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MAO TSE-TUNG'S THOUGHT ILLUMINATES THE ROAD
FOR OUR PARTY'S VICTORIOUS ADVANCE

- Commemorating the 46th Anniversary of the
Founding of the Communist Party of China -

[Following is a translation of an editorial in the Chinese-language periodical Hung-ch'i (Red Flag), Peking, No 11, 9 July 1967, pp 2-6]

Forty-six years have elapsed since the founding of the great, glorious and correct Communist Party of China. We commemorate this glorious day with great pride at a time when the great proletarian cultural revolution has won tremendous victories.

Under the guidance of the great leader Chairman Mao, the Chinese Communist Party, by heroic struggle, bloodshed and sacrifices, has turned the scarred and battered and poor and backward semi-feudal, semi-colonial old China into a great, prosperous and vigorous socialist state. Holding high the great banner of proletarian revolution and of internationalism in the struggle against imperialism, modern revisionism and the reactionaries of all countries, our Party has defended Marxism-Leninism and given powerful support to the revolutionary movements of all peoples, thereby becoming the mainstay of the international communist movement.

Why has the Chinese Communist Party been able to win such great victories? It is because our Party was founded and trained by the great leader Chairman Mao himself and built up in accordance with the revolutionary theory and style of Mao Tse-tung's thought.

Mao Tse-tung's thought marks a new stage in the development of Marxism. In the present era, if we depart from Mao Tse-tung's thought, we will be departing from the fundamentals of Marxism-Leninism, and it will be impossible to build a genuine Marxist-Leninist political party. It is precisely Mao Tse-tung's thought which has illuminated the road for our Party's victorious advance. All our Party's victories are great victories of Mao Tse-tung's thought.

During the stage of democratic revolution, Chairman Mao blazed the trail for the Chinese revolution by criticizing and repudiating Right and "Left" opportunism and by integrating Marxism-Leninism with the concrete practice of the Chinese revolution. Led by Chairman Mao, our Party held high the great banner of armed struggle, encircled the cities from the rural areas and finally defeated Japanese imperialism and U.S. imperialism and its lackeys, the Chiang Kai-shek reactionaries, after decades of bloody war and founded the state of the dictatorship of the proletariat. "The development, consolidation and Bolshevization of our Party has proceeded in the midst of revolutionary wars; without armed struggle the Communist Party would assuredly not be what it is today."

After the victory of the democratic revolution, Right opportunists in the Party spread all sorts of fallacies and tried to halt the revolution and put capitalism into practice. At that vital moment, Chairman Mao set the course right by criticizing and repudiating the Right opportunist line and led our Party in advancing from the democratic revolution to the socialist revolution without interruption. In just a few short years, the 500 million peasants were guided on to the broad road of socialist collectivization, and the socialist transformation of capitalist industry and commerce and the handicrafts was basically completed.

With the coming to power of the Khrushchov clique of renegades in the Soviet Union, the Soviet Communist Party which had been founded by Lenin himself changed into a revisionist party and the first socialist state became a state under the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie. This has also occurred in a number of other socialist countries.

After the socialist transformation of the ownership of the means of production was in the main completed in our country, an undercurrent for the restoration of capitalism also occurred in our Party. How could our country avoid changing political color? How could our Party avoid becoming a revisionist party? These were the most important questions, questions of the greatest concern, put to us by the proletariat and revolutionary people throughout the world. The great Chinese Communist Party is able to answer these questions and solve the problems involved. This is because we have our leader of genius Chairman Mao and we have the invincible thought of Mao Tse-tung.

When the seas are in turmoil, heroes show their true mettle. Our great leader Chairman Mao has scientifically summarized the experience of the class struggle in our socialist society, the historical experience of the dictatorship of the world proletariat, and particularly the deplorable and painful lessons of the usurpation of the leadership of the Party and state by the Khrushchov revisionist clique, and has advanced an overall set of theories and policies for preventing our Party and country from changing political color.

Chairman Mao has expounded the theory of classes, class contradictions and class struggle in socialist society in a comprehensive, systematic and scientific way. He pointed out: "During this [socialist] historical stage, classes, class contradictions and class struggle continue to exist, the struggle between the road of socialism and the road of capitalism goes on and the danger of a capitalist restoration remains. It is necessary to recognize the protracted and complex nature of this struggle. It is necessary to heighten our vigilance. It is necessary to undertake socialist education. It is necessary to have a correct understanding of the problems of class contradictions and class struggle and to handle them correctly, to distinguish between the contradictions between the enemy and ourselves on the one hand and those among the people on the other and to handle them correctly. Otherwise a socialist country like ours will turn into its opposite, it will degenerate, and there will be a comeback."

In order to prevent the usurpation of the Party leadership by revisionism and the restoration of capitalism, Chairman Mao urged that class struggle be carried out in a deep and comprehensive way throughout the Party and the country and that the three great revolutionary movements [class struggle, the struggle for production, and scientific experimentation] be unfolded. He advocated the socialist education movement and the reorganization of the revolutionary class ranks in order to repulse wild attacks by the capitalist and feudal forces. He advocated the cultivation and training of tens of millions of successors to the revolutionary cause of the proletariat in the storms and waves of class struggle.

In the last few years, Chairman Mao has further developed the theory of making revolution under conditions of the dictatorship of the proletariat. He pointed out that the revolution's main target under this dictatorship is the handful of Party people in authority taking the capitalist road. The theory, line, principles and policies formulated by Chairman Mao for the great proletariat cultural revolution and a series of his other writings and directives constitute a milestone in the development of Marxism. They indicate that Marxism has developed to a completely new stage -- the stage of Mao Tse-tung's thought.

The great proletarian cultural revolution initiated and led by Chairman Mao himself is a great revolution aimed at solving the problem of preventing the dictatorship of the proletariat from turning into a dictatorship of the bourgeoisie, the problem of preventing the proletarian political party from degenerating into a revisionist political party.

The most striking characteristic of class struggle under the dictatorship of the proletariat is that the class enemies strive to usurp Party and government leadership through the handful of people in authority taking the capitalist road who have sneaked into our Party, and through them to change the dictatorship of the proletariat into a dictatorship of the bourgeoisie and change the Communist Party into a revisionist party. The handful of Party people in authority taking the capitalist road are the most dangerous

enemy. It is possible to prevent our country and our Party from changing political color only by launching the great proletarian cultural revolution, overthrowing the handful of Party people in authority taking the capitalist road, eliminating their pernicious influence within the Party and state organs, actively smashing bourgeois ideology and fostering proletarian ideology, and establishing the absolute authority of Mao Tse-tung's thought in the whole Party. Only by carrying out the mass movement of the great proletarian cultural revolution can our Party develop, grow stronger and become consolidated in the new stage of the socialist revolution. This is a great truth.

The top Party person in authority taking the capitalist road, who was exposed by the revolutionary masses during the great proletarian cultural revolution, has all along been opposed to the great, invincible thought of Mao Tse-tung and has been trying with might and main to change our Party into a revisionist party, a bourgeois party.

During the years when the War of Resistance Against Japan was raging, this top Party person indulged in empty talk about "self-cultivation" of Communists while making no mention of armed struggle or the seizure of political power. After the victory of the anti-Japanese war, he openly preached the parliamentary road, urging our Party to turn its army over to the Kuomintang and to become "officials" in the Kuomintang parliament and reactionary government. If we had followed his advice, our Party would have degenerated into a revisionist party like that of Thorez or Togliatti and become a tool in the pay of the bourgeoisie.

After nationwide victory, he went all out in publicizing the theory that "exploitation has its merits." He talked loudly about "allowing the capitalists to exist and develop for several decades more" and advocated the vigorous development of the "three horses, one plough and one cart" type of rich-peasant economy, in order to enforce this reactionary political line, he shamelessly urged Party members to take the lead in hiring labor and in exploiting others. He talked such nonsense as: "Those who exploit can still be socialists," Party members who become rich peasants can "retain their Party membership," "there is no harm if there are 10,000 rich-peasant Party members in northeast China" and "the Party regulations and constitution permit individual farming and hiring of hands, and it is dogmatic to forbid exploitation."

This was out-and-out betrayal of Marxism-Leninism, Mao Tse-tung's thought. It is clearly stipulated in our Party's general program that "the Communist Party of China is the vanguard of the Chinese working class" and that its aim is to "uproot the system of exploitation" in China and "the achievement of . . . communism." If rich peasants and other exploiters were eligible for Party membership and Party members took the lead in exploiting others, as the top Party person in authority taking the capitalist road urged, then would not our Party become a party of rich peasants and the exploiting classes? There have never been "regulations and a constitution" of a proletarian political party which permit its members to hire hands and exploit

others. Only the "regulations and constitution" of bourgeois political parties permit their members to do so.

When the socialist transformation of the ownership of the means of production in China was basically completed, this top Party person in authority taking the capitalist road talked a lot about the dying out of class struggle. He alleged that "domestically, the major class struggle has basically come to an end" and that "the question of which will win, socialism or capitalism, has now been settled." Like Khrushchov, he attempted to turn the Communist Party into a "party of the entire people." He advocated pulling a number of representatives of the bourgeoisie into the Party and openly declared that if capitalist "joined the Party, it would be all the better." He also said that "the most important task of the state is to organize the life of society" and that "the main task of the Party is to expand the productive forces at the quickest possible rate."

The "party of the entire people" is pure nonsense aimed at deceiving people. Like the state, a political party is an instrument of class struggle. As long as the Communist Party exists, it cannot possibly be of the entire people. A so-called party of the entire people is in fact an out-and-out bourgeois political party. The central task of the Communist Party can only be to engage in class struggle, enforce the dictatorship of the proletariat and strengthen it. Otherwise, it is not a genuine Communist Party. Any talk of "organizing the life of society" or "expanding the productive forces," while negating the class nature of the state and society, is just a fraud of the old-line revisionists. These ideas of the top Party person in authority taking the capitalist road are the same as what Khrushchov advertised: to place "the economic and production problems . . . at the center of the activities of the Party organizations" and make them "the cornerstone of all their work." If we acted in this way, then our Marxist-Leninist Party would surely become a revisionist party as in the Soviet Union and all of China would change color.

During the great proletarian cultural revolution, personally initiated and led by Chairman Mao, we have exposed and overthrown the top Party person in authority taking the capitalist road, smashed the counter-revolutionary revisionist line he pursued and shattered his scheme to turn the dictatorship of the proletariat into a dictatorship of the bourgeoisie and to transform our Party into a revisionist party. This is a great victory for Mao Tse-tung's thought, a great victory for Party-building which takes Mao Tse-tung's thought as its guide.

Our Party had the fortitude and courage to launch the great proletarian cultural revolution and has stood the stern tests of this great movement. This is eloquent proof that our Party is the strongest Marxist-Leninist Party at the highest level.

Chairman Mao teaches us: "The supersession of the old by the new is a general, eternal and inviolable law of the universe." Through the great

proletarian cultural revolution, we have got rid of the handful of Party people in authority taking the capitalist road, the masses of Party members have tempered themselves in the revolutionary fire, and new blood has been infused into the Party. This has made our Party healthier and more vigorous and given it greater fighting strength. To consolidate our Party in the mass movement of the great proletarian cultural revolution marks a new era in the building of a proletarian political party.

The great proletarian cultural revolution has purified the proletarian headquarters and greatly strengthened Party leadership. The handful of Party people in authority taking the capitalist road declared that this revolution meant "discarding Party leadership." This is a complete calumny. This revolution has been carried out under the direct leadership of the Central Committee of the Party headed by the great leader Chairman Mao. This is the strongest and greatest Party leadership. What the handful of Party people in authority taking the capitalist road meant by "Party leadership" was their issuing orders and giving commands. That is absolutely impermissible! The great proletarian cultural revolution is aimed precisely at dismissing them from office, seizing power from them and overthrowing their "leadership."

The great proletarian cultural revolution has proved that the vast majority of our Party members are good or comparatively good. Those persons in authority taking the capitalist road who sneaked into the Party are just a handful. The vast majority of Party members are resolute in following Chairman Mao's teachings, in taking the side of Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line and in struggling against that handful. This is the main-stream and the most fundamental fact.

In commemorating the 46th anniversary of the founding of the Party, the whole Party and the people throughout the country should respond warmly to the call of Comrade Lin Piao, the close comrade-in-arms of Chairman Mao, to bring about a new upsurge in the creative study and application of Chairman Mao's works.

Comrade Lin Piao holds highest the red banner of Mao Tse-tung's thought, studies Chairman Mao's works with the best results and applies them most effectively. For several decades, he has consistently carried out Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line most faithfully, firmly and thoroughly. The method advocated by Comrade Lin Piao of studying Chairman Mao's works with specific problems in mind, studying and applying his works in a creative way, combining study with application, studying first what must be urgently applied so as to get quick results, and of striving hard to apply what one is studying has proved effective and universally suitable and should be further popularized throughout the country. In the fires of the great proletarian cultural revolution, every member of the Communist Party should use Mao Tse-tung's thought to remould himself, make great effort to destroy the bourgeois world outlook and establish the proletarian world outlook, eliminate self-interest and foster devotion to the public interest, and establish in his mind the absolute authority of Mao Tse-tung's thought. We should

resolutely carry out everything that conforms to Mao Tse-tung's thought, and resolutely resist and oppose anything that runs counter to Mao Tse-tung's thought, so as thoroughly to repudiate and smash the landlord and bourgeois slavishness advocated by the top Party person in authority taking the capitalist road. Proletarian revolutionaries who have not yet joined the Party should set still stricter demands on themselves, take Mao Tse-tung's thought as their guide at all times, constantly remould their ideology and make progress, and strive to join the ranks of the Chinese Communist Party led by Chairman Mao.

In commemorating the Party's 46th anniversary, every Communist Party member should gain a deeper understanding and a better grasp of the theories and policies concerning the great proletarian cultural revolution advanced by Chairman Mao, modestly learn from the masses, keep in close contact with them and, with them, carry this revolution through to the end. We should keep firmly to the general orientation of the struggle, thoroughly criticize and repudiate the handful of top Party persons in authority taking the capitalist road, eliminate their pernicious influence on all fronts, actively promote the great alliance of proletarian revolutionaries and the revolutionary "three-in-one" combination, carry out the tasks of struggle, criticism and transformation effectively in our organizations; observe proletarian revolutionary discipline and make serious efforts to carry out the policy of "taking firm hold of the revolution and promoting production." Communist Party members should play a leading role and set examples in all these aspects. Those Party members who were deceived by the bourgeois reactionary line, duped by the book on "self-cultivation" and joined conservative organizations, should quickly return to Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line, draw lessons from all this and strive to be Communists worthy of the name.

In commemorating the Party's 46th anniversary, every Communist Party member should firmly bear in mind Chairman Mao's teachings, always maintain the Party's style of plain living and hard work, and guard against attacks by the sugar-coated bullets of the bourgeoisie. Among the handful of Party people in authority taking the capitalist road who were exposed in the great cultural revolution, there are some who degenerated precisely because they could not resist corruption by bourgeois ideology. The overturning of the chariot in front should serve as a warning for the chariot behind. Party members holding leading positions in revolutionary committees and revolutionary mass organizations at all levels in particular should heighten their vigilance because once in power, their status has changed and they are confronted with new, rigorous tests and are under the constant attack of the sugar-coated bullets of bourgeois ideology.

We are proud beyond measure to have the greatest leader of genius like Chairman Mao. Comrade Mao Tse-tung is the greatest Marxist-Leninist of the present era. In the past 46 years, he has led our Party in defeating one enemy after another and bypassing one hidden shoal after another, and built our Party into a fully mature Marxist-Leninist Party. It is the

highest honor for the entire Party and the greatest happiness for the entire Party and the people of the whole country that our Party has a great leader like Chairman Mao. We are tremendously proud to be members of the great Chinese Communist Party. Every member should value this honored title, live up to Chairman Mao's expectations of us, make new contributions to the people, and be a true Communist Party member.

Long live the great, glorious and correct Chinese Communist Party!

Long live the invincible thought of Mao Tse-tung!

Long live Chairman Mao, the great teacher, leader, supreme commander and helmsman!

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THE MILITARY GOVERNMENT OF NE WIN, THE CHIANG KAI-SHEK OF
BURMA, IS BOUND TO FAIL! THE PEOPLE ARE BOUND TO WIN!

- Speech by Thakin Ba Thein Tin, First Vice-Chairman of the Central
Committee of the Communist Party of Burma, at the 5 July
Peking memorial rally for martyr Liu Yi -

[Following is a translation of the text of a speech in the
Chinese-language periodical Hung-ch'i (Red Flag), Peking,
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Comrades, comrades-in-arms and friends:

On behalf of the Burmese people, the Communist Party of Burma and Com-
rade Thakin Than Tun, the Chairman of our Party, I speak at the memorial rally
for Comrade Liu Yi today.

I want first of all to say that Comrade Liu Yi was an expert sent to
Burma to work for Burmese economic construction in accordance with the Sino-
Burmese Economic Aid Agreement.

He served the Burmese people with a high degree of proletarian inter-
nationalist spirit. He was killed by thugs instigated by the reactionary Ne
Win military government while performing the tasks assigned him by his coun-
try, and died a heroic death.

His death and bloodshed contributed to the establishment of Chinese-
Burmese friendship. The Burmese people will never forget this. They will
always remember him.

The Burmese people and the Communist Party of Burma feel great sorrow
at Comrade Liu Yi's heroic death. I express our sympathy with the Chinese
people and the relatives of Comrade Liu Yi.

Now, I want to say that the struggle waged by the young overseas Chi-
nese students and the overseas Chinese brothers in Burma is entirely just
and correct.

Their just struggle is bound to win.

The reactionary Ne Win military government can never crush their just struggle.

The combined pressure of Ne Win's masters -- U.S. imperialism and the Soviet revisionist leading clique -- cannot crush their just struggle either.

Why?

Because they have grasped the thought of Chairman Mao, the great leader of the world, and their struggle is just; the glorious 700 million Chinese people are with them, the broad masses of the Burmese people are with them.

I want to reiterate at this rally that our Communist Party of Burma wholeheartedly supports the just struggle of the overseas Chinese, and vehemently protests against the fascist atrocities of the Ne Win military government in massacring the overseas Chinese.

We fully support the 29 June statement of the Government of the Chinese People's Republic protesting against the Ne Win military government.

Martyr Liu Yi, overseas Chinese student martyrs and overseas Chinese martyrs gave their lives and shed their blood for this struggle.

Many more were wounded, arrested and persecuted. It has been learnt that, up to the present, in Rangoon alone overseas Chinese have been killed by the hundreds and overseas Chinese students and overseas Chinese have been arrested by the thousands.

This is an outrageous crime that can never be erased from the history of Burma! The blood debt incurred by the Ne Win military government, including that owed Comrade Liu Yi and other martyrs, must be paid in blood. We declare here that our Party and the people of Burma, together with the Chinese people, must demand payment for it.

Next, I want to talk about why the Ne Win military government carried out this massacre.

It was by no means accidental that the reactionary Ne Win military government opposed China.

Burma's anti-China incident is not divorced from the anti-China drive in Indonesia, India, Hongkong and in other countries and areas; it is part of the adverse current of opposition to the Communist Parties, the people, the revolution and China. All this shows that class struggle throughout the whole world is very sharp and that the world revolutionary movement has entered a new stage and reached a new height.

This incident was planned beforehand, arranged and carried out in collusion with the U.S. imperialists, Soviet revisionists, reactionaries of all countries and the Kuomintang gang.

The anti-China outrage instigated by the Ne Win military government is an outcome of the anti-communist, anti-popular policy of civil war which it has followed for a long time, and an outcome of its reactionary foreign policy of further dependence on and collusion with imperialism, revisionism and the reactionaries in all countries, and has been decided by its class nature.

The Ne Win military government has carried out this massacre at a time when it is facing total bankruptcy, militarily, politically and economically.

I would like first to talk about its military bankruptcy.

The armed struggle under the leadership of the Communist Party of Burma headed by Chairman Thakin Than Tun has been going on for 19 to almost 20 years.

Ne Win and his gang are the chief culprits who started the reactionary civil war.

They set off the unjust war, and burnt down thousands of villages.

They have turned a large number of villages into concentration camps like those in south Vietnam.

Tens of thousands of peasants have been killed and arrested, many women raped and many Communists massacred.

Aided by U.S. imperialism and assisted by Britain, Israel, West Germany, Japan, India and other imperialists and reactionaries, the Ne Win military government has launched wild attacks on the Burmese people's democratic revolution.

It has received much aid from Khrushchov, Kosygin, Brezhnev, Tito and other modern revisionists.

Ne Win also received great help from China's Khrushchov.

Nevertheless, the Burmese armed struggle has not collapsed. At present, we are dealing the Ne Win military government harsh blows. Under the banner of the national democratic united front, the armed units have scored victory after victory. The people of the Shan, Kachin, Karen, Kayah, Mon and Pa-o nationalities are also engaged in armed struggle against the Ne Win military government. The revolutionary armed forces have now grown so strong that they are capable of taking medium-sized and small towns and have occupied them for a time. According to incomplete statistics, more than 400 battles were fought in 1966. Our Party's armed forces have increased by half. Our guerrilla bases have been expanded and consolidated. The area in which we are fighting accounts for more than 60 per cent of the country's total area.

Last October, our armed units attacked a position only two miles from Ne Win's mansion. In November, they captured the goods of a co-operative shop on the outskirts of Rangoon. These battles gave the Ne Win government a shock. The U.S. and British press sum up our present military situation as follows: The revolutionary armed forces are forming a crescent around Rangoon and although the Burmese Government can control two-thirds of the country by day it can only control one half at night. U.S. imperialism is worried that Burma may become a second Vietnam within two or three years.

The Ne Win military government has fired the first shot against Chinese nationals. Since it has fired the first shot, it is with good reason that we should hit back.

Now that Ne Win has fired the first shot in opposing China, the armed struggle in Burma will certainly develop by leaps and bounds and reach a still higher stage. This is because the present situation is that the Burmese armed struggle is enjoying the full sympathy and support of the 700 million Chinese people and the overwhelming majority of the Burmese people, who are against Ne Win, and will unite still more closely.

The situation to be looked forward to is that the Burmese armed struggle will display greater might and spread further, and more troops of the Ne Win government will be wiped out. This is how Ne Win is digging his own grave.

It is because we have taken Marxism-Leninism, Mao Tse-tung's thought as our guide that we have been able to persevere in carrying on armed struggle for nearly 20 years. The brilliant victories we have won in the military field are the victory of the invincible thought of Mao Tse-tung.

It is because we have established in our minds Chairman Mao's idea that "political power grows out of the barrel of a gun" that we have been able to persevere in struggle. We have been able to do so because we have used guns and opposed the ideas and program of China's Khrushchov and of the Soviet revisionist leading clique which urge us to co-operate with Ne Win and be his disciples.

Our armed struggle arose out of our mastery of Chairman Mao's thought. As already mentioned, we have not only accepted the guidance of the completely correct idea, namely, "political power grows out of the barrel of a gun," but we also carry on our fight in accordance with Chairman Mao's theory on protracted war, relying on the countryside as our base area and encircling the cities from the countryside. Our practice has proved that, given a Party armed with the thought of Chairman Mao, and given that this Party is able to rely first of all on the peasants, protracted war can be carried on even in a small country like Burma.

However, as a result of the disruptive activities of China's Khrushchov, the Burmese revolution and the Chinese people have been turned from close friends into distant relatives.

China's Khrushchov has a soft spot for Ne Win, but harbors no such good intention towards the Communist Party of Burma. This is not fortuitous; there is a reason. As far back as 20 years ago, our Party was a Party loyal to Marxism-Leninism, Mao Tse-tung's thought. It is only natural that China's Khrushchov, who is opposed to Marxism-Leninism, Mao Tse-tung's thought, should treat us badly.

In spite of the fact that China's Khrushchov has not liked us, we have followed Chairman Mao's teachings, persevered in self-reliance and carried on struggle for more than 19 years.

Burma's revolution has proved that as long as the people of various countries really act according to Chairman Mao's teachings on self-reliance, then the oppressed people of these countries can decide their own destiny in the spirit of self-reliance. Our Party is now undertaking a vigorous study of Chairman Mao's works. It has also been stressed that everyone undertake a creative study and application, in the course of struggle, of "Long Live the Victory of People's War!", written by our respected and beloved Vice-Chairman Lin Piao.

We regard Chairman Mao's works as an invaluable treasure.

Ne Win and his like also study Chairman Mao's works according to their understanding. But the purpose of their study is to discredit Chairman Mao and the Chinese people, to discredit the Burmese people and oppose the Burmese Communist Party.

The enemy is afraid of Mao Tse-tung's thought. Ne Win, the revisionists of all countries and China's Khrushchov are all in mortal fear of Mao Tse-tung's thought. That is why we must double our efforts to study Mao Tse-tung's thought which the enemy fears.

As I have already said, because of the rapid development of the armed struggle in Burma, the military crisis of the Ne Win military government has become more serious.

Class struggle is very acute in Burma. The reactionary Ne Win military government is facing crisis all along the line. This crisis is a bomb that is about to explode.

In these circumstances, the Ne Win military government directs its spearhead at the Communist Party of Burma. It has decided to launch another wild military offensive against the Party.

Externally, it still regards the People's Republic of China as the main danger. It made a public statement to this effect at the Burma Socialist Program Party Conference convened last November.

From these facts people can clearly see that the Ne Win military government is the enemy of the Burmese people and the enemy of the Chinese people as well.

This Ne Win military government has worked more flagrantly than ever in collusion with U.S. imperialism, Israel, Thailand and the "Malaysian" reactionaries.

Prior to the massacre of the overseas Chinese, it held talks with Adam Malik, representative of the Indonesian fascist government.

I would now like to say something about the political crisis of the Ne Win military government.

Ne Win openly declared that his political line was one of non-acceptance of Marxism-Leninism, Mao Tse-tung's thought, and of non-acceptance of the leadership of the proletariat.

He said his government would give the peasants privileges, but in reality its foundation is the landlords and rich peasants.

It virtually transferred the right to resolve the peasant problem to the reactionary village heads, bureaucrats and military officers.

What it preached about the "laboring people" in effect refers to the bureaucratic exploiting class and reactionary military officers who are slaughtering the peasants. The real workers serve only as the object of their exploitation and oppression.

As in the case of Yugoslavia, Ne Win accepts aid from all imperialist and revisionist countries.

He suppresses the Communist Party by means of unjust war.

This is what the "Burmese program for socialism" has meant.

Even now the Soviet modern revisionists still proclaim that the road Ne Win takes is a non-capitalist one.

China's Khrushchov also directly told Ne Win that it was necessary to learn from Ne Win's program for socialism.

But the Burmese people have a real understanding of their own. They see with their own eyes that Ne Win's "Burmese program for socialism" has brought about the massacre of tens of thousands of people.

Under the Ne Win military government rule, even bourgeois democracy was got rid of. Four months after the military government came to power, more than 100 university students were killed and over 300 students injured on 7 July, in Rangoon, the capital of Burma.

In November 1963, after shamelessly sabotaging peaceful negotiations, the Ne Win military government abolished all legitimate parties and arrested more than 1,000 well-known progressive people. From that time till now, it has continued to arrest workers, peasants, students, writers and owners of enterprises. What do all these facts show? They show that Ne Win, who is carrying out military dictatorship in the country, is Burma's Chiang Kai-shek.

The people have clearly realized that the Ne Win military government is incapable of resolving any problem, no matter whether it concerns culture, public health, or the economy. Things are going from bad to worse.

Therefore, the people have seen that Ne Win's "Burmese program for socialism" is false. Ne Win cannot deceive anyone! And, therefore, Ne Win has exposed his true features to the Burmese people, as did Khrushchov, Kosygin and Brezhnev. China's Khrushchov has also shown his true countenance.

Comrades, this is perfectly clear to us.

We never thought that socialism could be established by relying on "aid" from U.S. imperialism. However, the group of people like Ne Win, Khrushchov and China's Khrushchov said it was possible and experimented in Burma.

I would also like to say a few words about the economic crisis of the Ne Win military government.

Ne Win's "program for socialism" in Burma long ago plunged the whole country into a serious economic crisis. At present, there is an extreme lack of food and medicine, the price of commodities is very high and speculating merchant cliques and black markets are so numerous that Ne Win has been helpless in dealing with them. The reason is that his officers and officials have all taken part in black market activities.

With regard to the situation of the material shortages, I would like to cite a few examples to explain it.

At present, Burma is extremely short of cooking oil and there has been none for use in preparing dishes. The ordinary people call those dishes with no cooking oil, or very little, "Ne Win dishes."

Famine in Burma is now extremely serious.

Burma is one of the world's biggest rice-producing countries. Even during World War II, when the whole country had been turned into a battlefield, there was no famine in Burma because of the self-reliant efforts of the Burmese people.

In pre-war days, apart from domestic consumption, three million tons of rice were exported annually. But now the amount exported has been only six hundred thousand tons, and the sale of rice domestically has to be measured by the milk bottle.

Famine has been brought on under Ne Win's rule. The Government has declared that Burma will possibly be without grain before November and December of this year. It therefore asks the people to practice economy in grain consumption. However, famine has already begun. Workers have left the factories because they have nothing to eat; peasants are unable to work in the fields because they have insufficient food. People are eating roots and bark. Diseases are spreading because of malnutrition.

Demonstrations and struggles have occurred aimed at securing a solution to the grain problem. In some places the seizure of rice has taken place. In Rangoon it is only possible for a person to buy one milk bottleful of rice daily. Over 1,000 residents in the Thaketa quarter held a demonstration in front of a grain shop because they had no rice for their evening meal. In Rangoon some restaurants have no rice to serve.

The people of the whole country are highly indignant at the Ne Win military government.

In order to shake itself free of political, military and economic crisis and consolidate its rule, the Ne Win military government has adopted despicable measures. It has stirred up a conflict between China and Burma in an attempt to divert into a national conflict the fierce anger of the Burmese people that has burst forth like a volcano.

It is well known that the Ne Win military government started by ruthlessly massacring overseas Chinese students and other overseas Chinese. At first, it manufactured rumors and incited national hatred, and then provoked national conflict. Its despicable schemes may succeed perhaps for the time being. However, the friendship between China and Burma that has been formed for such a long time is firm and nobody can undermine it. No force on earth is capable of sabotaging this friendship. Whoever attempts to do so is a madman, just banging his head against a brick wall.

Chairman Mao teaches us: "Lifting a rock only to drop it on one's own feet" is a Chinese folk saying to describe the behaviour of certain fools. The reactionaries in all countries are fools of this kind. In the final analysis, their persecution of the revolutionary people only serves to accelerate the people's revolutions on a broader and more intense scale." By his opposition to China, Ne Win is lifting a rock only to drop it on his own feet.

Before World War II, the British imperialists provoked a conflict between China and Burma. Apart from this, China-Burma friendship has been firm. It is a flesh and blood friendship. The Burmese call the Chinese

paukphaw meaning kinsmen. Of course, Ne Win also calls China's Khrushchov paukphaw. The latter is a paukphaw of partners-in-cime, and not that between the people. It is merely paukphaw of a supreme master and a disciple.

Therefore, we are convinced that, guided by the spirit of genuinely consolidated friendship between China and Burma, and not by the hypocritical rubbish of Ne Win and China's Khrushchov, the overseas Chinese in Burma will certainly win victory.

There is another matter I would like to refer to.

The reactionaries of all countries say that there are two kinds of Communist Parties. They say that they do not fear the Communist Parties of Khrushchov, Kosygin and Brezhnev and that they can make friends with such Communist Parties. They take the same attitude towards Communists like China's Khrushchov. But they are frightened out of their wits by the Communist Party of Mao Tse-tung.

This analysis of the enemy is very important. We should all be Communist Parties of Mao Tse-tung.

The overseas Chinese in Burma, who are struggling by holding aloft Chairman Mao's teaching "a great life, a glorious death," will certainly win.

The Burmese people will surely end this massacre soon and unite as one in opposition to Ne Win.

The Ne Win military government which is opposing the Chinese and Burmese peoples will certainly be defeated.

China's Khrushchov, who has suppressed the great proletarian cultural revolution and the Red Guards in China, has been discredited among the masses. The Ne Win military government, which is suppressing overseas Chinese for fear both of the influence of China's great proletarian cultural revolution and of the revolutionary forces in Burma, is bound to fail.

China's Khrushchov, who opposed the thought of Chairman Mao, has bitten the dust; the Ne Win military government, which has insulted Chairman Mao, will also certainly be defeated.

Together with the Chinese people, we will certainly carry the struggle against the Ne Win military government, the struggle against revisionism and the struggle against the reactionaries of all countries through to the very end.

We will definitely strengthen the struggle against the Ne Win military government in our practical work.

Let the U.S. imperialists and the Soviet revisionists give more aid to the Ne Win military government!

However great the sacrifice we have to suffer, no matter how long the struggle continues, we will certainly carry on our fight.

We have waged a military struggle over a period of nearly 20 years. We say that we are not afraid of any kind of enemy, because we have Chairman Mao's thought as our guide.

We will overthrow the Ne Win military government and bring about a lasting peace, a happy and completely independent Burma and set up a people's democratic united front government conforming to the people's wishes.

Let us unite, fight and triumph together under the banner of Chairman Mao's thought!

We fully support the fraternal overseas Chinese in Burma in their revolutionary, valiant and just struggle! No one can destroy the friendship between China and Burma!

The reactionary Ne Win military government is bound to fail!

The people's democratic revolution is bound to triumph!

Long live the unity of the Burmese and Chinese peoples!

Long live the unity of the Communist Parties of Burma and China!

Long live proletarian internationalism!

Long live China's great proletarian cultural revolution personally led by Chairman Mao!

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

U.S. imperialism is bound to fail!

Modern revisionism headed by the leadership of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union is bound to fail!

To the good health of Comrade Thakin Than Tun, Chairman of the Communist Party of Burma!

Long live Chairman Mao, the great leader of the world's people! Long, long life to him!

CSO: 3530-D

PEOPLE OF INDONESIA, UNITE AND FIGHT TO OVERTHROW THE FASCIST REGIME

[Following is a translation of an editorial in the Chinese-language periodical Hung-ch'i (Red Flag), Peking, No 11, 9 July 1967, pp 14-17]

After staging the counter-revolutionary 1965 coup d'etat, the Suharto-Nasution Right-wing military clique, faithful lackey of U.S. imperialism and anti-communist ally of Soviet revisionism, established a fascist dictatorship of unprecedented ruthlessness in Indonesia.

For the past year or more, it has followed an out-and-out traitorous, dictatorial, anti-communist, anti-China and anti-popular counter-revolutionary policy.

It has imposed a white terror in Indonesia on an unprecedented scale, slaughtered several hundred thousand Communists and revolutionary people and thrown into prison several hundred thousand more fine sons and daughters of the Indonesian people. All Indonesia has been turned into one vast hell. By engaging in bloody suppression, it attempts in vain to wipe out the Indonesian Communist Party and stamp out the Indonesian revolution.

This clique cherishes an inveterate hatred for socialist China, which resolutely supports the revolutionary struggle of the Indonesian people. It has repeatedly carried out serious provocations against the Chinese people, whipped up anti-China, anti-Chinese campaigns and practiced inhuman racist persecution against overseas Chinese. It has vainly tried to sabotage the traditional friendship between the Chinese people and the overseas Chinese in Indonesia on the one hand and the Indonesian people on the other, and to prevent the Chinese people from supporting the Indonesian people's revolution.

In the final analysis, the many kinds of persecution against the Indonesian Communist Party and the Indonesian people by the Suharto-Nasution Right-wing military clique will only serve to speed the upsurge in the Indonesian revolution and hasten its own doom. The heroic Indonesian Communists

and people can neither be cowed, suppressed, nor wiped out. The determination of the Indonesian people to make revolution is unshakable; and so is the Chinese people's determination to support their revolution. No reactionary force on earth can obstruct this.

At present, the Indonesian Communists and revolutionary people are regrouping their forces for a new battle. The 17 August 1966 "Statement" of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Indonesian Communist Party and the "Self-Criticism" it endorsed in September, which were published by the magazine Indonesian Tribune not long ago, are a call to the Indonesian Communists and the Indonesian working class, peasants, revolutionary intellectuals and all anti-imperialist, anti-feudal revolutionary forces to unite and engage in a new struggle.

The two documents of the Political Bureau of the Indonesian Communist Party are a telling blow at U.S. imperialism and its flunkies, the Suharto-Nasution fascist military dictatorial regime, and the revisionist leading clique of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, and a tremendous encouragement to the revolutionary people of Indonesia.

In these two documents, the Political Bureau of the Indonesian Communist Party has summed up the experience and lessons of the Party in leading the Indonesian people's revolutionary struggle, has criticized the Right opportunist errors committed by the leadership of the Party in the past, pointed out the road for the Indonesian revolution, and laid down the principles for future struggle.

The documents point out that Indonesia is a semi-colonial and semi-feudal country. The Suharto-Nasution military fascist dictatorship is a regime of the most reactionary classes in Indonesia: the comprador bourgeoisie, the bureaucrat-capitalists and the landlords. It is the primary task of the revolution in its present stage to overthrow this counter-revolutionary regime and the reactionary rule of imperialism and feudalism in Indonesia, to establish the people's democratic dictatorship and build a completely independent, democratic, new Indonesia.

The documents emphatically point out: "To achieve its complete victory, the Indonesian revolution must also follow the road of the Chinese revolution. This means that the Indonesian revolution must inevitably adopt this main form of struggle, namely, the people's armed struggle against the armed counter-revolution which, in essence, is the armed agrarian revolution of the peasants under the leadership of the proletariat."

The Political Bureau has criticized the revisionist line of the 20th Congress of the C.P.S.U., and pointed out that this counter-revolutionary line caused serious damage to the Indonesian Communist Party and brought tremendous losses to the Indonesian people's revolutionary movement. Modern revisionism, with the leadership of the C.P.S.U. as its center, is the greatest danger to the international communist movement and to the Indonesian Communist Party as well. The bloody lesson of the loss of hundreds of thousands

of lives in Indonesia shows once again that the revisionist road of "peaceful transition" advocated by the leadership of the C.P.S.U. is the road to burying the revolution, the road to exterminating the Party and the people.

The documents hold that the leadership of the Party in the past deviated from the Marxist-Leninist theory on the state and one-sidedly stressed the possibilities of the so-called peaceful road and parliamentary road. It claimed that Indonesian bourgeois state power had two aspects, the "pro-people aspect" and the "anti-people aspect"; it hoped to bring about a fundamental change in state power by peaceful means through developing the "pro-people aspect." This is a sheer illusion of "peaceful transition."

The documents criticize and repudiate the theory of "combining the three forms of struggle," namely, guerrilla warfare in the countryside, the workers' movement in the cities, and work among the enemy's armed forces. They point out that, concerning the "three forms of struggle," the leadership of the Party in the past, instead of having led them along the road of revolution, led each along the "peaceful road" and thereby virtually gave up the armed struggle. The documents emphasize that the Indonesian Marxist-Leninists must resolutely abandon this erroneous theory, hold high the banner of the people's armed revolution, establish revolutionary base areas in accordance with the experience of the Chinese revolution, and turn the backward villages into strong, consolidated military, political, and cultural bastions of the revolution.

The Political Bureau regards as an important task of the Party the establishment of a broad anti-imperialist and anti-feudal united front led by the working class and based on the worker-peasant alliance. To carry this out, the Party must have a correct program, correct principles and tactics and, what is particularly important, must grasp that form of armed struggle in which it integrates with the peasants and wins their support.

The documents criticize the slogan of "national cooperation with the 'Nasakom' as the core" and hold that such a statement obscures the class content of the united front. In its effort to establish a united front with the national bourgeoisie, the Party leadership in the past abrogated the independent role of the proletariat and turned it into an appendage of the national bourgeoisie. In the past it put the three components of Marxism on a par with the "three components of Sukarno's teachings" and in an unprincipled way recognized Sukarno as "the great leader of the revolution." The Party's erroneous attitude towards Sukarno is a major manifestation of its loss of independence within the united front.

They point out that an arduous task lies ahead in the building up of the Indonesian Communist Party. It must be built into a Marxist-Leninist Party free from all forms of opportunism, one that resolutely opposes legalism, subjectivism and modern revisionism.

The documents say that on the question of Party building the main mistakes in the past have been "liberalism and legalism." They criticize the

Party for its tendency to blindly seek numerical strength in recruitment, and point out that the mass character of the Party is expressed first of all not in a vast membership but in close ties with the masses, in its political line defending the interests of the masses and in the overall application of the mass line.

In order to build a Marxist-Leninist revolutionary Party, the Political Bureau of the Indonesian Communist Party calls upon the whole Party to improve its education in Marxism-Leninism, Mao Tse-tung's thought, to sum up the historical experience of the Party and carry out a rectification campaign.

The documents point out: "The experience of the struggle waged by the Party in the past has shown how indispensable it is for the Indonesian Marxist-Leninists, who are resolved to defend Marxism-Leninism and to combat modern revisionism, to study not only the teachings of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin, but also to devote special attention to studying the Thought of Mao Tse-tung who has succeeded in inheriting, defending and developing Marxism-Leninism to its peak in the present era."

After summing up the historical experience of the Indonesian revolution, the "Statement" and the "Self-Criticism" of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Indonesian Communist Party come to this important conclusion:

"To win victory for the people's democratic revolution, the Indonesian Marxist-Leninists must hold aloft the Three Banners of the Party, namely:

"The first banner, the building of a Marxist-Leninist Party which is free from subjectivism, opportunism and modern revisionism.

"The second banner, the armed people's struggle which in essence is the armed struggle of the peasants in an anti-feudal agrarian revolution under the leadership of the working class."

"The third banner, the revolutionary united front based on the worker-peasant alliance under the leadership of the working class."

The conclusion drawn by the Political Bureau of the Indonesian Communist Party concerning the "Three Banners" conforms with Marxism-Leninism, Mao Tse-tung's thought, and will play an important guiding role in the Indonesian revolution.

The road pioneered by Comrade Mao Tse-tung for the Chinese revolution is the road by which "political power grows out of the barrel of a gun," the road of relying on the peasants, establishing rural revolutionary bases, encircling the cities from the rural areas and finally capturing the cities.

Summing up the experience of the Chinese revolution, Comrade Mao Tse-tung says: "We have had much valuable experience. A well-disciplined Party armed with the theory of Marxism-Leninism, using the method of self-criticism and linked with the masses of the people; an army under the leadership of such a Party; a united front of all revolutionary classes and all revolutionary groups under the leadership of such a Party -- these are the three main weapons with which we have defeated the enemy. They distinguish us from our predecessors. Relying on them, we have won basic victory."

In the course of leading the Chinese people's struggle to seize political power, the Chinese Communist Party has had great victories in the revolution as well as serious defeats. The Party's defeats and victories, its retreats and advances, its shrinking and growth, its development and consolidation, are all closely linked with whether or not the Party's political line correctly handles the questions of armed struggle and the united front. Armed struggle and the united front are the two basic weapons for conquering the enemy. The united front is a united front for carrying out armed struggle. The Party organization is the heroic fighter wielding these two weapons. Such is how these three are interrelated.

Comrade Mao Tse-tung says: "Having a correct grasp of these three questions [the united front, armed struggle and Party building -- Tr.] and their interrelations is tantamount to giving correct leadership to the whole Chinese revolution."

At present, a severe white terror continues to reign over Indonesia. The Indonesian Communist Party is faced with an extremely difficult and complex task. The Party's struggle is undergoing a major change: a switch from the cities to the countryside, from peaceful struggle to armed struggle, from legal to illegal, from open to secret. For a Party, whose main work over a long period of time was open and legal activity in the cities, this change is not easy indeed. It is bound to meet many difficulties. But the objective realities of the revolutionary struggle compel people to make the change and compel them to learn armed struggle, and there is no alternative for them but to master it. In fact, as long as they are resolute and surmount all difficulties, there is no doubt that they can do so.

Comrade Mao Tse-tung says: "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. There is a gap between the ordinary civilian and the soldier, but it is no Great Wall, and it can be quickly closed, and the way to close it is to take part in revolution, in war."

We are convinced that the Indonesian Marxist-Leninists, guided by the invincible Marxism-Leninism, Mao Tse-tung's thought, will surmount obstacle after obstacle, effect this historic change and lead the Indonesian people on to the long march for winning victory in the revolution.

The Chinese Communist Party and the Chinese people constantly have the fight of the Indonesian Communist Party and the Indonesian people in

mind. Our hearts are closely linked with the hearts of our class brothers in Indonesia. We stand unflinchingly on the side of the Indonesian Communist Party, on the side of the Indonesian revolutionary people, and firmly support the Indonesian Communist Party in leading the Indonesian people's struggle to overthrow the Suharto-Nasution fascist regime and establish a completely independent and democratic new Indonesia.

Comrade Mao Tse-tung says, "The unbridled violence of all the forces of darkness, whether domestic or foreign, has brought disaster to our nation; but this very violence indicates that while the forces of darkness still have some strength left, they are already in their death throes, and that the people are gradually approaching victory."

As the documents of the Political Bureau of the Indonesian Communist Party well express, the present military dictatorship of the Right-wing generals and the U.S. imperialists, who support this reactionary regime, are all paper tigers. In appearance, they are terrifying, but in reality they are weak.

Dark clouds cannot long obscure the sun whose resplendent light will surely shine over the whole of Indonesia. Final victory will certainly belong to the Communist Party of Indonesia and to the Indonesian people.

CSO: 3530-D

STATEMENT BY THE POLITICAL BUREAU OF THE CENTRAL
COMMITTEE OF THE INDONESIAN COMMUNIST PARTY

(Excerpts)

17 August 1966

[Following is a translation of an article in the Chinese-language periodical Hung-ch'i (Red Flag), Peking, No 11, 9 July 1967, pp 18-23]

A statement issued by the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Indonesia (P.K.I.) on 17 August 1966 appeared in the first issue of the Indonesian Tribune published in November last year. It was entitled "Take the Road of Revolution to Realize the Tasks Which Should Have Been Accomplished by the 1945 August Revolution." Excerpts of the statement follow. -- Ed.

The Indonesian people observe the 21st anniversary of the outbreak of the 1945 August Revolution in a situation when the counter-revolutionaries headed by the Right-wing army generals Suharto and Nasution rule over the country. During this period of almost one year, modern Indonesian history has never witnessed such a rampant counter-revolutionary terror, whose barbarism is comparable only to that of Hitlerite Naxism, as has been unleashed by the forces headed by the reactionary generals in the army. Nevertheless, no matter how vicious and barbarous the counter-revolutionaries have run amok, they will never succeed in suppressing the revolutionary elan of the working class, the peasantry and other driving forces of the revolution.

Step by step, the revolutionaries and the democrats are reorganizing themselves and waging a resistance struggle against the military dictatorship of the Right-wing army generals led by Suharto and Nasution. All of this has been accomplished under the most difficult and grave conditions, under the threat of incessant terror. How unbreakable is the revolutionary spirit of the Indonesian people!

The P.K.I., which by virtue of historical necessity occupies the position as vanguard of the working class and all revolutionary forces in Indonesia, not only is rebuilding its organization from the serious damage it has suffered, but due to the practising of criticism and self-criticism within the leadership and within the whole Party, it is returning to the correct road, the road of revolution which is illuminated by Marxism-Leninism.

Why Has the August Revolution of 1945 Failed To Achieve Its Objective Goal?

Based on objective conditions, Indonesia at the time of the outbreak of the revolution was a colonial and semi-feudal country, and therefore the 1945 August Revolution has the character of a bourgeois-democratic revolution having the double tasks, to drive away imperialism from Indonesia, in order to liberate the whole nation, and to realize democratic reforms, that is to say, to liquidate entirely the remnants of feudalism, in order to liberate the peasants from the feudal oppression of foreign and native landlords.

The 1945 August Revolution is part of the world proletarian socialist revolution. It was a new-type bourgeois-democratic revolution. The complete victory of a new-type bourgeois-democratic revolution will provide the conditions for socialist revolution. Consequently, the perspective of the 1945 August Revolution is socialism and communism.

The driving forces of the 1945 August Revolution are the working class or the proletariat, the peasantry and the petty bourgeoisie outside the peasantry. The anti-imperialist character of the 1945 August Revolution, which manifested itself very clearly at the start of the revolution, has made it possible for the mobilization of the very broad strata of the Indonesia population. Apart from the national bourgeoisie which, to a certain degree, adopted an anti-imperialist and anti-feudal stand, other patriotic elements, including even patriotic landlords, had taken part in or contributed to the war of independence against the Dutch imperialists.

The experience of the 1945 August Revolution has shown that the P.K.I. as the vanguard of the Indonesian working class did not succeed as yet in taking up its place as the leader of the struggle for emancipation of the Indonesian people. The P.K.I. entered the 1945 August Revolution without adequate preparations. Its serious shortcoming in theory and its lack of understanding of the concrete conditions of Indonesian society had resulted in its inability to formulate the nature of the revolution, its tasks, its program, tactics and slogans, as well as the correct principles and forms of organization. The high reputation the P.K.I. enjoyed in the eyes of the Indonesian people had been earned through its heroism in fighting imperialism during the time of Dutch colonial domination and of the fascist Japanese occupation. Nevertheless, this high reputation of the P.K.I. had failed to establish the P.K.I. leadership in the August Revolution of 1945.

This theoretical shortcoming and inability to make a concrete analysis of the concrete situation of the world and of Indonesia had resulted in that

the P.K.I. was unable to make use of this highly favorable opportunity given by the August Revolution of 1945 to overcome its shortcomings. The P.K.I. did not consistently lead the armed struggle against Dutch imperialism, did not develop guerrilla warfare that was integrated with the democratic movement of the peasants, as the only way to defeat the war of aggression launched by the Dutch imperialists. On the contrary, the P.K.I. even approved of and itself followed the policy of reactionary compromises of Sjahrir's Right-wing socialists. The P.K.I. did not establish the alliance of the working class and the peasantry and did not lead the anti-feudal struggle in the countryside, and did not establish, on the basis of such a worker-peasant alliance, a united front with all other democratic forces. The P.K.I. did not consolidate its strength, on the contrary, it even relegated to the background its own role. These are the reasons why the August Revolution of 1945 did not proceed as it should, did not achieve the decisive victory, and finally failed in reaching its objective goal.

The Main Problem of Every Revolution Is the Problem of State Power

It is an absolute condition for every revolutionary, and even more so for every Communist, to grasp the truth that "the main problem of every revolution is the problem of state power."

The oppressed classes, in liberating themselves from exploitation and oppression, have no other way but to make a revolution, that is to say, overthrowing by force the oppressor classes from state power, or seizing state power by force. Because, the state is an instrument created by the ruling classes to oppress the ruled classes.

But, for a genuine people's revolution in the present modern era, it is not enough just to wrest the power from the hands of the oppressor classes, and to make use of the power that has been wrested. Marx has taught us that the destruction of the old military-bureaucratic state machine is "the prerequisite for every genuine people's revolution" (Lenin, State and Revolution. A genuine people's revolution will achieve decisive victory only after it has accomplished this prerequisite, while at the same time sets up a completely new state apparatus whose task is to suppress by force and mercilessly the resistance put up by the overthrown oppressor classes.

What Should the August Revolution of 1945 Have Done With Regard to the State Power?

As a prerequisite, the August Revolution of 1945 should have smashed the colonial state machine along with all of its apparatuses that had been established to maintain colonial domination of Indonesia, and not merely transferred the power to the Republic of Indonesia. The August Revolution of 1945 should have established a completely new state, a state jointly ruled by all the anti-imperialist and anti-feudal classes under the leadership of the working class. This is what is to be called a people's democratic state.

Due to the absence of the working class leadership, the Republic of Indonesia was inevitably a state ruled by the bourgeoisie, despite the participation of the proletariat. A state with such a class character can never become an instrument of the 1945 August Revolution. Without the dictatorship of people's democracy, the August Revolution of 1945 did not have an instrument to defeat its enemies, and consequently was unable to accomplish its tasks, namely the complete liquidation of imperialist domination and the remnants of feudalism.

The voluntary withdrawal of a cabinet led by the Communists in 1948 had opened up the broadest opportunity for the reactionary bourgeoisie led by Muhamad Hatta to make the state power fall into its hands. This reactionary bourgeoisie then betrayed the August Revolution by unleashing white terror, the Madiun Affair, as a prelude to the restoration of the Dutch imperialist interests through the conclusion of the despicable agreement of the round-table conference, which turned Indonesia into a semi-colonial and semi-feudal country.

The resurgence of the revolutionary struggle of the Indonesian people in continuing the fight against imperialist domination and the remnants of feudalism after the round-table conference, had gained certain political victories of partial and reform nature, which had led to the lessening of the anti-democratic character of the bourgeois power.

It was a great mistake to assume that the existence of such a government signified a fundamental change in the class character of the state power. It was equally incorrect to assume that the above-mentioned facts marked the birth and the development of an aspect representing the interests of the people, or of a pro-people aspect, within the state power.

Such an error, that was formulated in the "theory of two aspects in state power," led to the erroneous conclusion that within the state power of the Republic of Indonesia there existed two aspects, the anti-people aspect consisting of comprador, bureaucrat capitalist and landlord classes on the one hand, and the "pro-people aspect" composed mainly of the national bourgeoisie and the proletariat on the other hand.

According to this "two-aspect theory," a miracle could happen in Indonesia, namely that the state could cease to be an instrument of the ruling oppressor classes to subjugate other classes, but it could be made an instrument shared by both the oppressor classes and the oppressed classes. And the fundamental change in state power, that is to say, the birth of a people's power, could be peacefully accomplished by developing the "pro-people aspect" and gradually liquidating the "anti-people aspect."

Hoping for a fundamental change in state power, to usher the people into the position of power, through the victory of the "pro-people aspect" over the "anti-people aspect" in line with the "theory of two aspects in state power," was but a pure illusion. The people will be able to gain power

only through an armed revolution under the leadership of the working class to overthrow the power of the comprador bourgeoisie, the bureaucrat capitalists and the landlords which represent the interests of imperialism and the remnants of feudalism.

The "theory of two aspects in state power" has in practice deprived the proletariat of its independence in the united front with the national bourgeoisie, dissolved the interests of the proletariat in that of the national bourgeoisie, and placed the proletariat in a position as a tail-end of the national bourgeoisie.

To return the proletariat to its position of leadership in the liberation struggle of the Indonesian people, it is absolutely necessary to rectify the mistake of the "theory of two aspects in state power," and to do away with the erroneous view with regard to Marxist-Leninist teaching on state and revolution.

The Road to a Completely Independent and Democratic New Indonesia

After the August Revolution of 1945, Indonesia has not become a completely independent country, but is still a semi-colonial and semi-feudal country. The power is not in the hands of the people, but in the hands of the upper stratum of the bourgeois and landlord classes. Only a handful of Indonesians from among the ruling classes have enjoyed the fruits of independence, while the people, especially the workers and the peasants who paid the greatest sacrifices during the 1945 August Revolution, still live under the exploitation and oppression by imperialism and the remnants of feudalism, and therefore are still far away from independence and liberation.

The rule of the military dictatorship of the Right-wing army generals led by Suharto-Nasution and their accomplices, a rule of the bureaucrat-capitalist, the comprador and the landlord classes, far from reducing the exploitation of the Indonesian people by imperialism and the remnants of feudalism, will only intensify this exploitation further.

As facts have proven, in order to establish their dictatorship over the Indonesian people, the Suharto-Nasution clique of Right-wing army generals is completely relying on the "aid" from the imperialist countries headed by the United States. In Indonesia, under the rule of the military dictatorship of Right-wing army generals, headed by Suharto-Nasution and their accomplices, and with the help of international imperialism headed by the United States, neo-colonialism is now being built up.

The main contradiction in the present Indonesian society is still the same with what existed at the outbreak of the August Revolution of 1945, that is to say imperialism and the remnants of feudalism are involved in a contradiction with the masses of the people who desire full independence and democracy.

Thus the target of the revolution remains the same: imperialism and the remnants of feudalism. Classes which are the enemies of the revolution, in the main, are also the same: imperialism, the compradors, the bureaucrat capitalists and the landlords. The driving forces of the revolution, too, are still the same: the working class, the peasantry and the petty bourgeoisie.

After the imperialists no longer directly hold political power in Indonesia, their political interests are represented by the comprador bourgeoisie, the bureaucrat capitalists and the landlords who are holding the state power in their hands. Therefore, only by overthrowing the power of the domestic reactionary classes can the overthrow of imperialism and the remnants of feudalism be concretely realized. This is the primary task of the present stage of the Indonesian revolution.

Today, the Indonesian people are faced by the military dictatorship of the Right-wing army generals, headed by Suharto-Nasution and their accomplices, which is the manifestation of power of the most reactionary classes in our country.

The absence of democracy for the people, and the suppression by force of arms of every revolutionary and democratic movement, inevitably compel the whole people to take up arms in order to defend their rights. The armed struggle of the people against the armed counter-revolution is unavoidable and constitutes the chief form of struggle of the coming revolution. Only by taking the road of armed struggle, the Indonesian people will succeed in overthrowing the power of the armed counter-revolutionaries, as a precondition to realize their aspiration for which they have fought for scores of years: independence and liberation.

The armed struggle to defeat armed counter-revolution, as a revolution, must not be waged in the form of military adventurism, in the form of a putsch, which is detached from the awakening of the popular masses.

Since the present stage of the Indonesian revolution is essentially an agrarian revolution by the peasantry, the armed struggle of the Indonesian people, too, essentially will be the armed struggle of the peasants to liberate themselves from the oppression by the remnants of feudalism. The armed struggle against the armed counter-revolution can never be lasting and in the end will surely be defeated, unless it is essentially an armed struggle of the peasants in realizing the agrarian revolution. And the armed struggle of the peasants to realize the agrarian revolution will only succeed in achieving a complete victory, and in really liberating the peasantry from the oppression by the remnants of feudalism, only when it is waged under the leadership of the proletariat, and when it is not limited to just overthrowing the power of the landlords in the countryside, but is aimed at smashing the entire power of the internal counter-revolutionaries who are now represented by the military dictatorship of the Right-wing army generals, headed by Suharto-Nasution, and their accomplices.

Conclusions

By studying once more the problems of the August Revolution of 1945, we can draw some conclusions which are of the greatest importance for the Indonesian proletariat and its vanguard, the P.K.I., in facing their future task.

1. The August Revolution of 1945, as a new-type bourgeois-democratic revolution whose mission is to completely liquidate the domination of imperialism and the remnants of feudalism, would have achieved victory only if it was led by the proletariat. In order to establish its leadership in the new-type bourgeois-democratic revolution the proletariat should, above all, form an alliance with the peasantry, and on the basis of this worker-peasant alliance that is led by the working class, establish a revolutionary united front with all other revolutionary classes and groups. The proletariat can fulfill its mission as the leader of the revolutionary united front only when it has correct program and tactics which are acceptable to its allies to be the guidance for the revolution, only when it has a strong organization, and only when it gives an example in the realization of national tasks. As for the correct program, it is of the utmost importance to have a revolutionary agrarian program to forge the alliance of the working class and the peasantry. As for the correct tactics, it is of the utmost importance to master the chief form of struggle, namely the armed struggle which relies on the support of the peasantry. All of this can be realized only when the proletariat has its own political party, the P.K.I., which is entirely guided by the revolutionary Marxist-Leninist theory, and free from all kinds of opportunism.

2. The pre-condition for the complete realization of the task of the 1945 August Revolution instead of merely seizing the state power from foreign imperialism and transferring it to the Republic of Indonesia, should be the smashing of the whole machinery of the colonial regime and establishment of a completely new state, namely the dictatorship of people's democracy, the joint power of all anti-imperialist and anti-feudal classes under the leadership of the working class. The dictatorship of people's democracy, as an instrument of the new-type bourgeois-democratic revolution, should suppress by force of arms and mercilessly all the enemies of the revolution, and ensure for the people the broadest democratic rights.

3. The emancipation of the Indonesian people from exploitation and oppression by imperialism and the remnants of feudalism can be attained only through the road of revolution which will surely take place once again, a revolution that has the same character as the 1945 August Revolution, that is to say a new-type bourgeois-democratic revolution. The primary task of the coming revolution is the destruction of the power of the internal counter-revolutionaries who are now represented by the military dictatorship of the Right-wing generals, Suharto-Nasution, and their accomplices, through an armed struggle. The armed struggle to defeat the armed counter-revolution will be victorious only when it is essentially an armed struggle of the peasantry to realize the agrarian revolution. And the armed struggle of the peasantry to

realize the agrarian revolution will be victorious only when it is waged under the leadership of the proletariat and is aimed at smashing the power of all internal counter-revolutionary forces.

4. The tasks faced by the Party for leading the people's democratic revolution to victory are:

First: To continue to rebuild the P.K.I. along the Marxist-Leninist line, to be a Party which is free from all kinds of opportunism and is consistent in fighting against subjectivism and modern revisionism, while at the same time to continue to arouse, organize and mobilize the masses, especially the workers and the peasants.

Second: To be ready to lead a protracted armed struggle which is integrated with the agrarian revolution of the peasants in the countryside.

Third: To form a united front of all the forces that are against the military dictatorship of the Right-wing army generals, headed by Suharto-Nasution, a united front that is based on the alliance of the working class and the peasantry under the leadership of the proletariat. These are the Three Banners of the Party in the people's democratic revolution.

The international proletariat, and all the people who are fighting against imperialism, are the ally of the coming Indonesian revolution. U.S. imperialism, the ringleader of the world counter-revolution, despite the help rendered by the Khrushchovite modern revisionists, is facing an ignominious and inevitable defeat in Vietnam.

Let us, with the firmest determination and by wholeheartedly dedicating our strength and ability, meet the call of the coming task, to overthrow the rule of the military dictatorship of the Right-wing army generals, Suharto and Nasution, the leaders of the internal counter-revolutionaries, in order to pave the way towards the new Indonesia which is free from the domination of imperialism and the remnants of feudalism.

CSO: 3530-D

SELF-CRITICISM BY THE POLITICAL BUREAU OF THE CENTRAL
COMMITTEE OF THE INDONESIAN COMMUNIST PARTY

(Excerpts)

September 1966

[Following is a translation of an article in the Chinese-language periodical Hung-ch'i (Red Flag), Peking, No 11, 9 July 1967, pp 24-35]

Indonesian Tribune published in its January issue (No. 3), the self-criticism adopted by the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Indonesian Communist Party (P.K.I.) in September 1966. The self-criticism is entitled "Build the P.K.I. Along the Marxist-Leninist Line to Lead the People's Democratic Revolution in Indonesia." -- Ed.

The self-criticism says that the disaster which has caused such serious losses to the P.K.I. and the revolutionary movement of the Indonesian people after the outbreak and the defeat of the 30 September Movement has lifted up the curtain which for a long period has hidden the grave weaknesses of the P.K.I.

The Political Bureau is aware that it has the greatest responsibility with regard to the grave weaknesses and mistakes of the Party during the period under review. Therefore, the Political Bureau is giving serious attention to and highly appreciates all criticism from cadres and members of the Party given in a Marxist-Leninist spirit, as well as honest criticism from Party sympathizers that have been expressed in different ways. The Political Bureau is resolved to make self-criticism in a Marxist-Leninist way, putting into practice the teaching of Lenin and the example of Comrade Musso in unfolding Marxist-Leninist criticism and self-criticism.

The self-criticism says that under the situation where the most vicious and cruel white terror is being unleashed by the Nasution-Suharto military dictatorship of the Right-wing army generals, it is not easy to make as

complete criticism and self-criticism as possible. To meet the urgent necessity, it is necessary to point out the main issues in the ideological, political and organizational fields, in order to facilitate the study of the weaknesses and mistakes of the Party during the current rectification movement.

With all modesty and sincerity the Political Bureau presents this self-criticism. The Political Bureau expects all members to take an active part in the discussions of the weaknesses and mistakes of the Party leadership, critically analyse them, and do their utmost to improve this self-criticism of the Political Bureau by drawing lessons from their respective experiences, collectively or individually. The Political Bureau expects all members to take firm hold of the principle: "unity -- criticism -- unity" and "learning from past mistakes to avoid future ones, and curing the sickness to save the patient, in order to achieve the twofold objective of clarity in ideology and unity among comrades." The Political Bureau is convinced that, by holding firmly to this correct principle, every Party member will take part in the movement to study and surmount these weaknesses and mistakes with the determination to rebuild the P.K.I. along the Marxist-Leninist line, to strengthen communist unity and solidarity, to raise the ideological, political and organizational vigilance, and to heighten the fighting spirit in order to win victory.

The Main Weaknesses in the Ideological Field

The serious weaknesses and mistakes of the Party in the period after 1951, the self-criticism says, certainly had as their source the weaknesses in ideological field, too, especially among the Party leadership. Instead of integrating revolutionary theories with the concrete practice of the Indonesian revolution, the Party leadership adopted the road which was divorced from the guidance of the most advanced theories. This experience shows that the P.K.I. had not succeeded as yet in establishing a core of leadership that was composed of proletarian elements, which really had the most correct understanding of Marxism-Leninism, systematic and not fragmentary, practical and not abstract understanding.

During the period after 1951, subjectivism continued to grow, gradually became greater and greater and gave rise to Right opportunism that merged with the influence of modern revisionism in the international communist movement. This was the black line of Right opportunism which became the main feature of the mistakes committed by the P.K.I. in this period. The rise and the development of these weaknesses and errors were caused by the following factors:

First, the tradition of criticism and self-criticism in a Marxist-Leninist way was not developed in the Party, especially among the Party leadership.

The rectification and study movements which from time to time were organized in the Party were not carried out seriously and persistently, their results were not summed up in a good manner, and they were not followed by the appropriate measures in the organizational field. Study movements were aimed more at the rank and file, and never at unfolding criticism and self-criticism among the leadership. Criticism from below far from being carefully listened to, was even suppressed.

Second, the penetration of the bourgeois ideology along two channels, through contacts with the national bourgeoisie when the Party established a united front with them and through the bourgeoisification of Party cadres, especially the leadership, after the Party obtained certain positions in governmental and semi-governmental institutions. The increasing number of Party cadres who occupied certain positions in governmental and semi-governmental institutions, in the center and in the regions, created "the rank of bourgeoisified workers" and this constituted "the real channels for reformism." Such a situation did not exist before the August Revolution of 1945.

Third, modern revisionism began to penetrate into our Party when the Fourth Plenary Session of the Central Committee of the Fifth Congress uncritically approved a report which supported the lines of the 20th Congress of the C.P.S.U., and adopted the line of "achieving socialism peacefully through parliamentary means" as the line of the P.K.I. This "peaceful road," one of the characteristics of modern revisionism, was further reaffirmed in the Sixth National Congress of the P.K.I. which approved the following passage in the Party Constitution: "There is a possibility that a people's democratic system as a transitional stage to socialism in Indonesia can be achieved by peaceful means, in parliamentary way. The P.K.I. persistently strives to transform this possibility into a reality." This revisionist line was further emphasized in the Seventh (Extraordinary) National Congress of the P.K.I. and was never corrected, not even when our Party was already aware that since the 20th Congress of the C.P.S.U., the leadership of the C.P.S.U. had been following the road of modern revisionism.

The self-criticism stresses that the experience of the P.K.I. provides the lesson that by criticizing the modern revisionism of the C.P.S.U. leadership alone, it does not mean that the P.K.I. itself will automatically be free from errors of Right opportunism, the same as what the modern revisionists are doing. The experience of the P.K.I. provides the lesson that modern revisionism, the greatest danger in the international communist movement, is also the greatest danger for the P.K.I. For the P.K.I., modern revisionism is not "a latent but not an acute danger" but a concrete danger that has brought great damage to the Party and serious losses for the revolutionary movement of the Indonesian people. Therefore, we must not in any way underestimate the danger of modern revisionism and must wage a resolute and ruthless struggle against it. The firm stand against modern revisionism in all fields can be effectively maintained only when our Party abandons the line of "preserving the friendship with the modern revisionists."

It is a fact that the P.K.I., while criticizing the modern revisionism of the C.P.S.U. leadership, also made revisionist mistakes itself, because it had revised Marxist-Leninist teachings on class struggle, state and revolution. Furthermore, the P.K.I. leadership not only did not wage a struggle in the theoretical field against other "revolutionary" political thoughts which could mislead the proletariat, as Lenin has taught us to do, but had voluntarily given concessions in the theoretical field. The P.K.I. leadership maintained that there was an identity between the three components of Marxism: materialist philosophy, political economy and scientific socialism, and the so-called "three components of Sukarno's teachings." They wanted to make Marxism, which is the ideology of the working class, the property of the whole nation which includes the exploiting classes hostile to the working class.

The Main Errors in the Political Field

The self-criticism says that the mistakes of Right opportunism in the political field which are now under discussion include three problems: (1) the road to people's democracy in Indonesia, (2) the question of state power, and (3) the implementation of the policy of the national united front.

One of the fundamental differences and problems of disputes between Marxism-Leninism and modern revisionism lies precisely in the problem of choosing the road to socialism. Marxism-Leninism teaches that socialism can only be achieved through the road of proletarian revolution and that in the case of colonial or semi-colonial and semi-feudal countries like Indonesia, socialism can only be achieved by first completing the stage of the people's democratic revolution. On the contrary, revisionism dreams of achieving socialism through the "peaceful road."

During the initial years of this period since 1951, our Party had achieved certain results in the political struggle as well as in the building of the Party. One important achievement of this period was the formulation of the main problems of the Indonesian revolution. It was formulated that the present stage of the Indonesian revolution was a new-type bourgeois democratic revolution, whose tasks were to liquidate imperialism and the vestiges of feudalism and to establish a people's democratic system as a transitional stage to socialism. The driving forces of the revolution were the working class, the peasantry and the petty bourgeoisie; the leading force of the revolution was the working class and the principal mass strength of the revolution was the peasantry. It was also formulated that the national bourgeoisie was a wavering force of the revolution who might side with the revolution to certain limits and at certain periods but who, at other times, might betray the revolution. The Party furthermore formulated that the working class, in order to fulfill its obligation as the leader of the revolution, must forge a revolutionary united front with other revolutionary classes and groups based on worker-peasant alliance and under the leadership of the working class.

However, there was a very important shortcoming which in later days developed into Right opportunism or revisionism, namely that the Party had not yet come to the clearest unity of minds on the principal means and the main form of struggle of the Indonesian revolution.

The Chinese revolution, the self-criticism says, has provided the lesson concerning the main form of struggle of the revolution in colonial or semi-colonial and semi-feudal countries, namely, the people's armed struggle against the armed counter-revolution. In line with the essence of the revolution as an agrarian revolution, then the essence of the people's armed struggle is the armed struggle of the peasants in an agrarian revolution under the leadership of the working class. The practice of the Chinese revolution is first and foremost the application of Marxism-Leninism to the concrete conditions of China. At the same time, it has laid down the general law for the revolutions of the peoples in colonial or semi-colonial and semi-feudal countries.

To achieve its complete victory, it stresses, the Indonesian revolution must also follow the road of the Chinese revolution. This means that the Indonesian revolution must inevitably adopt this main form of struggle, namely, the people's armed struggle against the armed counter-revolution which, in essence, is the armed agrarian revolution of the peasants under the leadership of the proletariat.

All forms of legal and parliamentary work should serve the principal means and the main form of struggle, and must not in any way impede the process of the ripening of armed struggle.

The experience during the last fifteen years has taught us that starting from the failure to reject the "peaceful road" and to firmly hold to the general law of revolution in colonial or semi-colonial and semi-feudal countries, the P.K.I. gradually got bogged down in parliamentary and other forms of legal struggle. The Party leadership even considered this to be the main form of struggle to achieve the strategic aim of the Indonesian revolution. The legality of the Party was not considered as one method of struggle at a given time and under certain conditions, but was rather regarded as a principle, while other forms of struggle should serve this principle. Even when counter-revolution not only has trampled underfoot the legality of the Party, but has violated the basic human rights of the Communists as well, the Party leadership still tried to defend this "legality" with all their might.

The "peaceful road" was firmly established in the Party when the Fourth Plenary Session of the Central Committee of the Fifth Congress in 1956 adopted a document which approved the modern revisionist line of the 20th Congress of the C.P.S.U. In such a situation, when the revisionist line was already firmly established in the Party, it was impossible to have a correct Marxist-Leninist line of strategy and tactics. The formulation of the main lines of strategy and tactics of the Party started from a vacillation between the "peaceful road" and the "road of armed revolution," in the process of which the "peaceful road" finally became dominant.

Under such conditions, the General Line of the P.K.I. was formulated by the Sixth National Congress (1959). It reads, "To continue the forging of the national united front, and to continue the building of the Party, so as to accomplish the demands of the August Revolution of 1945." Based on the General Line of the Party, the slogan "raise the Three Banners of the Party" was decided. These were: (1) the banner of the national front, (2) the banner of the building of the Party, and (3) the banner of the 1945 August Revolution. The General Line was meant as the road to people's democracy in Indonesia.

The Party leadership tried to explain that the Three Banners of the Party were the three main weapons to win the people's democratic revolution which, as Comrade Mao Tse-tung has said, were "a well-disciplined Party armed with the theory of Marxism-Leninism, using the method of self-criticism and linked with the masses of the people; an army under the leadership of such a Party; a united front of all revolutionary classes and all revolutionary groups under the leadership of such a Party."

Thus the second main weapon means that there must be a people's armed struggle against armed counter-revolution under the leadership of the Party. The Party leadership tried to replace this with the slogan "raise the banner of the 1945 August Revolution".

In order to prove that the road followed was not the opportunist "peaceful road," the Party leadership always spoke of the two possibilities, the possibility of a "peaceful road" and the possibility of a non-peaceful road. They held that the better the Party prepared itself to face the possibility of a non-peaceful road, the greater would be the possibility for a "peaceful road." By doing so the Party leadership cultivated in the minds of Party members, the working class and the masses of the working people the hope for a peaceful road which in reality did not exist.

In practice, the Party leadership did not prepare the whole ranks of the Party, the working class and the masses of the people to face the possibility of a non-peaceful road. The most striking proof of it was the grave tragedy which happened after the outbreak and the failure of the 30 September Movement. Within a very short space of time, the counter-revolution succeeded in massacring and arresting hundreds of thousands of Communists and non-Communist revolutionaries who found themselves in a passive position, paralyzing the organization of the P.K.I. and the revolutionary mass organizations. Such a situation surely would never happen if the Party leadership did not deviate from the revolutionary road.

The Party leadership declared, says the self-criticism, that "our Party must not copy the theory of armed struggle abroad, but must carry out the Method of Combining the Three Forms of Struggle: guerrilla warfare in the countryside (especially by farm laborers and poor peasants), revolutionary actions by the workers (especially transport workers) in the cities, and intensive work among the enemy's armed forces." The Party leadership

criticized some comrades who, in studying the experience of the armed struggle of the Chinese people, were considered seeing only its similarities with the conditions in Indonesia. On the contrary, the Party leadership put forward several allegedly different conditions that must be taken into account, until they arrived at the conclusion that the method typical to the Indonesian revolution was the "Method of Combining the Three Forms of Struggle."

To fulfill its heavy but great and noble historical mission, to lead the people's revolution against imperialism, feudalism and bureaucrat-capitalism, the Indonesian Marxist-Leninist must firmly reject the revisionist "peaceful road," reject the "theory of the Method of Combining the Three Forms of Struggle," and hold aloft the banner of armed people's revolution. Following the example of the glorious Chinese revolution, the Indonesian Marxist-Leninists must establish revolutionary base areas; they must "turn the backward villages into advanced, consolidated base areas, into great military, political, economic and cultural bastions of the revolution."

While working for the realization of this most principal question we must also carry out other forms of struggle; armed struggle will never advance without being co-ordinated with other forms of struggle.

* * *

The line of Right opportunism followed by the Party leadership was also reflected in their attitude with regard to the state, in particular to the state of the Republic of Indonesia, the self-criticism says.

Based on this Marxist-Leninist teaching on state, the task of the P.K.I. after the August Revolution of 1945 failed, should have been the education of the Indonesian working class and the rest of the working people, so as to make them understand as clearly as possible the class nature of the state of the Republic of Indonesia as a bourgeois dictatorship. The P.K.I. should have aroused the consciousness of the working class and the working people that their struggle for liberation would inevitably lead to the necessity of "superseding the bourgeois state" by the people's state under the leadership of the working class, through a "violent revolution." But the P.K.I. leadership took the opportunist line that gave rise to the illusion among the people about bourgeois democracy.

The climax of the deviation from Marxist-Leninist teaching on state committed by the Party leadership was the formulation of the "theory of the two aspects in the state power of the Republic of Indonesia."

The "two-aspect theory" viewed the state and the state power in the following way:

"The state power of the Republic, viewed as contradiction, is a contradiction between two opposing aspects. This first aspect is the aspect

which represents the interests of the people (manifested by the progressive stands and policies of President Sukarno that are supported by the P.K.I. and other groups of the people). The second aspect is the aspect that represents the enemies of the people (manifested by the stands and policies of the Right-wing forces and die-hards). The people's aspect has now become the main aspect and takes the leading role in the state power of the Republic."

The "two-aspect theory" obviously is an opportunist or revisionist deviation, because it denies the Marxist-Leninist teaching that "the state is an organ of the rule of a definite class which cannot be reconciled with its antipode (the class opposite to it)." It is unthinkable that the Republic of Indonesia can be jointly ruled by the people and the enemies of the people.

The Party leadership who wallowed in the mire of opportunism claimed that the "people's aspect" had become the main aspect and taken the hegemony in the state power of the Republic. It was as if the Indonesian people were nearing the birth of a people's power. And since they considered that the forces of the national bourgeoisie in the state power really the "people's aspect," the Party leadership had done everything to defend and develop this "people's aspect." The Party leadership had altogether merged themselves in the interests of the national bourgeoisie.

By considering the national bourgeoisie the "people's aspect" in the state power of the Republic, and president Sukarno the leader of this aspect, the Party leadership erroneously recognized that the national bourgeoisie was able to lead the new-type democratic revolution. This is contrary to historical necessity and historical facts.

The Party leadership declared that the "two-aspect theory" was completely different from the "theory of structural reform" of the leadership of the revisionist Italian Communist Party. However, the fact is, theoretically or on the basis of practical realities, there is no difference between the two "theories." Both have for their starting point the "peaceful road" to socialism. Both dream of a gradual change in the internal balance of forces in the state power. Both reject the road of revolution and both are revisionist in character.

The anti-revolutionary "two-aspect theory" glaringly exposed itself in the statement that "the struggle of the P.K.I. with regard to the state power is to promote the pro-people aspect so as to make it bigger and dominant, and the anti-people force can be driven out from the state power."

The Party leadership even had a name for this anti-revolutionary road; they called it the road of "revolution from above and below." By "revolution from above" they meant that the P.K.I. "must encourage the state power to take revolutionary steps aimed at making the desired changes in the personnel and in the state organs." While by "revolution from below" they meant that

the P.K.I. "must arouse, organize and mobilize the people to achieve the same changes." It is indeed an extraordinary phantasy! The Party leadership did not learn from the fact that the concept of president Sukarno on the formation of a co-operation cabinet (the old-type government of national coalition), eight years after its announcement, had not been realized as yet. There was even no sign that it would ever be realized, despite the insistent demands. Let alone a change in the state power!

The self-criticism stresses that to clean itself from the mire of opportunism, our Party must discard this "theory of two-aspect in the state power" and reestablish the Marxist-Leninist teaching on state and revolution.

The 5th National Congress of the Party in the main had solved theoretically the problem of the national united front. It formulated that the worker-peasant alliance was the basis of the national united front. With regard to the national bourgeoisie a lesson had been drawn on the basis of the experience during the August Revolution that this class had a wavering character. In a certain situation, the national bourgeoisie took part in the revolution and sided with the revolution, while in another situation they followed in the steps of the comprador-bourgeoisie to attack the driving forces of the revolution and betrayed the revolution (as shown by their activities during the Madiun Provocation and their approval of the Round Table Conference Agreement). Based on this wavering character of the national bourgeoisie, the Party formulated the stand that must be taken by the P.K.I., namely, to make continuous efforts to win the national bourgeoisie over to the side of revolution, while guarding against the possibility of its betraying the revolution. The P.K.I. must follow the policy of unity and struggle towards the national bourgeoisie, the self-criticism says.

Nevertheless, since the ideology of subjectivism in the Party, particularly among the Party leadership, had not yet been eradicated, the Party was dragged into more and more serious mistakes, to such an extent that the Party lost its independence in the united front with the national bourgeoisie. This mistake had led to the situation in which the Party and the proletariat were placed as the appendage of the national bourgeoisie.

A manifestation of this loss of independence in the united front with the national bourgeoisie was the evaluation and the stand of the Party leadership towards Sukarno. The Party leadership did not adopt an independent attitude towards Sukarno. They had always avoided conflicts with Sukarno and, on the contrary, had greatly over-emphasized the similarities and the unity between the Party and Sukarno. The public saw that there was no policy of Sukarno that was not supported by the P.K.I. The Party leadership went so far as to accept without any struggle the recognition to Sukarno as "the great leader of the revolution" and the leader of the "people's aspect" in the state power of the Republic. In many articles and speeches, the Party leaders frequently said that the struggle of the P.K.I. was based not only on Marxism-Leninism, but also on "the teachings of Sukarno" that the P.K.I. made such a rapid progress because it realized Sukarno's idea of Nasakom

unity, etc. Even the people's democratic system in Indonesia was said to be in conformity with Sukarno's main ideas as expressed in his speech "The Birth of Pantjasila" on 1 June 1945.

The self-criticism repudiates the erroneous view that "to implement the Political Manifesto in a consistent manner is the same as implementing the program of the P.K.I."

The statement that consistently implementing the Political Manifesto meant implementing the program of the P.K.I. could only be interpreted that it was not the program of the P.K.I. that was accepted by the bourgeoisie, but that, on the contrary, it was the program of the national bourgeoisie which was accepted by the P.K.I., and was made to replace the program of the P.K.I., it points out.

The abandonment of principle in the united front with the national bourgeoisie had developed even further in the so-called "General Line of the Indonesian Revolution" that was formulated as follows: "With the national front having the workers and peasants as its pillars, the Nasakom as the core and the Pantjasila as its ideological basis, to complete the national democratic revolution in order to advance towards Indonesian Socialism." This so-called "General Line of the Indonesian Revolution" had not even the faintest smell of the revolution. Because, from the three preconditions to win the revolution, namely, a strong Marxist-Leninist party, a people's armed struggle under the leadership of the Party, and a united front, only the united front was retained. Even then, it was not a revolutionary united front, because it was not led by the working class, nor was it based on the alliance of the working class and the peasantry under the leadership of the working class, but on the contrary it was based on the Nasakom.

The Party leadership said that "the slogan for national co-operation with the Nasakom as the core will by no means obscure the class content of the national united front." This statement is incorrect. The class content of the Nasakom was the working class, the national bourgeoisie, and even elements of the compradors, the bureaucrat-capitalists and the landlords. Obviously, putting the Nasakom in the core not only meant obscuring the class content of the national united front, but radically changing the meaning of the revolutionary national united front into an alliance of the working class with all other classes in the country, including the reactionary classes, into class collaboration.

This error must be corrected. The Party must throw to the dust-bin the erroneous "General Line of the Indonesian Revolution" and return to the correct conception of a revolutionary national united front based on the alliance of the workers and peasants under the leadership of the working class.

The abandonment of principle in the united front with the national bourgeoisie was also the result of the Party's inability to make a correct and concrete analysis of the concrete situation, the self-criticism says.

Ever since the failure of the August Revolution of 1945, except in West Irian, the imperialists did not hold direct political power in Indonesia. In Indonesia, political power was in the hands of compradors and landlords who represented the interests of imperialism and the vestiges of feudalism. Besides, there was no imperialist aggression in Indonesia taking place. Under such a situation, provided that the P.K.I. did not make political mistakes, the contradiction between the ruling reactionary classes and the people, would develop and sharpen, constituting the main contradiction in Indonesia. The primary task of the Indonesian revolution at the present moment is the overthrow of the rule of the reactionary classes within the country who also represent the interests of the imperialists, in particular the United States imperialists. Only by fulfilling this task, can the real liquidation of imperialism and the vestiges of feudalism be realized.

By correcting the mistakes made by the Party in the united front with the national bourgeoisie it does not mean that now the Party need not unite with this class. On the basis of the worker-peasant alliance under the leadership of the working class, our Party must work to win the national bourgeois class over to the side of the revolution.

The Main Mistakes in the Organization Field

The self-criticism says that the erroneous political line which dominated the Party was inevitably followed by an equally erroneous organizational line. The longer and the more intensive the wrong political line ruled in the Party, the greater were the mistakes in the organizational field, and the greater the losses caused by them. Right opportunism which constituted the wrong political line of the Party in the period after 1951 had been followed by another Right deviation in the organizational field, namely, liberalism and legalism.

The line of liberalism in the organizational field manifested itself in the tendency to make the P.K.I. a party with as large a membership as possible, a party with a loose organization, which was called a mass Party.

It says that the mass character of the Party is not determined above all by the large membership, but primarily by the close ties linking the Party and the masses, by the Party's political line which defends the interests of the masses, or in other words by the implementation of the Party's mass line. And the mass line of the Party can only be maintained when the prerequisites determining the Party's role as the advanced detachment are firmly upheld, when the Party members are made up of the best elements of the proletariat who are armed with Marxism-Leninism. Consequently, to build a Marxist-Leninist Party which has a mass character is impossible without giving primary importance to Marxist-Leninist education.

During the last few years, the P.K.I. had carried out a line of Party building which deviated from the principles of Marxism-Leninism in the organizational field.

This liberal expansion of Party membership could not be separated from the political line of the "peaceful road." The large membership was intended to increase the influence of the Party in the united front with the national bourgeoisie. The idea was to effect the gradual change in the balance of forces that would make it possible to completely defeat the die-hard forces, with a Party that was growing bigger and bigger, in addition to the policy of unity with the national bourgeoisie.

The stress was no longer laid on the education and the training of Marxist-Leninist cadres to prepare them for the revolution, for work among the peasants in order to establish revolutionary bases, but on the education of intellectuals to serve the needs of the work in the united front with the national bourgeoisie, and to supply cadres for the various positions in the state institutions that were obtained thanks to the co-operation with the national bourgeoisie. In the light of this policy, the slogan of "total integration with the peasants" had become empty talk. What was being done in practice was to draw cadres from the countryside to the cities, from the regions to the center, instead of sending the best cadres to work in the rural areas.

To raise the prestige of the P.K.I. in the eyes of the bourgeoisie, and to make it respected as the party of intellectuals, the 4-Year Plan stipulated that all cadres of the higher ranks must obtain academic education, cadres of the middle ranks high school education, and cadres of the lower ranks lower middle school education. For this purpose the Party had set up a great number of academies, schools and courses. So deep-rooted was the intellectualism gripping the Party leadership that all Party leadership that all Party leaders and prominent figures of the popular movements were obliged to write four theses in order to obtain the degree of "Marxist Scientists."

The deeper the Party was plunged into the mire of opportunism and revisionism, the greater it lacked organizational vigilance and the more extensively legalism developed in the organization. The Party leadership had lost their class prejudice towards the falsehood of bourgeois democracy. All the activities of the Party indicated as if the "peaceful road" was an inevitable certainty. The Party leadership did not arouse the vigilance of the masses of Party members to the danger of attacks by the reactionaries who were constantly on the look for the chance to strike. Due to this legalism in the organizational field, within a short span of time counter-revolution has succeeded in paralyzing the P.K.I, organizationally.

Liberalism in organization had destroyed the principle of internal democracy in the Party, destroyed collective leadership and had given rise to personal leadership and personal rule, to autonomism.

In a situation when liberalism dominated the organizational line of the Party, it was impossible to realize the Party's style of work "to combine theory and practice, to keep close bonds with the masses and to conduct

self-criticism." It was equally impossible to realize the method of leadership whose essence is the unity of the leadership and the masses; to realize it the leadership and the masses; to realize it the leadership must give an example to the rank-and-file.

Thus, in general the wrong political line which ruled in the Party was followed by the wrong line in the organizational field which violated the principles of a Marxist-Leninist Party, destroyed the organizational foundation of the Party, namely, democratic centralism, and trampled on the Party's style of work and method of leadership.

To build the P.K.I. as a Marxist-Leninist Party, we must thoroughly uproot liberalism in the organizational field and its ideological source. The P.K.I. must be rebuilt as a Lenin-type Party, a Party that will be capable of fulfilling its role as the advanced detachment and the highest form of class organization of the Indonesian proletariat, a Party with a historical mission of leading the masses of the Indonesian people to win victory in the anti-imperialist, anti-feudal and anti-bureaucrat-capitalist revolution, and to advance towards socialism. Such a Party must fulfill the following conditions: Ideologically, it is armed with the theory of Marxism-Leninism, and free from subjectivism, opportunism and modern revisionism; politically, it has a correct program which includes a revolutionary agrarian program, has a thorough understanding of the problems of the strategy and tactics of the Indonesian revolution, masters the main form of struggle; namely the armed struggle of the peasants under the leadership of the proletariat, as well as other forms of struggle, is capable of establishing a revolutionary united front of all anti-imperialist and anti-feudal classes based on the worker-peasant alliance under the leadership of the working class; organizationally, it is strong and has a deep root among the masses of the people, consists of the most trustworthy, experienced and the most steeled Party members who are models in the implementation of the national tasks.

Today, we are rebuilding our Party under the reign of unbridled counter-revolutionary white terror which is most cruel and ferocious. The legality of the basic human rights of the Communists have been wantonly violated. The Party has to work under completely illegal conditions and the organizational structure of the Party must, therefore, be adjusted according to the new conditions. While working in complete illegality, the Party must be adept at utilizing to the full all possible opportunities to carry out legal activities according to circumstances, and to choose ways and means that are acceptable to the masses with the aim of mobilizing the masses for struggle and leading this struggle step by step to a higher stage.

In rebuilding the P.K.I. along the Marxist-Leninist line, the greatest attention should be devoted to the building of Party organizations in the rural areas, to the establishment of revolutionary bases.

The task to rebuild a Marxist-Leninist Party as has been stated above requires arduous and protracted work, and is full of danger, and consequently it must be carried out courageously, perseveringly, carefully, patiently and persistently.

The Way Out

The self-criticism says that once we know the weaknesses and mistakes of the Party during the period after 1951 as have been explained above, obviously what we have to do is to realize the most urgent tasks faced by the Indonesian Marxist-Leninists at the present time, the first one being the rebuilding of the P.K.I. as a Marxist-Leninist Party which is free from subjectivism, opportunism and modern revisionism.

To rebuild the P.K.I. as such a Marxist-Leninist Party, Party cadres of all levels and then all Party members must reach a unanimity of mind with regard to the mistakes made by the Party in the past, as well as concerning the new road that must be taken.

In order to reach unanimity of mind, a rectification movement must be carried out in the whole Party. Through this rectification movement we will remould the erroneous ideas of the past into correct ideas. In order to advance along the new road, it is absolutely necessary to abandon the wrong road.

Under the present situation, it will not be easy to come to unanimity of mind concerning all past mistakes down to the minutest details. But, what is absolutely necessary is unanimity of mind regarding the fundamental problems raised in this self-criticism.

The opportunist and revisionist mistakes in the political and organizational fields made by our Party which have been subjected to this criticism were not merely the outcome of the social and historical conditions during the last decade, but could be traced farther back in the social and historical conditions since the founding of our Party. We must therefore get rid of the notion that everything will be all right once we have made the present criticism and self-criticism. So long as the ideology of subjectivism is not completely eradicated from the Party, or worse still, if it is still to be found among the Party leadership, then our Party will not be able to avoid other mistakes of Right or "Left" opportunism because, if such is the case, our Party will not be able to analyse the political situation correctly, and consequently will not be able to give the correct leadership. It is above all the task of the leadership and the central cadres, and then of the regional leadership and cadres at all levels to combat subjectivism persistently and wholeheartedly.

Subjectivism can be effectively combated and liquidated when the ability of the whole Party to distinguish proletarian ideology from the ideology of the petty bourgeoisie is raised, and when criticism and self-criticism is encouraged. To raise the ability of the whole Party to distinguish proletarian ideology from the ideology of the petty bourgeoisie will be possible only by intensifying the education of Marxism-Leninism. The Party must educate its members to apply the Marxist-Leninist method in analysing the political situation and in evaluating the forces of the existing classes, so that subjective

analysis and evaluation can be avoided. The Party must draw the attention of the members to the importance of investigation and to the study of social and economic conditions, in order to be able to define the tactics of struggle and the corresponding method of work. The Party must help the members to understand that without an investigation of the actual conditions they will get bogged down in phantasy.

The experience of the struggle waged by the Party in the past has shown how indispensable it is for the Indonesian Marxist-Leninist, who are resolved to defend Marxism-Leninism and to combat modern revisionism, to study not only the teachings of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin, but also to devote special attention to studying the Thought of Mao Tse-tung who has succeeded in inheriting, defending and developing Marxism-Leninism to its peak in the present era.

The P.K.I. will be able to hold aloft the banner of Marxism-Leninism, only when it takes a resolute stand in the struggle against modern revisionism which today is centered around the leading group of the C.P.S.U. The fight against modern revisionism cannot be consistently carried out while, at the same time, preserving the friendship with modern revisionists. The P.K.I. must abandon the wrong attitude it held in the past with regard to the question of the relations with the modern revisionists. Loyalty to proletarian internationalism can only be manifested by a merciless stand in the struggle against modern revisionism, because modern revisionism has destroyed proletarian internationalism, and betrayed the struggle of the proletariat and the oppressed people all over the world.

In rebuilding the Party, the Indonesian Marxist-Leninists must devote their attention to the creation of the conditions to lead the armed agrarian revolution of the peasants that will become the main form of struggle to win victory for the people's democratic revolution in Indonesia. This means that the greatest attention should be paid to the rebuilding of Party organizations in the rural areas. The greatest attention must be paid to the solution of the problem of arousing, organizing and mobilizing the peasants in an anti-feudal agrarian revolution. The integration of the Party with the peasants, in particular with farm laborers and poor peasants, must be conscientiously carried out. Because, only through such an integration, will the Party be able to lead the peasantry, and the peasantry, for their part, will be capable of becoming the invincible bulwark of the people's democratic revolution.

As a result of the attacks of the third white terror, Party organizations in the rural areas in general have suffered greater damage. This fact has rendered it more difficult and arduous to work in the countryside. But this does not in any way change the inexorable law that the main force of the people's democratic revolution in Indonesia is the peasantry, and its base area is the countryside. With the most resolute determination that everything is for the masses of the people, the Indonesian Marxist-Leninists will certainly be able to overcome the gravest difficulties. By having the

most wholehearted faith in the masses and by relying on the masses, the Indonesian Marxist-Leninists will certainly be able to transform the backward Indonesian villages into great and consolidated military, political, economic and cultural bastions of the revolution.

The Indonesian peasants are the most interested in the people's democratic revolution. Because, only this revolution will liberate them from the life of backwardness and inequality as a result of feudal suppression. It is only this revolution that will give them what they have dreamt all their lives and which will give them life: land. That is why the peasants will surely take this road of revolution for land and liberation, no matter how arduous and full of twists and turns this road will be.

Obviously, the second task of the Indonesian Marxist-Leninists at present is the creation of the necessary conditions for the armed agrarian revolution of the peasants under the leadership of the proletariat. Provided that the Indonesian Marxist-Leninists succeed in arousing, organizing and mobilizing the peasants to carry through an anti-feudal agrarian revolution, the leadership of the working class in the people's democratic revolution, and the victory of this revolution, are assured.

However, the Party must continue the efforts to establish a revolutionary united front with other anti-imperialist and anti-feudal classes and groups. Based on the alliance of the working class and the peasantry under the leadership of the proletariat, the Party must work to win over the urban petty bourgeoisie and other democratic forces, and must also work to win over the national bourgeoisie as an additional ally in the people's democratic revolution. The present objective conditions offer the possibility for the establishment of a broad revolutionary united front.

The military dictatorship of the Right-wing army generals led by Nasution-Suharto is the manifestation of the rule by the most reactionary classes in the country, namely, the comprador-bourgeoisie, the bureaucrat-capitalists and the landlords. The internal reactionary classes under the leadership of the clique of Right-wing army generals exercise the dictatorship over the Indonesian people, and act as the watch-dogs guarding the interests of imperialism, in particular United States imperialism, in Indonesia. Consequently, the coming into power of the military dictatorship of the Right-wing army generals will certainly serve to intensify the suppression and exploitation of the Indonesian people by imperialism and feudalism.

The military dictatorship of the Right-wing army generals represents the interests of only a very small minority who suppresses the overwhelming majority of the Indonesian people. That is why the military dictatorship of the Right-wing army generals will certainly meet with resistance from the broad masses of the people.

Thus, the third urgent task faced by the Indonesian Marxist-Leninists is to establish the revolutionary united front with all anti-imperialist and

anti-feudal classes and groups based on the worker-peasant alliance under the leadership of the working class.

Thus, it has become clear that to win victory for the people's democratic revolution, the Indonesian Marxist-Leninists must hold aloft the Three Banners of the Party, namely:

The first banner, the building of a Marxist-Leninist Party which is free from subjectivism, opportunism and modern revisionism.

The second banner, the armed people's struggle which in essence is the armed struggle of the peasants in an anti-feudal agrarian revolution under the leadership of the working class.

The third banner, the revolutionary united front based on the worker-peasant alliance under the leadership of the working class.

The tasks faced by the Indonesian Marxist-Leninists are very arduous. They have to work under the most savage and barbarous terror and persecution which have no parallel in history. However, the Indonesian Marxist-Leninists do not have the slightest doubt that, by correcting the mistakes made by the Party in the past, they are now marching along the correct road, the road of people's democratic revolution. No matter how protracted, tortuous and full of difficulties, this is the only road leading to a free and democratic New Indonesia, an Indonesia that will really belong to the Indonesian people. For this noble cause, we must have the courage to traverse the long road.

The Indonesian Marxist-Leninists and revolutionaries on the basis of their own experience in struggle, do not have the slightest doubt about the correctness of Comrade Mao Tse-tung's thesis that "the imperialists and all reactionaries are paper tigers. In appearance they are terrifying, but in reality they are not so powerful. From a long-term point of view, it is not the reactionaries but the people who are really powerful." The military dictatorship of the Right-wing army generals which is now in power is also a paper tiger. In appearance they are powerful and terrifying. But in reality they are not so powerful, because they are not supported but on the contrary are opposed by the people, because their ranks are beset by contradictions, and because they are quarrelling among themselves for a bigger share of their plunder and for greater power. The imperialists, in particular the United States imperialists who are the mainstay of the military dictatorship of the Right-wing army generals, are also paper tigers. In appearance they are powerful and terrifying, but in reality they are weak and nearing their complete downfall. The weakness of imperialism, in particular the United States imperialism, is vividly demonstrated by their inability to conquer the heroic Vietnamese people and to check the tide of the anti-imperialist struggle waged by the people all over the world, including the American people themselves, who are furiously dealing blows at the fortresses of imperialism.

From a strategic point of view, the imperialists and all reactionaries are weak, and consequently we must despise them. By despising the enemies strategically we can build up the courage to fight them and the confidence to defeat them. At the same time we must take them all seriously, take into full account of their strength tactically, and refrain from taking adventurist steps against them.

Today, we are in an era when imperialism is undergoing its total collapse, and socialism is marching forward triumphantly all over the world. No force on earth can prevent the total downfall of imperialism and all other reactionaries, and no force can block the victory of Socialism throughout the world. The military dictatorship of the Right-wing army generals, as the watch-dog guarding the interests of imperialism in Indonesia is also unable to avert its destruction. The vicious and savage massacre and torture against the hundreds of thousands of Communists and democrats which they are still continuing today, will not be able to prevent the people and the Communists from rising up in resistance. On the contrary, all the brutalities and cruelties will only serve to intensify the tit-for-tat resistance struggle of the people. The Communists will avenge the death of their hundreds of thousands of comrades with the resolve to serve still better the people, the revolution and the Party.

The Indonesian Marxist-Leninists will spare neither efforts nor energy to fulfill the best wishes of the world Marxist-Leninists by resolutely defending Marxism-Leninism and struggling against modern revisionism, by working still better for the liberation of their people and country, and for the world proletarian revolution.

The Indonesian Marxist-Leninists who are united in mind and determined to take the road of revolution, by putting their wholehearted faith in the people, by relying on the people, by working courageously, perseveringly, conscientiously, patiently, persistently and vigilantly, will surely be able to accomplish their historical mission, to lead the people's democratic revolution, to smash the military dictatorship of the Right-wing army generals and to set up a completely new power, the people's democratic dictatorship. With the people's democratic dictatorship, the joint power of anti-imperialist and anti-feudal classes and groups under the leadership of the working class, the Indonesian people will completely liquidate imperialism and the vestiges of feudalism, build a free and democratic new society, and advance towards Socialism where the suppression and exploitation of man by man no longer exists.

Let us unite closely to take the road of revolution which is illuminated by the teaching of Marxism-Leninism, the road leading to the liberation of the Indonesian people and proletariat, the road leading to Socialism.

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IT IS NECESSARY TO TOPPLE SELF-INTEREST
IN ORDER TO REALIZE THE GREAT ALLIANCE OF REVOLUTIONARIES

[Following is a translation of an article in the Chinese-language periodical, Hung-ch'i (Red Flag), Peking, No 11, 9 July 1967, pp 36-39. The article was originally printed in the Hai-chiang Chan-pao (Seaport Battle News), Shanghai, with revisions made by Hung-ch'i.]

Hung-ch'i Editor's Note:

The great alliance of proletarian revolutionaries is a most important condition for carrying the great proletarian cultural revolution through to the end. In the process of realizing the great alliance of revolutionaries, the inside of the proletarian revolutionary organization is penetrated with the struggle between the proletarian world outlook and the bourgeois world outlook, that is, the struggle between public interest and self-interest. The article "It is Necessary to Topple Self-interest in Order to Realize the Great Alliance of Revolutionaries" reproduced by this magazine has vividly demonstrated this.

The experience of the proletarian revolutionaries of the 6th loading and unloading district of the Shanghai Port Bureau tells us that self-interest is the great ideological enemy to the great alliance of revolutionaries. Only by eradicating and toppling self-interest to make room for public interest can we put the invincible thought of Mao Tse-tung in command and realize and consolidate the great alliance of revolutionaries.

We recommend this article in the hope that all revolutionary organizations will sum up their own experiences in a good way and drive forward the great alliance of revolutionaries.

In November last year, the proletarian revolutionaries of the 6th loading and unloading district of the Shanghai Port Bureau broke through numerous barriers of resistance and "fought" their way out. Following this, eight revolutionary mass organizations, including the Rebel Battalion of the 6th District of the Port, the "East Is Red" Rebel Detachment, the Rebel Corps, the Red Flag Corps, and the Column of the 6th District of the Port of the Red Riot Corps, were set up one after another.

These revolutionary mass organizations, in their fight to smash the new counter-attack of the bourgeois reactionary line, in their launching a counterattack against the converging attack of the conservative organizations manipulated by a handful of those in authority taking the capitalist road within the former Municipal Committee, and in their struggle to curb the evil wind of counterrevolutionary economism, lived or died together, shared adversities, and united and fought together, thus forming a revolutionary on-flow.

The alliance of these revolutionary mass organizations began in January this year. Up to the formation of the united revolutionary organization -- the Revolutionary Rebel Committee of the 6th District of the Port of Shanghai -- this time, they had gained and learned profound experiences and lessons from the great alliance which they had formed on three different occasions.

The First Great Alliance

When the great storm of the "January Revolution" swept through the whole seaport, the proletarian revolutionaries of the 6th district also seized over Party, political, financial and cultural powers in the whole district and courageously shouldered the two heavy loads of revolution and production. Eight revolutionary mass organizations formed the first alliance and set up the revolutionary production group.

With power seized, the standing of the proletarian revolutionaries also changed. Under the new situation, some persons relaxed their self-reforming and did not act according to Comrade Lin Piao's instructions.

Comrade Lin Piao pointed out: "We must regard ourselves as part and parcel of the revolutionary force and must at the same time continuously regard ourselves as the target of revolution. Revolution also calls for the revolutionization of self. Without the revolutionization of self, a success cannot be made of such revolution."

But some comrades among the revolutionaries put self-interest above everything else. Proceeding from the interests of the small group, they laid hold of some side issues of each other, got entangled in them, and conducted endless debated. Seeing that this was an opportunity they could take advantage of, some persons with an ulterior object in view fanned the evil wind

for the revolutionary committee of the 6th district. Later, this was expanded to become the preparatory committee for the revolutionary committee, and in this way there was for the first time a command post for grasping revolution and stimulating production.

Following the formation of the preparatory committee, the various revolutionary mass organizations of the 6th district were organizationally united. However, because they had not satisfactorily carried out the creative study and application of Chairman Mao's writings, delved deep into the soul and eradicated self-interest to make way for public interest, but had placed fear above everything else -- they feared that the conservative force might avail of the opportunity to launch a counter-attack, that other people might lay hold of their shortcomings and make endless use of same to topple them, that there might be an internal split and that "civil war" might break out once again -- instead of carrying out open-door rectification, the campaign was carried out behind a closed door or with the door ajar. In the course of rectification, they directed more criticisms against other people and sometimes what they said stung, but they set no strict demands for themselves. As a result, only the relationships between the various organizations were straightened and problems were laid on the table. The "civil war" was waged not with wall posters but across the table. The contradictions and differences between and within organizations had not been solved ideologically in the real sense.

At that time, some conservative organizations spread rumors and slanders saying that "the general orientation of the rebels of the 6th district in their seizure of power is wrong." They even openly clamored in front of the door of the Rebel Battalion that "only the Left is permitted to rebel, but the Right is not allowed to upset the world," thus directing the spearhead at the proletarian revolutionaries. Following this, the "provisional Party committee" singlehandedly concocted by the work group carrying out the bourgeois reactionary line restored activities along the old lines and openly sang a tune that ran counter to the preparatory committee, thus bringing another setback to the great proletarian cultural revolution of the 6th district. After the responsible comrades of the Municipal Revolutionary Committee came to the district to participate in labor and carry out investigation and study, the "provisional Party committee" was ordered to suspend all activities.

This setback has taught us a profound lesson: Self-interest in the minds of the proletarian revolutionaries is the obstacle to the realization of the great alliance. In order to realize and consolidate the great alliance of revolutionaries and the "threeway alliance," to seize and exercise power well and to make good use of power, the proletarian revolutionaries must hold high the great red banner of Mao Tse-tung's thought, delve deep into their own souls, and eradicate self-interest in order to establish public interest in a big way. Otherwise, setbacks will appear in the movement.

and kindled the ghostly fire. They enlarged the contradiction in order to create a split.

The unprincipled "civil war" among the various revolutionary mass organizations started in this way. Especially prominent were two organizations which had "fought" their way out at an earlier date -- the Rebel Battalion of the "Worker's General Headquarters" and the "East Is Red" Rebel Detachment of the "Workers General Headquarters." They were unable to see eye to eye with each other, and each claimed that the general orientation of the other side was wrong. Wall posters were pasted all over the district to carry out the "civil war."

In this way, with self-interest playing havoc in the minds of the proletarian revolutionaries who had just come into power, coupled with the sabotage of some persons with an ulterior object in view, there started a "civil war" which upset the class front and shifted the general orientation of the struggle. The alliance lasted about one month and the revolutionary production group died a premature death.

The Second Great Alliance

The "civil war" which lasted several weeks brought unworthy losses to the revolution, and everybody was exhausted. They felt that if the "civil war" were not called off, they would disappoint Chairman Mao, the Party Central Committee and the revolutionary masses.

At that crucial juncture, the "CCP Central Committee's letter to revolutionary workers and cadres of industrial and mining enterprises all over the country" was published. The Shanghai Municipal Revolutionary Committee made decisions in regard to the current situation and task of the great cultural revolution in Shanghai and opportunely sent them Chairman Mao's latest directive. They further studied Chairman Mao's "On the Correct Handling of Contradictions Among the People," "Rectify the Party's Style of Work," "On Correcting Mistaken Ideas in the Party" and other illustrious works in the light of their way of thinking. As a result, both sides saw light and were able to sit down and calmly think over problems.

The eight mass organizations of the 6th district are all revolutionary organizations and class brothers. In the past the general orientation of the struggle was at all times consistent, and they united, fought and won together. Why was it that after seizing power each of them would sit on top of its own mound and could not form an alliance? After study, they preliminarily understood that self-interest was the mischief-maker in their minds, and unless self-interest was overthrown and a great alliance was formed by the proletarian revolutionaries, they would make big mistakes.

Consequently, an agreement was reached on 21 March, and the representatives of the proletarian revolutionaries, the revolutionary leading cadres and the armed force and public security personnel formed a preparatory group

The Third Great Alliance

They have learned many lessons and gained much experience from the failure of their alliance on two occasions. They have come to understand that it is necessary to topple self-interest and build the great alliance on the foundation of Mao Tse-tung's thought in order to consolidate the great alliance of the revolutionaries. An alliance in form but not in thought is most undependable and has no foundation. Because of this, the masses are of the opinion that such alliance is "parliamentary alliance" and that the preparatory committee is a "quarrelsome club." Now profound and pungent their criticism is:

When the movement ground to a halt at the 6th district, our most respected and beloved great leader Chairman Mao sent out the Chinese People's Liberation Army. The PLA followed Chairman Mao's teaching that "all conclusions come after and not before an investigation of the situation," and it conducted penetrating and painstaking investigation and study. Its men moved in and out of production sites all day long, and where there were difficulties, there were PLA men. Late at night they chatted with workers on the night shifts, and under the burning sun, they went aboard ships to load and unload cargoes and were as lively as dragons and tigers. Whenever the masses talked about the PLA, everyone raised his thumb and said: "It really has set a good example for us!"

What was more important was that the PLA brought with it the thought of Mao Tse-tung. Helped by the PLA comrades, the workers of the whole district used the "five big ways" to launch the movement for the creative study and application of Chairman Mao's writings. The "five big ways" are to study Chairman Mao's writings in a big way, to explain Chairman Mao's writings in a big way, to recite Chairman Mao's writings in a big way, to sing songs based on quotations from Chairman Mao in a big way, and to apply the thought of Mao Tse-tung in a big way. Many comrades "recited the three old articles," read quotations while they worked, and checked their work against such quotations after work.

On the basis of studying Chairman Mao's writings in a big way, the 6th district whipped up a surging tide of criticism and repudiation, and all revolutionary workers vehemently criticized the top person in authority taking the capitalist road within the Party and his "Self-Cultivation."

Simultaneously with making criticism and repudiation in a big way, they also organized cadres at the intermediate level to carry out study. Because the large-scale criticism and repudiation had uncovered the class struggle, many cadres who had been deceived woke up and examined their own mistakes. They disclosed their minds saying: "Prior to this, our attitude had been unsatisfactory principally because we feared that we would be purged, toppled and relieved of our office." The majority of the cadres sensed their own mistakes and they returned to the side of Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line.

After one month of study, the issue returned to the question of great alliance. How should the great alliance be formed? The masses had this to say to those responsible for the revolutionary organizations: "We must form a great alliance, and the sooner the alliance is formed the better it will be. The key is now in the hands of you leaders." Some comrades said: "Regardless of whether or not you want to form an alliance at the higher level, we of various departments must form an alliance at the lower level." An old worker said meaningfully: "I am a communist and I had suffered enough in the old society. Now a handful of those in authority taking the capitalist road within the Party want us to retrace our steps. We firmly reject this idea, and we must form an alliance in struggle against them. Why don't we unite? What are the things which we cannot discard?" This old worker has said the right thing. In order to insure that our country will not change political color and for the sake of the world revolution, have we anything which we cannot discard? What reason have we in not forming a great alliance?

Chairman Mao taught us: "Numerous revolutionary martyrs have sacrificed their lives for the interests of the people, and all of us who are still living feel very sad whenever we think of them. Can it be said that there are still personal interests which we cannot sacrifice and mistakes which we cannot forsake?" Since the situation of the revolution and the revolutionary cause of the proletariat needed us to form a great alliance, the masses held great expectations for the great alliance and the PLA comrades had made every effort to help us form the great alliance, the situation for the great alliance of the revolutionaries in the 6th district of the Shanghai Port Bureau was very good indeed!

On 2 June the Shanghai Municipal Revolutionary Committee adopted the resolution, "Fight for strengthening the dictatorship of the proletariat." The proletarian revolutionaries of the 6th district organized the study of this resolution. On 14 June, a PLA comrade delivered three guiding reports on studying the "three old articles" to those responsible for the various revolutionary mass organizations. He thoroughly explained the great significance of the study of the "three old articles," and the things he covered ranged from "entirely," "thoroughly" serving the people to the correct attitude adopted toward making criticism and self-criticism and accepting criticism, from why it was necessary to eradicate self-interest and establish public interest to how to eradicate self-interest and establish public interest. The audience was greatly moved by his reports and their way of thinking quickly changed. Some comrades said: "Why is it that while we were not afraid even of death when we 'fought' our way out from White Terror, we cannot now free ourselves from the entanglement of self-interest?"

The study of the "three old articles" opened the door to the great alliance and touched everybody to the soul. Everybody said that no matter how great the contradiction of the mass organizations was, it was no greater than the contradiction with a handful of those in authority taking the capitalist road within the Party. They unanimously were of the opinion that the great alliance brooked no further delay and that a united revolutionary organization should be set up at once.

After the meeting, the various organizations all held meetings. Those of the Rebel Battalion discussed the matter all night. They made self-criticism with reference to Chairman Mao's writings and examined their own shortcomings and mistakes. They resolutely guaranteed that they truly wanted to realize the great alliance of revolutionaries.

Following this, the various revolutionary mass organizations also carried out a rectification campaign. They also had launched rectification campaigns in the past, but such campaigns were directed against other people. This time, the campaign was directed, not against other people, but at self-interest in their own minds, and they were required to make vehement self-criticism. In the past, they shook their heads whenever they heard other people state their views, but now they were afraid that other people would not state their views. In the past, they would argue heatedly whenever pungent views were advanced, but now they only feared that the views advanced by other people would scratch the surface and fail to touch them to the soul. In the past they felt tense whenever self-criticism was mentioned, but now they felt relaxed because they had brought their minds to light. At meetings people bared their minds without any sense of shame and cut off their appendixes without complaining of pain.

Those of the "East Is Red" Detachment bared their minds and said: "We were unable to see eye to eye with the Rebel Battalion and always thought that our level was higher. We held fast to their mistakes and put them on the agenda again and again. Although it was clear to us that they were wrong in some questions, we did not tell them but went the other way to bombard them. We thought that it was their business to make mistakes, and so long as we did the right thing, we would be better known. As we made our self-examination now, we know this is wrong."

The comrades of the Rebel Battalion said: "We were not humble enough, and because of our 'mountaintopism' we looked down upon our fraternal organizations. After crushing the 6th Corps, although we also made a self-examination, yet that self-examination was a superficial one. In our letter of apology we only said that theirs was a mass organization but refused to describe it as revolutionary so that we might crush it again in the future. Now as we think of this we really feel ashamed."

They all said: We are all victims of the bourgeois reactionary line. Under the reign of White Terror, we lived and died together, shared adversities, and "fought" our way out together. We clung close to each other when we fought against the conservative organization. Why can't we form an alliance now?

They were unanimously of the opinion that when dealing with fraternal organizations, they must proceed from the revolutionary interests of the proletariat, but should never take the interests of a small group as the point of departure. The differences between the various revolutionary organizations were contradictions among the people which must be settled with the method

of unity -- criticism -- unity as taught by Chairman Mao, and no antagonistic attitude should be adopted. They discussed their experiences, disclosed their minds and felt that there were no contradictions which could not be settled.

Apart from holding meetings to carry out the rectification campaign, they also adopted the method of carrying the rectification campaign to the door. They felt that because of the "civil war" which had been going on for a period of time, many estrangements had developed among them; and that in order to make a success of the great alliance, such estrangements must be thoroughly eliminated and all organizations and individuals must bare their minds to each other and sincerely carried out self-examination. Therefore, the Rebel Battalion went to the "East Is Red" Detachment to deliver its self-examination to the door. The "East Is Red" Rebel Detachment wrote on a big blackboard: "We welcome the criticism of veteran comrades-in-arms." One went to the other to make self-criticism, while the other called for the criticism of other people. They rushed forward to tell their own shortcomings, and the more they discussed things, the more harmonious things became.

Through creatively studying and applying Chairman Mao's writings and carrying out the open-door rectification campaign, the consciousness of the proletarian revolutionaries was greatly raised. As a result, the workers' revolutionary rebel committee of the 6th district of the Shanghai Port Bureau was born.

The birth of this united organization is a victory for the overthrow of self-interest, and is in the final analysis a great victory for the thought of Mao Tse-tung. We owe all this to the great leader Chairman Mao and the invincible thought of Mao Tse-tung.

CSO: 3530-D

RELY ON THE MASSES AND REALIZE A GREAT REVOLUTIONARY ALLIANCE

[Following is a translation of an article by Mao Tse-tung's Thought Propaganda Team of a certain air force unit of Peking armed forces, PLA, in the Chinese-language periodical, Hung-ch'i (Red Flag), Peking, No 11, 9 July 1967, pp 40-42.]

The Dyeing and Weaving Mill No. 3 of Tientsin city, controlled by a handful of power holders taking the capitalist road within the Hopei Provincial Party Committee and Tientsin Municipal Party Committee, had long followed a counter-revolutionary revisionist line. In the course of the great proletarian cultural revolution, those leaders following the bourgeois reactionary line in the mill, in order to shift the target and protect themselves, branded the revolutionary masses as "counter-revolutionary," inciting the masses to struggle against each other and thus causing grave antagonisms between the mass organizations.

Inspired by the "January revolution" storm in Shanghai, the rebel brigade, a revolutionary organization in the mill, seized power on 29 January. However, as the bourgeois reactionary line had not been completely criticized and liquidated, the Rebel Brigade, following its seizure of power, was supported by only one out of the other eight mass organizations. Other mass organizations were keen on fighting a "civil war." This had impeded the grasping of revolution, promotion of production, and the realization of the revolutionary great alliance.

A broad revolutionary great alliance with the Left as the core must be realized. But who are the Leftists? After our Mao Tse-tung's Thought Propaganda Team had entered the mill on 12 March, the leading members of various mass organizations and the broad masses of workers one after another reported the condition to us and urgently asked us to express our attitude. They also pointed out which organization was a Leftist and which was a conservative organization.

To judge who are the revolutionary Leftists is a problem that must be first solved in the work of supporting the Left. Some think that since

Chairman Mao has dispatched the Liberation Army to support the broad masses of the Leftists the Liberation Army is "of course the judge." Such an understanding on the part of the masses stems from their genuine trust of the Liberation Army. We are the servants of the people, their pupils. If we regard ourselves as the "superior of the masses" and the "judges," that would be a grave mistake.

The question of how to correctly handle the masses is one of stand and of world outlook. Chairman Mao teaches us: "The masses are the true heroes, while we ourselves are often childish and ridiculous." Only by firmly trusting the masses and relying on them can we correctly execute Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line. The worker masses are the main force of the great proletarian cultural revolution. They are all clear about what the various mass organizations have done. Having mastered the thought of Mao Tse-tung, they are able to define various organizations. That is why, when we entered the mill, we did not feel anxious to express our attitudes. Instead, through various ways we studied Chairman Mao's works with the broad masses and the Party's principles and policies for the great proletarian cultural revolution. We mobilized the masses freely and launched discussions on the general orientation of the movement and the two lines.

The process of study and discussion is also a process of investigation and study. In the course of investigation, we did not confine ourselves to some isolated facts and superficial phenomena. Instead, starting with political thinking, we investigated and studied the organizational state of various organizations, their histories of struggle, and their attitudes in major events. To grasp political thinking, it is essential to grasp tightly the class struggle and the struggle between two lines as the key and define clearly who really stand on the side of Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line. It is necessary to directly grasp the essence of the problem, avoid being entangled by side issues, and see clearly who grasps the general orientation of struggle. Above all, it is necessary to establish ideological ties with the masses, to carry out political and ideological education in an appropriate manner, listen to all kinds of opinions, and conduct investigations, discussions, and studies and improve ourselves simultaneously.

The process of study is also a process of mobilizing the mass organizations and cadres to carry out rectification campaigns. In the course of discussions, some organizations think that since their general orientation is correct, it does not matter much to have some shortcomings. Some organizations think that since they themselves have behaved properly, the question of whether their general orientation is correct or not does not arise. Some cadres do not understand, and complain against, the mass movement. With deep class sentiments and in view of these living ideas, we help them study and apply Chairman Mao's works creatively, while guiding them to conduct open-door rectification campaigns so as to correctly recognize themselves as well as others.

Through study, discussions and open-door rectification campaigns, the broad masses of workers have elevated their understanding. The revolutionary organizations have not only affirmed their own general orientation, but they have criticized their own shortcomings and mistakes. People with conservative thinking felt the more the wrongness of their general orientation the more they studied. Some cadres also came to understand the wrongness of passive conservatism and that they should come forward to join the masses in making revolution. More and more people have understood gradually that the Rebel Brigade is a revolutionary Leftist organization.

On 17 April, the mill convened a mass meeting to indict the bourgeois reactionary line. At it, the Rebel Brigade criticized the bourgeois reactionary line and at the same time made a summary report on the conditions of its rectification campaign and the shortcomings and mistakes which it found in work. Responsible members of organizations with conservative tendencies also indicted the poisons of the bourgeois reactionary line and recognized that they had joined the wrong side in the great cultural revolution. They expressed their determination to return to the side of Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line and resolutely supported all revolutionary actions of the Rebel Brigade. Some cadres also denounced "On Self-Cultivation" for poisoning their minds, indicating that they would, along with the revolutionary masses, follow Chairman Mao in making revolution. At this mass meeting we publicly indicated to the revolutionary workers of the whole mill that we were firmly behind the Rebel Brigade.

Chairman Mao has exhorted in these words: The proletariat must not only liberate itself, but it must also liberate the whole mankind. Without liberating the whole mankind, the proletariat cannot ultimately liberate itself. As dictated by Chairman Mao's teachings, we helped the Rebel Brigade to further readjust its views on the mass organizations which had made conservative mistakes and the hoodwinked masses, take the initiative to carry out political and ideological work, and realize a revolutionary great alliance.

Some members of the Rebel Brigade, as a result of their persecution by the bourgeois reactionary line and as a result of the fact that the change in their position has caused pride and complacency in them, entertained some incorrect notions about the revolutionary great alliance. They believed that those people with the conservative thinking "cannot be changed," that they lied when they admitted their mistakes and that they must not "sit with them on the same bench." In view of these living ideas, we asked the comrades of the Rebel Brigade to join us in studying seriously Chairman Mao's "On the Correctly Handling of Contradictions," "three constantly read articles," "On Correcting Mistaken Ideas in the Party," and other splendid works. We thus helped them to take Chairman Mao's works as a weapon to eliminate self-interest and foster devotion to public interest and overcome the selfish and impure ideas in their minds. They examined such mistaken ideas as the "seeking the limelight" mentality, the "small group" mentality, individualism, and conceit and complacency. They realized that the contradiction between the

broad masses and the handful of the Party power holders taking the capitalist road is the principal contradiction and that the masses who joined conservative organizations were likewise the victims of the bourgeois reactionary line. The contradiction between the revolutionaries and the hoodwinked masses is a contradiction among the people. We should therefore warmly help them, unite with them, and should not discriminate against and exclude them. Every small bit of progress which the hoodwinked masses make must be welcomed with enthusiasm. As regards a small number of people who are temporarily unable to return from the evil road, we should also patiently wait for them and help them change.

So, many members of the Rebel Brigade took the initiative to call on their fraternal brothers for heart-to-heart talks, examine their own shortcomings and mistakes, humbly solicit the opinions of the other side, and welcome the other side in making revolution. These actions have moved a large section of the cheated masses. They poured out their hearts, saying: "We originally thought that the Liberation Army, after expressing its attitude, would wag its tail and look down upon us. We did not expect that you became even more modest than before."

At the same time, together with the broad masses of workers, the Rebel Brigade launched a big campaign to criticize and condemn the top Party person in authority taking the capitalist road, refuting the "exploitation is a merit" theory and crushing the spiritual shackles of the "docile tool." On the basis of joint struggle against the enemy, they further eliminated the ideological antagonisms and barriers and enhanced their mutual class friendship.

"Policy and tactics are the lifeline of the Party." In order to strive in a better way to unite with the majority of the masses and cadres, in line with Chairman Mao's teachings we along with the Rebel Brigade conducted concrete analyses of the mass organizations with conservative propensities. We held that conservative organizations must be concretely analysed and dealt with discriminately. Without discrimination there would be no policy. It is wrong to deal with all on the same basis. Here, we must not only separate the masses of the conservative organizations from those who direct these organizations behind the scenes, but must also deal with different mass organizations with conservative tendencies discriminately. After study, the Rebel Brigade divided the seven mass organizations with conservative tendencies into three categories and adopted different methods to deal with them. In two of these organizations, after positive education, their responsible members and the masses both recognized that their organizations had made the mistake of orientation and one after another announced their withdrawal from them. The result was the dissolution of these organizations by themselves. In another two of the organizations, the intermediary level cadres as the mainstay, who were taken as the mainstay, after knowing their mistakes, felt that they should go into the midst of the masses to eliminate the antagonisms between the cadres and the masses. They too automatically dissolved their organizations. As for yet another three organizations, they were detached from the original conservative organizations; they neither were satisfied with the

original conservative organizations nor agreed with certain views of the Rebel Brigade. Together with these organizations the Rebel Brigade undertook a creative study and application of Chairman Mao's works, helped readjust their orientation and correct their mistakes. They then united together on the basis of uniformity of orientation.

As we and the Rebel Brigade pursue a policy of dealing discriminately with the organizations with conservative tendencies, the mill has set up a united revolutionary command headquarters with the Rebel Brigade as the nucleus and five revolutionary mass organizations participating. Thus, a great alliance of proletarian revolutionaries was brought about in the whole mill.

Now, the Dyeing and Weaving Mill No. 3 is confronted with a favorable situation. The movement is presently developing in breadth and depth. The broad revolutionary masses, with concerted efforts, combine the large-scale criticism against the handful of the top Party people in authority taking the capitalist road with the struggle, criticism and reform in their own units. The poisons of the bourgeois reactionary line is being eliminated, and a revolutionary, representative "three-way combination" organ of power vested with proletarian authority is about to be established. The broad masses of workers are actively responding to Chairman Mao's great call for "grasping revolution and promoting production." The workers' production enthusiasm has soared as never before. The labor discipline has been further strengthened. The organizational structure has been readjusted and the proletarian authority of the new production leadership group has been further consolidated. Taking part in labor, the cadres have demonstrated a higher enthusiasm for work. The production efficiency has been markedly improved as compared with the preceding period and production is steadily increasing.

Through this period of work, we have profoundly realized that to make a success of the work of supporting the Left, we must give prominence to the thought of Mao Tse-tung, arm our minds with the thought of Mao Tse-tung, mobilize the broad masses to join us in identifying the supporting the Leftists before we shall be able to correctly recognize and resolutely implement Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line. On the surface, doing this may prolong the process of identifying the Leftists, but actually, it speeds up the work of supporting the Leftists and make it more realistic. This will also be favorable to winning over and uniting with the majority of the masses and cadres, to a more rapid realization of the revolutionary great alliance, and to the promotion of the revolutionary "three-way combination."

Definite achievements have been made in our work of supporting the Left. But our understanding in this regard is still crude, and our experience is still far from profound. In the future, we must make a more creative study and application of Chairman Mao's works, take the class struggle as the classroom, and the worker masses as the teachers, transform the subjective world while transforming the objective world and do a better job of the task of supporting the Leftists.

CSO: 3530-D

REALIZE THE GREAT ALLIANCE OF REVOLUTIONARIES,
RETURN TO SCHOOL TO MAKE REVOLUTION

[Following is a translation of an article by a certain unit of the Navy of the Chinese People's Liberation Army attached to the Military Training Group of the 89th Middle School in Peking in the Chinese-language periodical Hung-ch'i (Red Flag), Peking, No 11, 9 July 1967, pp 43-46.]

In response to Chairman Mao's call, a certain unit of our Navy came to the 89th Middle School of Peking Municipality to help give military training in March this year. It also participated in work bearing on reopening the school, overhauling the organization, setting up a leadership organ based upon threeway alliance, and carrying out struggle, criticism and reform. After we came to the school, we first investigated and studied things, and made penetrating and painstaking effort to find out the situation of the great proletarian cultural revolution in this school. We carried out a lot of politico-ideological work and helped them realize the great alliance of revolutionaries and the "threeway alliance", and return to school to make revolution.

Draw Clearly a Dividing Line Between the Enemies and Ourselves,
Grasp the General Orientation of the Struggle

During the great proletarian cultural revolution, because the former Party branch and work group of this school carried out the bourgeois reactionary line, confused the class front, encircled and suppressed the revolutionaries, and incited the masses to fight against the masses, there were serious estrangement and antagonism between the teachers and students, and between different sectors of teachers and students.

Before we came to the school, the revolutionary teachers and students also had criticized and repudiated the bourgeois reactionary line. However, because the general orientation of the struggle had not been grasped, some teachers and students who had been persecuted had this to say: "Those who have carried out the bourgeois reactionary line should be criticized and

repudiated." "Where there is pus, that place must be punctured." Those teachers and students who had carried out the bourgeois reactionary line were ill affected, and some of them said: "Granted that we did make mistakes, we are still better than they are." Because of this, the antagonism between them grew more serious. The "civil war" went on day after day, but the enemies were left aside.

In view of this state of affairs, we organized them to study Chairman Mao's "Analysis of the Classes in Chinese Society," "Our Study and the Current Situation" and other articles. Chairman Mao taught us: Who are our enemies? Who are our friends? This is a question of the first importance for the revolution, and is also a question of the first importance for the great cultural revolution. We must strictly distinguish and correctly handle the two kinds of contradiction of different character, unite our friends and attack the real enemies.

On the basis of general study and discussion, we separately went deep into classes to hold conversation with the broad masses of teachers and students. According to those we talked with and their state of thought, we carried out painstaking persuasion and education to enable those teachers and students who had been persecuted to cherish a genuine desire for unity and those who had carried out the bourgeois reactionary line to show real sincerity in making self-examination.

In order to raise further the class consciousness of the teachers and students, deepen their understanding of the bourgeois reactionary line and clarify the general orientation of the struggle, we organized the teachers, students and their guardians to expose, criticize and repudiate the crimes of the old society and the bourgeois reactionary line. As they recalled the miserable past and made accusations, they presented facts, listed the crimes, discussed the dangers, unearthed the root causes, sharpened their eyes, and gained a clear picture of the substance of the bourgeois reactionary line. The bourgeois reactionary line sought precisely to subvert our proletarian dictatorship, enforce capitalist restoration and make us retrace our steps to our past miserable life once again. Everybody linked the bourgeois reactionary line with the miserable life of the old society, the old animosities with the new ones, and concentrated all animosities on a handful of those in authority taking the capitalist road within the Party.

Through a series of work, the broad masses of the revolutionary teachers and students learned to distinguish the enemies from ourselves ideologically. They knew that the contradictions between the persecuted masses and the deluded were those among the people, and that they should be correctly settled with the method of "unity -- criticism -- unity" as taught by Chairman Mao. It was wrong to leave the enemies aside and wage the "civil war." With the general orientation of the struggle clarified, the "civil war" ground to a halt.

There was a teacher who had been branded as a "monster" at the early stage of the movement because he wrote a wall poster against the former Party branch. In the past he bore grudges against those deluded teachers and students who had encircled and attacked him. After he received a course of class education, he said with excitement at an accusation meeting: "Those teachers and students who have encircled and attacked me are also victims of the bourgeois reactionary line. We should join hands to attack our common enemy."

A teacher who had participated in the encirclement and attack of the revolutionary masses said remorsefully: "When I examined my own mistakes in the past, although I set higher and higher principles and made bigger and bigger accusations on each occasion, yet I failed to straighten my thought. Now that I have straightened my thought, I cannot sit tight without making self-examination."

Many deluded students also said: "The bourgeois reactionary line has done us much harm by disuniting us and making us fight the 'civil war.' We hate it and the handful of those in authority taking the capitalist road within the Party to the bone." They fought back in a big way, made a clean break with the bourgeois reactionary line, and returned to the side of Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line. With the goal coinciding and with the estrangement eliminated, the political foundation for realizing the great alliance of revolutionaries was laid.

Eradicate Self-interest To Make Way for Public Interest,
Realize the Great Alliance of Revolutionaries

Chairman Mao taught us: "We must be good at guiding the petty-bourgeois ideas among our ranks to the orbit of proletarian revolution. This is a question holding the key to the great proletarian cultural revolution."

Before we came to the school, several attempts to form a great alliance had been made in that school, but every time the attempt failed basically because self-interest was making trouble. Therefore, it is necessary to get rid of self-interest to make way for public interest in our minds, eradicate bourgeois ideas and promote proletarian ones in a big way before we can tightly grasp the general orientation of the struggle, realize the great alliance of revolutionaries, and promote on a large scale the criticism and repudiation of the top person in authority taking the capitalist road within the Party, and struggle, criticism and reform in one's unit.

Bold steps must first be taken to expose thought in order to get rid of self-interest and promote public interest. At first, quite a number of persons among the masses harbored three kinds of fear for exposing thought: first, they feared disgrace and pain; second, they feared that others would find fault with them; third, they feared sarcastic ridicule. With these fears, everybody hid up his ideological problems. Without exposing self-interest how could it be eradicated?

One of our comrades who was an activist in the study of Chairman Mao's writings gave others a concrete account of his various ideological activities after coming to the school, and told them how he ceaselessly eradicated self-interest and promoted public interest through creatively studying and applying Chairman Mao's writings. Other PLA comrades also told their personal experience in promoting ideological revolutionization through eradicating self-interest to make way for public interest.

Our making a clean breast of ourselves in this way created a great shock among the teachers and students. They said: "The PLA men refuse to overlook any budding self-interest, and they insist on bringing it to light and openly fighting it in front of the masses. We also must follow the example of the PLA."

With their misgivings removed, the masses came forward one after another to bare their minds. One comrade said: "I want to be a leader and it is my fear that should the great alliance swallow up my fighting detachment, I would cease to be its leader." Another said: "I love to lead a free life and am afraid that the great alliance would restrict my freedom." Yet another said: "I am fond of finding fault with other people and I am antagonistic to those who oppose me." A teacher said: "I do not want to work in this school and also have no desire to work as a teacher. I am ready to leave." The cadres who had been persecuted by the bourgeois reactionary line also came forward to bare their minds.

In view of these living ideas, we guided them to solve these ideological problems through making creative study and application of Chairman Mao's writings. The broad masses of revolutionary teachers and students ardently love Chairman Mao and are best able to heed what he says. Chairman Mao has said: "Numerous revolutionary martyrs have sacrificed their lives for the interests of the people, and we feel very sad whenever we think of them. Can it be said that there are still any personal interests which we cannot sacrifice and any mistakes which we cannot forsake?" The overwhelming majority of the students in this school are children of the working people. Chairman Mao's words have aroused their class feelings and made them understand that all kinds of self-interest are in contravention to the people's interests and are therefore wrong. They have expressed that they will act according to Chairman Mao's instructions.

We also helped the students carry out such ideological mutual-aid activities of a mass character as one helping another to form a red pair. We guided them to learn to make criticism and self-criticism and correctly handle contradictions among the people. Since the great cultural revolution, some students had become antagonistic to each other and were not on speaking terms. After studying Chairman Mao's writings, they made self-criticism to eliminate estrangement, and many former "opponents" have become red pairs. They study Chairman Mao's writings together, criticize and repudiate the bourgeois reactionary line together, chat and perform good deeds together. There are ever more activities based upon one helping another to form a red pair every day.

Groups for studying Chairman Mao's writings have evolved on the basis of chatting and conducting mutual-aid activities. These study groups are actually militant groups of the masses for conducting ideological revolutionization through eradicating self-interest to make way for public interest. The masses with ideological problems bring up same in their respective groups for self-education. They make use of the sharp weapon of Mao Tse-tung's thought to sweep away assorted bourgeois and petty-bourgeois ideas and clear the way of ideological stumbling-blocks for realizing the great alliance of revolutionaries.

The young revolutionary fighters of one class in the third year grade scored prominent success in eradicating self-interest to make way for public interest, and a great alliance was first realized in the whole class. We summed up their experience for popularization in the whole school. At the end of April, the whole school realized the great alliance of revolutionaries with the Left as the core and the teaching classes as the foundation. Following this, the "4 May" Corps, a united organization of the Red Guards of the whole school, was formed, and detachments were set up in various teaching classes. The alliance of classes and grades led to the alliance of various revolutionary organizations, and the alliance of various revolutionary organizations also consolidated the alliance of classes and grades. On 9 May, the revolutionary "threeway alliance" was brought into realization and the revolutionary committee was formed at the 89th Middle School.

Respond to Chairman Mao's Call, Return to School To Make Revolution

On the basis of realizing the revolutionary great alliance and "three-way alliance," the teachers and students of the whole school were in high spirits, and they drove the great proletarian cultural revolution of the school to the new stage of returning to school to make revolution.

How to reopen school for making revolution? The masses put forward many questions. The teachers were dominated by fear. They feared that the students would lay a bulldog's grip in them should they make some mistakes in teaching. They feared that the students would not submit to discipline and there would be no way to hold class. Quite a number of students wanted to roam around to exchange experience and were unable to sit tight. Some teachers and students had the misgivings that should mathematics, physics and chemistry be taught all day long as in the past, the reopening of class would come into conflict with the revolution.

We were of the opinion that the presence of these ideological problems among the teachers and students was in the final analysis due to their inadequate understanding of the great significance of reopening school for making revolution, their underestimation of the ideological revolutionization of man brought about by the great proletarian cultural revolution, and their inability to eliminate self-interest from their minds. We repeatedly propagated among them the great significance of Chairman Mao's call for reopening school

to make revolution, and organized them to study Chairman Mao's pertinent articles, "The CCP Central Committee's View on Launching the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution in Middle Schools" and other documents. We rectified some blurred knowledge and erroneous ideas so as to make them understand that reopening school for making revolution was integrated with promoting on a large scale the criticism and repudiation of the top person in authority taking the capitalist road within the Party, and with the practice of struggle, criticism and reform in one's unit, and that reopening school meant resumption of class for the class struggle, the great cultural revolution, and the thought of Mao Tse-tung. With these ideological problems resolved and consciousness raised, reopening school for making revolution was also underway.

"The masses are real heroes." Reopening school for making revolution must depend on the teachers and students themselves to create experience in practice.

The revolutionary teachers and students of the eight classes of the first year grade were the first to reopen class. They eradicated the old teaching methods in a big way, set up a new teacher-student relationship and teaching order, and converted the classroom into a center for propagating the thought of Mao Tse-tung. They closely integrated the large-scale criticism and repudiation of the top person in authority taking the capitalist road within the Party with the practice of struggle, criticism and reform in the school. The method adopted by the eight classes of the first year grade gave an impetus to various classes, and a surging tide in reopening class for making revolution quickly came into shape throughout the school.

Guided by the ever-victorious thought of Mao Tse-tung, the broad masses of revolutionary teachers and students took up pens in lieu of swords and guns, and they directed the spearhead of struggle at a handful of top persons in authority taking the capitalist road within the Party. They exposed, criticized and repudiated the crimes of the latter in promoting the counter-revolutionary revisionist educational line and cultivating bourgeois successors. The teachers and students made use of their personal comprehensions to level accusations against the counterrevolutionary revisionist educational line which had harmed them in various ways.

For quite a number of years, there was circulated among the students the saying that "marks determine the life of students, while examinations and tests are the teachers' magic weapons." Materials of instruction were laden with feudalist, capitalist and revisionist stuff, and the "Self-Cultivation" of China's Khrushchev was also inserted into a middle school textbook for spreading its harmful influence among the youths. From the numerous surprising facts revealed, the broad masses of revolutionary teachers and students learned a profound lesson in regard to the struggle between the two classes, the two roads and the two lines.

Chairman Mao has taught us that "there is no construction without destruction, no flow without damming, no motion without rest." We have eradicated bourgeois ideas and promoted the thought of Mao Tse-tung in a big way.

In the past, groups of this or that kind were organized in the school, but no group had been organized for studying Chairman Mao's writings. Pace-setters of this or that kind were established, but no pace-setters had ever been established in regard to the study of Chairman Mao's writings. In the course of reopening school for making revolution, the revolutionary teachers and students have organized 97 groups for studying Chairman Mao's writings and cited activists in the study of such writings. Quite a number of study groups have made effort to insure the fulfillment of four concrete provisions in regard to study content, attendance, time table and result. Some groups also draw up weekly plans, make arrangements every day, and organize exchange of experience every week. Many students come to school half an hour earlier every day in order to find more time for studying Chairman Mao's writings. After study, the broad masses of revolutionary teachers and students have shown a deeper affection for Chairman Mao's writings, the thought of Mao Tse-tung and the great leader Chairman Mao.

The 89th Middle School has changed its looks, and the spiritual features of its teachers and students as well as its human relationships have also changed profoundly. The past antagonistic relationship between the teachers and students has gradually changed into a new type of relationship in which the students honor their teachers and the teachers cherish their students. The 89th Middle School which was once enslaved and poisoned by revisionism has gained a new lease of life under the sunshine of Mao Tse-tung's thought, and a new generation is gaining strength and growing up.

Since the school has just reopened for making revolution, there is still much work to be done. We must hold high the great red banner of Mao Tse-tung's thought, guard against arrogance and rashness, make greater achievement, surmount shortcomings, and win a new victory.

CSO: 3530-D

FOREVER PRESERVE THE REVOLUTIONARY COLOR OF THE PROLETARIAT

[Following is a translation of an article by Red Flag Brigade of Peking Clock and Watch Factory in the Chinese-language periodical Hung-ch'i (Red Flag), Peking, No 11, 9 July 1967, pp 47-48.]

In the world-shaking storm of the "January revolution," the proletarian revolutionaries of our factory seized the power from a handful of people in authority taking the capitalist road inside the factory. After the seizure of power, the political status of the proletarian revolutionaries has basically changed, and from the oppressed "nobodies" they have become people in power. As the revolution and production continue to win new victories, our prestige has soared higher and higher. Every word and deed of ours exerts an increasing influence among the broad masses. Under this new situation of struggle whether we can continue to preserve the revolutionary color of proletarians is a severe test to us.

The practice of the class struggle has made us deeply realize that, following the seizure of power, the struggle between the two classes, two roads and two lines, between the public and private interests is still continuing. The handful of power holders taking the capitalist road inside the factory vainly attempted to make us change the way they had, and the capitalists too came out to flatter us, nod their heads and bend their backs on seeing us, and even shamelessly called us "brigade leaders". Within the ranks of the proletarian revolutionaries, on the other hand, some comrades, entertaining non-proletarian ideas, failed to grasp the study of Chairman Mao's works firmly enough, nor did they struggle in a positive way. Instead they worked sluggishly and became arrogant in words. Under such a situation, if we did not take heed of the enemy's attack of sugar-coated bullets and prevent the corrosion of bourgeois ideology, that would be very dangerous indeed.

To check the corrosion of bourgeois ideology and hold and exercise power well, we must abide by Chairman Mao's teaching: "Serve the people wholeheartedly, and do not divorce yourself from the masses for a single moment."

After the seizure of power, we were very busy in work, but some comrades suggested that we have several more people detached from production. We did not do so, however. This was because we knew that participation in collective production labor was definitely not a small matter, but "a basic, important matter under the socialist system, for it is helpful to overcoming bureaucratism and the prevention of revisionism and dogmatism." In the factory, to be detached from production is tantamount to being detached from the front of struggle. Only by going deep among the broad masses and studying, struggling and working with the masses can we have more chance to hear the opinions of the masses, maintain constant and close ties with the masses, and preserve a high revolutionary spirit.

The responsible members of our Red Flag Brigade have basically not detached from production after seizing power. As regards the group in charge of the revolution, with the exception of one who is detached from production in order to attend to the daily routines and two who take part in labor for half day every day, the other four comrades do not detach themselves from production but are still working in the workshops as ordinary laborers. With regard to the group in charge of production, every week they devote half a day to study of production problems, and the rest of the time to production at the front. In this way, problems in production can be discovered in time and solved in good time. In the past, owing to the large number of cadres and the overlapping of organs, problems discovered were like "balls to be kicked around." Now the administrative machinery has been streamlined and the style of work changed. Offices have been moved to the workshops, and the triple combination of workers, leadership and technicians realized. Where problems could not be solved for a month in the past, now they can be solved in a few days. This has greatly promoted the development of production. For the past several months the volume of output has been increasing rather steeply. Between February and June this year, the average monthly output shows an increase of 26 per cent compared with the corresponding period of last year.

To preserve forever the revolutionary color of the proletariat, it is necessary to continuously develop the ideological struggle, to be good at listening to different opinions, and accept the criticism and supervision of the masses.

The responsible members of the Brigade have given constant attention to the development of criticism and self-criticism, to promoting the democratic style of work, and modestly listening to the criticism and opinions of the masses. After the seizure of power, in accordance with Chairman Mao's teaching of trusting, relying on and freely mobilizing the masses, we conducted an open-door rectification campaign. We mobilized the masses to past big-character posters to criticize us and we held discussion meetings to solicit the opinions of the masses. In the course of the rectification campaign, the masses raised many well-intentioned criticisms. Some old worker-masters said significantly: "You young people are daring in thinking and action, and have the courage to break through. We have no worry at all when we hand over the power to you. You must obey Chairman Mao's order. It is impermissible to drive away the old bureaucrats only to have the young bureaucrats."

However, some comrades found the sharp criticism of certain masses unacceptable. They said that these people who raised the opinions did not understand us or even that these people wanted to topple us. After finding out this problem, we immediately organized everyone to make a creative study and application of the "three constantly read articles," "On Correcting Mistaken Ideas in the Party," "Adjusting the Party's Style of Work," and other glorious works. Chairman Mao's teachings enabled us to understand that the fact that we dared not accept the criticism of the masses was, in the final analysis, accounted for by the trouble made by self-interest in our heads, and that it was necessary to wage a fierce struggle against self-interest. If we did not struggle against it fiercely, self-interest would not vanish, we would not dare to accept the sharp criticism of the masses, and the revolution would fail.

On the basis of unified understanding, the rectification campaign was developed smoothly. The masses criticized each and every one of us. By far the greater part of these criticisms was appropriate. And we all examined ourselves. The result was that the masses were very satisfied with this and got closer to us and united with us every more closely. Our ranks have swollen as never before. After the first rectification campaign, we issued a circular making the rectification campaign as an important system. Whenever problems are discovered, a rectification campaign will be set in motion. Moreover, discussion forums of old workers are to be called regularly so that the masses may exercise greater supervision and provide more assistance to us.

In order to preserve forever the revolutionary color of the proletariat, we must identify ourselves with the masses in the matter of livelihood, and we must not have any special privileges. The matter of livelihood is not a small one. A breach is always caused in the small matter of livelihood by corrosion of bourgeois ideology. In the past, the handful of power holders taking the capitalist road sat in their office, paid attention to nothing but their food and clothing, and obtained subsidies without working. 'Now we have come to power and we will, in strict accordance with Chairman Mao's teaching that "all our working cadres, whatever their ranks, are the servants of the people," put exacting demands on ourselves. We continue to work in the groups of workers as ordinary workers, and apply to the group leader for leave when we have to attend to personal affairs. We continue to perform night duties with the militiamen. We must be concerned for the masses and must not take advantage of the authority we hold. If we have theater tickets, we first let the masses have them. We will take a ticket only when there are enough tickets to go round, and let others have tickets that will give them good seats.

Having come to power, in order to strengthen our ties with the masses, we still sit with the masses as ordinary workers at a conference; normally we do not go to the rostrum. Meetings are presided over by the teams of the brigade by turn. This is more helpful to the broad masses of workers exercising their right as masters in their house and to giving full play to the enthusiasm of the masses. We believe that power must not be the "private property" of a few." It belongs to the masses of workers. Since the masses of workers want us to assume responsibilities, we should all the more serve the people better.

Public interest is the core of the proletarian world outlook. To preserve forever the revolutionary feature of the proletariat, in the final analysis we must devote ourselves to the public interest and wholeheartedly serve the people. Only by holding high the great red banner of the thought of Mao Tse-tung and by breaking self-interest and fostering devotion to public interests in the storms and waves of the class struggle can we insure that we shall go from victory to victory.

We proletarian revolutionaries must firmly bear in mind Chairman Mao's instruction: "Let us be modest, prudent, guard against conceit and rashness, and serve the Chinese people with heart and soul." We must never divorce ourselves from the masses and from labor. We must never for a moment relax our ideological remolding. We must insure that our proletarian country will never change color for ten thousand years.

CNO: 3530-D

ONLY BY ELIMINATING SELF-INTEREST AND FOSTERING DEVOTION
TO PUBLIC INTEREST CAN WE HOLD AND EXERCISE POWER WELL

[Following is a translation of an article by the Revolutionary Committee of Hsin Kweichow Pao in the Chinese-language periodical Hung-ch'i (Red Flag), Peking, No 11, 9 July 1967, pp 49-51.]

During the great proletarian cultural revolution, proletarian revolutionaries of our newspaper recaptured the Party, government, financial and cultural power from the hands of the handful of power holders taking the capitalist road within the old Kweichow Jih-pao, re-occupied the propaganda bastion, and set up a revolutionary committee of Hsin Kweichow Pao.

Trusted by the broad revolutionary masses, we were elected to the revolutionary committee, entailing a change in our position. How to do the leadership work well is a test to us all. The practice over the past several months has enabled us to realize deeply that the most fundamental thing is 'to double our efforts at creative study and application of Chairman Mao's works, and use the invincible thought of Mao Tse-tung to seize power from self-interest in our minds and eliminate self-interest and foster devotion to public interest. Only thus can we hold and exercise power with success.

First, only by eliminating self-interest and fostering devotion to public interest can we resolutely carry out our work in accordance with Chairman Mao's directives and unswervingly implement the Party's policies.

In January this year, Chairman Mao and the Party Central Committee approved the seizure of power by the proletarian revolutionaries in Kweichow province. This was the greatest support and inspiration to us all. Under this favorable situation, we very rapidly disintegrated the conservative organization of the newspaper politically and organizationally. At this time, the problem of how to correctly deal with the masses who had been cheated into joining the conservative organizations presented itself as the problem of the day. Should we encircle and attack the hoodwinked masses? In good time we summed up the experience and lessons of the movement, coming to the

... hoodwinked masses would not ... Chairman Mao ... policy of "penetrating, curing, mistakes to guard against future ones and curing the sickness to save the patient" should be adopted. He also exhorted us in these words: "The proletariat must not only liberate itself, it must also liberate all mankind. Without liberating all mankind, the proletariat cannot ultimately liberate itself."

Proletarian revolutionary comrades, in accordance with Chairman Mao's leading and following discussions, published a statement calling for strict compliance with the Party's policies and uniting with the majority. After we had seized power, the fact that some comrades who had been persecuted by the bourgeois reactionary line failed to properly win over, educate and unite with the hoodwinked masses was an expression of self-interest. It should be known that the handful of power holders taking the capitalist road had incited the masses to struggle against each other, deceived and used the conservative organizations to suppress the revolutionary masses, thus causing grave antagonisms between the masses. The hoodwinked masses were also victims of the bourgeois reactionary line and we should help them raise their consciousness and shift the orientation. If we let ourselves be guided by sentiments, we shall not be able to attain the aim of uniting with the majority and utterly isolating the handful of Party power holders taking the capitalist road.

We proletarian revolutionaries should use the method of "unity -- criticism -- unity" in dealing with the hoodwinked masses and carry out penetrating and careful political and ideological work among them, such as individual conversations and discussion forums. We think that this is not a half-hearted measure aiming at compromise. If we proceed from self-interest and dare not resolutely implement the Party's policies, that would be a mistake. We have strictly differentiated between two different types of contradictions and correctly handled the contradictions among the people. We patiently helped some hoodwinked masses to recognize their mistakes, return to Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line, and join the revolutionary mass organizations.

Second, only by eliminating self-interest and fostering devotion to public interest can we trust the masses, rely on the masses, and mobilize the masses.

After our mass movement and beloved great leader Chairman Mao ... the publication of the experiences of ... administrative departments ...

relatively high influence among the masses. This organization could play an important role in deciding whether the great alliance of proletarian revolutionaries could be realized according to administrative departments. On the day the experiences of Kweiyang Textile Mill were published in the newspaper, this organization, after discussions, unanimously reached the decision to act on Chairman Mao's instruction and realize a great alliance with other revolutionary mass organizations according to administrative departments. Its proposal for the formation of a great alliance according to administrative departments obtained the support and response from some fraternal groups. The several revolutionary mass organizations of the printing factory of the newspaper were even quicker in action; when the proposal was put forward, they had already formed a great alliance among themselves. This had the effect of promoting the overall great alliance of the newspaper according to administrative departments, the great alliance of revolutionary intellectuals and the worker masses.

However, some comrades within the proletarian revolutionary groups did not understand the proposal put forward by this organization. They themselves put forward some opinions detrimental to the rapid realization of the great alliance. The proposal of this organization was an expression of destruction of self-interest and fostering of devotion to public interest. If we proceeded from self-interest and talked about mountain strongholds, then its "mountain stronghold" was the largest. If we talked about brand names, then its "brand name" was also the most famous. To implement the proposal was for the purpose of better forming the alliance and organizing a mighty revolutionary great army to launch a fierce attack against the handful of the Party people in authority taking the capitalist road. We believe that the masses are capable of using the thought of Mao Tse-tung to distinguish between right and wrong and that if only we do the right things, the masses will surely support us. So, a large scale debate was unfolded within the proletarian revolutionary groups. Through it, the broad masses of proletarian revolutionary fighters recognized more clearly than before the advantages of forming a great alliance according to administrative departments. They exchanged experiences among themselves. In a matter of several days a great alliance according to administrative departments from bottom to top was realized.

Third, only by eliminating self-interest and fostering devotion to public interest can we uphold the principle and fight against all kinds of mistaken ideas.

Chairman Mao has taught us: "We advocate an active ideological struggle because it is a weapon with which to cement unity within the Party and revolutionary bodies which is conducive to combat. Every Communist and revolutionary should weld this weapon."

After the seizure of power, the vast numbers of proletarian revolutionaries undertook a creative study and application of Chairman Mao's works,

consciously abide by proletarian revolutionary discipline, and seriously implemented the resolution of the Revolutionary Committee. At the same time, they also positively raised a great deal of criticism and suggestions and played a great part in helping and supervising us in eliminating self-interest and fostering devotion to public interest and improving the style of work. However, contradictions among the people appeared in an acute form, and some non-proletarian ideas such as anarchism and ultra-democracy, were reflected within the proletarian revolutionary groups. These mistaken ideas had the effect of sapping the revolutionary will and corroding the revolutionary organizations. Some comrades refused to accept criticism, and accused those who disagreed with them of suppressing democracy. Sometimes, some demands and opinions had to be raised from top to bottom with regard to work and tasks of struggle, but some comrades described this as laying down rigid regulations and calling the tune. Should we criticize and overcome these mistaken ideas or should we concede to them and allow them to take their natural course. This is a question of principle testing whether we place the public interest or private interest in the fore. If we uphold the principle and make the necessary criticisms, some comrades may not be satisfied with us for the time being. But if we allow things to drift, we shall not be able to practice democratic centralism and bring loss to the revolution. In accordance with Chairman Mao's teaching, we should let everyone speak and should welcome him if what he says is right. If what he says is wrong, we should still let him finish what he wants to say. If the suggestions raised by the masses conform to Mao Tse-tung's thought, they should be acted upon with resolve, while those erroneous suggestions must be boycotted with firmness. Relying on the masses, we criticized the anarchist ideas, depriving these ideas of a market and preventing them from spreading freely.

Fourth, only by eliminating self-interest and fostering devotion to public interest can we dare to work boldly and shoulder heavy burdens.

After seizure of power, the burdens placed on our shoulders became heavier and our responsibilities greater. When we heard some criticisms against us, there was sometimes fluctuation in our thinking. We would feel reluctant to assume leadership work, feeling that one had better work as an ordinary worker. At this moment, comrades of the proletarian groups sincerely criticized and helped us. They said that "this is not a personal matter but a question of whether or not proletarians should hold power." "Difficult work is a burden lying in front of us, and it is up to us to shoulder it. Some burden is heavy while some is light. Some people, however, prefer the light to the heavy burden, and let the heavy burden be shouldered by others. This is not a good attitude. But some comrades act differently. They give comfort to others and assume heavy burdens themselves. They are the first to endure hardship and the last to enjoy comfort. Such comrades are good comrades. We must all study this communist spirit." Chairman Mao's teaching and help from the revolutionary masses enabled us to further understand that we are the servants of the people, that we must not fail the trust of the Party and our comrades, and that we must serve the people "wholly" and "completely." Once, someone said that one of us wanted to become a leader.

Such misunderstanding on the part of others did not cause oscillation in this comrade's thinking nor affect his work. We felt that it was necessary to fight against self-interest in our minds constantly before we could dedicate ourselves to the public interest, bravely take up the heavy burdens entrusted to us by our comrades, and give our all to the revolutionary cause.

Fifth, only by eliminating self-interest and fostering devotion to public interest will we place ourselves under the supervision of the masses and continue to reform ourselves.

Chairman Mao teaches us: "In a class society, every person lives within a definite class position, and every idea invariably carries a class stamp."

After the seizure of power, a change has taken place in our status. If we do not give serious attention to ideological reform, then bourgeois and petty bourgeois ideas would easily breed in us. At the same time, with victories, we may be thanked by the people and flattered by the bourgeoisie. Under these circumstances, we must more modestly listen to the criticisms and opinions of the masses and more consciously reform our thought. If we listen only to praise and find the criticisms of the masses unacceptable, then we may easily be hit by the bourgeois sugar-coated bullets. Generally speaking, words of praise are pleasing to the ear, while some relatively sharp criticisms are quite irritating. However, we must think of this: If we do not seriously accept the criticisms of the masses, we cannot hold and exercise power well, we may even gradually degenerate and go astray. The opinions of the majority of the masses are based on their concern and love for us; they are for proper prosecution of the great cultural revolution and improvement of revolutionary work. Although their criticisms are sometimes quite sharp, they are often helpful to our improvement of the style of work. Whenever we think of this, we adopt a relatively sober attitude toward the criticisms of the masses and modestly accept the suggestions. As regards the few wrong suggestions made, we must believe that people who make them are capable of educating themselves and correcting their mistakes. We must not deal with them on the basis of a tooth for a tooth, an eye for an eye. Guided by such thinking we are generally able to accept dissent. Moreover, we have established a system -- a monthly democratic life meeting is held. We also organize the revolutionary comrades to make suggestions to the leadership hard-core.

Chairman Mao teaches us in these terms: "The change in world outlook is a fundamental change." Destruction of self-interest and fostering of devotion to public interest presupposes destruction of the bourgeois world outlook and the establishment of the proletarian world outlook. Such a struggle is a prolonged and arduous one. In the future, therefore, we must do better in creatively studying and applying Chairman Mao's works, study the "three old articles" as a daily reminder, further reform ourselves, promote revolutionization of thinking, and hold still higher the great red banner of Mao Tse-tung's thought. We must combine the large-scale criticism against the handful of the top Party people in authority taking the capitalist road with the struggle, criticism and transformation in our own units and carry the great proletarian cultural revolution through to the end.

TRANSACT BUSINESS IN STRICT ACCORDANCE WITH PARTY POLICIES

[Following is a translation of an article by the Cultural Revolution Preparatory Committee of the Spark Cultural Work Troupe of the 2nd Artillery, Chinese People's Liberation Army in the Chinese-language periodical Hung-ch'i (Red Flag), Peking, No 11, 9 July 1967, pp 52-55.]

"Policy and tactics are the life of the Party." The various policies concerning the great proletarian cultural revolution formulated under the personal auspices of Chairman Mao give concrete manifestation to Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line and tactical thought, mirror the objective laws of the class struggle and represent the basic interests of the broad masses of the people. We must firmly implement and carry out the policies of the Party, and firmly boycott and oppose the speeches and actions which contravene the policies of the Party.

Looking back over the fighting course which the Spark Cultural Work Troupe has taken during the great proletarian cultural revolution, we deeply sense that we must hold high the great red banner of Mao Tse-tung's thought and firmly implement the general and specific policies of the Party before we can head from one victory to another in the struggle between the two classes, the two roads and the two lines.

I

The Sixteen Articles formulated under the personal auspices of Chairman Mao have this to point out: "The focal point of this movement is to purge those in authority taking the capitalist road within the Party." This is the general orientation of the struggle, and we must firmly grasp it. If we act in contravention of this general orientation, we cannot correctly carry out the policies of the Party and would go astray.

In between March and April this year, we set up the preparatory committee for the cultural revolution committee on the basis of elementary great alliance. Soon after its formation, however, it met with the vehement

opposition of some persons, and a part of the masses who did not know the actual situation encircled and attacked us. Under their pressure, quite a number of comrades pulled out from the preparatory committee. Those who chose to stay held meetings three consecutive days, and on each day they debated far into the night. As we debated, we earnestly studied Chairman Mao's writings.

Chairman Mao said: "There was in Hopeh Province a very small cooperative which comprised only six families. Three families of old middle peasants firmly refused to carry on, and as a result they were allowed to leave. The three families of poor peasants expressed that they would carry on come what may. As a result, they were allowed to stay, and the cooperative organization was also preserved. In point of fact, the direction taken by these three families of poor peasants is the orientation of the 500 million peasants throughout the country. All peasants operating individually will in the end take the road firmly chosen by these three families of poor peasants."

At the crucial and most difficult hour of the struggle, Chairman Mao's teaching gave us the greatest encouragement, and we were so excited that tears ran down our faces. These debates made us see the truth more clearly and gave us sharper eyes. Five comrades who had planned to announce their withdrawal from the preparatory committee now indicated that they would stay on and stick with the rest of us to the end. We were convinced that truth was on our side. So long as we firmly adhered to the general orientation of the struggle and resolutely carried out work according to the policies of the Party, we also could surmount every difficulty, and the deluded masses would be awakened sooner or later.

Chairman Mao taught us: "Policy is the starting-point of all the practical actions of a revolutionary party and manifests itself in the process and the end-result of the party's actions." Under whatever circumstance, any action of ours must coincide with the policy of the Party.

We had been encircled and attacked again and again, and some comrades had even been brutally beaten up. On the first or second occasion, we still could refrain from returning the blow when we were hit or retorting when we were abused. When this took place more often, some comrades thought of reprisal. That said that "nothing should be allowed to repeat three times," and they wanted to "vent their spleen" and hit back with vehemence. However, as soon as we thought of the general orientation of the struggle, of the policy that "it is necessary to employ struggle by reasoning and not struggle by force," and of Chairman Mao's teaching that "contradictions among the people cannot be settled with curses or fists, much less with swords and guns, and can only be solved with the method of discussion, the method of reasoning and the method of criticism and self-criticism," we retracted our fists on a number of occasions, and went on to persist in struggle by reasoning.

We knew that the deluded masses were our class brothers and not enemies. They attacked and abused us because they had been poisoned by the

bourgeois reactionary line. We should heap our hate on a handful of top persons in authority taking the capitalist road within the Party. If we gave an eye for an eye and a tooth for a tooth, we would counter mistakes with mistakes and be fooled by the class enemies.

We carried out work in strict accordance with the policies of the Party by not taking up struggle by force, concentrating our strength on the criticism and repudiation of a handful of top persons in authority taking the capitalist road within the Party, and carrying out struggle, criticism and reform in our own unit. Some persons ridiculed us for "lack of revolutionary spirit" and as "cowards."

We are of the opinion that it is wrong to look at things in this way. The strongest revolutionary spirit lies in making a success of struggle, criticism and reform in one's own unit according to the policies of the Party, exposing with greater thoroughness and more penetratingly criticizing and repudiating the top person in authority taking the capitalist road within the Party, penetratingly and thoroughly criticizing a handful of those in authority taking the capitalist road within the Party, and planting the great red banner of Mao Tse-tung's thought in all positions. Addicting oneself to beating, smashing, snatching, confiscation, grasping without carrying out the policies of the Party can never be regarded as the "revolutionary spirit," and also can never be described as "brave" or "daring." "Freedom" of action in contravention of Mao Tse-tung's thought and the policies of the Party has nothing in common with extensive democracy under proletarian dictatorship, but is bourgeois "liberalization."

Firm implementation of Chairman Mao's cadres policy is an important question in the great proletarian cultural revolution. We have firmly opposed anarchism which advocates "the exclusion of everything and the overthrow of everything," and have subjected the cadres of our troupe to class analysis and investigation and study one by one. We firmly support those revolutionary leading cadres and fight shoulder to shoulder with them. We warmly help those cadres who have made mistakes to enable them quickly to return to the side of Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line.

We have specially formed a group to carry out energetically a host of work. We organize them to study Chairman Mao's writings and the policies of the Party, help them discard their misgivings and heighten their awakening. We invite them to participate in the criticism and repudiation of the activities of the bourgeois reactionary line so that they may know better the crimes of the bourgeois reactionary line. We sternly and seriously criticize their mistakes and help them make penetrating self-examination that touches them to the soul. We support those cadres who have recognized their mistakes and are resolved to mend their way by boldly grasping business work and give them a chance to rectify their mistakes. Due to our firm implementation of Chairman Mao's cadres policy, we have united the great majority of the cadres and directed the spearhead of struggle toward a handful of those in authority taking the capitalist road within the Party.

II

Chairman Mao has taught us: "Our policies must be made known not only to the leaders and the cadres, but also to the broad masses." "When the masses know the truth and have a common goal, they would carry out work with concerted effort." "With the concerted effort of the masses, it is easy to carry out anything." The key to implementing and carrying out the policies of the Party during the great proletarian cultural revolution lies in handing over such policies to and laying them in the hands of the masses, and translating them into the conscious actions of the masses.

The translation of the policies of the Party into conscious actions of the masses amounts in substance to uniting the thoughts and actions of the masses with Mao Tse-tung's thought. When a policy of the Central Committee was handed down, we opportunely and purposefully studied Chairman Mao's pertinent writings and quotations as well as the original text of the policy so as to comprehend its spiritual essence. We organized forums to discuss it, and associated our thinking with the situation to solve in good time ideological obstacles to the implementation of the policy. In the course of implementing and carrying out the policy, we publicized it again and again, checked and examined it, found out the difference, and adopted measures for the actual implementation of it.

On the question of correctly handling the deluded masses, we carried out a series of political and ideological work within the preparatory committee. Some comrades were of the opinion that since those participants in conservative organizations sang a tune that ran counter to ours in every place and even used their fists against us, it was not possible for us to unite with them. This mirrored that some comrades adopted an improper attitude toward the deluded masses, and had not comprehended very well Chairman Mao's principle of uniting more than 95 percent of the masses.

In order to solve this question, we organized them to study Chairman Mao's "On the Correct Handling of Contradictions Among the People" and the pertinent quotations: "It is necessary not only to unite people who agree with us, but also to be good at uniting those who disagree with us as well as those who have opposed us and have been proved to be wrong by practice."

Through study and discussion, everybody has come to understand that the contradictions between the deluded masses and ourselves belong to contradictions among the people, and that the contradictions between ourselves and the deluded masses can never be confused with those between ourselves and a handful of those in authority taking the capitalist road within the Party.

We invited those comrades who returned to the side of Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line to tell their personal experience. They graphically explained that as soon as they were aware that they had severed themselves from Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line, they felt as painful as a child taken away from his mother, had no appetite for food and

could not sleep well. They urgently hoped that they could join the revolutionary mass organization at an early date. This made everybody understand better that when dealing with the deluded masses, we had only the duty to draw close to them and unite and help them, but had no right to slight, estrange or exclude them.

Some comrades had the misgivings that the admission of the deluded masses into the preparatory committee would render the organization impure, and should they act as fifth columnists, the preparatory committee would collapse. This kind of thinking was not in correspondence with the thought of Mao Tse-tung, and was a manifestation of the thought of the small group and of lack of faith in the masses. In the course of discussion, all were of the opinion that whether or not the preparatory committee would collapse was determined, not by the absorption of the deluded masses, but by whether or not the preparatory committee itself was able to hold high the great red banner of Mao Tse-tung's thought, solidly grasp the general orientation of the struggle and unreservedly carry out the policies of the Party. If we did not carry out work according to Mao Tse-tung's thought, if we forgot the policies of the Party and thought that "only we are revolutionary while others are not," then we would sever ourselves from the masses and would bring about our downfall without being attacked.

Another problem emerged after these questions were solved. Some comrades did not pay attention to carrying out penetrating and painstaking politico-ideological work among the deluded masses, and they were over eager to pull them into the preparatory committee regardless of whether they had been awakened or not.

In view of this kind of thinking, we seriously studied Chairman Mao's writings. Chairman Mao said: "We advocate positive ideological struggle because it is a weapon for bringing about unity within the Party and the revolutionary organization and of advantage to fighting." He also said that the way to settle contradictions among the people was to "proceed from the desire for unity, distinguish between right and wrong through criticism or struggle and bring about a new unity on a new basis." We must follow Chairman Mao's teachings and gradually realize the unity of more than 95 percent of the masses through ideological struggle.

Our unity is one based on the principles of Mao Tse-tung's thought, and is not unprincipled unity based on harmony. The deluded masses must break with the bourgeois reactionary line and really return to the side of Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line. If we did not actively carry out political and ideological work and the deluded masses were admitted in a muddle-headed manner, this would be disadvantageous to their progress as well as to the revolutionary cause.

When the revolutionary masses genuinely understood the policies of the Party and grasped the principle of uniting more than 95 percent of the masses, they took the initiative to carry out political and ideological work among

the deluded masses, studied together with them Chairman Mao's writings with problems in mind, discussed a wide range of things with them, and learned things from their participation in the criticism and repudiation of a handful of top persons in authority taking the capitalist road within the Party and in struggle, criticism and reform activities in their own units. Through the common struggle against the enemy and carrying out penetrating and painstaking politico-ideological work, the deluded masses have eliminated their misgivings and heightened their awakening. Now, the great majority of the deluded masses have returned to the side of Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line to fight together with us.

III

Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line and general and specific policies are a concentrated manifestation of the fundamental interests of the proletariat. Only one who takes the proletarian stand and possesses the thought and feeling of the proletariat can correctly understand, implement and carry out them.

Such bourgeois and petty-bourgeois trends of thought as anarchism, small group mentality, subjectivism and individualism are ideological obstacles to the implementation and execution of the policies of the Party. These trends of thought are sometimes also found within our preparatory committee. As instructed by Vice Chairman Lin: "We must regard ourselves as part and parcel of the revolutionary force and at the same time must also uninterruptedly regard ourselves as the target of the revolution. Revolution also calls for the revolutionization of self. Without the revolutionization of self, such revolution can never succeed." We have again and again studied the "three most-read articles" and "On Correcting Mistaken Ideas in the Party." Simultaneously with reforming the objective world, we must also reform our own subjective world. We must seize power from a handful of those in authority taking the capitalist road within the Party and from egoism in our own minds.

The policies of the Party "cannot be implemented when self-interest is put above everything else, but can be successfully implemented when public interest is put above everything else." Sometimes, we sense that there is a gap between our way of thinking and the policies of the Party. With calmness, we give thought to whether we have departed from the thought of Mao Tse-tung or joined the wrong ranks. Meanwhile we study Chairman Mao's writings with problems in mind. With the thought of Mao Tse-tung put in command, we shall see problems not with the interests of the individual or a small group, but with the interests of the Party and the people as the point of departure. We shall find every policy of the Party amicable and correct, and our self-consciousness in implementing and carrying out it will also be greatly raised.

In order to reform our own thought in a better way in struggle and in order to insure the genuine implementation of the various policies of the Party, we of the preparatory committee must constantly unfold criticism and

self-criticism. After we proletarian revolutionaries are in the dominant position, some comrades have nourished arrogance and complacency and become slack in the study of Chairman Mao's writings and the policies of the Party. This has led to the emergence of the replacement of policies with sentiments. In view of this situation, we must energetically lay hold of the creative study and application of Chairman Mao's writings and the study of Party policies, oppose arrogance in a big way, and fight ferociously against egoism. Our comrades have come to learn that in order to grasp and exercise power well, the proletarian revolutionaries must guard against the corrosion of bourgeois ideas and uphold the style of work characterized by modesty and prudence and free from arrogance and rashness. Especially when we are victorious, it is the more necessary for us to carry out unreservedly the policies of the Party. If we were not on guard and allowed individualism to develop, we would bring losses to the revolution and might even take a course that ran counter to ours.

Chairman Mao says: "If we have committed mistakes in policy, we cannot win victory." We have won a victory, but this is no more than the first step in the Long March. In order to win a complete victory in the great proletarian cultural revolution, we must advance along Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line, act according to the policies of the Party at all times, and in all things and places, and set the example in carrying out the policies of the Party.

CSO: 3530-D

HOLD HIGH THE BANNER OF REVOLUTIONARY GREAT ALLIANCE

[Following is a translation of an article by Hung P'ing in the Chinese-language periodical Hung-ch'i (Red Flag), Peking, No 11, 9 July 1967, pp 56-57.]

Chairman Mao's brilliant work, "On the Correct Handling of Contradictions Among the People," forms a theoretical basis for carrying out the revolution under proletarian dictatorship. Following the re-publication of this splendid writing, proletarian revolutionaries and the broad revolutionary masses have given more attention to the application of this sharpest weapon, energetically advancing their revolutionary great alliance and winning new victories in their struggle against the handful of Party people in authority taking the capitalist road. The experiences of the three units -- the 6th Zone of the Shanghai Port Bureau, the Dyeing and Weaving Mill No. 3 of Tientsin, and the 89th Middle School of Peking -- in forming revolutionary great alliances with the help of the Liberation Army, which are published in this issue of Hung-ch'i, have all been acquired under the guidance of this brilliant work.

Revolutionary great alliance has all along been a fighting banner of the proletariat. Chairman Mao has time and again taught us: It is imperative to unite with all people who can be united with. The proletariat must liberate not only itself but also the whole mankind. For, without liberating the whole mankind, the proletariat cannot ultimately free itself. The great proletarian cultural revolution is a great revolutionary movement in which hundreds of millions of revolutionary masses educate and liberate themselves. Without broad revolutionary great alliances, the great proletarian cultural revolution cannot be carried through to the end.

To realize revolutionary great alliance, it is necessary to distinguish between the enemy and ourselves in the first place. Chairman Mao has taught us this: Who are our enemies? Who are our friends? This question is a primary question of the revolution, a primary question for the great cultural revolution as well. It is only when we distinguish between the enemies and

ourselves and correctly handle two different types of contradictions that we can grasp the general orientation of the struggle, unite with the broad revolutionary masses, form a mighty revolutionary great army, and isolate and strike at our chief enemies.

In the course of the great proletarian cultural revolution, our chief enemies are the handful of Party people in authority taking the capitalist road. They are the central representatives of the forces of capitalist restoration, and our contradictions with them are antagonistic contradictions, ones between the enemies and ourselves. At the moment, although they have been exposed, they are like "onions under the roof beams which wither but not perish." We must learn from Lu hsun's thoroughgoing revolutionary spirit of beating the dog who has fallen into the water, pursue the tottering foes, criticize and discredit them totally, and completely eliminate the evil influence they have spread on all fronts. To this end, proletarian revolutionaries and the broad revolutionary masses should better close their ranks on the basis of Mao Tse-tung's thought.

To realize revolutionary great alliance, it is essential that contradictions among the people be correctly handled by adopting the policy of "unity -- criticism -- unity." Here, we must first of all have the desire for unity, for only by proceeding from the desire for unity can we make factual and well-intentioned criticism and solemn and serious self-criticism, can we distinguish between right and wrong, unify our thinking, and achieve new unity on a new basis. Even with the desire for unity, correct methods are essential. These are methods of a democratic nature, methods of reasoning or arguing the matters out, and not methods of compulsion or coercion. It stands to reason that when you use the method of persuasion and reasoning, contradictions can be easily solved, but that if you use the method of attack or of recrimination and overwhelm others with superior force, the result can only be that you will suppress and not convince others, splits are caused, and the revolutionary great alliance is undermined.

Proletarian revolutionaries must constantly bear in mind their struggle against the handful of Party people in authority taking the capitalist road; they must constantly grasp the general orientation of struggle. Only thus will different revolutionary mass organizations have a common orientation and a common goal. Only thus can they, on the basis of a struggle against the enemies, rapidly and correctly solve the differences of opinion within their ranks and rapidly realize a revolutionary great alliance. If we put the enemies to one side and just sit there discussing the great alliance, we would lose the premises and basis of the great revolutionary alliance. In this event, it would be out of the question to realize a revolutionary great alliance and even if it were realized, it would not be able to have any effect. Within the revolutionary camp, however, it is natural and normal that contradictions should appear just as it is impossible to have ten fingers of equal sizes. The question is, we must correctly handle these contradictions and subordinate the contradictions within the ranks of the people to the requirements of the struggle against the enemies, and absolutely must not place the

contradictions among the people above the contradictions between the enemies and ourselves, with the result that what is essential and what is non-essential is transposed and the real enemies are allowed to slip away.

A young revolutionary fighter puts it aptly: "As between revolution mass organizations, we should seek agreement on major issues and preserve the differences on minor issues, and must unite against the enemy. This is no 'loss of principle.' On the contrary, if we argue endlessly on side issues and thereby discard the general orientation of struggle, this would be the real loss of principle."

Chairman Mao says: The class enemies frequently "make use of the contradictions among the people to sow dissension and stir up trouble in an attempt to realize their plot." At present, the handful of Party people in authority taking the capitalist road are trying energetically to blur the boundary line between the enemies and ourselves, using the contradictions within the revolutionary ranks to create evil wind and fire, and spreading rumors to deceive the masses or even inciting armed conflicts in a bid to undermine the revolutionary great alliance by a thousand and one ways. For this reason, in order to grasp the general orientation of struggle and realize a great revolutionary alliance, we must heighten our vigilance and expose their schemes.

Within the revolutionary organizations, "self-interest" poses the greatest hindrance to the materialization of the great revolutionary alliance. When self-interest is placed in the fore, we would squabble with each other, set up our own "mountain strongholds," engage in sectarian disputes, foster "small group" interests, and attack each other. We would even be keen on fighting "civil war" and take our friends as our foes while leaving the real enemies aside. The result would be that tension is created among ourselves while comfort is lent to the enemies. Indeed, when self-interest is placed in the forefront, we would forget our enemies; barely liberated from the oppression of the bourgeois reactionary line, we would think that peace prevails in the world, that we can lie on the bed of victory and fall into sound sleep. And we would fail to see the extreme importance of a united struggle against the enemies. Hence, it is important for proletarian revolutionaries to study and apply Chairman Mao's writings creatively, fight against selfish and impure ideas, use the thought of Mao Tse-tung to remold themselves, eliminate the bourgeois world outlook, and establish the proletarian world outlook.

Today, proletarian revolutionaries and the broad revolutionary masses are further creatively studying and applying the illustrious article, "On the Correct Handling of Contradictions Among the People," doing so with the problems arising from the revolutionary great alliance in mind. Some mass organizations originally antagonistic to each other are gradually dissolving their differences of opinion and strengthening their unity. Many new flourishing signs have appeared in the proletarian revolutionary alliance. This amply demonstrates the huge power of Mao Tse-tung's thought.

To grasp the general orientation of the struggle and realize a great revolutionary alliance is the key to the victory of the great proletarian cultural revolution. This is the course we must take all the time and must not for a single moment depart from it. Whether one holds high the banner of the great revolutionary alliance in accordance with Chairman Mao's teachings is a test to every comrade and every revolutionary mass organization. We must not pay lip service only to the need to realize a revolutionary great alliance; instead, we must with a high sense of political responsibility, deal with this problem solemnly and seriously and show this by earnest actions.

CBO: 3530-D

RESOLUTELY SUPPORT REVOLUTIONARY CADRES IN COMING FORWARD

[Following is a translation of an article by Hung Hsiao-pin in the Chinese-language periodical Hung-ch'i (Red Flag), Peking, No 11, 9 July 1967, pp 58-60.]

As the great proletarian cultural revolution enters into the crucial stage of a decisive battle between the two classes and two lines, on the question of cadres, it is essential that we resolutely support the revolutionary cadres in coming forward, unite with the great majority, and strike at the few. This is a major problem with a bearing on whether or not we will grasp the general orientation of struggle and realize the revolutionary great alliance and revolutionary "three-way combination." It must not be overlooked in any case. We must firmly execute Chairman Mao's cadres policy and thoroughly criticize the theory of "attacking the many in order to protect the few," a component part of the bourgeois reactionary line.

On the question of cadres, the top Party person in authority taking the capitalist road should carry out the bourgeois reactionary line of "attacking the many in order to protect the few" in the course of the great proletarian cultural revolution. This is absolutely not a "new question encountered by veteran revolutionary." Consistently going his own way, he is incorrigible. Way back to the land reform in 1947, he had smeared the rural basic-level organizations and cadres as being bad and threatened to kick away many rural cadres. In the socialist education movement of 1964, he resorted to his old tricks again by advocating attack against the majority of basic-level cadres in order to protect the handful of Party people in authority taking the capitalist road. In the course of the great proletarian cultural revolution, he has thrown out a reactionary line of "attacking the many in order to protect the few." This is another big exposure of his stubborn adherence to the bourgeois reactionary stand.

The broad revolutionary masses and revolutionary cadres have recognized ever more clearly the criminal features of the top Party person in authority taking the capitalist road in pursuing the bourgeois reactionary line. One after another they have risen to expose and criticize him. Many

revolutionary cadres have come forward and thrown themselves into the great torrent of the mass revolutionary movement. This is a great victory of Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line, a great victory for Chairman Mao's cadre policy.

The 16-point decision formulated under the personal direction of Chairman Mao stresses: Under normal conditions, good and comparatively good cadres constitute the majority while the anti-Party, anti-socialist rightists are in the minority. The practice of the vigorous and great proletarian cultural revolution over the past year and more has shown that the majority of our cadres are behind Chairman Mao, Mao Tse-tung's thought and socialism. Counter-revolutionary revisionists who have sneaked into the Party represent but a minority.

We must be good at judging cadres and must understand them fully and take their histories into account. Chairman Mao has this to say: "We must not only look at a thing a cadre does at a time, we must also look at his entire history and work. This is the principal method of judging a cadre." In dealing with a cadre we must distinguish between major and minor issues. First of all we must give attention to major issues: Whether he supports Chairman Mao, whether he puts proletarian politics to the fore, and whether he shows revolutionary enthusiasm. Some cadres are good or basically good on major issues, but are not so good on minor issues because they have quite a number of shortcomings and mistakes. In regard to these cadres, we must also support them in coming forward and approve their participation in the revolutionary "three-way combination" provisional organs of power.

Chairman Mao has always taught us that we must trust and rely on the majority of cadres, unite gradually with over 95 percent of the cadres and with all those cadres who can be united with. In regard to those cadres who have made mistakes or serious mistakes, we also do not finish them off with a stick, but instead adopt the policy of "learning from past mistakes to guard against future ones and curing the sickness to save the patient" and the formula of "unity -- criticism -- unity". Says Chairman Mao: "Those Party members and cadres who have made mistakes but still can be educated and who are distinguished from those incorrigible, should, whatever their origin, be educated and must not be given up." Proletarian revolutionaries must distinguish between the "many" and the "few," dare to get close to cadres guilty of mistakes, and patiently and enthusiastically help them correct their mistakes, unite with the majority, attack the few, and resolutely implement Chairman Mao's cadre policy.

At present, on the question of dealing with revolutionary cadres, some erroneous notions and practices are gaining currency.

"It is a serious matter to protect the wrong people, but a small matter to attack the wrong persons." This is a theory without political principle. In view of the people adhering to this view, the greater the number of cadres they overthrow, the stronger their revolutionary character will

become. Whether we should support or overthrow the leading cadres is a serious political question. It is important that proletarian revolutionaries be responsible to the proletarian revolutionary cause, and regardless of whether they support or overthrow a cadre, they must deal with the matter seriously and not rashly.

Revolutionary leading cadres should be protected by the proletarian revolutionaries. They have experienced prolonged struggle, and are the precious assets of our Party and State. In protecting the revolutionary leading cadres, we should support their revolutionary action and not protect their shortcomings and mistakes. Their shortcomings and mistakes must, of course, be severely criticized, and they should be given help in rectifying these shortcomings and mistakes. But under no circumstances must we overthrow them on the ground that they have this or that shortcoming and mistake.

The rebel spirit of the proletarian revolutionaries is shown not only in their daring to overthrow the handful of Party people in authority taking the capitalist road but also shown in their daring to support the revolutionary leading cadres in coming forward. "Thoroughgoing materialists have nothing to fear." We should, in the spirit of fearlessness, resolutely and unambiguously support the revolutionary leading cadres.

Yet we cannot discuss "protection" and "revolution" apart from the class stand. If you take the proletarian stand, you will surely protect the revolutionary leading cadres and resolutely oppose the handful of the Party power holders taking the capitalist road. If you take the bourgeois stand, you will naturally oppose the proletarian power holders and protect the bourgeois power holders. If you dare not protect the revolutionary leading cadres, you cannot completely oppose the handful of the Party power holders taking the capitalist road. This is the objective law of class struggle. The practice of overthrowing everything without class analysis is an expression not of the proletarian revolutionary spirit but of the petty bourgeois anarchism.

"In showing their colors, cadres must lean to one side." Leaning to one side is leaning to the side of Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line. But at present, some people do not mean this. They judge a cadre as to whether he is a revolutionary or not by whether he leans to their mountain stronghold. In their view, all those cadres who lean to their mountain stronghold are revolutionary cadres, whose mistakes they defend. Those cadres who do not lean to their mountain stronghold are to be condemned and their activity restricted. This is wrong.

In defining whether a cadre is a revolutionary or not and whether he should be overthrown or not, we should decide the issue not on the sectarian principle but on the political principle of the proletariat. We should see whether he supports or opposes Chairman Mao, stands on the side of Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line or stubbornly adheres to the bourgeois reactionary line.

To thoroughly criticize the bourgeois reactionary line on the question of cadres and a hundred percent carry out Chairman Mao's cadre policy, it is imperative to study and apply Chairman Mao's writings creatively, to arm our heads with the thought of Mao Tse-tung, to eliminate self-interest and foster devotion to public interest, reform the bourgeois world outlook, and set up the proletarian world outlook. Only by eliminating selfish and impure ideas can we set great store by the revolutionary interests and deal with the cadres on the basis of seeking truth from facts and not on the basis of sentiments in substitution of policies. Only thus can we uphold the principle, correctly execute Chairman Mao's cadre policy, courageously liberate the "many," and dare to support the revolutionary leading cadres in coming forward. It is wrong to place self-interest in the fore, let heaps of worries disturb us, not to dare to protect those whom we should promote, or become self-righteous and obstinately cling to our views, and support those whom we should not support.

All revolutionary cadres must courageously come forward to expose and criticize the handful of the Party power holders taking the capitalist road. They must eliminate selfish and impure ideas and rid themselves of the fears that the masses might not trust them, that they would be condemned and suffer encirclement and attack. They must actively throw themselves into the heat of the mass struggle, temper themselves, reform themselves, breathe the same breath and share the same destiny with the broad revolutionary masses, and perform new services in the proletarian cultural revolution.

Under the great red banner of the invincible thought of Mao Tse-tung, the broad revolutionary masses and revolutionary cadres must close their ranks to thoroughly crush the bourgeois reactionary line of "attacking the many in order to protect the few" on the question of cadres, realize and consolidate the revolutionary great alliance and revolutionary "three-way combination," and jointly strive for new victories in the great proletarian cultural revolution!

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