

JPRS: 43,921

9 January 1968

TRANSLATIONS FROM HUNG-CH'I (RED FLAG)

No. 16, 1967

- Communist China -

No. 70

U. S. DEPARTMENT OF COMMERCE
CLEARINGHOUSE FOR FEDERAL SCIENTIFIC AND TECHNICAL INFORMATION
JOINT PUBLICATIONS RESEARCH SERVICE
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Adams Drive, 4th and 6th Streets, S.W.
Washington, D.C. 20443

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This serial publication contains the complete translation of articles from the Chinese-language periodical Hung-ch'i (Red Flag), Peking, No. 16, 23 November 1967. Complete bibliographic information accompanies each article.

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**CARRY OUT REVOLUTIONARY GREAT ALLIANCES ACCORDING TO
FIELDS OF WORK**

**- Notice from CCP Central Committee, State Council, Central
Military Affairs Committee, and Central Cultural Revolution
Group -**

**Following is a translation of the text of a notice
in the Chinese-language periodical, Hung-ch'i (Red
Flag), Peking, No 16, 23 Nov 67, page 6.**

To all revolutionary committees (or preparatory groups) and military control committees of the provinces, municipalities, and autonomous regions, all major military districts and provincial military districts, and for transmission to all mass organizations:

(1) All factories, schools, departments and agencies, and business units must form revolutionary great alliances under the revolutionary principle and according to different fields of work, trades and lines of business, and classes in schools, so as to facilitate and promote the establishment of revolutionary three-way alliances, the conducting of mass criticism and repudiation and struggle, criticism and transformation in all units, the grasping of revolution and stimulating of production, work and war preparedness.

(2) All revolutionary mass organizations should act according to the above directive from Chairman Mao, on the basis of the thought of Mao Tse-tung, through full consultations, and in accordance with different concrete circumstances. In accordance with the principle of voluntariness, all organizations that embraces several trades or lines of business should carry out the necessary adjustment according to trades or lines of business.

CSO: 3530-D

COMRADE LIN PIAO'S SPEECH

- At the Peking Rally Commemorating the 50th Anniversary of
The October Revolution -

Following is a translation of the text of a
speech which appeared in the Chinese-language
periodical, Hung-ch'i (Red Flag), Peking, No 16,
23 Nov 67, pages 7-10/

Comrades, Young Red Guard Fighters and Friends:

Today the Chinese people join the proletarians and revolutionary people throughout the world in grand and solemn commemoration of the 50th anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution.

The October Revolution led by the great Lenin was a turning point in human history.

The victory of the October Revolution broke through the dark rule of capitalism, established the first state of the dictatorship of the proletariat in the world and opened a new era of the world proletarian revolution.

For more than one hundred years since Marx and Engels formulated the theory of scientific socialism, the international proletariat, advancing wave upon wave and making heroic sacrifices, has been waging arduous struggles for the great ideal of communism and has performed immortal exploits in the cause of the emancipation of mankind.

In his struggle against the revisionism of the Second International and in the great practice of leading the October Socialist Revolution, Lenin solved a series of problems of the proletarian revolution and the dictatorship of the proletariat as well as the problem of victory for

socialism in one country, thus developing Marxism to the stage of Leninism. Leninism is Marxism in the era of imperialism and proletarian revolution. The salvoes of the October Revolution brought Leninism to all countries, so that the world took on an entirely new look.

In the last fifty years, following the road of the October Revolution under the banner of Marxism-Leninism, the proletariat and revolutionary people of the world have carried the world history forward to another entirely new era, the era in which imperialism is heading for total collapse and socialism is advancing to worldwide victory. It is a great new era in which the proletariat and the bourgeoisie are locked in the decisive battle on a worldwide scale.

Led by the great leader Chairman Mao, the Chinese people have followed up their victory in the national-democratic revolution with great victories in the socialist revolution and socialist construction. Socialist China has become the mighty bulwark of world revolution. Adhering to the road of the October Revolution, the heroic people of Albania have raised a bright red banner in Europe. By their war against U.S. imperialist aggression and for national salvation, the Vietnamese people have set a brilliant example of struggle against imperialism for the people of the whole world. The movement of national-democratic revolution in Asia, Africa and Latin America is developing vigorously. The ranks of the Marxist-Leninists are growing steadily, and a new situation has emerged in the international communist movement.

Compared with half a century ago, the world proletarian revolution today is far deeper in content, far broader in scope and far sharper in its struggle. The new historical era has posed a series of important new problems for Marxist-Leninists. However, in the final analysis, the most fundamental problem remains that of seizing and consolidating political power.

Chairman Mao says: "The aim of every revolutionary struggle in the world is the seizure and consolidation of political power." This is a great Marxist-Leninist truth.

The struggle between the Marxist-Leninists and the revisionists always focuses on this fundamental issue. The modern revisionists, represented by Khrushchev and his successors, Brezhnev, Kosygin and company, are wildly opposing the revolution of the people of the world and have openly abandoned the dictatorship of the proletariat and brought about an all-round capitalist restoration in the Soviet Union. This is a monstrous betrayal of Marxism-Leninism. It is a monstrous betrayal of the great Soviet people and the people of the world. Therefore, if the proletariat fails to smash the wanton attacks of the modern revisionists, if it does not firmly defend the road of the October Revolution opened up by the great Lenin, continue to advance along this road under the new historical conditions and thoroughly solve the question of how to seize and consolidate political power, it will not be able to win final victory, or will probably lose political power even

after seizing it, and, like the Soviet people, will come under the rule of a new privileged bourgeois stratum.

It is our good fortune that because Comrade Mao Tse-tung has comprehensively inherited and developed the teachings of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin on proletarian revolution and the dictatorship of the proletariat, the most fundamental issue of the world proletarian revolution, that is, the road to the seizure and consolidation of political power, has been brought to a higher stage in theory and in practice. Our great leader Chairman Mao has developed Marxism-Leninism and raised it to an entirely new peak. The ever-victorious thought of Mao Tse-tung is Marxism-Leninism in the era in which imperialism is heading for total collapse and socialism is advancing to worldwide victory.

In the course of leading the great struggle of the Chinese revolution, Chairman Mao has with genius solved a whole series of complicated problems concerning the seizure of political power by force of arms. Under his leadership, the Chinese people went through the most protracted, fierce, arduous and complex people's revolutionary war in the history of the world proletarian revolution and founded the red political power, the dictatorship of the proletariat.

The way the Chinese people seized political power by force of arms under Chairman Mao's leadership may be summarized as follows: Under the leadership of the political party of the proletariat, to arouse the peasant masses in the countryside to wage guerrilla war, unfold an agrarian revolution, build rural base areas, use the countryside to encircle the cities and finally capture the cities. This is a great new development of the road to the seizure of political power by force of arms indicated by the October Revolution.

Chairman Mao has said: "As a rule, revolution starts, grows and triumphs first in those places in which the counter-revolutionary forces are comparatively weak." Since in our time all the reactionary ruling classes have a tight grip on the main cities, it is necessary for a revolutionary political party to utilize the vulnerable links and areas of reactionary rule, fully arouse the masses, conduct guerrilla warfare, establish stable revolutionary bases and so build up and temper their own forces and, through prolonged fighting, strive step by step for complete victory in the revolution. Hence, reliance on the masses to build rural revolutionary base areas and use the countryside to encircle the cities is a historic task which the oppressed nations and peoples in the world today must seriously study and tackle in their fight to seize political power by force of arms.

Not only has Comrade Mao Tse-tung creatively developed Leninism on the question of the seizure of political power by the proletariat, he has made an epoch-making creative development of Leninism on the most important question of our time - the question of consolidating the dictatorship of the proletariat and preventing the restoration of capitalism.

From the first day of the victory of the October Revolution, Lenin paid close attention to the consolidation of the new-born Soviet state power. He recognized the sharp and protracted nature of the class struggle under the dictatorship of the proletariat, pointing out that "the transition from capitalism to communism takes an entire historical epoch. Until this epoch is over, the exploiters inevitably cherish the hope of restoration, and this hope turns into attempts at restoration."

The biggest lesson in the history of the international communist movement in the last fifty years is the restoration of capitalism in the Soviet Union and other socialist countries. This harsh fact has strikingly brought the Marxist-Leninists of the world face to face with the question of how to consolidate the dictatorship of the proletariat and prevent the restoration of capitalism.

It is Comrade Mao Tse-tung, the great teacher of the world proletariat of our time, who in the new historical conditions, has systematically summed up the historical experience of the dictatorship of the proletariat in the world, scientifically analysed the contradictions in socialist society, profoundly shown the laws of class struggle in socialist society and put forward a whole set of theory, line, principles, methods and policies for the continuation of the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat. With supreme courage and wisdom, Chairman Mao has successfully led the first great proletarian cultural revolution in history. This is an extremely important landmark, demonstrating that Marxism-Leninism has developed to the stage of Mao Tse-tung's thought.

The victory of the great proletarian cultural revolution has opened up in China, which has a quarter of the world's population, a bright path for consolidating the dictatorship of the proletariat and for carrying the socialist revolution through to the end. The proletariat and the revolutionary people of the world who are fighting imperialism, modern revisionism and all reaction resolutely support our great proletarian cultural revolution. They find in the victory of this revolution tremendous inspiration, bright prospects and greater confidence in victory.

The imperialists headed by the United States and their lackeys the modern revisionists and all the reactionaries have taken great pains to curse and vilify our great proletarian cultural revolution. This proves by negative example that our victory has dealt the enemy a very heavy blow and that they are nothing but a bunch of vampires that are bound to be destroyed.

The world is moving forward. And theory, which reflects the laws of the world, is likewise developing continuously.

Mao Tse-tung's thought is the banner of our era.

Once Mao Tse-tung's thought -- Marxism-Leninism at its highest in the present era -- is grasped, the oppressed nations and peoples will, through their own struggles, be able to win liberation.

Once Mao Tse-tung's thought -- Marxism-Leninism at its highest in the present era -- is grasped, the countries that have already established the dictatorship of the proletariat will, through their own struggles, be able to prevent the restoration of capitalism.

Once Mao Tse-tung's thought -- Marxism-Leninism at its highest in the present era -- is grasped, the people of those countries where political power has been usurped by revisionists will, through their own struggles, be able to overthrow the rule of revisionism and re-establish the dictatorship of the proletariat.

Once Marxism-Leninism, Mao Tse-tung's thought is integrated with the revolutionary practice of the people of all countries, the entire old world will be shattered to smithereens.

Comrades, young Red Guard fighters and friends:

The fifty years since the October Revolution have been years of fierce struggle between socialism and capitalism and between Marxism-Leninism and modern revisionism, with the former winning one victory after another. The imperialist system resembles a dying person who is sinking fast, like the sun setting beyond the western hills. The emergency of Khrushch v revisionism is a product of imperialist policy and reflects the death-bed struggle of imperialism. Although imperialism and revisionism will go on making trouble in collusion with each other, the reactionary adverse current can, after all, never become the main current. The dialectics of history is irresistible. Henceforth, the proletariat and the revolutionary people of the world will raise still higher the great red banner of Marxism-Leninism, Mao Tse-tung's thought, and march forward in giant strides along the road opened up by the October Revolution!

Those who betray the October Revolution can never escape the punishment of history. Khrushchev has long since fallen. In redoubling its efforts to pursue the policy of betrayal, the Brezhnev-Kosygin clique will not last long either. The proletariat and the working people of the Soviet Union, with their glorious tradition of revolution, will never forget the teachings of the great Lenin and Stalin. They are sure to rise in revolution under the banner of Leninism, overthrow the rule of the reactionary revisionist clique and bring the Soviet Union back into the orbit of socialism.

Comrades, young Red Guard fighters and friends!

The situation in our great motherland is excellent. Under the guidance of the latest instructions of the great leader Chairman Mao, the great proletarian cultural revolution is forging ahead victoriously.

We must raise still higher the great banner of the October Revolution and the great banner of Marxism-Leninism, Mao Tse-tung's thought, and carry the great proletarian cultural revolution through to the end.

We must build our great motherland into a still more powerful base for world revolution.

We must give ever more vigorous support to the revolutionary struggles of the proletariat and people of all countries.

We must, together with the revolutionary people everywhere, carry through to the end the struggle against U.S.-led imperialism and against modern revisionism with the Soviet revisionist renegade clique as its centre.

We must intensify our efforts in studying and mastering Mao Tse-tung's thought and disseminate it still more widely throughout the world.

These are glorious tasks entrusted to the people of our country by history, and they are our incumbent internationalist duty.

Our great leader Chairman Mao has given the call: "Let the Marxist-Leninists of all countries unite, let the revolutionary people of the whole world unite and overthrow imperialism, modern revisionism and all reaction. A new world without imperialism, without capitalism and without exploitation of man by man will surely be built."

Let us fight with courage for the realization of this great call of Chairman Mao's!

Long live the Great October Socialist Revolution!

Long live the great proletarian cultural revolution!

Workers of all countries, unite!

Workers of all countries, unite with the oppressed peoples and oppressed nations!

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

Long live the great teacher, great leader, great supreme commander, great helmsman Chairman Mao! A long, long life to him!

CSO: 3530-D

ADVANCE ALONG THE ROAD OPENED UP BY THE
OCTOBER SOCIALIST REVOLUTION

- In Commemoration of the 50th Anniversary of the Great October
Socialist Revolution -

[Following is a translation of an article by
the Editorial Departments of Jen-min Jih-pao,
Hung-ch'i and Chieh-fang-chun Pao, No 16,
23 Nov 67, pages 11-17.]

Full 50 years have passed since the Great October Socialist Revolution.

The October Socialist Revolution led by Lenin, great teacher of the proletariat, for the first time translated into reality the theory of the dictatorship of the proletariat advanced by Marx and Engels and established the first state of the dictatorship of the proletariat in the history of mankind over one-sixth of the globe.

A new epoch began in the history of mankind.

A new era of world proletarian revolution and the dictatorship of the proletariat began.

A new era of the oppressed nations' struggle for liberation led by the proletariat began.

Comrade Mao Tse-tung, the greatest Marxist-Leninist of our time, has made a most penetrating exposition of the great historic significance of the October Socialist Revolution. He points out:

"The first imperialist world war and the first victorious socialist revolution, the October Revolution, have changed the whole course of world history and ushered in a new era."

"The October Revolution has opened up wide possibilities for the emancipation of the peoples of the world and opened up the realistic paths towards it; it has created a new front of revolutions against world imperialism, extending from the proletarians of the West, through the Russian revolution to the oppressed peoples of the East."

"The road of the October Revolution is, fundamentally speaking, the bright common road for the progress of all mankind."

Under the guidance of the great banner of Marxism-Leninism and the illumination of the October Revolution, the world has undergone earth-shaking changes in the last 50 years. The flames of the October Revolution are now raging throughout the world.

The great People's Republic of China under the dictatorship of the proletariat stands like a giant in the East. Aroused and led by our great leader Chairman Mao himself, the 700 million people of China are carrying out a great proletarian cultural revolution such as has never been known before in history. This great revolution which has a vital bearing on the future of China and the destiny of mankind has won decisive victory.

The Albanian Party of Labour headed by the great Marxist-Leninist Comrade Enver Hoxha has led the Albanian people in persevering with proletarian heroism in the socialist revolution and the dictatorship of the proletariat, thus raising a bright red banner of socialism in Europe.

Valiantly resisting the wanton U.S. imperialist aggression, the 31 million people of Vietnam have scored brilliant victories and set a great example of anti-U.S. armed revolutionary struggle for the people of the whole world.

The people of Laos, Burma, the Philippines, Thailand, India, Indonesia and other countries are embarking on or persisting in the road of revolutionary armed struggle. The national-democratic revolutionary movement is unfolding vigorously in the vast areas of Asia, Africa and Latin America.

The proletariat of Western Europe, North America and Oceania are awakening and plunging into the struggle against U.S. imperialism and monopoly capital in their own countries.

In short, under the banner of Marxism-Leninism, Mao Tse-tung's thought, the international communist movement is cleaning up all the mire of Khrushchev revisionism, and the revolutionary Communists and the broad masses of revolutionary people the world over are fighting, along the road of the October Revolution, to create a new world without imperialism, without capitalism and without the exploitation of man by man.

Under the leadership of Lenin and Stalin, the people of the Soviet Union, with revolutionary initiative, smashed the old state machine in the

dark world of capitalist rule by means of violent revolution, established the dictatorship of the proletariat, and thus erected a radiant beacon. In the subsequent years, following the road of the October Revolution, the Soviet people won great victories in defeating the White Guard rebellion and the armed intervention of 14 countries, in smashing the opportunist line of Trotsky, Bukharin and company, counter-revolutionary representatives of the bourgeoisie who had wormed their way into the Party, in carrying out socialist transformation and socialist construction, and in waging the anti-fascist war. All these glorious exploits were made at the cost of oceans of the sweat and blood of the heroic sons and daughters of the October Revolution, and they shine with the brilliance of the revolutionary heroism and lofty internationalism of the Soviet proletariat.

Today, in commemorating the 50th anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution, the Chinese people and Marxist-Leninists and revolutionary people of all countries deeply cherish the memory of Lenin, the great creator of the October Revolution, and his successor Stalin. We shall never forget the indelible historic feats of the glorious Bolshevik Party and the great Soviet proletariat in opening up the road of the October Revolution and establishing the dictatorship of the proletariat.

However, the first great socialist state, the Soviet Union, which was the pride of the Soviet and the world proletariat and was thriving at the time of Lenin and Stalin, has now changed its political colour as a result of the usurpation of Party and state leadership by the handful of top persons in authority taking the capitalist road within the C.P.S.U., as represented by Khrushchev. Under the reactionary rule of the notorious Khrushchev and the revisionist clique headed by his successors Brezhnev and Kosygin, the powerful red bastion, which was once regarded as the light and hope by the people throughout the world, has become the centre of modern counter-revolutionary revisionism and another headquarters of world reaction.

The renegades Brezhnev, Kosygin and company now have the impudence to style themselves successors to the cause of the October Revolution and to engage in demagoguery, flaunting the banner of "commemorating" the 50th anniversary of the October Revolution. What a monstrous insult to the great Lenin, to the Great October Revolution and to the great Soviet people! You renegades to the October Revolution, by what right do you commemorate the October Revolution? The only place for you is in the dock of history to be tried by the Marxist-Leninists and the hundreds of millions of revolutionary people all over the world!

It is you renegades who have trampled underfoot the great banner of Leninism, betrayed the cause of the dictatorship of the proletariat and, under the signboard of the "party of the entire people" and "state of the whole people," turned the Communist Party of the Soviet Union founded by Lenin into a bourgeois party, turned the dictatorship of the proletariat set up by the Soviet people at the cost of their blood and lives into a dictatorship of the bourgeoisie which suppresses the labouring masses, and

turned the Soviet state born amidst the storm of the October Revolution into a revisionist and bourgeois state. The Soviet people have been denied the right to be their own masters and are again under oppression and enslavement by a group of despicable scabs -- a new privileged bourgeois stratum.

It is you renegades who have discarded the banner of socialism, strangled the socialist cause of the October Revolution and, under the cloak of "building communism," replaced the socialist planned economy and the principle of "to each according to his work" by the capitalist principle of profit-seeking and free competition, causing enterprises owned by the whole people and collective farms to degenerate into enterprises of a capitalist nature and a kulak economy.

It is you renegades who, under the cover of "culture of the entire people," energetically advertise reactionary revisionist ideas, the decadent bourgeois way of life and ugly "Western culture." Bourgeois ideology dominates all spheres of ideology and culture in the Soviet Union today. The socialist culture fostered by the October Revolution has been trampled underfoot. The communist morality personally nurtured by Lenin and Stalin is being submerged in the icy waters of egoism.

It is you renegades who have betrayed proletarian internationalism and the revolutionary cause of the world proletariat, made "peaceful coexistence," "peaceful competition" and "peaceful transition" the general line of foreign policy, prostrated yourselves before U.S. imperialism and formed a new "Holly Alliance" with all the most reactionary forces in the world against communism, against the people, against revolution and against China. You are everywhere peddling the opium of revisionism, trying to paralyse the masses of the people, selling out the interests of the revolution and undermining revolutionary struggles, with the result that Communists and revolutionary fighters have been massacred in their tens of thousands by imperialism and its lackeys.

You renegades have committed heinous crimes against the Soviet people and the people throughout the world. You are the sworn enemy of the Soviet people as well as the common enemy of the revolutionary people of the world.

Comrade Mao Tse-tung has often told us: It is only through repeated education by positive and negative examples, and by making comparisons and contrasts, that revolutionary Parties and revolutionary people can temper themselves, reach maturity and gain assurance of victory. Those who belittle the role of teachers by negative example are not thoroughgoing dialectical materialists.

The usurpation of state power by the modern revisionists and the gradual emergency of an all-round capitalist restoration in the Soviet Union and other socialist countries have provided the Marxist-Leninists and revolutionary people of the whole world with a very profound historical lesson: After seizing state power, the proletariat may still lose it and the dictatorship of the proletariat can still revert to a dictatorship of the bourgeoisie.

Not only must the proletariat guard against armed subversion of state power by its enemies at home and abroad. What is more important, it must be vigilant against usurpation of Party and state leadership from within by persons of the Khrushchev type and against the taking of the path of "peaceful evolution." In betraying the cause of the dictatorship of the proletariat, the Khrushchev revisionists serve the world proletariat as first-rate teachers by negative example. In this sense, Khrushchev deserves a one-ton "medal."

Comrade Mao Tse-tung, the great and valiant standard bearer of Marxism-Leninism, and the Communist Party of China headed by him are leading the 700 million Chinese people, along with the Marxist-Leninists and revolutionary people the world over, in waging with dauntless proletarian revolutionary spirit a great powerful struggle against modern revisionism with the Soviet revisionist renegade clique as its centre. They have won brilliant victories internationally and will surely continue to win still greater victories.

Comrade Mao Tse-tung's greatest contribution to the international communist movement is his systematic summing up of the historical experience of the dictatorship of the proletariat in China and of the dictatorship of the proletariat in the world since the October Revolution; he has summed up not only the positive but also the negative experience, and, in particular, the grave lessons of the all-round restoration of capitalism in the Soviet Union; and he has comprehensively and thoroughly solved the cardinal issue of our time, the issue of carrying on the revolution and preventing capitalist restoration under the dictatorship of the proletariat. This is a great epoch-making development of the Marxist-Leninist theory of the dictatorship of the proletariat.

The theory of the dictatorship of the proletariat was founded by Marx and Engels. The proletariat of Paris made the first heroic attempt to seize political power. The Paris Commune failed but, as Marx said, "the principles of the Commune are perpetual and indestructible."

In his Critique of the Gotha Programme, Marx advanced the well-known thesis summing up his entire revolutionary theory, that "between capitalist and communist society lies the period of the revolutionary transformation of the one into the other. There corresponds to this also a political transition period in which the state can be nothing but the revolutionary dictatorship of the proletariat."

In his struggle against the revisionism of the Second International, Lenin inherited, defended and developed the Marxist theory on proletarian revolution and the dictatorship of the proletariat, solved a series of problems of the proletarian revolution in the era of imperialism and solved the question of the possibility of the victory of socialism in one country, thus developing Marxism to a new stage, the stage of Leninism.

After the October Revolution, Lenin pointed out on many occasions that acute and complex class struggles and the possibility of capitalist restoration still existed under the dictatorship of the proletariat. He said:

"Class struggle, ... after the overthrow of capitalist rule, after the destruction of the bourgeois state, after the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat, does not disappear (as the vulgar representatives of the old socialism and the old social-democracy imagine), but merely changes its forms and in many respects becomes fiercer."

"The transition from capitalism to communism takes an entire historical epoch. Until this epoch is over, the exploiters inevitably cherish the hope of restoration, and this hope turns into attempts at restoration."

Lenin made a penetrating analysis of why, under the dictatorship of the proletariat, the overthrown bourgeoisie still has immense strength and is in the position to resist and carry out activities for a restoration, and he explained the necessity for consolidating and strengthening the dictatorship of the proletariat. He stated:

"The dictatorship of the proletariat means a most determined and most ruthless war waged by the new class against a more powerful enemy, the bourgeoisie, whose resistance is increased tenfold by their overthrow (even if only in a single country), and whose power lies, not only in the strength of international capital, the strength and durability of their international connections, but also in the force of habit, in the strength of small-scale production. Unfortunately, small-scale production is still widespread in the world, and small-scale production engenders capitalism and the bourgeoisie continuously, daily, hourly, spontaneously, and on a mass scale. All these reasons make the dictatorship of the proletariat necessary."

Lenin also took note of the seriousness of the class struggle in the ideological sphere. He explicitly pointed out:

"Our task is -- to defeat all the resistance of the capitalists, not only military and political but also ideological, which is the deepest and the most powerful."

These brilliant ideas and these great scientific predictions of Lenin's have tremendously developed the Marxist theory of the dictatorship of the proletariat and are of immense practical significance today for all Marxist-Leninists who adhere to the road of the October Revolution.

The modern revisionists Khrushchev, Brezhnev, Kosygin and company have completely betrayed these ideas of Lenin's. Comrade Mao Tse-tung, while fighting against the modern revisionists and explaining the necessity for persevering in the dictatorship of the proletariat, has invariably taught us not to forget these statements of Lenin's.

Comrade Mao Tse-tung has comprehensively inherited, defended and developed Marxism-Leninism, he has creatively put forward the great theory of the continuation of the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat, and he has personally initiated and led the great practice of the first

great proletarian cultural revolution in the history of mankind. This is an extremely important landmark, demonstrating that Marxism has developed to a completely new stage, the stage of Mao Tse-tung's thought.

The essentials of Comrade Mao Tse-tung's theory of the continuation of the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat are as follows:

One. It is necessary to apply the Marxist-Leninist law of the unity of opposites to the study of socialist society. Comrade Mao Tse-tung points out: "The law of the unity of opposites is the fundamental law of the universe." "Contradictions exist everywhere," "contradictoriness within a thing is the fundamental cause of its development." In socialist society, there are "two types of social contradictions -- those between ourselves and the enemy and those among the people themselves." "The contradictions between ourselves and the enemy are antagonistic contradictions. Within the ranks of the people, the contradictions among the working people are non-antagonistic." Comrade Mao Tse-tung tells us: It is necessary to "distinguish contradictions among the people from those between ourselves and the enemy" and "correctly handle contradictions among the people," so that the dictatorship of the proletariat can become increasingly consolidated and strengthened and the socialist system developed.

Two. "Socialist society covers a fairly long historical stage. In this stage, classes, class contradictions and class struggle continue, the struggle between the socialist road and the capitalist road continues and the danger of capitalist restoration remains." After the basic completion of the socialist transformation of the ownership of the means of production, "the class struggle is by no means over. The class struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie, the class struggle between the different political forces, and the class struggle in the ideological field between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie will continue to be long and tortuous and at times will even become very acute." In order to prevent capitalist restoration and "peaceful evolution," it is imperative to carry the socialist revolution on the political and ideological fronts through to the end.

Three. The class struggle under the dictatorship of the proletariat is in essence still a matter of political power, in other words, the bourgeoisie tries to overthrow the dictatorship of the proletariat while the proletariat strives to consolidate it. The proletariat must exercise all-round dictatorship over the bourgeoisie in the field of the superstructure, including the various spheres of culture. "Our relation with them can in no way be one of equality. On the contrary, it is a relation of one class oppressing another, that is, the dictatorship of the proletariat over the bourgeoisie. There can be no other type of relation, such as a so-called relation of equality, or of peaceful coexistence between exploiting and exploited classes, or of kindness or magnanimity."

Four. The struggle between the two classes and two roads in society is inevitably reflected within the Party. The handful of Party persons in

authority taking the capitalist road are the representatives of the bourgeoisie within the Party. They "are a bunch of counter-revolutionary revisionists. Once conditions are ripe, they will seize political power and turn the dictatorship of the proletariat into a dictatorship of the bourgeoisie." In order to consolidate the dictatorship of the proletariat, we must take great care to see through the "persons like Khrushchev" "who are still nestling beside us," fully expose them, criticize and repudiate them, overthrow them, make it impossible for them ever to rise again, and we must firmly recapture for the proletariat the power they have usurped.

Five. It is of the greatest importance for the continuation of the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat that the great proletarian cultural revolution should be carried out.

"In the great proletarian cultural revolution, the only method is for the masses to liberate themselves." "Let the masses educate themselves in this great revolutionary movement." In other words, this revolution is boldly arousing the masses from below by means of extensive democracy under the dictatorship of the proletariat and, at the same time, is forging the great alliance of the proletarian revolutionaries and the revolutionary "three-way alliance" of the revolutionary masses, the People's Liberation Army and the revolutionary cadres.

Six. "Fight self, repudiate revisionism" is the fundamental programme of the great proletarian cultural revolution in the ideological field. "The proletariat seeks to transform the world according to its own world outlook, and so does the bourgeoisie." Therefore, the great proletarian cultural revolution is a great revolution that touches people to their very souls and aims at solving the problem of their world outlook. We must criticize and repudiate revisionism politically, ideologically and theoretically, use proletarian ideology to overcome bourgeois egoism and all non-proletarian ideas, transform education, literature and art and all other parts of the superstructure that are not in correspondence with the socialist economic base, and thus uproot revisionism.

In putting forward the above theory of the continuation of the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat, Comrade Mao Tse-tung has creatively and with genius developed the Marxist-Leninist conception of class struggle in the period of the dictatorship of the proletariat and has developed with genius the conception of the dictatorship of the proletariat. This is of epoch-making significance and represents the third great milestone in the history of the development of Marxism.

Fifty years ago Lenin stressed that "only he is a Marxist who extends the recognition of the class struggle to the recognition of the dictatorship of the proletariat. This is what constitutes the most profound difference between the Marxist and the ordinary petty (as well as big) bourgeois. This is the touchstone on which the real understanding and recognition of Marxism is to be tested." We may now say that only he is a genuine Marxist-Leninist

who extends the recognition of the dictatorship of the proletariat to the recognition of the need to continue the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat. This is the touchstone on which the real understanding and recognition of Marxism-Leninism are to be tested.

The Great October Socialist Revolution opened the way for the proletariat to seize political power. The fundamental experience of the October Revolution expresses the universal law for making revolution in the era of imperialism and proletarian revolution. China's great proletarian cultural revolution has opened the way for the consolidation of the dictatorship of the proletariat, for the prevention of capitalist restoration and for the advance to communism. The fundamental experience of the cultural revolution expresses the universal law of class struggle in the historical stage of the transition to communism following the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat. Various new problems may arise in the future and there may be difficulties and twists and turns; nevertheless, with the triumph of China's great proletarian cultural revolution, "the important thing is that the ice has been broken -- the road is open and the path has been blazed," as Lenin said in appraising the significance of the October Revolution.

Stalin said: "The October Revolution should not be regarded merely as a revolution 'within national bounds.' It is, primarily, a revolution of an international, world order." Like the October Revolution, China's great proletarian cultural revolution is not merely a revolution "within national bounds"; it is likewise a revolution of an international order. This great revolution has won the enthusiastic support of the proletariat and revolutionary people throughout the world. Its great victory has opened a new era in the international communist movement and will assuredly have a far-reaching influence on the course of human history.

Advanced revolutionary theory always spreads far and wide along with the great victory of the revolutionary struggle which it guides. The October Revolution 50 years ago very greatly stimulated the dissemination of Marxism-Leninism so that the world revolution took on an entirely new look. With the victory of the Chinese revolution in 1949 under the guidance of Comrade Mao Tse-tung, the world has undergone a further radical change. In the short space of over a year, China's great proletarian cultural revolution has crushed the bourgeois headquarters led by China's Khrushchev, and utterly discredited the exploiting classes in every respect. This great mass mobilization has shaken the world, and has brought the understanding of Mao Tse-tung's thought on the part of the people of the world forward to a new and higher level, making it far richer and more profound than ever before.

The revolutionary people of the world have come to understand more and more clearly that Comrade Mao Tse-tung is the greatest teacher and most outstanding leader of the proletariat in the present era and that Chairman Mao is indeed the Lenin of our time. Mao Tse-tung's thought is Marxism-Leninism at its highest in the present era, is Marxism-Leninism that strikes

terror into the hearts of the imperialists, revisionists and reactionaries of all countries, and is the most powerful ideological weapon of the proletariat and the masses of revolutionary people.

With the dissemination of Mao Tse-tung's thought, the revolutionary people are better able to draw a strict line between Marxism-Leninism and modern revisionism. When they look back at the dung hill in the backyard of the workers' movement and see the old wares which Khrushchev and his followers have been trying to peddle, people can now more clearly distinguish the fragrant flowers from the poisonous weeds, distinguish the road of the October Revolution from the road which runs counter to it. The Khrushchev revisionist buffoons who clamour for a "party of the entire people" and a "state of the whole people" and have cast the dictatorship of the proletariat to the four winds are finding it more and more difficult to deceive the people with the signboard of "all-round communist construction." Those parliamentary cretins who don the cloak of Marxism are finding it more and more difficult to prevent the proletariat from rising in arms to seize political power.

The world has now entered a revolutionary new era, with Mao Tse-tung's thought as its great banner. France was the centre of revolution in the late 18th century, and the centre moved to Germany in the mid-19th century when the proletariat entered the political arena and Marxism came into being. The centre of revolution moved to Russia early in the 20th century, and Leninism came into being. The centre of world revolution has since gradually moved to China and Mao Tse-tung's thought has come into being. Through the great proletarian cultural revolution, China, the centre of world revolution, has become more powerful and consolidated.

Chairman Mao says: "The Chinese people have always considered the Chinese revolution a continuation of the Great October Socialist Revolution and have looked upon this fact as a great honour." The great proletarian cultural revolution in which we are now engaged is precisely the continuation of the October Revolution in a higher stage under new historical conditions. The best way for the Chinese people to commemorate the 50th anniversary of the October Socialist Revolution today is to hold aloft the great banner of the October Revolution and the great banner of Marxism-Leninism, Mao Tse-tung's thought, carry the great proletarian cultural revolution resolutely through to the end, firmly support all the revolutionary Marxist-Leninists of the world and the people of all countries, and, together with them, carry the struggle against imperialism, modern revisionism and all reaction through to the end.

When commemorating the 40th anniversary of the October Revolution, Comrade Mao Tse-tung pointed out: "The socialist system will eventually replace the capitalist system; this is an objective law independent of man's will. However much the reactionaries try to hold back the wheel of history, sooner or later revolution will take place and will inevitably triumph."

And in 1962 Comrade Mao Tse-tung said: "The Soviet Union was the first socialist state and the Communist Party of the Soviet Union was founded by Lenin. Although the leadership of the Soviet Party and state has now been usurped by the revisionists, I would advise comrades to remain firm in the conviction that the masses of the Soviet people and Party members and cadres are good, that they want revolution and that rule by revisionism will not last long."

The all-round restoration of capitalism in the Soviet Union is only a brief interlude in the history of the international communist movement. We are firmly convinced that the genuine Soviet Communists and the great Soviet people, who have been taught by the great Lenin and Stalin, who have the glorious tradition of the October Revolution and who were tested and tempered in the anti-fascist war, will not tolerate for long the renegade clique of the Soviet revisionists riding roughshod over them. They are now waging struggles against the Soviet revisionist renegade clique in a variety of ways. They will certainly unite under the banner of the Great October Revolution, carry forward the behests of Lenin and Stalin, persevere in prolonged struggle, break through the heavy darkness and make the red star of the October Revolution shine forth again, and shine still more brilliantly.

The great truth of Marxism-Leninism, Mao Tse-tung's thought is irresistible. More than 90 per cent of the world's population are invariably for revolution. The masses of the people will eventually triumph. The world revolution will eventually triumph. Under the great revolutionary banner of Mao Tse-tung's thought, the great cause of the dictatorship of the proletariat pioneered by the October Revolution will certainly advance in more gigantic strides, and communism is sure to win final victory throughout the world.

CSO: 3530-D



STRUGGLE BETWEEN THE TWO ROADS IN CHINA'S COUNTRYSIDE

Following is a translation of an article by the Editorial Departments of Jen-min Jih-pao, Hung-ch'i and Chieh-fang-chun Pao, No 16, 23 Nov 67 pages 18-29/

The present situation in the countryside is excellent. The hundreds of millions of poor and lower-middle peasants, like the revolutionary masses in the cities, have been fully aroused. Guided by Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line, they "fight self-interest, repudiate revisionism" and have considerably enhanced their socialist consciousness. The great revolutionary movement has brought with it a new upsurge in production. The farms have gathered a bumper harvest this year. These are signs of prosperity everywhere in the rural areas.

In carrying forward the great proletarian cultural revolution at the present time in the countryside, an important fighting task is deeper criticism and repudiation of the counter-revolutionary revisionist line which China's Khrushchev advocated for the rural areas and elimination of all its poisonous influence.

China is a big country with more than 500 million peasants. The success or failure of China's democratic revolution depended on whether or not the peasant question could be solved correctly. The success or failure of China's socialist revolution likewise depends on how that question is solved. Since the nationwide victory, the question of whether the Chinese peasants will be led to socialism or capitalism has been decisive for the future of the dictatorship of the proletariat and the future of the socialist system.

It is precisely on this question of primary importance that all through the decade and more since China's liberation, a sharp, tit-for-tat struggle has been going on between the two roads and the two lines.

On the eve of China's liberation, our great leader Chairman Mao pointed out: "The serious problem is the education of the peasantry," and "Without socialization of agriculture, there can be no complete, consolidated socialism."

Our great helmsman Chairman Mao has formulated a Marxist-Leninist line for the socialist revolution in the countryside. It is a line to wipe out rural capitalist exploitation and bring about the collectivization of agriculture. It is a line to bring about a thoroughgoing socialist revolution on the agricultural front and lead the peasants forward along the broad road of socialism.

But what did the top Party person in authority taking the capitalist road -- China's Khrushchev -- do on the question of agriculture in the last decade and more?

Before the socialist transformation of agriculture was in the main completed, he did his utmost to protect and develop the rich peasant economy and oppose the socialist collectivization of agriculture. And after the basic completion of that transformation, he made big efforts to restore capitalism and disintegrate the socialist collective economy. He madly sabotaged the socialist revolution in the countryside, and came out against the masses of poor and lower-middle peasants. He pursued an out-and-out counter-revolutionary revisionist line, a line which represented a vain attempt to restore capitalism in the rural areas, a line which would, in fact, allow the landlords, rich peasants, counter-revolutionaries, bad elements and Rightists to make a comeback.

In holding to the socialist road, consolidating the dictatorship of the proletariat and digging out the roots of revisionism, it is of the utmost importance for us today to use Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line for systematic and thorough repudiation of this counter-revolutionary revisionist line of China's Khrushchev.

CHINA'S KHRUSHCHEV -- RABID ADVOCATE OF A RICH PEASANT ECONOMY

The founding of the Chinese People's Republic marked the conclusion in the main of the democratic revolution and the start of the socialist revolution in China.

In March 1949, Chairman Mao in his Report to the Second Plenary Session of the Seventh Central Committee of the Communist Party of China said that "after the country-wide victory of the Chinese revolution and the solution of the land problem" the basic contradiction internally was "the contradiction between the working class and the bourgeoisie."

Chairman Mao also pointed out: "scattered, individual agriculture and handicrafts, which make up 90 per cent of the total value of output of

the national economy, can and must be led prudently, step by step and yet actively to develop towards modernization and collectivization; the view that they may be left to take their own course is wrong."

In accordance with this Marxist-Leninist concept of Chairman Mao's on uninterrupted revolution, that is, the concept of moving over without interruption from the stage of bourgeois democratic revolution to the stage of proletarian socialist revolution, it was necessary to go into action after the land reform and, striking while the iron was hot, immediately develop the mutual-aid and co-operative movement, step by step build socialist relations of production in agriculture, guide the peasants on to the socialist road and restrict and eliminate capitalism in the countryside.

In direct contravention of this proletarian revolutionary line of Chairman Mao's, China's Khrushchev -- representing the interests of the landlords, rich peasants, counter-revolutionaries, bad elements and Rightists -- immediately jumped in with his rabid advocacy of capitalism and desperate opposition to socialism.

It was just a little over a month after the close of the Second Plenary Session of the Seventh Central Committee of the Party that this man, China's Khrushchev, went to Tientsin and shamelessly lauded the capitalists, putting forward his notorious proposition that "exploitation has its merits."

No sooner had the whole country been liberated than this man, China's Khrushchev, went around fervently advocating development of the rich peasant economy. In January 1950, in his sinister "instructions" to the big renegade An Tzu-wen, he talked such nonsense as: "at present exploitation saves people and it is dogmatic to forbid it. Exploitation is needed now and it should be welcomed."¹

Directly contradicting the view that agriculture and handicrafts should not be "left to take their own course," put forward by Chairman Mao in his report to the Second Plenary Session of the Seventh Central Committee, China's Khrushchev said: "Hiring of farm hands and individual farming should be left to take their own course" and "it's good if some rich peasants should emerge from this course." He also campaigned for "no restriction"² on the hiring of hands to till the land, which he said, was "legal" and "benefits the poor people too."³

He babbled: "The type of peasant household which owns three horses, a plough and a cart should increase to 80 per cent (of the total number of rural households) in the next few years."⁴

In a speech he gave in June of the same year, he said: "The policy of preserving the rich peasant economy . . . is a long-term policy."⁵

These are the cries of a bloodsucker, and in them we can discern the greed and frenzy of the exploiting classes, the rural capitalist forces.

in their vain attempt to strangle socialism. From first to last, it is the bourgeois philosophy of man-eat-man!

"Exploitation saves people"! "It is legal to hire hands"! What exploitation "saves" is bourgeois "people," and his "it is legal" is capitalist legality. Is it not crystal clear what evil slime was hidden in the very bones of this No. 1 capitalist roader in the Party, when he so rabidly eulogized the system of exploitation and described as "paradise" the diabolical enslavement of hired hands?

"Develop the type of peasant household which owns three horses, a plough and a cart"! It is elementary knowledge that in China's vast countryside, a peasant household owning three horses, a plough and a cart was by no means a middle peasant but a rich peasant household. To "develop" such peasant households would mean developing a rich peasant economy, with the result that capitalism would win out in the rural areas, the poor and lower-middle peasant masses would sink back into the misery of oppression and exploitation, the worker-peasant alliance would be undermined and the dictatorship of the proletariat ruined.

"No restriction"! The zealous praise which this No. 1 capitalist roader heaped on the rich peasant economy had no other purpose than to "restrict" and smother the enthusiasm of the poor and lower-middle peasants for the socialist road and clear the way for the capitalist forces. What he clamoured for was "no restriction" upon capitalist exploitation. Such is the class content of what he called "freedom"!

China's Khrushchov turned things upside down to deceive the masses when he said: "When peasant households each owning three horses make up 70 per cent (of the total number of rural households), collective farms can be set up in the future."⁶

There was bitter hatred in his slander of the poor peasants when he said: "Don't imagine that all those who oppose individual farming are collectivists."⁷

This was the greatest insult to the poor peasants and a gross distortion of the socialist collectivization of agriculture! Chairman Mao has pointed out that the broad masses of poor and lower-middle peasants have "a potentially inexhaustible enthusiasm for socialism." They suffered cruel exploitation at the hands of the landlords and rich peasants and have an intense hatred for the system of exploitation. Although their livelihood had improved to a certain extent or even to a great extent following the land reform compared with the past, many of them (the poor peasants) were still in considerable economic difficulties, while others (the lower-middle peasants) were still not so well off. This decided their resolute opposition to individual farming, their resolute opposition to the system of capitalist exploitation, and their enthusiastic desire to take the road of socialist collectivization. They are the force our Party relies on in

the rural areas, where they constitute the main force of the socialist revolution. To attack the poor peasants is to attack the revolution and oppose socialism. To rely on the rich peasants to set up so-called collective farms would produce not socialism, not even a particle of it, but one hundred per cent capitalism.

The absurd "theory" that collectivization could be brought in only when "70 per cent of the peasant households (had) three horses each" had no other purpose than to provide a fig-leaf for naked capitalist exploitation. It is a sheer fraud, for it is absolutely impossible for 70 to 80 per cent of the individual peasants to become rich peasants. Furthermore, everyone knows that once a rich peasant economy prevailed in the rural areas, more than "70 per cent" of the peasants would inevitably be forced down once again into the utter destitution and suffering under the oppression of the landlords, rich peasants, counter-revolutionaries, bad elements and Rightists. Such were the "benefits" which China's Khrushchev had in store for the "poor people."

China's Khrushchev summed up his whole anti-socialist theory in a programme negating the socialist revolution, namely: "At the present time, we must strive for the consolidation of the system of new democracy."⁸

What this meant was protection of the interests of the bourgeoisie and the development of capitalism in town and countryside. In the last analysis, it meant dragging liberated China back to the old road of semi-colonialism and semi-feudalism.

Chairman Mao severely condemned this reactionary programme. In a talk in June 1953, directly opposing it, he declared that this formulation was harmful. He pointed out incisively: The period of transition is full of contradictions and struggles. Our present revolutionary struggle is even more deep-going than the armed revolutionary struggle of the past. It is a revolution that will thoroughly bury the capitalist system and all other systems of exploitation. The idea of "establish(ing) the social order of new democracy" does not conform to the actual situation in the struggle and is obstructive to the development of the socialist cause.

Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line thoroughly exposed the reactionary essence of China's Khrushchev's line for developing capitalism and pointed out the way forward for the great socialist revolution. Thus there began a great socialist revolution involving hundreds of millions of peasants! Thus there began a still sharper and more intense struggle between the two roads!

CHINA'S KHRUSHCHEV IS THE NO. 1 CAPITALIST ROADER WHO TRIED TO STRANGLE AGRICULTURAL CO-OPERATION

A basic Marxist-Leninist principle and a consistent concept of Chairman Mao is that the proletarian revolutionary Party should lead the peasants along the road of co-operation. In 1943, Chairman Mao issued the great call "Get Organized!" in which he incisively pointed out: "Among the peasant masses a system of individual economy has prevailed for thousands of years, with each family or household forming a productive unit. This scattered, individual form of production is the economic foundation of feudal rule and keeps the peasants in perpetual poverty. The only way to change it is gradual collectivization, and the only way to bring about collectivization, according to Lenin, is through co-operatives."

Following completion of land reform after the liberation of the whole country, the agricultural mutual-aid and co-operative movement developed to a new stage under the guidance of this correct line of Chairman Mao's.

In 1951, the masses of poor and lower-middle peasants in Shansi and other places, acting in accordance with Chairman Mao's teachings, demanded that the mutual-aid teams be raised to the level of agricultural co-operatives on an experimental basis. This was a great revolutionary undertaking. However, working behind Chairman Mao's back, China's Khrushchev wrote the following vicious comment on a report: "After the land reform, the peasants' spontaneous tendency towards capitalism and class polarization began to find expression in economic developments in the countryside. Some comrades in the Party have already expressed fears of such spontaneous tendency and class polarization, and have attempted to check or prevent them. They cherish the illusion that this tendency can be checked or prevented by means of mutual-aid teams and supply and marketing co-operatives. Some people have already expressed the opinion that steps should be taken gradually to shake the foundations of private ownership, weaken it until it is nullified, and raise the agricultural mutual-aid organizations to the level of agricultural producers' co-operatives as a new factor for 'overcoming the peasants' spontaneous tendency.' This is an erroneous, dangerous and Utopian conception of agricultural socialism."⁹

In attempting to strangle agricultural co-operation, see how bitterly this No. 1 capitalist roader hated the enthusiasm with which the poor and lower-middle peasants were taking the socialist road!

These remarks of China's Khrushchev were a confession of his opposition to Chairman Mao and Mao Tse-tung's thought and of his intense hatred for the masses of poor and lower-middle peasants. He had the audacity to slander the socialist line of agricultural co-operation as an "illusion" and vilify as "dangerous" and "Utopian" the new-born things of socialism

which emerged and developed in real life by breaking through the capitalist forces. His anti-socialist, counter-revolutionary bourgeois stand is here exposed to the full. We can almost hear him gnash his teeth in his hatred for socialism!

On reading these remarks, our great leader Chairman Mao was filled with deep indignation; he resolutely refuted these absurdities. Chairman Mao has creatively and in a most comprehensive way developed the Marxist-Leninist theory of agricultural co-operation under the dictatorship of the proletariat. It was he who personally formulated the first decision of the Central Committee of the Party on mutual-aid and cooperation in agricultural production and victoriously guided the advance of the agricultural co-operative movement. The conspiracy of China's Khrushchev went bankrupt.

In 1953 when the national economy was in the main rehabilitated and the land reform was in the main completed throughout the country, Chairman Mao put forward our Party's general line and general task for the transitional period. He pointed out: After the success of the democratic revolution, some people remained bogged down in their original positions. They did not understand the change in the character of the revolution; they still continued with their "new democracy" and failed to take up socialist transformation. This was liable to lead them to commit mistakes of the Right deviation. Speaking of agriculture, the socialist road is the only road for agriculture in our country. Development of the mutual-aid and co-operative movement and constant development of the agricultural productive forces is the centre of the Party's work in the countryside.

Guided by the beacon of the general line for the transitional period, the socialist enthusiasm of the peasant masses soared to new heights and semi-socialist elementary agricultural co-operatives sprang up everywhere like bamboo shoots after rain. Confronted by this excellent situation, the No. 1 capitalist roader in the Party and his collaborators were thrown into a panic. They hurriedly issued orders and, exclaiming against "rashness," forced the peasants to "withdraw from the co-operatives and return to mutual-aid teams." A number of newly established elementary agricultural co-operatives were thus smothered at birth.

1955 saw a nationwide upsurge in agricultural cooperation in response to Chairman Mao's great call. But seizing the opportunity presented by Chairman Mao's absence from Peking, China's Khrushchev once again master-minded criminal activities against "rashness." In May of that year, he and another top Party person in authority taking the capitalist road concocted the reactionary policy of "holding up," contraction" and "checking up," and he personally ratified a plan for drastically slashing the number of co-operatives. In a little over two months, 200,000 co-operatives were dissolved in the country.

To this day, this Khrushchev of China adamantly refuses to admit his guilt. But there is so much conclusive evidence, no attempts at evasion

on his part will work. His hundred and one sly sophistries only serve to expose more fully his incorrigibly reactionary features and his heinous crimes.

Seeking "theoretical" grounds for his opposition to the agricultural co-operative movement, China's Khrushchev had recourse to the out-worn weapon of "the theory of productive forces" taken from the revisionist rubbish heap of his forerunners, Bernstein, Kautsky, Bukharin and their like. He declared: "Only with the nationalization of industry can large quantities of machinery be supplied the peasants, and only then will it be possible to nationalize the land and collectivize agriculture."¹⁰

His "theory" of "mechanization before co-operation" long ago went ignominiously bankrupt during the movement for the socialist transformation of agriculture. He denied the great revolutionary role of the masses, the main and most active factor in the productive forces. He completely negated such factors as the tremendously stimulating impact of the relations of production and the superstructure on the productive forces. According to his "theory", in countries where the productive forces are not yet well developed, the proletariat and the poor and lower-middle peasants, after winning victory in the democratic revolution, are not entitled to and should not turn the democratic revolution into the socialist revolution without delay; instead, they must let capitalism develop first. Without machinery, they deserve to be exploited by the capitalists and rich peasants.

If things had been done in accordance with his "theory," this would have led inevitably to the abandonment of both socialist agricultural co-operation and the socialist industrialization of our country.

If things had been done in accordance with his "theory," would the socialist revolutionary cause not have been forfeited long ago; would not our state of the dictatorship of the proletariat have been turned into a state of the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie?

It is quite obvious that "mechanization before co-operation" was nothing but a pretext used by China's Khrushchev to oppose the socialist transformation of agriculture and the socialist revolution. His criminal purpose was to develop capitalism in China's rural areas, let landlords, rich peasants, counter-revolutionaries, bad elements and the Rightists stage a come-back and make the masses of poor and lower-middle peasants beasts of burden for the landlords and rich peasants.

At the moment when the agricultural co-operative movement was facing strangulation by the No. 1 capitalist roader in the Party, our great leader Chairman Mao made his famous report, "On the Question of Agricultural Co-operation," and later wrote the preface and editor's notes to the book Socialist Upsurge in China's Countryside. In these epoch-making documents written with genius, Chairman Mao solved the problem of the socialist transformation of agriculture in a scientific, systematic and comprehensive way.

He has thus tremendously enriched and developed Marxism-Leninism and completely smashed, both in theory and in practice, the wild attacks by China's Khrushchev and company.

Chairman Mao spoke highly of the socialist enthusiasm of the broad masses of the peasants. He said with great warmth: "Daily and hourly throughout the countryside the socialist factors are increasing. The great majority of the peasants are demanding the formation of co-operatives. A large number of intelligent, capable, fair-minded and enthusiastic leaders are springing from the midst of the people. This is a very encouraging situation."

Chairman Mao denounced the opportunism of China's Khrushchev and others who vainly attempted to stem the tide of history. He penetratingly pointed out that "taking the stand of the bourgeoisie, of the rich peasants, or of the well-to-do middle peasants with their spontaneous tendency towards capitalism, they always think in terms of the interests of the few."

Chairman Mao has given a profound exposition of the dialectical relationship between agricultural collectivization and socialist industrialization and repudiated the absurd "theory" of "mechanization before co-operation" put forward by China's Khrushchev. Chairman Mao pointed out: "...with conditions as they are in our country co-operation must precede the use of big machinery (in capitalist countries agriculture develops in a capitalist way)." "...we must on no account regard industry and agriculture, socialist industrialization and the socialist transformation of agriculture as two separate and isolated things, and on no account must we emphasize the one and play down the other."

Chairman Mao's brilliant thesis solves this important problem of universal significance: In countries where industry is less developed, it is necessary and possible -- after the proletariat has led the democratic revolution to victory -- to turn the democratic revolution into the socialist revolution in good time and, relying on the powerful dictatorship of the proletariat, carry out socialist transformation of the ownership of the means of production and promote a leap forward in the social productive forces. While industry cannot provide agricultural machinery in large quantities, it is possible and necessary to arouse the socialist enthusiasm of the poor and lower-middle peasant masses and first accomplish the socialist collectivization of agriculture and develop agricultural production, thus paving the way for socialist industrialization and the mechanization of agriculture.

The evil wind of opportunism was stemmed and the healthy wind of socialism prevailed. Under the guidance of Chairman Mao's brilliant theories, the peasant households went into action in their tens of millions. The roaring waves of the great socialist revolution launched by the hundreds of millions of peasants quickly smashed and swept away the revisionist line of China's Khrushchev and his handful of monsters and demons. In this upheaval they were clearly exposed in their true colours as Right opportunists.

The great mass movement of agricultural co-operation swept forward with unprecedented speed and momentum. In just over a year, starting from the latter half of 1955, agricultural co-operation was achieved ahead of schedule all over the country and the socialist transformation of agriculture was in the main completed. Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line won a tremendous victory in the struggle between the two lines.

CHINA'S KHRUSHCHEV IS SOURCE OF THE SINISTER "SAN ZI YI BAO"

China's productive forces greatly increased after the basic completion of the socialist transformation of the ownership of the means of production. In 1958, inspired by the Party's general line for building socialism, which was worked out by Chairman Mao himself, a great leap forward took place in the national economy and a new form of social organization, the people's commune, appeared throughout the vast countryside. The establishment of people's communes all over the country was a leap forward to a new phase in agricultural collectivization and accelerated the collapse of the rural capitalist forces.

Our class enemies, however, were unreconciled to their failure. They harboured a violent hatred for the new victories of socialism in the rural areas and dreamt of nothing but restoring capitalism.

At the time when our national economy was encountering temporary difficulties as a result of the Khrushchev renegade clique's sabotage and three consecutive years of natural calamities, and when the imperialists, the modern revisionists and all the reactionaries were staging a big anti-China chorus, the handful of top Party capitalist roaders headed by China's Khrushchev thought it was time to restore the reactionary rule. They directed their flunkies, big and small, to launch a fierce all-out attack on socialism in the political, economic, ideological, cultural and other fields.

The No. 1 capitalist roader in the Party vilified the people's communes, saying, "the peasants have gained nothing from the collective economy in the last few years."¹¹ As a result of his incitement, a gust of sinister wind blew up in the rural areas -- the San Zi Yi Bao (the extension of plots for private use, the extension of free markets, the increase in the number of small enterprises with sole responsibility for their own profits or losses, and the fixing of output quotas on the basis of individual households). This was a big performance put on by him in a vain attempt to break up the people's communes and restore capitalism.

He went so far as to bluster: "Don't be afraid of capitalism running amok," "the free markets should continue to exist"¹² and "we must fall back as far as necessary both in industry and in agriculture, even to the extent of fixing output quotas based on the individual households and allowing individual farming!"¹³

Another top capitalist roader in the Party elaborated this in a more figurative way. He said: "So long as it raises output, 'going it alone' is permissible. Whether cats are white or black, so long as they can catch mice, they are good cats."

In a search for "bullets" with which to attack the proletarian revolutionary line of our great teacher, Chairman Mao, these two top capitalist roaders in the Party also sent out their lackeys in all directions to "investigate" the "experience of fixing output quotas based on the individual households."

The reactionary essence of the San Zi Yi Bao which they put forward was to disintegrate the collective economy of socialism, restore individual farming and give free rein to capitalism in the countryside, under the pretext of "increasing production."

As may be recalled, in order to carry out the San Zi Yi Bao, China's Khrushchev issued "instructions" and made "reports." How arrogant he was then! But now this big shot, who has "cultivated" himself to the very marrow of his bones, has the cheek to claim that he "did not attack" the people's communes during the three years of temporary difficulties.

The facts are all here, but he still tries to deny them. What effrontery!

The San Zi Yi Bao as advocated by China's Khrushchev catered to the needs of the capitalist forces in the countryside, encouraged the spontaneous capitalist tendency of the well-to-do peasants and gave the green light to speculators and new bourgeois elements. All kinds of devices for the restoration of capitalism made their appearance in the few places where "the fixing of output quotas based on the individual households" was forcibly carried out in accordance with the sinister instructions of China's Khrushchev. These included the "responsibility plots," "the allocation of land to individual households; and "the system of responsibility for fixed output quotas" which seriously affected and weakened the collective economy.

For a certain period when the evil wind of San Zi Yi Bao was blowing, the handful of counter-revolutionary revisionists under the wing of China's Khrushchev became supremely conceited thinking that, when all seemed lost, they had hit on a fine way of restoring capitalism. They chanted in high glee: "Just when you come to the edge of the mountain and the end of the river, and the road seems lost; a village appears with rows of willow trees and bright blossoms."

All this shows that the San Zi Yi Bao so vigorously advocated by China's Khrushchev was a gust of evil wind that brought together the urban and rural capitalist forces in a frantic attack against the socialist positions in the rural areas. It aimed to undermine the collective economy of the people's communes, to subvert socialism and to turn red China into a

land of darkness. This all-out effort to restore capitalism was intended to prepare the way for their usurpation of Party and state leadership.

They were not alone in this. The top capitalist roader in the Party was peddling in China exactly what Khrushchev and his successors Brezhnev and Kosygin and their like had done in the rural areas of the Soviet Union.

The chieftains of the Soviet revisionist renegade clique were very keen on "the principle of free marketing of products" and prohibited "administrative regulation" of market prices. They declared: "The level of profits should be made the basis for the objective assessment of the operations of collective and state farms." Time and again they relaxed the restrictions on private plots and connived at the private partitioning of public land. They allocated plots to teams and households on a large scale, and openly and "legally" advocated nationalized land to teams for long-term cultivation, allowing a family with only two, three or more able-bodied men to form such a team.

It is just under the rule of this kind of counter-revolutionary revisionist line that in the villages of the Soviet Union, the individual economy has run rampant, the socialist economy has completely collapsed and social polarization has grown steadily, with the rich becoming richer and the poor becoming poorer. There has been an all-round restoration of capitalism there.

Comrades, just think of the kind of situation that would have emerged in the rural areas of China if we had allowed the conspiracy of China's Khrushchev to succeed!

THE BIG STRUGGLE IN CONNECTION WITH THE SOCIALIST EDUCATION MOVEMENT

In the autumn of 1962, at the crucial juncture when the capitalist forces represented by China's Khrushchev were launching a ferocious attack against socialism, Chairman Mao himself convened the Tenth Plenary Session of the Eighth Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party, a session of great historic significance. Chairman Mao sharply criticized and repudiated the Right opportunist line of China's Khrushchev and checked the evil wind of capitalist restoration which the latter had stirred up.

At this session, Chairman Mao, issued his great call to the whole Party and the people throughout the country -- "never forget class struggle" -- and setting the great task -- "we must conduct socialist education" -- sounded the clarion call of the proletariat for an all-out counter-attack against the bourgeoisie. Like a thunder clap, it startled all the ghosts and monsters.

The socialist education movement in the rural areas, launched on Chairman Mao's instructions, was a revolution on the political and ideological

fronts, a deeper development of the socialist revolution in the rural areas in new historical conditions. In connection with this great revolutionary mass movement, too, a fierce struggle took place between Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line and the bourgeois reactionary line of China's Khrushchev.

The proletarian revolutionary line represented by Chairman Mao found concentrated expression in two great Marxist-Leninist documents drawn up under his personal leadership. They are "The Decision of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China on Some Problems in Current Rural Work" (that is, the ten-point decision) and "Some Current Problems Raised in the Socialist Education Movement in the Rural Areas; (that is, the 23-article document).

According to Chairman Mao's line, it is imperative to "grasp the class struggle as the key, grasp the struggle between the road of socialism and the road of capitalism as the key" to resolve "the contradiction between socialism and capitalism."

According to Chairman Mao's line, it is imperative to "rely on the working class, the poor and lower-middle peasants, the revolutionary cadres, the revolutionary intellectuals and other revolutionaries, and pay attention to uniting more than 95 per cent of the masses and more than 95 per cent of the cadres," in order to "wage a sharp, tit-for-tat struggle against the capitalist and feudal forces which are wildly attacking us."

According to Chairman Mao's line, "the main target of the present movement is those within the Party who are in authority and are taking the capitalist road." "Of those in authority taking the capitalist road, some act on the stage while the others operate from behind the scenes." Supporting these persons in authority "there are certain people at the higher levels -- at the commune, district, county, prefecture and even at the provincial level and in the central departments -- who are opposed to building socialism."

This Marxist-Leninist line hit the handful of top capitalist roaders in the Party headed by China's Khrushchev where it hurt and destroyed their fond dream of restoring capitalism. Finding the situation unfavourable, they resorted to counter-revolutionary double-faced tactics, took over the slogans of the socialist education movement and dished up a bourgeois reactionary line which was "Left" in form but Right in exence.

The one who stepped forward first was another top Party person in authority taking the capitalist road. That villain always colluded with China's Khrushchev in opposing the socialist revolution in the rural areas. He had participated in the big effort to cut down the number of co-operatives and in advocating the San Zi Yi Bao. And now he stepped forward once again. Just about four months after the "ten-point decision" on the great socialist education movement was published, he hurriedly concocted a "second ten-point decision (draft)" in direct opposition to the "ten-point decision."

Using the counter-revolutionary method of "removing the burning brands from under the boiling cauldron," the "second ten-point decision (draft)" negated the essential content of the struggle between the two classes and between the two roads and completely discarded the line, principles and policies concerning the socialist education movement which Chairman Mao had explicitly formulated in the "ten-point decision." On the pretext of setting out clear-cut "criteria for implementing specific policies," it used a hundred and one devices to absolve the capitalist forces in the rural areas, tie the masses hand and foot, and in every way protect the agents of the bourgeoisie within the Party. On the pretext of conducting "socialist education," it directed the spearhead of the struggle against the poor and lower-middle peasants. In producing this monstrous poisonous weed, that other top capitalist roader in the Party tried in vain to carry out the bourgeois reactionary line to stamp out the revolutionary flames of the socialist education movement which Chairman Mao himself had lit. This is just one of the many towering crimes perpetrated by that other top capitalist roader in the Party in opposing socialism and trying to restore capitalism.

Following this up closely, China's Khrushchev arranged for his wife Wang to go down and "work at a selected spot" and concoct her notorious "experience at the Taoyuan production brigade." He then brazenly advertised this "experience" and peddled it all over the country. He even hatched a "revised draft" of the "second ten-point decision (draft)," after altering and polishing this up in accordance with that "experience." This typical expression of the bourgeois reactionary line, "Left" in form and Right in essence, was a reactionary programme in opposition to Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line.

In producing this bourgeois reactionary line which was "Left" in form and Right in essence, China's Khrushchev was plotting to usurp the leadership of the socialist education movement and lead this great revolutionary movement astray. This was a big conspiracy hatched by him to savagely suppress the poor and lower-middle peasants and wrest power from the proletariat. For a time, in some places under his control and under the pernicious influence of this line, "Left" in form but Right in essence, quite a few poor and lower-middle peasants were branded "counter-revolutionaries" and stripped of their power. Serious damage was thus done to the fine fruits of the socialist education movement conducted under the guidance of Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line.

China's Khrushchev went to great lengths to bypass the cardinal issue of the contradiction between socialism and capitalism; instead, he glibly defined the nature of the socialist education movement as being "the contraction between being clean and being unclean on the four questions" (politics, ideology, organization, and the economy -- Tr.), and "the intertwining of the contradictions inside the Party and the contradictions outside the Party, or the intertwining of the contradictions between the enemy and ourselves on the one hand, and of the contradictions

among the people on the other," and so on and so forth. In playing this deceitful trick, China's Khrushchev wanted, firstly, to make the revolutionary people forget about the class struggle of the proletariat against the bourgeoisie and forget about the dictatorship of the proletariat, and, secondly, to direct the spearhead against the masses of poor and lower-middle peasants and against the large number of good and comparatively good cadres, so as to protect the handful of capitalist roaders in the Party from being exposed. It was a most vicious scheme.

China's Khrushchev was mortally afraid that the broad revolutionary masses and revolutionary cadres would be truly aroused and would grasp Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line and the Party's principles and policies. For this would mean exposure of his hirelings. Therefore, he chose the Kuomintang method of "tutelage" to suppress the masses, strike at the revolutionary cadres and take all the spirit out of the movement in a futile attempt to clamp the lid tight on the class struggle and turn the socialist education movement into a mere formality.

In the final analysis, the purpose of China's Khrushchev and his partners in writing off the struggle between the two roads, suppressing the masses and striking at the revolutionary cadres was to muddy the waters, confuse the class line-up, shift the target of the struggle and strike at the many, in order to shield the capitalist roaders in the Party and shield themselves.

This bourgeois reactionary line produced by China's Khrushchev, which was "Left" in form and Right in essence, was a line for bringing the socialist education movement into the orbit of capitalist restoration, a line for disintegrating the dictatorship of the proletariat and turning it into a dictatorship of the bourgeoisie.

As soon as this line was put forward, it met with resistance and opposition from the revolutionary masses and from broad sections of the revolutionary cadres. The publication of the historic "23-article document," which had been drawn up under Chairman Mao's personal leadership, announced the bankruptcy of this bourgeois reactionary line. Guided by Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line, the socialist education movement achieved great successes. The capitalist forces in the rural areas suffered telling blows. The people's communes were further consolidated and the positions of socialism in the rural areas were further strengthened. And the great proletarian cultural revolution that followed has carried the movement of the socialist revolution in the rural areas forward to a completely new stage.

**TAKE "FIGHT SELF-INTEREST, REPUDIATE REVISIONISM" AS
THE KEY, CARRY THE STRUGGLE BETWEEN THE TWO ROADS IN
THE COUNTRYSIDE THROUGH TO THE END**

Closely following the great helmsman Chairman Mao, the 500 million Chinese peasants have successfully navigated past hidden reefs and dangerous shoals, overcome evil winds and dense fogs and sailed along the socialist course in brilliant struggles over the last 18 years.

The history of the struggle between the two roads and the two lines in the rural areas during these 18 years has provided us with extremely rich experience. The following are among the most important points:

First, "socialist society covers a fairly long historical stage. In this stage, classes, class contradictions and class struggle continue, the struggle between the socialist road and the capitalist road continues and the danger of capitalist restoration remains." Since the overthrown landlords and rich peasants are never reconciled to their doom and are always attempting a come-back, and since the influence of the bourgeoisie, the force of habit of the old society and the spontaneous tendency of the small producers towards capitalism continue to exist in society, the class struggle in the rural areas has always been very complex and sharp, and extremely fierce at every turning point in history. The struggle between Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line and the bourgeois reactionary line of China's Khrushchev on the question of socialist revolution in the countryside is precisely the concentrated reflection of this struggle inside the Party. In order to persevere along the socialist road, the broad masses of poor and lower-middle peasants and revolutionary cadres must carry the struggle between the two lines inside the Party through to the end, thoroughly criticize and repudiate the bourgeois reactionary line of China's Khrushchev and liquidate its pernicious influence.

Second, the fundamental question in all revolutions is the question of political power. In the final analysis, the struggle between the two roads and between the two lines in the rural areas is the struggle between the consolidation of the dictatorship of the proletariat and its subversion. In order to attain their criminal aim of subverting the dictatorship of the proletariat under the new historical conditions of this dictatorship, the class enemy invariably adopts the methods of causing corruption, division and demoralization, of pulling out our cadres or s taking into our ranks, and of using both soft and hard tactics in seeking agents inside the Party. The handful of capitalist roaders in the Party are the principal and most dangerous enemies of the broad masses of poor and lower-middle peasants. And China's Khrushchev is their behind-the-scenes boss. The bourgeois reactionary line he obstinately pushed in the rural areas was a most important component of his counter-revolutionary scheme for restoring capitalism in China and turning the dictatorship of the proletariat into the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie. Should we permit the handful of capitalist roaders

in the Party to usurp state power, we would go backward and again be plunged into our old sufferings.

Third, after the realization of agricultural co-operation, the socialist revolution is not yet completed on the economic front. The struggle between the consolidation of the socialist system of collective ownership and the attempt to sabotage it remains an outstanding question. The enforcement of the San Zi Yi Bao on a large scale was an important measure adopted by the class enemy to corrode and disintegrate the socialist system of collective ownership. The proletariat and the poor and lower-middle peasants must use the tremendous power of the dictatorship of the proletariat to consolidate and develop the socialist system of collective ownership so as to take the road of a common prosperity.

Fourth, the broad masses of poor and lower-middle peasants are our social basis in the rural areas for the building of socialism. They are the force on which we rely for realizing the dictatorship of the proletariat in the rural areas. In order to restore capitalism in the rural areas, China's Khrushchev always persevered in the bourgeois class line of reliance on the landlords, rich peasants, counter-revolutionaries, bad elements and Rightists to hit at the poor and lower-middle peasants. We must act in opposition to this and persevere in the proletarian class line of reliance on the poor and lower-middle peasants and unity with the middle peasants throughout the historical period of socialism, so that the seals of power are held in the firm grip of those who persevere along the socialist road.

Fifth, "the serious problem is the education of the peasantry." "The basic task of political work" of the Party in the countryside "is constantly to imbue the peasant masses with a socialist ideology and to criticize the tendency towards capitalism." But China's Khrushchev desperately tried to hit at the socialist initiative of the peasants and put material incentives into active operation; he did his utmost to induce and utilize the spontaneous tendency towards capitalism, in order to serve the restoration of capitalism. It was a grave struggle to win leadership over the peasants in the ideological sphere. The peasant masses and the revolutionary cadres must place proletarian politics to the fore, persist in putting Mao Tse-Tung's thought in command and vigorously fight bourgeois "self-interest" while relentlessly repudiating the revisionism of China's Khrushchev, so as gradually to root out revisionism.

For 18 years, China's Khrushchev stubbornly stuck to his bourgeois reactionary stand, took the poor and lower-middle peasant masses as his enemy, and made trouble, failed, made trouble again, failed again till the current great proletarian cultural revolution brought about his doom. His bourgeois reactionary line against the socialist revolution in the countryside is likewise being swept into the dust-bin of history.

The struggle between the two roads and the two lines in the countryside must be carried through to the end. The great proletarian cultural

revolution in the vast countryside must be carried through to the end in the direction pointed out by Chairman Mao.

Let the great red banner of Mao Tse-tung's thought fly high for ever over China's countryside!

NOTES

1,2,4,6,7 "Instructions to An Tzu-wen and Others," January 23, 1950.

3 "Letter to Seventh Elder Sister," May 2, 1950.

5 "On the Question of Land Reform", June 14, 1950.

8 "Speech at a Session of the National Committee of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference," November 4, 1951.

9 "Comment on the Report Submitted by the Sansi Provincial Party Committee: 'Raise the Mutual-Aid Organizations in the Old Liberated Areas to a Higher Level,'" July 3, 1951.

10 "Speech at the Conference on Propaganda Work," May 7, 1951.

11 "Speech to Cadres Going to the Grass-Roots Level," July 18, 1962.

12 "Instructions on the Question of Prohibiting the Buying of Goods 'Through the Back Door,'" October 22, 1961.

13 Speech, June 1962.

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THOROUGHLY ESTABLISH THE ABSOLUTE AUTHORITY OF
THE GREAT SUPREME COMMANDER CHAIRMAN MAO
AND OF HIS GREAT THOUGHT

- Liquidate Lo Jui-ching's Heinous Crimes of Opposing Chairman Mao and Mao Tse-tung's Thought -

Following is a translation of an article by Yang Cheng-Wu in the Chinese-language periodical, Hung-ch'i (Red Flag), Peking, No 16, 23 Nov 67, pages 30-39

The Four Seas are rising, clouds and waters raging, The Five
Continents are rocking, wind and thunder roaring.

Mankind has entered the great new era of Mao Tse-tung's thought, the era in which imperialism is heading for total collapse and socialism is advancing to worldwide victory.

In this great era of ours, there are two banners in the world: one, the great, bright red banner of revolution held high by our great leader Chairman Mao, under which the proletariat of the whole world and all the revolutionary peoples are being rallied and are marching forward in triumph; and the other, the ragged black banner of counter-revolution propped up by U.S. imperialism and its accomplice, the Soviet gang of modern revisionists, under which all the imperialists modern revisionists and reactionaries are ganging up for a last-ditch fight. If you are a revolutionary, a Marxist-Leninist, you will inevitably support the great leader Chairman Mao and his ever-victorious thought; if you are a counter-revolutionary, an anti-Marxist-Leninist, you will inevitably oppose Chairman Mao and his thought.

In this great era of ours, the attitude taken towards Chairman Mao and towards the thought of Mao Tse-tung has become the most effective

touchstone distinguishing revolutionaries from counter-revolutionaries, genuine from fake revolutionaries, and Marxist-Leninists from counter-revolutionary revisionists; it has become the watershed dividing them.

Prompted by the needs of their scheme for a counter-revolutionary restoration, the handful of top Party persons in authority taking the capitalist road, headed by China's Khrushchev, madly opposed our most respected and beloved leader Chairman Mao and maliciously attacked the ever-victorious thought of Mao Tse-tung. Lo Jui-ching, that bourgeois conspirator and careerist, was an important member of the bourgeois headquarters lying hidden in the Party, an agent of China's Khrushchev. His cardinal crime is that over a long period he took his orders from China's Khrushchev, maliciously slandered Chairman Mao, attacked and distorted Mao Tse-tung's thought, opposed Chairman Mao's proletarian line in army-building, opposed Chairman Mao's military thinking, and opposed the establishing of the absolute authority of Chairman Mao and of Mao Tse-tung's thought. He did all this in a futile attempt to remould our proletarian army in the image of the bourgeoisie. Using the most powerful weapon of Mao Tse-tung's thought, we must, politically, ideologically and theoretically, penetratingly and thoroughly criticize and repudiate the top Party person in authority taking the capitalist road and his agents, Lo Jui-ching and company, completely discredit and overthrow them and clear away their pernicious influence. In the course of revolutionary mass criticism and repudiation, we must thoroughly establish the absolute authority of the great supreme commander Chairman Mao and the great thought of Mao Tse-tung.

**THOROUGHLY ESTABLISH THE ABSOLUTE AUTHORITY OF THE GREAT
SUPREME COMMANDER CHAIRMAN MAO; WE PLEDGE OUR LIVES
IN DEFENSE OF CHAIRMAN MAO'S POSITION AS SUPREME LEADER**

Marxist-Leninists have always held that proletarian revolutionary parties must have the leadership of the most experienced and outstanding leaders, great leaders who command the highest prestige, before they can bring to fruition the great cause of the communist revolution. Lenin pointed out: "The working class, which all over the world is waging a hard and persistent struggle for complete emancipation, needs authorities ...The proletarians of every country need the authority of the worldwide struggle of the proletariat."¹ He also said: "The training of experienced and influential party leaders is a long and difficult job. And without it the dictatorship of the proletariat, and its 'unity of will', remain a phrase."²

Chairman Mao is the very red sun that shines most brightly in our hearts. He is the great teacher, great leader, great supreme commander and great helmsman selected by the proletariat and the revolutionary people of China and the world in the course of their protracted revolutionary struggles. He is the authority of the world proletarian struggle in the present era. He has the most resolute and thoroughgoing proletarian

revolutionary spirit and the most ingenious and flexible skill in struggle. He has the most profound Marxist-Leninist wisdom and the richest experience in struggle. He has the greatest faith in the masses; he pays the greatest attention to the masses and most strongly supports their revolutionary movements. His heart beats in unison with the hearts of the revolutionary masses. He is most highly respected throughout China and the world. He has inherited, defended and developed Marxism-Leninism with genius, creatively and comprehensively and has brought it to a higher and completely new stage. Comrade Lin Piao always does his utmost to establish the absolute authority of Chairman Mao and of Mao Tse-tung's thought. Comrade Lin Piao has given the most correct, scientific and highest Marxist-Leninist evaluation of the all-illuminating thought of Mao Tse-tung. In the last few decades, he has consistently and faithfully defended, carried out and propagated the great thought of Mao Tse-tung, and he has heroically defended Chairman Mao's position as supreme leader. He points out that Chairman Mao is the representative of our era, of the Party, of the masses and of the proletariat, the leader and the very soul of the masses. Chairman Mao is the greatest Marxist-Leninist, the most outstanding proletarian leader and the greatest genius of our era.

Lo Jui-ching, that representative of the bourgeoisie who wormed his way into the Party, by his counter-revolutionary class stand, has long opposed our great leader Chairman Mao. As far back as the Second Revolutionary Civil War, he was a follower of Wang Ming's line. During the War of Resistance Against Japan, he collaborated in Peng Teh-huai's anti-Party activities. After China's liberation, he took part in the conspiratorial activities of the anti-Party alliance of Peng Teh-huai, Kao Kang and Jao Shu-shih. As the socialist revolution went deeper, he stepped up his activities against Chairman Mao. The people of China and the whole world have boundless love for Chairman Mao. But Lo Jui-ching brazenly and maliciously attacked Chairman Mao, vilified Mao Tse-tung's thought and Chairman Mao's great genius, and smeared the Party's general line, the big leap forward and the people's communes. These vile attacks exposed Lo Jui-ching's efforts to set going a counter-revolutionary adverse current against the Party, socialism and Mao Tse-tung's thought at home, in co-ordination with the frenzied anti-China activities of imperialism, revisionism and all reaction internationally! This revealed him as a counter-revolutionary revisionist vainly attempting to restore capitalism!

Marxists have always placed great weight on the personal genius of proletarian leaders, regarding it as an important aspect which must be considered in choosing leaders. To overlook this would make it impossible for them to select for their leader the greatest genius and helmsman of the proletariat. Engels spoke highly of the great genius of Marx. He said: "It is through him that we all are what we are; and it is through his theoretical and practical activity that the movement is what it is today; without him we would still be plunged in confusion."³ Lenin said that if the Russian revolution had a dozen or more talented leaders, it could be victorious. The statements, writings and practical revolutionary activities

of Chairman Mao demonstrate his great proletarian genius. He has solved a whole range of important theoretical and practical problems posed by the present-day communist movement and has scaled new peaks in the history of the development of Marxism. From the most commanding height, and with the greatest vision, he is the most capable of leading the revolutionary struggles of the masses to victory in extremely complicated and difficult circumstances. Comrade Lin Piao says that a genius like Chairman Mao appears in the world only once in hundreds of years, or in China only once in thousands of years. Chairman Mao is the world's greatest genius.

After the 20th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, Lo Jui-ching opposed all "mention of personal genius" and in doing so said that he was against "any further mention of personal genius." By this, he showed himself up as a fanciful follower, a faithful disciple, of Khrushchev who was "opposing the personality cult." In opposing our great leader Chairman Mao, Lo Jui-ching was playing the same trick as Khrushchev did in opposing Stalin.

All through the history of the international communist movement, it has been a habitual trick of both the old and new revisionists to use the slogan of "opposing the personality cult" to slander the leaders of the proletariat and undermine the proletarian cause. Bakunin, conspirator of the period of the First International, used the same kind of slogan to abuse Marx. Kautsky, renegade of the period of the Second International, used the same kind of slogan to abuse Lenin. Trotsky, renegade of the period of the Third International, used the same kind of slogan to abuse Stalin. The Khrushchev modern revisionist clique has used the same kind of slogan to oppose Stalin in a big way and has usurped leadership of the Party and state in the Soviet Union. They have been still more unscrupulous in using the slogan of "opposing the personality cult" to attack our great leader Chairman Mao, the greatest Marxist-Leninist of the present era. On the instructions of China's top Party person in authority taking the capitalist road, Lo Jui-ching echoed the Khrushchev modern revisionist clique, using similar slogans in viciously slandering and opposing Chairman Mao, the great leader of the revolutionary people of the whole world. It clearly shows that Lo Jui-ching is from the same litter as all the old and new revisionists throughout history, and a most despicable renegade to Marxism-Leninism, a most dangerous enemy of the proletarian revolutionary cause.

Lenin pointed out: "...to contrast, in general, the dictatorship of the masses with a dictatorship of the leaders is ridiculously absurd, and stupid. What is particularly amusing is that, in fact, ... new leaders are brought forth (under cover of the slogan 'down with the leaders!'), who talk rank stuff and nonsense."⁴ In desperately opposing Chairman Mao, Lo Jui-ching aimed precisely at pushing forward that sinister commander "who talks rank stuff and nonsense" -- China's Khrushchev -- in order to attain their criminal aim of usurping leadership of the Party, army and state. With ulterior motives he often used the term "two chairmen" to boost and laud the chief representative of the forces for a restoration of capitalism

in China. At a New Year's state gathering, he went so far as to cheer "long live" China's Khrushchev. In 1964, at a time when China's Khrushchev was making reports here, there and everywhere, vigorously opposing investigation and study advocated by Chairman Mao, and openly clamouring that Chairman Mao "step down" and "abdicate," Lo Jui-ching on many occasions misused the name of the Military Commission of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party and the General Political Department of the Chinese People's Liberation Army to draft directives instructing army units to study and discuss these sinister reports by China's Khrushchev. In the manuscript of a speech at the Third National People's Congress in 1965, Lo Jui-ching went still further in flagrantly putting China's Khrushchev on a par with Chairman Mao as leaders of the Party. We will never allow Lo Jui-ching and company to impose China's Khrushchev on the great Chinese Communist Party, the great Chinese people and the great Chinese People's Liberation Army.

Chairman Mao will always be our supreme leader, our supreme commander and the red sun shining most brightly in our hearts. Without him, there would not be the great Party we now have, nor our great army and great country; the Chinese people would have nothing, and the people of the world would find it impossible to achieve their liberation. The more frenziedly Lo Jui-ching and company oppose Chairman Mao, the more determined we are to give him our boundless love, confidence, esteem and loyalty. We will always follow him closely and thoroughly establish the absolute authority of our great supreme commander Chairman Mao. We pledge our lives to defend Chairman Mao's position as the supreme leader. Anyone who opposes Chairman Mao stands condemned by all of us, the whole Party; he will be denounced by all of us, the whole nation.

**THOROUGHLY ESTABLISH THE ABSOLUTE AUTHORITY OF THE GREAT
THOUGHT OF MAO TSE-TUNG; FIRMLY ESTABLISH
PROLETARIAN IDEOLOGICAL DOMINANCE**

Chairman Mao teaches us: "No political party can possibly lead a great revolutionary movement to victory unless it possesses revolutionary theory and a knowledge of history and has a profound grasp of the practical movement."⁵

Lenin pointed out: "There can be no strong socialist party without a revolutionary theory."⁶ He also said: "The world's greatest movement for liberation of the oppressed class, the most revolutionary class in history, is impossible without a revolutionary theory."⁷

Mao Tse-tung's thought is precisely the theoretical basis which guides the thinking of our great, glorious and correct Party, the Communist Party of China; it is the greatest proletarian revolutionary theory guiding the great revolutionary movement of our time; it is a universal truth that holds true for the whole world. Comrade Lin Piao has penetratingly pointed out: "Mao Tse-tung's thought is Marxism-Leninism of the era in which

imperialism is heading for total collapse and socialism is advancing to worldwide victory. It is a powerful ideological weapon for opposing imperialism and for opposing revisionism and dogmatism. Mao Tse-tung's thought is the guiding principle for all the work of the Party, the army and the country."⁸

The great thought of Mao Tse-tung is the biggest obstacle to all revisionists who scheme to carry out counter-revolutionary activities. The revisionists bitterly hate Mao Tse-tung's thought and are mortally afraid of it. They often adopt the counter-revolutionary double-faced tactics of sham support and real opposition with regard to the great, ever-victorious thought of Mao Tse-tung. It was so with Lo Jui-ching, the agent of China's Khrushchev. He emasculated the essence of Mao Tse-tung's thought, vilified Chairman Mao's great theses on classes, contradictions and class struggle in socialist society, and strenuously spread the theory of "the dying out of class struggle" advocated by China's Khrushchev. He opposed Chairman Mao's military thinking, distorted and perverted Chairman Mao's directive that people's militia be established on a solid basis organizationally, politically and militarily, opposed and sabotaged the strategic principle of active defence, and opposed Chairman Mao's brilliant thinking on people's war. He used the despicable method of eclecticism, that is, opportunism, in opposing the putting of proletarian politics to the fore, emasculating the essence of Mao Tse-tung's thinking on army-building and opposing the thorough establishment by our army of the absolute authority of the great thought of Mao Tse-tung. Comrade Lin Piao said that Mao Tse-tung's thought is "living Marxism-Leninism at its highest in our time."⁹ Lo Jui-ching, the counter-revolutionary revisionist, asserted nonsensically: "We cannot say that." Comrade Lin Piao declared that Chairman Mao's works should be regarded as the supreme directive in all work in our army. The counter-revolutionary revisionist Lo Jui-ching raved that this "does not conform to our state system."

The great thought of Mao Tse-tung is developed Marxism-Leninism; it is Marxism-Leninism at its highest level. It has solved a series of important problems facing the international communist movement, problems which earlier Marxist-Leninists either never encountered, or having encountered left unsolved, or were unable to solve in their time. In particular, Mao Tse-tung's thought has solved the question of continuing to make revolution and preventing the restoration of capitalism under the dictatorship of the proletariat. It has ushered in a completely new era in the history of the development of Marxism-Leninism -- the era of Mao Tse-tung's thought. None of the earlier Marxist-Leninists personally, at the very forefront, directed so many important political and military campaigns as Chairman Mao. And none of them experienced such protracted, complicated, sharp and diverse struggles as Chairman Mao has. Chairman Mao's thought is the highest generalization and the most up-to-date summing up of the experience of China's revolution and of the international communist movement. Where can one find theory at such a high level or thought of such maturity, either in ancient times or in the present era, in China or elsewhere?

Comrade Lin Biao says: "China is a great socialist state of the dictatorship of the proletariat and has a population of 700 million. It needs unified thinking, revolutionary thinking, correct thinking. That is Mao Tse-tung's thought."¹⁰ How out-and-out reactionary Lo Jui-ching was to cite the "state system" to oppose our army taking Chairman Mao's works as the supreme directive! Chairman Mao teaches us that the question of the state system "is simply a question of the status of the various social classes within the state."¹¹ The bourgeoisie assumes the ruling status in a state under the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie; and the proletariat assumes the ruling status in a state under the dictatorship of the proletariat. This dominance prevails not only in the political and economic fields, but in a certain sense, and an even more important sense, in the ideological field. Historically, every class which acquires the ruling position establishes the ideological dominance of its own class in order to consolidate its political and economic system. Dominance of the landlord class ideology is established in a feudal society. Dominance of bourgeois ideology is established in a capitalist society. After seizing state power, the proletariat must break completely not only with the old system of ownership, but also with traditional ideas, so as to solidly establish the dominance of proletarian ideology. Mao Tse-tung's thought marks a completely new stage in the development of Marxism-Leninism. Ideological dominance by the proletariat in our era means the dominance of Mao Tse-tung's thought. It means Mao Tse-tung's thought occupying all positions. Mao Tse-tung's thought is our very life-line. In seizing state power we relied on Mao Tse-tung's thought. Otherwise, our victories in the sphere of political power and the economic sphere, the fruits of our 28-year democratic revolution and of our socialist revolution and socialist construction during the past 18 years might all be lost overnight. Therefore, to take Mao Tse-tung's thought as our supreme directive and establish the absolute authority of Mao Tse-tung's thought are for us inviolable principles, absolutely vital principles. This is precisely what the state system of the dictatorship of the proletariat demands of us. Failure to take Mao Tse-tung's thought as the supreme directive or to establish the dominance of Mao Tse-tung's thought would mean undermining the state system of the dictatorship of the proletariat. The counter-revolutionary revisionist Lo Jui-ching put forward his so-called "theory of non-conformity with the state system" precisely for this criminal conspiratorial purpose.

The great Chinese People's Liberation Army is the strongest pillar of the dictatorship of the proletariat. The invincible thought of Mao Tse-tung, the soul of the People's Liberation Army, is fundamental to the building of our army. The fundamental factor determining the proletarian nature of our army and the absolute guarantee that it will always uphold its bright red banner is to use Mao Tse-tung's thought to command our army and he desperately opposed the establishment of the absolute authority of Mao Tse-tung's thought. Yet, at the same time, he tried hard to peddle in the army the sinister book on "self-cultivation." He boosted that book as one that "combines Marxism-Leninism with the practice of China's revolution"

and issued orders that the whole army should take it as compulsory reading, "study it seriously and repeatedly," study and apply it in a creative way" and "make self-examinations as prescribed by this book." He vainly tried in every way to establish the "authority" of China's Khrushchev. He vainly tried his utmost to corrupt and destroy us bit by bit by means of counter-revolutionary revisionist and bourgeois ideology so that the Party and the state leadership would be usurped by the handful of top Party persons in authority taking the capitalist road, headed by China's Khrushchev. His vicious intentions are perfectly clear.

The history of China's revolution over the past decades is eloquent proof that when Mao Tse-tung's thought occupies the leading position in the Party and in the army, the revolutionary cause develops and wins victory; but when its leading position is undermined, the revolutionary cause suffers setbacks and defeats; should its leading position even be interfered with, that too brings very big losses. The struggle of the world's revolutionary people in the present era also proves that only when tasks are done in accordance with Mao Tse-tung's thought can victory be won. For China to be prosperous and the world's people liberated, we must rely on the great, invincible thought of Mao Tse-tung.

Lenin once said that we need an authoritative theory in the world communist movement. The great thought of Mao Tse-tung is the theoretical authority of the communist movement in the present era. The more frantically Lo Jui-ching and company oppose and hate Mao Tse-tung's thought, the more deeply will we love it and the more firmly will we believe it, rely upon it, study it, propagate it, put it into practice and defend it; the higher will we hold the great red banner of Mao Tse-tung's thought, and use it to command, analyse, criticize and assess and remould everything. We will firmly support everything that conforms to Mao Tse-tung's thought and act in accordance with it, and even if the task demands that we climb a mountain of swords or cross an ocean of flames, it must be done. Anything that runs counter to the thought of Mao Tse-tung we must firmly reject and oppose and struggle resolutely against right to the end. The absolute authority of the great thought of Mao Tse-tung must be thoroughly established throughout the Party, the army, the country and the world. The whole Party, the whole army and the whole country must firmly establish the dominance of proletarian ideology.

THE MASS MOVEMENT FOR THE CREATIVE STUDY AND APPLICATION OF
CHAIRMAN MAO'S WORKS IS THE FUNDAMENTAL WAY TO THOROUGHLY
ESTABLISH THE ABSOLUTE AUTHORITY OF THE GREAT SUPREME
COMMANDER CHAIRMAN MAO AND HIS GREAT THOUGHT

Chairman Mao teaches us: "Ideological education is the key link to be grasped in uniting the whole Party for great political struggles. Unless this is done, the Party cannot accomplish any of its political tasks."¹² He also says: "Soldiers are the foundation of an army; unless

they are imbued with a progressive political spirit, and unless such a spirit is fostered through progressive political work, it will be impossible to achieve genuine unity between officers and men, impossible to arouse their enthusiasm for the War of Resistance to the full, and impossible to provide a sound basis for the most effective use of all our technical equipment and tactics."13

Imbuing the masses with Marxism-Leninism, Mao Tse-tung's thought, so that the hundreds of millions of the revolutionary masses are armed with Mao Tse-tung's thought and become conscious and heroic fighters dedicated to the cause of communism -- this is the fundamental guarantee for consolidating the dictatorship of the proletariat, carrying the socialist revolution through to the end and preventing a capitalist restoration; this is the fundamental guarantee for the complete burial of all systems of exploitation, and for the worldwide triumph of communism.

The class enemy is fully aware that dissemination and inculcation of Marxism-Leninism among the masses pose a mortal threat to his very existence. From Metternich of the 19th-century Austrian Empire, to U.S. imperialism, the world's gendarme in this century; from Bernstein and Kautsky, renegades of the Second International, right down to Brezhnev and Kosygin, the ring-leaders of the Khrushchev revisionist clique of the present time, all greatly fear the dissemination and inculcation of Marxism-Leninism and implacably oppose it. For the last hundred and fifty years, the dissemination and inculcation of Marxism has been an extremely sharp and complicated class struggle.

In opposing the dissemination and inculcation of Marxism-Leninism, the class enemy resorts to every base means of vilification and deception, in addition to the use of police truncheons and imprisonment. China's Khrushchev and his agent Lo Jui-ching did just the same in opposing the dissemination of Mao Tse-tung's thought.

Police truncheons and imprisonment are the main methods of the enemy. When the enemy is in a ruling position, whoever reads Marxist books is thrown into prison, or gets his head cut off. The enemy is panic-stricken when he sees a copy of Quotations From Chairman Mao Tse-tung or a Chairman Mao badge, and sends for armed troops and police to carry out searches, arrests and beatings. Although they dared not act in this frenzied way, China's Khrushchev and his agent Lo Jui-ching, abusing the positions they usurped, audaciously did all they could to try to prevent and sabotage the dissemination of Mao Tse-tung's thought. Lo Jui-ching forbade the wide propagation of quotations from Chairman Mao. He rebuked Jiefangjun Bao (Liberation Army Daily) for "carrying too many quotations from Chairman Mao." On the pretext that too much printed matter had been distributed to the army companies, he refused to allow the distribution of Chairman Mao's instructions to the fighters in printed form. He also did everything he could to oppose the dissemination of Mao Tse-tung's thought among the people of the world. Mao Tse-tung's thought is not only the guide for

the revolution of the Chinese people, but also for the revolution of the people of the world. In supporting the revolutions of the peoples of all countries, our most fundamental and important support is to make Mao Tse-tung's thought available to them. By opposing the dissemination of Mao Tse-tung's thought among the people of the world, Lo Jui-ching was totally betraying the world revolution.

Bourgeois hacks and opportunists of all stripes used to slander Marxism-Leninism and deceive the working people. They play a role which cannot be played by police truncheons and prisons. At the end of the 19th century the Russian advocates of economism used the trick of worship of spontaneity to oppose the dissemination and inculcation of Marxism among the masses of the workers. At the beginning of the 20th century, Hu Shih, a hack scholar of the Chinese bourgeoisie, used the deceptive slogan of "study more problems and talk less isms" to prevent the spread of Marxism-Leninism in China. Like the old-line revisionists and the bourgeois hack scholars, China's Khrushchev also tried his best to peddle economism, alleging that "the principle of the working-class movement should be the carrying out of economic struggles in different forms." Lo Jui-ching also used the same method. On the one hand he slandered as "dogmatism" the creative study and application of Chairman Mao's works, openly clamouring that "there is much dogmatism in China, and in the army, too," which meant in the first place that one should not study, and if one did, it would be useless. On the other hand he spread eclectic nonsense, saying that "military affairs are politics." He used big displays of military skills to push aside the mass movement for the creative study and application of Chairman Mao's works, and vainly attempted to lead the army on to the wrong path of the purely military point of view. Marxism-Leninism, Mao Tse-tung's thought, is not a product of spontaneity. Unless the proletariat studies theory, it will have no socialist and communist ideas. Lenin pointed out that "all worship of the spontaneity of the working-class movement" meant "a strengthening of the influence of bourgeois ideology upon the workers." The purpose of Lo Jui-ching in so doing was to divorce our army from the guidance of Mao Tse-tung's thought, to have it duped and manipulated by bourgeois ideology, to make it pay attention only to purely military technique and routine affairs and forget the basic interests of the proletariat. His purpose was to corrupt and disintegrate our army with bourgeois ideology in order to realize the aim of a counter-revolutionary restoration.

The victory of Marxism in the field of theory forced its enemy to cloak himself with Marxism and wave "red flags" to oppose the red flag. The old-line revisionists of the Second International and the Khrushchev modern revisionist clique invariably follow this procedure in dealing with Marxism and Leninism. China's Khrushchev, out of the same motive, behaved exactly as they did. Under the pretext of learning from Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin, he opposed learning from Chairman Mao. Superficially, his agent Lo Jui-ching issued instructions that high-ranking cadres should only study the works of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin. This was a complete fraud. His aim in fact was to oppose the study of Chairman Mao's

works. Mao Tse-tung's thought is one and identical with Marxism-Leninism; it is Marxism-Leninism at a higher level of development. In our era, the study of Mao Tse-tung's thought is the best way to study Marxism-Leninism. But China's Khrushchev and his agent Lo Jui-ching tried to forcibly separate the two and set them one against the other. They played base tricks such as Lenin described: "During the lifetime of great revolutionaries, the oppressing classes constantly hounded them, received their theories with the most savage malice, the most furious hatred and the most unscrupulous campaigns of lies and slander. After their death, attempts are made to convert them into harmless icons, to canonize them, so to say, and to hallow their names to a certain extent for the 'consolation' of the oppressed classes and with the object of duping the latter."¹⁴ China's Khrushchev and his agent Lo Jui-ching prescribed that only the original works of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin should be studied. Their aim, just like that of the enemies of Marxism whom Lenin described, was to convert those late great revolutionaries into harmless icons for "consoling" and duping the masses. As to Chairman Mao, the greatest proletarian revolutionary of our time, and as to Mao Tse-tung's thought, our era's living Marxism-Leninism at its highest, they resorted to frantic slanders, attacks, adulteration and distortion. This fully exposed their hideous features in using every trick to prevent the spread of Mao Tse-tung's thought and to stifle the mass movement for the creative study and application of Chairman Mao's works.

Comrade Lin Piao, close comrade-in-arms of our great leader Chairman Mao, has applied Mao Tse-tung's thought to summing up the historical experience of social development and of the international communist movement. In face of the fact that the enemy both at home and abroad, especially the handful of top Party persons in authority taking the capitalist road, resorted to frantic attacks against Mao Tse-tung's thought, he showed amazing courage and determination in unswervingly and actively initiating the mass movement for the creative study and application of Chairman Mao's works throughout the army, the Party and the country, and making every effort to push it ahead. This opened a broad road for hundreds of millions of people to grasp Mao Tse-tung's thought directly and created the basic way to thoroughly establish the absolute authority of the great supreme commander Chairman Mao and of the great thought of Mao Tse-tung. He has given the most comprehensive, penetrating and incisive explanation of the significance of the mass movement for the creative study and application of Chairman Mao's works. He has called upon the entire Party, entire army and people of the whole country to learn and master Mao Tse-tung's thought truly without fail, study Chairman Mao's writings, follow his teachings, act according to his instructions and be his good fighters. He has stressed the necessity of using Mao Tse-tung's thought to unify the thinking of the entire Party and of the people of the whole country and to turn China into a great school of Mao Tse-tung's thought. He has put forward a whole series of principles and methods of study: to study with specific problems in mind, study and apply in a creative way, combine study with application, first study what must be urgently applied so as to get quick results and strive hard to apply what one is studying. This is a great pioneering

undertaking which has made it possible to popularize and disseminate Marxism-Leninism, Mao Tse-tung's thought throughout China and the world on an unprecedented scale, and thus bring about a mighty movement to revolutionize ideology -- a movement unprecedented in scale in the history of the international communist movement.

Chairman Mao teaches us: "It is man's social being that determines his thinking. Once the correct ideas characteristic of the advanced class are grasped by the masses, these ideas turn into a material force which changes society and changes the world."¹⁵

Under the direct leadership of Comrade Lin Biao, the commanders and fighters of the whole army have launched a widespread, deep-going mass campaign to study and apply Chairman Mao's works in a creative way. Their political consciousness has reached the highest level ever, and tremendous achievements have been made in their ideological revolutionization. Lei Feng, Ouyang Hai, Wang Chieh, Mai Hsien-teh, Liu Ying-chun and others have emerged as Chairman Mao's good fighters. A generation of new, communist men is rapidly growing up, and advanced collectives are coming to the fore in large numbers. The fighting strength of our army is greater than ever. Our country's national defence sciences are forging ahead at astonishing speed. Explosions of the atom bomb, the hydrogen bomb and the guided missile nuclear weapon have been conducted with success. In response to Chairman Mao's great call to "learn from the People's Liberation Army," the people throughout the country have launched a vigorous mass movement for the creative study and application of Chairman Mao's works. Never before have the masses -- in their hundreds of millions -- been in such high spirits and been fired with such tremendous enthusiasm. There have been continuous leaps forward in industry and bumper harvests year after year. Science and technology have scaled one new height after another. The mass movement for the creative study and application of Chairman Mao's works by the entire Party, entire army and the people throughout the country has entered a completely new stage during the great proletarian cultural revolution. Under the leadership of the proletarian headquarters headed by Chairman Mao and with the invincible thought of Mao Tse-tung as their weapon and taking "fight self, repudiate revisionism" as the key link, they have launched a mass campaign to criticize and repudiate and struggle against the bourgeois headquarters headed by China's Khrushchev, and have put to rout the handful of Party persons in authority taking the capitalist road. This has greatly promoted the ideological revolutionization of the entire Party, entire army and the people throughout the country. Our big country, with a quarter of the world's population, is being turned into a great red school of Mao Tse-tung's thought.

The study of Chairman Mao's works by the revolutionary people of the world has become an irresistible trend. More and more revolutionary people have grasped Mao Tse-tung's thought and a new situation in the world revolution has come into being. The flames of armed struggle are spreading in Vietnam, Laos, Indonesia, Burma, Thailand, India, the whole Southeast Asia, Africa and Latin America. There is a new awakening of the

of the working class of Western Europe and North America. Afro-Americans have heroically taken up arms, and revolutionary shots have been fired within the No. 1 stronghold of reaction in the world. The revolutionary people in the revisionist countries are gradually seeing more clearly that the revisionist ruling cliques are renegades, and will certainly rise and overthrow their rule.

Facts without number provide eloquent proof that once the great thought of Mao Tse-tung is grasped by hundreds of millions of people, it becomes an inexhaustible force for transforming society and the world and a spiritual atom bomb of infinite power. The road opened up by Comrade Lin Piao for the creative study and application of Chairman Mao's works is absolutely correct, and has brought great results. With the greatest resolve and perseverance, we shall constantly push to new heights the mass movement for the creative study and application of Chairman Mao's works throughout the country and the world, and thoroughly establish the absolute authority of the great supreme commander Chairman Mao and his great thought.

**THOROUGHLY ESTABLISHING ABSOLUTE AUTHORITY OF GREAT SUPREME
COMMANDER CHAIRMAN MAO AND HIS GREAT THOUGHT IS THE PARAMOUNT
AND MOST GLORIOUS TASK ENTRUSTED US BY OUR ERA**

It is no isolated event that China's Khrushchev and his bourgeois agents in the Party, government, army and cultural circles conducted criminal activities against the absolute authority of Chairman Mao and Mao Tse-tung's thought. It is a component of the revisionist adverse current in the present international communist movement.

In his history of development of Marxism, each time Marxism scores a historic victory and advances to a new stage, all opportunists without exception join forces to attack and vilify the leaders of the proletariat and their great thinking. In this sense, the history of the international communist movement is a history of struggles between efforts to establish the authority of the leaders of the proletariat and their thinking and efforts to counter this.

After defeating all manner of schools of "socialism," Marx and his close comrade-in-arms Engels founded Marxism and won very high respect among the proletariat, thus initiating the international communist movement. Engels dedicated the whole of his life to energetically establishing the authority of Marx and Marxism, bringing about a vigorous development of the international communist movement. After Engels' death, the ringleaders of the Second International, Bernstein and Kautsky, openly betrayed Marx and Marxism and led the international communist movement astray. Lenin smashed the revisionism of the Second International, revived the revolutionary spirit of Marxism, and raised Marxism to the stage of Leninism, winning the profound respect of the revolutionary people of Russia and the rest of the world; he founded the first great socialist country and opened a new era in the international communist movement. After Lenin's death, in

defense of Leninism, Stalin smashed the frantic offensives by Trotsky and Bukharin. However, soon after Stalin's death, the Khrushchev modern revisionist clique trampled underfoot the banner of the great Lenin and brought about a restoration of capitalism in the first socialist country of the world, thus causing a shocking major tragedy in the current international communist movement.

The historical experience of the international communist movement has proved that once the authority of the leader of the proletariat and his thinking of genius is established, this will carry the revolutionary cause of the proletariat forward with giant strides; and that if this authority is not adequately established or is tampered with, the revolutionary cause of the proletariat will suffer loss. And whenever this authority is sabotaged by all sorts of opportunists, a big retrogression in the revolutionary cause of the proletariat results.

The world has now entered the new era which has Mao Tse-tung's thought as its great banner. The establishment in a thoroughgoing way of the absolute authority of the great supreme commander Chairman Mao and the great thought of Mao Tse-tung is the key to the success of the revolutionary cause of the proletariat. It is a matter of the first importance that concerns the destiny of the people of China and of the world. It is the great and most glorious task which our era has entrusted us.

With the firmest revolutionary tenacity, Comrade Lin Piao, closet comrade-in-arms of our great supreme commander Chairman Mao, has defeated all kinds of sabotage and interference by the class enemy and thoroughly established the absolute authority of the great supreme commander Chairman Mao and his great thought. He has done this in accordance with Chairman Mao's theory on classes and class struggle during the period of socialism, in the light of the grave struggle between the two lines within the Party, and in accordance with the historical lessons of the dictatorship of the proletariat in the international sphere. This is Comrade Lin Piao's outstanding contribution to the international communist movement. Comrade Lin Piao has made the most comprehensive, correct and scientific appraisal of Chairman Mao and Mao Tse-tung's thought. He has called on the entire Party, army and people of China to unite around Chairman Mao and Mao Tse-tung's thought. He actively initiated the mass movement for people throughout the country to creatively study and apply Chairman Mao's works and has done his utmost to promote this. He has also encouraged this great movement throughout the world. He has consistently implemented Mao Tse-tung's thought in the most faithful, resolute and thoroughgoing manner. By his great practice, he has set us a brilliant example in thoroughly establishing the absolute authority of the great supreme commander Chairman Mao and his great thought.

We have been honoured with the great historical task of thoroughly establishing the absolute authority of the great supreme commander Chairman Mao and his great thought. Resolutely responding to Comrade Lin Piao's

great call, we shall enhance our political consciousness a thousand-fold, ten thousand-fold in thoroughly establishing the absolute authority of the great supreme commander Chairman Mao and the great thought of Mao Tse-tung, and advance the mass movement for the creative study and application of Chairman Mao's works to a new stage. We shall increase our combat power a thousand-fold, ten thousand-fold, in repulsing sabotage of the absolute authority of the great supreme commander Chairman Mao and the great thought of Mao Tse-tung by the enemy, at home and abroad. We shall strive to fulfill this great and most glorious task entrusted to us by history and plant the great red banner of the ever-victorious and brilliant thought of Mao Tse-tung all over China and the world!

NOTES

¹ V. I. Lenin, "Preface to the Russian Translation of K. Kautsky's Pamphlet," Collected Works, Vol. 11, p. 412.

² Lenin, "A Letter to the German Communists," Collected Works, Vol. 32, p. 517.

³ F. Engels: "To W. Liebknecht," Reminiscences of Marx and Engels, p. 344.

⁴ Lenin, "'Left-Wing' Communism -- An Infantile Disorder," Collected Works, Vol. 31, p. 43.

⁵ "The Role of the Chinese Communist Party in the National War," Selected Works of Mao Tse-tung, Eng. ed., Foreign Languages Press, Peking, 1965, Vol. 2, p. 208.

⁶ Lenin, "Our Programme," Collected Works, Vol. 4, p. 211.

⁷ Lenin, "The Voice of an Honest French Socialist," Collected Works, Vol. 21, p. 354.

⁸ Vice-Chairman Lin Piao's "Foreword to the Second Edition of Quotations from Chairman Mao Tse-tung," December 16, 1966.

⁹ Vice-Chairman Lin Piao's directive on the arrangement of political education in 1965, December, 1964.

¹⁰ Vice-Chairman Lin Piao's letter on the creative study and application of Chairman Mao's works on the industrial and communications front, March 11, 1966.

¹¹ "On New Democracy," Selected Works of Mao Tse-tung, Vol. 2, p. 351.

12 "On Coalition Government," Selected Works of Mao Tse-tung, Eng. ed., Foreign Languages Press, Peking, 1965, Vol. 3, p. 315.

13 "On Protracted War," Selected Works of Mao Tse-tung, Vol. 2, p. 185.

14 Lenin, "The State and Revolution," Collected Works, Vol. 25, p. 385.

15 Mao Tse-tung, Where Do Correct Ideas Come From? Eng. ed., Foreign Languages Press, Peking, 1966, p. 1.

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STUDY CLASSES FOR MAO TSE-TUNG'S THOUGHT BASED ON
THREE-WAY COMBINATION ARE VERY GOOD INDEED

Following is a translation of an unsigned article in the Chinese-language periodical, Hung-ch'i (Red Flag), Peking, No 16, 23 Nov 67, pages 40-41.⁷

After broadcasting the experience of the study classes for Mao Tse-tung's thought of the August 18 United Committee of the provincial Party and government mass organizations in Tsignhai to the whole country, they have further summed up the previous study results through holding mass forums. All are unanimously of the opinion that study classes based on three-way combination--with the participation of responsible persons of revolutionary mass organizations, revolutionary leading cadres and PLA cadres supporting the Left--are superior in many respects.

1. Such classes are convenient for people to help and learn from each other for common advancement. With the revolutionary masses, revolutionary cadres and PLA comrades studying together, they can make up their own shortcomings with the merits of other people, enlighten each other, and promote conscious revolution. PLA men are asked to tell their experience whenever there are ideological problems which cannot be solved, and this gives greater courage for promoting self-revolution. Those who expose and combat self-interest with greater success are regarded as teachers, and people learn from them. The masses are thus able to do a better job in educating themselves. Taking the form of three-way combination to combat self-interest yields faster and greater results.

2. Such classes are of advantage to the promotion of mutual understanding, the removal of misunderstanding and the promotion of close relationship between the cadres and the masses. With the cadres, the PLA and the masses living and studying together, they promote, learn from and help each other, use the thought of Mao Tse-tung to unify understanding, and fiercely combat "self-interest". Any problem is easy to solve and this also facilitates the cultivation of class feeling.

The responsible persons of the revolutionary mass organization said: "Although our relationship with the revolutionary leading cadres was one between the higher and lower level in the past, yet we did not understand each other. Now we study together, expose and combat self-interest together, talk to each other and understand each other. We have come to see the merits of the cadres, and our relationship with them has also improved." "When the cadres made mistakes in the past, they were antagonistic to the revolutionaries. We dared not draw close to the cadres although we wanted to do so because we had no knowledge of them and we were beset with this or that kind of fear. Having made ideological contact with them, we now dare to draw close and liberate the cadres. The activism and initiative of the cadres are also higher, and quite a number of them look like entirely different persons before and after study."

Some revolutionary cadres said: "Prior to our coming to join the study class we were ready for the purge and thought that we would be regarded as living targets for typical criticism and repudiation. Later, we found out that the revolutionaries made living study and application of Chairman Mao's latest instruction, took the initiative to expose and combat self-interest, and held great hope for the cadres. This stimulated us to lay bare our own erroneous way of thinking, and the assistance of other people also gave us enough confidence in rectifying our mistakes."

3. Such classes can promote revolutionary three-way combination. Through study, exposing and combating self-interest and promoting mutual understanding the cadres are better understood and class feelings are established, thus laying down the ideological foundation for revolutionary three-way combination. If separate study classes were held, the revolutionary masses and the revolutionary cadres would not see each other and the two would not cross swords ideologically. Study classes run on the basis of three-way combination have speeded up ideological combination, and it is relatively easy to bring about organizational combination. Right now, a new surging tide is brewing for the further consolidation and development of the revolutionary great alliance and the revolutionary three-way combination in study classes.

4. The good thinking, good style and good experience of the Liberation Army can be learned face to face. According to their reflection, only lip service was paid to, but no concrete measures were taken to implement, learning from the Liberation Army. Now that they are living, studying and chatting with the Liberation Army under the same roof, and are studying face to face with it, they can see and learn from it everywhere. Quite a number of responsible persons of the revolutionary mass organizations said: "In this way we can learn directly from the Liberation Army its good experience in making living study and application of Chairman Mao's writings, in transforming its world outlook and in grasping living ideas as well as its 'three-eight' working style, thus strengthening our organizational discipline and changing our work style."

5. Experience can be gained and lessons learned through summing up the mistakes committed by cadres for the education of proletarian revolutionaries. With the revolutionary cadres and the revolutionary masses studying together and summing up experiences and lessons--especially the lessons of mistakes committed by cadres--side by side, the young people are educated in a big way and they can guard against repeating such mistakes or make less mistakes.

6. The airs and graces of the cadres can be eliminated and a new working style established. Everybody is equal in a study class, and a leading cadre, no matter how high his rank is, can take no exception and is regarded as an ordinary soldier in the ranks. This is something which could not be carried out in the past. The responsible person of a revolutionary mass organization said: "In the past, some high-ranking cadres who were divorced from the masses over a long period of time often put on airs, and were fond of admonishing people. Things are different now, and the cadres voluntarily attend class and live together with the masses. The style of thinking and work of the cadres has changed. The masses find the cadres amicable and are fond of heeding what they say."

7. Through studying together with the revolutionary masses and the revolutionary cadres, the PLA men have acquired a stronger knowledge of the struggle between the two classes and the two lines and shown stronger determination in supporting the Left. Some comrades supporting the Left are of the opinion that through studying and living together with the revolutionaries, they have understood them better, cherished a deeper affection for them, acquired a more concrete understanding of the struggle between the two lines, and supported them with greater determination.

8. The running of studying classes is also a good way to promote war preparedness because culture is taught and military training given in such classes. The PLA men go deep among the masses, and they are pupils as well as cultural and military instructors. With each person leading a number of persons, everybody will learn some military knowledge. In this way, once China is invaded, hundreds of millions of the masses can take up arms and bury the invading enemies in the vast sea of people's war.

CSO: 3530-D

**A GOOD WAY TO COMBAT SELF-INTEREST AND CRITICIZE AND
REPUDIATE REVISIONISM**

- An Investigation Into the Activity of "One Helping Another
to Form a Red Pair" Carried out by a certain Company of
the Armed Force Units in Peking -**

**√Following is a translation of an unsigned article
in the Chinese-language periodical, Hung-ch'i (Red
Flag), Peking, No 16, 23 Nov 67, pages 47-48.7**

Early in 1963, for the sake of further implementing Vice Chairman Lin Piao's "four firsts" principle and his directive concerning the creation of four-good companies and five-good fighters, a certain company of the armed force units in Peking carried out the activity of "one helping another to form a red pair."

"One helping another to form a red pair" means the formation of pairs on a voluntary basis by five-good fighters and non-five-good fighters, Party members and non-Party members, old fighters and new fighters within the scope of the squad for the purposes of making living study and application of Chairman Mao's writings together, helping and learning from each other, endeavoring to become good in five respects together, and realizing ideological revolutionization.

Over the past five years, this activity has been carried out under the active leadership of the Party branch attached to the company unit. As old fighters are demobilized and new fighters are enlisted every year, such "pairs" change every year, but there has been no interruption in such activity. The fighters say: "'One red pair' has become the heirloom of our company."

The greatest characteristic of this company's activity "to form a red pair with one helping another" is to establish extensively the absolute

authority of the great thought of Mao Tse-tung. They bring proletarian politics to the fore and give first place to making living study and application of Chairman Mao's writings. At all times and in everything and place, they examine themselves according to Chairman Mao's teachings, fiercely combat self-interest, and put their own souls under the command of and guide their own words and deeds with the great thought of Mao Tse-tung.

Carrying Out the Activity of "One Helping Another To Form a Red Pair" with "Combating Self-Interest and Criticizing and Repudiating Revisionism" As the Keel

During the great proletarian cultural revolution, this company has made new progress in the activity of "one helping another to form a red pair." Moving around the eradication of self-interest and the establishment of public interest, "they make oaths and reports to Chairman Mao every day" (that is, "they make oaths in the morning and reports in the evening), and have made a regular system of the activity to "form one red pair with one helping another." After Chairman Mao issued the great call "It is imperative to combat self-interest and to criticize and repudiate revisionism," in their activities to "form red pairs with one helping another, "they have raised such activities to a new level through self-consciously taking "combating self-interest and criticizing and repudiating revisionism" as the key link, helping each other to combat self-interest and learning from each other in the criticism and repudiation of revisionism.

Every morning, with the red-covered precious books glittering like gold in their hands, they solemnly make to the great leader Chairman Mao, the reddest sun in their hearts, this oath: "We will read your books, heed what you say, and act according to your instructions the rest of our lives. We vow to defend you until death, and we vow to defend until death your great thought and your proletarian revolutionary line. We vow to be red fighters loyal to the Party, the people and you." Having pledged their boundless loyalty to Chairman Mao, they begin another day of combat with the vitality of a living dragon or tiger.

Every evening, "each red pair" sits with deference in front of the portrait of Chairman Mao to make this report to the great leader: "I have carried out everything according to your teaching by eradicating self-interest, establishing public interest, combating self-interest, and criticizing and repudiating revisionism." Through exposure, study, combat and rectification, they use the thought of Mao Tse-tung to sum up their thinking and work that day, and solemnly and seriously combat self-interest and criticize and repudiate revisionism.

Exposure means reporting to Chairman Mao what one has thought and done that day, and exposing one's own living ideas, including flitting

selfish ideas, with the spirit of "drawing blood with the bayonet." In front of Chairman Mao, they are honest and never lie. They report what "self-interest" they have eradicated and what they have not.

Study means studying together Chairman Mao's writings with problems in mind, checking up work, and seeing which things have been satisfactorily solved with the thought of Mao Tse-tung and which ideas and deeds are not in correspondence with Chairman Mao's teachings.

Combat means taking the invincible thought of Mao Tse-tung as the weapon and the "three most often read articles" as the adages, unfolding criticism and self-criticism, eradicating self-interest and establishing public interest. "The general orientation is not forgotten even when minor things are carried out," and some problems are comprehended on the basis of raising them to the plane of the struggle between the two lines. The fighters call this "mounting the program or mounting the line."

Rectification means expressing the determination to rectify oneself, thinking of ways to rectify oneself and reporting the result of rectification to Chairman Mao.

In making reports to Chairman Mao, one should not only report on oneself but should also help the other to make reports. When one fails to report results in regard to the eradication of self-interest and the establishment of public interest, his counterpart should report same to Chairman Mao on his behalf. When one fails to recognize one's shortcomings and mistakes, his counterpart should also warmly point out same to him. The pair should really help each other and spur on each other.

"Each red pair" should make reports to Chairman Mao every day in order to insure that the fighters will never cease fire in the ideological battlefield and that the struggle to pit public interest against self-interest will be carried out every day to promote ideological revolutionization. As days and months go by, many a mickle will make a muckle, and group after group of communist fighters who are bent on public interest, are "utterly devoted to others without any thought of self," and "wholly" and "entirely serve the people will be cultivated.

In the revolutionary mass criticism and repudiation, "everyday criticism" is an exercise in the company unit. In order to make "everyday criticism" effective, it cannot be carried out without preparations. They implement "everyday criticism" through "red pairs." In each platoon one "pair" is especially prepared for criticizing everything, for conducting studies together and for raising the quality of criticism and repudiation.

In "everyday criticism" "one red pair" constitutes the red arrow that is shot at the black target. The invincible thought of Mao Tse-tung is taken as the weapon to criticize and repudiate the reactionary fallacies of China's Khrushchev, such as the philosophy of survival, "three freedoms

and one contract," "three capitulations and one eradication," "losing a little to gain much," etc., as well as the bourgeois military line of P'eng Te-huai, Lo Jui-ch'ing, etc. One problem is criticized and repudiated every day, and criticizing and repudiating revisionism is closely integrated with combating self-interest.

Apart from making "everyday criticism," the "red pairs" also constantly make joint effort to study and write wall posters criticizing and repudiating China's Khrushchev and his agents. On festive days and holidays, the "red pairs" go to the countryside to expose, criticize and repudiate the towering crimes of a handful of top capitalist roaders within the Party together with the poor and lower-middle peasants.

The two forming "one red pair" are bosom friends. They tell each other what they have learned and understood. When one of them has any mental problem, he at once asks his counterpart to help him untie the knot. Combating self-interest and criticizing and repudiating revisionism in this way, living ideas are opportunely and accurately grasped, and assistance on the spot yields quick results.

In the great proletarian cultural revolution the "red pairs" also help each other solve the ideological problems of family dependents. They study together Chairman Mao's teaching: "As for people who are politically backward, communists should not slight or despise them, but should befriend them, unite with them, convince them and encourage them to go forward." They help their counterparts carry out careful ideological work for their family dependents. In accordance with Chairman Mao's teaching that one should "display a high sense of responsibility" toward work and be "very warm" toward other comrades and the people, some fighters write letters in the name of "a red pair" to help people at home recall what their families had gone through in the past as the exploited, to publicize the supreme directives, to explain Party policies and to criticize and repudiate the bourgeois reactionary line so as to heighten the understanding of their home people.

The "red pairs" make reports to Chairman Mao every day and combat self-interest and criticize and repudiate revisionism every day. This is a vivid manifestation of the fighters' boundless loyalty to the great leader Chairman Mao, and is the inevitable outcome of the extensive establishment of the absolute authority of the great supreme commander Chairman Mao and of Mao Tse-tung's thought. The fighters say in one voice: "We act as we are told by Chairman Mao. We go where we are directed by Chairman Mao. We'll follow the lead of Chairman Mao to make revolution the rest of our lives. The sea may dry up and the rock may decay, but our fidelity will never change." Only our boundless devotion to Chairman Mao can engender intense hate against revisionism and give us enormous strength for combating self-interest and criticizing and repudiating revisionism.

Make More Self-Criticism in Contrast with Chairman Mao's Teachings,
Correctly Handle Contradictions Appearing in the Activity of "One
Helping Another to Form a Red Pair"

In the activity of "one helping another to form a red pair," contradictions also frequently occur between the two sides. Sometimes, the contradictions are very acute and the ideological struggle is very fierce. The two sides may even find themselves in a deadlock. However, they have settled their differences in an amicable way.

The contradictions occurring in "a red pair" are generally brought about under the following circumstances:

When one regards oneself as the helper and admonishes and issues orders to the other side, thus causing estrangement in feeling;

When one lacks the viewpoint of "one divides into two," sees only the shortcomings of the other side, and makes the latter feel that he deliberately "finds fault" with him and "provokes" him;

When one is irritated at the time of criticism and adopts the over-simple method of exposing the shortcomings of the other side at one stroke, thus making the latter feel discouraged;

When one exerts pressure on the other side with highhanded means, sets no limit in mounting the programmatic line, and lacks the spirit of finding truth from facts;

When one's criticism hits home and touches the other side to the soul, and the latter is unable to accept it for the time being on the ground of "self-interest."

The above contradictions must be correctly handled before the activity of "one helping another to form a red pair" can make normal progress and reap actual result.

Through uninterrupted practice, this company unit has summed up a basic experience: When contradictions appear, the two sides should study Chairman Mao's writings with problems in mind, make more self-criticism in contrast with Chairman Mao's teachings, examine their own shortcomings and mistakes, fiercely combat "self-interest," and correctly handle the contradictions appearing in the activity of "one helping the other to form a red pair."

They contrast and examine things principally in the following six aspects and call them "six contrasts, six examinations":

In contrast with Chairman Mao's teaching on "wholly" and "entirely" serving the people, they examine their own aim and motive in giving help and conducting study to see if "help is given and study conducted for the sake of the revolution;"

In contrast with Chairman Mao's teaching that "all people in the revolutionary ranks must care for each other, must love and help each other," they examine themselves to see if they have any profound class feeling for their comrades and whether they are sincere in helping people.

In contrast with Chairman Mao's teaching that "modesty brings progress to one while arrogance makes one lag behind," they examine their own attitude to see whether they are "helping as well as learning from other people and willing to be pupils;"

In contrast with Chairman Mao's teaching that "one divides into two," they examine their own viewpoint to see if they have noticed both the shortcomings and merits of other people;

In contrast with Chairman Mao's teaching concerning "payment of attention to method of work," they examine their own method to see if they are patient and careful enough;

In contrast with Chairman Mao's teaching in regard to "seeking truth from facts," they examine their criticism of other people to see if it is reasonable.

When solving contradictions appearing in the activity of "one helping the other to form a red pair," the overwhelming majority of the comrades of this company unit are capable of self-consciously complying with such "six contrasts and six examinations."

In the summer of this year, a contradiction arose in "everyday training" between the deputy leader of the reconnaissance squad and his "partner." The fighter in question made a wide deviation in judging distance with his eyes, and when the deputy squad leader pointed out this to him, he refused to accept the latter's view. After the deputy squad leader measured out the distance on the map to prove the correctness of his view, the fighter still refused to accept it and said: "The map is not necessarily correct." Enraged, the deputy squad leader said: "By refusing to bow to the truth, you are really stubborn!" The fighter went so far as to say: "Even if you said there were rocks in the mountain, I won't believe it!"

When they made reports in the evening, they were still at loggerhead with each other. However, both of them felt that "no problem should be left overnight," and they studied Chairman Mao's writings. In contrast with Chairman Mao's teachings, the fighter attributed his fear of criticism to "self-interest" in his self-examination, and he expressed his

determination to correct his mistake for the interests of the people. In contrast with Chairman Mao's teachings, the deputy squad leader made a self-examination of his own shortcoming because he had criticized the other side "not for the sake of unity, progress or making a greater success of things." In this way the contradiction between them was solved.

Sometimes, contradictions occur because the two sides of the "red pair" are highly emotional, and the cadres have to tighten their hold on ideological work and lead both sides to comply with the "six contrasts and six examinations" by chatting with each other to solve their contradictions.

In June this year, the deputy leader of another squad was hoeing peanut together with his "partner." When the company commander examined the quality of work, he criticized the deputy squad leader and commended the fighter. The fighter in question let "self-interest" rear its head and said: "Because we form a 'pair', I have to share the criticism made against you at appraisal time (appraisal is made with the 'pair' as unit). So it is better for us to part and carry out hoeing work independently." Because of this, when the deputy squad leader told the fighter to do hoeing work together, the latter refused.

When making reports before Chairman Mao in the evening, the deputy squad leader criticized the fighter saying: "By not obeying your leader, you have no sense of discipline." Thereupon the fighter criticized the deputy squad leader saying: "The quality of your hoeing work is not high." Both of them made no self-criticism and were fretting and fuming.

The squad leader discovered this problem and studied Chairman Mao's writings together with them. In their self-examination, each side admitted that he had seen only the aspect in which he was right and the other side was wrong, but not the aspect in which he was wrong and the other side was right. The deputy squad leader sincerely criticized himself saying: "It was my mistake. I was so selfish that I felt your not taking order from me had lowered my prestige and I wanted to give you a severe lecture." The fighter was moved and he said: "No, squad leader. Your criticism was correct. Because of my fear that I would not be commended but would be criticized along with you, I had disobeyed your leadership." They stood together in front of Chairman Mao's portrait and said with excitement: "Oh, Chairman Mao! Selfishness has caused us to part, and because of you we have united once again."

When contradictions appear between the two sides of a "red pair," the reason that the two sides are able to examine themselves and make more self-criticism in contrast with Chairman Mao's teachings is that they boundlessly adore, are boundlessly devoted and loyal to, and have boundless faith in Chairman Mao and the thought of Mao Tse-tung. They say: "It is neither my heeding what you say nor your heeding what I say. We both heed with Chairman Mao says."

The Activity of "One Helping Another To Form a Red Pair"
Has Greatly Transformed the Features of the Company Unit

The great thought of Mao Tse-tung has nursed the revolutionary fighters. In the activity of "one helping another to form a red pair," the broad masses of the fighters of this company unit, through making living study and application of Chairman Mao's writings, and combating self-interest and criticizing and repudiating revisionism, have greatly changed their spiritual features.

What is most prominent is that the study of Chairman Mao's writings and the propagation of Mao Tse-tung's thought have become the first need of the broad masses of fighters in their life. "Reading Chairman Mao's books, heeding what he says, carrying out work according to his instructions and be his good fighters" has become the criterion of their action. They make study and application every day, and everything learned is put into application. Wherever they go, they bring the thought of Mao Tse-tung there.

When fighter Chang Hsiang-lin first joined the colors, he could read but a few characters and was unable to write even his own name. However with the concrete assistance of his "partner," he eagerly studied Chairman Mao's writings with strong determination and an indomitable spirit and has become an activist in the study of Chairman Mao's writings.

His father died of illness in the winter of last year. When he was aboard a train on his way home, he could not put his mind off propagating the thought of Mao Tse-tung. At that time, although he encountered much obstruction when he read quotations from Chairman Mao, yet he sought advice from fellow travellers on the one hand and propagated the thought of Mao Tse-tung on the other. Everybody called him "Chairman Mao's good fighter."

Back home, he swept away the bonds of old tradition and discarded the feudal funeral rite. He organized all people to study "Serve the People" and publicized the revolutionary outlook on life and death. Before he left home, he used the money saved to buy several dozen copies of Chairman Mao's writings for distribution to the poor and lower-middle peasants in the village.

In production and training, it has become the vogue of the fighters in the company to choose heavy loads and go where the difficulties are greatest. Like Lei Feng, they are resolved to make use of their limited life to give unlimited service to the people.

In the midst of a struggle against natural calamities on one occasion, a fighter received a telegram from his family asking him to go home at once because his mother was seriously ill. He gave first consideration not to his own family but to the broad masses of working people. On the one hand,

he remitted his savings to his mother for medical treatment. On the other hand, he clung to his post and exerted every ounce of his strength in the arduous struggle against natural calamities.

The activity of "one helping another to form a red pair" has accelerated the ideological revolutionization of the fighters, and large numbers of additional five-good fighters have quickly grown to maturity. Before the activity was launched in 1962, there were only 20 percent of five-good fighters in the whole company. Their number jumped to 62.5 percent in 1963, rose year by year after this, and topped 89.5 percent by 1966. Many five-good fighters did not let the word "good" to prevent them from advancing further. They said: "One can never get hold of a diploma in ideological remolding. We must work for life, read Chairman Mao's books for life and carry out ideological remolding for life." Following the example of Lei Feng, Ou-yang Hai, Wang Chieh, Mai Hsien-te, Liu Ying-chun and other good fighters of Chairman Mao's they are never satisfied, and are making uninterrupted progress.

The ideological revolutionization of its fighters has given the company unit a brand-new look. Since the launching of this activity, everybody is brimming over with the vernal spirit of youth and is pressing ahead. An endless stream of good persons and good deed has emerged, and the whole company is united to become a strong fighting group. That year, it joined the ranks of four-good companies the first time. It has upheld the glorious title of a four-good company in three out of four years.

The activity of "one helping another to form a red pair" has aroused the activism of the broad masses of fighters, and there has emerged the lively phase of "soldiers teaching soldiers" and everybody playing a part in ideological work. This is precisely what the political officer has said: "It won't do to rely merely on oneself and a few hardcore elements to grasp well the living ideas of the company. With 'one helping another to form a red pair' manifesting the mass line in ideological work and arousing everybody to carry out ideological work, there are many 'political officers', and not just one political officer, in the company. In this way, politico-ideological work is carried out dynamically, opportunely, penetratingly, concretely and vigorously." The reflection of the fighters is also very strong. They say: "'Red pairs' help each other with the thought of Mao Tse-tung. The more they help each other, the closer and redder they become, and they will serve the people with heart and soul."

At present, the broad masses of the commanders and fighters of this company, holding high the great red banner of Mao Tse-tung's thought and, guided by the great program of "combating self-interest and criticizing and repudiating revisionism," are marching forward with big strides along the broad road to extraordinary proletarianization and extraordinary militancy.

CSO: 3530-D

CARRY OUT THE ACTIVITY OF "ONE HELPING ANOTHER TO FORM A
RED PAIR," DEVELOP AND CONSOLIDATE THE
REVOLUTIONARY GREAT ALLIANCE

Following is a translation of an unsigned article in the Chinese-language periodical, Hung-ch'i (Red Flag), Peking, No 16, 23 Nov 67, pages 47-48.

There are in Peking Middle School No. 5 for Girls more than 1,300 teachers, pupils and staff members who have set up seven relatively big organizations during the great proletarian cultural revolution. Because of the bourgeois reactionary line promoted by China's Khrushchev and also because the masses are divided on certain issues, the whole school is divided into two major factions. The emotions of these factions are opposed to and in conflict with each other.

Faced with such a situation, the comrades of the military training corps of the Navy stationed in the school have carried out penetrating and careful politico-ideological work. Through energetically publicizing the great thought of Mao Tse-tung and the great significance of the revolutionary great alliance and through telling the striking deeds of the Liberation Army in enforcing the "four firsts" and the "three-eight working style," they have deeply moved the broad masses of the revolutionary teachers and students.

After Chairman Mao issued his latest directive concerning the great alliance of the working class, they warmly responded to it. They said: Chairman Mao and the Party Central Committee have issued one combat order after another urging us to form an alliance as soon as possible. Like the Liberation Army, we should closely follow Chairman Mao's great strategic plan, move with the wind, and work for the advancement of the revolutionary great alliance.

For the sake of promoting the revolutionary great alliance, part of the students of the two opposite organizations--"Ching kangshan" and

"T'ingchin"-- of the third year class (2) of the junior middle section, acting in accordance with Chairman Mao's teaching that "the method of conducting tete-a-tete activities is a good one," studied the advanced experience of the Liberation Army, and wrote wall posters to promote the activity of "one helping another to form a red pair." This advocacy aroused strong responses among the students. The students of the two factions began to study Chairman Mao's writings together, discuss their ideas and form "pairs" with "one helping another." The "pairing" of the leaders of the two factions and those students who differed from each other most was especially most useful in promoting the great revolutionary great alliance.

When they first carried out the activity of "one helping another to form a red pair," they did not know what to do. Because they were still affected by petty-bourgeois factionalism to varying extent, they always thought that they themselves were right. In the course of conversation, they most often put questions to each other, but seldom made self-criticism. The conversation therefore ended in a stalemate.

The comrades of the military training corps gave them warm assistance, and told them that the activity of "one helping another to form a red pair" should make living study and application of Chairman Mao's writings and lay chief emphasis on self-criticism. They also set the example by taking the lead in making self-criticism.

Therefore, the students studied together quotations from Chairman Mao with problems in mind. Chairman Mao said: "Numerous revolutionary martyrs have laid down their lives for the interests of the people, and everyone of us still living feels very sad whenever we think of them. Can it be said that there is still any personal interests which we cannot sacrifice and any mistake which we cannot discard?" Resolved to act according to Chairman Mao's teachings, both sides took the initiative to look for their own shortcomings and the merits of the other side, to expose their own self-interest, and to touch themselves to the soul. After that, with an eye on their own shortcomings, they helped each other with the thought of Mao Tse-tung as the weapon, and marked results were reaped.

In the activity of "one helping another to form a red pair, they have come to understand that only through taking combating self-interest as the point of departure and making self-criticism more often can they liberate themselves from petty-bourgeois factionalism, and correctly handle themselves and other comrades--especially those comrades holding viewpoints different from theirs.

The launching of activities to "form red pairs with one helping another" has forcefully stimulated and consolidated the revolutionary great alliance. Since the launching of such activities in August, some "pairs" of students of the "Chingkangshan" and "T'ingchin" organizations of the third year class (2) of the junior middle section have studied Chairman Mao's writings and criticized and repudiated the bourgeois reactionary line together.

Chairman Mao said: "When we look at a problem, we must never forget to draw a clear line of demarcation between revolution and counter-revolution, between achievements and shortcomings. With these two lines of demarcation borne in mind, things are easy to carry out, otherwise the nature of the problem will confuse us...We should adopt the attitude of analyzing and studying each person and each thing."

Chairman Mao's teaching gave them a profound course of education. They said: "Because we had not drawn clearly these two lines of demarcation in the past, we regarded the class sisters who worked together with us every day as enemies. We made unlimited effort to raise the shortcomings and mistakes of the opposite side would make more mistakes and collapse. By using factionalism to oppose factionalism in this way, we were emotionally opposed to each other. The two factions fought a protracted "civil war." We have been slack with the criticism and repudiation of the top capitalist roaders within the Party, thus bringing sorrow to those dear to us and joy to those hostile to us. We have really been unable to face Chairman Mao and the Party Central Committee. We are boundlessly devoted to the Party and Chairman Mao. Since the aim of our struggle is one and the same, it should be entirely possible for us to unite on the basis of the principle of Mao Tse-tung's thought." As they studied, they talked to each other, and the more they talked to each other, the closer they drew to each other and the more united they became. They quickly eliminated the estrangement brought about by the bourgeois reactionary line.

The launching of activities to "form red pairs with one helping another" has changed the past phenomenon of no meeting of ideas between the students. The new vogue of all students doing ideological work by exposing self-interest and revealing their way of thinking has begun to take shape and greatly aroused the political activism of the broad masses of the students. This has not only consolidated ideologically the revolutionary great alliance but also laid down a solid foundation for the penetrating development of revolutionary mass criticism and repudiation and educational revolution.

The broad masses of the revolutionary teachers and students have come to understand that the activity of "one helping another to form a red pair" seeks to unify the broad masses ideologically with the thought of Mao Tse-tung. The launching of this activity has given an impetus to the mass movement for the living study and application of Chairman Mao's writings and stimulated the ideological revolutionization of the masses. It is a good way to handle correctly contradictions among the people and surmount all kinds of non-proletarian ideas with Mao Tse-tung's thought, and is a good method of proven effectiveness for the development and consolidation of the revolutionary great alliance.

Ideological alliance is the guarantee of organizational alliance. The third year class (2) of the junior middle section which first launched

the activity of "one helping another to form a red pair" has better surmounted petty-bourgeois factionalism and quickly realized the revolutionary great alliance, and the revolutionary teachers and students have set up the cultural revolution group of the class.

In the afternoon of the day on which the revolutionary great alliance was brought into realization, the students of the whole class went to T'ienanmen to make an oath to the great leader Chairman Mao: "We are resolved to follow closely Chairman Mao's great strategic plan, and we vow to promote the revolutionary great alliance and to carry the great proletarian cultural revolution through to the end."

Inspired by Chairman Mao's latest directive and carried forward by the upsurge of the revolutionary great alliance, the twenty-four classes of the whole school had brought the revolutionary great alliance into realization by September 21. The seven mass organizations of the whole school have also formed an alliance by setting up the unified revolutionary organization "Mao Tse-tung's Thought Corps."

At the time of electing the leadership group, with an eye on revolutionary interests, they have, instead of adopting the method of allocating seats to different organizations, adopted the method of comprehensive nomination according to three principles. The three principles are: (1) Regardless to which organization a person may belong, so long as he holds high the red banner of Mao Tse-tung's thought, he is elected. (2) The group must be widely represented. (3) Should there be dispute over the nomination of candidates, the views of the original organizations should be respected and those of the majority should be considered. After due preparation and consultation, the leadership group comprising revolutionary teachers and students and revolutionary cadres has been brought into being.

The military training corps has laid hold of this new venture--the launching of the activity of "one helping another to form a red pair" in the school--for popularization in the whole school, the cultural revolution groups of many classes have gone on to launch activities to "form red pairs with one helping another." The two organizations of the teachers and staff members have also formed an alliance by setting up the "Red Teachers and Staff Members." Some teachers were formerly heavily opposed to each other in feeling. In the current activity to "form red pairs with one helping another," through helping and talking to each other, they have also eliminated their estrangement and strengthened their unity.

At present, Peking Middle School No. 5 for Girls has brought the revolutionary "three-way combination" into realization and is beginning to reopen class for making revolution. The broad masses of the revolutionary teachers and students are studying Chairman Mao's latest directive in real earnest. They are in the course of actively combating self-interest and