

PEKING REVIEW

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November 1, 1968

A New-Type School Where Theory Accords With Practice

— Report of an Investigation into the Wukou Part-Time
Tea-Growing and Part-Time Study Middle School in
Wuyuan County, Kiangsi Province

Soviet Revisionists Step Up Capitalist Restoration

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*The Dictatorship of the Proletariat
Is Dictatorship by the Masses*

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QUOTATIONS FROM CHAIRMAN MAO TSE-TUNG

In the countryside, schools and colleges should be managed by the poor and lower-middle peasants — the most reliable ally of the working class.

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The people of all countries, the masses comprising more than 90 per cent of the entire population, sooner or later want revolution and sooner or later support Marxism-Leninism. They will not support revisionism. Though some people may support revisionism for a while, they will eventually cast it aside. They are bound to awaken gradually; they are bound to oppose the imperialists and reactionaries in all countries; they are bound to oppose revisionism.

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The seizure of power by armed force, the settlement of the issue by war, is the central task and the highest form of revolution. This Marxist-Leninist principle of revolution holds good universally, for China and for all other countries.

Problems of War and Strategy
(November 6, 1938)

Commemorating 18th Anniversary of War to Resist U.S. Aggression and Aid Korea

Profound Tribute to C.P.V. Martyrs

October 25 marked the 18th anniversary of the day the Chinese People's Volunteers left China to fight in the War to Resist U.S. Aggression and Aid Korea. On that day, workers, poor and lower-middle peasants, Liberation Army men and young Red Guard fighters in northeast China's largest industrial city Shenyang and in Tantung, the heroic city on the north bank of the Yalu River, went with profound proletarian feelings to the cemeteries of the C.P.V. martyrs. There they paid tribute to the great proletarian internationalist fighters who had heroically laid down their lives in this war.

More than 10,000 revolutionary people in Shenyang held a rally before the Monument to the Martyrs in the War to Resist U.S. Aggression and Aid Korea. Amidst the strains of *The Internationale*, representatives of revolutionary mass organizations of workers, poor and lower-middle peasants and Red Guards laid wreaths in front of the monument.

Speaking at the rally, they pointed out that these revolutionary martyrs who had valiantly given their lives in this great struggle would always live in the hearts of the Chinese people and the revolutionary people of the world. They declared their determination to learn from the revolutionary martyrs' great spirit of patriotism and internationalism and their revolutionary spirit of struggling to the end against the U.S. imperialist aggressors. They pledged to carry through to the end the great proletarian cultural revolution and the revolutionary struggle against imperialism, revisionism and all reaction.

The more than 200 industrial workers attending the Shenyang conference of Liaoning Province activists

in the creative study and application of Mao Tse-tung's thought and the revolutionary masses from many factories, rural people's communes and schools also went to the martyrs' cemetery on October 25. They held memorial meetings and took oaths at the tombs of C.P.V. martyrs Huang Chi-kuang, Yang Ken-szu, Chiu Shao-yun, Sun Chan-yuan and Yang Lien-ti and invited C.P.V. veterans to give reports on the heroism of these martyrs in fighting the U.S. imperialist aggressors. Again and again, the revolutionary people recited Chairman Mao's quotation: "Thousands upon thousands of martyrs have heroically laid down their lives for the people; let us hold their banner high and march ahead along the path crimson with their blood!"

On the same day, tens of thousands of revolutionary people and P.L.A. commanders and fighters in Tantung gathered in the city's revolutionary martyrs' cemetery to pay tribute to the heroes who had fallen in the War to Resist U.S. Aggression and Aid Korea.

Zambian Charge d'Affaires Gives National Day Reception

Paul W. Lumbi, Charge d'Affaires ad interim of the Zambian Embassy in China gave a reception in Peking on October 24 in celebration of the fourth anniversary of the independence of the Republic of Zambia.

Among those attending were Tung Pi-wu, Vice-Chairman of the People's Republic of China, and Kuo Mo-jo, Vice-Chairman of the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress.

Paul W. Lumbi and Chinese Vice-Foreign Minister Chi Peng-fei spoke

at the reception which proceeded in a friendly atmosphere.

Paul W. Lumbi spoke of the efforts and achievements by Zambia in national construction after independence and expressed the conviction that the Zambian people would build a genuinely Zambian-controlled economy.

The Charge d'Affaires expressed the Zambian people's support for all African people fighting against imperialism, for the Arab fight against Israeli aggression and for the struggle of the Vietnamese people.

He said: The peoples of Zambia and China are engaged in a common struggle against imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism. Their profound friendship is continuously developing and getting stronger.

The Charge d'Affaires continued: The great proletarian cultural revolution initiated and led personally by the great leader of the Chinese people Chairman Mao Tse-tung has scored resounding victories, which have culminated in the establishment of revolutionary committees in all parts of China except Taiwan. On behalf of the Government and the people of Zambia, Lumbi congratulated the Chinese people and their beloved leader Chairman Mao Tse-tung on their continuing successes.

In his speech, Chi Peng-fei praised the Zambian people for their achievements in getting rid of the colonial forces, safeguarding national independence and developing the national economy.

Chi Peng-fei said: An excellent situation now prevails in the struggle of the people of the world against imperialism and its accomplices. The more U.S. imperialism and Soviet revisionism collaborate, the more clearly the people of the world will see through them as jackals of the same lair.

(Continued on p. 31.)

The period of schooling should be shortened, education should be revolutionized, and the domination of our schools by bourgeois intellectuals should by no means be allowed to continue.

— MAO TSE-TUNG

A New-Type School Where Theory Accords With Practice

— Report of an Investigation Into the Wukou Part-Time Tea-Growing and Part-Time Study Middle School in Wuyuan County, Kiangsi Province

The proletarian revolution in education is bringing about radical changes in China's tens of thousands of schools and colleges. Under the leadership of the working class and the poor and lower-middle peasants, the universities and middle and primary schools throughout the country are conscientiously implementing the principle that "Education must serve proletarian politics and be combined with productive labour," put forward by Chairman Mao Tse-tung, so as to "enable everyone who receives an education to develop morally, intellectually and physically and become a worker with both socialist consciousness and culture." They are fundamentally changing the situation in which the schools and colleges were dominated by bourgeois intellectuals and enabling schools and colleges to train up true successors to the revolutionary cause of the proletariat.

Much good experience in this respect is being spread throughout the country and it is being constantly enriched by further revolutionary practice. Though this represents only an initial achievement of the educational revolution, it has opened up a new phase in proletarian education. Reported below, the experience gained in the transformation of education by the Wukou Part-Time Tea-Growing and Part-Time Study Middle School in Wuyuan County, Kiangsi Province, is just one of many such examples.

This school has only four full-time teachers (including one in charge). With very good results, it invites workers, tea-growing peasants and technicians of worker origin to teach. It seems quite likely that Chairman Mao's thinking on the proletarian revolution in education can be realized more speedily in the rural areas than in the cities. This is because the predominant force of the poor and lower-middle peasants can be established more easily in the rural schools. This furnishes still more convincing proof of how imperative it is to send Mao Tse-tung's thought propaganda teams of workers, with the participation of Liberation Army fighters, to schools in the cities. Those who do not yet fully understand the significance of this might as well study the situation concerning the rural areas. — P.R. Ed.

THE Part-Time Tea-Growing and Part-Time Study Middle School of the Wukou Tea Plantation in Wuyuan County, Kiangsi Province, was founded in 1965. At that time, it was not clear which line it would uphold, which road it would take. The leadership of the plantation and the school organized a number of meetings to discuss this question. Veteran plantation workers and local tea-growing peasants were invited

to speak at the meetings. Recalling the former tea-growing vocational school and tea-growing technical school set up on the plantation, they spoke of the harm of these schools which were divorced from proletarian politics, from the workers and peasants and from labour and reality. They condemned the evils of the bourgeois educational line. The poor and lower-middle peasants made this trenchant demand: "Our school must not be

run like the old bourgeois-dominated schools which caused our sons and daughters to degenerate into good-for-nothings unfit for manual labour. We must follow Chairman Mao's teaching and train up 'worker[s] with both socialist consciousness and culture.'" Following these meetings, the leadership of the plantation and the school took the initiative in inviting the plantation workers and poor and lower-middle peasants to take a direct part in the school's leadership and administration. They have made a big effort to strengthen working-class leadership over the school politically and ideologically. Whenever they discuss principles and policies for running the school, they always invite the plantation workers and local poor and lower-middle peasants to participate and voice their criticisms, opinions and demands and give advice. Workers' representatives from the plantation also take a direct part in the work of the school's revolutionary committee. In this way, with the workers and poor and lower-middle peasants participating and giving impetus to their efforts, they have step by step carried out the revolution in education in accordance with Chairman Mao's proletarian educational line.

How Teaching Is Carried Out in This New-Type School

Under the leadership and management of the working class and poor and lower-middle peasants, the Wukou Part-Time Tea-Growing and Part-Time Study Middle School has pioneered a new road in transforming education.

The general principle it follows in transforming education is to give prominence to proletarian politics, put Mao Tse-tung's thought in command of everything, have fewer and better courses, closely combine study with productive labour, and study for the purpose of applying what one learns.

The characteristics of the transformation of education in this school are: getting out of the classroom, making workers and peasants its teachers, using production bases as classrooms, linking theory with practice, learning both tea-processing in the workshops of the plantation and farming in the fields. By closely combining classroom teaching and production, the students are able to grasp faster what they study, remember it better and apply it when required.

Pay Great Attention to the Study of Chairman Mao's Works. Each teacher and student is given a copy of *Selected Readings From the Works of Mao Tse-tung*, the ordinary language lessons are dropped and, as in the case of the political course, Chairman Mao's works, especially his latest series of instructions and those concerning the revolution in education, are the sole teaching material. Various types of Mao Tse-tung's thought study classes have been set up at the overall school level, in each class and in each room of the

dormitories. A meeting is held regularly every week by each of the school classes to discuss their experience in the creative study and application of Mao Tse-tung's thought. Thus, the study of Chairman Mao's works is really given priority.

The school pays great attention to class education. It uses instances of class struggle in the locality as teaching material by negative example to educate the teachers and students. Among such instances are the conspiratorial activities of the landlords, rich peasants, counter-revolutionaries, bad elements and Rightists and the crimes of active counter-revolutionaries in sabotaging the implementation of the instruction to "resume classes and carry on the revolution" in the school. All this is aimed at sharpening the teachers' and students' sense of class struggle and enhancing their level of consciousness in the struggle between the two lines, stimulating their proletarian feelings, and prompting them to do still better in creatively studying and applying Mao Tse-tung's thought and to remould their world outlook with profound class feeling.

Take Firm Hold of the Struggle Between the Two Lines in Teaching, Simplify Complicated Teaching Material and Make It Suit Practical Needs. Teaching at tea-growing schools used to be done mainly in the classroom, and was seldom linked up with production; lessons were complicated and repetitious, and useless in practice. Originally, the Wukou tea-growing school gave 21 courses, including mathematics, physics and chemistry. Lessons in tea-growing alone accounted for 12 of these courses. How could students take in all this? They could not apply what they had learnt and did not learn what was needed in actual practice. The energy and time of both students and teachers were squandered. Yet the influence of the counter-revolutionary revisionist educational line and the old ideology in people's minds were so strong that some teachers were conservative in handling the transformation of teaching material. Those teaching mathematics taught according to old, stereotyped conventions. Those who had learnt foreign languages insisted on adding courses in foreign languages. Some chemistry teachers who were keen to show off their "knowledge," chalked the blackboards full of chemical formulas having nothing to do with tea growing.

There is no construction without destruction. In view of these obstacles to transforming teaching, the leadership of the plantation and the school put a big effort into running Mao Tse-tung's thought study classes in which the counter-revolutionary revisionist educational line pushed by China's Khrushchov was severely denounced. At one meeting called for such criticism and repudiation, Comrade Chu Chin-kuei, who had worked for years in the old tea-growing vocational school and old tea-growing technical school, wrathfully declared: "Education in the past was nothing but a feudal, bourgeois and revisionist hotchpotch. The heads of most students trained in this way were filled with ideas of seeking fame and fortune. Such students were

full of empty talk on every subject. After three years of schooling, they turned out third-grade tea from first-grade material. If any of us today should still take the wrong road of 'study for the purpose of becoming officials,' or 'study for personal fame and fortune,' and judge a student only by the marks he gets, he will fall into the trap laid by China's Khrushchov. To be led by the nose by the landlords and the bourgeoisie means forgetting one's own class origin in the labouring people. We must never do that." This veteran worker's trenchant exposure and forceful denunciation was an education for everyone present.

As everyone had enhanced his understanding, the school leadership promptly put forward the principle of facing production and reality, that is, that teachers and students should get out of the classrooms and hold classes in the workshops or in the fields and, through on-the-spot teaching and practice, assess teaching material and content, decide what should be adopted or discarded, and so carry out the transformation of teaching.

The method of going deep into practice to make experiments has produced very good results. In line with practical needs, the teachers and students collected together the complicated teaching materials and courses which originally seemed unrelated to each other, simplified some of them and edited others into concise study materials in accordance with the principle of serving tea production and agricultural production. As a result of this effort, the specialized tea-growing courses were reduced to two as against 12 before, and basic subjects like mathematics, physics and chemistry were also greatly simplified. All the teachers and students were pleased with these changes.

Make Workers and Peasants Teachers — "Bare-Foot Teachers Give Lectures"; Intellectuals and Young Students Take the Road of Integrating Themselves With the Workers and Peasants; A "Three-in-One" Method of Teaching by Workers and Peasants, Teachers and Students Is Introduced. This school now has only four full-time teachers (including one in charge). It invites plantation workers, tea-growing peasants and technicians of worker origin to teach. In addition to the ordinary classrooms, it uses the workshops on the plantation and the tea gardens and fields as classrooms for teaching the growing and preliminary processing of tea and the cultivation and management of other crops. This practice has gradually become systematized. Rich in production experience, the workers and peasants give vivid lectures in plain language which is easily understood. They are thus welcomed by the students, who say: "We have learnt from our worker-peasant teachers what we could never have learnt in the classroom before." "We can easily understand, quickly grasp, firmly remember and readily apply the lessons taught in the workshops by the veteran workers." A teacher said that in the past he had always spent seven or eight hours in lecturing on

a diesel engine but was never able to make matters clear to the students who forgot the first half while listening to the last half of his lecture. However, a veteran worker comrade from the plantation, he pointed out, was able to lecture on the same subject clearly and thoroughly in less than an hour, taking the machine apart and putting it together with ease.

Take Part in Actual Production and Study in the Course of Labour. The school experienced a sharp struggle in carrying out the principle that "Education must serve proletarian politics and be combined with productive labour." At the beginning, some teachers and students were afraid of hard work and fatigue and were reluctant to take part in productive labour. One teacher said: "I've come to teach and not to do manual work." Some students likewise held that they had come to study and not to do manual labour. In view of these ideas, the leadership of the plantation and school organized the teachers and students to study Chairman Mao's related writings and quotations. Chairman Mao says: "Working people should master intellectual work and intellectuals should integrate themselves with the working people." He adds: "By taking part in collective productive labour, the cadres maintain extensive, constant and close ties with the working people. This is a major measure of fundamental importance for a socialist system; it helps to overcome bureaucracy and to prevent revisionism and dogmatism." There was a general rise in political consciousness as a result of this study. Following the example of the Chinese People's Anti-Japanese Military and Political College founded under the direct leadership of Chairman Mao and the Party Central Committee during the War of Resistance Against Japan, they engaged in productive labour while studying and practised diligence and frugality in running their school. Thus they fostered the revolutionary spirit of hard work and persevered in following the road of combining education with productive labour.

In general, they concentrate on learning about whatever task they are engaged on and closely combine teaching with local production. The slack season in the tea-growing area, for example, is from August of one year to April of the next. The main work in this period consists of land reclamation, expansion of tea gardens and regeneration and transplanting of tea shrubs. Accordingly, the studies at the school centre on the surveying and laying out of tea gardens, the designing of preliminary tea processing workshops and the techniques of cultivating and transplanting tea shrubs. They learn in the course of doing and work while learning. There are fewer lectures in class and more on-the-spot practice.

Apart from regular manual work, in the busy season, classes are moved to the tea gardens and tea processing workshops where students work on the spot and learn from the workers and peasants in practical work. The Wukou tea plantation had a bumper harvest

this year, and there was an intensive period of work in picking and preliminary processing. The revolutionary teachers and students at the school volunteered to take on the job of preliminary processing. For two months, they made great efforts to learn from the plantation workers their fine qualities of wholehearted devotion to the public interest, and of working hard and living simply. At the same time, through practice they learnt much technical knowledge and gained much practical experience in preliminary tea processing. They won a twin victory in study and in productive labour, fulfilling the task of doing the preliminary processing of more than 100 tons of tea on schedule and up to the required standard of quality. In this way, they gave great assistance to production on the tea plantation and contributed to the country's socialist construction.

A School Training Successors to the Revolutionary Cause of the Proletariat

Guided by Chairman Mao's proletarian educational line, and under the leadership and management of the working class and the poor and lower-middle peasants, this school is training its more than one hundred students into **"worker[s] with both socialist consciousness and culture."** The students who are being educated by the workers and peasants are growing up well; the teachers in the school too are taking the workers and peasants as their teachers and following the road of integrating themselves with the workers and peasants.

With boundless loyalty to Chairman Mao and to the proletarian headquarters headed by Chairman Mao and with Vice-Chairman Lin Piao as its deputy leader, the students and teachers have step by step closely followed Chairman Mao's great strategic plan, carried out every one of his latest instructions, and have resolutely repudiated the reactionary theory of "many centres," that is, the theory of "no centre," and various other reactionary bourgeois trends of thought.

The students and teachers have a firm class stand and are clear-cut about what they love and hate and, in accordance with Chairman Mao's great teaching, **"Never forget class struggle,"** fight resolutely and bravely against the enemy. They often travel several kilometres at night to the plantation headquarters and nearby communes to struggle together with the workers and poor and lower-middle peasants against the class enemies. One day, when a runaway counter-revolutionary was tracked to the mountains, they rushed there in the night and captured him.

Using Mao Tse-tung's thought as their weapon, the revolutionary students and teachers of the school have carried on deep-going and sustained revolutionary mass criticism and repudiation, in the course of which they

exposed and condemned the counter-revolutionary crimes of China's Khrushchov and his agents in Kiangsi Province, Fang Chih-chun and his like; they criticized and repudiated the counter-revolutionary revisionist educational line pushed by China's Khrushchov and bourgeois ideas of contempt for the workers and peasants. They bitterly hate the class enemies and have an ardent love for the workers and the poor and lower-middle peasants. When some students noticed that a foot-path running between the school and the bank of a stream was in bad condition and caused difficulties for the working people, they took the initiative in repairing it. As the sons of an old, poor peasant woman in the Wukou production team were away from home, the students often helped her carry water, chop firewood and raise vegetables. Workers often have a hard job hauling a cart up a slope in the vicinity of the school. The students saw this and now they regularly lend a hand in the spirit of class brotherhood.

They work hard and live a plain life. They love manual labour and display a selfless spirit. In the three years since the founding of the school, they have perseveringly followed the road travelled by the former Anti-Japanese Military and Political College. They have themselves compiled teaching material and used simple and improvised quarters and equipment for teaching and studying. Just as the old Red Army men did, they give one another hair-cuts and wash and mend their clothes and repair their desks and seats. The room of each teacher contains only a wooden bed, a table and a few stools. Teachers and students constantly engage in productive labour, planting vegetables and raising pigs. As a result, not only have they become self-supporting but they have a surplus, without getting a cent from the state this year.

The students trained in this school are good in ideology, study, manual labour and working style.

One student named Cheng Wei-shih came to the school in 1966. After just three days she wanted to go home because she was not willing to do manual work. She said: "It is a shame to do manual work at school." When she took part in manual labour for the first time, she was assigned to carry tea bushes that had been cut down. After she had moved just a few, her hands were covered with blisters. When, on another occasion, she went up into the mountains to chop firewood with the workers and peasants, she only chopped seven kilogrammes of wood the whole morning while all the others chopped a big load each. When she got back she did not want to eat but, lying down, complained that her whole body ached. Classmates called her the "delicate young lady."

However, after a period of education and tempering, a remarkable change took place in her thoughts and feelings. For instance, in the past, she used to hold her nose when, even at quite a distance, she saw a peasant walking towards her with a load of nightsoil. Nowadays, with her classmates she herself often carries nightsoil to the fields. When she went home in April

this year after permission had been granted, her mother said: "Wei-shih, your brother has just come back from the army for a holiday. You must stay at home for a few days and keep him company. Don't do any work." The girl promised, but as soon as her mother left she joined the commune members at their work. People praised her: "Wei-shih has made rapid progress since she went to the tea-growing school. She is now able to do both mental and manual work. She is really a good student educated by Chairman Mao."

Different schools train different people. The masses of workers and peasants are the best judges in telling which graduate is good and which is not. Both Yu Ching-hung and her cousin are of poor peasant origin. After they had finished primary school, Yu Ching-hung entered the tea-growing middle school and her cousin entered an ordinary middle school. At that time their political levels were virtually identical, but they have turned into two quite different persons after being trained in these two different schools. Yu Ching-hung made rapid progress. She has been cited many times as an activist in the creative study and application of Mao Tse-tung's thought and she has attended conferences of such activists held both by the plantation and county. She has boundless love for Chairman Mao and has often said: "Chairman Mao is the saviour of us poor and lower-middle peasants. Everything we poor and lower-middle peasants have, we owe to Chairman Mao. If it were not for Chairman Mao leading us to stand up and win emancipation, how could I enter this school! We must never forget the past. I will always be loyal to Chairman Mao and follow him closely in making revolution!"

But what about her cousin? He also changed. He wore better clothes and his skin became fairer. At first, when he came home, he did some manual work, but later he was reluctant to do this. Seeing the changes in the two, the villagers said: "The tea-growing school is really good. It is good for us poor and lower-middle peasants. It didn't cost the state a cent and the students it turns out are good."

The students of the tea-growing school have not only made great progress politically and ideologically, but have also rapidly increased their store of professional knowledge. They have gained both theoretical knowledge and the ability to do practical work. Before entering the school, they hardly knew anything about tea production. Now, they are proficient in the whole production process, including cultivation of tea shrubs, management of tea gardens, elimination of plant diseases and insect pests and the picking and preliminary processing of tea. Students enrolled in 1965 are now able to take part in planning tea gardens, designing preliminary tea processing workshops and installing machinery. They are much more capable than graduates of the secondary tea-growing technical schools. The head of the present tea-growing school is a former tea plantation technician from a poor peasant family. Shortly

after graduating in 1954 from the Central-South China Tea-Growing Technical School, he came to work in the tea plantation. He compares himself with the students of the present tea-growing school: He came with some book knowledge, but was not able to cultivate or process tea, design tea processing workshops or install machinery. It was only later, when he followed Chairman Mao's teachings, took the road of integration with the workers and peasants, learnt honestly from them and made a new start in studying through practice, that he gradually mastered the skills required in tea production and other related skills. His real teachers were the workers and peasants. He often refers to his experience, telling everyone: "The workers and peasants are our parents. They are always our teachers. If we want to achieve some ability in serving the people, we must follow Chairman Mao's teachings, take the workers and peasants as our teachers and take the road of integrating ourselves with them."

Praising the students of this school, the local poor and lower-middle peasants say: "They are truly our students. Such youngsters are indeed practical and reliable and our minds can be at ease about them!" People in many places in the county often ask the school when it will enrol new students. Many poor and lower-middle peasants want to send their children to study there.

Chairman Mao teaches us: "**The period of schooling should be shortened, education should be revolutionized, and the domination of our schools by bourgeois intellectuals should by no means be allowed to continue.**"

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

The experience of the Wukou Part-Time Tea-Growing and Part-Time Study Middle School in Wuyuan County has proved the greatness and brilliance of these instructions from Chairman Mao. It has also proved that the establishment of such new-type schools integrating theory with practice — schools advocated by Chairman Mao — can completely be realized. A rising tide of revolution in education is coming throughout the country!

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Peasant – College Student – Peasant

— Peasant-Intellectual Li Wan-hsi

OUR great leader Chairman Mao pointed out in a recent directive on educational revolution: **“Students should be selected from among workers and peasants with practical experience, and they should return to production after a few years’ study.”** This is exactly the bright road taken by Li Wan-hsi, one of the leaders of the Dijiutun Production Brigade, Toubaihu People’s Commune, Huaian County, Hopei Province.

Li Wan-hsi, son of a lower-middle peasant, completed his primary school education in July 1954 and then, in response to Chairman Mao’s call, returned to his village to do farm work. He became quite a skilled farmer. In July 1960 the people’s commune recommended him for a course of study in Hopei Agricultural University.

As he made his way from his native mountain village, the poor and lower-middle peasants, saying goodbye to him in hamlet after hamlet, admonished him again and again: **“Wan-hsi, it is Chairman Mao who gives you this opportunity to go to college. You must live up to his expectations!”**

Li entered the university with proletarian feelings of boundless loyalty to Chairman Mao and a resolve to dedicate himself to the building of a new, socialist countryside.

Hopei Agricultural University enrolled 60 peasant students that year. But, victims of the revisionist educational line of China’s Khrushchov, 36 of the peasant students were forced to leave the university when they failed a difficult examination in 1962. With only a primary school education, Li too naturally faced many difficulties. Feeling hard-pressed and hesitating whether to continue his studies or leave the university, he wrote to the Party branch in his village and to his fellow poor and lower-middle peasants to ask for advice. They replied: **“You should live up to the expectations of Chairman Mao and of us poor and lower-middle peasants. Stand up to the difficulties however great!”** This encouraged and steeled his determination. He persisted in his studies and, along with his classmates, arming themselves with Mao Tse-tung’s thought,

fought the revisionist educational system, and the content and methods of teaching.

Integrating With the Poor and Lower-Middle Peasants

Chairman Mao teaches us: **“All intellectuals who can work in the countryside should be happy to go there. Our countryside is vast and has plenty of room for them to develop their talents to the full.”** Li Wan-hsi completed his college studies in 1964 and returned home to resume his peasant life in accordance with this great teaching of Chairman Mao’s.

Though he had resisted and fought the revisionist line on education in the university, the comfortable life led there had nevertheless had a harmful effect on Li’s ideology. Back in the village, he joined in the farm work every day but he was not so stout-hearted at work as before. Once, when preparing manure, the other commune members stood right in the muck and got on with the job without fuss. But Li stood at the edge of the manure pit, now and again throwing in a spadeful of earth or a bundle of straw. He was scared of getting down into the muck. Seeing this, some shook their heads and said: **“A college graduate like him can’t hold out long doing farm work.”** The class enemy also seized this chance to spread rumours about him. One bad egg even wrote some improvised verses against him.

One evening, an old poor peasant came to Li Wan-hsi’s home to have a chat and said to him: **“Wan-hsi, you are a son of us poor and lower-middle peasants. It was only with Chairman Mao’s support that you were able to go to the university. You shouldn’t forget this when you have got a bit of learning.”**

After the old man left, Li Wan-hsi, deeply moved, thought over his advice. Since coming back to the village, he had indeed in many ways shown himself different from the poor and lower-middle peasants. He wore better clothes than they. In doing farm work he preferred the light tasks and shirked the heavy. He was afraid of getting his clothes dirty or his shoes wet.

With these problems in mind, Li seriously studied Chairman Mao’s works. Chairman Mao has taught us

that "the workers and peasants were the cleanest people and, even though their hands were soiled and their feet smeared with cow-dung, they were really cleaner than the bourgeois and petty-bourgeois intellectuals." These words made Li realize that he was afraid of dirt because he had filthy bourgeois ideas, and that if he did not make a real effort to remould himself, to overcome these bourgeois ideas, he could not become a successor to the revolutionary cause of the proletariat, but could become an "intellectual aristocrat" divorced from politics, from reality and from the masses.

From then on, he made up his mind to stop acting like a college graduate and to be one with the poor and lower-middle peasants in ideas and sentiments. He was determined to learn from the poor and lower-middle peasants' noble qualities of boundless loyalty to Chairman Mao and their revolutionary spirit of wholehearted dedication to the public interest. In doing farm work, he no longer feared dirt or fatigue. He went wherever work hands were needed and where conditions were hard.

At this time, he and other commune members were assigned to haul out hemp which had been soaking in a pit of water. He was the first to jump into the muddy pit and he worked with a will, without a thought about the smell and dirt in the water.

One day in early April 1965, he and some fellow commune members were breaking the ice in the river preparatory to leading off water to irrigate their farmland when a dam suddenly sprang a leak. The commune members tried, but failed to plug the hole with earth. Prompted by Chairman Mao's teaching on serving the people wholly and entirely, Wan-hsi plunged into the icy water in his bulky cotton-padded clothes and filled the breach with his body. Pressing down four straw mats as a base for the earth the commune members were piling on, he was soon numb with cold. His legs were battered by blocks of ice but he wouldn't retreat. He kept shouting with his colleagues as they quoted to encourage themselves: "Be resolute, fear no sacrifice and surmount every difficulty to win victory!" After a half-hour battle, the breach was repaired. Much moved, the poor and lower-middle peasants said: "This youngster has not forgotten what he was. Wan-hsi takes the same road as we do!"

Scientific Experiments Linking Theory With Practice

Li's home village had long suffered from unfavourable natural conditions. Its main crops are maize, millet and *kaoliang* (sorghum), but the yields of all of these were low. After returning to the village, Li racked his brains over the problems of how to raise bigger crops by increasing yields and build a new, socialist countryside faster.

In the spring of 1965, with the support and help of the Party branch, he organized a scientific experimental group made up of veteran farmers, young people and cadres. The first thing they did was to study this teaching of Chairman Mao's: "Man has constantly

to sum up experience and go on discovering, inventing, creating and advancing." They resolved to try crossing good local varieties of food plants with those from other places to develop better strains giving bigger yields.

Combining the views of the poor and lower-middle peasants and his own experience in production with the scientific knowledge he had acquired in college, Li Wan-hsi proposed an experiment in double-cross breeding of maize. But the books said that in making experiments in double crossing no maize should be sown within 300 metres of the experimental plot, otherwise, accidental pollination might result when the maize was in flower. How should they solve this problem? "The masses are the real heroes." The poor and lower-middle peasants proposed early sowing of the double-cross breed experimental maize. This would ensure that the time of flowering of the maize on the experimental plot and other plots would not be the same. With this problem solved, the experiment were eventually successful.

At the same time the group made experiments comparing 14 varieties of millet from other places and found that some of them yield more than local varieties.

Maize root-worm is the most damaging pest in the area. Since it is resistant to the arsenolite which had been used locally for many years, Li Wan-hsi experimented with benzene hexachloride. But this killed both insects and crop. The class enemy seized the occasion to scoff: "With Wan-hsi, the expert spoiler in charge, the villagers will have nothing to eat!" Li Wan-hsi did not give up. Together with veteran farmers he continued experimenting until they finally devised a mixture of benzene hexachloride and other substances that poisoned the root-worms. This did no harm to the crop but was very effective against the pest.

By integrating himself with the poor and lower-middle peasants and linking theory with practice, Li Wan-hsi has achieved successes in his agricultural scientific experiments. As a result of improvements in agricultural techniques and the hard work of the commune members, the output of the three main local crops—maize, millet and *kaoliang* (sorghum)—has been increased more than fourfold compared with three years ago. Li Wan-hsi has also trained more than 130 agro-technicians for the people's commune. The poor and lower-middle peasants said happily: "Combining scientific knowledge with our own experience gives fine results!"

Forged and Matured in Class Struggle

Tested in the three great revolutionary movements of class struggle, the struggle for production and scientific experiment, Li Wan-hsi has won the trust of the poor and lower-middle peasants and been elected leader of his production brigade. Since assuming his post, he has firmly grasped the most fundamental of all the many tasks in daily work—he puts the creative

study and application of Chairman Mao's works in first place. He enthusiastically propagates Mao Tse-tung's thought, and has thus won the support and help of the poor and lower-middle peasants.

But the class enemies regard him as a thorn in their flesh. In the great cultural revolution, the fellow who did his best to mock and attack Li when he first came back to the village, managed to instigate some misguided people to put up big-character posters demanding that Li Wan-hsi be overthrown. Li did not waver for a moment in face of this attack by the

class enemy. The poor and lower-middle peasants backed him up firmly. "Wan-hsi," they said, "stand your ground! Even if the sky falls down we'll stand by you!" Inspired by Chairman Mao's teaching: "It is good if we are attacked by the enemy, since it proves that we have drawn a clear line of demarcation between the enemy and ourselves," and shoulder to shoulder with the poor and lower-middle peasants, Li Wan-hsi battled resolutely against the class enemies. In these struggles he himself was forged into a stauncher peasant-intellectual.

Unprecedentedly Excellent Situation in China's Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution

This is the second and concluding instalment of the article. The first instalment appeared in our last (No. 43) issue. — Ed.

Mao Tse-tung's Thought Has Been Popularized on an Unprecedented Scale, Chairman Mao's Revolutionary Line Has Been Implanted in People's Minds, and Brand-New Changes Have Taken Place in the Outlook of the People

OUR great leader Chairman Mao teaches us: **Politics is the commander, the soul in everything.**

Vice-Chairman Lin Piao points out: "We must let the hundreds of millions of the people grasp Mao Tse-tung's thought, put Mao Tse-tung's thought in occupation of all ideological positions and use Mao Tse-tung's thought to transform the outlook of the whole society."

The great proletarian cultural revolution has stirred the proletarian sentiments of the revolutionary masses in their hundreds of millions — their boundless love and esteem for, boundless faith in and boundless loyalty to the great leader Chairman Mao. Activities expressing boundless loyalty to Chairman Mao, to Mao Tse-tung's thought and to Chairman Mao's revolutionary line are being widely carried out throughout the nation. From snow-bound vastnesses and forest expanses to frontier regions and off-shore islands, from the cities to remotest mountain villages, the revolutionary people of all nationalities have hung portraits of Chairman Mao in their homes and covered the walls with quotations from Chairman Mao. Every day they read the treasured works of Chairman Mao and sing revolutionary songs. Conscientiously studying and applying Chairman Mao's works and his latest instructions, they

have carried the great mass movement for the creative study and application of Mao Tse-tung's thought to a new stage.

Chairman Mao teaches: "Running study classes is a good method and many problems can be solved in them." The whole nation, from the national down to the grass-roots levels, is making a big effort running Mao Tse-tung's thought study classes of all types, not only in factories, schools and colleges, government and state organs and P.L.A. companies, but also in neighbourhood groups and families. Many white-haired elders and teenagers have become study class activists. Taking Chairman Mao's latest instructions as their guiding principle in these classes, the broad revolutionary masses and revolutionary cadres fight self and repudiate revisionism and continuously raise their level of consciousness in class struggle and the struggle between the two lines. They have turned their study classes into "furnaces" for tempering their boundless loyalty to Chairman Mao, into classrooms for implementing Chairman Mao's latest instructions and into battlefields for carrying out revolutionary mass criticism and launching fierce attacks against the class enemies.

The wide popularization of Mao Tse-tung's thought gives a great impetus to people's ideological revolutionization. Using the "three constantly read articles" as their maxims, the revolutionary masses consciously put the elimination of self-interest and the fostering of public interest on the plane of the struggle between the two lines and carry the revolution into the depth of their being. Following the examples of Li Wen-chung, "Model in Helping the Left and Cherishing the People," and Comrade Men Ho, "Good Cadre Boundlessly Loyal to Chairman Mao's Revolutionary Line," they display a dauntless spirit and defend Chairman Mao's revolu-

tionary line and Mao Tse-tung's thought in action even at the cost of their lives. The spring breeze of Mao Tse-tung's thought has reached into all families and a new socialist practice is being vigorously developed.

The Working Class Has Stepped on to the Stage of Struggle-Criticism-Transformation in the Superstructure

The great leader Chairman Mao has called on us to "Carry out the tasks of struggle-criticism-transformation conscientiously." He has also pointed out: "Struggle-criticism-transformation in a factory, on the whole, goes through the following stages: establishing a three-in-one revolutionary committee; carrying out mass criticism and repudiation; purifying the class ranks; consolidating the Party organization; and simplifying the administrative structure, changing irrational rules and regulations and sending office workers to the workshops."

The universal establishment of revolutionary committees in the various provinces, municipalities and autonomous regions across the land marks the entrance of the whole movement of the great proletarian cultural revolution into the stage of struggle-criticism-transformation on a nationwide scale. Acting in accordance with Chairman Mao's teachings, the revolutionary masses on all fronts are conscientiously carrying out the tasks of struggle-criticism-transformation. On the basis of deep-going revolutionary mass criticism and repudiation, they are purifying the class ranks, reforming education, literature and art and all parts of the superstructure that do not conform with the socialist economic base, changing irrational rules and regulations, merging offices, reducing the number of personnel and strengthening the front-line of production.

During this great high tide of struggle-criticism-transformation, the working class, as the main force, has mounted the stage of struggle-criticism-transformation in the superstructure; it is promoting the revolution in education and struggle-criticism-transformation in all spheres of the superstructure. This is Chairman Mao's great strategic plan. It is a great revolutionary creation and embodies the great historic mission of the working class.

Chairman Mao says: "Our country has 700 million people, and the working class is the leading class. It is essential to bring into full play the leading role of the working class in the great cultural revolution and in all fields of work. On its part, the working class should always raise its political consciousness in the course of struggle."

The working class is most far-sighted, most selfless and most thoroughly revolutionary. Drawing a clear-cut line of distinction between what it loves and what it hates, it is most loyal to Chairman Mao, has the deepest love for the socialist cause and the deepest hatred for all counter-revolutionary words and deeds that oppose socialism and Mao Tse-tung's thought. The working class has the richest fund of practical ex-

perience in the three great revolutionary movements of class struggle, the struggle for production and scientific experiment. The practice of the great cultural revolution has proved that the revolution in education and the struggle-criticism-transformation in all spheres of the superstructure cannot be accomplished by relying solely on students and intellectuals; it is essential to have the participation of the worker masses and to uphold working-class leadership. Only by so doing can we ensure that every militant order from the proletarian headquarters is promptly carried out.

Recently, large numbers of Mao Tse-tung's thought propaganda teams formed in all parts of the country with the industrial workers as the main body and with the participation of P.L.A. commanders and fighters have, in a planned way and with leadership, entered schools and colleges and all units where struggle-criticism-transformation has not been carried out well. They are giving leadership to the educational revolution in schools and colleges and to struggle-criticism-transformation in all spheres of the superstructure. They are making big efforts to propagate Mao Tse-tung's thought and forcefully spur the victorious development of the revolutionary great alliance, the revolutionary "three-in-one" combination and struggle-criticism-transformation in these units. As a result, many long-standing and difficult problems have been solved and a vigorous revolutionary atmosphere prevails. All this fully demonstrates the tremendous power of the workers' Mao Tse-tung's thought propaganda teams which are a new creation.

Chairman Mao teaches us: "The majority or the vast majority of the students trained in the old schools and colleges can integrate themselves with the workers, peasants and soldiers, and some have made inventions or innovations; they must, however, be re-educated by the workers, peasants and soldiers under the guidance of the correct line, and thoroughly change their old ideology. Such intellectuals will be welcomed by the workers, peasants and soldiers."

After seizing political power, the proletariat must remould intellectuals according to its own image and build up a contingent of proletarian intellectuals serving the interests of the proletariat. This is essential in consolidating and developing the dictatorship of the proletariat and preventing a capitalist restoration; it is essential in order that the proletariat shall establish a completely dominant position in all fields of ideology and culture. In building such a contingent of proletarian intellectuals, it is imperative to carry out a thoroughgoing proletarian revolution in education, take the revolutionary road of training technical personnel and other intellectuals from among the workers, peasants and soldiers and select students from among the workers, peasants and Liberation Army fighters with practical experience in production. Meanwhile, it is also essential to re-educate the large numbers of intellectuals trained in the old schools and colleges in the past and to win over and unite with the broad masses of intellectuals. Intellectuals can make their con-

tributions in serving the workers, peasants and soldiers only when they advance along Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line, receive re-education from the workers, peasants and soldiers and integrate with them, completely wipe out the pernicious influence of China's Khrushchov's revisionist line on education and thoroughly repudiate and make constant efforts to change the old bourgeois ideas which they have brought with them from their families and schools.

The great proletarian cultural revolution has opened up broader prospects for the intellectuals to integrate themselves with the workers, peasants and soldiers, remould their world outlook and serve the people still better. The working class stepping on to the stage of struggle-criticism-transformation in the superstructure has ushered in a new phase in the proletarian revolution in education. This will certainly accelerate the process by which China's working class remoulds the intellectuals according to its own image.

Cared and Fostered by Comrade Chiang Ching, Splendid Works of Art Shining With the Brilliance of Mao Tse-tung's Thought Have Been Created on The Literary and Art Front

The great proletarian cultural revolution has smashed the sinister counter-revolutionary revisionist line on literature and art backed by China's Khrushchov and has upheld Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line on literature and art. Guided by Chairman Mao's revolutionary line on literature and art and under the direct care of and nurtured by Comrade Chiang Ching, revolutionary artists have created the fine revolutionary modern Peking operas *The Red Lantern*, *Taking the Bandits' Stronghold*, *Shachiapang*, *On the Docks* and *Raid on the White Tiger Regiment*, the revolutionary modern ballets *The Red Detachment of Women* and *The White-Haired Girl* and the revolutionary symphonic work *Shachiapang*. These have all been warmly welcomed and highly praised by the worker, peasant and soldier masses of China. In the wake of these eight model revolutionary theatrical works, two more gems of proletarian revolutionary art were born this year—the piano music *The Red Lantern* with Peking opera singing and the revolutionary oil painting *Chairman Mao Goes to Anyuan*. Glittering with the radiance of Mao Tse-tung's thought, these model revolutionary theatrical works and this revolutionary oil painting, new in content and artistically of a high standard, mark the start of a new epoch of China's proletarian literature and art in which a hundred flowers are blossoming. They usher in a new era of growth in the world's new, proletarian literature and art.

Thriving Situation in China's Industrial and Agricultural Production

The great leader Chairman Mao teaches us: **Revolution means liberating the productive forces and promoting their growth. "Grasp revolution and promote production."**

The upsurge in revolution promotes the upsurge in production. During the great proletarian cultural revolution, the great thought of Mao Tse-tung has further armed the hundreds of millions of the people and speeded up people's ideological revolutionization. A tremendous spiritual force has been transformed into an enormous material force, and a thriving situation has emerged in China's industrial and agricultural production.

On the industrial front, full of a high sense of revolutionary responsibility and political enthusiasm stemming from the realization that **"the working class is the leading class,"** the revolutionary workers and staff have vigorously grasped revolution and promoted production. A large number of industrial and mining enterprises in Peking, Shanghai and other cities have increased output month by month and many factories have created new production records.

Many workers-turned-technicians, young revolutionary technical personnel and revolutionary cadres of the Shanghai Machine Tools Plant are scaling new heights in technology. In the first half of 1968 alone, they successfully trial produced ten new types of precision grinders, four of which were on an advanced international level. The speed with which these were made and their quality are both unprecedented in this plant.

Following Chairman Mao's great teachings, **"Do away with all fetishes and superstitions and emancipate the mind"** and **"catch up with and surpass advanced world levels,"** China's iron and steel workers have vigorously thrown off the fetters of the "philosophy of crawling" pushed by China's Khrushchov, shattered foreign stereotypes and dogmas, and greatly improved the quality and increased the output and number of varieties of steel ingots and rolled steel. In the first three quarters of this year, the Anshan Iron and Steel Company alone introduced 1,000 technical innovations and turned out many new varieties of rolled steel urgently needed by the state. In Shanghai's steel plants, output of steel ingots and rolled steel rose steadily quarter by quarter. These plants, while successfully trial producing a batch of important new products, have also raised the quality of many products to the world's advanced levels.

Since the start of this year, reports of new successes have continued to come in from the nation's coal industry. A succession of new production records and technical innovations have been reported. Compared with April, the average daily output of coal increased in August by 39 per cent. Marked increases were also recorded in development and tunnel-driving.

In 1968, new peak production levels have been created in the textile industries of Peking, Shanghai, Tientsin and the provinces of Hopei, Shantung, Kiangsi and Heilungkiang. These account for nearly one half of China's textile capacity.

Tested in the class struggle, China's rural people's communes are better consolidated and stronger than

ever before. On the agricultural front, a vigorous upsurge in grasping revolution and promoting production has taken shape. Resolutely responding to Chairman Mao's great teaching, "In agriculture, learn from Tachai," and carrying forward the revolutionary spirit of hard work and self-reliance, China's hundreds of millions of poor and lower-middle peasants and rural revolutionary cadres, while struggling against the class enemies, have at the same time heroically and tenaciously overcome natural calamities and all sorts of difficulties in production. In the wake of the bumper harvests of the past few years, they have again reaped rich harvests of summer crops and early rice this year. Autumn crops are everywhere growing well and in certain districts prospects are the best for many years. Another rich harvest has been won in such crops and farm products as grain, cotton, cured tobacco, bast fibre, tea, fruit and silkworm cocoons.

China has made tremendous achievements in scientific research and in its national defence industries during the great proletarian cultural revolution. We not only have the atom bomb and guided missile, but the hydrogen bomb as well. Armed with Mao Tse-tung's thought, the Chinese people have enormous creative powers and they will continue to scale new heights in science and technology and perform earth-shaking miracles.

On the basis of the vigorous development of industrial and agricultural production, prices remain stable and markets are brisk all over the country. There are thriving scenes everywhere.

The deep and far-reaching influence exercised by the great proletarian cultural revolution in every field

Repudiating China's Khrushchov

The Dictatorship of the Proletariat Is Dictatorship by the Masses

by Proletarian Revolutionaries of the Political Academy of
The Chinese People's Liberation Army

OUR great leader Chairman Mao teaches us: "Without broad democracy for the people, it is impossible for the dictatorship of the proletariat to be consolidated or for political power to be stable. Without democracy, without arousing the masses and without supervision by the masses, it is impossible to exercise effective

is just being revealed. This will certainly create the requisite conditions for China's new industrial revolution and bring about a still bigger leap forward in the work of socialist construction.

The Brilliant Achievements of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution Are a Great Victory of Chairman Mao's Revolutionary Line

Vice-Chairman Lin Piao says: "All our achievements and successes are gained under the brilliant leadership of Chairman Mao and are victories of Mao Tse-tung's thought."

Reviewing the militant course of the great proletarian cultural revolution in the past two years and more, we deeply realize that every one of our achievements shines with the thought of Mao Tse-tung. All of our successes are the great fruits of all-round implementation of Chairman Mao's latest instructions and of resolutely carrying out the militant orders of the proletarian headquarters headed by Chairman Mao and with Vice-Chairman Lin Piao as its deputy leader.

"Sailing the seas depends on the helmsman; making revolution depends on Mao Tse-tung's thought." This is an incontrovertible truth.

Holding high the great red banner of Mao Tse-tung's thought, the hundreds of millions of revolutionary people of the country are now united more firmly than ever before around the proletarian headquarters headed by Chairman Mao and with Vice-Chairman Lin Piao as its deputy leader, and are forging ahead to win all-round victory in the great proletarian cultural revolution.

dictatorship over the reactionaries and bad elements or to remould them effectively; they will continue to make trouble and may stage a come-back."

This teaching of Chairman Mao's most penetratingly and profoundly expounds the relationship between

proletarian democracy and the dictatorship of the proletariat. With genius and creativity, Chairman Mao here sets forth the theory of dictatorship exercised by the masses under the leadership of the proletarian political party. This has greatly enriched and developed the Marxist-Leninist theory of the state.

Practising Democracy Towards the People and Exercising Dictatorship Over the Enemy

Chairman Mao teaches us: **"During the historical period of socialism it is necessary to maintain the dictatorship of the proletariat and carry the socialist revolution through to the end if the restoration of capitalism is to be prevented, socialist construction carried forward and the conditions created for the transition to communism."**

This wise thesis of Chairman Mao's has been fully borne out by the historical experience of the dictatorship of the proletariat.

The dictatorship of the proletariat and the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie are both dictatorships exercised by one class over another. But the dictatorship of the proletariat is the revolutionary dictatorship exercised by the proletariat and the broad masses of the people over the bourgeoisie and all other exploiting classes. It is the dictatorship exercised by the overwhelming majority over a small minority. On the contrary, the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie is a counter-revolutionary dictatorship exercised by the bourgeoisie over the proletariat and the broad masses of the people. It is a dictatorship exercised by a small minority over the overwhelming majority.

Referring to this question not long ago, Chairman Mao pointed out profoundly: **"To protect the masses or to repress them — here is the basic distinction between the Communist Party and the Kuomintang, between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie, and between the dictatorship of the proletariat and the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie."**

The dictatorship of the proletariat and proletarian democracy form a unity of opposites. Democracy operates within the ranks of the people, while dictatorship is exercised over the enemies of the people; the unity of contradiction of these two aspects is the dictatorship of the proletariat. To rely on the masses of the people and to strengthen the dictatorship of the proletariat are two sides of one and the same question. Proletarian democracy cannot, in any sense, be set absolutely against the dictatorship of the proletariat or confused with bourgeois democracy.

Representing the interests of imperialism, the Kuomintang reactionaries, the bourgeoisie, and the landlords, rich peasants, counter-revolutionaries, bad elements and Rightists, China's Khrushchov wildly oppos-

ed the dictatorship of the proletariat. He babbled about the "democratic spirit" being tantamount to the "spirit of complete equality for all mankind" and "no man has the right to oppress or exploit another." With ulterior motives, he set democracy absolutely against dictatorship and confused proletarian democracy with bourgeois democracy.

Is the "democratic spirit" the "spirit of complete equality for all mankind"? In class society, there is only democracy in the concrete sense, class democracy, and there has never been an abstract "spirit of complete equality for all mankind," which transcends classes. This so-called "spirit of complete equality for all mankind" is a trick played by the bourgeoisie to deceive the working people and cover up the bloody rule of capitalism.

As Lenin pointed out, bourgeois democracy is **"restricted, truncated, false and hypocritical, a paradise for the rich and a snare and deception for the exploited, for the poor,"** whereas proletarian democracy **"will for the first time create democracy for the people, for the majority, along with the necessary suppression of the minority — the exploiters."**

When there is democracy for the bourgeoisie there is no democracy for the proletariat, and vice versa. There has never been "democracy" which ensures "complete equality for all mankind." In advocating the "democratic spirit," China's Khrushchov was actually advertising bourgeois democracy.

"No man has the right to oppress or exploit another." This is utter humbug! Without oppressing and exploiting the proletariat and other working people, the bourgeoisie cannot exist for a single day. Before the proletariat and other working people can be emancipated, the proletariat must smash the bourgeois state apparatus by violence, rely on the strength of proletarian political power to seize the means of production from the bourgeoisie and put down the resistance of the bourgeoisie. Kindness to the enemy is cruelty to the people. If you do not oppress the exploiting classes, they will oppress you. In advocating "no oppression," China's Khrushchov was in fact trying to abolish the dictatorship of the proletariat.

Negating the fundamental difference between proletarian democracy and bourgeois democracy is a feature common to all counter-revolutionary revisionists. Kautsky, the rank scab of the Second International, hoisted the threadbare flag of "pure democracy" to prettify imperialism and cover up the festering sores of capitalism. Khrushchov, the arch renegade from the international communist movement, put up the signboard of "democracy for the entire people" to cover up the rule of the new aristocrats in the Soviet Union, and thus restored capitalism in the country where the dictatorship of the proletariat was first established. China's Khrushchov

shchov, Kautsky and Khrushchov are jackals from the same lair.

The Masses Are the Source of Strength of the Proletarian Dictatorship

Dictatorship by the masses has been a consistent idea of our great leader Chairman Mao. Shortly after the founding of New China, he pointed out that, in the work of suppressing counter-revolutionaries, it was necessary to combat working behind closed doors and in a "mysterious" way, and instructed that security committees should be organized by the masses throughout the country.

Since 1957, Chairman Mao has pointed out again and again that in the work of suppressing counter-revolutionaries and in public security work it is necessary to rely on the masses, mobilize them fully and carry out the mass line.

In 1962, in his speech at a 7,000-strong rally, Chairman Mao profoundly expounded the great significance of the exercise of dictatorship by the masses.

In 1965, Chairman Mao made mobilization of the masses to supervise the class enemies conscientiously and remould them on the spot one of the criteria for judging whether the socialist education movement was being conducted well.

During the great proletarian cultural revolution, Chairman Mao pointed out again with deep wisdom that dictatorship meant dictatorship by the masses.

These brilliant ideas of Chairman Mao's have greatly enriched and developed the Marxist-Leninist theory of the dictatorship of the proletariat.

Taking the counter-revolutionary revisionist stand, China's Khrushchov openly opposed Chairman Mao's all-illuminating idea of dictatorship by the masses. He babbled: "Do not let the masses deal as they like with counter-revolutionaries and criminal offenders." "The security and judicial organs alone can be depended on to deal with them." He did his utmost to advocate close-doorism and working in a "mysterious" way.

Under the leadership of the Communist Party, the masses are the source of strength of the dictatorship of the proletariat. The dictatorship of the proletariat cannot be made effective by depending solely on the public security organs and without the direct participation of the masses of the revolutionary people.

Only by relying on the working class, the poor and lower-middle peasants and the revolutionary masses, is it possible for the dictatorship of the proletariat, under the leadership of the Party, to consolidate the worker-peasant alliance, effectively put down sabotage and disturbances by domestic and foreign class enemies, defeat

the attacks of the bourgeoisie, overcome the spontaneous forces of capitalism, consolidate and develop the socialist economy and build China into a great socialist country.

Since the founding of New China, the land reform, the suppression of counter-revolutionaries and the struggle against the Rightists, all led by our great leader Chairman Mao, were vigorous revolutionary mass movements in which dictatorship was exercised by the masses and one victory after another was won.

The historical experience of the dictatorship of the proletariat proves that after the proletariat has seized political power, class struggle, far from coming to an end, becomes more widespread, acute and complex. The overthrown exploiting classes are not reconciled to defeat. They engage in sabotage and make trouble in all kinds of ways, and, in particular, do all they can to find agents inside the Communist Party to achieve their aim of restoring capitalism.

Chairman Mao teaches us that, under the dictatorship of the proletariat, the main targets of revolution are the representatives of the bourgeoisie who have sneaked into the organs of the dictatorship of the proletariat, are the handful of Party persons in authority taking the capitalist road.

Since they are counter-revolutionary double-dealers who wave "red flags" to oppose the red flag and form the bourgeois headquarters hidden inside the organs of the dictatorship of the proletariat, it is all the more necessary for the masses to be fully mobilized and that dictatorship be exercised by the masses in order to ferret them out of their hiding places.

The great and unprecedented proletarian cultural revolution is a most extensive and deep-going revolutionary mass movement under the dictatorship of the proletariat. Guided by Mao Tse-tung's thought, the masses of the people in their hundreds of millions have created an extensive socialist democracy never before known and given great play to the might of the dictatorship exercised by the masses. They smashed the criminal conspiracy of the handful of Party capitalist roaders represented by China's Khrushchov to restore capitalism, and have greatly consolidated and strengthened the dictatorship of the proletariat.

The exercising of dictatorship by the masses does not reduce the role of the security and judicial organs. During the entire historical period of socialism, our organs of dictatorship should not be weakened but should be strengthened. However, such specialized organs can be effective only when they rely on the masses.

By opposing the exercise of dictatorship by the masses and advocating "dependence on the security and

(Continued on p. 30.)

Soviet-Czechoslovak Treaty Legalizes Transformation of Czechoslovakia Into Soviet Revisionist Colony

— Excerpts from an editorial in Albanian paper *Zeri i Popullit*

The Czechoslovak people, who have a revolutionary tradition, will not accept Soviet revisionist aggressors' treaty. They will take all measures to wage a resolute struggle against foreign occupiers and traitors.

THE Albanian paper *Zeri i Popullit*, in its October 23 editorial entitled "Treaty Which Legalizes the Transformation of Czechoslovakia Into a Colony of the Soviet Revisionists," exposed the Soviet revisionist renegade clique's recently devised Soviet-Czechoslovak treaty for the long-term military occupation of Czechoslovakia.

The editorial pointed out that in the eyes of the freedom-loving peoples all over the world, the Soviet-Czechoslovak treaty has further revealed the aggressive imperialist nature and the renegade features of those who cooked up the treaty.

The editorial said that one can see from the very first article of this treaty the essence of "tank diplomacy," because this treaty was concluded following a *fait accompli* and an all-round military occupation under cover of cannon and tanks. This treaty is designed to legalize the Soviet revisionists' occupation of Czechoslovakia and Czechoslovakia's complete subordination to the headquarters of the Soviet occupation troops.

It exposed the Soviet revisionists' false claims in the articles of this treaty that "the stationing of Soviet troops in Czechoslovakia does not encroach upon its sovereignty," that "the Soviet troops do not interfere in the internal affairs of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic," that the Soviet troops "will abide by the laws of Czechoslovakia," and other similar lies. The whole world, the editorial said, has seen that Czechoslovakia's sovereignty has been crushed by Soviet tanks since August 21 and that Czechoslovakia's laws have been replaced by the brute force of the occupiers.

In actual fact, it added, this notorious treaty simply does not recognize the existence of Czechoslovakia as a sovereign state, as a state with social, economic and juridical independence. After resorting to desperate efforts to resolve the Czechoslovakia issue by "the military method," the Soviet revisionist imperialists assumed the status of master. They created all kinds of privileges and special conditions for enabling themselves to act as

neo-colonialists in the country, doing as they please in all its activities in the political, economic, social and cultural fields. Whenever they wish, the Soviet occupation troops and their families can enter and leave Czechoslovakia without visas, and they are exempt from customs inspection. As a result, Czechoslovakia's state sovereignty and its inviolable national boundaries have become as worthless as a rag or a broken-down fence.

The editorial said that the treaty shamelessly and openly stipulates that the personnel of the Soviet occupation troops are absolved from any responsibility for "the crimes they commit while on duty in those areas which have been put at the disposal of the Soviet troops." This means that Czechoslovakia's laws can never be applied to the Soviet occupation troops.

The editorial noted that the treaty also stipulates that Soviet courts have the right to conduct trials on the territory of Czechoslovakia, and that Soviet procuratorial authorities and other organs can exercise their power on Czechoslovak territory in accordance with Soviet laws. This is tantamount to recognizing the occupiers' extra-territoriality and their right to have unrestrained freedom. That means they can swagger about as they please.

It pointed out that the virtual long-term stationing of Soviet occupation troops in Czechoslovakia, which is now legalized by the treaty, is bound to exert an influence on the foreign policies of that country. Leading figures among the Czechoslovak traitors have docilely obeyed and prostrated themselves before the Soviet occupiers.

It added that this neo-colonialist treaty of enslavement is the product of fascist aggression against Czechoslovakia. Through this treaty, legally the Czechoslovak people's freedom, sovereignty and national dignity have been completely buried.

The editorial continued that this treaty, which was cooked up in Moscow and signed in Prague, was forcibly

imposed on the victims. Instead of resolving the crises which the Soviet revisionist clique and the entire revisionist front are facing in Czechoslovakia and in other places, it has further deepened these crises, and has obviously exacerbated the already difficult political, economic and social conditions in the Soviet Union, as well as the relations among all the countries within the revisionist bloc. In particular, it has inevitably deepened and aggravated the irreconcilable contradictions between the Soviet revisionist occupiers and the freedom-loving Czechoslovak people. The Moscow revisionist leading clique is doing its utmost to make use of this treaty to hoodwink world public opinion. It is trying to use a so-called bilateral agreement to legalize its imperialist and colonialist crimes. But it will not work. This new treaty has once again shown up the Soviet revisionists as aggressors, occupiers, exploiters and im-

perialists. By signing this treaty, the Dubcek-Cernik clique has once again shown itself up as a gang of renegades, enemy collaborators and quislings.

But there is no doubt that the Czechoslovak people will scornfully discard this treaty which has bestowed "legality" upon the colonialist occupation of their motherland. They will not tolerate aggression or occupation. They will never accept the Soviet revisionist aggressors' treaty or the betrayal and capitulation of the Dubcek-Cernik-Svoboda clique. They have exposed all these and are now opposing them. To uphold the sacred cause of winning national liberation and re-establishing the dictatorship of the proletariat, the Czechoslovak people, who have a great revolutionary tradition, will certainly strengthen their resistance, take all measures, and even take up arms to wage a resolute struggle against the foreign occupiers and the traitors.

Soviet Revisionists' Crime of Savage Aggression Against Czechoslovakia Most Strongly Condemned

— Statement by the Delegation of the Central Committee of the Indonesian Communist Party

Resolutely supporting the struggle of the revolutionary peoples of the Soviet Union and Czechoslovakia to overthrow the modern revisionist cliques

THE Delegation of the Central Committee of the Indonesian Communist Party issued a statement in September on the Soviet revisionist renegade clique's fascist crime of armed aggression against Czechoslovakia. Signed by Comrade Jusuf Adjitorop, Member of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Indonesian Communist Party and leader of the Delegation of the Party's Central Committee, the statement entitled "The Marxist-Leninists and the Revolutionary People of Indonesia Most Strongly Condemn the Soviet Modern Revisionist Barbarous Aggression Against Czechoslovakia" reads in full as follows:

The barbarous armed invasion of the Soviet modern revisionists against Czechoslovakia on August 20, 1968, and their intention to occupy and rule this country permanently, have exposed their true features before the peoples of the world. It clearly proves that the Soviet modern revisionists are not just a bunch of bankrupt renegades, but they are also social-imperialists. This clique of renegades are "socialists in words but imperialists in deeds." On the pretext of "defending socialism" in Czechoslovakia, the Soviet modern revisionists are trying to justify their aggression against Czechoslovakia. It is the Khrushchovite revisionist clique itself which, after having usurped the leader-

ship of the C.P.S.U. and of the state of the Soviet Union, has brought about an all-round restoration of capitalism in the Soviet Union, and at the same time aroused an adverse current of capitalist restoration in a number of socialist countries of Eastern Europe. The Soviet modern revisionist clique headed by Brezhnev and Kosygin is the centre of the counter-revolutionary activities to restore capitalism in the socialist camp which it has destroyed; it is the centre of the activities of modern revisionism the world over against socialism, revolution, people and communism. It is the centre of the activities of world modern revisionism for its capitulationist collaboration with the imperialists headed by U.S. imperialism. It is the centre of the world renegades, the slaves and mercenaries of U.S. imperialism. It is the Soviet modern revisionists' own agents who have been obediently bringing about counter-revolutionary, anti-people restoration of capitalism in Czechoslovakia.

The Soviet modern revisionists went wild and lined up their puppets from Poland, East Germany, Bulgaria and Hungary to launch a savage aggression against Czechoslovakia, because the Dubcek modern revisionist clique was not loyal enough, because the Dubcek clique wished to be free to sell itself to U.S. imperialism

directly. All nonsensical pretexts of the Soviet modern revisionists to justify their aggression against Czechoslovakia only made them, and their accomplices in Poland, Bulgaria, East Germany, Hungary and Czechoslovakia, even more exposed. This savage aggression shows the further disintegration within the modern revisionist camp.

The aggression of the modern revisionists headed by the revisionist leading clique of the C.P.S.U. has revealed further the monstrous collusion of the C.P.S.U. revisionist leading clique with the U.S. imperialists to redivide the world into their "spheres of influence," namely, Eastern Europe is recognized as within the "sphere of influence" of the Soviet modern revisionists, while Middle East and Southeast Asia including south Vietnam as within the "sphere of influence" of the United States. This criminal collusion is to give them "freedom of action" in their so-called respective spheres of influence. This is a big plot condemned and strongly opposed by all Marxist-Leninists and revolutionary peoples all over the world. The Soviet modern revisionists who have become social-imperialists and the U.S. imperialists will certainly fail in their unscrupulous attempt to redivide the world into their "spheres of influence." As Comrade Mao Tse-tung pointed out long ago: **"The people of all countries, the masses comprising more than 90 per cent of the entire population, sooner or later want revolution and sooner or later support Marxism-Leninism. They will not support revisionism. Though some people may support revisionism for a while, they will eventually cast it aside. They are bound to awaken gradually; they are bound to oppose the imperialists and reactionaries in all countries; they are bound to oppose revisionism."**

The Czechoslovak incident has further convincingly educated the revolutionary people all over the world about the rottenness and bankruptcy of the modern revisionists.

In face of the Soviet modern revisionist savage aggression, the Czechoslovak modern revisionist clique has demonstrated its traitorous features by prohibiting the people to resist the aggression. By signing the Moscow agreement, the Czechoslovak revisionist clique has further sold out the interests of the Czechoslovak people. But the heroic Czechoslovak people, like the great Soviet people, and the revolutionary people of Poland, Bulgaria, East Germany, Hungary and other countries under the savage yoke of the modern revisionists, will certainly rise up in struggle and eventually overthrow the modern revisionist rulers. By using Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tse-tung's thought as their most powerful weapon, the Marxist-Leninists and revolutionary peoples of these countries will certainly seize back the state power usurped by the revisionists, thoroughly smash the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie, and re-establish the dictatorship of the proletariat.

The Soviet modern revisionists — social-imperialists — and the U.S. imperialists cannot do as they wish like a big power with giant cannons in the era of the reign

of "gunboat policy," which could always dictate its will to the oppressed peoples and oppressed nations. This era will never return again.

In the world of today there is a mighty bastion of the world revolution, which is red and will remain red for ever, i.e., the great People's Republic of China. With the all-round victory of the great proletarian cultural revolution in China, under the leadership of the great Chinese Communist Party and Chairman Mao Tse-tung, the great People's China has been further strengthened as the mightiest bastion and the most reliable backing of the world revolution. The great proletarian cultural revolution has also promoted further the propagation of Mao Tse-tung's thought, the acme of Marxism-Leninism in the present era, to the whole world, and the revolutionary peoples begin to use this most powerful weapon in their struggle to defeat the imperialists headed by the U.S. imperialists, the modern revisionists headed by the C.P.S.U. leading clique, and the reactionaries of all countries. In Europe, the people of Albania, under the leadership of the Albanian Party of Labour and Comrade Enver Hoxha, are firmly consolidating the dictatorship of the proletariat and the socialist system, and they also stand in the forefront of this struggle. The Marxist-Leninists and the revolutionary peoples all over the world have dealt heavy blows to their enemies and are gradually gaining one victory after another. U.S. imperialism and its accomplices, the social-imperialists — Soviet modern revisionists, and reactionaries of all countries, are approaching nearer and nearer their bankruptcy and their ultimate collapse. Now, the world revolution has entered a new era, the era in which imperialism is heading for total collapse and socialism is advancing to worldwide victory. The modern revisionists cannot escape the same fate as that of the imperialists.

The U.S. imperialists and the Soviet modern revisionists are on the verge of extinction and are conducting a last-ditch struggle. In Eastern Europe, the Soviet modern revisionists launched aggression against Czechoslovakia and continue to occupy it. In Indonesia, the Soviet modern revisionists are intensifying still more their counter-revolutionary activities, assisting the Suharto-Nasution fascist regime, economically and militarily, to murder the progressive people and the Communists of Indonesia. The Soviet modern revisionists are also carrying out activities to split the Indonesian revolutionary movement, vainly attempting to split the Communist Party of Indonesia! The Soviet modern revisionists are also conducting criminal activities, rallying a handful of P.K.I. renegades in Moscow and using these scums of history to intensify their activities to split the P.K.I. and the revolutionary people of Indonesia, to persecute Indonesian Communists and progressives and expel them from the Soviet Union. The Marxist-Leninists and the revolutionary people of Indonesia most strongly condemn these counter-revolutionary activities of the Soviet modern revisionists. At present the Indonesian people, who under the leadership of the P.K.I. are launching revolutionary armed struggle

and surmounting every difficulty, will, under the guidance of Mao Tse-tung's thought, certainly smash the schemes of the Soviet modern revisionists against the Indonesian people, overthrow the Suharto-Nasution fascist regime and achieve ultimate victory.

It is pointed out in the document of "Self-Criticism by the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Indonesian Communist Party" that "the Indonesian Marxist-Leninists and revolutionaries, on the basis of their own experience in struggle, do not have the slightest doubt about the correctness of Comrade Mao Tse-tung's thesis that the imperialists and all reactionaries are paper tigers. In appearance, they are terrifying, but in reality they are not so powerful. From a long-term point of view, it is not the reactionaries but the people who are really powerful. The military dictatorship of the Right-wing army generals which is now in power is also a paper tiger. In appearance they are powerful and terrifying. But in reality they are not so powerful, because they are not supported but, on the contrary, are opposed by the people, because their ranks are beset by contradictions, and because they are quarrelling among themselves for a bigger share of their plunder and for greater power."

The Marxist-Leninists and the revolutionary people of Indonesia most strongly condemn the barbarous aggression of the Soviet modern revisionists against Czechoslovakia and resolutely support the struggle of the revolutionary peoples of Czechoslovakia, of the Soviet Union and of other countries to overthrow the

modern revisionist cliques which are oppressing them. The Marxist-Leninists and the revolutionary people of Indonesia are firmly convinced that the revolutionary people of Czechoslovakia will surely intensify their struggle against the military occupation of the Soviet modern revisionists, against the Dubcek traitorous clique which has fallen on its knees and capitulated under the threat of Soviet guns and tanks, and has sold out the country and the nation.

The people of Czechoslovakia and of Indonesia are both facing the common enemies, namely, the imperialists headed by the United States, the Soviet modern revisionists and the Czechoslovak clique of modern revisionists and the reactionaries who have become their lackeys. So long as the Czechoslovak and Indonesian people persist in carrying out armed struggle by relying upon the masses, persevere in a protracted struggle and, above all, hold aloft the great red banner of Mao Tse-tung's thought, the class enemies and the people's enemies will surely be defeated!

Down with the social-imperialists, Soviet modern revisionists!

Down with the renegades, Czechoslovak modern revisionist clique!

Down with U.S. imperialism!

Long live the revolutionary struggle of the Czechoslovak people!

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

Soviet Revisionists Have Degenerated Into Imperialists Waving the Signboard Of Socialism

— Statement by the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Brazil condemns Soviet revisionists for their crime of aggression against Czechoslovakia

Firmly believes that the Soviet people, the Czechoslovak people and the people of other countries will rise against the renegades who are oppressing them

THE Central Committee of the Communist Party of Brazil, in a recent statement, strongly condemned the Soviet revisionist renegade clique for its criminal aggression against Czechoslovakia. The Soviet modern revisionists, the statement pointed out, have degenerat-

ed into imperialists waving the signboard of socialism and are collaborating with U.S. imperialism in an attempt to redivide the world.

It said that the aggression against Czechoslovakia by the troops of the Soviet Union and its Warsaw Pact

allies constituted one of the major crimes committed by the modern revisionists. The infamous act of the group headed by Brezhnev and Kosygin has blemished the glorious revolutionary tradition of the Soviet people. It has started operations of a typical imperialist nature.

The statement pointed out: The present leading group in the Soviet Union is a gang of renegades to the workers' movement, and it represents a privileged bourgeois stratum in Soviet society. Under the rule of this revisionist clique, the nature of the regime established by the October Revolution has changed, the socialist gains have been wiped out and capitalism has been restored. These renegades have sunk to the most shameless position of collaborating with U.S. imperialism in an attempt to divide the world into U.S. and Soviet spheres of influence. Together with the most reactionary forces, they have formed a holy alliance against the people, against revolution and against communism.

The Czechoslovak revisionists, the statement said, are sliding along a similar road of betrayal. They have also forfeited the gains won by the labouring people and have led their country to capitalism. Novotny is an out-and-out revisionist and his successor, Dubcek, is also a shameless revisionist.

The statement continued: The Soviet modern revisionists have revealed their true features before the people of the world. They are nothing but imperialists and fascists masquerading as defenders of socialism. They are hypocritically flaunting the flag of communism to deceive the working people and oppress the Soviet and other peoples. While always invoking the name of Lenin, they have in fact carried out a policy completely negating Leninism. They are a bunch of barefaced politicians working hand in glove with the White House gangsters in an effort to dominate the world.

The Brazilian people, the statement pointed out, realize that the Soviet Union is no longer a socialist country. The Communist Party of Brazil strongly condemns the Soviet Union for its aggression against Czechoslovakia. Despite the fact that Czechoslovakia is now under revisionist domination, the Czechoslovak working people will take up the historical task of re-establishing the dictatorship of the proletariat and of eliminating the renegades to the communist cause. At the same time, it is necessary to overthrow the privileged bourgeois stratum which is in power in the Soviet

Union. And this task will surely be accomplished by the working class and the labouring people of the Soviet Union.

The statement said: The Brazilian proletarian revolutionaries have persisted in denouncing the infamous activities of the revisionists. Together with the Marxist-Leninists throughout the world, they support and express solidarity with the people of Lenin's country, the people of Gottwald's country and the people of other countries in their struggle to overthrow the revisionist cliques. They firmly believe that the Czechoslovak people, the Soviet people and the people of other countries will rise against the renegades who are oppressing them. The Communist Party of Brazil holds that all the revolutionary people of the world should unite and carry out a persevering struggle against U.S. imperialism and its ally, Soviet revisionism.

The statement said in conclusion: "Millions of ordinary people the world over, including the Soviet people, have come to realize that Brezhnev and Kosygin are enemies of the peoples, that they are carrying out a policy which is contrary to the interests of the peoples. The spearhead of the struggle of the peoples will surely be directed against modern revisionism and Yankee imperialism.

"The Marxist-Leninist Parties have won the highest prestige and authority because they have consistently denounced the betrayal by revisionism and have pointed out the genuine road of revolution. Truth is on the side of the Marxist-Leninist Parties. Upholding the dictatorship of the proletariat and holding high the banner of the great proletarian cultural revolution, the Communist Party of China, under the wise leadership of Mao Tse-tung, has become the most powerful and advanced detachment of world revolution. The Albanian Party of Labour, led by the long-tested Marxist-Leninist, Enver Hoxha, has become an invincible bulwark of socialism.

"No matter how the imperialists and revisionists intensify their counter-revolutionary activities, revolution is moving forward irresistibly. The flames of class struggle are raging everywhere. No one can prevent the people of the world from winning victory. Communism has increasingly become the great and sole hope of the exploited and the oppressed, the guiding light for the people who are fighting to free themselves from capitalist oppression."

A LAME ALIBI

by FAN HSIU-PING

TO cover up the aggressive nature of Soviet revisionist social-imperialism, TASS on August 30 came up with a sorry alibi. For advertising purposes, it made a long list of Soviet revisionist "aid" to Czechoslovakia the way one totes up one's valuables. Posing as a "benefactor," it glibly talked about having "provided" Czechoslovakia with supplies and "satisfied" its needs. The supplies included everything, from Donbas coal to Ukraine flour. What great, selfless and all-round "aid"! As if this could write off at one stroke the enormous crime of using planes, artillery and tanks for the armed occupation of Czechoslovakia and suppression of its people.

Our great leader Chairman Mao has taught us: **"The governments of the imperialist countries, though they engaged in counter-revolutionary activities every day, had never told the truth in their statements or official documents but had filled or at least flavoured them with professions of humanity, justice and virtue."** This is just how the Soviet revisionist renegade clique has acted.

The mass of figures set down by TASS cannot conceal the gangsters' diabolical face. It was to devour a little girl that the wolf in a Russian fairy-tale disguised itself as her "grandmother" wearing a beautiful night cap. It is to engage in ruthless plunder that the Soviet revisionist renegade clique dresses itself up as a "philanthropist" under the attractive signboard of "aid."

"According to official data," TASS said, "Soviet-Czechoslovak trade in 1967 reached 1,754.7 million rubles. Czechoslovakia purchased 870.7 million rubles worth of commodities and the Soviet Union 884 million rubles worth of commodities." This sounds as if trade was indeed based on "equality, mutual benefit" and "balance." But the TASS figures can deceive nobody. Trade within the "Council for Mutual Economic Aid" is unequal and a means by which Soviet revisionist social-imperialism exploits and plunders other members of the council. A machine from "allies" in the council, including Czechoslovakia, which can be exchanged for 520 tons of iron ore in other markets, is exchanged for only 140 tons in the Soviet Union. This means that the export of 140 tons of iron ore enables the Soviet revisionists to squeeze out of Czechoslovakia commodities worth 380 tons of iron ore. If Soviet iron ore exports to Czechoslovakia in 1966-70 alone are calculated at 50 million tons, as TASS said, the commodities thus plundered there by the Soviet revisionists will be equivalent to 135 million tons of iron ore in value. How can

such cruel plunder be covered up by the TASS figure of more than "800 million" rubles?

TASS shamelessly boasted that "what the Soviet Union supplied almost fully satisfied Czechoslovakia's oil needs." This is nonsense too! The Czechoslovak revisionists are economically dependent on the Soviet revisionists. It is true that Czechoslovakia depends on the Soviet Union for 80 per cent of its iron ore and almost 100 per cent of its oil. But TASS deliberately avoided mentioning how expensive the oil sent via the "Friendship" pipeline is. For example, rolling stock from member nations of the "Council for Mutual Economic Aid," including Czechoslovakia, can get the equivalent of only 1,300 tons of oil in the Soviet Union, instead of 3,400 tons in other markets. Furthermore, TASS made no mention of the fact that all uranium from Tachov in Czechoslovakia "satisfies" the Soviet revisionists' needs and cannot be sold to "nations other than the Soviet Union."

TASS said: "In the past ten years, the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic's annual grain imports from the Soviet Union averaged two-thirds of the former's state grain requisition." This is as good as telling the Dubcek clique to its face: What! After eating my grain, you now want "freedom" and to break away from my control! Both U.S. imperialist and Soviet revisionist wheat are not wholesome at all. They are poisonous bait which the two use to push their policy of neo-colonialism. It is precisely because the Czechoslovak revisionists each year use up over a million tons of the Soviet revisionists' wheat — one out of every three loaves of bread comes from this wheat — that they must be enslaved to social-imperialism. Without attaining economic independence, there can, of course, be no talk of political independence!

TASS certainly lives up to being the mouthpiece of Soviet revisionism. It didn't even forget that the Soviet revisionists had built a wide-gauge railway inside Czechoslovak territory. It smugly boasted that "to cut down the cost of transporting these goods a wide-gauge railway has been built from the Soviet-Czechoslovak border to Kosice." What utter shamelessness! Can it be simply "to cut down the cost of transporting these goods" that the Soviet revisionists built their railway right into the heartland of Czechoslovakia? Can it be that the cost of transport is such that it was worth this big engineering effort? The unobstructed wide-gauge railway greatly helped the occupation of Czechoslovakia

in eight hours by Soviet revisionist troops. To put it bluntly, the real reason for building this railway was, first, for economic plunder, and, second, for moving troops. Aren't these plain facts?

TASS can stow all its glib talk designed to deceive people!

Soviet social-imperialism treats Czechoslovakia as its sphere of influence. It was no surprise that Soviet revisionism got Czechoslovak revisionism to reach agreement at bayonet point. The heavy chains of the "Council for Mutual Economic Aid" — "international division of labour," "economic integration," etc.—had

been clapped on the Czechoslovak revisionists long ago. They can only meekly pull the cart or else the merciless big stick of the Soviet revisionists will descend on them out of the blue. However, TASS has forgotten that Czechoslovakia belongs to the Czechoslovak people! Though the Dubcek renegade clique commits treason and capitulates, the people of Czechoslovakia will not allow their motherland to suffer Soviet revisionism's control and plunder over a long period. The heroic people of Czechoslovakia are becoming more awakened daily. They are bound to rise up in rebellion, overthrow the rule of the Czechoslovak revisionists and break away from Soviet revisionism's enslavement!

Soviet Revisionist Renegades Step Up Capitalist Reorganization of Economy

THE Soviet revisionist renegade clique recently has stepped up the implementation of the "new economic system." It is making a big noise about applying the capitalist principle embodied in this "system" to every aspect of economic life. Modelling it after the economic system of the Western capitalist countries, this clique is carrying out a drastic top-to-bottom reorganization of the entire managerial system in the national economy so as to intensify the exploitation and enslavement of the Soviet labouring people.

The Soviet revisionist renegade clique started to implement on a large scale the "new economic system" centred around the capitalist principle of profit seeking at the beginning of 1966. This "system" now has been put into operation in 13,000 industrial enterprises, 9,000 transport, agricultural and service trades enterprises, hundreds of thousands of business establishments, and numerous building enterprises.

To further promote the "new system," the Soviet revisionists recently made a big fanfare about it in the press, saying that "the first stage of economic reform, the stage of exploration, is over" and from now on a "new stage of reform" will begin. For this, they held a 4-day "All-Soviet Economic Conference" in Moscow in mid May this year, which was attended by 5,000 persons. The conference decided to "apply the new system to the entire sphere of the national economy" in 1969 and adopt a series of corresponding measures for a new and more drastic reorganization in the managerial system of Soviet industry and the entire national economy so as to form a complete capitalist managerial system from top to bottom.

Applying Profit Principle to All Sectors of Enterprises

The Soviet revisionist renegade clique decided that with the so-called "new stage of economic reform" now

in operation, the "new system," first of all, is to be further implemented in different enterprises and the main principles of this "system" — "profit in command" and "material incentives" — are to be promoted all along the line in the enterprises, from workshops, shifts and work teams down to individuals.

The Soviet revisionists not only advocated the "transfer of marketing and profit indexes of products to all production workshops"; they also set out to introduce "business accounting" in auxiliary workshops and even in some work sections and teams and various offices of an enterprise. Even more absurd is that they also want to introduce "business accounting in shifts and work teams and with individuals"; in other words, they want to use rubles as a bait to make the broad masses of Soviet workers and employees create greater profits for the new capitalists in the Soviet Union.

To increase the interest of the leading members of the enterprises in drafting "stringent" plans for making super-profits, the Soviet revisionist renegade clique decided to change the innumerable bonuses and "economic incentive funds" promoted in enterprises in the past into a unified measure for drawing "fixed" shares from profits. It also decided to turn the original practice of drawing shares from planned profits into drawing shares from actual profits. That is to say, the leaders of enterprises are guaranteed a certain proportion of profit shares no matter how the profits are made. Prompted by such "material incentives," the leaders of enterprises, like vampires, will naturally exploit and fleece the working class in the most brutal way.

Setting Up Managerial System in National Economy According to Monopoly Capitalist Blueprints

Meanwhile, under the pretext of "making the methods of leadership in various enterprises and depart-

ments completely suit the demands of the new system," the Soviet revisionist renegade clique decided to effect a drastic reorganization of the national economy, primarily the system of leadership in industrial departments, according to the blueprints of monopoly capitalism during the so-called "new stage of economic reform."

This renegade clique recently has been frantically publicizing the setting up of large-scale regional and departmental "joint enterprises" as the first step in this drastic reorganization. Waving the signboard of "socialism," these new-type capitalists shamelessly publicized the idea that, while drafting plans for establishing such "joint enterprises," they "should utilize" the "organizational chart" of U.S. monopoly capital. In reorganizing the Soviet economic system and establishing large-scale "joint enterprises," they say, "the experiences of the development of management in the capitalist countries should not be overlooked."

It is no accident that this renegade clique set up so-called "joint enterprises" in the Soviet Union by following the example of Western monopoly organizations. In the Soviet Union today, profit is the main yardstick for measuring an enterprise's "contribution" and the decisive factor in determining the fate of an enterprise. The capitalist law of free competition under which the strong survives and the weak perishes is operating in the fierce scramble for profits. This will naturally lead to the phenomenon of big enterprises swallowing up small ones which is inherent in the capitalist system. At the "All-Soviet Economic Conference" in May, N.K. Baibakov, Vice-Chairman of the Council of Ministers, and others openly encouraged the big enterprises with huge profits and favourable conditions to incorporate medium and small-scale enterprises and, on this basis, to set up what they called large-scale "joint enterprises."

According to the plan of the Soviet revisionist renegade clique, the "joint enterprises" to be set up in the Soviet Union now will be something like a combination of trusts and concerns in the capitalist countries in Europe and the United States. These "joint enterprises" will have considerable power in the allocation of financial resources and in the management of the enterprises under their control. Apart from managing the production of the affiliated enterprises, they will conduct many other activities such as sales, supplies, scientific research and designing, and so on. The Soviet revisionist press reported that the "joint enterprises" in general will include all the enterprises set up by a certain economic department in a region, or in a union republic, or in a large economic area. Later, with experience accumulated, the "joint enterprise" will be enlarged to cover the whole country. The establishment of an all-Soviet "joint enterprise" will, in effect, assume the functions hitherto exercised by the general bureaux administering various industrial departments. The ministries of industry in the Soviet Union will exercise control over the enterprises through the medium of the "joint enterprises."

When the general management bureaux under a ministry is gradually reduced to the status of a "departmental joint enterprise," every industrial ministry, as a state administrative organ set up by the Soviet revisionists, will undergo further changes in nature and functions. Thus, a three-stage economic system — ministry, joint enterprise and enterprises — based on the blueprints of Western monopoly capital will form a new administrative system of state monopoly capital in the Soviet Union.

Stepped-Up Extraction of Profits; Free Sale and Purchase of Means of Production

In this drastic reorganization, the Soviet revisionists will make further changes in relations between the state and the enterprises, turning such relations into something for undisguised distribution of profits. Baibakov pointed out at the "All-Soviet Economic Conference" that it was necessary to set up a "new form of financial relations between the enterprises and the state." According to this so-called new form, the state controlled by the Soviet revisionists will concern itself less and less with production in the enterprises. They will simply allot money in the form of appropriations or loans to the monopoly capitalist groups at all levels and to their affiliated enterprises. In return, the monopoly groups and their enterprises will hand over part of their profits as "payment to the fund," or as interest. Thus, the state controlled by the Soviet revisionists will degenerate into a big capitalist boss pure and simple. It will earmark large sums of money for an enterprise and give it a free hand to make money. The state will receive interest in proportion to its capital investment. The enterprise will thus be turned into a "company" jointly run by the state and the heads of monopoly capital groups at all levels. The parties concerned will divide the profits among themselves and jointly exploit the working class.

In the "new stage of economic reform," the Soviet revisionist renegade clique has also decided to vigorously institute a system of free sale and purchase of the means of production, making this practice one of the basic measures for reforming the national economy and bringing about all-round capitalist restoration.

Soviet Revisionist Renegades' Outrageous Action Brings on Awakening of Soviet People

The so-called "new economic system" proposed by the notorious arch-renegade Khrushchov and implemented by his faithful followers Brezhnev and Kosygin and their gang in the past two years has enormously strengthened the bourgeois dictatorship over the broad masses of labouring people by a handful of the privileged stratum represented by the Soviet revisionist renegade clique. It widens the gap between the rich and the poor and aggravates class differentiation with every passing day.

Stimulated by the principle of management in which profit dominates everything, such phenomena as benefiting oneself at the expense of others, profit

hunting, free competition and anarchy in production, all of which characterize the capitalist system, prevail in all branches of the Soviet national economy even more seriously than before. The chaos in the national economy which started in Khrushchov's time has become more aggravated. Even the Soviet revisionist renegade clique itself had to admit that "a series of extremely complicated and acute problems have emerged" in the national economy since the implementation of the "new economic system." Now that the clique wants to further develop the "new system" in every aspect, such outrageous action will only make the Soviet people and the people of the world see the real

features of these diehard renegades in the Kremlin more clearly.

Our great leader Chairman Mao has 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." The broad masses of the Soviet people who are suffering under the restoration of capitalism will certainly rise up to smash the rule of the Soviet revisionist renegade clique, re-establish the dictatorship of the proletariat, and bring the Soviet Union back into the orbit of socialism.

Soviet Revisionists: Sordid Salesmen of Reactionary Western Culture

by HUNG TSIN-TA and NAN HSUEH-LIN

SO-CALLED "Western culture" is nothing but imperialist culture, which is most reactionary, decadent and vicious. With the imperialist system heading for total collapse, its culture, like the sun setting beyond the western hills, resembles a dying person who is sinking fast. Since Khrushchov and his successors came to power, they have gone all out to carry out "cultural co-operation" with U.S. imperialism and thrown the door wide open to "Western culture," which has thus found a new market in the Soviet Union. Amid the fanfare of their all-round counter-revolutionary collaboration, a new sinister deal was made between the Soviet Union and the United States in July — the Soviet-U.S. cultural exchange agreement for 1968-69 signed in Moscow.

This agreement covers many fields, ranging from science, technology, literature, art, education, medicine and physical culture to the exchange of "artists," "experts," periodicals, exhibitions and films, and so on. More than 20 departments are involved in the exchange of visits by "experts" alone.

If the United States only "made a breach" in 1958 when the arch-renegade Khrushchov signed the first "cultural agreement" with it, then today, ten years later, when the sixth "cultural agreement" has been signed, the world's most reactionary, decadent and vicious "Western culture" has flooded the Soviet Union like the muddy water rushing through a breached dike. The Soviet revisionist renegade clique's efforts to go in for "wholesale Westernization" have earned it the plaudits of its master. U.S. imperialist chief Johnson gleefully declared in a speech that no other period in history has been "more productive in promoting co-operation between our two countries."

Let us see how "productive" Soviet-U.S. "cultural co-operation" is at present.

Not only has Soviet revisionist literature become increasingly decadent under the impact of Soviet-U.S. "cultural co-operation," but the most reactionary and rottenest American literature has been translated and published in large quantities in the Soviet Union. The chief editor of the Soviet revisionist *Literaturnaya Gazeta* confessed in a statement that American novels were the best sellers in the foreign book market in the Soviet Union.

Disguised as "cultural co-operation," degenerate Western music, commercialized jazz, has become the rage in the Soviet revisionist musical, dancing and theatrical world. Rock-'n'-roll, the twist and other similar vulgar dances are performed more madly than before. The Soviet revisionist renegade clique has not only spent big sums of money to invite night club jazz bands from the West to perform in different parts of the Soviet Union, it has also sent its own musicians to take part in "international contests" so as to learn from Western jazz bands. As a result, various weird-named American and British jazz bands have performed in the Soviet Union. Last December 12, the Soviet revisionist Central Television Station started a monthly series of lectures on "Jazz Music, Yesterday and Today" in its fourth programme. In these lectures, American commercialized jazz was unctuously described as "real music" and "sacred music" and was lauded as helping to "understand the world." Disgusting "jazz music festivals" have been held in Moscow and six other Soviet cities this year to give such vulgar music a big boost. And as before, the Soviet revisionist clique has given the green light to

performances of many vulgar American plays on the Soviet stage.

As a result of Soviet-U.S. "cultural co-operation," Soviet revisionist screens have been turned into an instrument for publicizing "Western culture." As it did previously, this clique has spared no efforts to lavish praise on American films through its newspapers and magazines, and it has printed many books to publicize these reactionary American films. Moreover, in January this year, the Soviet revisionist Central Television Station began obsequiously introducing American film stars to its viewers. The Soviet revisionists, in effect, have handed over a large part of the Soviet screen to Hollywood. S.K. Romanovsky, Chairman of the Soviet Committee for Cultural Relations with Foreign Countries, admitted that often "there are several hundred copies of American films being shown in our country." Even this cannot satisfy the Soviet revisionist clique. The new "cultural agreement" explicitly provides for "the widest possible distribution" of American films.

Under the signboard of "cultural co-operation," the Soviet revisionist clique has thrown the door wide open to the Voice of America, an instrument of U.S. imperialism for opposing communism, China, the people and revolution. The notorious V.O.A., as former U.S. President Kennedy said, is an "arm" of the U.S. Government. But the Soviet revisionist clique loves it as dearly as flies love muck. As far back as soon after the 20th Congress of the C.P.S.U., the clique began to intermittently stop jamming V.O.A. broadcasts to the Soviet Union. Later, an agreement was reached between the Soviet Union and the United States under which the former formally and completely stopped jamming and provided facilities for V.O.A. transcription programmes to be broadcast in the Soviet Union. After Brezhnev and Kosygin came to power, they gave the V.O.A. the go-ahead signal, allowing it to be heard all over the country. With great exultation, the U.S. press said that in content, form and technique, the Soviet revisionist radio and television programmes had been "radically reformed" after the fashion of the West.

Soviet revisionism's television is the same as its radio. Last year, the Soviet revisionist clique racked its brains making a television newsreel called "Chronicle of Half Century" in the name of "celebrating" the 50th anniversary of the October Revolution and "reviewing" the history of the Soviet Union over the past half century. On the one hand, the newsreel frantically attacks China; on the other hand, it nauseatingly advocates "Soviet-U.S. friendship" to curry favour with its master. A good number of shots of Soviet revisionists embracing and kissing Americans were produced to show Soviet-U.S. "friendship" and "co-operation." The coming to power and the death of the U.S. imperialist chief Kennedy were shamelessly played up as a "big event" in the Soviet Union and brought into this television film. The commentary flatters Kennedy as a "clear-headed" and "practical" man and sadly "mourns" his death.

It is also under the camouflage of Soviet-U.S. "cultural co-operation" that the decadent way of life of the Western bourgeoisie penetrates the Soviet Union everywhere. Not long after the latest agreement, a so-called "Soviet fashion design show" was held in Washington. On display were "outstanding fashions" by Soviet revisionism's "top contemporary designers," including so-called "space age" fashions and "revolutionized" clothing designed by "the Soviet Union's best-known avant-garde designer" who copied the cowboy pants and mini-skirts of the West. Characteristic of the fashion show were the marked trends of "Westernization" which won praise and applause from the revisionist clique's U.S. master and which were cheered as "inspiring." The Soviet revisionists also put on dog shows in Moscow similar to those in New York and London and went so far as to make this thing fashionable. All this is the height of rottenness.

To speed up the "Westernization" of the Soviet Union, the Soviet revisionist clique is becoming more and more open in utilizing "international tourism" to attract by all possible means "tourists" of all descriptions from the Western capitalist countries, allowing them to spread the dissipated Western way of life in the Soviet Union. The Soviet revisionists also announced that more than one hundred cities in all fifteen union republics would be opened to up to a million pleasure-seeking foreign bourgeois gentlemen and ladies coming to the Soviet Union. In addition, the Soviet revisionists are developing "cultural co-operation" with U.S. imperialism in a big way so as to surrender completely to the latter and bring on a wholesale "Westernization" of the Soviet Union through such channels as setting up "night clubs," free "distribution" of the U.S. magazine *America*, holding rotating U.S. exhibitions, introducing American experience, exchanging students, commendation of scholars, sponsoring pen clubs and reprinting the articles of the reactionary U.S. press, etc.

The above-mentioned facts are but a few examples of this "co-operation." All these "fruits" fully show that since the confidential Glassboro talks by the chieftains of Soviet revisionism and U.S. imperialism in June 1967, U.S.-Soviet counter-revolutionary collaboration has shown striking development. It has developed from the earth and under the sea to the sky, from the "hot line" contact between the White House and Kremlin to the opening of the New York-Moscow direct airline, and from political, economic and military fields to the cultural realm. Soviet revisionism and U.S. imperialism have entered into an out-and-out counter-revolutionary holy alliance.

Our great leader Chairman Mao teaches us: **"In the world today all culture, all literature and art belong to definite classes and are geared to definite political lines."** The large-scale importation of "Western culture" by the Soviet revisionist clique today is utterly to serve the all-round restoration of capitalism in the Soviet Union and the comprehensive Soviet-U.S. counter-rev-

(Continued on p. 28.)

ROUND THE WORLD

Political power grows out of the barrel of a gun.

— MAO TSE-TUNG

BURMESE PEOPLE'S FORCES

Smashing "Mopping-Up" Campaigns by Relying On the Masses

Led by the Communist Party of Burma, the people of various nationalities won major victories in Burma throughout the past year. They smashed the reactionary government's "mopping-up" campaigns, consolidated the revolutionary base areas and expanded their armed forces.

Beginning in August last year, the reactionary government deployed scores of battalions in large-scale offensives against the Pegu Mountain and other revolutionary base areas. In this, it was supported by both the U.S. imperialists and the Soviet revisionist renegade clique.

In face of the enemy's frantic attack, the Communist Party of Burma stuck to the proletarian revolutionary line of "winning the war and seizing political power." Chairman Thakin Than Tun and the Party's Central Committee issued the militant call to "smash the enemy's offensives with our own offensives," and the people's forces and the masses in the base areas responded by throwing themselves into battle. When the enemy intruded into the base areas, the people's forces were nowhere to be found. But when the enemy was tired out, the people's forces laid ambushes and annihilated his effectives. Simultaneously, the latter moved up to attack a number of towns and townlets in enemy-held areas and raided major communication lines, including the Rangoon-Mandalay Railway, and scored successive victories. By this courageous fighting, they successfully defended the base areas and completely thwarted the enemy's "mopping-up" campaign, which lasted more than six months. In doing this, they fought well over 140 engagements.

Using flexible guerrilla tactics, the people's forces sometimes concentrated a superior force in groups of hundreds to attack and encircle the reactionary troops and police stationed in cities and towns. At other times, small detachments launched surprise attacks on enemy police stations or troops on the move. Frequently, the enemy was wiped out by squads and platoons, and the people's forces armed themselves with large quantities of captured weapons and materiel. They also frequently attacked major railways, highways and river and sea communication lines. The enemy was compelled to scatter his forces and was placed in a passive position in which he was subjected to blows.

While conducting the armed struggle, the Communist Party of Burma has gone deep among the people to arouse the masses. This mass work varies in form in accordance with the specific conditions of the areas concerned, depending on whether it is a revolutionary base area, a guerrilla area, or enemy occupied. A sustained and extensive struggle against the government's grain looting has been staged in some areas. In others, enemy agents and local despots have been eliminated. Land reform is being carried out in some base areas. The awakened peasants are rising up to smash the reactionary government's ruling apparatus in the villages and setting up red political power stemming from the grass roots. More and more, they are taking up arms and participating in the armed struggle.

MALAYAN NATIONAL LIBERATION ARMY

Persevering in Guerrilla War

Led by the Communist Party of Malaya, the National Liberation Army has carried on an armed struggle for 20 years.

Beginning from last year, the enemy unleashed repeated, large-scale "mopping-up" campaigns against the Liberation Army. Thousands of troops were thrown in during these operations in frequent, day and night "raids" and attacks against the people's forces in a vain effort to annihilate them. However, in the face of the latter's courageous counter-attacks, all the enemy offensives suffered humiliating defeats.

The National Liberation Army won a brilliant victory in June this year when a whole enemy platoon was wiped out in an ambush at Kroh, in Perak State, north Malaya. The Liberation Army has been active along the Malaya-Thai border since last July, and its numerous ambushes have struck fear into the hearts of the enemy.

REVOLUTIONARY ARMED FORCES IN INDONESIA

Active in the Countryside

This year witnessed a new growth in the armed struggle of the Indonesian Communists and other revolutionary people. Besides the struggle which the revolutionary armed forces have persisted in West Kalimantan, the flames of armed struggle have been kindled in the vast rural and mountain areas on Indonesia's two major islands—Java and Sumatra. The struggle in Java is of considerable scale.

In a statement in mid August this year, fascist military regime chief-tain Suharto publicly admitted that the Indonesian Communists and other revolutionary people are quite strong, especially in East and Central Java. Reactionary papers in Djakarta disclosed that the revolutionary armed forces active in Java had sprang several attacks on the reactionary troops this year and that they had sabotaged railway and long-distance military telephone lines. This had caused panic among the reactionaries, and, in some districts, the fascist regime's local administration offices had to close down and the magistrates pack up and flee.

Recently, the fascist regime carried out several "mopping-up" operations against the revolutionary armed

forces in East and Central Java. Besides local detachments controlled by landlords, it flung in large numbers of reactionary troops, using bombers and up-to-date military equipment supplied by U.S. imperialism and Soviet revisionism. Despite difficult conditions, the revolutionary forces have relied on the peasant masses to put up a courageous fight against these operations.

NORTH KALIMANTAN PEOPLE'S FORCES

Setting Up Base Areas

Under the leadership of the North Kalimantan National Liberation League, the people's forces have smashed the "mopping-up" campaigns staged jointly by the Indonesian military regime and the U.S.-British imperialist backed "Malaysian"

puppet government. They have established revolutionary base areas.

League organizations have mushroomed in the cities, villages and border areas. With the support of the peasant masses, the people's forces have used flexible guerrilla tactics to annihilate enemy effectives. According to a report in the North Kalimantan journal *Liberation*, they wiped out 73 enemy troops in a battle to smash the "mopping-up" campaign.

* * *

Our great leader Chairman Mao teaches us, **"Revolutions and revolutionary wars are inevitable in class society, and without them it is impossible to accomplish any leap in social development and to overthrow the reactionary ruling classes and therefore impossible for the people to win political power."** The revolution-

ary people in many Southeast Asian countries are determined to overthrow the reactionary ruling classes and set up their own political power by armed struggle. Undaunted by hardships and difficulties and slighting weapons manufactured by U.S. imperialism and Soviet revisionism, they have defeated one "mopping-up" operation after another launched by the reactionaries. They are studying in earnest Chairman Mao's brilliant thinking on people's war and are pushing on with the armed struggle by firmly relying on the masses, setting up rural base areas and using the countryside to encircle the cities. They are deeply convinced that, provided they integrate the universal truth of Marxism-Leninism, Mao Tse-tung's thought, with the concrete practice of the revolution in their own countries, they are bound to come out victorious in the struggle.

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olutionary collaboration, in other words, to serve its counter-revolutionary revisionist political line. So-called Soviet-U.S. "cultural co-operation," like their collaboration in the political, economic and military fields, is the product of the capitulationist line of "peaceful coexistence" carried out by the Soviet revisionist clique of renegades, and it is a big betrayal of the people of the Soviet Union and of the world.

Why is Soviet-U.S. "cultural co-operation" carried out so unscrupulously and so feverishly in this period? The U.S. magazine *Newsweek* in its July 15, 1968, issue admits outright that Soviet revisionism and U.S. imperialism "have often found themselves undergoing many of the same internal and external stresses and strains in the rapidly changing world of the 1960s." What are these "internal and external stresses and strains"? First of all, in this period, under the leadership of our great leader Chairman Mao himself, China has victoriously unfolded the great proletarian cultural revolution which deals a heavy blow to imperialism, revisionism and reaction. The announcement of victories in the hills of the Truong Son Range, the war drum sounded on the Equator, the red flag fluttering in the Pu Pan Mountains, the roar of the raging tide along the Mississippi River, and the revolutionary storm in West Europe and North America . . . all these converged into an irresistible revolutionary torrent which has rapidly breached the dam of Soviet-U.S. global counter-revolutionary collaboration. The drastically deepening political and economic crises in imperialist countries headed by

the United States have become an incurable disease. Modern revisionism with the Soviet revisionist clique as its centre, which is disintegrating daily, is in a shaky state. Such an excellent revolutionary situation naturally means "stresses and strains" for U.S. imperialism and the Soviet revisionist clique. It is in these days that they have to depend on each other to bolster up their tottering bourgeois dictatorships and use decadent "Western culture" as a talisman in a vain effort to stem the surging tide of the world revolution and save them from being drowned in it.

Our great leader Chairman Mao wisely points out: **"The Soviet Union was the first socialist state and the Communist Party of the Soviet Union was created by Lenin. Although the leadership of the Soviet Party and state has now been usurped by revisionists, I would advise comrades to remain firm in the conviction that the masses of the Soviet people and of Party members and cadres are good, that they desire revolution and that revisionist rule will not last long."** It can be asserted that the Soviet people who have a glorious revolutionary tradition will by no means tolerate their country being ruined by the Soviet revisionist renegades in such a way. No matter how reckless and unbridled their outrageous acts, the U.S. imperialists and Soviet revisionists can never change the law of historical development, nor can they hold back the victory of socialism in the Soviet Union and the world over. U.S. imperialism and Soviet revisionism together with their treasured decadent "Western culture" will eventually be buried by the people of the Soviet Union, the United States and the whole world.

ACROSS THE LAND

Excellent Situation in Taching Oilfield

SINCE the start of the great proletarian cultural revolution, the masses of workers and revolutionary people of the nationally known Taching Oilfield have resolutely implemented Chairman Mao's great policy of "grasping revolution and promoting production," and achieved tremendous results in both revolution and production.

Holding high the great red banner of Mao Tse-tung's thought in the great cultural revolution, Taching's proletarian revolutionaries, with the workers as the main force, and its revolutionary masses have experienced a sharp struggle between the two classes, between the two roads and between the two lines. They have destroyed the bourgeois reactionary line, brought to light the agents of China's Khrushchov in Taching, repudiated these persons' towering crimes in opposing the Party, socialism and Mao Tse-tung's thought, and smashed their con-

spiratorial attempt to restore capitalism in Taching. The Revolutionary Committee of Taching Oilfield was established on May 31 this year.

Since their establishment, the revolutionary committees at the various levels in Taching have led the revolutionary masses in the creative study and application of Mao Tse-tung's thought, in energetically running Mao Tse-tung's thought study classes, carrying out Chairman Mao's latest series of instructions in an all-round way, and promoting a deep-going development of struggle-criticism-transformation. Up to now, the whole oilfield has run more than 6,000 Mao Tse-tung's thought study classes of various types.

Following Chairman Mao's teaching that "one of our current important tasks on the ideological front is to unfold criticism of revisionism," and under the leadership of their revolutionary committee, the masses of workers and revolutionary people of Taching are using Mao Tse-tung's thought as their weapon to unfold revolutionary mass criticism and re-

production on the basis of shifts and groups. Work-sites, workshops, well sites, classrooms, farm fields and households have all become battlefields for unfolding this mass criticism. They scathingly denounce the counter-revolutionary revisionist trash peddled by China's Khrushchov and his Taching agents on the industrial front such as the theory of the "dying out of class struggle," "giving first consideration to production," "material incentives" and "relying on experts to manage the factories." At the same time, they have purified their class ranks and one by one exposed the renegades, enemy agents, and diehard capitalist roaders and unreformed landlords, rich peasants, counter-revolutionaries, bad elements and Rightists who had hidden themselves in the revolutionary ranks. This has tremendously strengthened the dictatorship of the proletariat.

Following Chairman Mao's latest instruction that **the working class must exercise leadership in everything**, and under the unified organization and leadership of their revolutionary committee, the masses of Taching workers have heroically stepped on to the political stage of struggle-criticism-transformation of the superstructure.

The great campaign of struggle-criticism-transformation is surging forward vigorously. The Decision of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party Concerning the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution drawn up under the personal guidance of Chairman Mao points out: "The great proletarian cultural revolution is a powerful motive force for the development of the social productive forces in our country." Since the beginning of this year, state plans for the whole oilfield in crude oil production, processing and delivery have been fulfilled and over-fulfilled every month. Daily output of crude oil has surpassed its previous peak. The oilfield's construction tasks for the Third Five-Year Plan were fulfilled two years ahead of schedule.

During the great upsurge in struggle-criticism-transformation, through



The great proletarian cultural revolution has greatly promoted the growth of production and this year the Taching Oilfield has surpassed its previous peak in daily output of crude oil. Tank cars with huge amounts of Taching crude oil ready for shipment.

revolutionary mass criticism and repudiation, Taching's workers have broken away completely from the foreign dogmas and old stereotypes which had hampered growth of the productive forces. Their revolutionary initiative and creativeness has burst forth like a volcano, sending Taching's production steadily upwards. The revolutionary workers and staff of the No. 1205 drilling team, which broke the world record in annual drilling footage, have gone in vigorously for technical innovations and achieved outstanding results in high-speed drilling this year.

The plant making shots for gun-perforators and the general machinery works together formed a

three-in-one combination of workers, as the main body, revolutionary cadres and revolutionary technical personnel which successfully experimented with a new perforating technology. Adoption of this new technology, which is up to the world level, not only reduces the workers' labour intensity and enormously raises efficiency, but saves hundreds of tons of high-grade alloy steel for the state each year. Pushing aside the reactionary bourgeois technical "authorities," workers of an oil extraction team did away with all fetishes and superstitions and experimented boldly. They succeeded in transforming wells not gushing automatically into gushers. This provides

valuable experience for speeding the development of the oilfield. Iron-clad facts prove that this teaching of Chairman Mao's — **"The lowly are most intelligent! The elite are most ignorant"** — is a great truth.

Learning from the Tachai people's revolutionary spirit of self-reliance and hard struggle, the masses of poor and lower-middle peasants and revolutionary members of families of workers and staff in Taching this year overcame a drought of a gravity rarely known in local history. They reaped a bumper harvest on their farms and achieved excellent results in their rural sidelines. This success follows on the extremely rich harvest of last year.

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judicial organs alone," China's Khrushchov aimed at putting these organs under the control of his bourgeois headquarters and turning them into counter-revolutionary tools to shield and connive with the class enemies and to suppress the masses of the people.

China's Khrushchov opposed the exercise of dictatorship by the masses on the "ground" that "the masses are backward." He clamoured that the Chinese people "do not understand democracy." This is a big slander against the Chinese people.

During the period of the democratic revolution, the Chinese people, under the wise leadership of the great leader Chairman Mao, feared no sacrifice in their struggle to win victory for the revolution.

During the period of the socialist revolution, the Chinese people have in all their political movements made full use of their democratic rights to consolidate and strengthen the dictatorship of the proletariat.

During the great proletarian cultural revolution, the Chinese people have grasped extensive proletarian democracy in the form of airing their views, arguing things out, using big-character posters, debates, and criticism and repudiation, and have won decisive victory in their heroic struggle against the handful of class enemies represented by China's Khrushchov.

All these facts fully demonstrate that the Chinese people have the clearest understanding of democracy. They also know best how to exercise dictatorship over their enemies.

By uttering the slander that the Chinese people are "backward" and "do not understand democracy," China's Khrushchov was in fact showing his fear of the masses of the people and vainly trying to use this slander as a pretext to exercise a bourgeois dictatorship over them.

Chairman Mao teaches us that **"Having close ties with the masses is most fundamental in reforming state organs."** This is the basic guarantee that our proletarian political power will bring its effectiveness into full play and never change its political colour. The "three-in-one" revolutionary committee, which embraces representatives of the revolutionary masses, the People's Liberation Army and the revolutionary leading cadres, is able to maintain close links with the masses, greatly develop socialist democracy and represent the interests of the proletariat and other working people to the fullest extent so that our political power strikes deep root among the masses.

The broad representative character of the revolutionary committee, particularly the direct participation of the representatives of the revolutionary masses, makes the revolutionary committee a brand-new form of organization for the effective exercise of dictatorship by the masses.

The closer links between state political power and the masses of the people will help mobilize the revolutionary people in their hundreds of millions to concern themselves with the consolidation of the dictatorship of the proletariat and take an active part in exercising dictatorship over the class enemies so that they cannot escape the masses. This strengthens our proletarian dictatorship and ensures that our country will always maintain its bright red colour.

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He strongly condemned U.S. imperialism for giving tacit consent to the Soviet revisionist occupation of Czechoslovakia and Soviet revisionism for acquiescing in the U.S. imperialist occupation of south Vietnam. He said: Of late, the Soviet revisionist renegade clique has coerced the Czechoslovak revisionist leading clique into signing a so-called "treaty" aimed at legalizing the Soviet troops' occupation of Czechoslovakia. This is a treaty between master and flunkey, which can in no way cover up the crimes of fascist aggression committed by Soviet revisionism. In the meantime, on the Vietnam question, U.S. imperialism and Soviet revisionism are trying by every possible means to peddle their big plot and big swindle of inducing

"peace" through a bombing halt. He pointed out that by their sinister collusion and persistent evil-doing U.S. imperialism and Soviet revisionism will in the end only arouse the people to greater indignation and resistance, and hasten their own complete collapse.

He said: In international affairs, Zambia has opposed the so-called "treaty on non-proliferation of nuclear weapons" concocted through U.S. imperialist and Soviet revisionist collaboration, opposed U.S. imperialist aggression against Vietnam, condemned Soviet revisionism's armed aggression against Czechoslovakia and supported the African and Arab peoples in their struggle against imperialism and colonialism. We admire Zambia's spirit of defying brute force and upholding justice.

Chi Peng-fei said: Tempered through the great proletarian cultural revolution, the 700 million Chinese people, following the teachings of their great leader Chairman Mao, will better fulfil their internationalist duty and give more powerful support to the revolutionary struggles of the oppressed nations and oppressed people of the world.

He said: The peoples of China and Zambia have always sympathized with and supported each other in the cause of opposing imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism and building their respective countries. We are deeply convinced that the profound friendship between the Chinese and Zambian peoples will constantly develop and become more consolidated through the joint efforts of our two countries.

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RADIO PEKING'S

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	Peking Time	Local Standard Time		Metre Bands
EAST AND SOUTH AFRICA	00:00-01:00	18:00-19:00	(Cape Town, Salisbury)	40,30
	01:00-02:00	19:00-20:00	(Dar-es-Salaam)	40,30
		19:00-20:00	(Cape Town, Salisbury)	
WEST AND NORTH AFRICA	03:30-04:30	20:00-21:00	(Dar-es-Salaam)	31,30,25
		18:45-19:45	(Monrovia)	
		19:30-20:30	(Accra, Freetown)	
	04:30-05:30	20:30-21:30	(Lagos)	31,30,25
		21:30-22:30	(Cairo)	
SOUTHEAST ASIA	20:00-21:00	19:45-20:45	(Monrovia)	31,30,25
		20:30-21:30	(Accra, Freetown)	
		21:30-22:30	(Lagos)	
	21:00-22:00	19:00-20:00	(Western Indonesia, Bangkok)	252,32
		19:30-20:30	(Singapore)	25,19*
		20:00-21:00	(Saigon, Manila)	224,32
		18:30-19:30	(Rangoon)	
SOUTH ASIA	02:00-03:00	20:00-21:00	(Western Indonesia, Bangkok)	31,25,19
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	20:00-21:00	(West Pakistan)		
	19:40-20:40	(East Pakistan)		
EUROPE	16:30-17:30	20:00-21:00	(West Pakistan)	47,45,32
	17:30-18:30	21:00-22:00	(East Pakistan)	
EUROPE	04:30-05:30	20:40-21:40	(Kathmandu)	47*,45,42,32
	05:30-06:30	18:30-19:30	(Aust. S.T.)	
NORTH AMERICA (EAST COAST)	11:00-12:00	20:30-21:30	(N.Z.S.T.)	25,19,16
		19:30-20:30	(Aust. S.T.)	
	12:00-13:00	21:30-22:30	(N.Z.S.T.)	47,45,32
		22:30-23:30	(London, Stockholm, Paris)	
NORTH AMERICA (WEST COAST)	08:00-09:00	19:00-20:00	(E.S.T.)	19,16
	09:00-10:00	20:00-21:00	(E.S.T.)	42,30,25*,19,16
	10:00-11:00	21:00-22:00	(E.S.T.)	25*,19,16
	11:00-12:00	22:00-23:00	(E.S.T.)	42,30

Frequencies marked * are to be added this winter.