

炮打司令部

我向伟大字报

毛泽东



China Reconstructs



**A QUOTATION FROM  
CHAIRMAN MAO TSE-TUNG**

While their [the students'] main task is to study, they should in addition to their studies, learn other things, that is, industrial work, farming and military affairs. They should also criticize the bourgeoisie. 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.

— May 7, 1966



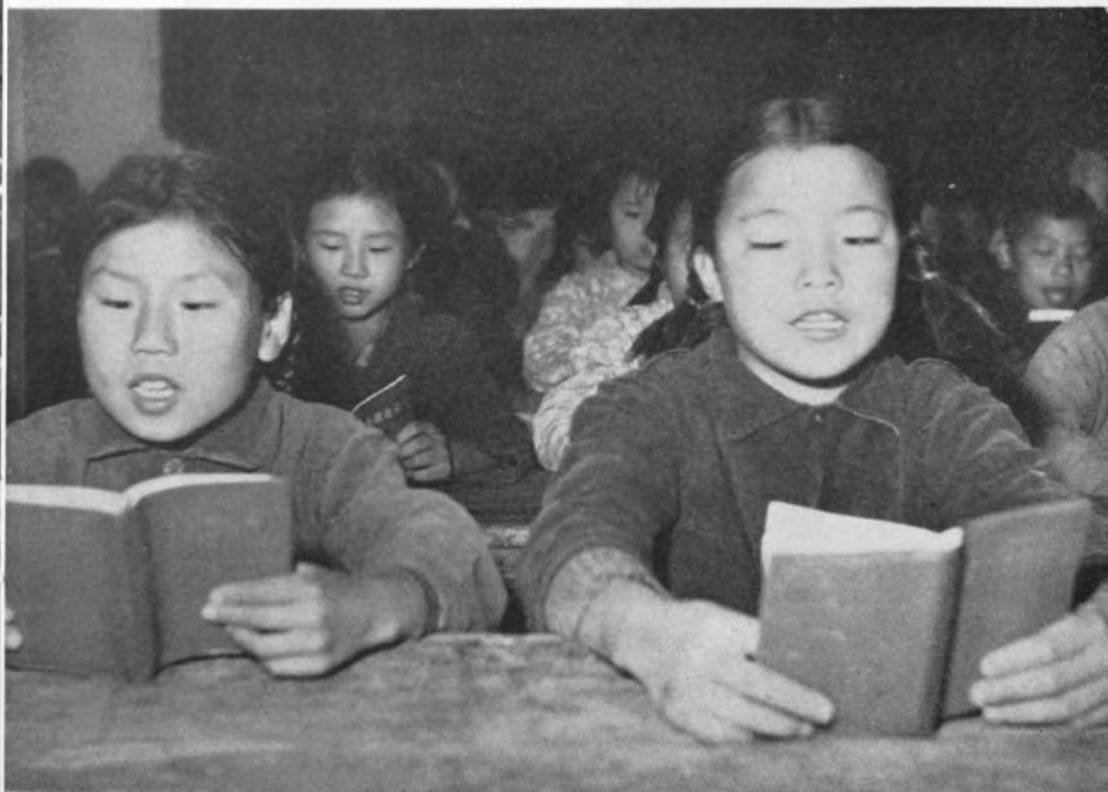
**CHAIRMAN MAO TSE-TUNG**

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



# THE REVOLUTION IN EDUCATION IN PROGRESS

Fourth-grade pupils study quotations from Chairman Mao.



Cheering revolutionary teachers and students of Shanghai University in Shanghai pledge to carry out Chairman Mao's latest instruction on the proletarian revolution in education.

**T**HE proletarian revolution in education should be carried out by relying on the mass of revolutionary students, teachers and workers in the schools, by relying on the activists among them, namely, those proletarian revolutionaries who are determined to carry the great proletarian cultural revolution through to the end." Since this call from our respected and beloved great leader Chairman Mao, the revolution to smash the old educational system and clear the way for creating a proletarian educational system has been sweeping the length and breadth of the country.

China's old educational system was permeated with the poison of feudalism, capitalism and revisionism. China's Khrushchov and his agents in the education field, Lu Ting-yi and his like, used this system to train revisionist successors who would bring about the restoration of capitalism. That

system must be thoroughly transformed into one which will train successors for the revolutionary cause of the proletariat.

Transformation of the old educational system and the old principles and methods of teaching is an extremely important task of the great proletarian cultural revolution set forth in the Party Central Committee's August 8, 1966 decision formulated under the personal guidance of Chairman Mao. Earlier, on May 7, 1966, Chairman Mao had laid down the basic guide for the revolution in education. He said: "While their [the students'] main task is to study, in addition to their studies they should learn other things, that is, industrial work, farming and military affairs. They should also criticize the bourgeoisie. The period of schooling should be shortened, education should be revolutionized, and the domination of our schools by bourgeois intel-

lectuals should by no means be allowed to continue."

In the 17 years from the founding of the People's Republic to 1966 when the cultural revolution began, China's Khrushchov promoted a revisionist line for education. He opposed the red flag of proletarian education raised by Chairman Mao, and covered up his opposition by waving countless "red flags", that is, revolutionary-sounding slogans which were actually counter-revolutionary in content. The revolutionary teachers and students, however, nurtured on Mao Tse-tung's thought, resolutely defended the proletarian line for education put forward by Chairman Mao. In this field, as in all others, there was a continual struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie, between the socialist and capitalist road and between the proletarian revolutionary line and the bourgeois reactionary line.

When Chairman Mao launched the cultural revolution in 1966, Peng Chen, a member of the same counter-revolutionary revisionist clique as Lu Ting-yi, tried to sabotage the movement so that they could carry on their scheme to restore capitalism. In order to prevent the teachers and students from taking part in this fight-to-the-death political struggle against the counter-revolutionary revisionist clique, these revisionists used the old educational framework for their own ends. They said that both studies and the cultural revolution must be carried on simultaneously and tried to keep the teachers and students in the classrooms making criticisms in the purely academic sphere. But almost from the beginning, the masses of the students who were armed with Mao Tse-tung's thought saw through this ruse and refused to fall into the trap. In the proletarian spirit of daring to think, to act, to break through and



make revolution, they rebelled against the old educational system. They smashed the control of the bourgeois intellectuals over the schools, stopped classes and walked out of their classrooms to make revolution.

In a way their education never really stopped for a day, for they entered the much bigger classroom of society, facing the world and braving its storms. The class struggle, with all its sharpness and complexities, became their course of study.

They pointed their spearhead straight at the counter-revolutionary revisionist clique, dragged out the agents which China's Khrushchov had planted in the schools and education departments, and defeated the bourgeois reactionary line which China's Khrushchov had personally formulated in order to suppress the revolutionary masses. They set up their own organizations, the Red Guards, and went out into society to destroy the ideology, culture, customs and habits of the exploiting classes, and to foster the new, the proletarian. They travelled all over the country to exchange revolutionary experience. In their speeches and with the pen they made a notable contribution toward completely demolishing the bourgeois headquarters inside the Party.

In this struggle against the handful of capitalist-roaders in the Party, they learned to put the interest of the people above their own self-interest.

In the past year and a half of the cultural revolution, the masses of the revolutionary teachers and students and Red Guards, closely following the strategic plan formulated by Chairman Mao, have acted as the vanguard in the great proletarian cultural revolution, a movement without precedent in history. As Lenin said, "During a revolution, millions and tens of millions of people learn in a week more than they do in a year of ordinary, somnolent life." By taking direct part in this revolutionary movement and creatively studying and striving hard to apply Chairman Mao's thinking—particularly his theories on class struggle—the teachers and students came to understand the real meaning of classes and class struggle. They gained a deeper and fuller grasp of the theories, line, policies and principles for making revolution and preventing revisionism under the dictatorship of the proletariat. They saw more clearly why it was vital to transform the educational system that trained successors for revisionism.

The imperialists and revisionists spread the slander that there has

been a great "falling off" of the educational level in China. This, however, is really to deceive the people in their own countries, to cover up the corruption in their own education and the panic in their own hearts. It is not at all strange that they should buzz about frantically like trapped flies. Our revolutionary teachers and students will always bear in mind Chairman Mao's teaching: "To be attacked by the enemy is not a bad thing but a good thing."

#### Classes Resume, Revolution Goes On

By last October decisive victory had been won in the great proletarian cultural revolution, the bourgeois headquarters had been smashed, the handful of capitalist-roaders in the education departments had been overthrown and the revisionist line in education had been subjected to an initial round of mass criticism. Therefore, the Party Central Committee, the State Council, and the Military Commission and Cultural Revolution Group under the Party Central Committee issued a notice to all colleges and universities, secondary and primary schools to resume classes while continuing to carry on the revolution. The notice urged all schools to earnestly carry out Chairman Mao's instruction to "Fight self, repudiate revisionism", and at the same time to carry out reforms, to put into practice Chairman Mao's thinking on revolutionizing education and to step by step work out a new revolutionary school system and curriculum.

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

In the revolution in education, destruction means that the revisionist line in education and the reactionary bourgeois academic "authorities" must be thoroughly criticized and repudiated, political-

A problem in the transformation of education is discussed by teachers and young revolutionaries at the Shanghai No. 6 Girls' Middle School.

ly, ideologically and theoretically. Construction means the creation of a completely new proletarian educational system worked out according to the principles in Chairman Mao's instruction of May 7.

#### Repudiating the Revisionist Line

Now classes have been resumed in all schools, and all have daily required study of Chairman Mao's works and quotations. The revolutionary teachers and students are making energetic efforts to revolutionize their own ideology by studying and absorbing Mao Tse-tung's thought and trying to get rid of non-proletarian ideas in their own thinking. It is these people, especially the activists among them, Chairman Mao points out, who are the ones to be relied on for making the revolution and for carrying the great proletarian cultural revolution through to the end.

With Chairman Mao's thinking on education as their weapon, they have conducted revolutionary mass criticism on course material in literature, history, philosophy, economics, industry and agriculture. As the criticism gets deeper it begins to touch on the whole line and system for education and on the thinking of the reactionary bourgeois "authorities" who had controlled them.

The revolutionaries listed in detail the crimes of the bourgeois educational system: education divorced from productive labour, from the working people and from the class struggle in society; the long period of schooling; too many courses; the heavy homework; the overstress on getting good marks; and teaching subject matter rather than teaching people. In this way the 17-year struggle in education between the two classes, two roads and two lines was shown up even more clearly.

In some schools teachers and students followed Chairman Mao's admonition for "intellectuals to go among the masses, to go to factories and villages", and went to live and work with the workers and peasants. They joined them in denouncing and criticizing the revisionist line in education, made investigations and discussed tenta-



Workers at the Tsingtao No. 2 Rubber Plant are eager to give their ideas on the transformation of education to revolutionary students and teachers from the Shantung Institute of Chemical Industry who have come to solicit them.

tive plans with them for revolutionizing education.

#### Tentative Proposals

One plan for transforming the educational system was put forth in Tungchi University in Shanghai (see story on p. 7), and is now being tested in practice. From other schools came other proposals.

A proposal for reorganization came from the Peking Institute of Forestry. At this institute, education was controlled by the reactionary bourgeois "authorities" through the teaching groups (sometimes referred to as teaching research groups), of which there were several in every department. These had full power over making teaching programmes, compiling and approving teaching materials and texts, deciding on teaching content and methods. The reactionary bourgeois "authorities" turned these groups into important tools for pushing the revisionist line in education and made them a bulwark for resisting Chairman Mao's line in education.

Revolutionary teachers and students at the Forestry Institute have demanded that such teaching groups be abolished and that in each specialization a three-in-one combination of revolutionary teachers, students and cadres lead both the teaching and the struggle-criticism-transformation movement, and in the long run be responsible for both political work and professional work. Such an arrangement was first proposed at

the institute in 1958 but was never tested in practice because China's Khrushchov and his agents resisted and sabotaged it. Now in effect at the Institute of Forestry, this form of organization has shown four advantages:

1. It has shattered the organizational structure which had been designed to enforce the old educational system.
2. It has put an end to control of the teaching groups by the bourgeois professors and academic "authorities," and of the tendency among the teachers to be divorced from the masses and to pay no attention to political and ideological work.
3. It facilitates teaching and study as well as the reform of education. Previously the different teaching groups acted on their own, without consulting one another or coordinating their efforts in teaching. This led to lack of integration between fundamental courses and specialized courses and between specialized courses and practical work done during the period of schooling. Theory was divorced from practice. The new arrangement has remedied this so that all aspects of teaching are related, like links in a chain.
4. The new organization makes it possible to greatly reduce the number of teachers.

Proposals for transforming enrolment of new students, course examinations and promoting stu-





dents from one grade to another were made by an educational reform group at the Peking Teachers' University. Chairman Mao once pointed out: "The present method of examination is like a method for dealing with the enemy. It is a surprise attack, full of catch questions and obscure questions. It is nothing but a test of official stereotyped writing.\*"

At Teachers' University it was proposed that such examinations be abolished. Whatever method is used in the future to test the student's progress, the group pointed out, it must put proletarian politics to the fore, be linked with practical work, pay special attention to the student's ability to analyse and solve problems and encourage the student to form his own opinions and judgements. Examinations should not be a test of memory but of reasoning power, and their aim should be to promote learning. This proposal comes out against the mechanical repetition of teaching material. Instead, students should be encouraged to study creatively, to apply what they have learned and to expound their own ideas. There should not be many examinations, and no surprise tests. In some subjects examinations could be done away with altogether. Where examinations are used they can take various forms: the multiple-choice form, where students may choose from a number of questions, the open-book type examination, or the type where the student's understanding of the subject is tested in a practical situation.

\*The phrase "official stereotyped writing" refers to a form of essay which served as an imperial examination for scholars. These usually consisted of empty rhetoric written according to a formalistic eight-section pattern.

All of these forms should give full play to the student's ability to reason things out, and students should be allowed to discuss questions together and use reference books, texts or notes.

The Teachers' University educational reform group proposed an end to the system where students who do not pass their courses are forced to repeat the year of work. Instead, schools should put proletarian politics in the forefront, bring the student's own initiative into full play, and heighten the teachers' sense of responsibility, so that all students will pass their courses.

In admitting new students to all schools, a class line should be followed and priority should be given to the children of worker, peasant and soldier families. The former system of entrance examinations should be abolished and instead young people who are good both politically and scholastically should be recommended or selected from among lower school graduates and from among young people working in industry and agriculture and serving in the army. Young people who have studied in spare-time schools of various types should be eligible for middle school or college. There should be no age limits for such students. When new students are admitted they need not be placed in the first-year class if their actual level is already higher.

These tentative proposals have the warm support of Chairman Mao, the Party Central Committee and people throughout the country because they embody Chairman Mao's policy that "education must serve proletarian politics and be combined with productive labour", because they open the doors wide

to the children of workers, peasants and soldiers and are a step towards enabling everyone who receives an education "to develop morally, intellectually and physically and become a worker with both socialist consciousness and culture".

#### The Transformation

In the newly-resumed classes, the old courses are being subjected to a practical test by revolution-sharpened consciousness. This gives the teachers and students a better understanding of the nature of the courses and places themselves in a better position to criticize and reform them and to create a new curriculum. Chairman Mao says: "If you want knowledge, you must take part in the practice of changing reality. If you want to know the taste of a pear, you must change the pear by eating it yourself." So the revolutionary teachers and students have chosen to make the transformation in the midst of actual practice, summing up their experience and making continual improvements as they go.

The revolution in education is an unprecedented social transformation of vital importance to the overall victory of the great proletarian cultural revolution, to the development of successors to the revolutionary cause of the proletariat and to the whole future of the Communist Party and the state. Working shoulder to shoulder at this task along with the teachers, students and workers in the schools are members of the People's Liberation Army who have been giving military and political training in the schools, revolutionary cadres and people from the worker and peasant masses. All are contributing their part to this movement for the realization of Chairman Mao's thinking and policy in education and for the complete destruction of the old educational system and the creation of the first new completely proletarian educational system in the history of mankind.

Wang Hsiu-ping, a second-year junior middle school student at the Tsaochangti Middle School in Peking, takes the class in physics, a bold experiment in which teachers and students teach and learn from each other.

## How a Programme to Revolutionize Education Was Born

Our Staff Reporter

IN the nationwide upsurge to revolutionize education, Shanghai's Tungchi University, with its 7,000 students of architecture and engineering, has transformed itself into the May 7th Commune — composed of a teaching, a designing and a building unit. Inaugurated last October, the commune set itself the purpose of changing the situation in which education was divorced from production. The proposal for the new form was put forward in the spirit of Chairman Mao's important instruction of May 7, 1966.\*

A new programme with this aim is now being tried out on a construction site northeast of Shanghai by a group of 150 teachers and students from the university, designers from the East China Industrial Design and Research Institute and workers from the Shanghai Construction Company. They are making an effort to completely destroy the old educational system and establish a new proletarian one in its place. The Shanghai Municipal Revolutionary Committee, which attaches great importance to the experiment, has assigned some of its staff to take part in it.

#### How the Commune Will Work

The leading body of the May 7th Commune will be a three-in-one combination of revolutionary leading cadres, leaders of the revolutionary mass organizations and the militia. Existing departments and teaching groups, or teaching research groups as they are sometimes known, will be abolished and

replaced by a committee for each specialization composed of members from the teaching, designing and building units. Each committee will direct a number of classes, with teachers, students, workers, and engineering and technical personnel organized along military lines.

The commune will operate a rotation system whereby at fixed intervals a part of its teaching staff will be tempered and remoulded through participation in production. It will also set up political work departments at different levels; committees in each specialization will have their own political instructors and each class its political workers.

Courses which previously took five or six years will be shortened to three. Everyone will study Mao Tse-tung's thought and military affairs. Students will have more opportunity for practical experience early in their course; as time goes on theoretical courses needed for their specialization are increased. All students in every class will be required to take part in productive labour. In the first year half the time will be given to practical work in building and engineering. In the second year, two-thirds of the time will go into study of basic designing through practical work under the guidance of technical workers or teachers. The third year will stress specialized courses while the students continue to spend part of their time in productive labour.

The teachers and students believe that these proposals are a practical application of Chairman Mao's instruction of May 7 and have four advantages:

1. Leadership of the university will be firmly in the hands of the proletarian revolutionaries and the university will not be dominated, as it was formerly, by bourgeois intellectuals.

2. Chairman Mao's policy of combining education with productive labour will be carried out. This will enrich the content of teaching and study and promote the development of the struggle for production and scientific experimentation.

3. Since content will be linked with actual construction projects, teaching and study can be streamlined and concentrated and so end overlapping in the curriculum, preserving it from being overburdened with superfluous material.

4. They will help the ideological remoulding of intellectuals and to eliminate the differences between town and country, between the worker and the peasant, and between mental and manual labour.

#### Fruit of Mass Criticism

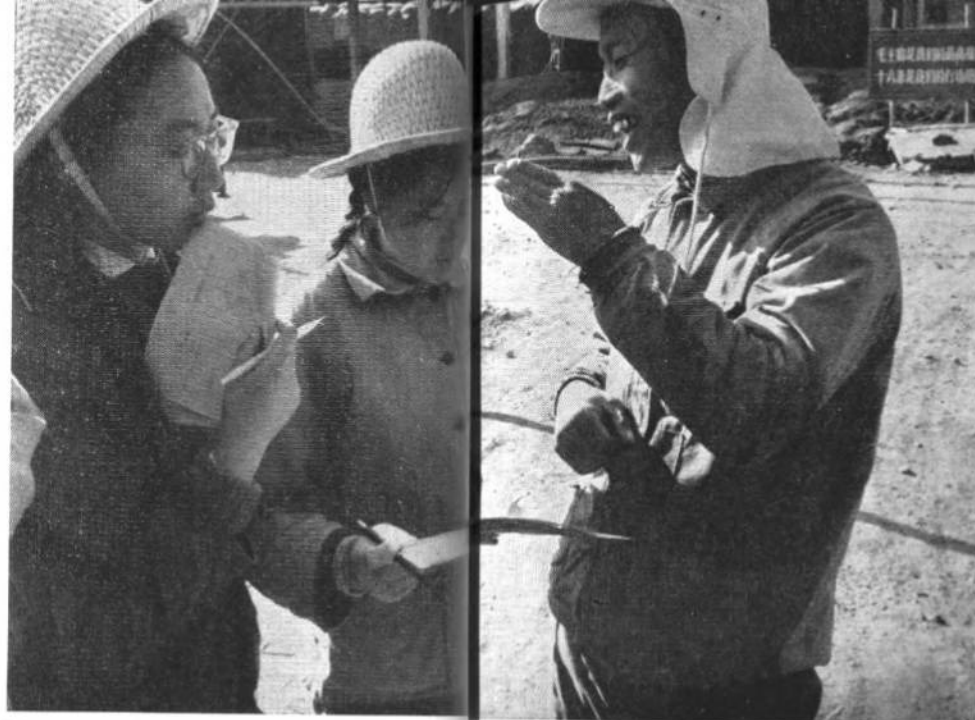
Last July the students and teachers at Tungchi started classes based on Chairman Mao's latest instruction for revolutionizing education. In accordance with Chairman Mao's teaching that without destruction there is no construction and that in the course of destroying the old, the new is built, they first launched a campaign of revolutionary mass criticism. This was done under the leadership of the university's Revolutionary Committee, which had been set up after the over-



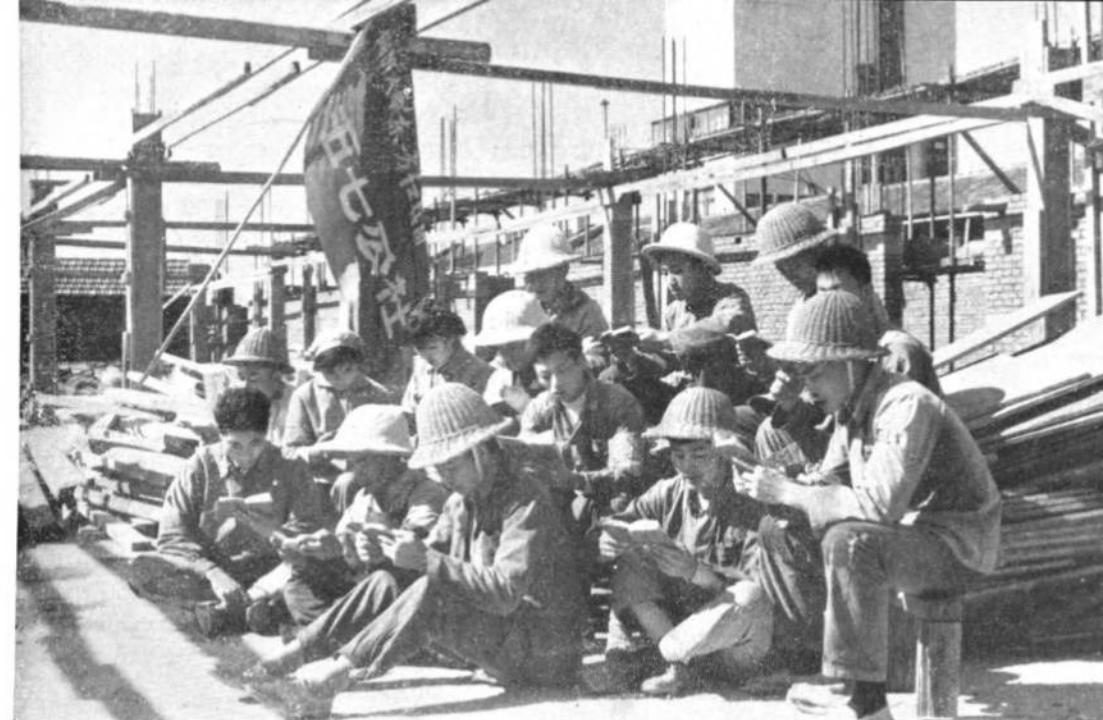




Comrade Hsu You-lan, head of an agricultural production team in a south China commune, tells the students how the peasants study and apply Chairman Mao's works in a creative way.



They consult workers on the improvement programme for revolutionizing education.



The revolutionary teachers and students study Chairman Mao's quotations every day.

## GOING OUT OF THE CLASSROOM

A worker on a construction site gives a lecture to the students.



On-the-spot teaching on the No. 205 construction site. ▶



throw of the handful of Party capitalist-roaders in power.

Thousands of *dazibao*, put up in all parts of the campus, thoroughly exposed crimes committed as a result of the counter-revolutionary revisionist line in education. These *dazibao* struck like spears and daggers at China's Khrushchov

and his henchmen, and at the reactionary bourgeois academic "authorities" in the university. In each department, big and small meetings were held to denounce those bourgeois intellectuals who, when in control, had peddled revisionist ideas to poison and corrupt the young people and to educate

them as successors of the bourgeoisie. Great hatred for the class enemy was thus kindled in the masses, who came to understand more deeply the great significance of Chairman Mao's instruction of May 7. This in turn made them feel keenly the necessity for a thorough revolution in education.

The teachers and students in each department made careful investigations. They raked over the political leadership, teaching system, scientific research and administration as practised under the domination of the bourgeois intellectuals. They pulled apart the slanders against the educational

revolution of 1958 which had been killed by the capitalist-roaders, and examined denials of the achievements and significance of that revolution. A check was made of the records of graduates trained under the old system.

Students also went to factories and construction sites to get opin-

ions from the workers. "The old educational system," the students were told, "trained people to sit on the backs of the workers, to be successors to China's Khrushchov. The new system should train students to be ordinary workers with both socialist consciousness and culture, people who can plan a



building when they pick up a pen and lay bricks when they pick up a trowel."

Inspired by the words of the workers, and based on their own investigations, the students made a number of proposals for revolutionizing education.

One group of teachers and students went more deeply into the experience and lessons of the 1958 educational revolution. In 1958, they recalled, the revolutionary teachers and students in Shanghai, with the idea of doing away with the separation of theory and practice, had set up an experimental designing institute combining book learning with actual designing practice, integrating themselves with workers and peasants and combining their studies with productive labour. But this institute was closed by the handful of Party capitalist-roaders on the excuse that both teaching and learning would suffer. The result of these findings was the bold proposal to set up the May 7th Commune.

#### Embodiment of Mass Wisdom

Chairman Mao says, "Conclusions invariably come after investigation, and not before." Last August and September, an investi-

gation team of over 100 people visited seven construction companies and over 100 organizations in Shanghai. On worksites and in designing departments they discussed their tentative programme and listened with an open mind to the opinions of the workers, technicians and engineers. While making the investigation, they joined the workers in studying Chairman Mao's instruction of May 7 and criticizing and repudiating the revisionist line in education. By adopting the many good suggestions made, they were able to enrich and improve their own proposals.

The programme was then widely discussed under the leadership of the university's Revolutionary Committee. On the campus, in classrooms and dormitories, the revolutionary teachers and students gathered in twos and threes to examine it. Many expressed their views through *dazibao*. Whenever problems or disagreements came up they studied Chairman Mao's works and his instructions on revolutionizing education, or went out to investigate further. Several university-wide discussions were also held. After such repeated study and discussion the May 7th Commune programme

for revolutionizing education finally took shape.

#### Victory for Chairman Mao's Thought

The programme was born in the struggle between Chairman Mao's thinking on education and various mistaken ideas. As soon as the first tentative proposal was made, the broad masses of the revolutionary teachers and students gave it their active support. But the bourgeois overlords tried to oppose it in every way. Some remarked sarcastically that the revolutionary teachers and students were "utopian communists", while others asserted that the general principle was wrong. Still others attacked the revolutionaries for "taking the reformist road". They attempted to strangle in its cradle this new-born "baby" full of vigour and vitality.

The revolutionary teachers and students, studying our great leader Chairman Mao's teaching on classes and class struggle, realized that in making revolution one inevitably meets with obstructions. They repeatedly studied Chairman Mao's instructions, "You should pay attention to state affairs and carry the great proletarian cultural revolution through to the end", and his brilliant writings such as *Serve the People*, *In Memory of Norman Bethune*, *The Foolish Old Man Who Removed the Mountains* and *Carry the Revolution Through to the End*.

Chairman Mao teaches us, "Often, correct knowledge can be arrived at only after many repetitions of the process leading from matter to consciousness and then back to matter, that is, leading from practice to knowledge and then back to practice." The revolutionary teachers and students of Tungchi University know that the May 7th Commune programme for a revolution in education must stand the test of practice. They are ready to modify and improve it through the practical experience they are gaining on the construction site.

Proposals for revolutionizing education are discussed in *dazibao* posted throughout the campus.



"Down with the Handful of Top Party Persons in Authority Taking the Capitalist Road!" (Poster)

FIERCE, sharp struggles between the two classes and between the capitalist and socialist roads continued to exist for 17 years after the founding of the People's Republic of China, not only in politics and economy but also in education. Chairman Mao formulated for the proletariat a revolutionary socialist line in education. But China's Khrushchov, the top Party person in authority taking the capitalist road, used the power he had usurped in the Communist Party and the government and stubbornly pushed a counter-revolutionary revisionist line in this field. These were two diametrically opposed lines. The revolutionary socialist line aims to defend the dictatorship of the proletariat and train successors to the revolutionary cause of the proletariat. The counter-revolutionary revisionist line aimed at restoring capi-

# Down With the Chief Backer of the Revisionist Line in Education

talism and perpetuating the landlord and bourgeois classes.

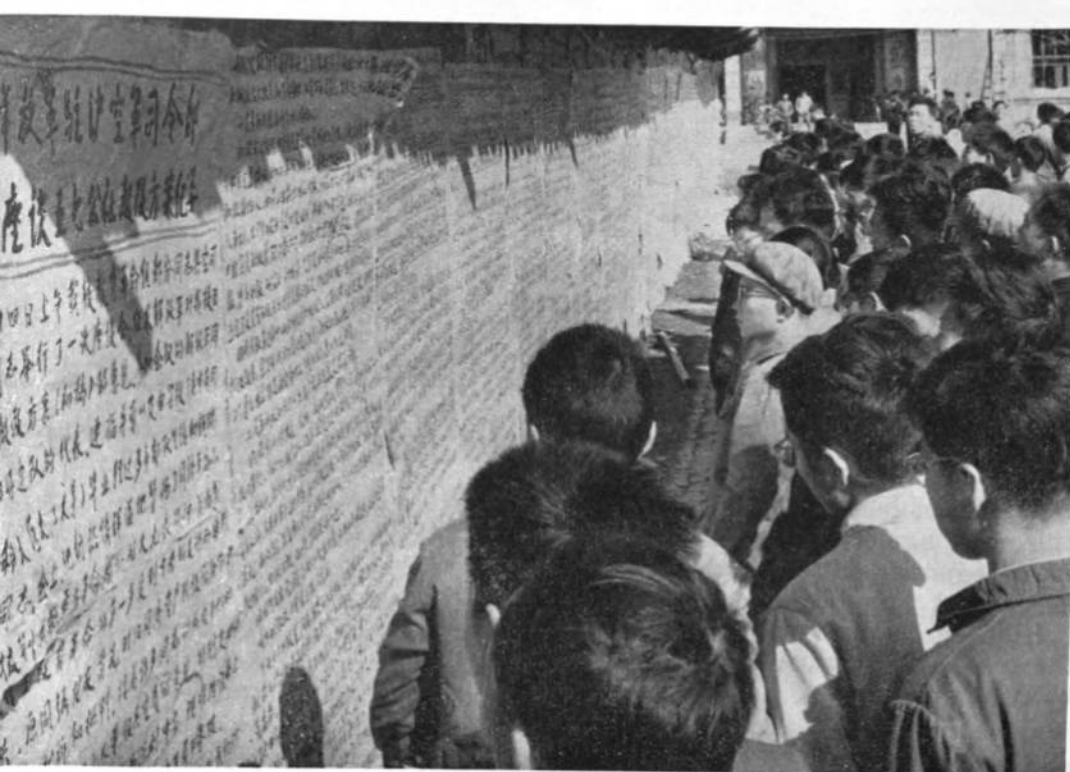
The top Party capitalist-roader was the chief person behind the revisionist line in education. He needed education to serve his scheme to usurp Party, military and government leadership. Therefore, he placed a handful of counter-revolutionary revisionists in key positions in the educational field and for 17 years resisted Chairman Mao's proletarian line in every possible way. The time has come to thoroughly uproot this counter-revolutionary revisionist line in education and overthrow its chief backer.

#### Protector of the Old Educational System

In 1949 China stood up like a giant in the East. What road should the new China take? Our great leader Chairman Mao had

clearly said that the Chinese revolution "is definitely not, and cannot be, the establishment of a capitalist society under the dictatorship of the Chinese bourgeoisie" but can only be "the establishment of a socialist society in China". But the top capitalist-roader set out to subvert the dictatorship of the proletariat and establish capitalism in China. This sharp struggle over which road to take—the socialist or the capitalist road—existed also in the educational field.

In the early days of the People's Republic, two entirely different types of education existed side by side. One was a new kind of education which had been developed in the old liberated areas under the guidance and leadership of Chairman Mao. It was a completely new and revolutionary education of the proletariat such as had





been practised in the National Institute of the Peasant Movement during the First Revolutionary Civil War (1924-27), in Yen-an's Anti-Japanese Military and Political College under Comrade Lin Piao during the War of Resistance Against Japan (1937-45), and in the many schools in the liberated areas run according to the revolutionary traditions of these institutions. These schools produced

great numbers of revolutionary cadres.

As early as 1934, Chairman Mao had formulated the policy for proletarian education: **"To educate the broad toiling masses with a communist spirit, to make culture and education serve revolutionary war and class struggle, to link education with labour, to enable the broad masses of the Chinese people to enjoy civilization and happiness."**

The core of this policy is that education must serve the proletariat in the seizure of nationwide power.

The other type was the old education taken over from the time of the Kuomintang, when it had served to preserve the reactionary rule and system of exploitation of the landlord class, the bourgeoisie and imperialism. Institutions of the old-type education far outnumbered those of the new. In higher education, for example, only 15 per cent of the institutions were of the new type. All the rest were of the old type.

The sharp question on the educational front was whether to use the proletariat's new revolutionary education to transform the old-type education or to preserve the old-type education intact, which in reality would mean to allow it to subvert the proletarian dictatorship and restore capitalism.

According to Chairman Mao, the new education of the old liberated areas was to be the foundation for reforming the old-type education in a step-by-step and careful way. He pointed out clearly, **"It is wrong to delay or be unwilling to make the reform on this question; it is also wrong to be too hasty or try to reform by harsh methods."** In response to Chairman Mao's call, more schools were set up and some reforms were carried out in the old schools.

But the top capitalist-roader openly resisted Chairman Mao's instructions. He did all he could to detract from the new education and sang the praises of the schools run by the imperialists in old China as part of their cultural aggression. Colleges "run according to the experience of the western European countries, Britain, the United States, France and Japan," he said, "have achieved a great deal in raising the Chinese people's level in culture, science and knowledge." He shamelessly announced, "Foreigners, capitalists or anyone with money, as long as they are willing to spend money in setting up and running schools,

A meeting of revolutionary teachers, students and workers at Tungchi University in Shanghai denounces the towering crimes of the reactionary bourgeois authorities in their school.

are welcome to do so. . . . Running schools is a meritorious deed." What an ugly slave to capitalism this self-styled "red com-prador" is! In fact, he even advocated learning from feudalism. Later, going all out to push revisionist wares, he instructed the handful of capitalist-roaders in the Ministry of Education to make "wholesale transformation in the manner of the Soviet Union" the "unshakable policy" for the reform of education.

Ideas and practices of feudal, capitalist and revisionist education, including the length of schooling, curricula, teaching materials and methods, and methods of examination, were given free rein.

Chairman Mao has said: **"Our educational policy must enable everyone who receives an education to develop morally, intellectually and physically and become a worker with both socialist consciousness and culture."** China's Khrushchov insolently opposed this and brazenly instilled in the students the philistine philosophy of "social climbing". "As long as you do well in one specialization," he told them, "you will win fame and prestige, then you will have everything." The capitalist-roaders in the Ministry of Education followed his instructions and drafted a series of regulations aimed at corrupting the students with the idea of personal fame and fortune. It was his cold-blooded attempt to bring up the younger generation as the bourgeois successors that he needed.

Because in this struggle between the two roads for education China's Khrushchov protected the old system of education, schools which had been run like those of the old liberated areas gradually departed from the revolutionary tradition, and feudal, capitalist and revisionist stuff flooded in.

#### Commander of Counterattack

In 1958 profound changes took place on the political and economic fronts led by the Three Red Banners (the General Line for Socialist Construction, the People's Communes and the Big Leap Forward) put forth by Chairman Mao. There was a vigorous development of the communist spirit throughout the

country. In the same year, Chairman Mao advanced the policy of making education serve proletarian politics and combining it with productive labour. This brought about a fierce and irresistible revolution in education.

It was the first daring attempt in history of workers, peasants and soldiers to occupy the educational field. They themselves set up many types of schools. For the first time, the bourgeois intellectuals' monopoly on education was broken and the arrogance of reactionary bourgeois academic "authorities" was swept to the ground. This revolution was itself a great mass criticism of the old educational system. An unprecedented and fairly comprehensive reform took place concerning the length of schooling, courses of study, teaching materials and methods, and examination systems. Schools set up and operated small factories and farms. Teachers and students left the classroom to integrate themselves with the workers, peasants and soldiers and to learn in the three great revolutionary movements—class struggle, the struggle for production and scientific experimentation.

China's top capitalist-roader hated this revolution bitterly. He fanned ill winds, poured cold water on it, heaped all kinds of blame on it and even attacked the guiding principles of this great revolution, Chairman Mao's educational policy.

From 1960 to 1962 class enemies at home and abroad unleashed an anti-China, anti-communist campaign, and China's Khrushchov used this opportunity to attack the Party, socialism and Mao Tse-tung's thought.

In the field of education, he and Lu Ting-yi and his like pushed even harder to foster schooling which would serve their ends of capitalist restoration. They went to great pains to "sum up" the experience of the "famous" schools run by the northern warlords and the Kuomintang in the 1920s and 1930s. Copying the educational methods of the U.S. and British imperialists and the Soviet revisionists, they melted the rubbish of feudal, capitalist and revisionist

education all into one pot, put a Marxist-Leninist label on it and presented it as the general summing up of the theories of new China's education in the previous dozen years. They worked out a complete set of counter-revolutionary revisionist measures concerning the length of schooling, the curricula and teaching materials and even made detailed rules and regulations.

China's Khrushchov called these programmes the "basic laws" of education and ordered that they be followed unconditionally in all primary, secondary and higher institutions. Thus, the old bourgeois educational system as practised before 1958 was crystallized into theory, made into a system, developed into concrete measures and put into effect as law.

These programmes negated the achievements of the 1958 revolution in education by putting "education of the intellect in the first place" and "technical knowledge above everything else". They opposed putting Mao Tse-tung's thought in command of all activities in the schools, denied the revolutionization of man's ideology, and made no mention whatsoever of the struggle to destroy bourgeois ideology and cultivate proletarian ideology.

China's Khrushchov and his lackeys conspired to develop education along the lines of the preposterous "small pagoda", or pyramid, idea under which increasingly fewer numbers of young people are allowed to get to the top. This was simply a copy of the capitalist way of running schools and its aim was to rear aristocrats of the mind who could be used in the restoration of capitalism.

The many different types of schools set up by workers and peasants during the 1958 revolution in education naturally did not meet the needs of China's Khrushchov and were drastically cut or simply disbanded. Once again a great many children of workers and peasants were pushed out of the "forbidden ground" of education.

According to the educational laws decreed by China's Khrushchov, the Communist Party was



An exhibition put up by revolutionary teachers and students at the Peking Institute of Posts and Telecommunications to expose, criticize and repudiate the counter-revolutionary revisionist line in education pushed by China's Khrushchov.





only allowed to "supervise and guarantee" in the schools. "The [Party] branch," he said, "must be removed by all means from the position of leadership." Power was turned over to the bourgeois intellectuals. He even went further to say that they were no longer "bourgeois intellectuals" but had become "working intellectuals serving socialism".

Instantly the social status of the bourgeois intellectuals soared. Reactionary bourgeois academic "authorities" and counter-revolutionary revisionists entrenched themselves once again in important leading positions in education, ruthlessly exercised a bourgeois dictatorship and turned the schools into outposts for capitalist restoration. If this situation had been allowed to continue, then, as Chairman Mao said, "it would not take long, perhaps only several years or a decade, or several decades at most, before a counter-revolutionary restoration on a national scale inevitably occurred, the Marxist-Leninist Party would undoubtedly become a revisionist party or a fascist party, and the whole of China would change its colour".

#### Grand Master of Fake Communist Education

In 1962, at the Tenth Plenary Session of the Eighth Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party, Chairman Mao issued the great call: "Never forget the class struggle." The proletariat began its counterattack in the ideological sphere.

In the 1950s and 1960s class struggle in China and the world had intensified. In the international communist movement many proletarian parties and socialist countries degenerated and slid down the road of revisionism. In particular, the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, founded personally by Lenin, became revisionist and put the world's first socialist country under bourgeois dictatorship. This sounded the alarm to revolutionary people the world over. In China also, after the socialist transformation of the ownership of the means of production had mainly been completed,

an undercurrent for capitalist restoration appeared in the Party. How to keep China from changing colour? How to keep the Chinese Communist Party from turning revisionist? This was the most important problem posed by the world's proletariat and revolutionary people.

The great Chinese Communist Party, led by our leader of genius Chairman Mao and armed with the invincible thought of Mao Tse-tung, fully answered and solved this problem. Chairman Mao elucidated in a comprehensive, systematic and scientific way the theory of classes, class contradictions and class struggle in socialist society. His theory, line, policies and principles for carrying out revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat have advanced Marxism-Leninism to an entirely new stage, the stage of Mao Tse-tung's thought.

The fight over who shall win the younger generation is an extremely vital question that affects the entire destiny of our Party and state. Chairman Mao points out that millions of successors to the revolutionary cause of the proletariat must be trained through the great storms of class struggle. Soon after the Spring Festival of 1964, Chairman Mao personally took command of the battle between the two lines on the educational front and issued many instructions for educational work.

The situation now became unfavourable for China's top capitalist-roader. As Chairman Mao teaches us, "Historically, all reactionary forces on the verge of extinction invariably conduct a last desperate struggle against the revolutionary forces." He also noted that "the representatives of the exploiting classes, when finding themselves at a disadvantage, usually resort to the tactics of attack as a means of defence, to ensure their survival today and facilitate their growth tomorrow". Long hidden behind the scenes, in desperation China's Khrushchov now came out into the open. Less than three months after Chairman Mao's 1964 Spring Festival instructions, he emerged with his

brand of education masked under the communist label. He called for "two types of educational system". "One is the full-time system now being practised." "These full-time schools cannot be cut down" but will have to exist "for another hundred, two hundred or three hundred years". The other type, to be "vigorously developed", was the "part-work part-study type of school".

Why should China's Khrushchov advocate two types of schools? His answer: "Those who cannot afford to go to a full-time school will have to go to a part-time school. There are just so many full-time schools. If they want to study, then they will have to go to a part-time school." In more honest words, the full-time schools were to train a small number of aristocrats of the mind, while the part-time schools were to cope with the demands of children from worker and former poor and lower-middle peasant families "who could not afford" to go to full-time schools, training them to become "ordinary workers and peasants" to be ordered about.

In direct contradiction to Chairman Mao's instructions that education should serve proletarian politics and bring about the revolutionization of man's ideology, China's Khrushchov's conception of part-work part-study schools was merely to cut the study time by half and fill the other half with work. In the study time, students, like those in full-time schools, were to memorize dead textbooks which ran counter to Mao Tse-tung's thought and were divorced from the three great revolutionary movements. The work time was merely to make the student an additional member of the labour force. Such a system in reality was no more than a continuation of the old type of education and little different from the vocational schools of the bourgeoisie. The top capitalist-roader's "two types of educational system" were simply a version of the capitalist countries' two-track system of "talent education" and "labourer's education". What a farce to try to put it over as "communist" education, as a "development of Marxism-

Leninism", as "having great international significance"!

His "two types of educational system" would channel only the rich into the full-time schools to be trained as specialists, and it would force the worker and poor and lower-middle peasant children into the work-study schools to be trained as "ordinary workers and peasants". Such a system was meant to increase rather than reduce the differences between mental and physical labour, between town and country, between workers and peasants, and would only intensify the differentiation of classes.

The system of China's Khrushchov, of course, did not arm the students with Mao Tse-tung's thought and enable them to consciously revolutionize their ideology. It only demanded that the student "be able to do both physical and mental labour". Such a student would not become the "new man of overall development" needed by the proletariat, but only a young revisionist who would use his technical knowledge as a ladder to climb in society.

His system did not mention the struggle of the two classes and the two roads, or the necessity of strengthening and consolidating the dictatorship of the proletariat. It spread only such nonsense as "part-work part-study is itself class struggle" and led people to study divorced from class struggle. Such education can only open the road to capitalist restoration.

China's Khrushchov pushed his system not to eliminate but to increase the three great differences mentioned above, not to train communist "new men of overall development" but to train successors to the bourgeoisie, not to "prevent capitalist restoration" but to restore capitalism.

Such a system is the concrete expression in the educational field of China's Khrushchov's political line of the negation of class struggle, the elimination of the dictatorship of the proletariat, and the impossible road of peaceful evolution into communism.

China's Khrushchov is, in every sense of the word, the grand



Revolutionary teachers and students from Liuhang Middle School in Shanghai, out on labour on a commune, criticize and repudiate the revisionist line in education with former poor and lower-middle peasants during a work break.



Young revolutionaries at the Teachers' Training School in Mutanchiang, Heilungkiang province, write a dazibao against the revisionist line in education.

master of false communist education.

Chairman Mao's instruction of May 7 on a programme for education (see inside front cover) pronounced the death sentence of the counter-revolutionary revisionist line in education and the old educational system carried out for 17 years by China's Khrushchov.

The roaring torrent of the great proletarian cultural revolution is

scouring away all the filth and scum left over from the old society. The proletariat has recaptured the positions in education controlled by China's Khrushchov, just as it has taken back all the other positions he controlled. He and his revisionist wares have been exposed — a tremendous victory for the great proletarian cultural revolution, for the thought of Mao Tse-tung.



## At the Family Meeting

LI CHEN-CHUANG

MY father Li Ching-feng is leader of one of the production brigades in the Talu commune in Hopei province. After the great proletarian cultural revolution began, some brigade members criticized him in *dazibao* (big-character posters). He didn't feel that what was said was correct and so he said he was not going to lead the brigade any more but would work as an ordinary commune member. When news of this reached me at my army post, I wrote to try and dissuade him from taking any such action. It had no effect on him.

Then I went home on leave. I tried to make Father see how wrong it was of him to think of giving up his responsibilities. But before I could finish my argument he blew up.

"Don't you scold me!" he exclaimed. "You would do the same if you were in my shoes!"

He refused to continue the talk.

The next day I spoke to some of the brigade members and learned that Father's main shortcoming was that he did not have a correct attitude towards the masses. He was rough in dealing with people and did not put proletarian politics above everything else. When sharply criticized for this, instead

LI CHEN-CHUANG is a platoon leader in the Chinese People's Liberation Army.

of being willing to think it over, he felt aggrieved. In his mind, he had done his duty conscientiously as a leader for eight or nine years, and even if he had no great meritorious deed to his credit, he had at least put in a lot of hard work. Now all he got was a heap of criticism. A cadre's lot was a hard one, he felt.

In our family there were various attitudes to Father's problem. Mother was on his side. My younger sister felt it was not right for him to quit, but she didn't have the courage to criticize him because she herself had once resigned as leader of a women's team, fearing meetings would interfere with her home duties. My younger brother, a Red Guard, had had several arguments with Father. But each time Father flared up at him, and he finally gave up. My wife, also a Red Guard, thought Father's attitude to criticism was wrong. But still under the influence of feudal properties, she could not bring herself to say this to her father-in-law.

I saw that to help Father I must first get the family to take a correct attitude. I got Mother, brother, sister and my wife together and we studied Chairman Mao's three famous articles, *Serve the People*, *In Memory of Norman Bethune* and *The Foolish Old Man Who Removed the Mountains*, with the aim of overcoming all thoughts of

"self" by applying the teachings in them. We had several discussions. My wife came to understand that in daring or not daring to struggle against her father-in-law's wrong thinking she would show whether or not she was really loyal to Chairman Mao's revolutionary line. Remnants of feudal propriety was one of the things the proletarian cultural revolution was out to destroy, she began to realize, and it was Chairman Mao's revolutionary line that could mobilize the masses to rise and do this. My sister began to see that first she should correct her own mistake and second, that not daring to struggle against another who had made the same mistake as oneself showed that one still looked at things from the viewpoint of self-interest. My brother realized more fully that one should be firm, courageous and dauntless in making revolution. Finally all but Mother expressed eagerness to help Father.

WE decided to hold a family meeting. Each of us thought over what we would say. At the meeting we first read together *Serve the People* and Chairman Mao's quotation: "Countless revolutionary martyrs have laid down their lives in the interests of the people, and our hearts are filled with pain as we the living think of them — can there be any personal interest, then, that we would not sacrifice or any error that we would not discard?"

Brother was the first to speak. "Father's behaviour in the cultural revolution hasn't been good. When he was criticized, instead of admitting his mistakes to the masses, he simply quit his post. To do this was to forget how our martyrs shed their blood and gave their lives for the revolution."

"So it's all your father's fault," Mother interrupted in an aggrieved tone. "This means all of you were right. Why don't you become cadres yourselves?"

Sister rose. "Father was wrong and yet he would not let the masses criticize him. That simply is not right." By now Father was ready to get up and leave.

To ease the atmosphere so that the meeting could go on, I said, "Father, you are a member of the Communist Party. If you make a mistake you should correct it right away. Brother is trying to help you for the sake of the revolution. Isn't it better to hear him through?" I paused, then went on. "Do you still remember, Father, what sort of life we led in the old society? If it hadn't been for Chairman Mao who helped us poor people win liberation, we wouldn't be enjoying the happiness of today and you wouldn't have been a cadre. We must never forget how the martyrs gave their lives for the revolution and we must never forget the bitter class sufferings of the past."

At the mention of class sufferings, Father began to calm down. One could see the pain of past memories on his face. My wife urged him, "We are all too young to know much about the sufferings of the old society. Tell us about our family."

"Before the liberation our family had more than ten mouths to feed but had only two and a half *mu* of graveyard land," Father began, tears welling up in his eyes. "Your grandfather was too old to work and hobbled about begging. He finally starved to death in a deserted temple. Your grandmother was murdered in cold blood by the Japanese invaders. I worked as a hired hand for a cursed landlord for ten years. We never had enough to eat or wear. Your second sister starved to death when she had barely learned to walk. Your second brother was beaten to death by the village head because we could not pay the rent. The bitterness, the miseries we suffered — I could talk about them for days. Thanks to Chairman Mao and the Communist Party who liberated us poor people, we began to lead a better life. Indeed, as the song goes, 'Father's dear, Mother's dear, but not as dear as Chairman Mao. A thousand things are good, a million things are good, but not as good as socialism!'"

WE all wept. Now that Father's class feelings were aroused, I tried to help him deepen them

into political understanding. "Why do you think, Father, that we poor people suffered so much in the old society? Why is it that our life is better in the new society?"

"Because in the old society the workers and poor and lower-middle peasants did not have political power," Father said, "while in the new society we working people are the masters of the country."

"Yes," I agreed. "Without political power we have nothing. Who should be in charge of the seal of power then?"

"The workers and we poor and lower-middle peasants, of course!" Mother broke in.



"Then why don't you want Father to be a cadre?" sister and brother asked in one voice.

Mother was speechless. I then explained why the cultural revolution was so important for preventing revisionism and for consolidating our dictatorship of the proletariat. I also talked about the crimes of the handful of capitalist-roaders in the Party headed by China's Khrushchov, about how they were trying to restore capitalism in China. This aroused the whole family's hatred against these class enemies.

Father especially became deeply agitated. "I was wrong to want to

run away from my responsibilities," he said. "I did not live up to the expectations of Chairman Mao, of the revolutionary martyrs, of the poor and lower-middle peasants. My attitude toward the criticism of the masses shows that I was too preoccupied with the thought of 'self' and did not follow Chairman Mao's teaching, that one should serve the people wholly and entirely. The heart of Chairman Mao's revolutionary line is one's attitude towards the masses — to have faith in them and rely on them. I am always going to stand on the side of Chairman Mao's revolutionary line and follow Chairman Mao all my life in making revolution."

Mother, too, admitted that she bore some responsibility for Father's attitude. "Don't sit and brood in the house any more," she said to him. "Go and do whatever you're supposed to do."

The whole family was happy to see that Father had realized he had been wrong. My wife suggested, "We should make it a rule in the family to give help to whoever does something not in accord with Chairman Mao's teaching. Let us all creatively study and apply Chairman Mao's works and turn the whole family into a study class of Mao Tse-tung's thought. It doesn't matter that Father can't read. Brother and I will help him."

After this round in the battle against "self", our whole family showed more concern for affairs of state and everyone took an active part in the campaign of revolutionary mass criticism. We pledged to try even harder to creatively study and apply Chairman Mao's works, carry out his instructions, follow him in making revolution and firmly keep to the socialist road.

The very next day Father asked to continue his old duties. Later he voluntarily made a self-criticism at a mass meeting. When the revolutionary masses set up a group to be in charge of both revolution and production, Father was elected to lead it.





A huge poster is put up on a Peking street by revolutionary teachers and students of the Central Academy of Industrial Arts.

## Art that Serves Proletarian Politics

AN EXHIBITION of revolutionary art under the title "Long Live the Victory of Chairman Mao's Revolutionary Line" was opened in Peking last October 1 as the country celebrated the 18th anniversary of the founding of the People's Republic. Sixteen hundred works, from huge oil paintings to delicate papercuts, from life-size clay sculptures to much-sought-after badges bearing the likeness of Chairman Mao, were displayed in 12 halls of the Museum of Chinese Art. All were paeans of praise for Chairman Mao Tse-tung, the reddest red sun in our hearts, and powerful media for the propagation of the thought of Mao Tse-tung.

The exhibition, selections from which have since been touring factories, mines and rural communes, was an outstanding illustration of the revolutionary changes on the art front during the great proletarian cultural revolution. Chairman Mao has long taught us, "All our literature and art are for the masses of the people, and in the first place for the

workers, peasants and soldiers; they are created for the workers, peasants and soldiers and are for their use." But for 17 years after the liberation, a handful of capitalist-roaders in the Party headed by China's Khrushchov stubbornly resisted Chairman Mao's revolutionary line in literature and art and instead promoted a sinister counter-revolutionary line. Under their protection and encouragement, works serving the exploiting classes dominated the arts. They either glorified the emperors, kings, generals, ministers, scholars and fine ladies of the past, or were meaningless compositions of flowers, birds, plants and insects. Their function was to corrupt the revolutionary people, undermine the socialist economic base and create public opinion for capitalist restoration.

In the great proletarian cultural revolution personally initiated by Chairman Mao, the workers, peasants and soldiers have battled their way onto the political stage and that of artistic creation as well. Over 60 per cent of the works in this exhibition are by workers, peasants and soldiers. They testify that the days when reactionary academic "authorities" could monopolize the arts are gone for

ever. Rotten feudal, capitalist and revisionist wares that poisoned the minds of the people have been thrown into history's dustbin. They are being replaced by works that serve the workers, peasants and soldiers, that serve proletarian politics. This is a great victory for Chairman Mao's revolutionary line in literature and art.

### In Praise of Our Great Leader

The deepest desire of the masses of workers, peasants, soldiers, Red Guards and revolutionary artists is to sing in praise of Chairman Mao and his revolutionary line. It is movingly expressed in a two-metre-high colour woodcut portrait of Chairman Mao jointly created by a veteran worker, a technician and a doctor at the Capital Iron and Steel Company. Inspired by infinite love for our great leader, these three men made their own carving tools and cut the blocks on their work board. None of them had had any art training so they were not bound by the rules of bourgeois art, such as the formalistic idea of the "linear and tonal effect of the knife". With simple, bold and forceful lines they portrayed Chairman Mao, the reddest red sun in their hearts, in military

uniform, waving to the masses and smiling warmly. They made many prints which they put up in the steel works so that all the workers could draw strength from the image of our beloved leader.

A series of eleven woodcuts by Red Guards of the Peking Teachers' College shows Chairman Mao leading the mass movement at different historical periods of the Chinese revolution. It is, at the same time, these Red Guards' own pledge to closely follow Chairman Mao and become worthy successors in the revolution.

Many a worker, peasant and soldier visitor looked for a long time at the oil painting "The East Is Red", in which our great teacher is shown walking forward against a background of golden rays. The feeling is of the rising sun lighting up Tien An Men, the whole of China and the entire world. Many visitors said that, in front of this work, they felt as if they were standing below Tien An Men and seeing, in person, their most beloved leader of whom they thought day and night.

Another oil painting, "Chairman Mao's Heart Beats as One with the Hearts of the Revolutionary Masses",\* presents Red Guards, with tears of emotion streaming down their faces, meeting their great leader Chairman Mao. It fully brings out its theme—that Chairman Mao has the greatest faith in the masses, and the masses have the deepest love for Chairman Mao. Many Red Guards had their photos taken, as a memento, in front of this painting.

A traditional-style ink-brush painting titled "Bombard the Headquarters" and an oil painting called "The Great Strategic Plan" depict an inspiring historic event—Chairman Mao writing his *dazibao* "Bombard the Headquarters" in August 1966. Then China's Khrushchov, with another top capitalist-roader in the Party, was pushing the bourgeois reactionary line to suppress the great proletarian cultural revolution. At this critical juncture, Chairman Mao exposed their sinister scheme with his great *dazibao*. The traditional-style painting, with its terse com-

\* This and some other works mentioned in the article are reproduced on the covers and middle pages of this issue.

position, projects Chairman Mao's superb confidence in guiding the revolution at the decisive moment when he struck back at the bourgeoisie's attack. The oil painting, profound in its artistic conception, conveys the idea that our great leader, when he wrote his *dazibao*, had his eyes on all China and the whole world. And indeed, his historic *dazibao* exerted a deep and far-reaching influence on the international communist movement. It pushed China's great proletarian cultural revolution to a high tide

and opened a new era in the world proletarian revolution.

The oil painting "Mao Tse-tung's Thought Lights Up Africa" is one of the exhibition's vivid depictions of the Asian, African and Latin American people's great love for Chairman Mao and of how they study his revolutionary theories, craving them as the hungry crave food. These works are reflections of the raging flames of revolution and storms of battle all over the world.



A woodcut portrait of Chairman Mao made by three staff members of the Capital Iron and Steel Company. It is two metres high.



### Clay Sculpture, a Fighting Weapon

Clay sculpture was used by the pre-liberation ruling classes for images of gods and spirits to spread superstition and dupe the people. Now, in the cultural revolution, this art has been infused with new, living content. Since the sculptors of Szechuan province took the country by storm with their 119-figure clay group "Rent Collection Courtyard", the workers, peasants, soldiers and Red Guards have been successfully employing this medium to picture the revolutionary struggles of our socialist era.

Chairman Mao says: "Revolutionary culture is a powerful revolutionary weapon for the broad masses of the people." Such a weapon is the clay sculpture, "Family Histories of the Air Force Fighters", in the present exhibition. Six scenes of past exploitation and enslavement—escaping from famine, exaction of debts, pressganging, kidnapping and sale



"New Dawn over the Northeast", a papercut by members of a rural people's commune in Heilungkiang province. The theme is the flourishing state of industrial and agricultural production after the seizure of power by proletarian revolutionaries.

of people, and slave "coolie" labour—stirringly express the truth that wherever there is oppression there is revolt. They recall the bitter misery suffered by old China's millions of workers and peasants and thereby deal telling blows at the preposterous and reactionary statement by China's Khrushchov that "exploitation has its merits". Seeing them, many poor and lower-middle peasant visitors stepped forth on the spot to denounce China's Khrushchov for conspiring to restore capitalism and again plunge the working people into torment.

One group of these clay sculptures is the first to portray the Chinese dockers' heroic struggle against imperialism. In it, the angry eyes of an old worker and the clenched fist of a younger one give an intense impression of the unyielding heroism with which the Chinese working class has always faced aggressors. The foreman's weak show of authority and the obvious cowardice of an imperialist underling both underscore the essential paper-tiger nature of the class enemies, who are outwardly strong but actually weak.

These clay figures, which are of a fairly high level both politically and ideologically and in artistic skill, are the work of six P.L.A. men. None of them had ever studied sculpture, and some had never seen any. But being sons of poor and lower-middle peasants, they were aflame with loyalty to Chairman Mao and determination to fight the life-and-death battle against China's Khrushchov. Fearing no difficulties, and with help from professional artists, they completed the six clay groups in only three months. The result shows that workers, peasants and soldiers armed with Mao Tse-tung's thought can not only seize back leadership in the field of art; they can also master artistic creation.

Another life-size group in clay, "In Praise of the Red Guards", is the collective work of Red Guards and professional artists. It is a sculptural narrative of the sterling deeds of Chairman Mao's Red Guards in destroying the old ideology, culture, customs and habits and fostering new ideology, culture, customs and habits, and of their

heroic fight to defend Chairman Mao's revolutionary line.

Guided by the principle that art should serve politics, the Red Guard sculptors showed high rebel spirit and boldly cast aside conservative conventions. For instance, a student of the Peking Workers', Peasants' and Soldiers' Institute of Physical Culture who took part in the work was herself persecuted under the bourgeois reactionary line and fiercely hates its originator, China's Khrushchov. From her own experience and feeling, she created the figure of a girl Red Guard that breathes firm revolutionary conviction, unyielding rebel spirit and deep loyalty to Chairman Mao's revolutionary line. Stubborn defiance in her posture and deep thought on her face make the figure both strongly individualized and very typical, a truly moving portrayal. Her creator had never studied sculpture or the structure of the human body. Judged by standard conventions, the stance of the figure and the twist of its neck break certain anatomical rules. But the treatment forcefully expresses the intense feeling of accusation and revolt that accords with the rebel spirit of the Red Guards. Understanding that artistic skill should serve political content, the professional artists working with this student approved her bold creation.

A Red Guard from Shansi who had been persecuted under the bourgeois reactionary line stood in front of the sculpture with tears in his eyes, recalling his experience of the white terror. "Seeing this exhibition," he said, "makes me more determined than ever to defend Chairman Mao's revolutionary line."

"In Praise of the Red Guards", consisting of 109 figures, was completed in just 20 days. An Albanian friend who saw it remarked, "This is the first time in the history of world sculpture that such a large-size work has been completed in so short a time to coordinate with the revolutionary struggle."

### Scenes of Revolutionary Struggle

The enthusiastic response of workers, peasants and soldiers to  
(Continued on p. 25)



"Warm Care, Great Inspiration"



"Hail the Founding of the Shanghai Municipal Revolutionary Committee"



"Defend Chairman Mao, Defend the Party Central Committee, Defend the Cultural Revolution Group under the Central Committee, Defend the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution" (One of the serial paintings "Win New Merits")





CHAIRMAN MAO'S HEART BEATS AS ONE WITH THE HEARTS OF THE REVOLUTIONARY MASSES. (Oil painting)



CHAIRMAN MAO, SEEING YOU IS THE FULFILMENT OF OUR DEEPEST LONGINGS. WE WILL NEVER FORGET THIS JOYOUS MOMENT. GUIDED BY YOUR BRILLIANT THOUGHT, WE WILL CARRY THE REVOLUTION THROUGH TO THE END.



毛主席  
您老人家请放心  
上刀山下火海  
我们永远跟着您



Two scenes from the six-part life-size clay sculpture "In Praise of the Red Guards". Left: The Red Guards' fierce struggle against the bourgeois reactionary line carried out by the work teams sent by China's Khrushchov. Right: Red Guards who have been branded "young members of the sinister gang" and locked up persist in following Chairman Mao's revolutionary line and resolutely carry on the struggle.



A scene from the life-size clay sculpture "Family Histories of the Air Force Fighters". When pilot Chou Pao-lung's father, a stevedore, was whipped by an imperialist underling and the foreman, a fellow-worker bravely stood up to the oppressors.



(Continued from p. 20)

Chairman Mao's militant calls issued during the great cultural revolution is vividly reflected in the exhibition.

The theme of political power as the fundamental problem of revolution actuates the oil painting "Hail the Founding of the Shanghai Municipal Revolutionary Committee", the papercut "New Dawn in the Northeast" and the large sketch "Spring Thunder over the Southwest". All show the struggle of the proletarian revolutionaries to seize power from the capitalist-roaders in the Party and set up proletarian provisional organs of power of a new type — the revolutionary committees.

When the capitalist-roaders plotted to subvert the cultural revolution by economism, Chairman Mao promptly raised the great call to "grasp revolution and spur production". A poster under this title shows how proletarian revolutionaries, responding to Chairman Mao's call, rose to check the ill wind of economism and launched a new upsurge of production, thus behaving as full masters of the country.

Chairman Mao says: "Without a people's army the people have nothing." Two picture-series, one entitled "Win New Merits" and the other "Wang Shih-tung", extol the People's Liberation Army, the pillar of the dictatorship of the proletariat, the Chinese people's "Great Wall" of steel. They include scenes of P.L.A. soldiers guarding Tien An Men and the Yellow River Bridge. Also widely reflected is the theme represented by the lines from Chairman Mao's poem: "If the army and the people are united as one, Who in the world can match them?"

Chairman Mao said recently: "Throughout the country the situation in the great proletarian cultural revolution is not just good but very, very good. The entire situation is better than ever before. The outstanding sign of this excellent situation is that the masses are fully mobilized. Never before in any mass movement has there been such a broad and deep mobilization of the masses."

A traditional-style ink-brush painting, "All the 700 Million

People Are Critics", reflects the spirit of the deepening mass movement for the revolutionization of man's thinking, the wide dissemination of Mao Tse-tung's thought and the Chinese people's determination to fight China's Khrushchov to the end. Another, "Respond to Chairman Mao's Great Call to Fight Self and Repudiate Revisionism and Carry the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution Through to the End", shows the revolutionary masses' determination to dig up the ideological foundation of revisionism, the bourgeois concept of "self", and to foster the proletarian concept of "public interest". These works depicting the struggle of the revolutionary masses express the great truth put forth by Chairman Mao: "The people, and the people alone, are the motive force in the making of world history."

**Popularization of Revolutionary Art**

Art works and cartoons from wall newspapers of revolutionary mass criticism, and huge and striking wall paintings which were put up along the streets, reflect a situation in which artistic creation is being widely popularized as never before, a situation unmatched by the renaissance in art and literature of any previous age. The present art exhibition comprises a general review of these popular art works.

Of particular significance are the illustrations for quotations from Chairman Mao which appeared in the course of this vast popularization of the arts. Chairman Mao teaches us: "We must popularize only what is needed and can be readily accepted by the workers, peasants and soldiers themselves." And these quotation-pictures have found the widest welcome among them because they convey in graphic form the most urgent need of the masses — the ever-victorious thought of Mao Tse-tung. A worker puts it very well: "Through these quotation-pictures, those who can read can deepen their understanding of Chairman Mao's think-

ing and those who can't read can catch the meaning at once."

The appearance of quotation-pictures has helped spread the mass movement for the study of Chairman Mao's works and opened up a new vista for revolutionary artists.

The victory of Chairman Mao's revolutionary line in literature and art is the theme of other works. The oil painting, "Warm Care, Great Inspiration", shows movingly how Chairman Mao and Comrade Chiang Ching stand with the revolutionary artists.

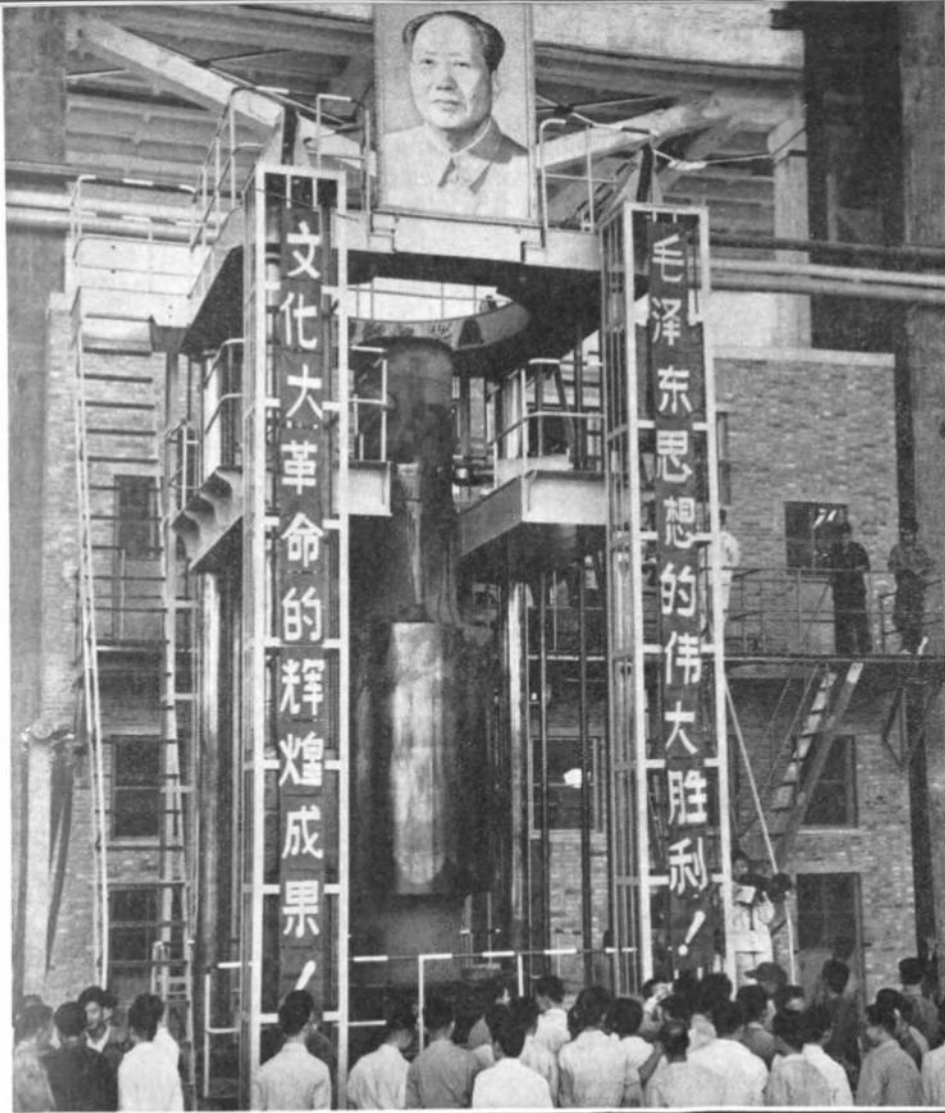
It is Chairman Mao who points the correct direction for the revolutionary literary and art workers. It is Comrade Chiang Ching, courageous standard-bearer of the great cultural revolution, who persists along Chairman Mao's revolutionary line in literature and art and leads the proletarian revolutionaries in these fields in creating model revolutionary productions for the stage. With the appearance of these productions, workers, peasants and soldiers have become truly masters of socialist literature and art, and a new era in proletarian literature and art has begun.

The victory of Chairman Mao's revolutionary line is the fundamental reason for the rich harvest which the art world reaped in the great proletarian cultural revolution and why workers, peasants and soldiers have become masters of China's socialist art.



Members of the air force work on clay sculpture figures for an exhibit of "Family Histories of the Air Force Fighters".





## Giant Industrial Frequency Heat-treatment Equipment

A hundred-ton rolling-mill roll, standing high as a two-storey building and so big that four men can touch outstretched arms around it, moved along swiftly on an overhead travelling crane and dropped easily into the opening of the heat-treatment tower. As red and green lights on the control panel flashed, the giant roll was rapidly turned, to be heated and quenched. The ten-metre-high tower, the largest piece of equipment for heat treatment using industrial frequency electric power built in China to date, was made last year during the great cultural

revolution by the Shanghai Heavy Machinery Plant.

### A New Achievement

China's rapid industrial development urgently requires giant cold-rolling mills with long, heavy, extremely hard rolls for making plates from alloy steels and other metals. Previously the hard surface was achieved by heating the rolls in a pit-type furnace and quenching, or cooling, them in tanks of oil or water. But this method necessitates a longer time between heating and quenching, is more difficult to control, and is

relatively costly. With the new equipment, the rolls are heated by electric coils around the outside of the roll, and can be quenched by a stream of water immediately after heating. The simpler process ensures top quality, cuts the processing time by half and reduces the cost by two-thirds.

Industrial frequency heat-treatment equipment of this size (it can take pieces up to two metres in diameter and six metres in length) had never been built in China and is rare in other parts of the world.

The sweeping storm of the great proletarian cultural revolution has destroyed not only the handful of capitalist-roaders in authority in the Party but also the spiritual shackles they had imposed on the people. With Chairman Mao's *Serve the People*, *In Memory of Norman Bethune*, *The Foolish Old Man Who Removed the Mountains* and *On Practice* as their guide to action, the proletarian revolutionaries at the Shanghai Heavy Machinery Plant built this piece of advanced equipment in only ten months, and did it with a minimum of expenditure.

### The Daring of 'Nobodies'

Our great leader Chairman Mao says: "The Chinese people have both high aspirations and ability. Before too long, they will certainly catch up with and surpass the world advanced levels." In the autumn of 1965 the problem of how to quench these huge rolls was one of the three crucial ones left for Chinese engineers and technicians to solve in the building of giant cold-rolling mills. The leaders of the departments concerned, fearing the difficulties, were unwilling to take on this heavy responsibility. Only a few ordinary workers — lathe operators, fitters, heat-treatment workers and electricians — had the courage to do so. The mechanics knew that they had to solve many problems: support of the huge roll, making it revolve, heating it and immediately quenching it with water. The electricians knew it would be hard to find a method of raising and lowering the heating coils several times and getting the roll to a very high temperature to harden it on the outside and

toughen it on the inside. But their only thought was that the sooner they could find the answer, the sooner there would be more rolling mills for the country's alloy steel, and the greater would be their contribution in the fight against imperialism and revisionism. "Chairman Mao, we workers are your most loyal fighters," they declared confidently. "With your brilliant thought to guide us, all difficulties will be like paper tigers!"

The daring of these "nobodies" amazed some people but won the respect of others. And a few well-intentioned friends were worried and advised them, "This is too big a responsibility. It'll be all right if you succeed, but if you fail you'll get into trouble." The majority of the people, however, supported their plan. With the help of revolutionaries among the leading cadres, a team of mechanical and electrical technicians and other workers, with these "nobodies" as the nucleus, was set up and went to work.

### Revolutionary Approach to Design

How should they begin to design such a giant piece of equipment? One way was to follow the conventional method in which all plans are drawn up before work begins. This was what the bourgeois "authorities" and "experts" thought should be done, but in this way just drawing the blueprints would take six months. The great proletarian cultural revolution which was already under way in the plant had made the members of the team see that they must not do things in that way.

Instead, they began by inviting the workers who would use the new equipment to take part in the designing, basing themselves on what Chairman Mao teaches about correct ideas coming "from social practice, and from it alone; they come from three kinds of social practice, the struggle for production, the class struggle and scientific experiment". The future users knew from their own rich experience what would be actually required of the equipment. With the team, they drew chalk sketches on the floor, made calculations and discussed and argued among them-

selves. They got many ideas from the construction of the huge 10,000-ton hydraulic press which they saw every day in the plant. Thus they gradually drew up the general lines along which the heat-treatment equipment should be constructed.

Work on some of the parts began while the design for the whole was still being drawn up, with the team members keeping in close touch with the workers making them. Therefore within four months not only had the designs for the structure and the parts been completed, but some of the major parts had been finished.

The group in charge of the electrical system drew sketches for its installation right on the finished parts, which saved nearly a hundred blueprints. As the parts were manufactured, they revised and improved so as to get the best possible layout for the circuits, pipes, cables and meters of various kinds.

### In Their Own Hands

When the great proletarian cultural revolution began, the handful of capitalist-roaders in authority in the plant had done everything they could to sabotage both the revolution and production. They placed many obstacles in the way of construction of sorely-needed equipment. The future of the whole project was put in jeopardy early in 1967 by the evil plot of economism carried out in the shops by the agents of the handful of capitalist-roaders in the former Shanghai Municipal Party Committee.\*

When the storm of the "January Revolution" swept Shanghai, the proletarian revolutionaries in the Shanghai Heavy Machinery Plant, too, seized power from their capitalist-roaders. The new revolutionary plant leadership immediately gave their full support to the heat-treatment equipment team and themselves undertook to see the job through.

Because of the size of the parts, they had to be processed on

\* See "The Great 'January Revolution' in Shanghai" in the April 1967 issue of *China Reconstructs*.

especially large machines. Such machines, however, already had a lot of work ahead of them, and the plant did not want to fall behind on any of these orders because it would mean a loss to the state. The dispatchers and machine operators worked closely with the members of the team, so that whenever one of these machines was idle for a short time between jobs, it was quickly put to work on parts for the heat-treatment equipment. The workers did this readily, despite the trouble it was for them to retool and replace the workpiece in the machine for such a short time. In this way some of the big parts were completed in record time. With the wholehearted support of workers in all sections, the project moved ahead at top speed. When welders were needed, the revolutionaries in the welding shop would respond immediately with any number asked for. When more hands were required for assembly, the metal working shop on its own initiative sent over a group which finished the job quickly. The subsequent trial run also set something of a record for speed.

All through the project the workers kept uppermost in their minds Chairman Mao's great directive that "Economy must be practised in carrying out revolution". In both design and manufacture the team members calculated everything as closely as possible and tried wherever they could to utilize waste materials, even old nuts and bolts. Roughly 60 per cent of all the materials in the new piece of equipment were scrap, surplus or rejects. In the construction the workers were able to use some of the equipment which had been used for the 10,000-ton hydraulic press. Another feature of the new equipment which will mean a saving of hundreds of thousands of yuan for the state is the fact that it can handle not only huge pieces but pieces as small as 10 centimetres in diameter.

In this way another piece of new equipment, once only a bold dream of a handful of innovators, has been completed by China's working class, armed with the thought of Mao Tse-tung.



# People's Army Wins New Merits for the People

HSUEH KUANG

A YEAR ago in January 1967, at the critical moment when the great proletarian cultural revolution entered the stage of struggles to seize power, Chairman Mao, our great supreme commander, issued a militant call to the People's Liberation Army to support the broad masses of the Left. Vice-Chairman Lin Piao also instructed the army "to hold high the great red banner of Mao Tse-tung's thought and to win new merits in the great proletarian cultural revolution". Like other army units, those in our Kweichow Provincial Military Area resolutely carried out these instructions. While ever vigilantly defending our socialist motherland and the dictatorship of the proletariat, we have, in the past year, given active effect to the "three supports"—support for the revolutionary Left, for industry and for agriculture—and the "two militaries"—exercising military control in certain organizations and giving military and political training to students.

## Glorious Tradition of the People's Army

Our heroic people's army was founded personally by Chairman Mao and is under the direct command of Vice-Chairman Lin Piao. In the early days of its founding, Chairman Mao worked out a great programme for building the army. He taught us: "The Chinese Red Army is an armed body for carrying out the political tasks of the revolution" and "The sole purpose of this army is to stand firmly with the Chinese people and to serve them wholeheartedly." For the past 40 years, our army, implementing Chairman Mao's great thinking on army building, has undertaken three major tasks: it is a fighting force and at the same time a working force and a production force. It has maintained and

HSUEH KUANG is director of the Political Department in the Kweichow Provincial Military Area of the P.L.A.

developed its glorious tradition of being "soldiers of the people".

Soon after the great proletarian cultural revolution began in 1966, Chairman Mao further instructed us that "The People's Liberation Army should be a great school", that it should "be able to do mass work", and that it should "at all times participate in the struggles of the cultural revolution to criticize the bourgeoisie".

Following Chairman Mao's teaching, we helped commanders and fighters in our Military Area to grasp the significance of the great proletarian cultural revolution and the struggle between the two lines by organizing them to expose and denounce the crimes of the handful of Party persons in authority who took the capitalist road and opposed the Party, socialism and Mao Tse-tung's thought. As a result of this, our commanders and fighters expressed bitter hatred for the handful of capitalist-roaders and the bourgeois reactionary line which this handful had carried out, and gave the firmest support to the proletarian revolutionary line represented by Chairman Mao. They took a correct attitude towards the mass movement and hailed the actions of the proletarian revolutionaries. This explains why, when in January 1967 Chairman Mao issued his call for the army to support the broad masses of the Left, the commanders and fighters were so elated that many of them were moved to tears and shouted "Long live Chairman Mao!"

## Supporting the Left to Seize Power

Early in the summer of 1966, the handful of capitalist-roaders in Kweichow carried out the bourgeois reactionary line and frenziedly suppressed the proletarian revolutionaries. Comrade Li Tsaihan, our deputy political commissar, who was entrusted by the Military Area Party Committee with work in the Provincial Cul-

tural Revolution Group, had waged a determined struggle against the handful and resolutely supported all revolutionary actions by the Left. He established close contact with the young Red Guards from Peking then visiting Kweichow for the exchange of revolutionary experience, and with the mass revolutionary organizations in the province itself. He reported regularly to the Military Area Party Committee and the Cultural Revolution Group under the Party Central Committee in Peking on the progress of the movement. At the same time, the Provincial Military Area sent many cadres to keep in close touch with the revolutionaries in different organizations and set up reception centres to listen to the opinions of the masses. In this way it was able to keep abreast of developments.

When the proletarian revolutionaries of Kweichow rose to criticize the bourgeois reactionary line, the handful of capitalist-roaders, in an attempt to undermine the revolution, fanned up the ill wind of economism. They distributed large sums, ostensibly as "subsidies" and "wage increases". They also incited workers to desert their production posts, creating difficulties in transport and communications. To defend major departments of the national economy and stabilize the market, our Military Area established military control over warehouses, banks and some other institutions. It also sent army trucks to transport supplies, thus guaranteeing the everyday needs of the people. Together with the revolutionary Left, we smashed this counter-revolutionary economism.

On January 25, 1967, Kweichow's proletarian revolutionaries, inspired by Shanghai's "January Revolution", united and seized Party, government, financial and cultural power from the handful of capitalist-roaders in the Kweichow provincial and Kweiyang

municipal Party committees. In this sharp struggle, the commanders and fighters of the Military Area did as Chairman Mao taught and gave unreserved support to the revolutionary Left. After the seizure of power came the establishment of the Kweichow Provincial Revolutionary Committee—a provisional organ of power in the form of a three-in-one combination consisting of representatives of the mass revolutionary organizations, representatives of the P.L.A. and revolutionary leading cadres.

This was like a first clap of spring thunder and shook all southwestern China. Kweiyang, the mountain capital of our province, throbbed with joy. Together the army and people celebrated the great victory of Chairman Mao's revolutionary line and of Mao Tse-tung's thought.

## Arming the People With Mao Tse-tung's Thought

Of a thousand kinds of support, the most fundamental is to arm the masses with the great, invincible thought of Mao Tse-tung. After the Left's seizure of power, the Military Area organized several thousand Mao Tse-tung's thought propaganda teams. Cadres and soldiers mounted loudspeakers on trucks for propaganda broadcasts, gave performances in the streets, distributed leaflets and went to factories, villages, schools and government offices where they creatively studied and applied Mao Tse-tung's thought together with the masses.

P.L.A. comrades who were assigned to support agricultural production conducted night schools for the study of Mao Tse-tung's thought, organized political-cultural clubs, and established or strengthened study groups and systems of study in the communes. They also encouraged the militia members to act as the backbone of the movement to study Chairman Mao's works. Within two months



In a mammoth Kweiyang demonstration, the People's Liberation Army of the Kweichow Provincial Military Area shows its firm support for the proletarian revolutionaries in their struggle to seize power from the handful of capitalist-roaders in the province.

they trained more than 700,000 commune members as instructors to help organize and carry on study in the communes. Meanwhile, the armymen themselves set good examples by taking the lead in studying and applying Mao Tse-tung's thought. A new high tide of such study thus swept the countryside.

The men assigned to support the Left in factories and government offices also gave their first attention to organize the masses to study Chairman Mao's works. Those responsible for military and political training in schools started by helping the Red Guards to see

things always from the viewpoint of classes and class struggle, because they realized that these young people had never had any experience of class oppression and exploitation in the old society. The Red Guards' consciousness in their study of Chairman Mao's works was thus greatly raised. By September 1967, more than 50,000 students in 79 colleges and middle schools had gone through this training.

## Advancing the Cultural Revolution to a Deeper Stage

These army comrades also contributed to the campaign to launch





Members of a Mao Tse-tung's thought propaganda team from the Military Area discuss a quotation from Chairman Mao with a former poor peasant.

the mass criticism and repudiation of China's Khrushchov which began in April 1967. With their help, the workers and the former poor and lower-middle peasants used Mao Tse-tung's thought as their sharpest weapon and drew on their personal experience of exploitation and oppression in the old society to expose the counter-revolutionary and fallacious theories of China's Khrushchov, such as "exploitation has its merits", the "san zi yi bao",\* the "four freedoms"\*\*, and the "dying out of class struggle". They angrily condemned the handful of top Party persons taking the capitalist road for their crimes of plotting a restoration of capitalism and carrying out the bourgeois reactionary line. Also with the help of the P.L.A. men, government workers, revolutionary teachers and students and Red Guards took up their pens and used them as weapons to fire fiercely at China's Khrushchov. In cities and villages, wall newspapers of mass criticism were widely posted and large and small criticism and repudiation meetings held.

The revolutionary mass criticism of China's Khrushchov devel-

\* *San zi yi bao* means the extension of private plots and free markets, the increase of small enterprises with sole responsibility for their own profit or loss and the fixing of output quotas based on the household.

\*\* "Four freedoms" means the freedom to practise usury, to hire labour, to buy and sell land and to engage in private enterprise.

oped and strengthened the revolutionary great alliance and revolutionary three-in-one combinations and united more than 95 per cent of the masses and cadres. This was the key link in consolidating the victory won through the seizure of power.

Back in the early period of the cultural revolution, the handful of capitalist-roaders in the former provincial Party committee had carried out the bourgeois reactionary line and branded many cadres as "counter-revolutionaries". At the same time they sent other cadres to suppress the masses. They also controlled some conservative groups. In this way, they were able to instigate cadres to oppose the masses and set one group of the masses against another.

After the proletarian revolutionaries seized power, the armymen organized the masses to study Chairman Mao's teaching on how to correctly distinguish the two kinds of contradictions—those between the enemy and ourselves and those within the ranks of the people. They helped the masses to study Chairman Mao's instruction that "We must not confine our judgement to a short period or a single incident in a cadre's life but should consider his life and work as a whole. This is the principal method of judging cadres."

They also organized the masses to expose and repudiate the bour-

geois reactionary line and the crimes of the capitalist-roaders. Through study and repudiation, the revolutionaries came to understand Chairman Mao's revolutionary line more deeply, and concentrated their hatred on those handful of Party persons who took the capitalist road and put the reactionary line into effect. Moreover, the armymen assisted the masses to apply Chairman Mao's policy of "unity—criticism and self-criticism—unity" to help the cadres who had made mistakes and the deceived masses in the conservative group to realize where they were wrong and return to Chairman Mao's revolutionary line. Later, a number of the revolutionary cadres were accepted as members of the three-in-one combinations, the provisional organs of power set up in their places of work.

To promote revolutionary great alliances among the revolutionary organizations, the Provincial Revolutionary Committee and the Military Area began in March 1967 to propagate the experience of the Kweiyang Cotton Mill in forming a big alliance by administrative units, an example that had been personally endorsed by our great leader Chairman Mao. At this mill, about a dozen revolutionary mass organizations had been established during the previous course of the struggle against the handful of capitalist-roaders and the bourgeois reactionary line. Members of each organization were often scattered through different shifts, groups or shops. Some workers even joined organizations which embraced more than one factory or were set up on the basis of some one trade with members drawn from many factories. To accord with the new situation after the proletarian revolutionaries seized power, the workers dissolved all their mass organizations. Then a new unity, based on place of work, was built up from below, shop by shop, until there was one unified mass organization for the whole mill.

The P.L.A. men worked hard to make the experience of the cotton mill widely known. For instance, in the locomotive section of the Kweiyang Railway Administration where there were several revolu-

tionary mass organizations, the P.L.A. men assigned there to support the Left twice organized the masses to study what had been done at the cotton mill. They talked with individuals, called forums, organized big debates and helped the revolutionaries to study Chairman Mao's works to overcome such wrong ideas as treating one's own organization as the most important force in the revolution and regarding others as supplementary, and petty-bourgeois factionalism. Finally, these organizations happily united. In Kweiyang, by September 1967, of the 52 enterprises where armymen were sent to support the Left, 40 had set up their great alliances by establishing unity on a place-of-work basis. And in the 26 schools where there had been military and political training, the students and teachers had also formed great alliances, after first uniting classroom by classroom. By October, revolutionary great alliances had been achieved practically throughout the province. This created good conditions for further carrying out revolutionary mass criticism and repudiation and struggle-repudiation-transformation in the different factories, schools, offices, institutions and so on.

#### Grasp Revolution and Spur Production

"Grasp revolution and spur production" is another great strategic policy of Chairman Mao's. In line with the call issued by him and the Party Central Committee in February 1967 for the army to support the spring ploughing, the Provincial Military Area mobilized militiamen to go all out and act as a shock force in this work. It also sent many cadres and fighters deep into the countryside where they made propaganda for this great policy of Chairman Mao's. Overcoming all manner of hardships, they helped the commune members to build water conservation works, repair roads, transport fertilizer, overhaul farm equipment, and plough the land.

The commanders and fighters of the 2nd company stationed in Lungli county, for instance, worked side by side with former poor

and lower-middle peasants of the Miao and Puyi nationalities to build a river dam which, when completed, would irrigate more than 1,000 *mu* of land. Though working for hours in bone-chilling water, these soldiers, with their infinite loyalty to Chairman Mao and boundless love for their peasant class brothers, triumphed against great odds. Reciting aloud Chairman Mao's quotation "Be resolute, fear no sacrifice and surmount all difficulties to win victory" and working with a tenacious fighting spirit, they pushed the job ahead at great speed. The chairman of a former poor and lower-middle peasants' association praised them, saying, "Only soldiers taught by Chairman Mao could be so good! They deserve the title 'soldiers of the people!'"

During the busy summer and autumn seasons, the armymen again went to the villages to spread Mao Tse-tung's thought and take part in productive labour. Those comrades who were assigned to industrial enterprises to support the Left lived, ate and worked with the workers, learning eagerly from them. They were prompt and regular in propagating Mao Tse-tung's thought and the policy "grasp revolution and spur production", and helped people to adopt the P.L.A.'s good style of work.

With army support, the workers and former poor and lower-middle peasants gave active play to their enthusiasm for building socialism.

A bumper grain crop was won, the total output increasing more than 10 per cent over that of 1966. The province's industrial output, by value, also exceeded that of the preceding year, showing substantial increases for many items including pig-iron, electricity, coke, diesel engines, pumps and machine-made paper.

#### Tempered in the Storm of Class Struggle

In their common struggle, the armymen and the proletarian revolutionaries have developed deep class feeling for each other. Solidarity between the army and the people has become stronger than ever before. Chairman Mao's great call to "support the army and cherish the people" has taken root in all minds.

Following Comrade Lin Piao's instruction that we should regard ourselves both as a motive force and a target of revolution, the commanders and fighters working for the "three supports" and "two militaries" use Mao Tse-tung's thought as a weapon to struggle against ideas of self in their own minds, and to raise their class consciousness. The storm of class struggle has accelerated the revolutionization of their ideology and this has brought forward a new generation of communist-minded people and many advanced units. A preliminary survey in 1967 showed that 57.6 per cent of the armymen had won the honoured

P.L.A. soldiers help with the wheat harvest in the Chihlu People's Commune, Huishui county.





title of "five-good soldiers", a rise of 4.2 per cent when compared with 1966; and 46.3 per cent of the companies had been classified as "four-good companies", an increase of 14 per cent.

The mass movement to creatively study and apply Chairman Mao's works has been pushed to a new level. The revolutionization of the army has entered a new stage. Commanders and fighters have become more firm in serving the people wholeheartedly. They go wherever they are needed and wherever there is difficulty and danger. In April 1967, P.L.A. soldier Wan Kun-shan, a "model in cherishing the people", risked his life to save several peasant women on a bridge from an on-rushing train. In August, Wang Hsing-cheng, a model member of the Communist Party and a five-good soldier, laid down his life in defending the revolutionary Left. They set heroic examples for the revolutionary armymen and all revolutionary people.

A year's experience has enabled us to understand more deeply the strategic importance of the policy of the "three supports" and "two militaries" put forward by our supreme commander Chairman Mao. Today our Kweichow Provincial Revolutionary Committee and our Military Area are carrying out Chairman Mao's new instruction to "fight self and repudiate revisionism", using it as the guiding principle for strengthening ideological education in the army and among government cadres and the Red Guards. Short-term classes for the study of Mao Tse-tung's thought have been opened and the whole province is being turned into a big school for the study of Mao Tse-tung's thought. Over a million people, army cadres above platoon level and militia cadres, took part in this study last winter and spring.

The commanders and fighters of our Military Area are determined to hold still higher the great red banner of Mao Tse-tung's thought, do still better the work of the "three supports" and "two militaries", carry the proletarian cultural revolution through to the end and win still bigger merits in the service of the people.

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With boundless respect, foreign friends from every continent view Chairman Mao's works in many languages in the Books and Publications Hall.

## Export Fair Shows New Gains in Socialist Construction

THE twenty-second Chinese Export Commodities Fair was held in Kwangchow (Canton) between November 15 and December 15, 1967. It offered more industrial, agricultural and art handicraft products than ever before. Over 7,000 foreign businessmen from every continent attended, as well as great numbers of overseas Chinese and compatriots from Hongkong and Macao. More than 30,000 transactions were concluded and the total value of exports and imports involved far exceeded that of any earlier fair. Among the nearly 30,000 exhibits, a great many were new varieties or of new design. In some halls there were several times as many such new items as in fairs held before the great proletarian cultural revolution, and in others scores of times as many.

This fair testified to the tremendous spiritual force which our masses of workers and peasants, armed with Mao Tse-tung's thought, have generated in the cultural revolution. It illustrated

how this spiritual force has been transformed into a material force, accelerating the great leap forward in China's industrial and agricultural production and national defence. Its flourishing aspect was a telling blow against the imperialists, modern revisionists and reactionaries of all countries, who had viciously tried to sabotage the holding of this fair.

### Advanced Heavy Industry

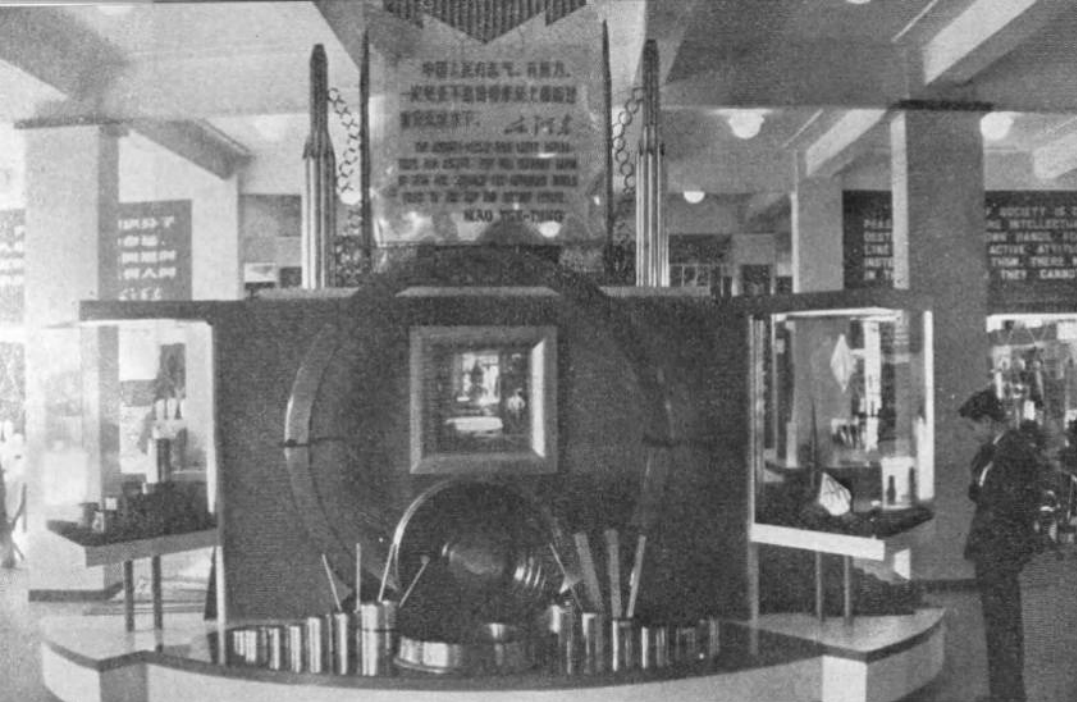
Chairman Mao says, "The masses have boundless creative power." The great proletarian cultural revolution has enabled this power to be fully displayed. Revolutionary workers in China's industries have rebelled against reactionary bourgeois academic "authorities" and declared war on unthinking, slavish faith in books and in foreign "experts". Greatly enriching the fair were numerous products conforming to advanced world levels which they have successfully developed since the cultural revolution began.

As compared with the 1967 Spring Fair, 180 more kinds of scientific instruments and meters were on display, and 42 per cent more machinery. Forty times more electronic apparatus was on show than in the Spring Fair of 1966, just before the cultural revolution. As for the machine-tools and sets of large precision machines which stood, row upon row, in the pavilions, fully two-thirds of them had been successfully produced, or been greatly improved, during the great cultural revolution.

One of these was a high-precision instrument lathe producing a 12-degree mirror-smooth surface finish on parts. This is a type of machine few countries can make, yet revolutionary workers of the Shanghai Instrument and Meter Plant successfully built it to their own design.

These workers criticized and repudiated, right down to the ground, the blind worship of foreign science and technology promoted by the handful of





Ferrous and non-ferrous metals and alloy steel products in the Metals and Minerals Hall.



In the Food Products Hall.

Party capitalist-roaders headed by China's Khrushchov, and by reactionary bourgeois "authorities". Imbued with Chairman Mao's teaching, "We must break away from conventions and do our utmost to adopt advanced techniques", they resolved to hew their own road. Overcoming a host of difficulties, they produced cutting tools made of Chinese hard alloy steels which can replace imported diamond-edge tools in processing high-precision machine parts. These new tools are produced at only 0.1 per cent of the cost of the foreign article.

Also displayed in the Machinery Hall was the CAY-13 cylinders-in-parallel diesel engine. Small in size, it develops tremendous power. Traders from abroad called it one of the world's advanced marine engines.

Medical equipment was represented at the fair by more than 90 varieties, including the main surgical instruments which Chinese surgeons used to rejoin severed fingers for the first time in world history. Also shown was an ultrasonic diagnostic instrument suitable for mobile medical teams in rural areas. Electronic counters for red and white blood cells are embargoed for import to China by the imperialists. But now we ourselves export such counters, produced by young workers and technicians of the Shanghai Medical Apparatus Factory.

Representing a recent advance in our country's heart surgery, Chinese-made artificial mitral ball-valves were shown at the export fair for the first time, with photographs demonstrating their clinical use. They were made for the first time in 1966 by an army hospital, which thus smashed the imperialists' technical blockade after more than two years of bold experiment. Up to the present only a few countries can make cardiac ball valves of this kind.

Oil and chemical industry exhibits showed the rapid, spectacular developments achieved by workers in these fields during the great proletarian cultural revolution. Oil output, which went up greatly from 1965 to 1966, again rose substantially in the first nine months of 1967 as compared with the same period in 1966. Among 330 different items shown in the Chemical Industry Hall, over 90 were new, the majority successfully trial-produced and put into regular production during the great cultural revolution.

#### Abundant Farm Products and Sidelines

Impelled by the cultural revolution, Chinese agriculture chalked up its sixth successive bumper-harvest year in 1967. Abundant yields in all branches of agriculture, forestry, animal husbandry, farm sidelines and fisheries laid a firm material basis for the Export Fair.

State foreign trade corporations dealing in grain, edible oils and food products displayed over 1,000 of the 3,000 different items they handle. The huge grain and oil stands featured 140 varieties, many of high international reputation. Scores of new products came from food industry bases built up in coastal provinces and cities. Great interest was shown in grain and other farm products from areas known as poor and unproductive in the past, which appear as exports for the first time. Viewing the wealth of exhibits, foreign businessmen praised China's achievements in socialist construction during the cultural revolution.

#### Light Industry, Arts and Crafts

The great proletarian cultural revolution has sparked a vigorous movement to destroy old ideas, culture, customs and habits and foster new ideas, culture, customs and habits. This has given a new look to China's light industry. As our great leader Chairman Mao points out, "All decadent modes of thought and other unsuitable parts of the superstructure are daily crumbling." In consumer items the taint of feudal or bourgeois ideology has been swept away and revolutionary content has taken its place.

Conspicuous in this respect were the textile and light industry exhibits. Designs on textiles, glass and enamelware breathed revolutionary spirit. No less than 90

outstanding workers, peasants and soldiers, and scenes reflecting the creative study and application of Mao Tse-tung's thought. Ancient art such as embroidery and the carving of ivory, jade, cowrie shell and stone, have been purified of feudal dregs. With new revolutionary content and a distinct national character, they have gained strikingly in beauty.

#### Chairman Mao's Works for All the World

The Books and Publications Hall had a large-scale display of Chairman Mao's works in many foreign languages. According to its staff, 150 countries and regions have placed orders for Mao Tse-tung's works. The fair has made it possible to increase their distribution, meeting the urgent needs of revolutionaries throughout the world.

During the past year and a half of the great proletarian cultural revolution, China's revolutionary publishers and printers have translated and issued Chairman Mao's works in dozens of foreign languages, in addition to huge numbers of the *Selected Works of Mao Tse-tung* and *Quotations from Chairman Mao Tse-tung* in Chinese. The 1966 circulation of translations of Chairman Mao's works into foreign languages was 100 times that of 1952. In the year from October 1966 to September 1967 *Quotations from Chairman Mao Tse-tung*, the treasured book of revolutionaries in all countries, was published in 24 different

language translations, 13,300,000 copies of which were distributed in 128 countries and regions.

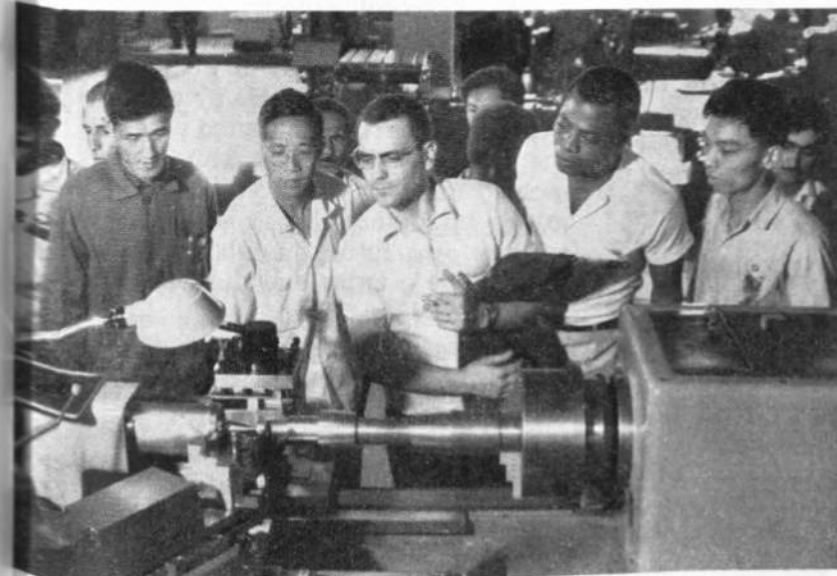
Even on this scale, the supply could not meet the demand. The people in many parts of the world have been translating and publishing Chairman Mao's works on their own. Many such editions, too, were on view at the fair. Included were copies of the *Selected Works* and the *Quotations* in the Laotian language, mimeographed on rough paper and carrying Chairman Mao's portrait in red on their covers. They showed graphically how strongly the world's revolutionaries feel the need of Mao Tse-tung's thought to guide them.

In the book section, too, were many letters from friends abroad filled with revolutionary enthusiasm. A Japanese friend wrote, "Long, long live the mighty development and progress of the great proletarian cultural revolution! My heart swells with joy to think the day will come when the great proletarian cultural revolution, led by the great Chairman Mao Tse-tung, the matchless genius of the centuries, will be inherited by the people of the entire world."

A friend from New Zealand said, "The heart of the world revolution throbs in China. I join you in celebrating the dissemination of Marxist thinking among the broad masses of the people and their growing understanding and grasp of Mao Tse-tung's thought."

This automatic high-precision lathe attracted many visitors.

A high-precision meter lathe up to advanced world standards.





# New Herdsmen from Peking



New herdswomen (left) study quotations from Chairman Mao with a local herdsman.

THE Silingol steppe in Inner Mongolia, reaching up to China's northern border, was already covered with ice and snow last November when 22 buses arrived bringing nearly 400 young people from Peking. They were junior and senior middle school students between the ages of 15 and 20 who had volunteered to go to the grasslands and become ordinary herdsmen. All were Red Guards who had already made a significant contribution to the cultural revolution in their schools. Now, by determining to become permanent settlers in the grasslands, they were carrying the revolution in education deeper, in line with our great leader Chairman Mao's directive that revolutionary youth with education must integrate with the workers and peasants.

This is the second group of Red Guards to go to Silingol from Peking. The first group of ten had arrived in October. Their revolutionary action was a joyous event warranting the concern of the entire Party and state. The revolutionary committees of Peking and the Inner Mongolia Autonomous Region gave the youngsters unstinted support with transport and living supplies. The second group was given a big send-off by tens of thousands of Red Guards at Tien An Men Square when they left on November 16. In the grasslands, many herdsmen and women rode on horseback 20 kilometres out from their communes and stockfarms to greet the new settlers.

At a gathering in Silinhot, the big town of the steppe, the new

settlers met their ten forerunners, by then veterans of a month in the grasslands. Among them were lively, laughing junior middle-school girls, as well as boys of senior middle-school age whose serious manner seemed to belie their youthful years. It was not an easy thing to do: to leave the capital for the far-away frontier, to exchange their multi-storied student dormitories for Mongolian felt tents set in the midst of the vast grasslands, to prepare to face below-zero temperatures and learn new customs and a new language, in short to become accustomed to a way of life so different from what they were used to. And not just for a short period but for the rest of their lives. Their conversations with the newcomers revealed what had given them the determination to do so.

Their experiences in the cultural revolution over the past year had left an indelible impression on their minds. Many in the first group had been in the forefront in defending Chairman Mao's revolutionary line and challenging the bourgeois reactionary line which was suppressing the revolution in their schools. For their action they had been branded as "counter-revolutionaries" by China's Khrushchov. Some among them had been chosen by their classmates as members of the standing committee of the Peking Middle Schools' Red Guard Congress, or of the new revolutionary committees in their schools. Others had been leaders of their revolutionary groups, or activists in the study of Chairman Mao's works.

They had taken up the powerful weapon of Mao Tse-tung's thought to rebel against the handful of capitalist-roaders headed by China's Khrushchov. They had scathingly criticized and repudiated the revisionist line in education which had been poisoning the minds of the students. And in doing this they had fought against the thought of self which had cropped up in their minds in many ways. Their guide was what Chairman Mao had said in *The Orientation of the Youth Movement* on May 4, 1939: "How should we judge whether a youth is a revolutionary? How can we tell? There can only be one criterion, namely, whether or not he is willing to integrate himself with the broad masses of workers and peasants and does so in practice."

"In the sharp and complicated struggle in school and society in the past year I've learned things I'd never learned in all my ten years of sitting in school, especially about class struggle," said a boy from the middle school attached to Peking University. "I fought side by side with the workers and laboured with the peasants. After a while it seemed that in a single year I had grown up a whole lot. I began to see my own future in relation to that of the country and the world revolution.

"But," he went on, "this cultural revolution really does touch us to our very souls. I came to realize that as people expected to carry on the proletarian revolution, young folks like us who had had the benefit of some education still weren't up to the mark. With



A talk with Gombujav, head of the Revolutionary Committee of the Silingol League.

Chairman Mao's thought to guide us we did play something of a vanguard role in the cultural revolution. But the cultural revolution also showed up our petty bourgeois unsteadiness. The revisionist line in education had fostered this because under it we had had no contact with class struggle, with the workers and peasants and with the realities of life. Therefore when it came to struggle we were not as firm as the workers and peasants. Sometimes we were "Left", sometimes too far to the Right. This is a question of world outlook. Can people with such a world outlook exercise the power of the proletarian state, and can they exercise it well? Can they guarantee that our country will never change its political colour?

"No," the young man emphatically answered his own question. "Now we understand more deeply than ever before why, as Chairman Mao points out, young people with education must integrate with the workers and peasants. That's why we made up our minds to come out here."

## Revolutionary Education

Revolutionization of education is one of the most important tasks of the great proletarian cultural revolution. The youngsters feel that steeling themselves as revolutionary proletarian successors by becoming herdsmen is as much a part of this task as remaining in

Members of the Erenghob People's Commune ride out to welcome their new comrades from Peking.

their schools to revolutionize the system of education there. That was why he had come to Inner Mongolia, said one young man of 20, a recent graduate of Peking Middle School No. 25. Chairman Mao has long been calling on young people to go to the countryside. Three years ago when this young man finished junior middle school, he had made up his mind to respond to this call. But the administration of his school, carrying out a revisionist education policy, would not hear of it. Revolutionary successors can also be reared in the classroom, they said. So he went on to senior middle school. There he began to feel more and more his isolation from the three great revolutionary movements — class struggle, the struggle for production and scientific experimentation — and that such isola-

tion ran completely counter to Chairman Mao's line on education. Chairman Mao teaches that "In order to have a real grasp of Marxism, one must learn it not only from books, but mainly through class struggle, through practical work and close contact with the masses of workers and peasants", and that young people should be trained to "become a worker with both socialist consciousness and culture". He also teaches that "Education must serve proletarian politics and be combined with productive labour".

This young man's school, however, seemed to be doing everything it could to lead young people away from politics and towards the idea of pursuit of individual fame and fortune. It confined them within four walls and its old educational ideas and methods limited their minds. He felt even more strongly the seriousness of the problem when he learned that Chairman Mao had made sharp criticism of the existing educational system but that the school authorities had kept the news from the students and teachers. Therefore, though many obstacles were put in his way, he got together with some other students and began a campaign to criticize the school authorities who were carrying out the wrong line. After the cultural revolution began and the struggle between the proletarian and bourgeois lines in education burst forth on all fronts, this young







Norov's story of the bitterness of his life before the liberation and his happy life today is a lesson in class struggle to the new herdsmen. He is chairman of the poor herdsmen's association of the Heregchik team of the Shamai commune in the East Uchumuchin Banner.

man and his group were some of the bravest fighters against the revisionist line in education.

When decisive victory was scored in their struggle, he felt that the time had come to act on his resolution to answer Chairman Mao's call to go among the workers and peasants. He became a member of the first group of Peking Red Guards to go to Inner Mongolia.

### The First Step

These ten young revolutionaries are now all members of the Baiyinbolgar People's Commune in the Silingol grasslands. They have already begun to feel the joy of their new life. The local people who were once poor herdsmen, viewing these young revolutionaries as coming from the side of Chairman Mao, are especially warm to them because of their great love for Chairman Mao who liberated them. They prepared new yurts (Mongolian felt tents) for them to live in, and the women made each of them a long Mongolian robe as protection against the bitter cold. Soon after the newcomers arrived the old herdsmen called them together and told them the soul-searing story of the way the poor herdsmen had suffered before the liberation. Showing the young revolutionaries the scars on their bodies left by the whips of the herd-owners, they told the young

revolutionaries that they must never let the revolution stop halfway but must carry it through to the end, and that they must never depart from Chairman Mao's teachings.

The herdsmen already view the newcomers as full members of their commune. They not only teach the young people the skills they will need in their work but discuss with them the ways in which the commune plans to consolidate and develop the collective economy. With affectionate pride, they refer to the newcomers as "our educated youth".

In the grasslands the young people are having to get used to eating mainly meat and milk products, the chief diet there and one quite different from what they are used to. They must become accustomed to living in yurts and moving with the herds, to the biting cold wind in their faces and to travelling long distances on horseback. The hardest thing, they say, is the problem of the Mongolian language. At first when they visited the herdsmen in their homes they couldn't understand a thing unless there was a Mongolian present who spoke the Han language. But whenever a problem presents itself, the young people think of Chairman Mao's words: "What is work? Work is struggle. There are difficulties and problems in those places for us to overcome and

solve. We go there to work and struggle to overcome these difficulties. A good comrade is one who is more eager to go where the difficulties are greater."

These words and the thought of the fearless spirit of the former poor herdsmen in facing their tasks fill them with strength. The young people have already learned to ride, to watch the herds and to do artificial insemination. They are also tirelessly studying the Mongolian language so that they can overcome this barrier between themselves and the herdsmen in the shortest possible time. They have come to understand that every small step forward in the process of integrating themselves with the herdsmen has been a result of their overcoming thoughts of self and fostering their concern for the public interest. And that by doing so they are moving one step away from being petty bourgeoisie and one step nearer to the proletariat.

These ten new herdsmen have joined a class to study the thought of Mao Tse-tung, and are putting out a mimeographed newspaper in Mongolian named *Red Seeds*. They have begun a survey preliminary to making a class analysis of their area and are studying how the commune can further carry on agriculture and afforestation as well as stockbreeding. The young people are always saying that they never have enough time in a day for all they want to study and accomplish.

"The broad grasslands offer you a wide field for doing something worthwhile," the first ten told the second group of Red Guards when they welcomed them to Silinhot. "There is plenty for us to do on this vast stage on which the drama of the class struggle is being played. And new problems are always arising in the struggle for production and in scientific experimentation. Life on the grasslands is rugged, but we have the broad masses of the former poor herdsmen, we have the invincible thought of Mao Tse-tung, and we have Chairman Mao, our never-setting red sun. With all these to help us, surely in these grasslands we will be able to become reliable successors to the revolutionary cause of the proletariat!"

## 日记一则 Riji Yi Ze A Diary Entry

不久以前，我去看了来中国  
Bù jiǔ yǐqián, wǒ qù kànle lái Zhōngguó  
Not long ago, I went (to) see coming (to) China

访问的阿尔巴尼亚地拉那“一手拿  
fǎngwèn de Āěrbāniyà Dìlānà "Yī Shǒu Ná  
(to) visit (the) Albanian Tirana "A Hand Takes

枪”业余艺术团的演出。  
Gāo Yī Shǒu Ná Qiāng" yèyú yìshù tuán de yǎnchū.  
Pick A Hand Takes Rifle" amateur art troupe's performance.

艺术团演出的每一个节目，都  
Yìshù tuán yǎnchū de měi yíge jiémù, dōu  
Art troupe performed every one item, all

深深地感动了我。他们的演出生动地  
shēnshēndì gǎndòngle wǒ. Tāmende yǎnchū shēngdòngdì  
deeply moved me. Their performance vividly

表现了阿尔巴尼亚人民为社会主义  
biǎoxiǎnle Āěrbāniyà rénmin wèi shèhuìzhǔyì  
expressed (that) (the) Albanian people for socialist

建设而忘我劳动的革命精神，  
jiànshè ér wàngwǒ láodòng de géming jīngshen,  
construction selflessly labour revolutionary spirit,

表现了他们时刻准备拿起  
biǎoxiǎnle tāmen shíkè zhǔnbèi náqǐ  
expressed (that) they (are) constantly prepared (to) take up (the)

武器保卫社会主义祖国的决心。  
wǔqì bǎowèi shèhuìzhǔyì zǔguó de juéxīn.  
weapon (to) defend (the) socialist fatherland determination.

特别使我感到兴奋的是，演员们  
Tèbié shǐ wǒ gǎndào xīngfèn de shì, yǎnyuánmen  
(What) especially made me feel excited was, (the) actors

还用中文唱了“东方红”，“大海  
hái yòng zhōngwén chàngle "Dōng Fāng Hóng", "Dà Hǎi  
also use Chinese (to) sing "The East Is Red", "(When) Big Sea

航行靠舵手”等歌曲。这充分  
Hángxíng Kào Duòshǒu" děng gēqǔ. Zhè chōngfēn  
Sailing Rely (on) Helmsman" songs. This fully

表明，阿尔巴尼亚同志和中国人民  
biǎomíng, Āěrbāniyà tóngzhì hé Zhōngguó rénmin  
shows, Albanian comrades as Chinese people

一样，无比热爱毛主席。  
yíyàng, wúbǐ rèài Máo Zhǔxí.  
same, (have) infinite (and) ardent love (for) Mao Chairman.

在观看演出时，我不止一次  
Zài guānkàn yǎnchū shí, wǒ bù zhǐ yíci  
At watching (the) performance time, I not only once

地想起了毛主席的话：“中阿  
dì xiǎngqǐle Máo Zhǔxí de huà: "Zhōng Ā  
thought of Mao Chairman's words: "China (and) Albania

两国远隔千山  
liǎng guó yuǎn gé qiān shān  
two countries (are) far separated (by a) thousand mountains (and)

万水，我们的心是连在一起的。”  
wàn shuǐ, wǒmende xīn shì lián zài yìqǐ de."  
ten thousand waters, (but) our hearts are linked together."

### Translation

Not long ago I went to see a performance by the Albanian amateur art troupe called "With a Pick in One Hand and a Rifle in the Other", which was visiting China.

I was deeply moved by every item in the performance. The performance vividly expressed the revolutionary spirit and firm determination of the Albanian people who are labouring selflessly for socialist construction and stand ready to take up the rifle in defence of their socialist fatherland. I was especially excited when the performers sang "The East Is Red", "Rely on the Helmsman When Sailing the Seas" and other songs in Chinese. This testifies that the Albanian comrades, like the Chinese people, have ardent love for Chairman Mao.

As I watched the performance, I more than once thought of Chairman Mao's words, "China and Albania are separated by thousands of mountains and rivers but our hearts are closely linked."

### Explanatory Notes

1. 的 is a particle used to link up an adjectival modifier with the noun it describes. For example, lái Zhōngguó fǎngwèn 来中国访问 means "coming to China to visit". When this phrase is linked by de 的 to Āěrbāniyà yìshù tuán 阿尔巴尼亚艺术团 (Albanian art troupe), it becomes an adjectival modifier for the latter, and lái Zhōngguó fǎngwèn de Āěrbāniyà yìshù tuán 来中国访问的阿尔巴尼亚艺术团 means "the Albanian art troupe that came to visit China". Similarly, in Āěrbāniyà rénmin wèi shèhuìzhǔyì jiànshè ér wàngwǒ láodòng de géming jīngshen, all the words preceding de 的 serve as an adjectival modifier for géming jīngshen 革命精神 (revolutionary spirit).

2. Dēng 等 is often used after a series of nouns to express the idea of "more than one" or to imply that the things enumerated are not fully listed. E.g., "Dōng Fāng Hóng", "Dà Hǎi Hángxíng Kào Duòshǒu" děng gēqǔ "东方红", "大海航行靠舵手" 等歌曲 means "songs such as 'The East Is Red', 'Rely on the Helmsman When Sailing the Seas'".

3. In Chinese, the first characters in the names of countries are often used as a contraction to denote the country. For example, Zhōng, Ā, 中, 阿 means "China, Albania".



Revolutionary workers at the No. 12 State Cotton Mill in Shanghai denounce the crimes of China's Khrushchov and pledge to eradicate the vestiges of his poisonous influence in their mill.



## Textile Workers

# Repudiate China's Khrushchov

WE revolutionary workers and staff members at the No. 12 State Cotton Mill in Shanghai have launched a "people's war" of mass criticism as our part in the nationwide high tide of denouncing China's Khrushchov. Everyone among our 6,000 workers on every shift and in every work group is eager to expose and criticize his counter-revolutionary revisionist line and its manifestations in our mill.

We have more veteran workers than most places because our mill has been in operation for more than fifty years. They were ruthlessly exploited and oppressed under Japanese imperialism and the rule of the Kuomintang bureaucrat capitalists, so they have a bitter hatred for imperialism and capitalism and deep love for the Communist Party, Chairman Mao and socialism. During the first three years of the Great Leap Forward (1958-1960) our mill was full of revolutionary spirit. Everybody was studying Chairman Mao's writings. Inspired by his ideas

The above article was prepared by the Liaison Station to Criticize and Repudiate China's Khrushchov at the No. 12 State Cotton Mill in Shanghai.

that we should serve the people and make politics the supreme commander and the soul of all our work, we were vying with each other and helping each other to do our work better, and we accomplished our production tasks very successfully.

### The Sinister Hand Reaches In

Then the sinister hand of China's Khrushchov and his gang reached into our mill. In the autumn of 1961 their agents in Shanghai—the handful of capitalist-roaders in the former Municipal Party Committee—on the pretext of strengthening management in a number of Shanghai factories, instituted a whole series of revisionist measures which were really capitalist measures.

For achieving industrialization there are two roads, two lines and two methods—the socialist and the capitalist. The socialist road means relying on the working class and the broad revolutionary masses, on putting politics in the forefront, on the revolutionary consciousness and initiative which Mao Tse-tung's thought arouses in hundreds of millions of people, so

that leadership of enterprises will be truly in the hands of proletarian revolutionaries. Taking the capitalist road, on the other hand, means relying on a few bourgeois "experts", on material incentives, and on conservatives so that the leadership can be usurped by a privileged stratum representing the interests of the bourgeoisie. Through his agents in Shanghai, China's Khrushchov tried to restore capitalism in our mill.

The first thing they opposed was our study of Mao Tse-tung's thought. Their new rules and regulations emphasized "production first", but made no mention of the need to revolutionize people's thinking. Some time before, we workers had on our own organized spare-time groups for political study. The capitalist-roaders in our mill not only did not support these, but they tried to undermine them by spreading the idea that political and ideological work was nothing but a promissory note, while technical measures were like ready cash. Political and ideological work, they said, was like water far away, which could be of no help in putting out a fire nearby. On the pretext that the shops must

be neat, they wouldn't even allow us to put up portraits of Chairman Mao or quotations from his works. But they had no objection to putting up baskets of paper flowers which were given as production awards.

Chairman Mao teaches us: "**The Chinese Communist Party is the core of leadership of the whole Chinese people. Without this core, the cause of socialism cannot be victorious.**" We workers understood these words well. We knew that the Great Leap Forward had achieved what it did precisely because Party leadership and education in Mao Tse-tung's thought had been strengthened.

The agents of China's Khrushchov and his gang, however, advocated one-man leadership, which gave complete power in administration to the mill director, and power over production and technical matters to the chief engineer. In this way they completely abolished the collective leadership of the Party committee and the workers' participation in management. All we workers could do was to obey orders and follow the regulations. A new air of "expert control" and "technology decides everything" pervaded the mill. Because of their "technical know-how", some backward and even reactionary bourgeois intellectuals gained control over important work, while cadres from workers' families were discriminated against. "The leadership of our mill was no longer in the hands of the proletariat, but in the hands of bourgeois technical authorities," the workers recall, thinking back over that time. "They were not carrying out the dictatorship of the proletariat but a dictatorship of the bourgeoisie."

### Material Incentives Pushed

Chairman Mao teaches us that "**Political work is the life-blood of all economic work**". He stresses that we should put politics in command, regard the human factor as primary, and revolutionize people's thinking in order to promote greater, faster, better and more economical results in production. But China's Khrushchov energetically put money in command, trying to stimulate production through

material incentives. Lauding bourgeois individualism, his henchmen, the two top leaders in Shanghai's now-defunct Municipal Party Committee, visited our mill twice, trying to sell their master's revisionist goods. Through their "great concern" for our plant, we became one of the two Shanghai mills serving as a testing ground for the partial piece-rate system.

We had originally received a fixed monthly wage. After the partial piece-rate system went into effect, we received only half our pay in this way. The other half was paid on the basis of whether or not the worker fulfilled a certain quota. If a worker fell short of his quota for quantity or quality, a deduction would be made from his pay, but if he surpassed it, he would get a bonus. There were also provisions for other kinds of bonuses and special allowances. For every quota there was a long list of standards. These would be raised about every three months, so that as soon as a worker, with great effort, managed to reach the existing standard, he would have to knock himself out to reach a higher standard. And if they didn't meet the standards they'd take a loss in pay. These were the so-called advanced methods of raising labour productivity! The real aim was to force us workers to sweat just for money and to turn us into spineless tools of the capitalist-roaders.

### Furious Condemnation

Now, in the cultural revolution, at meetings both large and small in our mill, these material incentives are furiously denounced. Everyone is eager to tell how they poisoned his or her own outlook. This is what operators in the loom section say: In the past we thought of each other as class sisters. We used to be concerned about each other and help each other. Sometimes we'd get to work ahead of time just to help our sisters on the shift before us to finish their job. We kept a close watch on quality, and anyone who put out a below-standard bolt of cloth felt worse than if she'd lost something she treasured. Sometimes when weavers found out that the inspectors hadn't caught a defect, they would

help to look for it. Once even after some bolts with flaws had been packaged, we undid all the wrappings until we found them. But after the partial piece-rate system was introduced, we spent all day worrying that we might be fined. Many became concerned only about their own interests and our former relationship of intimate class kinship was ruined.

Workers from every shop pointed out that the most vicious aspect of the material incentive programme was the way it corrupted people's thinking. As soon as some workers got more money, their minds became occupied with eating and dressing better and they lost their interest in collective production and national affairs. They even dropped out of political studies. One worker in the warping section recalled with bitterness and remorse, "The only thing in my mind was how to avoid being fined and how to get a bigger bonus. One night when my children were making so much noise I couldn't sleep, I said to them, 'Be quiet. Let me get my rest so that tomorrow I'll be able to work better and earn more money to buy nice things for you to eat.' This vicious system not only poisoned me but was even influencing the way I educated my children."

Soon everybody came to understand that the most horrible effect of the material incentive system lies in its imperceptible corrosion of a person's revolutionary will. It makes a person work hard for money but forget about safeguarding the state power of the dictatorship of the proletariat. This amounts to abandoning the revolution. We must be particularly on guard against "sugar-coated bullets" such as these from China's Khrushchov. "In his sinister book on 'self-cultivation', China's Khrushchov teaches people to take a small loss so as to make a bigger gain," Han Chin-mei, a veteran worker in the warping shop, exclaimed at one meeting. "But if we take a little gain from the likes of him, we will suffer a big loss! We must never let this happen!"

### Controls and Restrictions

Chairman Mao teaches us, "**The masses have a potentially inex-**



haustible enthusiasm for socialism." He also teaches us that building socialist industry is the joint undertaking of hundreds of millions of Chinese people. Only when we believe in and rely on the masses and respect their creative spirit can we run socialist enterprises successfully. But China's Khrushchov and his gang wanted to do exactly the opposite. Taking the stand of the bourgeoisie, they feared the masses, strenuously opposed the mass movement, and did their utmost to control and restrict the masses. Their agents in our mill drew up a 330,000-word, 170-page document of new rules and regulations. Many of these were designed to hamper the initiative and creativity that the workers have used to build socialism. These rules and regulations are now angrily denounced at criticism-repudiation meetings as "invisible chains around our necks so that we couldn't move". One speaker declared, "We workers were only allowed to obey, but not to rebel!"

One of the things the capitalist-roaders did was to put these regulations and the names of the parts of every machine on a set of cards. At any time a worker could be asked to draw one and repeat the rule from memory or identify the machine part and describe its function. He didn't even have to violate a regulation to have his pay

docked, all he had to do was fail to recite it correctly.

Under these new rules and regulations, many of the inventions and innovations which the workers had thought up after the Great Leap Forward began were tossed aside—even those already functioning well in use—because they hadn't been proven by so-called formal scientific tests. For example, they stopped using equipment for the automatic cleaning of the shops invented by the workers and much welcomed by them. The words of the chief engineer and some of the technical authorities became like the scripture. Even if what they said was wrong, we had to obey them. At one time, we began getting a new kind of cotton which we felt should be worked at a higher moisture content than the raw material we had been using. The chief engineer would not accept this reasonable suggestion, and consequently a great deal of poor-quality cloth was produced. Instead of admitting his own mistake, however, he put the blame for this on the workers and ordinary technicians.

As a result of the material incentives and curbing of the workers' initiative, in the three years between 1962 and 1964, the mill's total output was 13.46 per cent less than that during 1958-1960, the

first three years of the Great Leap Forward.

### The Workers Rebel

We workers have been against this revisionist stuff for a long time. Class-conscious veterans watched its development with deep anxiety in their hearts. "These things are diametrically opposed to Chairman Mao's idea of putting politics in command, and to the many new things that were begun as a result of the Great Leap Forward", they often mused. Many of the older operators had protested to the mill management, "We're working for the revolution, for socialism. We have high consciousness and initiative for production. These rules and regulations are completely unnecessary."

Liu Lan-ying, an outstanding worker in the loom section, many times told the mill management of her opposition to the partial piece-rate system and the bonuses, both verbally and in writing. "I'm a Communist," she said, "and should follow Chairman Mao's teachings in *Serve the People*. It's my duty to do more work, and one shouldn't get extra pay for it. If we get more money every time production advances we'll become divorced from the masses and forget about the revolution and the suffering of our class in the past." Although she pro-

tested again and again, the capitalist-roaders would not listen. "If you have too much money," they said, "go out and buy something better to eat and nicer clothes." But Liu Lan-ying persisted in her resistance to the material incentives. Every month she put the bonus she received into a special bank account, which she refused to touch for herself. The only time she drew out any of it was to help some elderly workers who had been fined for not meeting their quotas.

When the cultural revolution began, we workers put up many *dazibao* (big-character posters) to expose and criticize these revisionist measures. But at that time power was still in the hands of the capitalist-roaders. Many of the people who had raised criticisms were surrounded and attacked, and even branded as "counter-revolutionaries". Early in 1967 in the "January Revolution",\* Shanghai's proletarian revolutionaries seized back power from those who had usurped it—the handful of capitalist-roaders in the Party. The capitalist-roaders in our mill were also overthrown, and the revolutionary workers and staff members became the real masters. At that time we were still not clear as to who was the arch-criminal behind all this revisionist rubbish. In April of last year, the plot of China's Khrushchov to restore capitalism was exposed to the public. So it was he who was the main backer of the capitalist-roaders! It was he who had made us suffer so! Our teeth clenched in hatred, we plunged into the struggle to criticize and repudiate him.

At many criticism-repudiation meetings over the past few months, veteran workers, with tears in their eyes, have recalled how they had suffered and been oppressed before the liberation. Liu Hsiang-lien, an outstanding worker in the spinning department, had been taken from her village at the age of 12 to become a child labourer at the mill. Listening to her story we could almost see before our eyes her tiny half-starved figure, the boss's whip, the foreman's fist, the 12 hours of hard labour daily, the

\* See "The Great 'January Revolution' in Shanghai" in the April 1967 issue of *China Reconstructs*.

## STAMPS OF NEW CHINA

### Long Life to Chairman Mao

THE STAMPS in this commemorative set were issued separately between July and October to honour the 46th anniversary of the founding of the great, glorious and correct Chinese Communist Party.

Each stamp carries a semi-profile likeness of Chairman Mao, the great leader of the people of China and the world, wearing military uniform. Below the portrait is the inscription "Long Life to Chairman Mao", which is the title of the whole set.

Stamp 1, 4 fen. Chestnut.  
Stamp 2, 8 fen. Brown-red.  
Stamp 3, 35 fen. Red-brown.  
Stamp 4, 43 fen. Red-orange.  
Stamp 5, 52 fen. Carmine.  
Size: 28 × 40 mm. Perf. 11. Re-cess printed.



mouldy "company meals", the damp and filthy living quarters in the mill infested with bedbugs and mosquitoes. . . "China's Khrushchov wants to pull us all back onto that road," she shouted. "He wants us to suffer like that again. But his dreams will come to nothing! We'll never let him do it! Never, a thousand times never!" The whole audience rose and shouted with her, "Let us never forget the sufferings of our class. Our hatred is made of blood and tears!"

### Victory

The revisionist measures that China's Khrushchov and his gang had forced on us were finally smashed to smithereens. As a result of a strong demand from all the workers, our mill has abolished material incentives and restored the old wage system. All the regulations which curbed our initiative and creativity for building socialism have been smashed in a furious storm of criticism and repudiation. A new proletarian order of revolution and production is being established in every shop. Our proletarian revolutionary leaders of the mill, together with the masses of the workers, are running it as a socialist enterprise according to Chairman Mao's instructions: always put politics in command, strengthen Party leadership, vigorously carry out mass movements, carry out the technical revolution and put into practice

the "two participations, one change and the three-in-one combination" (that is, cadres participating in physical labour and workers participating in management; change of old rules and systems; and the three-in-one combination of leaders, technicians and workers in work).

The whole mill is firmly grasping revolution and vigorously promoting production. During the first half of 1967 total value of production surpassed the plan by 4.35 per cent, an increase of 6.21 per cent over the corresponding period of 1966. Production value for the third quarter of 1967 surpassed the original target by 2.98 per cent, and the quality of both yarn and cloth have improved.

At present we revolutionary workers at the mill are in a new campaign to study Chairman Mao's thought. We carry on our discussions about applying it not only during the special study period but even before and after shift, and spend our off-hours at home seeking the answers to our problems in his writings. We are determined to better arm ourselves with Mao Tse-tung's thought and to thoroughly criticize, repudiate and discredit China's Khrushchov and his gang. With the thinking of Mao Tse-tung we will create a revolutionized and militant proletarian army in our mill to defend our socialist state power and guarantee that it will never change political colour.

Liu Hsiang-lien (first from right), a child labourer before liberation, discusses work problems with other members of the revolutionary committee.



Learning advanced experience from one another in order to do a good job of both production and revolution under the great red banner of Mao Tse-tung's thought.





## OUR POSTBAG

### Most Sincere Fraternal Greetings

Guided by Comrade Mao Tse-tung, the Chinese people are firmly and securely marching along the prosperous road of socialism. On behalf of my relatives, friends and myself, on the occasion of October 1, 1967, the 18th anniversary of the founding of the People's Republic of China, I send my most sincere and militant greetings, wishing you all with all my heart still bigger successes in the building of socialism, which is the source of peace, work and happiness. Greetings also to the comrades in the armed forces, as well as the anti-aircraft men who recently shot down several U.S. planes carrying out orders from their masters, the Pentagon, to violate the sacred air space of People's China. I wish excellent health to Chairman Mao, my fraternal greetings to you and to the Chinese people and its glorious armed forces that are defending heroically the sacred land of your socialist country and your people's creative and peaceful work.

M. L. S.

Havana, Cuba

### Chairman Mao Has Saved Marxism-Leninism

We, the people of revolutionary Asia, Africa and Latin America, are proud of the great leader Chairman Mao Tse-tung and his thought. He has saved the revolutionary theory of Marxism-Leninism from the Brezhnev-Kosygin clique. These so-called communists of the Soviet Union are trying to ruin the revolutionary theory of communism. We are quite at a loss to understand how they criticize the great proletarian cultural revolution when they so outspokenly claim that they are followers of Marxism-Leninism. Can a true Marxist-Leninist drink toasts with imperialists and colonialists who are always suppressing the proletarians of the world and are trying to destroy the people of south Vietnam who are struggling for national salvation? But Mr. Kosygin drank a cordial toast with the so-called socialist labour premier Mr. Wilson of England (who is a great defender of the U.S. aggressors) at the time of the cruel and barbarous aggression of Vietnam by Mr. Johnson, who is the Hitler of the present world.

B. H. MAZUMDER

Dacca, Pakistan

### Everyone Wears a Badge of Chairman Mao

Have you not remarked in your magazine that everyone is carrying a badge of Chairman Mao, and that these people appear courageous and proud of being his pupil? No one can prevent me from wearing a badge of this great proletarian son. I should carry this invincible figure, the great leader of the people of the world. His figure alone has a force exactly as tremendous as an atomic

bomb to destroy the Soviet revisionists who are impeding the achievement of socialism. I am ready to show my open support for Chairman Mao by carrying his portrait.

C. THANDAN

Rose Hill, Mauritius

### Comrades-in-Struggle

I wish to begin my letter thanking you very much for your latest letter, which I received two days ago. Your words made me feel that the Chinese people are comrades-in-struggle of all oppressed peoples and that they are the real brothers of the fighting Arab people.

Your letter clearly indicates the strong friendship between the friendly Chinese people and the fighting Arab people. The 700 million Chinese people, as you said in your letter, will always and forever stand beside the Arab people and all the fighting peoples in Vietnam, Africa, Asia and Latin America. Now, I welcome your good feelings and I am honoured by your friendship. I greet the great Chinese people who support the struggle of all peoples, especially the Arab people, against the schemes of U.S. imperialism and its running dog, Israel.

M. H. ABLEHAMID

Hama, Syria

### Opinions Confirmed

The more the bourgeois "experts on China" ridicule and belittle the great thought of Mao Tse-tung and the great proletarian cultural revolution, the more I am convinced that Mao Tse-tung's thought is the most valuable weapon of the peoples of the world in their struggle against U.S. imperialism and modern revisionism and that the great proletarian cultural revolution has strengthened the peoples of the world in this struggle.

And the more the bourgeois newspapers and "experts on China" talk about the "total failure of the cultural revolution", the more I am convinced that the great proletarian cultural revolution is winning victory after victory.

After I have read your informative magazine my opinions have been confirmed.

PETER KRISTIANSSON

Vallentuna, Sweden

### Shoulder to Shoulder with Vietnam

I write you as a reader of *China Reconstructs* to express my strong support for the Chinese people's support of the Vietnamese people in their struggle against the U.S. imperialists. We people of the Afro-Asian countries will fight shoulder to shoulder to defeat the U.S. imperialists and victory will be ours. The world will one day see the U.S. imperialists defeated by the Afro-Asian peoples.

Long live the People's Republic of China!

Long live the people of Vietnam!

Long live the people of China!

Long live the great Mao Tse-tung!

NAVIN J. PATEL

Mbale, Uganda

## China Reconstructs

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### CONTENTS

#### ARTICLES:

The Revolution in Education in Progress 2

How a Programme to Revolutionize Education Was Born 7

Down with the Chief Backer of the Revisionist Line in Education 11

At the Family Meeting  
Li Chen-chuang 16

Art that Serves Proletarian Politics 18

Giant Industrial Frequency Heat-treatment Equipment 26

People's Army Wins New Merits for the People Hsueh Kuang 28

Export Fair Shows New Gains in Socialist Construction 33

New Herdsmen from Peking 36

Textile Workers Repudiate China's Khrushchov 40

#### COLOUR PICTORIAL:

Chairman Mao with Revolutionary Masses (Oil Painting) 23

#### FEATURES:

Language Corner: A Diary Entry 39

Stamps: Long Life to Chairman Mao 43

Postbag 44

#### COVER PICTURES:

Front: Chairman Mao Writes His Big character Poster, 'Bombard the Headquarters'. (Painting in traditional style)

Back: Mao Tse-tung's Thought Lights Up Africa. (Oil painting)

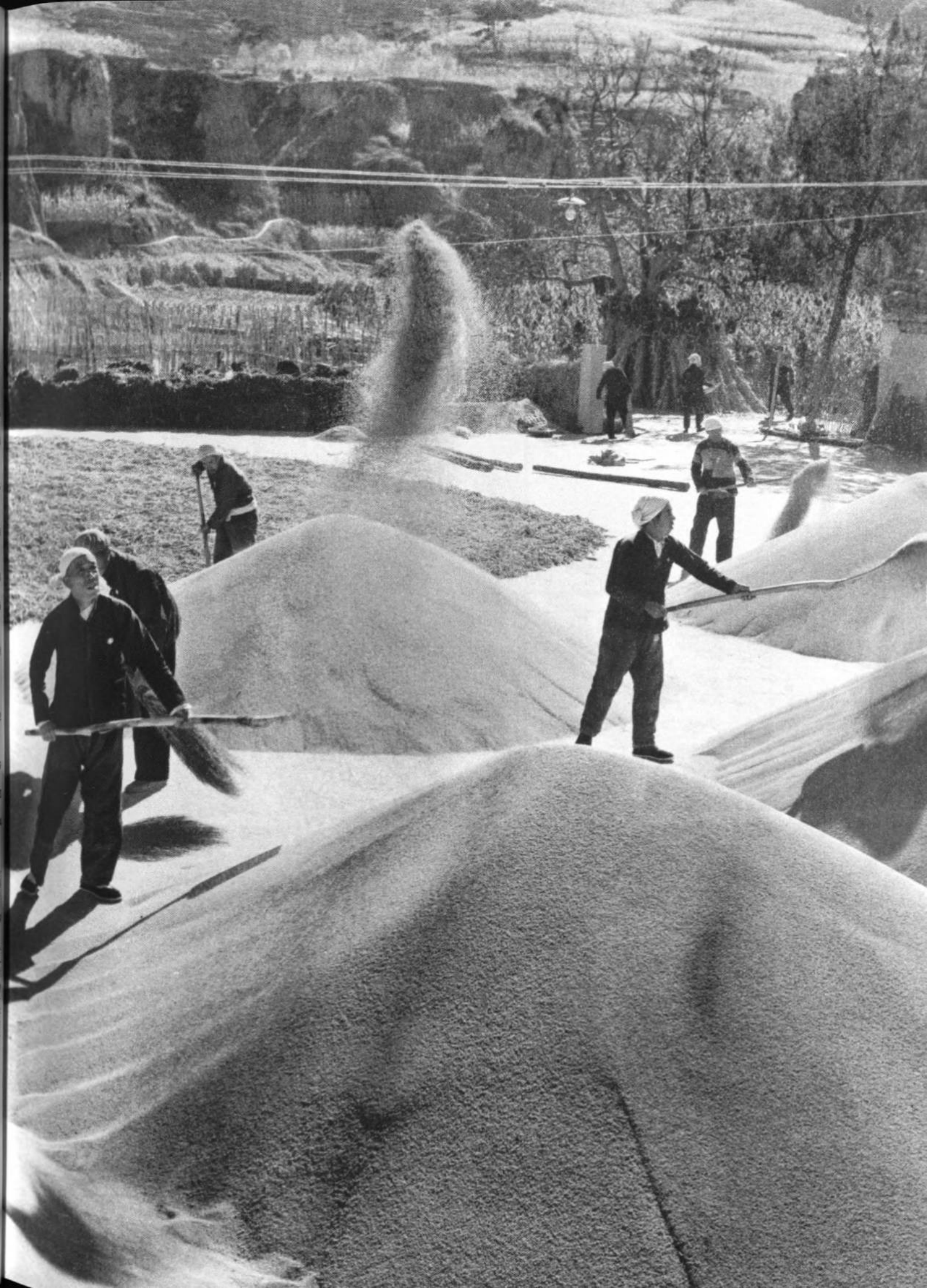
Inside back: The nationally-famous Tea-chai production brigade in Shansi province, a pacesetter on China's agricultural front, overcame difficulties caused by natural calamities and reaped an unprecedentedly large autumn harvest last year. It was a rich fruit of the great proletarian cultural revolution, a victory for the invincible thought of Mao Tse-tung.

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QUOTATIONS FROM  
CHAIRMAN  
MAO TSE-TUNG  
"Political Power grows out  
of the barrel of a  
gun."