mu* on their experimental plot.

The brilliance of the victory of the Party's Ninth National Congress has further lighted up the hearts of the people of Chitung County. Battling on the shores of the Yellow Sea, Chitung's poor and lower-middle peasants and revolutionary cadres are determined to hold the great red banner of Mao Tsetung Thought still higher and, guided by the great policy "Grasp revolution, promote production," win new and greater victories to greet the 20th anniversary of the founding of the great People's Republic of China!

Japanese People Praise Chairman Mao's Inscription for Pointing the Way for Their Revolution

Progressive Japanese friends say they will follow the basic principle in the inscription written by Chairman Mao for Japanese workers seven years ago, and use the universal truth of Marxism-Leninism to analyse class relations in Japan and to distinguish between enemies, friends and ourselves so as to seize victory in the Japanese revolution.

A NUMBER of leaders of Japanese mass organizations and progressive Japanese friends have recently said that they will follow the direction pointed out by Chairman Mao in his important inscription for Japanese worker friends seven years ago, carry out a resolute struggle against the U.S.-Japanese reactionaries and seize victory in the Japanese revolution.

The inscription for Japanese worker friends written by Chairman Mao on September 18, 1962 said: "The Japanese revolution will undoubtedly be victorious, provided the universal truth of Marxism-Leninism is really integrated with the concrete practice of the Japanese revolution."

Shosaku Itai, Secretary-General of the Japan Committee of Afro-Asian People's Solidarity, said that in striving for the victory of the Japanese revolution, it is necessary to follow Chairman Mao's teaching contained in the inscription, and, first of all, to firmly grasp the universal truth of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought and use it to analyse the concrete situation and the class relations in Japan and to distinguish between enemies, friends and ourselves, so as to seize victory in the Japanese revolution.

Kunisuke Iioka, Secretary-General of the Japan Journalists' League, said that the extremely important inscription Chairman Mao wrote for the broad masses of Japan has clearly pointed out to them the way to victory. It is the most vigorous encouragement and the strongest support for the Japanese people and proletarian revolutionaries in their struggle to overthrow the rule of U.S. imperialism and Japanese monopoly capital.

Iioka said: The great leader Chairman Mao has said: "At present, the world revolution has entered a great new era." "People of the whole world, unite still more closely and launch a sustained and vigorous offensive against our common enemy, U.S. imperialism, and against its accomplices!" This is Chairman Mao's clarion call to the world's people to advance to victory.

Mao Tsetung Thought is Marxism-Leninism of the era in which imperialism is heading for total collapse and socialism is advancing to worldwide victory, he said. The inscription written for Japanese worker friends sums up Chairman Mao Tsetung's brilliant practice and is a basic principle of Mao Tsetung Thought.

Iioka said: We are sure to triumph, provided we firmly bear in mind Chairman Mao's teachings, study Chairman Mao's works hard, and, proceeding from the

concrete conditions in the struggle, constantly sum up experience in the light of Mao Tsetung Thought, find out the laws and strive to apply them in the struggle.

Chiyo Nakajima, a responsible member of the Tokyo-To Committee of the Women's League of Japan, said that the victory of the great Chinese revolution is the result of the integration of the universal truth of Marxism-Leninism with the concrete practice of the Chinese revolution. It has been shown in practice that this is the only road to emancipation for the revolutionary people of the world.

She pointed out that the Japanese people's struggle to smash the Japan-U.S. "security treaty" and win independence and liberation is developing daily. Despite the various kinds of difficulties on the road of advance, the Japanese revolution will assuredly forge ahead with great strides, "provided the universal truth of Marxism-Leninism is really integrated with the concrete practice of the Japanese revolution" and provided the Japanese people arm themselves with Mao Tsetung Thought and wage a steadfast battle against U.S. imperialism, Soviet revisionism, the Japanese reactionaries and the Miyamoto revisionist clique.

Masayuki Yasui, a responsible member of the Toho Bookshop, distributor of Chinese books and journals in Japan, said that the last few years have seen Mao Tsetung Thought widely disseminated in Japan. Mao Tsetung Thought has been going ever deeper into the hearts of the people. Chairman Mao's writings have become widely available and are greatly welcomed by Japan's revolutionary masses.

He added that the Japanese people have come to realize more clearly in their struggle over the last few years that every word of Chairman Mao's is truth and that one will always be victorious if one acts in accordance with Mao Tsetung Thought.

Under the radiance of Mao Tsetung Thought during this period, Yasui said, the revolutionary struggle of the Japanese people has greatly developed and new revolutionary forces have constantly emerged. Although there will be twists and turns on the revolutionary path, every difficulty will certainly be overcome and the revolution will assuredly advance to victory, so long as the Japanese people study and apply Mao Tsetung Thought in a living way and march in the direction pointed out by Chairman Mao in his important inscription for Japanese worker friends.

The Japanese revolutionary masses also have enthusiastically praised Chairman Mao's inscription for pointing out the road of advance to the Japanese people.

Koichi Kawai, a worker in Yamaguchi Prefecture, said that this inscription written by the great leader Chairman Mao Tsetung gives boundless inspiration to the Japanese working class which is fighting for the thorough smashing of the Japan-U.S. "security treaty." We must firmly bear in mind the revolutionary mission of the working class, advance courageously with profound confidence in victory and pledge to carry the Japanese revolution through to the end, he added.

Postal worker Toshio Hasegawa said: Practice in the Japanese revolution proves that the Japanese people's revolutionary struggle will develop and triumph when it adheres to the spirit of Chairman Mao's inscription, otherwise it will fail or recede. He said with complete confidence: Provided we hold aloft the red banner of Mao Tsetung Thought and **"provided the universal truth of Marxism-Leninism is really integrated with the concrete practice of the Japanese revolution,"** prospects for the Japanese revolution are undoubtedly very bright.

Kondo, a Japanese friend in Kyoto, said that a great change has taken place in the world situation in the last seven years. The enemy rots with every passing day, while for us things are getting better daily. He went on: We Japanese people who are living in the heartland

of capitalism constantly keep Chairman Mao's teachings in mind and conscientiously integrate the universal truth of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought with the concrete practice of the Japanese revolution. In the course of our revolutionary practice, we have come to realize more and more deeply the great significance of this inscription written by Chairman Mao.

Kondo added: It is necessary to study this inscription more profoundly and try to put its spirit into effect in the practice of the Japanese revolution. Only by doing so can the victory of the Japanese revolution be attained.

Summing up their study of Chairman Mao's inscription and their revolutionary practice in the last few years, the cultural fighters of the "Haguruma" Theatre said: Chairman Mao's inscription has helped us to see profoundly that to attain victory in the Japanese revolution we must master Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought, and use the stand, viewpoint and method of Mao Tsetung Thought to analyse the concrete practice of the Japanese revolution, so as to see clearly who are our enemies and who are our friends and to unite with the real friends in order to attack the real enemies. They said: Chairman Mao's inscription helps increase our firm belief in the truth that **"the people, and the people alone, are the motive force in the making of world history."** It is imperative to arm the masses with Mao Tsetung Thought and arouse them to wage a resolute struggle against the U.S. and Japanese reactionaries.

"Mao Tsetung Thought Is Our Greatest Support"

— Palestinian Guerrillas Ardently Study Chairman Mao's Works in The Course of Fighting

AT the encampments of the Palestinian guerrilla fighters, this correspondent saw many Palestinian guerrillas assiduously studying Chairman Mao's works. Many of them expressed the confidence that following Chairman Mao's teachings and taking the road of the Chinese armed revolution, Palestine would certainly be liberated.

Wherever the Guerrillas Set Up Camps, They Take Along Chairman Mao's Works

Many Palestinian guerrilla fighters diligently study Chairman Mao's writings in the course of intensive fighting. The guerrillas frequently change their camp sites in order to deal the Israeli aggressors more powerful blows. In such difficult conditions of war, many guerrillas take with them Chairman Mao's works wherever they go. "Mobile field libraries" have been established in many encampments. The "library" has neither rooms nor desks and chairs. It consists of one or two

suitcases filled with the works of Marx, Engels, Lenin, Stalin and Chairman Mao, and some books and periodicals about the Palestinian revolution. Here, the guerrillas can read the Arabic editions of the *Selected Works of Mao Tsetung*, *Selected Military Writings of Mao Tsetung*, *Quotations From Chairman Mao Tsetung* and many of Chairman Mao's works in pamphlet form, such as *On Protracted War*, *Problems of Strategy in Guerrilla War Against Japan* and *A Single Spark Can Start a Prairie Fire*.

Many fighters study Chairman Mao's writings conscientiously under the trees or in tents during their rest period. Sometimes, responsible members of the camps organize the fighters for collective study or discussion. Some guerrillas said: "It is heart-warming to read Chairman Mao's writings. There are many common points between Palestine and China. The great Chinese revolution led by Chairman Mao sets a brilliant example for our Palestinian revolution. In studying

Chairman Mao's works we can learn the rich experience in struggle of the Chinese revolution." A fighter named Abu Mazin of Al Assifa, the commando force of Al-Fatah (the Palestine National Liberation Movement), has read many of Chairman Mao's works. He said: "Chairman Mao is the greatest Marxist-Leninist of our era and the most sincere friend of our Palestinian people. We Palestinians cherish a profound friendship for China, because China has Chairman Mao Tsetung and the Chinese people resolutely support us in our struggle. Mao Tsetung Thought is the greatest support for our revolution. So long as we march forward along the direction pointed out by Chairman Mao, the Palestinian revolution will surely triumph."

Many guerrilla fighters not only study Chairman Mao's writings themselves, but take these writings to the refugee camps and organize the militia and inmates to study them. A young militiaman called Ismail in Baga refugee camp on the outskirts of Amman, capital of Jordan, took from his pocket the pamphlet *A Single Spark Can Start a Prairie Fire* in which he had underlined many passages. He said: "I study this book almost every day and I feel greatly inspired every time I read it. From this writing of Chairman Mao's we can envisage the future of the Palestinian revolution. Though we are still confronted with many difficulties, the torch of armed struggle lit by the revolutionary fighters with their blood can never be put out. The Palestinian revolution will certainly grow from a spark into a prairie fire." This young militiaman who has read many of Chairman Mao's writings added: "Mao Tsetung Thought is a spiritual atom bomb of infinite power. Once you grasp this ideological weapon, you can defeat imperialism, revisionism and Zionism."

Warm Love for the People, Bitter Hatred for the Enemy; Fight for the Liberation Of the Homeland

During a visit to the encampment of an Al Assifa unit near Karamah on the eastern bank of the Jordan River one day in late July, this correspondent witnessed a moving scene which demonstrates how invincible Mao Tsetung Thought has deeply penetrated the hearts of more and more Palestinian guerrillas.

This unit has veteran guerrillas aged over forty and young fighters of 13 or 14 years old; sons of peasants who had no chance to go to school and young college students. They came here from all places for the same purpose—to fight for the liberation of their homeland.

Abu Kifah, who is responsible for the encampment, is a young commander. He cherishes an ardent love for Chairman Mao's works. He said: "Chairman Mao's teachings on the people's army and people's war are the guiding principle of our guerrilla units." He added: "We Palestinian guerrillas regard the Chinese People's Liberation Army created and led personally by Chairman Mao as our shining example. Chairman Mao's teaching that **The army must become one with the people so that they see it as their own army. Such**

an army will be invincible... is very important for our guerrilla units. Not only Israeli Zionism, but imperialism, revisionism and reaction are our enemy. Without the support of the masses, our guerrillas can not exist."

During intervals between battles, the fighters of this encampment often help the peasants to do farm work. They also distribute rifles to the local militia. They go on night patrol together with the militiamen. The unit is stationed in an orchard, yet none of the fighters has ever violated mass discipline. No one has even picked a fruit. The guerrilla fighters look after the houses and orchards for peasant households which have moved from the battlefield to the interior. There are regular meetings in the encampment at which criticism and self-criticism are made.

The broad masses of the Palestinian people regard the guerrillas as their own army. Some Palestinians living in the areas under Israeli occupation send information to the guerrillas, or act as their guides, or give cover to their activities at the risk of their own lives. When the mountain paths and the highways were blocked by heavy snow, the local inhabitants carried food to the guerrillas on their back. During enemy attacks, many of them fought shoulder to shoulder with the guerrillas.

You Fight in Your Way and We Fight in Ours; Attack the Enemy in Flexible Operations

The guerrillas cherish warm love for the people, and bitter hatred for the enemy. They always vie with one another in applying for taking part in battles whenever there are military operations to be carried out. The guerrillas make great efforts to apply in the course of fighting Chairman Mao's strategy and tactics on people's war: "You fight in your way and we fight in ours; we fight when we can win and move away when we can't." Operating flexibly, they hit the enemy on the battlefield and inflict heavy losses on him.

The day this correspondent visited the encampment near Karamah, a mine-sweeping group led by Abu Malwan, another commander of the encampment, returned. They had dug out over 100 mines laid by the enemy. The fighters brought some of them home and laid the rest in places frequented by the enemy to kill the enemy with his own mines.

With great elation, Malwan said: "Even enemy planes and tanks fail to cope with us, how can these few wretched mines block our advance? The enemy relies on weapons and technical equipment, while we rely on courage, political consciousness and the people's support. Facts have proved that we can defeat the well-equipped enemy with simple weapons."

Night is the best time for the guerrillas to strike the enemy. On the very night this correspondent visited the encampment, the unit planned to launch a surprise attack near Jericho on the western bank of the Jordan River. From a front-line observation post this correspondent could see enemy searchlights constantly

turning in all directions and flares which were shot into the sky. Though the Israeli aggressor troops had built rows of defence works, electrified wire entanglements, laid mines and set up an electron alarm system, they still felt insecure and panic-stricken. They were so nervous that bushes and trees were taken for guerrilla fighters. When an animal moved about, they were so frightened that they opened fire blindly as if confronted with an overwhelming army attacking them.

Some guerrilla fighters said: "Chairman Mao's thesis that imperialism and all reactionaries are paper tigers is absolutely correct. In the famous Karameh battle on March 21, last year, we exposed the true features of Israel as a paper tiger. Now we Palestinian guerrillas are immeasurably stronger than we were a year and a half ago. A look at the messy state of the enemy position shows that the Israeli aggressor is nothing but a paper tiger pure and simple."

An elderly fighter named Abu Sheikh said: "The reason why our people were driven out of their homeland is that we have not taken up arms. Now, we have our own army. Neither U.S. imperialism, Soviet revisionism, nor the United Nations can prevent us from

marching forward. We will fight on from generation to generation so long as Palestine is not liberated."

We Palestinian People Sincerely Wish Chairman Mao a Long, Long Life

During this correspondent's visits to guerrilla encampments and refugee camps, all the revolutionary Palestinian people were eager to express their best wishes for the great leader of the Chinese people Chairman Mao. In the refugee camp on the outskirts of Amman, this correspondent saw portraits of Chairman Mao put up respectfully in some of the refugees' tents. Many Palestinians repeatedly told this correspondent: "Be sure to tell the Chinese people about the Palestinian people's boundless respect and love for Chairman Mao."

A Palestinian guerrilla fighter named Sherif said warmly, "We sincerely wish Chairman Mao a long, long life! We Palestinian people will certainly follow Chairman Mao's teachings to carry the revolution through to the end!" His statement expresses the common wish of the broad masses of the revolutionary Palestinian people.

(Hsinhua correspondent)

A Carbon Copy of the "Theory Of Ultra-Imperialism"

by Kung Chun-yen

THROUGHOUT the history of the international communist movement, revisionists of all breeds and brands have tried to "revise" Marxism and emasculate its revolutionary spirit by such pretexts as a "new" stage, "new" features and "new" data.

This is also true of Brezhnev. At the sinister Moscow meeting last June, this renegade shouted that it is necessary "to make a close analysis of the new phenomena . . . taking place in the capitalist world" and to take note of the "many important features of modern imperialism" developed in order to "adapt itself to new conditions." What exactly are these "new" phenomena and "new" features of the imperialism of our time Brezhnev discovered?

He said: "First and foremost, we cannot afford to ignore the fact that the imperialism of our day still has a powerful and highly developed production mechanism."

He added: "We cannot afford to ignore the fact that modern imperialism also makes use of the possibilities placed before it by the increasing fusion of the monopolies with the state apparatus." "The programming and forecasting of production, state financing of technological progress and scientific research" in some countries are "leading to a certain enhancement of the efficacy of social production."

He also said that the "moderate wing" in imperialist ruling circles "assesses the present balance of power quite soberly" and can make contributions to "reducing the war danger and easing international tensions."

Take a look! This is the picture of modern imperialism's peaceful and prosperous paradise painted for the people by Brezhnev!

In Brezhnev's eyes, the sharpening contradictions inherent in imperialism have ceased to exist. Imperialism has gained a new lease on life and is no longer decaying, parasitic and moribund. The nature of imperialism has changed. In a word, Lenin's theory on imperialism is out of date.

This is a typical duplicate of the renegade Kautsky's "theory of ultra-imperialism," a most blatant betrayal of Marxism-Leninism.

The great Lenin profoundly exposed the essence, law and contradictions of imperialism. He pointed out that **imperialism is the highest stage of capitalism; it is parasitic or decaying capitalism; it is moribund capitalism.** He said that in the era of imperialism, "all the capitalist contradictions have become aggravated," and that "imperialism is the eve of the social revolution of the proletariat."

While tirelessly professing "loyalty to the behest of Lenin," Brezhnev has not hesitated to trample under-

foot Lenin's brilliant theories. This has fully exposed him as an imperialist flunkey!

Imperialist Economy Rotten to the Core

When Brezhnev howled that "the imperialism of our day still has a powerful and highly developed production mechanism," he meant that imperialism possesses powerful economic strength. This is an out-and-out embellishment of the imperialist system.

As long ago as 1947, our great leader Chairman Mao pointed out: **"The economic power of U.S. imperialism, which grew during World War II, is confronted with unstable and daily shrinking domestic and foreign markets. The further shrinking of these markets will cause economic crises to break out. The war boom in the United States of America was only temporary. The strength of the United States of America is only superficial and transient. Irreconcilable domestic and international contradictions, like a volcano, menace U.S. imperialism every day. U.S. imperialism is sitting on this volcano."**

The nature of the U.S. imperialist economy is strikingly military. Here are some figures: According to the U.S. press, U.S. militarymen and personnel connected with war projects account for 10 per cent of the country's employed. Annual procurement by the Defence Department reaches 43,000 million U.S. dollars. Of the biggest U.S. manufacturers, about 22,000 are contractors for the Defence Department's major military projects and, in addition, 100,000 corporations also "make some contributions to the production for national defence."

The U.S. economy is propped up by the production of lethal weapons and other military materiel to the tune of some 100,000 million U.S. dollars every year. Geared to militarization, the U.S. economy is decadent in essence, while its strength is only superficial and temporary. Its rotting nature is being revealed more and more clearly.

U.S. imperialism is the world's biggest debtor. Total government and corporation debts have reached the enormous sum of 1,100,000 million U.S. dollars. In 1965, private debts, that is, purchasing power borrowed by the American people from monopoly capital, came to half the total value of the gross national production. This means that for every additional dollar spent on production and servicing, half is based on consumption credits. This reflects the contradiction between monopoly capital's expanded productive capacity and a shrinking domestic market.

When in face of these facts Brezhnev still makes desperate efforts to brag about the "powerful" imperialist "production mechanism" it only shows how abjectly he worships the imperialist system!

"State Intervention" Cannot Harm Capitalist System in the Least

Brezhnev made loud noises about how imperialism is able "to adapt itself to new conditions" and is ca-

pable of bringing about "a certain enhancement of the efficacy of social production" through state "programming and forecasting" of the economy. In short, as Brezhnev sees it, imperialism has suddenly been resuscitated by an overriding remedy — state-monopoly capitalism.

The United States is one of the imperialist countries in which the state apparatus practises "programming and forecasting" of the economy. Through this apparatus, monopoly capital intervenes in the economic life of the country by means of the federal budget, which is approximately one-fourth of the total value of the gross national output. But can such "programming and forecasting" really overcome the fundamental contradiction of capitalism, the contradiction between the social character of production and the private character of ownership, and alter the economic laws of capitalism? It absolutely cannot!

Lenin put it well when he said that state-monopoly capitalism is **"still capitalism, without a doubt."** In intervening in an economy with a huge budget, U.S. imperialism aims at bringing about a redistribution of the income of the national economy, by disguised and crafty means, to the advantage of the monopolists.

In the United States, 95 per cent of the budgetary revenue comes from various kinds of taxes. The bulk is made up of personal income tax and the so-called social insurance tax, both coming mainly from the masses, which accounted for 67 per cent of the revenue in fiscal 1968.

In the manufacture of lethal weapons and maintenance of its huge armed forces, the U.S. Defence Department has to rely on U.S. monopoly firms. Even the research and trial production of new weapons have to be undertaken in the "research and development" institutes of the big firms. In this way, the U.S. Government hands out, through its budgetary outlay, enormous funds to monopoly capital to guarantee the sale of the latter's products and provide it with fat profits. Can state intervention of such a nature even slightly affect capitalism's fundamental contradiction? Certainly not!

By taking full advantage of the "possibilities" of the "fusion of the monopolies with the state apparatus" and by means of state intervention in the economy through the budget, during the 24 post-war years, the last decade in particular, U.S. imperialism has not only brought on an unprecedented sharpening of the fundamental contradiction of capitalism, that is, the contradiction between the social character of production and the private character of ownership, but has also brought the U.S. economy to the opposite of what is desired by U.S. imperialism. Military expenditures increase year after year. Although this acts as a temporary stimulant to industrial production, it rapidly leads to runaway inflation and huge international payments deficits, thus greatly accelerating the outbreak of financial and monetary crises. U.S. imperialism now finds itself up against the wall: it can neither slash its military expenditures in the federal budget nor check

inflation and deficits arising from huge military spending. Still, U.S. imperialism goes on seeking help through intervention by the federal budget. This is just like drinking poison to quench a thirst. Nixon who came to power not long ago had to admit too that this would eventually lead to an irremediable situation.

Our great leader Chairman Mao has pointed out wisely: **"The imperialist system is riddled with insuperable internal contradictions."** It is utterly futile for Brezhnev to shamelessly pipe up for imperialism, saying that it is able "to adapt itself to new conditions" and overcome its inherent contradictions.

Refute the So-Called "Moderate Wing"

Is there a "moderate wing" in imperialist ruling cliques? The answer is no! This is determined entirely by the nature of imperialism. Imperialism is predatory by nature. Imperialism means war. By war and other means, imperialism fights for markets, sources of raw material and outlets for capital export. It grabs colonies and enslaves other nations. It strives to beat its rivals, not only in the domestic market but also in the international market.

Chairman Mao teaches us: **"When we say 'imperialism is ferocious', we mean that its nature will never change, that the imperialists will never lay down their butcher knives, that they will never become Buddhas, till their doom."** From the time the monster of imperialism came into the world, the evil imperialist system has plunged mankind into two wars on a global scale and a hundred or so wars of a localized nature. It is the most diabolical kind of fraud to spout gibberish that the enemies of the world's people are angels of peace, declaring that the "moderate wing" of the imperialist ruling cliques "assesses the present balance of power quite soberly" and that it can contribute to "reducing the war danger and easing international tensions."

Is it not true that the imperialists are holding out an olive-branch in hand and singing "peace hymns"? That is political fraud. At a time when the balance of class forces in the world is increasingly moving against imperialism and when the imperialist policies of aggression and war are continuously meeting with failure, the imperialists have to fall back all the more on political deception. But the law of class struggle tells us that political deception is supplementary to war gambles. Political deception and war gambles, imperialism's counter-revolutionary dual tactics, are employed alternately and they supplement each other. They both serve imperialist ends—to maintain its reactionary rule and carry out aggression and plunder.

Since the notorious 20th congress of the Soviet revisionist party, all those championing the interests of the U.S. monopoly capitalists and feverishly carrying out the U.S. imperialist policies of aggression and war—from Eisenhower, Kennedy, and Johnson to Nixon—have without exception been praised as "sensible" or "moderate" by the Soviet revisionist renegade clique.

But facts have made Soviet revisionism a laughing-stock.

U.S. imperialism is pushing its counter-revolutionary global strategy at every turn, trotting out one plan for aggression and expansion after another and rigging up aggressive bloc after aggressive bloc. It has signed so-called "defence" pacts with 43 countries and regions and provided 48 countries and regions with "military aid." It is energetically reviving Japanese and West German militarism to serve as U.S. hatchetmen in a new world war. Are these indications of the "moderation" and "sensiblyness" of the U.S. imperialist chieftains?

U.S. imperialism supplies money and guns everywhere to back all reaction in the world in efforts to crush the revolutionary forces of the people in many countries. It has even taken a direct part by sending troops to launch local wars all over the world. Statistics show that of the more than 80 localized wars and large-scale armed clashes instigated by imperialism in different parts of the world after World War II, more than 50 are directly linked with U.S. imperialism. Are these also indications of the "moderation" and "sensiblyness" of the U.S. imperialist chieftains?

U.S. imperialism spends tens of thousands of million U.S. dollars every year on military procurements to make all kinds of deadly weapons. It has over 2,000 military bases and installations and 1,500,000 troops abroad, over 500,000 of them in south Viet Nam where they kill and burn. Are these also indications of the "moderation" and "sensiblyness" of the U.S. imperialist chieftains?

Nixon, who is extolled by the Soviet revisionist renegade clique as "a peace fighter," has been in the White House well over half a year. Has he shown any "moderation"? It is precisely Nixon who boosts military expenditures to a record high in U.S. history, who froths and fumes that U.S. imperialism will "continue to be the source of world leadership" and will continue to undertake "commitments around the world," and who steps up collaboration with the Soviet revisionists and reactionaries of all countries in an attempt to throw together a military ring against China.

By brazenly lauding the bosses of U.S. imperialism, Brezhnev and Co. can only further expose the ugly features of the Soviet revisionist renegades.

From Kautsky to Brezhnev

Kautsky has been dead for over 30 years, and the "theory of ultra-imperialism" puffed up by this shameless renegade to the proletariat has been lying in the garbage dump of history for half a century. But the ghost of Kautsky lingers on, and, reincarnated in the person of Brezhnev, walks again.

World War I which broke out in 1914 was the inevitable consequence of the intense sharpening of the contradictions inherent in imperialism. It marked the redivision by force of arms of spheres of influence on a worldwide scale by the imperialist powers. When war clouds hung over the world, Kautsky, catering to

the needs of imperialism, trotted out his "theory of ultra-imperialism" to serve imperialism's war of aggression. His pretext was that a "new" situation and "new" features had appeared with regard to imperialism.

Kautsky said that the capitalist system had enormous "flexibility and adaptability" to deal with the "new" situation and "new" features, being able to "adapt to the new, often astonishing and extremely heavy requirements." And so he concluded that capitalism "possesses far more vitality as was the case half a century ago" and was entering "the stage of ultra-imperialism." During this stage, so it was said, the "worst of the causes" that had led to the decay and bankruptcy of capitalism, i.e., the basic contradiction of capitalism, was "disappearing." (Hilferding, another Second International revisionist bigwig, said that capitalism had so altered that it could "control the blind laws governing markets," with the "socialist principle of planned production replacing the capitalist principle of free competition," and that it had become an "organized economy" and "organized capitalism.") Therefore, in the eyes of Kautsky, imperialism's policies of aggression and war "are no longer indispensable to the development of the capitalist economy," and capitalism has created within itself "new hopes" of perpetual peace. In other words, the nature of imperialism has changed. This is Kautsky's stinking "theory of ultra-imperialism."

One only need compare the old-line revisionist Kautsky of some 50 years ago and the Soviet revisionist chieftain Brezhnev of today to see how alike they are in dressing up imperialism. Even in choice of words,

there is only a distinction without any difference. When Brezhnev raved about the "features" of the "power" of imperialism and what not at the sinister Moscow meeting last June, wasn't he taking a leaf from Kautsky's "theory of ultra-imperialism"?

The fact that Brezhnev has been so energetic in trumpeting the "power" of imperialism and prettifying the imperialist system in every possible way shows that he is doing it entirely on behalf of the counter-revolutionary collusion between Soviet revisionism and U.S. imperialism and in defence of social-imperialism as practised by the Soviet revisionists themselves. In uttering all this nonsense, Brezhnev is also trying to frighten off the revolutionary people of the world from rising against imperialism and making revolution, so as to maintain the criminal rule of imperialism for ever. But the "theory of ultra-imperialism" advocated by the renegade Kautsky during his lifetime had already been crushed to pieces by the wheel of history, and had gone completely bankrupt. Brezhnev today is picking up this worthless trash left behind by Kautsky. This rubbish can in no way hold back the torrent of the revolutionary struggle of the people of the world, nor can it save imperialism and social-imperialism from certain doom! The ideological and social system of capitalism has become a museum-piece in some parts of the world, while in the rest it is sinking fast and will soon be consigned to the museum. In this historic era when the people the world over are waging the great struggle to wipe out imperialism, let us hold high the great red banner of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought and advance with full confidence to welcome the new victories which lie ahead!

Dispatch From Brazzaville

Fruit of Chinese-Congolese (B) Friendship

AN imposing up-to-date factory has sprung up in Kinsoundi, a suburb of Brazzaville, capital of the Congo (B). It is the Kinsoundi Textile Combine, built with Chinese assistance. The construction of this textile, printing and dyeing, and knitwear plant began on November 26, 1966, and was completed on May 15, 1969. A ceremony marking the handing over of the combine was held on August 12. This combine is the crystallization of the friendship between the Chinese and Congolese (B) peoples and a fruit of the joint labour of the workers and technicians of the two countries. It adds a glorious page to the history of friendly co-operation between the two countries. Its completion will help the Congo (B) in developing a national, independent economy and becoming self-reliant.

In the course of construction, many people came from all parts of the country to visit their first modern textile mill. They were very happy to see Chinese engineering and technical personnel working side by side

with Congolese (B) workers and learning from each other. When they saw the first generation of women workers of their own country skilfully handling the machines and their own workers producing and printing colourful cloth with national characteristics and making fine, beautiful knitwear, they were very proud and full of praise. The Congolese (B) friends said with emotion: "This is a brilliant example of proletarian internationalist assistance." "We are exceedingly grateful to the great leader Chairman Mao." At the end of their visit, some Congolese (B) friends raised their arms and shouted: "Long live the friendship between the Congo (B) and China!" "Long live the Chinese people!" "Long live Chairman Mao! A long, long life to him!"

"Spirit of Self-Reliance — The Most Precious Treasure"

Following the great leader Chairman Mao's teaching: "Serve the people of China and the world," Chinese

engineering and technical personnel came to Africa from far across the seas to assist the Congolese (B) people with their construction. Throughout the work, they, in the spirit of self-reliance, overcame many difficulties related to material and construction.

At the early stage of construction, 4.2 million red bricks were needed but were beyond the capacity of the local kilns. The Chinese engineering and technical personnel decided to make cement bricks themselves and immediately built sheds and made moulds for this purpose. Ignoring blisters on their hands and physical exhaustion, they worked side by side with the Congolese (B) workers and made more than 2.5 million cement bricks as a substitute. This ensured a timely supply and saved local building expenses for the Congo (B).

During the building of workshops, there were difficulties in transporting construction material. Large numbers of steel girders and beams and reinforced concrete prefabricated parts which were stored 400 to 500 metres away had to be transported by flat-bed trailers which were lacking on the worksite. After putting their heads together, the Chinese personnel, without spending a penny, built a big simple flat-bed trailer by using the wheels of concrete mixers and welding together some steel tubes. This trailer not only served the purpose but also saved time. To economize, the Chinese personnel built with their own hands windows and doors totalling more than 3,000 square metres, which were originally planned to be made somewhere else. Furthermore, using waste materials they built a workers' club and a canteen.

The spirit of self-reliance of the Chinese engineering and technical personnel impressed the Congolese (B) workers deeply. They said in praise: "Chairman Mao's teaching on 'self-reliance' is a universally applicable truth. Our Chinese friends not only build the factory for us but, what is more important, pass on to us the revolutionary spirit of relying on one's efforts and working hard with great vigour. This spirit is the most precious treasure."

The Internationalist Spirit of Utter Devotion to Others Without Any Thought of Self

Stirring stories are being widely circulated among the Congolese (B) people of how the Chinese and Congolese (B) technicians and workers built the basement of the cotton spinning shop in the spirit of defying fatigue and working continuously.

The earthwork involved in the building of this basement was the heaviest of the project. The Chinese technicians and Congolese (B) workers decided to build it entirely by manual labour.

Working in a five-metre-deep pit beneath the scorching equatorial sun was suffocating for the workers and caused them to sweat profusely as soon as they started to work. It was the rainy season then and sometimes cave-ins were caused by the torrential rains. This created many problems. But defying all difficulties, the Chinese personnel and Congolese (B)

workers dug up the earth with their picks and shovels and carted it away with enthusiasm. After a little over two months of arduous labour, they finished the earthwork and began to lay the concrete floor. Finally, a ceiling had to be built over the basement which involved great technical skill and had to be completed in one stretch of work. This required working round the clock. The Chinese engineering and technical personnel and Congolese (B) workers organized themselves into two shifts and worked jointly day and night. After 24 hours of arduous struggle the construction of the basement was completed.

Once, when the Chinese engineering and technical personnel were having supper, the weather changed suddenly and a heavy downpour was imminent. Just at that moment some trucks loaded with cement arrived at the construction site. Without hesitation, all the Chinese personnel left the dining table and rushed out to save the property of the Congolese (B) people. They carried bag after bag of cement into the warehouse, working in the heavy rain and wading through the mud for more than two hours with the trucks' headlights for illumination. When they finished the job, everyone was covered with mud from head to foot. Greatly moved, a Congolese (B) warehouse keeper shouted with tears in his eyes: "Long live the Chinese working class!" "Long live Chairman Mao!"

To speed up the work so that the combine could serve the Congolese (B) people at an early date, the Chinese engineering and technical personnel often worked overtime and even on holidays. Many of them kept working even when they were ill. A veteran Chinese worker kept on working in the printing and dyeing workshop for more than half a year despite serious herniation of the lumbar intervertebral disc. The Congolese (B) workers were deeply moved by the Chinese personnel's spirit of utter devotion to others without any thought of self. A worker named Gabriel said with emotion: "We see the power of Mao Tsetung Thought from the staunch and courageous spirit of the Chinese engineering and technical personnel towards difficulties and their style of working hard and living simply. They work selflessly wherever the work is dirtiest, heaviest and most dangerous. They are even prepared to sacrifice themselves for the cause of our Congolese people. We shall never forget these heroes of today who are armed with Mao Tsetung Thought."

Passing On Technical Know-how to Congolese (B) Brothers Without Reservation

The Chinese engineering and technical personnel take the Congolese (B) workers as their brothers and regard the passing on of technical know-how to them as their bounden internationalist duty. In the course of the construction, the Chinese personnel did everything they could to pass on their know-how to the Congolese (B) workers without reservation. Owing to long years of domination by the colonialists who monopolized technique, many Congolese (B) workers at the early stage of construction regarded technique as

Ceremony Marking the Handing Over of Textile Combine Built With Chinese Assistance for Congo (B)

A CEREMONY marking the handing over to the Congo (B) of the Kinsoundi Textile Combine built with Chinese assistance took place on the eve of the sixth anniversary of the August Revolution of the Congo (Brazzaville). This is the first state textile combine in the Republic of the Congo (B).

Marien Ngouabi, President of the National Council of the Revolution and Head of State of the Congo (B), cut the ribbon at the ceremony.

Wang Yu-tien, Chinese Ambassador to the Congo (B), and Chinese engineering and technical personnel who took part in building the combine, were present.

Ambassador Wang Yu-tien pointed out in his speech that the successful completion of the Kinsoundi Textile Combine is a fruit of Sino-Congolese (B) co-operation in the economic and technical fields. It has opened a luminous page in the history of friendly co-operation between China and the Congo (B). Wang Yu-tien sincerely thanked the Congolese (B) Government and people for the help given and the concern shown to the Chinese engineering and technical personnel during the course of the construction. He expressed the wish that the friendship between the two peoples will grow and develop daily.

On behalf of the Congolese (B) people and Government, Secretary of State for Economy and Finance Edouard Madingou, who is in charge of industry and mines, expressed profound gratitude to the Chinese people and Government. He said that the Kinsoundi Textile Combine was a fruit of Sino-Congolese (B) co-operation. "On this occasion," he said, "it is with great pride and joy that we present this splendid fruit to the Congolese people. Judged by its cost, generosity, social value, and economic importance, this is a remarkable work."

Madingou stressed that "such generosity is remarkable, for the Chinese technical assistance experts have displayed a spirit of sacrifice, hard work and devotedness in studying the project, in its execution and in preparations for its operation. This has enlightened all those who worked with them, far and near, thus vividly illustrating the thought of Chairman Mao Tsetung. In line with this thought, the Chinese assistance technicians, wherever they are sent, live under conditions which are similar to those of the people of the country, and set an example in the idea and consciousness of socialist and internationalist revolution."

something mysterious and very difficult to learn. By studying together and talking to them, the Chinese personnel helped increase their confidence in their ability to learn technique.

In order to overcome the language barrier when explaining specific technical problems, the Chinese personnel followed Chairman Mao's teaching that "a revolutionary war is a mass undertaking; it is often not a matter of first learning and then doing, but of doing and then learning, for doing is itself learning" and let the Congolese (B) workers take part in practice first and then explained the theory to them so that they learnt in the course of work. They boldly let the Congolese (B) workers practise operating the machines and taught them while they were working. To give them more practice, they let the Congolese (B) workers dismantle the looms and then reassemble them so as to enrich their practical experience. Apart from this, the Chinese personnel often make use of their spare time to explain technical problems to the Congolese (B) workers.

During the construction, machine installation and trial-production, the Chinese personnel trained nearly 1,000 Congolese (B) technical workers. Thanks to their own conscientious efforts to learn, on the whole, they can now work independently, and some of them have almost reached the level of skilled workers. Young worker Oguili in the weaving shop who previously had no technical knowledge can now undertake the overhauling of the looms and set right complicated mechanical troubles. An old worker named Sivan in the spinning shop had worked for years at a textile centre of the colonialists. At that time all he had "learnt" was to sweep the floor, push carts and at most how to join the threads. But now, he operates two spinning frames with ease. He said: "Chinese workers are sincere in teaching us technique. They never get impatient even if we ask a thousand questions. From the sign-language they used in teaching us technique we can see their sincerity. I have only worked side by side with the Chinese workers for a few months but I have learnt what I could not learn in more than

20 years working for the colonialists." Old worker Simon who had been dismissed by the colonialists simply because he had had a look at the blueprint of a machine, said with feeling: "The technicians sent by Chairman Mao not only give us fish but also teach us how to fish. For generations, we have never seen such good friends."

"Chairman Mao, We Wish You a Long, Long Life!"

"Chinese technical personnel are good and China's assistance is sincere and effective. All this is due to the good teaching of Chairman Mao and because Mao Tsetung Thought has infinite power." This is the conclusion the Congolese (B) workers of the Kinsoundi Textile Combine have drawn after working with the Chinese engineering and technical personnel for more than two years.

Through their personal experience, many Congolese (B) workers have come to realize that great Mao Tsetung Thought is the powerful weapon to overcome every difficulty. They are particularly keen on studying *Quotations From Chairman Mao Tsetung*. One of them said: "Mao Tsetung Thought is the source of wisdom and strength for our workers. After studying the treasured red book, we have clearer minds and

keener vision; we become more clever and more capable."

The Congolese (B) workers warmly love Chairman Mao. They often asked their Chinese friends for portraits of Chairman Mao and Chairman Mao badges. Many of them had portraits of Chairman Mao framed and put them up in the workshops or in their homes. Possessing his first portrait of Chairman Mao, an old worker was very excited. He joyfully took the portrait home and carefully put it up on the wall. Gazing at the portrait he said with emotion: "Oh, respected and beloved Chairman Mao, I have invited you to our home at last. This is a great happiness for my whole family."

When the Chinese engineering and technical personnel left Congo (B) for home by groups, farewell parties were held by the whole factory and in the workshops. The Congolese (B) workers warmly embraced their Chinese friends, reluctant to part with them. With tears in their eyes, they held the hands of their Chinese friends and said: "You are going home but the combine Chairman Mao has helped us build is with us. We Congolese (B) people are for ever grateful to Chairman Mao. When you go back to Peking, please convey to Chairman Mao our heartfelt wish: We wish the great leader Chairman Mao a long, long life! A long, long life to him!"

Defeat of "Mechanization" by Revolutionization Is the Logic of History

After seeing the documentary "Chenpao Island Brooks No Violation"

by Hung Chuang-chih

Of a P.L.A. armoured unit

WE will not attack unless we are attacked; if we are attacked, we will certainly counter-attack. On March 15, our frontier guards and civilians on Chenpao Island triumphantly repulsed the Soviet revisionist aggressor troops' armed intrusion into our motherland's territory Chenpao Island. With the powerful spiritual force of fearing neither hardship nor death, they knocked the stuffings out of the aggressors and sent them flying helter-skelter, thus exposing the paper tiger features of the new tsars. The documentary *Chenpao Island Brooks No Violation* factually records the heroic feats performed during this counter-attack in self-defence. The film is a song of victory for the defeat of Soviet revisionist "mechanization" by ideological revolutionization.

Filled with deep hatred for imperialism, revisionism and all reaction, we were greatly indignant when

we saw in the film how, during its intrusion into China's territory Chenpao Island, Soviet revisionist social-imperialism used aircraft, large numbers of tanks, armoured cars, etc., and how it heavily shelled the tiny island and launched three frenzied assaults. This social-imperialist gangster was full of bluster and arrogance, as if it was an "iron tiger." The Soviet revisionists thought that they could overwhelm the Chinese people with their "tortoise shells" [tanks and armoured cars] and realize their fond dream of aggression and expansion. However, confronted by the Chinese people and the Chinese People's Liberation Army, who are armed with Mao Tsetung Thought, their "tortoise shells" were nothing but paper tigers which fell to bits as soon as they were hit. Just note, we didn't use aircraft or tanks. Relying on invincible Mao Tsetung Thought and the revolutionary spirit of fearing neither hardship nor death, and with the resolve

to "fight the Soviet revisionists to the end even if our blood make the Wusuli River flow red," our fighters displayed great courage and composure. They flexibly counter-attacked in self-defence and reduced the Soviet revisionists' "tortoise shells" to heaps of scrap iron which lay like dead "turtles." The Soviet revisionist aggressor troops, with their "tortoise shells" knocked out, their "mechanization" a failure, revealed their true paper-tiger features. They were useless on foot, they just couldn't walk and they had no place to hide. Our heroic fighters stood on top of the "tortoise shells" as they denounced the new tsars and joyfully recounted how our ideological revolutionization defeated the Soviet revisionists' "mechanization."

The great leader Chairman Mao teaches us: **"Weapons are an important factor in war, but not the decisive factor; it is people, not things, that are decisive."** Vice-Chairman Lin instructs us: "What is the greatest fighting power? It is men who are armed with Mao Tsetung Thought. It is courage, it is fearlessness in the face of death."

To arm ourselves with Mao Tsetung Thought and to do a good job of our ideological revolutionization is fundamental to our defeat of imperialism, revisionism and the reactionaries of all countries. It was precisely because our comrades-in-arms on Chenpao Island had attained a high level of ideological revolutionization that they displayed the greatest courage in battle and were able to take enemy positions in attack and hold their own in defence, to pit one man against ten and to work miracles. New fighters who had never before fought on a battlefield were able to fight magnificently and cadres who had never before commanded in battle were able to command well. The heroic fighters on Chenpao Island put it aptly: "Our greatest ability to defeat the enemy is a high level of proletarian consciousness." This superiority is exclusively possessed by a people's army and is something which none other can have. As for the Soviet revisionist army, under the control of the Soviet revisionist renegade clique, it has degenerated into a fascist army which suppresses the people at home and carries out aggression against other countries. It has long since forfeited the political superiority of a proletarian army and like all reactionary armies has blind faith in "tortoise shells" and makes a fetish of weapons. But after all, what use is a political corpse encased in a "tortoise shell"?

Our army's glorious fighting record over the decades is a record of defeating all kinds of "mechanization" through ideological revolutionization.

Under most difficult conditions and with very poor equipment, we

relied on Chairman Mao's great thinking on people's war and on proletarian consciousness and courage to defeat the then all mighty "military despot of the East" — Japanese fascism — and smashed Japanese imperialism which was dreaming of hegemony over all of Asia.

With millet plus rifles we wiped out, within the short space of a little over three years, the 8-million-strong reactionary Kuomintang army which was equipped with modern weapons provided by U.S. imperialism, bringing about the complete collapse of the Chiang dynasty and driving the imperialists out of China.

During the War to Resist U.S. Aggression and Aid Korea, we gave full play to the great thinking of daring to struggle and daring to win and defeated the world's No. 1 imperialism, and forced it to stop its war of aggression against Korea. We exposed this arrogant paper tiger for what it was to the people of the whole world.

Today, in the battles of counter-attack in self-defence on Chenpao Island, we pulverized the Soviet revisionists' much-vaunted "tortoise shells" and defeated the "mechanization" they relied on, thus humiliating this ferocious social-imperialism and exposing its feebleness.

You fight with your "mechanization" and we with our revolutionization; you exert your superiority and we exert our superiority. No matter how many "tortoise shells" the enemy has and no matter what superiority it may possess in "mechanization," it cannot escape being severely beaten like it was on the Chenpao Island! **Courage and fearlessness in the face of death are an incomparably powerful spiritual atom bomb. It is the logic of history that revolutionization is bound to triumph over "mechanization"!**



Confronted by the Chinese People's Liberation Army, which is armed with Mao Tsetung Thought, the Soviet revisionists' "tortoise shell" has been beaten into a heap of scrap iron.

ACROSS THE LAND

Tibet Reaps Its 11th Consecutive Bumper Harvest

UNDER the guidance of Chairman Mao's great principle: "**Grasp revolution and promote production and other work and preparedness against war,**" and inspired by the spirit of the Party's Ninth National Congress, the million emancipated Tibetan peasants, taking great Mao Tsetung Thought as their weapon, have overcome all kinds of natural disasters to get their eleventh bumper harvest since democratic reforms were introduced in Tibet in 1958. The wheat fields are like a rippling golden sea and everywhere is the joyful scene of a bumper harvest. Judging by what has been gathered in many townships and people's communes, **this year's harvest beats last year's by about 10 per cent.**

The broad masses of the Tibetan peasantry unanimously agree that this is a new victory for invincible Mao Tsetung Thought and Chairman Mao's revolutionary line on the Tibetan Plateau, and a new victory for the spirit of the Party's Ninth National Congress as well as the rich fruition of this spirit in Tibet.

This year, drought, insect pests, early frost, hail and other natural disasters struck some agricultural areas in Tibet during the grain growing season. But the peasants, displaying the thoroughgoing revolutionary spirit of "**fearing neither hardship nor death,**" put up placards in the fields bearing Chairman Mao's instruction: "**Be resolute, fear no sacrifice and surmount every difficulty to win victory**" in the Tibetan language and studied it as they fought against nature day and night. As a result, they finally overcame the various natural disasters and reaped this year's bountiful harvest.

After getting their bumper crop, peasants all over Tibet delivered their best grain to the state to sup-

port the motherland's construction and the world revolution.

They also resolutely stated that under the leadership of the Party Central Committee with Chairman Mao as its leader and Vice-Chairman Lin as its deputy leader, they will wipe out U.S. imperialism and Soviet revisionism resolutely, thoroughly, wholly and completely, if they dare to invade the great motherland's frontiers.

China Produces 15-Ton Tip Trucks for Mines

THE first batch of Chinese designed and made 15-ton tip trucks for mines has come off the assembly lines of the Shanghai Truck Plant with flying colours.

Heavy-duty 15-ton tip trucks are essential for the development of the mining industry. In the past, a handful of capitalist roaders, shielded by the counter-revolutionary revisionist line of Liu Shao-chi, raved that "it is better to buy heavy-duty trucks than to build a truck plant, because the investment would be great and we only need a few of such trucks." As willing compradors of the imperialists, revisionists and reactionaries, they refused to make the tip trucks for mines and urged that "motor vehicles be imported." Taking advantage of this, the imperialists, revisionists and reactionaries tried to bully and squeeze us in many ways. Filled with deep hatred for imperialism, revisionism and all reaction, Shanghai's working class long ago proposed that China make heavy-duty trucks itself. Like a thunderbolt the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution smashed Liu Shao-chi's counter-revolutionary revisionist line as well as the fetters which had

restricted the development of the social productive forces for so long.

In line with Chairman Mao's teaching of "**maintaining independence and keeping the initiative in our own hands and relying on our own efforts,**" the revolutionary workers of the Shanghai Truck Plant entrusted with the building of these heavy-duty trucks resolved to turn them out as quickly as possible to deal a heavy blow at imperialism, revisionism and all reaction. They formed a "three-in-one" trial-production team made up of workers, revolutionary cadres and revolutionary technicians, with the workers as the main force, and went to the mining areas to investigate and hear from the miners themselves what they wanted of such a truck.

Following our great leader Chairman Mao's teaching that "**we must break away from convention and adopt as many advanced techniques as possible,**" they designed, with an eye to actual needs, a simple and practical truck with a hydraulic jack which enables it to load and unload automatically, so that labour intensity would be reduced and the work in the mines be speeded up.

During the course of production, the truck makers put into full play the revolutionary spirit of "fearing neither hardship nor death" and overcame one difficulty after another. More than 70 units, including the Shanghai No. 1 Steel Plant, actively co-operated with the truck plant to contribute their share to producing these heavy-duty trucks for mines at an early date.

Through the concerted efforts of the automobile workers in Shanghai and other parts of the country, the first batch of trucks was successfully designed and produced in just 156 days. Such speed is rare in the annals of the world's motor industry. The appearance of these trucks marks a new technical level reached by China's auto industry.

Trial runs proved the trucks were up to the mark and meet the requirements for which they were designed.

The Whole Nation Warmly Acclaims Publication of Slogans for Celebration Of 20th Anniversary of Founding of People's Republic of China

The broad masses of workers, peasants, soldiers, Red Guards, revolutionary cadres and revolutionary intellectuals working on all fronts of the country were greatly inspired and elated when they heard the broadcast of the slogans for the National Day celebration. They said: These slogans are battle orders issued to the army-men and civilians throughout the country by the Party Central Committee with Chairman Mao as its leader and Vice-Chairman Lin as its deputy leader. We warmly support these slogans and will firmly carry them out. We pledge to set off a new high tide in the mass movement for the living study and application of Mao Tsetung Thought, seize new victories in socialist revolution and socialist construction and unite with the people of the world to firmly oppose any war of aggression launched by imperialism or social-imperialism.

During their study of these slogans, workers, peasants and soldiers throughout the country reviewed the militant history of our great socialist motherland over the past twenty years. Greatly elated, they said: Following the great victory in the new-democratic revolution, our motherland scored a series of great victories in socialist revolution and socialist construction; poor and backward old China has been turned into a socialist country which has attained initial prosperity.

They declared: The National Day slogans hold high the great red banner of Mao Tsetung Thought, reflect the great victories in China's socialist revolution and socialist construction over the past twenty years and in the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution over the past three years,

and demonstrate the firm will and determination of the army-men and civilians of the whole country to carry the socialist revolution and the great struggle against imperialism, revisionism and all reaction through to the end.

Study of the National Day slogans has imbued the masses of army-men and civilians with still stronger fighting will and greater revolutionary ardour. Determined to give further play to the spirit of the Ninth Party Congress, they have pledged to carry out the tasks of struggle-criticism-transformation conscientiously, firmly grasp revolutionary mass criticism, and **grasp revolution and promote production and other work and preparedness against war**, and to heighten their vigilance, defend the motherland and greet the 20th anniversary of the founding of the great People's Republic of China with concrete actions.

After studying the slogans, army-men and civilians throughout the country declared with revolutionary heroism: The Chinese people and the Chinese People's Liberation Army, who are armed with Mao Tsetung Thought and tempered in the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, are determined to liberate the motherland's sacred territory Taiwan and resolutely, thoroughly, wholly and completely wipe out all aggressors who dare to come.

While studying and discussing the slogans, they restudy our great leader Chairman Mao's great teachings: **"The people of all countries are rising. A new historical period of struggle against U.S. imperialism and Soviet revisionism has begun,"** and **"with regard to the question of world**

war, there are but two possibilities: One is that the war will give rise to revolution and the other is that revolution will prevent the war." They are profoundly educated by studying these teachings. They said: The 22nd slogan is a great mobilization order of far-reaching strategic significance. It points out to the people of the world the wild ambition of imperialism and social-imperialism to launch a war of aggression, especially one in which atom bombs are used as weapons. As the 22nd slogan says, we must doubly heighten our vigilance and preparations should be made right now. Should imperialism or social-imperialism dare to launch a war of aggression, we will surely unite with the people of the world and use revolutionary war to eliminate it!

The revolutionary workers of various nationalities in the coking shop of the Sinkiang "August 1st" Iron and Steel Plant have pledged to resolutely carry out the battle orders from the Party Central Committee, firmly grasp revolution and energetically promote production and make still more outstanding achievements to help strengthen national defence, safeguard the motherland and defeat any aggressor who dares to come.

The frontier guards in the Chen-pao Island area and the western part of the Barluk Mountains all agree to the following: By brandishing nuclear weapons, U.S. imperialism and Soviet revisionism are only revealing that they are outwardly strong but inwardly weak. With regard to the war of aggression launched by imperialism or social-imperialism, especially one in which atom bombs are used as weapons, our attitude is first we are not afraid, and second, we will deal with it seriously. While guarding the frontiers, we have our motherland in our hearts and a world view in our minds. We are determined to unite with the proletarians and the oppressed people and nations of the world to overthrow U.S. imperialism,

Soviet revisionism and reactionaries of all countries.

Our great leader Chairman Mao teaches us: **"Unite to win still greater victories."** The army-men and civilians throughout the country, while studying the slogans for the National Day celebration, studied once more this great teaching of Chairman Mao's. They are determined to hold aloft the banner of unity and victory of the Ninth Party Congress, rally still more closely around the Party Central Committee with Chairman Mao as its leader and Vice-Chairman Lin as its deputy leader, further strengthen the unity of the people of all nationalities of our country, strengthen the unity with the revolutionary peoples of the world, strive to fulfil the fighting tasks set forth by the Ninth Party Congress and win new and still greater victories to celebrate the 20th anniversary of the founding of the great People's Republic of China.

Socialist Revolutionary Emulation on the Iron And Steel Front

The Shoutu Iron and Steel Company initiated on September 10 a revolutionary emulation proposal for **"grasping revolution and promoting production and other work and preparedness against war"** to four other iron and steel companies. It contained a suggestion that they should greet the 20th anniversary of the founding of the People's Republic of China with outstanding achievements in revolution and production, and do credit to the great leader Chairman Mao and to our great socialist motherland.

The revolutionary committees and revolutionary masses of the four iron and steel companies at Wuhan, Paotow, Taiyuan and Chungking warmly responded to this proposal and themselves advanced concrete measures for the emulation in accordance with their own specific conditions. They are determined to learn from the fraternal companies and help each other in the emulation drive. A revolutionary emulation campaign to compare with, learn

from and overtake the advanced is developing in full swing.

Inspired by Chairman Mao's great call **"Unite to win still greater victories,"** and by the spirit of the Ninth Party Congress, the veteran worker delegates of the Shoutu Iron and Steel Company, fighting by the side of Chairman Mao, introduced the proposal for revolutionary emulation at the company's second congress of activists in the living study and application of Mao Tsetung Thought. Their proposal won the immediate and enthusiastic support of the company's leadership and revolutionary masses. After conscientious discussions by the revolutionary committee of the company and all its plants, shops, shifts and work groups, the following five-point emulation programme was submitted for consideration to the fraternal iron and steel companies:

1. Hold high the great red banner of Mao Tsetung Thought and carry out revolutionary mass criticism in a deep-going and sustained way, work for the successful accomplishment of the tasks of struggle-criticism-transformation, and turn our enterprises into great red schools of Mao Tsetung Thought.

2. Promote the revolutionization of the leading groups.

3. Under the guidance of Chairman Mao's general line of **"going all out, aiming high and achieving greater, faster, better and more economical results in building socialism,"** strive to fulfil or overfulfil the state plans, and help strengthen our national defence and safeguard our motherland.

4. Gradually change the irrational rules and regulations, adhere to the rational ones, strictly observe labour discipline and the labour system, guarantee safety in production, and achieve the utmost economy in the consumption of fuel, power and raw material.

5. Vigorously unfold the "three-in-one" [combination of workers, revolutionary technicians and leading cadres] technical innovation movement and make outstanding achievements.

After the proposal reached the Wuhan Iron and Steel Company, all its units ran Mao Tsetung Thought study classes of different kinds. Using the Shoutu Iron and Steel Company's revolutionary proposal as the criterion, they summed up the experience in each unit, earnestly examined and found out where they lagged behind and mapped out needed measures. Stimulated by the proposal, workers of the company's heavy rolling mill successfully trial-produced a new type of high pressure pump ahead of schedule. The fire-clay workshop of the refractory materials plant achieved its highest daily output since 1958, the year the shop went into production.

The revolutionary masses of the Paotow Iron and Steel Company unanimously held: The proposal of the Shoutu Iron and Steel Company is a powerful measure to further implement the militant tasks set forth by the Ninth Party Congress and to carry the revolution and production in the iron and steel industry forward to a new high. They expressed their determination to do a good and solid job in both revolution and production, and help strengthen national defence and safeguard the motherland with concrete actions.

Adopting the militant posture of "seizing the day, seizing the hour," the revolutionary committee and the revolutionary masses of the Taiyuan Iron and Steel Company are launching a mass movement to propagate and carry out the terms of the programme for revolutionary emulation.

When the workers of the Chungking Iron and Steel Company discussed the proposal, they reviewed the struggle in the 17 years prior to the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution. They arrived at a deeper understanding of the fact that in order to run production well they must first grasp revolution well and persist in putting revolution in command of production.

The Anshan and Maanshan Iron and Steel Companies and the metallurgical workers in Shanghai and Tientsin also successively responded to this proposal. They are determined

to set off a high tide in revolutionary emulation and seize still greater victories in both revolution and production.

On September 14, *Renmin Ribao* carried a commentary which pointed out:

The revolutionary proposal of the Shoutu Iron and Steel Company not only reflects the mental outlook of vigour and unity in combat of the Chinese working class under the guidance of the Ninth National Congress of the Party, but also demon-

strates the inexhaustible wisdom and talents of our working class nurtured by Mao Tsetung Thought. In this proposal, they correctly handle the relationship between politics and production and the relationship among all links in the process of production. The proposal is a concrete manifestation of the general line of "going all out, aiming high and achieving greater, faster, better and more economical results in building socialism" formulated by Chairman Mao. It also demonstrates one aspect of the great achievements and far-

reaching significance of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution.

The commentary said: This socialist revolutionary emulation, which emerges at a time when struggle-criticism-transformation in the tremendous Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution is developing in depth, is bound to give rise to successive new upsurges of production on China's industrial and other economic fronts. It will also influence the transformation of all parts of the superstructure not in correspondence with the socialist economic base.

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