

INFORMATION BULLETIN

**Novosti
Press
Agency**

1966

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**FROM ALEXEI KOSYGIN'S SPEECH
AT THE MEETING OF SOVIET-POLISH FRIENDSHIP
AT "URALMASH" ENGINEERING WORKS
IN SVERDLOVSK**

US aggression against the Vietnamese people is continuing. Regardless of the dangerous consequences entailed, American imperialism is expanding the barbarous war in Vietnam, committing new crimes against the Vietnamese people who are waging a heroic struggle against the interventionists. Things have gone so far that demands are being made in the USA to use nuclear weapons in Vietnam, and US foreign-policy makers do not dissociate themselves from these cannibalistic demands.

Needless to say, unity and solidarity of action of the socialist countries are vitally important for the defence of the Vietnamese people against US armed aggression. Needless to say, the rejection of such unity has already done and continues to do great harm. There is no doubt that if American imperialism were confronted with joint rebuff and a united policy on the part of all the socialist countries, it would soon put an end to the outrages in Vietnam and cut short aggression there.

China's position has become a serious obstacle in the struggle for this sacred cause. It greatly troubles all Communists and progressives who are vitally concerned with the freedom and independence of the Vietnamese people for it is causing increasing harm to the interests of the Vietnamese people, to the interests of world socialism.

The Central Committee of the CPSU and the Soviet Government have exerted tremendous efforts to normalise

relations with the Communist Party of China, with the People's Republic of China, to overcome difficulties existing in the world communist movement, to achieve unity on the basis of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism. And although Peking has turned down all proposals and constructive steps in that direction, our Party is fully determined to continue its struggle for restoring and strengthening unity with the Chinese Communists and with the multimillion-strong people of China.

The interests of the unity of the socialist countries and of Communists the world over, the defence of the sacred banner of Marxism-Leninism demand that a resolute rebuff should be given to those who are trying to split the unity of the world communist movement, who persist in subversive activities against the jointly elaborated general line of the Marxist-Leninist Parties set down in the 1957 Declaration and in the 1960 Statement.

Events arising from the so-called great cultural revolution in China and other recent developments indicate that the Chinese leaders are continuing to widen the split and are pursuing a policy which gravely harms the peoples' struggle for socialism and freedom, for peace and international security. The refusal of the Chinese leaders to cooperate and act in solidarity in defence of the Vietnamese people has led to particularly grave consequences. The Chinese leaders are doing a great service to the American imperialists, to the enemies of socialism, peace and progress by their refusal to fight jointly against imperialism and reaction in Vietnam and other areas of the world, by their attacks on the Socialist countries and their splitting policy.

The stand of the Soviet Union on the Vietnamese question is well known. Together with the Polish People's Republic and other socialist countries we are doing everything we can in the present situation to render aid and support to the Vietnamese people. Recently agreements have been signed whereby the Soviet Union will grant the Democratic Republic of Vietnam considerable additional aid, taking into account the needs resulting from the new phase of American aggression. The Democratic Republic of Vietnam is receiving armaments, engineering facilities and other essential deliveries from the USSR. The Soviet Union is training military personnel for the

Armed Forces of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam.

At the Bucharest Meeting the Warsaw Treaty member-countries warned the US Government of its responsibility to mankind in continuing to step up aggression. The socialist countries affiliated to the Warsaw Treaty Organisation are united in their policy of rebuffing the American aggressor and rendering aid to the people of Vietnam. They are also united in their desire to rally all forces that oppose imperialist aggression in a militant alliance.

We are deeply gratified that the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the Polish United Workers' Party are in complete accord on outstanding world issues. We are sure that the common stand taken by our Parties and Governments, and friendship and fraternal cooperation between the USSR and the Polish People's Republic will, as in the past, help promote the interests of our countries, strengthen the socialist world system and advance the struggle for the triumph of socialism and communism on a world-wide scale.

(*Pravda*, October 14, 1966)

FROM JOSEF CYRANKIEWICZ'S SPEECH AT THE SOVIET-POLISH FRIENDSHIP MEETING

Comrades, the fraternal friendship, mutual assistance and ideological unity of Poland and the Soviet Union are not only of tremendous importance to our two countries. It is an important factor in the struggle for the unity of the socialist community as a whole. Today, as never before, the situation demands the cohesion of all the socialist forces in the struggle against imperialism. The aggressive forces of the imperialist world speculate on disagreements in our camp which they hope will retard the development of revolutionary processes in the world.

The barbarous war being waged by the USA in Vietnam occupies a particular place in overall American strategy. The current political doctrine of US imperialism envisages aggression and violence against peoples rising to fight for their freedom and political rights.

US imperialist aggression in Vietnam, its intervention in Central and South America and on the African continent are an eloquent expression of the policy of violence and diktat, while Washington's talk of peace is intended to conceal the actual role of the United States, the role of gendarme of world reaction. The American "export of counter-revolution" is designed to paralyse and bridle the revolutionary potential of the national liberation movement and to subjugate the countries of the so-called third world. But these are vain hopes, because, as history shows, there is no force which can hinder the inevitable transformations that come from the urge for freedom and struggle for peace. It is distressing to state that the possibilities of counteracting the advance of imperialism have been hampered as a result of the splitting policy of

the Chinese leadership, which weakens the unity of the anti-imperialist front. This policy is harmful, above all, to the struggle of the Vietnamese people and encourages the imperialist aggressors.

The US policy of "global strategy" is a threat to world peace. Realisation of this danger is growing on all continents. World public opinion is increasingly realising that in the interests of universal security it is necessary to frustrate the designs of US imperialism.

The schemes of American imperialists to suppress the liberation struggle of the Vietnamese people have been a total failure. The USA has found itself in a blind alley. And there is only one way out of this blind alley—the road of retreat, withdrawal from Vietnam. This would prepare the way for political solutions.

(*Pravda*, October 14, 1966)

**STATEMENT OF THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE
OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF ARGENTINA
ON EVENTS IN THE CHINESE PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC**

The decision of the 11th Plenum of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China, convened early this month after a four-year interval, virtually sanctioned the systematic violations of the decisions of the 1957 and 1960 Meetings and the split in the world communist movement for which the CPC leadership is responsible. Added to that, the Chinese leaders have organised anti-Soviet provocations in Peking and other cities under the aegis of the so-called cultural revolution. In view of these unheard-of proceedings, and fully aware of their consequences, the Executive Committee of the Communist Party of Argentina, acting in defence of the principles of the world communist movement, particularly with regard to the struggle for peace, and rejecting everything that hinders this struggle, considers itself bound to make the following statement:

“US imperialists, stepping up the notorious ‘escalation’ of their criminal war, continue to send fresh consignments of troops to Vietnam and intensify savage bombardments of undefended settlements and other civilian targets, sowing death and destruction everywhere. At such a time, instead of joining efforts with other socialist countries, headed by the Soviet Union, and with all Marxist-Leninist Parties, the Chinese leaders refuse to cooperate in measures to increase the scope and efficiency of aid to the heroic Vietnamese people. They categorically reject this cooperation, organising crude demonstrations and provocations against the USSR and going so far as to present territorial claims and to stage border incidents.

“It is outrageous that in a country which calls itself

socialist the mission of another socialist state should be attacked, and so-called anti-imperialist demonstrations are held before the Soviet Embassy.

"This takes place at a time when the need for unity between all socialist countries, sovereign states and nations, all those who cherish liberty and independence and are fighting for them, is daily becoming more urgent. Unity is indispensable to intensify effective action against the aggressive policies of imperialism, in particular those of the United States which threaten to precipitate a thermonuclear war fraught with inestimable disastrous consequences.

"But instead of working for unity, the Chinese leaders spare neither means nor efforts to split the socialist camp and the world communist movement. In this regard, it is legitimate to ask whose advantage such policies serve. The answer is imperialism, US imperialism in particular, which exploits the situation in order to expand its war.

"The Executive Committee of our Party fully agrees with comrade Alexei Kosygin's statement at the last session of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR that 'Chinese propaganda, especially in recent times, has kept talking about fighting imperialism. And yet, with growing frequency, it makes the CPSU and USSR the main object of its attacks, and so does a great service to US imperialism.'

"Under the false pretence that the CPSU and the Soviet Government conduct a policy of collusion with yankee imperialism at the expense of the heroic Vietnamese fighters, the Chinese leaders reject all offers by the Soviet Union and other socialist countries concerning joint measures to intensify aid to Vietnam. The resolution of the 11th Plenum of the CC CPC blatantly declared that the foreign policy line of the CPSU was aimed at 'preserving imperialist and colonial domination in the capitalist world and restoring capitalism in the world of socialism.'

"This slander against the peace-loving policy of the Soviet Union has inevitably aroused deep indignation among all Communists, all honest democrats and anti-imperialists. Who else if not the Soviet Union and other socialist countries has been supplying heroic Vietnam on a growing scale with everything necessary for defence, including the most modern and effective implements of warfare?

"The recent statement of the Bucharest Conference of Warsaw Treaty countries re-affirmed their determination to continue expanding military, economic, moral and political support to the heroic people of Vietnam in their fight for their lofty cause, including the despatch of volunteers, if called for by the Government of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam.

"But can all this really be tantamount to 'preserving imperialist and colonial domination?' Can Soviet policy for creating the material and technological foundations of communism and the policy of other socialist countries to strengthen and develop socialism—can they amount to 'restoring capitalism in the world of socialism?'

"The Chinese leaders criticise the CPSU and Soviet Government's efforts to maintain world peace, to promote peaceful coexistence between countries with different social systems, to save mankind from a thermonuclear holocaust—efforts that are in keeping with the will and aspirations of all peoples.

"This steadfast, realistic policy is conducted in the interests of peoples fighting for liberty and independence—a fact blatantly denied by the Chinese leaders. The CPSU and Soviet Government consider the Soviet Union's struggle for peace inalienable from its growing aid to peoples already possessing, or fighting for, political independence.

"As is known, Soviet foreign policy is designed to consolidate the world socialist camp, to render active support to peoples fighting for national liberation, to maintain peaceful coexistence with countries differing from the Soviet Union in political, social and economic structure, and to achieve broad unity of action between all patriotic forces so as to prevent the outbreak of a world war by mass demonstrations on a global scale. Because of this, Soviet foreign policy exerts an ever-growing influence on world affairs.

"In connection with the Chinese leaders' slanderous inventions about Soviet foreign policy, it is relevant to ask, do they really think a new world war could serve the cause of revolution? In any case, they have repeatedly made statements to this effect and by so doing have discredited the ideas of communism in the eyes of all peoples. Or is it that in their drive for hegemony, the very

notion of which is obnoxious to any other socialist country, they are trying to provoke a clash between the United States and the Soviet Union, by which they hope to benefit? However regrettable such assumptions may be, they look increasingly like the truth.

"The Chinese-provoked armed conflict with India over border issues which could have settled peacefully; the Chinese leaders' direct responsibility for adventurist policies undertaken in certain African and Asian countries with consequences as grave as the lamentable case of Indonesia; the obvious failure of their home policy venture known as the 'big leap' which instead of improving worsened the living and working conditions of the Chinese people and caused growing discontent within the country; the steady relinquishment of democracy in Party and public life culminating in the so-called cultural revolution forcibly to stamp out discontent among the Party and people; the gradual obliteration of the Party's leading role and its replacement by personality worship to the extent of deification of Mao Tse-tung—all these facts, beyond doubt, did a great deal to contribute to China's present isolation, at the same time gravely harming the world communist movement.

"To any careful observer of developments in China it is quite clear that if these policies are not rectified in time, China will jeopardise her historic socialist achievements.

"Marxist-Leninist Parties throughout the world foresaw the baneful consequences of the policies conducted by the Chinese leaders.

"As regards our own Party, back in 1963, we stated that the Chinese leaders' 'theories' and practices followed from a coolly and carefully conceived plan with the shameless purpose of imposing an anti-Marxist, anti-Leninist policy of their own on the Communist and Workers' Parties and, in case of failure, of splitting the world communist movement as a whole and each individual Communist Party in addition to disrupting mass movements of world-wide scope.

"This was and still remains their express purpose. But, as stated at the time, the Communist and Workers' Parties have reached a degree of Marxist-Leninist maturity when policies of this sort are doomed to failure, which has actually been the case.

“Back in 1963, our Party appraised the standpoint and pronouncements of the Chinese leaders as follows: ‘When manifestations of nationalism and racism are displayed repeatedly, they add up to a permanent policy, a nationalist deviation.’ Further it was pointed out that the sectarian and nationalistic deviations of the Chinese leadership, inspired by bourgeois nationalist ideology, ‘stem from the effects of hostile ideological influences on the proletariat. Hence, ideological struggle against such deviations forms part and parcel of the class struggle in general. The dilemma lies in which line to choose: the proletarian line, or the line upheld by a section whose ideologies are alien to Marxism-Leninism and, in the long run, add grist to the mill of the bourgeoisie.’¹

“In connection with the Chinese leaders’ intensified vituperations against the CPSU and the Soviet Government, the Executive Committee of our Party reiterates its solidarity with Lenin’s Party and its policy of peace and peaceful coexistence. Today as before our Party believes that the test of true or false proletarian internationalists is in their attitude to the CPSU and USSR, the first country to embark on the hitherto unexplored road to socialism and communism.

“In their growing aggressiveness, the imperialist powers, particularly the USA, are eager to exploit any flaw in the socialist and anti-imperialist camp to further their designs against world nations treasuring their liberty and independence. Bearing this in mind our Party deems that today as never before there is urgent need for a new world conference of Communist and Workers’ Parties to strengthen their mutual ties on the basis of a common approach to international policy.

“Considering that the issues of peace and war are vital to all nations, our Party calls upon all anti-imperialist, democratic and patriotic forces to watch vigilantly the machinations of yankee imperialism. The USA is intent on drawing Latin America into the orbit of its aggressive policy as seen, in particular, by the current Buenos Aires conference purported to establish an inter-American armed force. We insist that the Argentine armed

¹ Victorio Codovilla. *The Attitude of Marxist-Leninists to the Trotsky-type Dissenters in the Communist Party of China.*

forces should not be used as a weapon of imperialism in Vietnam or any other country.

We appeal to all Argentine Communists and sympathisers, to all democrats and patriots to expand still further the national united front of peace partisans, to step up effective aid to the heroic Vietnamese people, mindful that their victory depends on the outcome of current world events.

*Executive Committee of the
Communist Party of Argentina.
Buenos Aires, August 27, 1966."*

STATEMENT OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF CANADA

On the occasion of the 17th anniversary of the Chinese Revolution the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Canada made the following statement:

"Seventeen years ago the great Chinese people established the People's Republic of China and undertook the noble goal of building a socialist society. This was an event of great consequence for China and for mankind. These have been years of great challenge and of revolutionary change on a world scale, a process United States imperialism is striving to reverse by force of arms in Vietnam.

"In these conditions unity of all Communist and Workers' Parties, all socialist states and all anti-imperialist forces could become a reliable bulwark in defence of peace, national and social liberation, democracy and socialism, and compel United States imperialism to withdraw from Vietnam. Such a course corresponds with the best interests of mankind.

"Unfortunately leaders of the Communist Party of China have decided to take a different road, one which neither helps China, nor peace, nor socialism. Socialism itself is being discredited in the eyes of millions by developments surrounding what has been called the 'proletarian cultural revolution.'

"These crude practices are a perversion of the noble aims of socialism and of the cultural heritage of mankind. They neither conform with the principles of Marxism-Leninism, with socialist legality and humanism, nor with the democratic practices of a Communist Party. As such they have no place in a socialist society.

"We are mindful of our responsibility, as all Communist and Workers' Parties must be, to defend the true aims of the Chinese revolution, to promote internationalism, to prevent world war and achieve a durable and lasting peace.

"In greeting the 17th anniversary we have no doubt that the time will arrive when the great Chinese people will have overcome departures from Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism and play the role it must in the socialist community of nations and in world affairs.

Central Committee of the Communist Party of Canada."

**RESOLUTION OF THE POLITICAL BUREAU
OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF ISRAEL ON
THE POSITION OF THE LEADERS
OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF CHINA**

On September 4, 1966, the Political Bureau of the Communist Party of Israel (Vilner-Toubi group) adopted a resolution on the position of the leaders of the Communist Party of China.

The text of the resolution was published in the newspaper *Zu Hadereh* on September 8, 1966.

"The Political Bureau notes with concern the growth of international tension resulting from the expansion and aggravation of US imperialist aggression in Vietnam and adjoining territories. The aggressive war conducted by the US Government in South-East Asia heightens tension in other areas, including our own Middle East, threatening the world with a nuclear flare-up.

"Never since the days of the heinous Nazi crimes against humanity have there been such grave military crimes as those committed by US imperialist troops in Vietnam. Yet in spite of the reinforcements continuously being poured into Vietnam to swell the ranks of the US invaders, despite ruthless bombardments of the territory of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam, the heroic Vietnamese people inflict one defeat after another on the aggressor in North and South Vietnam alike. Along with military setbacks US imperialism suffers political defeat. Never before has US imperialism found itself in such isolation, never have the peoples of the world hated it as much as they do today. Never since the end of World War II has there

been such division within the imperialist camp. Even an imperialist power like France speaks out against US aggression in Vietnam. Never for many years has there been such a widespread popular movement within the United States as the movement against the criminal policies of the Johnson's Administration in Vietnam.

"In such circumstances there is particular need for unity of action among all socialist countries, all Communist Parties, all anti-imperialist and peace-loving forces in the struggle against US aggression, for the withdrawal of US forces from Vietnam, for liberty, unity and progress of Vietnam.

"The 23rd Congress of the CPSU held in April this year expressed the ardent desire of Communists and representatives of nationalist and democratic movements from more than 80 countries to achieve unity of action against US aggression, particularly in Vietnam. The 23rd Congress adopted a special resolution on US aggression in Vietnam, calling on the peoples of the Soviet Union and the entire world to render all necessary assistance to the heroic Vietnamese people.

"And indeed, the Vietnamese people receive enormous aid in their struggle against US aggression. Particularly great is the contribution of the Soviet Union. Soviet armaments (rockets, aircraft, etc.) are the best in the world. Many Soviet experts have enabled the Vietnamese people to repulse the US aggressor and inflict telling defeats on the world's strongest imperialist power.

"The Government of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam and the leadership of the National Liberation Front of South Vietnam have repeatedly expressed their gratitude and highly evaluated Soviet aid, which is of major importance.

"At their Bucharest Meeting the USSR and all Warsaw Treaty countries announced their readiness to send volunteers to Vietnam, should the Vietnamese Government so request.

"In light of this, the anti-Soviet resolutions of the CPC Central Committee and the demonstrations in Peking against the Soviet Embassy, as well as other anti-Soviet outbreaks in China, are a cause of profound alarm. Talk about a 'plot' between the Soviet Union and US imperia-

lism against the Vietnamese people and the revival of capitalism in the USSR are no more than crude slander affecting not only the USSR but the entire communist movement which maintains solidarity with the Soviet Union and its glorious Communist Party. These pronouncements and actions of the CC CPC serve merely to widen the split in the communist movement, causing grave damage to the cause of socialism and the anti-imperialist struggle and gladdening the hearts of the US imperialists and their allies by such substantial support received from wholly unexpected quarters. In our country, as in the rest of the world, the reactionaries are overjoyed to hear the anti-Soviet speeches of Chinese leaders. The imperialists and reactionaries are well aware that the USSR, the main stronghold of peace, democracy, national independence and socialism, is their chief enemy. That is why they are so pleased with any anti-Soviet outburst. They know that the strength of Communists and anti-imperialists lies in their unity and therefore they rejoice at any sign of dissent.

"An organic part of the erroneous, unprincipled and pernicious line of the CPC leaders is their support of adventurist plans and attitudes opposing the peaceful settlement of the Arab-Israeli conflict, opposing the principle of respect for the national rights of Israelis and Palestine Arabs.

"The Political Bureau of the Communist Party of Israel highly esteems the Soviet Union's multiform aid to the Vietnamese people as an expression of proletarian internationalism. It denounces the Chinese leaders for their anti-Soviet activity as virtually helping the US aggressors, and calls upon them to stop their provocations against the Soviet Union and world communist unity, to promote the unity of all Communists, anti-imperialists and peace partisans throughout the world in the struggle against the US aggressors, for freedom and peace in Vietnam, for preventing a third world war.

"There is and can be no such thing as anti-Soviet communism. Anti-Sovietism stems from nationalist self-segregation, which is alien to communism.

"There is and can be no such thing as a proletarian cultural revolution spearheaded against the land of the Great October Revolution, the country which bears the

main burden of struggle against imperialism and reaction, for peace, national independence and socialism.

"The Communist Party of Israel expresses its full solidarity with the Soviet Communist Party in its selfless and consistent efforts to consolidate the unity of the communist movement, to strengthen friendship with the Chinese Communists and Chinese people in accordance with the general line of the world communist movement, jointly elaborated at the 1957 and 1960 Meetings on the basis of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism.

"Long live the international communist movement and all anti-imperialist forces participating in the struggle against US aggression in Vietnam, for peace and liberty for all nations!"

**STATEMENT OF THE POLITICAL BUREAU
OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF ISRAEL
CONCERNING THE SCHISMATIC CAMPAIGN
OF THE LEADERS OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY
OF CHINA**

The Political Bureau of the Communist Party of Israel (Mikunis-Sneh group) adopted a statement concerning the schismatic campaign of the leaders of the Communist Party of China, the text of which was published in the newspaper *Kol-Haam* on September 9, 1966.

“The Political Bureau of the Communist Party of Israel expresses its profound concern about the resolutions of the 11th Plenary Meeting of the CPC Central Committee. The aforementioned resolutions reflect the erroneous position of the CPC leaders spearheaded against the unity of the world communist movement and all other progressive and anti-imperialist forces.

“The CPC leaders have again advanced unfounded irresponsible accusations against the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and other Marxist-Leninist Parties. The all-out slanderous campaign in People’s China against the Soviet Union—the mainstay of peace and socialism—adds further obstacles in the struggle against imperialist aggression, particularly the dirty war the US Government wages against the courageous Vietnamese people. The Vietnamese people are heroically resisting the US invasion troops and troops of the reactionary military clique in Saigon. The peoples of the entire world and progressive forces within the USA offer staunch resistance to the imperialist aggression and demand its immediate cessation. The Washington rulers find themselves in

ever increasing isolation as regards world public opinion. Demands that the US Government stop brutal bombardments of Democratic Vietnam and recognise the National Liberation Front of South Vietnam as a party in negotiations for the withdrawal of US armed forces have the full support of hundreds of millions of people fighting for peace, freedom and national independence throughout the world.

“The US aggressors pin their hopes on the split in the peace movement and the anti-imperialist front as a whole. The gravely erroneous position of the CPC leaders objectively assists the nefarious plans of US imperialists, who are bent on extending and furthering the war in Vietnam which is threatening peace throughout the world.

“It is extremely lamentable that the Chinese leaders have declined proposals for coordinating all assistance rendered by the socialist countries to the Vietnamese people in their just struggle. The CPC statement, with its talk of Soviet ‘would-be support’ and ‘actual betrayal’ of Vietnam, is nothing but crude slander. The street demonstrations held on August 29 and 30 before the Soviet Embassy in Peking were intended to foment hostility towards the world’s first socialist state, whose enormous assistance enables the Vietnamese people to withstand US imperialist aggression.

“The dangerous and unpardonable policy of the CPC leaders is unfortunately extended to the Middle East in the form of open and official Chinese support of the self-styled Palestine liberation movement headed by Ahmed Choukeiri, which denies Israel’s right to exist, preparing adventurist plans to violate the peace on our borders. The Political Bureau of the Communist Party of Israel categorically denounces the anti-Soviet and schismatic campaign conducted by the CPC leaders, which severely damages the unity of the socialist camp and the world communist movement.

“The Communist Party of Israel calls upon all working people and partisans of peace and progress in Israel to demonstrate their solidarity with the heroic struggle of the Vietnamese people for national independence. We call upon the Israeli public to resolutely reject the underhanded attempts of Johnson’s Administration to drag the

Israeli people into the dirty war against the Vietnamese people. Let us strengthen the nation-wide campaign for a change of Israeli policy in favour of peace, independence and neutrality!"

STATEMENT OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF ECUADOR ON THE "CULTURAL REVOLUTION" IN CHINA

The Central Committee of the Communist Party of Ecuador has issued a statement on the "cultural revolution" in China.

The Statement says that "the cultural revolution" in China has revealed mistakes in the policy pursued by the Chinese Communist Party leaders." The Statement points out that "at present certain Communist Parties that at one time were in agreement with this policy, have changed their position and now consider that the splitting activities of factionalists, intent on using differences in the world communist movement, are doomed to failure. Stubbornly pursuing this policy, the Statement stresses, Chinese Communist Party leaders have found themselves isolated.

As for the August resolution of the Chinese Communist Party Central Committee, which launched the "great proletarian cultural revolution," followed by the persecution of many Communist Party members, the Statement notes that this is an internal affair of the Chinese Communist Party which warrants no interference. However the Statement stresses that the activity of certain leaders of the Chinese Communist Party affects the activities of other Communist Parties.

"This is evident, primarily, in the attempts of these leaders to export their political line, their methods of struggle, in their efforts to instigate and support factional and splitting activities and create tension in relations

between the socialist countries. This makes it imperative to explain our point of view on the subject," the Statement says.

"To assert that the 'cultural revolution' is being carried out under the banner of Chairman Mao's ideas and to consider these ideas to be truly Marxist means to reject the enormous contribution the international communist movement has made to Marxism and disregard the fact that the policy of the proletariat is collectively shaped. It also means to reject the role of the Communist Party as leader of the working class."

The Statement quotes from the resolution of the Chinese Communist Party Central Committee on the "great proletarian cultural revolution." "The only acceptable method in the great proletarian cultural revolution," the resolution says, "is to give the popular masses an opportunity to free themselves and not to act on their behalf..." "...Thereby the masses will be able in the process of struggle to raise their political consciousness, develop their abilities, learn to ascertain what is correct and what is wrong, and clearly see who are their enemies and who their friends." The Statement says that this approach carries the personality cult to extreme, unprecedented dimensions. Its purpose is to substitute the thoughts of just one leader for the collectively generalised and systematised experience of the world proletariat and to have all political activity conform to these ideas.

"With this aim in view it has been decided to step up the publication of big editions of Chairman Mao's works whereas works by Marx, Engels and Lenin are not distributed, let alone documents explaining the general line of the world communist movement, namely, the resolutions of the Communist and Workers' Parties adopted at the Moscow Meetings and Conferences in 1957, 1960 and 1965 despite the fact that the Chinese Communist Party participated in the first two meetings in keeping with international communist traditions.

"The activity of the Chinese Communist Party leaders is also directed against the heritage of world culture. Marxism-Leninism has always recognised the great contribution made by other classes and all nations to world culture. The greatest achievements of human thought, the

great scientific discoveries and works of art, belong to all mankind. Marxist-Leninists have always believed that these treasures should be carefully preserved, and have acted accordingly. However, the executives of the so-called cultural revolution have viciously attacked all achievements in science and culture. Obviously, they have begun to reject humanity's cultural heritage, whereas Marxist-Leninists have always considered that cultural treasures should be preserved and evaluated with due regard for the historical and social epoch in which they were created.

"The 'cultural revolution' was instrumental in carrying out the splitting policy towards the socialist countries. This unprecedented policy pursued by certain leaders of the Chinese Communist Party has isolated them more than ever. It was during the so-called cultural revolution that hostile acts against the Soviet Embassy and its personnel first took place. Never before had the Embassy or representatives of a socialist country been attacked in another socialist country. Thus, differences in the international communist movement, apart from affecting inter-state relations, create tension in the socialist camp, threaten it with a split and weaken its unity of action in the international political arena, so essential for resisting imperialist aggression, particularly US aggression.

"This policy denotes nationalism and a non-proletarian approach to events. Marxist-Leninist principles require a study of the concrete situation in each country. The Chinese leaders are not content with this. Along with their inordinately inflated nationalism they want to be the organising pivot of the world revolutionary movement. They not only propagate their ideas but also strive to force their methods of struggle on other Parties and countries, whereas, as is known, it is up to each Party to decide for itself what methods of struggle are best, taking into account the concrete conditions prevailing in the given country.

"Moreover, this aggravation of differences, which even goes beyond the bounds of a split in the international communist movement, is taking place at a time when the American imperialists are stepping up their aggression in Vietnam, when escalation of the war against a people fighting for their national independence, against a soci-

alist country, can bring mankind to the brink of a world thermonuclear catastrophe. This policy weakens the unity of action of the socialist camp as well as the economic, political and other assistance this camp and the international communist movement can and must give to the heroic Vietnamese patriots.

"It is well known that at present the balance of forces in the world is tipping in favour of socialism, which creates favourable conditions for pursuing a policy of peace between nations. This also provides an opportunity, thanks to the joint efforts of the socialist camp, the international communist movement and all peoples fighting for their independence, to stave off world thermonuclear war being engineered by the US imperialists. However, the policy which creates tension between the socialist countries, causes a split in the international communist movement, aggravates differences within it and calls for setting up factions and splinter groups within the Communist Parties, impedes decisive assistance to the heroic Vietnamese patriots. This policy has a detrimental effect not just on Vietnam but on all peoples fighting for their national independence. It is common knowledge that the assistance of the socialist countries, assistance of the international communist movement and assistance of the entire national liberation movement are the three main requisites for the victory of the peoples fighting for their national liberation. To weaken the socialist camp and forces of the international communist movement, to reduce the might of the national liberation movement is to retard the development of the struggle for independence and delay its victory.

"The Central Committee of the Communist Party of Ecuador has time and again expressed its point of view with regard to these differences in many of its documents. We state once again that we are in favour of the unity of the international communist movement on the basis of Marxism-Leninism, we firmly endorse the programme and tactics worked out at the Moscow Meetings and Conferences in 1957, 1960 and 1965 and at the Conference of the Communist Parties of the Latin American countries in 1964. We consider that the time is ripe for convening a conference of the Communist Parties with a view to overcoming the split and differences."

In conclusion the Statement recommends that all members of the Ecuador Communist Party study the documents of the Moscow Meetings and Conferences of 1957, 1960 and 1965 and the Conference of 1964, and hails Marxism-Leninism, unity of the international communist movement, the socialist camp and the national liberation movement.

GRADUATES

The graduates of the Party's training schools are an important part of the Party's educational work. They have been trained in Marxist-Leninist theory and practice, and are expected to play a leading role in the Party's work in the future. The Party's training schools are an important part of the Party's educational work. They have been trained in Marxist-Leninist theory and practice, and are expected to play a leading role in the Party's work in the future.

FROM ANTONIN NOVOTNY'S SPEECH TO CZECHOSLOVAK MILITARY COLLEGE GRADUATES

The Presidium was obliged to confirm that the imperialists were deliberately exploiting disagreements provoked by state and Party leaders of the Chinese People's Republic between the socialist countries and other world revolutionary and peace-loving forces. Such actions by the Chinese leaders have led to grave consequences. It weakens the unity of the socialist countries in providing aid to the fighting Vietnamese people and hampers united action by all anti-war forces against imperialist aggression.

Recent developments in China, namely the "cultural revolution" conducted by students and pupils, confirm our criticism of the position of the CPC leaders. This revolution, is, allegedly, to maintain Chinese revolutionary traditions with the young people heading the movement as the main driving force.

Actually this movement has nothing to do with class consciousness. It is designed to foment hatred primarily against the Soviet Union, which is absurdly accused of being in league with the USA. Chinese policy and current events in China are harmful to revolutionary and peace-loving forces not only in Asia, but throughout the world, offering new opportunities for the mounting offensive of world reaction.

(Rude Pravo, September 4, 1966)

THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF AUSTRIA ON EVENTS IN CHINA

At its Plenary Meeting held in September 1966, the Politbureau's report to the Central Committee of the Austrian Communist Party was made by Alfred Ruschitzka, member of the Politbureau. After due consideration the Plenum approved the report. Excerpts from it dealing with events in China were published in the newspaper *Volksstimme*.

It is absolutely clear, the report states, that recent developments in China seriously harm the cause of socialism. Symptoms of a grave crisis in the Communist Party of China reveal themselves in an unprecedented personality cult with all attending manifestations: departure from accepted norms of Party life, violations of Party democracy, replacement of discussions on various issues by invectives, labelling people, reprisals, etc.

These distortions are concealed by leftist phraseology under the general designation of "proletarian cultural revolution."

The line adopted by the Chinese Party leaders offers the enemies of communism new food for intensifying their anti-communist activities. We, Austrian Communists, already feel the consequences of maligning socialism, and hence cannot view events in China as a concern of the Chinese people or Party alone, but deem it our duty to express our opposition to the current policy of the CPC, which contradicts the very foundations of Marxism.

By word and deed the Chinese Party leaders denounce as reactionary all cultural achievements of their own and other peoples.

Events in China must be considered in connection

with the situation in Vietnam. The inimical effect of the 11th Plenary Meeting of the CPC in rejecting proposals for united efforts by all socialist countries is enhanced by current events in China. Attacks against the USSR and other socialist countries help further the aims of the US aggressors. The USA continues to be an aggressor, its policy in South-East Asia presents a direct threat to China.

We hold that the position of the Chinese Party and Government only serves to aggravate the effects of this policy and the threat it entails. The only effective antidote to US machinations is close unity between all socialist countries in the struggle against aggressive US imperialism.

The course of events since differences between the CPC and almost all other Communist Parties have emerged shows our position in the conflict to be correct. Almost all Parties temporarily accepting and approving the views of the Chinese comrades have lately withdrawn their support, thereby substantially contributing to the unity of the world communist movement. In addition there is China's loss of influence over the revolutionary movements in Asia, Africa and Latin America.

We believe that the right way to overcome the harmful effects of the current policy of the Chinese Party leaders is to carry on the fight for the unity of the world communist movement.

These findings are concealed by the Chinese Party leaders who under the pretext of indignation of proletarian culture is-
cluded. The line adopted by the Chinese Party leaders since the formation of proletarian culture is to intensify their anti-communist activities. The Chinese Communist Party has not only failed to recognize the significance of the proletarian culture movement in China, but also has been unable to attract new people to the Party since its formation. It has even gone so far as to oppose the very foundations of the CPC. By word and deed the Chinese Party leaders denounce as treasonary all cultural achievements of their own and other peoples. Events in China must be considered in connection

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tioned campaign levelled against the CPSU and the USSR.

"With the multiform aid of the socialist countries, the Soviet Union in particular, with the material and moral support of all progressive humanity, the Vietnamese people will emerge victorious in their struggle against US aggressors. The Chinese leaders have turned down proposals by the Soviet Union and other socialist countries with regard to coordinating and enhancing the effectiveness of aid to Vietnam. Such an attitude and actions of the CPC leaders can only play into the hands of US aggressors and world reaction, whose aim and tactics are to split the world revolutionary and peace-loving forces, to undermine the unity and solidarity of the socialist countries.

"Continuously expanding their aggression in South-East Asia, the United States sows the seeds of a new world war. The Vietnamese people's struggle for freedom and independence against US imperialist aggression is in the interests of world peace.

"The destinies of the Turkish people fighting in their own country against the same aggressors and expansionists are closely bound with the destinies of the Vietnamese people and world peace. Every peace-loving Turkish patriot must help the Vietnamese people in their sacred struggle by all available means.

"The Communist Party of Turkey, in keeping with the decisions of the 1957 and 1960 Moscow Meetings of representatives of Communist and Workers' Parties, will carry on the struggle for the unity of the communist movement on the basis of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism."

MARX OR MAO?

Editorial

The Chinese leaders keep moving farther and farther away from Marxism-Leninism, substituting narrow nationalistic dogmas which apologists of the regime refer to as "Mao Tse-tung's ideas" for teachings on scientific communism. These ideas which like Hegel's idealistic system are claimed to be infallible and absolute, have been elevated to the rank of state-sanctioned truths. All-powerful and omnipresent, they are the only answer and hope.

Football, baseball, ping-pong, chess, watchmaking, and hairdressing are but a few fields of endeavour where they have wrought wonders.

All this could hardly be taken seriously were it not for the grievous consequences when Maoism is applied to things of such great importance as world culture, whereby the very idea of socialism is being discredited in the eyes of the whole world.

What we have in view is the absurd "cultural revolution" carried out in China by teenagers—"Rer Guards" who in the heat of fervour leave no stone unturned. In the name of Chairman Mao's discerning ideas and socialist culture, the perpetrators of the "cultural revolution" organise anti-Soviet provocations and pass judgement of the great thinkers and artists of the past. They destroy all works of art and letters allegedly contradicting or deviating from Maoism and hence branded as slaveholder, feudal, bourgeois or revisionist inventions.

In this unfortunate way, modern China is repeating the mistakes of the so-called proletculturists, condemned by Lenin in his time, who in the first years after the re-

volution attempted to present the artistic and scientific legacy of other epochs as justification for exploitation. China has revived the mechanistic, anarchistic, vulgar socialism of Shulyatikov, the subjectivistic idealist for whom the entire 18th and 19th century philosophy was just one great big bourgeois subterfuge. This nonsense, ridiculed by Lenin, could only serve to justify a groundless denial of human thought, depriving the masses of its benefits.

What happens in the Soviet Union is the exact opposite of events in China. To quote only one example, this year Soviet people widely celebrate the 350th anniversary of Miguel Cervantes, the father of Spanish literature, whose works are to be reissued in millions of copies.

What are the ideological roots of the Chinese "cultural revolution"? In our view, it represents a break with Marxism in three main points. In the first place, we have a mechanistic interpretation of the basic economic relationships in society and their corresponding ideological reflection. Second, there is an anarchistic approach to the Marxist law of ascending, spiral-form development, and finally, a negation of the historical continuity of culture, which stems from the anarchistic approach.

Let us examine the three points in order of sequence.

a) To obtain a clearer notion of the Chinese leaders' blunders, we must recall a few elementary axioms. Departing from the correct thesis of the class character of culture, they arrived at the wrong conclusion that everything done before Marx, Engels and Lenin or not reflecting their views served the interests of the exploiters; that pre-Marxist and simply non-Marxist science and art are nothing but faulty or distorted reflections of reality catering to the oppressing class.

They deny, hence, that any ideology, though mirroring class interests, nonetheless offers a more or less adequate reflection of the surrounding world. Or, better still, reflects the world through the prism of class interests and conflicts. And although world culture is class-limited, transients at root, this cannot detract from the universal value of its content.

b) The assumption of power by the proletariat and its allies is the first, all-important accomplishment of a socialist revolution. A socialist revolution has not only economic, but cultural aspects. As regards cultural revo-

lution, Marxism-Leninism, in contrast to Maoism, teaches that socialist culture cannot arise out of nothing. As Lenin points out, it must include in itself "all treasures" of human culture in general, developing and critically assimilating them, i. e., rejecting everything negative. Culture undergoes progressive evolution. Developing along ascending lines, it discards and sweeps out of its way the obsolete elements of past culture—the culture of the exploiting classes. But such negation implies the need to smelt, remake and perfect the positive elements of the old culture in the crucible of the new. These positive elements are the connecting link between the two cultures, a starting point and premise for development of everything new.

c) Continuity is the point which, mysteriously, the Chinese leaders seek to ignore, imagining that socialist culture appears spontaneously, without assimilating past achievements.

Nobody will be surprised if, following this course, they end by denouncing the heritage of the classics of English political economy, German philosophy and 19th century utopian socialism, i. e., the three cardinal sources from which Marx and Engels proceeded.

What would Lenin have told Chinese leaders today? For one thing, he might have said: "The history of philosophy and social science shows clearly that Marxism has nothing in common with 'sectarianism,' as a secluded stagnant doctrine which evolved outside the main development of world civilisation. On the contrary, the very essence of Marx's genius lay in being able to solve the problems confronting him on the basis of the great achievements of human thought; his teaching arose as a direct and immediate *continuation* of concepts formulated before him by the most eminent figures in philosophy, political economy and socialist thinking."

Or else he might have recalled the speech he made at the 3rd Congress of the Russian Young Communist League, which he concluded with the single word "Learn" and in which he stressed: "You can become a Communist only when you enrich your mind with the knowledge of all treasures created by mankind."

(*La Voz Proletaria*, September 15, 1966)

CHINESE LEADERS TAKE A NEW STEP ALONG THE DANGEROUS PATH

In its article "Chinese Leaders Take a New Step Along the Dangerous Path" (which has been published in full by the weekly *al-Akhbar*) *an-Nida* writes: "The actions of Chinese Communist Party leaders, which have caused alarm within the ranks of Communist and Workers' Parties throughout the world, have been condemned. Numerous articles, declarations and commentaries have appeared in the world press to this effect. From Budapest to Ottawa, from Beirut to Buenos Aires, from Sofia to Havana they unanimously and on a principled basis expose the actions of the Chinese Party leaders aimed at splitting the common struggle against imperialism and distorting the principles of Marxism-Leninism. Lebanese Communists resolutely join their voices to those of the majority of Communists the world over and confirm their solidarity with the Party of Lenin and the Soviet Union—the first great socialist state, in the struggle against hostile provocations and irresponsible demonstrations instigated by the Chinese Party leaders.

"Marxist-Leninists cannot keep silent about the decisions of the 11th Plenum of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party and the slander that is regularly published by the Chinese press. And this cannot be considered interfering in the domestic affairs of China and the Chinese Party, for these are questions of principle that have an important bearing on the interests of the world revolutionary liberation movement, on the interests of people waging a grim struggle against imperialism for freedom and progress.

“What is the actual meaning of the ‘cultural revolution’ and the decisions adopted by the recent Central Committee Plenary Session? This is a new attempt to split the CPC from the world army of Communists and the revolutionary liberation movement, to isolate the Chinese people from the Soviet Union and the people of the other socialist countries. That is why the Chinese Party leaders keep slandering the Soviet Party leaders, accusing them of ‘perversions,’ of ‘betrayal of Marxist-Leninist principles,’ of ‘collusion’ with imperialism. It is quite clear that the Chinese leaders resort to slander to justify their betrayal, and that of the Albanian leaders, of the interests of the world communist movement, of the interests of the peoples struggling against imperialism, and the heroic Vietnamese people, in particular.

“When the Chinese leaders declare that it is ‘impossible to have a common front with the Communist Party of the Soviet Union,’ it means they are not only against common action with the Soviet Union but with all the socialist states, all the Communist and Workers’ Parties, all the anti-imperialist forces throughout the world that are fighting US imperialism. Such stand of the Chinese leaders means the betrayal of the heroic Vietnamese people in their struggle against the aggression of the world’s most powerful imperialist state.

“They continue to raise obstacles in the way of military and economic aid to Vietnam from the Soviet Union and the socialist countries. When will the Chinese leaders realise that the Vietnamese people have no use for their high-flown wordy declarations, their idle talk?”

In conclusion *an-Nida* once again stressed the necessity of exposing the actions and declarations of the Chinese leaders and on behalf of all Lebanese Communists condemned the “shameful actions of the CPC leaders aimed against the unity and solidarity of the world socialist system, the world communist movement and the peoples’ revolutionary liberation movement throughout the world. The actions of the Chinese leaders give free rein to the imperialists in their dirty war in Vietnam.” Simultaneously the Lebanese Communists expressed the hope that “the Chinese leaders will sooner or later realise that they have come to a deadlock; Marxism-Leninism, the principles of proletarian internationalism, the unity of the world com-

munist movement will triumph over the attempts to cleave the Chinese people and the Chinese Communist Party from the world communist movement, from the socialist camp."

KOREAN LABOUR PARTY'S STATEMENT ON VIETNAM

The Korean news agency CTAK issued the following statement on Vietnam:

"Today Vietnam is the crucial issue between international progressive forces and world reaction. In their struggle against US imperialism the Vietnamese people are fighting for the liberty and independence of their own country, for the defence of the socialist system as a whole, and for peace in Asia and all the world. Their struggle is also a major contribution to the world-wide national liberation and revolutionary movement."

In view of the escalation of the United States' aggressive war in Vietnam, the Statement continues, "the anti-imperialist forces of the world, including the socialist community, the world communist movement, labour and national liberation movements, must resolutely unite and act against US imperialism, offering effective aid to the Vietnamese people."

"The socialist camp wields enormous power. If the socialist countries stand together and fully utilise their power, they can doubtlessly cut short any aggressive act by the imperialists. All socialist countries must wage an even more resolute struggle against US imperialists and inflict blows on the aggressor with all their united might in order to defend Vietnam, the advance post of the socialist camp in South-East Asia."

"The Korean people regard US imperialist aggression in Vietnam as an act of aggression against themselves and are fully determined to fight shoulder-to-shoulder with the Vietnamese people. We will always offer our firm support to the Vietnamese people and at all times remain

loyal to our international duty and offer effective support to the Vietnamese people.

"Our Party and people will render the Vietnamese people all possible assistance until they finally oust the US aggressors and win total victory. We are prepared to send volunteers as soon as the Government of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam calls upon us to do so.

"The Vietnamese problem must be solved by the people of Vietnam itself, without any interference from outside.

"The conference of the Korean Labour Party is firmly convinced that with the active support and assistance of the peoples of the world, the Vietnamese people will ultimately triumph in their struggle against US imperialist aggression for the salvation of their country, for their sovereignty and independence, for the reunion of the Vietnamese people and restoration of the country's territorial integrity."

REAL MEANING OF "CULTURAL REVOLUTION"

*by Robert Dixon,
President of the Communist Party
of Australia*

Recent events in China have thrown more light on the meaning of the so-called cultural revolution.

Needless to say, these events have damaged the image of socialism among peoples of the world and aroused the concern and criticism of Communist Parties everywhere.

The dogmatic stand of the Communist Party of China leaders and the left-adventurist line they have been following have been rejected and condemned by the world communist movement. Their policies represent a turning away from Marxism, a dangerous distortion of socialist theory and practice.

The result of their policies can now be seen in abundance. Internally, China is facing economic and political difficulties.

At the time of the revolution in 1949, China was a semi-feudal country with a backward economy and it is difficult to build socialism on such a foundation.

Bankruptcy

But with the help of the other socialist countries it was possible to build an advanced socialist system and in a relatively short time.

Advancing the theory of "reliance on one's own strength," the Chinese leaders, however, proceeded to restrict trade and economic assistance from other socialist countries to negligible quantities.

They launched struggles against the socialist countries and took the path of splitting the socialist camp and world communist movement. Each of these steps complicated the internal and external position of China.

In the third world, the bankruptcy of Chinese policy is even more evident. A few years ago the influence and prestige of China in the countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America was very high. Today it is at its lowest point ever.

The disaster that overwhelmed the Indonesian Communist Party can be traced directly to the policies of the CPC leaders. The Communist Parties of North Korea and Japan have turned away from the CPC and asserted their independence.

These are but some of the results flowing from the incorrect policies of the CPC leaders.

Obviously, all of these developments play into the hands of US imperialism. The United States is striving to isolate, and enforce an economic blockade against China. It has taken advantage of the division in the socialist camp, created by China, to escalate the war against Vietnam and to threaten China itself.

Nevertheless, the CPC leaders decided to renew and intensify their attacks against the Soviet Union, to deepen the division in the socialist camp and the world communist movement.

Indeed, this is a major feature of the so-called cultural revolution. How else are we to understand the demonstrations directed against the Soviet Embassy in Peking and the physical violence used against the representatives of the German Democratic Republic?

Rejected

The recent Plenum of the Chinese Party's Central Committee rejected the urgent call of the socialist countries for solidarity with the heroic Vietnamese people fighting against US aggression.

For many months now the Chinese leaders have placed obstacles in the way and hindered vital economic and military supplies from the Soviet Union to Vietnam.

In face of the renewed Chinese attacks on the Soviet Union and their Plenum Statement that there can be no

“unity” with the Soviet Union in the struggle against US imperialism, the possibility of further restrictions on Soviet aid to the beleaguered Vietnamese people cannot be excluded.

Although the leadership of the CPC does not admit to mistakes, it is quite apparent that within the Party and among the Chinese people concern and opposition are mounting.

Teenagers

The Plenum of the Central Committee of the CPC admitted this when it declared that “the resistance” to the cultural revolution “comes chiefly from those in authority who have wormed their way into the Party and are taking the capitalist road. It also comes from the old force of habit in society.”

The cultural revolution is being used, therefore, as a means of struggle against forces opposing the un-Marxist policies of the CPC leaders.

An interesting development has been the creation of the “Red Guards,” an organisation of school children and teenagers. . . They have been acclaimed as the “shock force fighting in the van of the great cultural revolution.”

How can immature children and teenagers become the vehicle of a great cultural transformation? The absurdity of this claim was shown in some of their first actions when they destroyed historical monuments and cultural treasures of China and publicly burned the works of some of the great cultural figures of mankind.

Obviously the mission of the “Red Guards” is not a cultural revolution, but something else. Marshal Lin Biao, who is responsible for the “Red Guards,” made no bones about this when he spoke to them at a recent meeting in Peking.

Their “main target of attack,” he said, is against “those persons in authority who have wormed their way into the Party and are taking the capitalist road.”

In short, children and teenagers were emotionally aroused and used against the opposition within the Party.

Latest reports from Peking suggest that the “Red Guards” have aroused such opposition within the Communist Party and among the people that their activities are

to be curtailed, while part of their leadership has been purged. If anything these measures must be regarded as a setback for the most extreme elements.

Hothouse

The great cultural transformation that the socialist revolution must bring about cannot be realised overnight nor by the hothouse methods the Chinese are now using.

In order to change the outlook and habits of the people and achieve a high socialist culture, a long and protracted ideological struggle and the re-education of the people is needed and this can proceed successfully only on the basis of the full development of the socialist economic system.

The socialist attitude to the great cultural achievement of the capitalist and earlier social formations, has been clearly set forth by Lenin, who wrote:

"Marxism won for itself its world historical significance as the ideology of the revolutionary proletariat by the fact that it did not cast aside the valuable gains of the bourgeois epoch, but on the contrary assimilated and reworked all that was valuable in the more than two thousand years in the development of human thought and culture."

FROM GÜNTER MITTAG'S REPORT TO THE 13th PLENARY MEETING OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE SOCIALIST UNITY PARTY OF GERMANY

Neues Deutschland published the report of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany delivered by its Secretary Günter Mittag at its 13th Plenary Meeting.

The chapter on relations between the SUPG and fraternal Parties deals at length with events in the Chinese People's Republic. The following is an excerpt pertaining to this issue:

"Our Party felt bound to express its views with regard to the Plenary Meeting of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China in a special Communique of the Central Committee. The Plenary Meeting in question resolutely confirmed the anti-Marxist policy and schismatic undertakings of the CPC leaders pursued to the detriment of the world communist movement and the fight for peace, democracy, national sovereignty and socialism.

"The Communique published on September 4, in *Neues Deutschland*, emphasised that the 11th Plenary Meeting of the CC CPC declining all proposals of Communist and Workers' Parties regarding joint action in support of the liberation struggle of the Vietnamese people, constituted a new step of grave purport against the unity of the world communist movement and urgently needed consolidation of all anti-imperialist forces.

"At the same time the aforementioned Plenary Meeting stepped up the base anti-Soviet campaign carried on in the Chinese People's Republic. The Chinese leaders' anti-Soviet outbursts are intended to conceal the fact that

their policy, their rejection of united action is extremely damaging to the cause of the Vietnamese people, to the cause of socialism, national independence and peace, at the same time virtually assisting the imperialists in their drive to split and weaken the anti-imperialist forces.

"The very same individuals who are spreading monstrous falsehoods about alleged connivance between the USSR and the USA, actually play into the hands of the US aggressors and their supporters by their slanderous insinuations against the Soviet Union, by hindering joint action in a spirit of solidarity with Vietnam.

"Our Party experiences a deep sense of alarm and repugnance at the 'proletarian cultural revolution,' instigated, first and foremost, by the aforementioned 11th Plenary Meeting of the CC CPC. Our press has printed accounts of these unheard-of incidents.

"Profoundly alarmed, some members of our Party have been asking us why the Chinese leaders have resorted to such anti-socialist excesses, which they abusively disguise as proletarian cultural revolution.

"Of late, the Political Bureau of the SUPG has received many letters from working people with regard to this. They demonstrate the deep fraternal feelings the people of the GDR have for the Chinese people, and, also, their profound concern that the Chinese leaders' retreat from Marxism-Leninism, from the course outlined in the joint statements of Communist and Workers' Parties adopted in 1957 and 1960, and the gross errors committed by the Peking leaders, have endangered the Chinese peoples' great revolutionary achievements.

"In the light of known facts and publications of the 11th Plenary Meeting of the CC CPC, we are able to state the following:

"The 'proletarian cultural revolution' represents a hopeless attempt on the part of certain Chinese leaders to solve the complex issues of China's transition from capitalism to socialism with no regard whatsoever to the objective laws of socialist development, Marxism-Leninism, Leninist norms of Party life, principles of democratic centralism, socialist democracy and legality, which they have supplanted by purely military-administrative methods of directing and organising public life. As is

known, at the last 8th Congress of the CPC held in 1956, the Party leaders declared that the building of socialism in the Chinese People's Republic would require several decades, and any impatience in this regard would be harmful.

"However, in 1958, the Chinese leaders renounced the line adopted at the 8th Party Congress. Prompted by nationalist vanity and great-power chauvinism, they embarked on a policy which became known as 'the big leap forward.' In their opinion, by means of 'permanent big leaps forward' China must rapidly become one of the strongest nations of the world economically, and at the same time the first country to complete the transition to communism. The leaders of the Chinese People's Republic declared it to be the 'centre of the world revolution.'

"This adventurist attempt ended in complete failure. The Chinese People's Republic found itself faced with an extremely complicated internal economic and political situation, which was greatly exacerbated by severe natural disasters. Economically, culturally and politically the Chinese People's Republic suffered a setback of many years. These failures compelled the Chinese leaders to somewhat alter their domestic economic and political course, without officially calling it a new 'general line.'

"In the course of the so-called readjustment campaign, the people's communes were reorganised, certain economic disproportions were evened out and the principles of material inducement were to a certain extent reinstated. As a result, since 1963 the country's economic situation has somewhat stabilised. Notwithstanding, the CPC leadership has failed to solve the problems of socialist construction on the basis of Marxism-Leninism. Instead of consistently and shrewdly applying the theory of Marxism-Leninism to conditions in China, they persisted in trying to direct social development on a subjectivist, voluntarist basis.

"At the same time, in the sphere of foreign policy, the Chinese leaders stepped up its great-power chauvinist line. In the process, it grossly overestimated the influence, authority and potentialities of the Chinese People's Republic.

"The leaders of the Chinese People's Republic completely subordinated their policy to a single aim, viz., by

establishing their hegemony over the world communist movement and creating an Afro-Asian-Latin-American bloc under their own control, to turn China into the decisive power in world politics.

“Instead of actually fighting imperialism and supporting the movement for national and social liberation by setting an example in building socialism, they moved further and further away from Marxism-Leninism, directing their main blow against the principal force of the world Marxist-Leninist movement, against the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. At the 11th Plenary Meeting of the CC CPC the Chinese leaders undertook new steps to aggravate their anti-Soviet policy. The Chinese leaders’ pronouncements and practical activities make it obvious that some of them desire a direct military conflict between the USSR and USA, in order to ‘sit on the hilltop and watch the two tigers fight.’

“The leaders of the CPC resorted to armed force against India over unsolved border issues. The Chinese Government poured oil on the flames of the Indo-Pakistani conflict over the Kashmir issue, and slandered the Tashkent Agreement. The Chinese leaders incited the leaders of the Indonesian Communist Party to adopt a policy which gave Indonesian reactionaries excuse and opportunity for a bloody massacre of the fraternal Indonesian Party.

“The Peking leaders undermine the movement for solidarity among Asian, African and Latin American countries and are engaged in a foredoomed attempt to drive a wedge between the SUPG and CPSU. This dangerous policy of the Chinese leaders, which was bound to encounter the resistance not only of the Marxist-Leninist Parties, but of all conscientious anti-imperialist and democratic forces, placed the Chinese Communist Party and the Chinese People’s Republic itself in a position of steadily growing isolation.

“The attempts of the Chinese leaders to isolate the socialist countries from the Soviet Union by means of their policy of differentiation, met with complete failure. The 23rd Congress of the CPSU demonstrated the growing authority and influence of the Soviet Union throughout the world. The influence of the CPC in the countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America, in the national libera-

tion movements and international public organisations and associations fell sharply.

“The severe failures at home and abroad inevitably resulted in profound discontent among the population and sharp differences within the Party, including its central leadership.

“In 1965 and 1966 the Chinese leadership undertook attempts to suppress the growing opposition.

“Apparently, the controversy first broke out in the army. According to the Chinese press, at an army conference of political personnel held in early 1966, sharp criticism was levelled against allegations concerning over-estimation of the importance of military science and neglect to study Mao Tse-tung’s ‘Popular War’ theory. Judging from this, many officers, influenced by the revolution in military technology, brought about by the invention of rockets and nuclear weapons, voiced their disagreement with Mao Tse-tung’s and Defence Minister Lin Piao’s assertion that any potential intervention from the US would ‘be drowned in an ocean of a popular war.’ Following the campaign against critics in the army and their subsequent dismissal, the army leadership headed by Politbureau member and Defence Minister Lin Piao assumed the role of initiators of the ‘great proletarian cultural revolution.’

“The most significant articles against leading Chinese figures first appeared in army newspapers. Today the army is declared to be a model of discipline and loyalty to Mao Tse-tung’s ideology. Contrary to Lenin’s teaching, the army and not the state is held to be the main instrument of socialist construction.

“Continuous allusions to the universal efficacy of military methods for the solution of all social problems remind us of the adventurist views of Trotsky, who urged that socialism must be built, primarily, by use of armed force.

“The process culminated in mass reprisals affecting numerous leading officials, including members of the Party leadership. Dozens of Party committees of provinces, towns, universities and colleges were disbanded. A large number of leading Party workers, newspaper editors, prominent intellectuals, etc., were dismissed, condemned and slandered. Only after this had been done did the Politbureau convene the 11th Plenary Meeting of the CC CPC,

where the most extremist forces apparently got the upper hand.

“The ‘great proletarian cultural revolution’ signifies an unlimited expansion of the Mao Tse-tung cult. It is followed by the total rejection of Marxism-Leninism, unparalleled vulgarisation of science and impoverishment of intellectual life, together with the debasement and destruction of the great treasures of Chinese and world culture.

“The 11th Plenary Meeting of the CC CPC oriented the Party and country towards new a ‘big leap forward.’

“As a decisive premise for this, the present Chinese leaders—apparently drawing lesson, so to say, from the first unsuccessful ‘big leap’—insist on the absolute and unconditional subjection of all public life to the pressure of Mao Tse-tung’s ideology and the military commands of the leading group. The regrettable events in the Chinese People’s Republic reveal the Chinese leaders’ profound distrust of their own Party, the working class and all working people, offering new testimony to the deepening gulf between the policy of the Chinese leaders and reality. Significantly, the Chinese leaders are unable to implement their line through Party organisations. In actual fact, the reprisals are apparently directed, first and foremost, against the Party cadres loyal to the cause of socialism. This adventurist policy, in general, is directed against the Party and its role as the vanguard. Hence, under the army’s auspices, the authorities organised special shock forces—‘Mao’s troops,’ ‘committees of cultural revolution,’ organisations employed in perpetrating all sorts of excesses and brutal terror, in particular, against leading officials, workers and peasants. The Chinese press and official pronouncements are not sparing in their praise of these organisations as ‘the most revolutionary force’ in the Chinese People’s Republic.

“In this manner, the Chinese leaders are undertaking their latest desperate attempt to by-pass the objective laws of development by means of militant and adventurist policies, by arbitrary and subjectivist actions intended to skip unavoidable stages of evolution. Their ideology and policy represent a conglomerate of petty-bourgeois nationalism, adventurism, great-power chauvinism and racism.

“The Chinese people won great victories in their strug-

gle for liberation from imperialism and the construction of a new society. But today the Chinese leaders, departing from Marxism-Leninism, are foisting on the people a series of measures directed against the cause of the international working class and all anti-imperialist forces, and above all against the vital interests of the Chinese people and the socialist achievements.

"These policies of the Chinese leaders must inevitably cause still sharper contradictions and disagreement in the Chinese People's Republic. They are fraught with great danger for the socialist system in the Chinese People's Republic, aggravating the threat of new dangerous external political adventures and conflicts.

"The policy of the CPC leaders obviously presents a grave problem for the world communist movement; it is detrimental to the entire world socialist system.

"It weakens the ranks of the anti-imperialist front, discrediting socialism, primarily before the anti-imperialist nations. It adds grist to the mill of imperialist propaganda, and bolsters claims that Chinese excesses prove the necessity for US presence as a stabilising factor in South-East Asia.

"In the face of the present international situation and such policies on the part of the Chinese leaders, our Party, just as the CPSU and other fraternal Parties, will continue its Marxist-Leninist line and will not allow itself to be provoked by the insinuations of the CPC. By pursuing its Marxist-Leninist policy in collaboration with the CPSU and other fraternal Parties, achieving new victories in the construction of socialism in the GDR, in the struggle for peace against imperialism, our Party contributes to furthering the international cause of socialism."

THE "GREAT CULTURAL PROLETARIAN REVOLUTION" AND "CHAIRMAN MAO'S IDEAS"

The Chinese press is extensively propagating "the application of Chairman Mao's creative ideas" in countless varied aspects of the country's life. This propaganda has especially intensified since the removal from office of certain members of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party and numerous high-ranking officials in the Government and the Armed Forces as a result of the "great cultural proletarian revolution."

The deposed leaders include people who for more than 20 years had been members of the Chinese Communist Party Central Committee, members of the CC Politbureau, deputy premiers (like Peng Chen, former Mayor of Peking and First Secretary of the City's Party Committee, Ly Ting-yi, head of the propaganda department of the Central Committee, and many other Party functionaries), leaders of youth organisations, ministers, deputy ministers and top-ranking military leaders. Each announcement of removal from office or resignation has invariably been accompanied by accusations of "*opposing the ideas of Chairman Mao.*"

Along with this, great changes have taken place in higher school curricula and tuition methods: the beginning of the academic year at universities and other schools of higher learning was postponed; entrance examinations were abolished (in future students will be enrolled mainly on the basis of references and recommendations issued by political organisations) and the curricula of all educational institutions, from primary schools to universities, will include Mao Tse-tung's works.

During the first few months of this year the Hsinhua

Agency's bulletins began to include, from eight to eleven times a month, articles containing information on the "role of Chairman Mao's ideas."

In May, when announcements of the removal of certain Party members, Government and army officials began to appear and there was talk about an "upsurge of the proletarian cultural revolution," the number of such articles in the Chinese bulletins rose to 36 and then to 119, almost twice the number (65) published from January to May, with no let-up in July and August. The articles especially stressed the fact that Mao's philosophical ideas are applied in industry, agriculture, scientific research, trade, culture, education, sport, etc.

The main propaganda theme is "the great cultural proletarian revolution," evaluated by the Chinese leaders as one of the most important world events of the present time.

The articles point to the need for profoundly studying "*Mao's works and his philosophy*" and note that "in a decisive way *Mao's philosophical ideas help*" workers to smelt steel and make bulbs, peasants to successfully cope with the tasks of agricultural production, trade managers to sell water-melons and other produce, teachers to work out methods of education, doctors to treat burns, and scientists to solve difficult problems in all fields of science. Even table-tennis players use Mao's philosophical ideas in order to win in contests.

"*Creative interpretation of Chairman Mao's philosophical ideas*"—everything is attributed to this, even the most elementary scientific formulas or things dictated by common sense which have long been used in many countries without any need for a social revolution and studying the philosophy, dialectics and works of Chairman Mao. Information concerning the character of Chinese propaganda keeps coming in from all channels of the international press, above all the imperialist press, which is zealously spreading it with excerpts from the Hsinhua Agency and main press organs of China.

If these reports came only from imperialist information agencies there would be reason for scepticism. Chinese propaganda material published in imperialist newspapers could well be a direct insult to the Chinese people and their revolution. However, it was the Hsinhua Agency that

transmitted these reports under the following headlines:

“Mao’s Ideas—Paramount Guidance for Chinese Science,”

“Application of Chairman Mao’s Ideas for Treating Burns,”

“Mao’s Ideas Play a Leading Role in Production of Vegetable Oil,”

“How Chinese Champion Applies Dialectics to Table-Tennis,”

“Japanese People Welcome Successful Nuclear Weapon Test and Regard It as Triumph of Chairman Mao’s Ideas,”

“Philosophy in Water-Melon Selling,”

“Shanghai Worker Applies Philosophical Ideas to Steel Smelting.”

We shall not enumerate all articles and reports on the significance of “Chairman Mao’s ideas” in the country’s political, economic, social and cultural life, in science, education, sport, etc., for the list would be inexhaustible. But we shall now consider several of the most typical items of this kind to give the reader an idea of what they are like:

How Chinese Champion Applies Dialectics to Table-Tennis

“*Peking*: When Su Yin-sheng, an outstanding Chinese table-tennis player, wrote how to play table-tennis he was guided by one aim, namely, to help players improve their skill.

“However, the mastery with which he applies dialectical analysis and discloses the influence of Mao Tse-tung’s ideas evoked great interest in China, even among those who never played the game. A player is bound to be nervous during an important match and this is detrimental to his performance. But studying Mao’s works Su Yin-sheng has come to realise that while external causes are conditions for changes, the basic reason for these changes is due to inner causes. External causes, i.e. objective circumstances, begin to act only through inner causes, i.e. the subjective attitude of the individual.

“Having studied Mao Tse-tung’s works Su Yin-sheng mastered dialectics which helps him analyse his play as well as that of the rivals, and play against them calmly and confidently.”

Application of Chairman Mao's Ideas for Treating Burns

"Peking: Even if a sick person has a fever, headache, diarrhoea, is suffering from nervous strain or other complications, treatment should not be concentrated on these problems of secondary importance but on the main problem, i.e. the wound which, if cured, would do away with all these indispositions. Thus, a patient is relieved of the torment of taking all kinds of unnecessary medicine.

"Such are the conclusions of young Peking surgeons who have been ideologically and politically preparing for the duties by painstakingly studying Chairman Mao's works.

"The main cause of death from burns is infection of the surface of the wound and sepsis, a problem which cannot be completely solved in our country or anywhere else. Antibiotics do not usually give positive results in these cases.

"Trying to understand the laws of development of sepsis the young doctors have come to the conclusion that even if the whole surface of the wound is infected by germs it is the organism's ability to resist that determines whether sepsis will result. This is the decisive factor which has been proved by thorough examination of patients of different ages and in various stages of illness and different conditions. Bacteria are an external factor, whereas the organism's vital activity is an internal, and consequently, more important factor."

"This is how the study of Chairman Mao's article *Concerning Contradiction* has become a starting point for a correct approach to the solution of an intricate problem."

Worker-Scientist Applies Mao's Ideas to Making Bulbs

A Hsinhua Agency report describes how a "worker-scientist" applies Chairman Mao's ideas to making bulbs. The report says, for one:

"Why have we been able to master the production of bulbs? Because in producing them we base ourselves on Chairman Mao's ideas. Our team consists of young workers reared and armed with Mao Tse-tung's ideas. We young workers were never before interested in new sources of electric light. But now we have completely discarded blind

faith in Western technology and are possessed with the lofty desire to produce bulbs ourselves, to satisfy the needs of our homeland's socialist construction and find ways of obtaining new sources of electric light.

"After four years of work under the guidance of the Party we have successfully mastered production of over 10 new kinds of electric bulbs.

"Dialectics should be used in bulb production. This is the major conclusion we came to while making bulbs," the Hsinhua Agency report says.

"Methodology described by Chairman Mao in his work *Concerning Contradiction* is the most effective ideological weapon which helps eliminate one obstacle after another in scientific research and conquer the highest peaks of science."

Philosophy in Water-Melon Selling

"Peking: A Shanghai retail company selling vegetables and fruits has found a way to deal with losses in water-melon sales which had been quite considerable during the summer season. This new method has enabled the company to sell more water-melons, cut expenses and increase incomes and net profit.

"The article written by the manager of the Chapei branch of the Shanghai company became very popular. After appearing in *Jenmin Jihpao* it was published in all central papers of Peking. Manager Chou Sin-li considers that he owes his success to the study and practical use of the premises contained in Mao Tse-tung's work *Concerning Contradiction*. Chou Sin-li writes: 'We have found our main contradiction and studied the means of solving the principal aspect of this contradiction.'

"The author of the article points out that in 1963 the Chapei branch sold but 250 to 400 tons of water-melons daily. The staff of 29 of their shops was at a loss, for despite strenuous efforts the percentage of waste was very high.

"Before gathering the 1964 harvest several employees of the company were sent to the melon-fields around Shanghai for consultations with water-melon suppliers. They saw there would be a good harvest. It was apparent the company would be assigned to sell 50 per cent more

water-melons than before. The question arose how to sell out the whole lot.

“Chou Sin-li writes that the ideas contained in Mao’s work *Concerning Contradiction* were of invaluable help to him and his comrades.

“Mao Tse-tung wrote: ‘There is no thing that does not contain a contradiction; the interdependence and mutual struggle of contradictions inherent in this phenomenon determine the life of all things and phenomena and are a motive force of their development.’

“It was necessary, the author writes, to disclose contradictions and ascertain the principal one.

“A thorough analysis revealed that the crux of the problem lay in the contradiction between big deliveries of water-melons and misuse of manpower, this being reflected in a poorly organised retail trade network, misuse of personnel, inadequate transport facilities, shortage of store-houses and management mistakes.

“This ‘revelation’ of the contradiction helped the personnel of the Chapei branch to realise the scope and character of the tasks facing them. The tasks were enormous indeed, and certain managers were apprehensive, believing that water-melon deliveries should be cut down to what the branch could handle. But the majority of the personnel considered their work part of the common revolutionary work and their revolutionary duty to the people, and decided to change the pattern of trade and adapt it to increasing production and the growing requirements of the population. But how?

“Here Mao’s instruction was well to the point: ‘To concentrate a superior force and destroy the enemy piecemeal.’ And although this instruction applied to military tactic, Chou Sin-li and his comrades adapted it to selling water-melons.

“Apart from water-melons the company also dealt in fresh and dry fruits, confectionery, liquor, etc. Naturally, the branch personnel was adequately distributed for selling all these goods.

“But in July and August, 1964, at the height of water-melon deliveries, there was a concerted effort to sell them.

“Vendors sold water-melons in the streets and deliveries to factories and offices were organised. Three hundred people were kept busy selling water-melons at the

height of the season. That year only one shop of the branch sold 300 tons of water-melons. The bulk of the staff were put to this work. There were seven teams: three in the storehouse engaged in sorting water-melons, the rest selling whole water-melons and slices in the shops, on carts, etc.

"Chou Sin-li and his comrades knew by experience that the biggest shipments of water-melons would arrive between July 25 and August 1. Therefore they immediately organised the sale of water-melons and were ready for the final deliveries.

"They set aside reserves for the autumn from the last batch of water-melons. Additional storehouses were allotted in premises acquired from other organisations.

"Apart from that, 87 per cent of the overall quantity of water-melons were transported by the branch's own small lorries and on three-wheel carts, whereas previously lorries had been rented from the city transport company. Thereby expenses were cut and there was less loss of time and produce. Late every evening branch employees analysed the work done and made plans for the next day, taking into account weather conditions and other factors.

"Shanghai residents like to eat water-melons in the hot weather. Having reorganised its work the company has been able to do a better job of satisfying the demand for water-melons and stepping up their production by agricultural communes. In 1964, the company sold 70 per cent more water-melons than in 1963, cut production expenses by more than 30 per cent, and losses by 1.72 per cent. Overall income from water-melon sales rose by 35 per cent. Last year Chou Sin-li and his comrades improved their methods of selling with even better results. Now they are prepared to accept all the water-melons which can be delivered and, judging by the rich melon-fields around the city, they will not sit idle.

Chinese Barber Applies Mao's Theories "Concerning Contradiction" to His Work

The article that appeared in the Chinese press tells how Mao's theories on contradiction were applied to hair-cutting.

The Hsinhua Agency has reported that for six years

now barber Li Teh-hsung has been daily studying "*works by Chairman Mao Tse-tung. He is trying to fit in Chairman Mao's ideas with haircutting.*" As the Hsinhua Agency reports the barber used for the purpose Mao's works: *The Class Analysis of Chinese Society and Concerning Contradiction.*

The Agency notes that Li Teh-hsung "*worked well but slowly,*" whereas now he works "*well and quickly.*" As he himself said it was only by studying Mao's works that he was able to solve the problem of "*preventing children who come for a haircut from crying.*" The Agency stresses that Li Teh-hsung's work proves that "*if a barber pays special attention to politics he can serve the people even with scissors and comb in his hands.*"

The Agency says in its report that Mao's work *Concerning Contradiction* was of especial value to the barber. Having read that "external causes are conditions for changes and internal causes—their basis, with external causes acting only through internal ones," the barber has come to the conclusion that "children do not like strangers to fuss with their hair and make them sit still." Therefore the barber tries in every way to distract children's attention by offering them toys and books with pictures. Such is the solution of the problem of the crying children who come for a haircut.

On the basis of such articles Chinese propaganda has gone as far as to assert that:

"Chairman Mao is the beacon of the revolution illuminating the road for all the peoples."

"Mao is the greatest revolutionary leader of our time."

"Chairman Mao is the bright sun warming the hearts of all peoples."

In their indefatigable praise of Mao Tse-tung's ideas and their role in the Party, state, scientific, agricultural, trade and sport activities the Chinese information bodies have lost all sense of proportion. Peking papers were especially zealous in trying to prove that 72-year-old Chairman Mao can boast enviable health and energy. Whole columns are filled with numerous articles and photographs devoted to the recent public appearances of the Chinese leader and his 15-kilometre swim on the Yangtze (it took Mao Tse-tung only 65 minutes to cover that distance).

A Chinese press report about a recent meeting Chairman Mao had with scientists who participated in the physics seminar in Peking is full of this kind of propaganda. Here are some excerpts from a report under the headline:

Chairman Mao Is the Sun Shining Eternally in Peoples' Hearts

Peking, August 6, Hsinhua. "Chairman Mao is coming! Chairman Mao is here! This happened on July 31 this year, at 10 p.m. Chairman Mao Tse-tung received scientists, who participated in the physics seminar held in Peking. The hall was brightly lighted. In an unhurried, steady gait Chairman Mao was coming up to friends from different countries who, on seeing the great leader who commands the respect of the whole world, did not know what to do to express their excitement. They kept looking at the tall, well-built figure of Chairman Mao, at his kind face as though they wanted to imprint this unforgettable image upon their memory. Later some of the scientists told their Chinese colleagues that they were so greatly moved at that moment they felt their hearts would jump out of their breasts."

It is to be regretted that imperialism uses such information in its attempts to ridicule not only the Chinese leaders but the ideas of communism as well. It is a sad fact that the Chinese People's Republic gives the enemies of socialism and communism an opportunity for mockery. Many of us revolutionaries are struck by this official information coming in from the Chinese People's Republic where the situation is now deplorable and confused.

If the Chinese comrades are prepared to heed our advice we warn them that they place themselves in a ludicrous position before the whole world. And upon our word, this conclusion can be drawn without having to read "Chairman Mao's works."

(*Granma*, August 31, 1966)

“RABOTNICHESKO DELO” ON THE “CULTURAL REVOLUTION” IN CHINA

On September 7, *Rabotnichesko Delo*, organ of the Communist Party of Bulgaria, published an article entitled “Defend the Purity of Marxism-Leninism, Strengthen World Communist Unity.”

“Of late,” says the article, “events in the People’s Republic of China have been attracting world-wide attention. The ‘great cultural revolution’ is being closely followed by the press in Bulgaria and abroad. Not long ago the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party concluded its 11th Plenum with a lengthy communique. Following the Plenum, a peculiar situation arose throughout China. A special semi-military body ‘Red Guards’ was formed of students and pupils. According to the Chinese Hsinhua Agency, the ‘Red Guards’ are ‘shock brigades of the cultural revolution’ conducting a struggle to destroy ‘old ideals, old culture, old customs and old habits’. But in essence, what it amounts to are new organs with virtually unlimited rights.

“The activities of the ‘Red Guards’ are coupled with flagrant chauvinism and nationalism. A historically unprecedented Mao Tse-tung personality cult has been unleashed, assuming increasingly abnormal forms. Mao is proclaimed ‘the only one out of all 720 million Chinese to have had correct ideas in the last 30 years.’ His works are extolled as the ultimate in human thinking. According to witnesses, icons in a catholic cathedral have been replaced by a bust of Mao. Leaflets pasted in Peking streets demanded that the local mosque be closed down: how can anyone worship Allah instead of Mao’s ideas? The Chair-

man of the Chinese Communist Party is heralded as the leader of world revolutionary forces and Maoism—the creative continuation of Marxism-Leninism.”

The paper cites facts illustrating the atrocities of the “Red Guards” and the anti-Soviet campaign unleashed in China.

“All this,” *Rabotnichesko Delo* continues, “the official Chinese authorities claim, is a purely internal Chinese matter. Careful analysis shows, however, that the above-mentioned events are by no means a purely internal matter, they are of far-reaching significance. They excite widespread international response, directly affect the world revolutionary process, all socialist countries, the entire world communist movement, the national liberation struggle and all anti-imperialist and anti-colonialist forces. They run counter to Marxism-Leninism, communist ideas, and the principles of socialist construction. In addition, the official Peking press daily lauds the Chinese ‘experience’ as a universal discovery, a model of creative Marxism-Leninism.

“Evidence shows that events in China have nothing to do with a truly socialist cultural revolution. No wonder the enemies of socialism, the spokesmen and ideologists of imperialism rub their hands in glee, coming out with new arguments against the communist doctrine, waving the flag of anti-communism with greater fervour than ever.

“Bulgarian Communists cannot shut their eyes to these acts and manifestations directly affecting the purity and prestige of Marxism-Leninism, the unity of the world communist movement. They cannot remain unmoved by the anti-Soviet campaign in China, the crude attacks against the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, its Leninist principles and policy. Accordingly, the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Bulgaria expressed its concern at the decisions of the latest Plenum of CC CPC in a recently published statement.

“While accusing the CPSU and other fraternal Parties of revisionism, the Chinese leaders themselves have embarked on a radical leftist revision of Marxism, which leads to distortions and total rejection of the basic principles of communist theory. The newly launched ‘cultural revolution’ is a striking instance of this kind of peculiar

revisionism, which entails not only a revision of Marxism, but a complete departure from common sense.

"The recent events in China," the paper goes on, "affect the basic aims and objectives of the world communist movement, its strategy and tactics at a crucial historical period.

"The true meaning of what is going on in China lies in the urge to more vigorously advance the Chinese Communist Party's 'particular course' as opposed to the jointly adopted general line of the world communist movement. Today, when all other socialist countries and fraternal Parties concentrate on carrying out the general line, following realistic policies and, mindful of the requirements of social and economic development, struggling for the solidarity of all working people, for new achievements in socialist construction, the Chinese leaders pursue a policy which in fact can only injure the positions of the socialist community.

"The basic tasks facing the world communist movement require the strengthening of unity on the basis of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism. The foundations of this policy were specified in the documents adopted at the two conferences of fraternal Parties held in 1957 and 1960 in Moscow. These documents designated the general line of the world communist movement, giving a profound analysis of the present-day international situation, the world balance of power and the main tasks of all progressive forces in the struggle for peace, national independence and socialism. Only the coordinated activity of Communist Parties, national liberation movements and progressive forces can bridle imperialism and world reaction and frustrate their fiendish plans.

"The overwhelming majority of fraternal Parties have lately made sincere efforts to overcome differences in the world communist movement, to strengthen its unity in joint action against US imperialist aggression. Unfortunately, the position of the Chinese Party and Government leadership has not helped.

"As evident from the documents of the latest Plenum of the CC CPC, the leadership of the Chinese Party and Government are determined to carry on their own 'distinctive' course, to amplify existing disagreements and worsen the international situation. They reject proposals by the

Communist Party of the Soviet Union and other fraternal Parties for joint action against imperialism and in particular against US imperialist aggression in a socialist country—the Democratic Republic of Vietnam. All this, undoubtedly, is a boon to imperialism and reaction to the grave detriment of the socialist community, the world revolutionary movement and the struggle for liberty and national independence. It also runs counter to the vital interests, of the Chinese People's Republic. Undoubtedly without the splitting activities of the Chinese leaders, the anti-imperialist front would be still more united and the aggressors would have to think twice before perpetrating their criminal designs.

“The decisions of the Plenum show that the Chinese Party leaders have made this anti-Soviet line their official policy. It is no mere accident that following the Plenum, the anti-Soviet campaign in China has gained momentum. Stories are repeated about ‘collusion between the USSR and USA,’ ‘revival of capitalism in the Soviet Union,’ ‘betrayal of the national liberation movement.’ Everything possible is done to further aggravate relations between the Chinese People's Republic and the USSR.

“Obviously, no one can convince honest-minded people throughout the world, the Chinese people included, that the Soviet Union is an enemy of the Chinese people, that the CPSU policy is contrary to the interests of the world revolutionary movement. The entire policy of the CPSU, its practical activities on the world scene and in the world communist movement are intended to stimulate the world revolutionary process, to consolidate the anti-imperialist and all progressive forces, to enable the cause of liberty, independence and social progress to triumph.

“From the very first, the Soviet Union has extended its sincere internationalist support to all peoples struggling against capitalist and imperialist oppression. The Soviet Union is a faithful ally and staunch supporter of the Chinese people in their struggle for liberty and national independence.

“Our Party,” concludes *Rabotnichesko Delo*, “has glorious, time-proven traditions in the struggle for the triumph of socialism. Founded by Dimitr Blagoyev, it has always been true to revolutionary class principles, intolerant of enemies of the proletariat, of the foul tricks of

the bourgeoisie and its ideologists. Throughout its revolutionary activity it invariably sought support in Marxist revolutionary teaching, consistently applying it as a vital force.

"Today Bulgarian Communists consider it their prime international duty to exert every effort to strengthen the unity of the world communist movement, to consolidate the world socialist community on the basis of the jointly elaborated general line."

WE AND CHINA

by *Mario Alicata*

On September 25, the newspaper *L'Unita* published an article named "We and China" by Mario Alicata, member of the Political Bureau of the Communist Party of Italy and director of the paper.

"Analysing the present situation in China," he writes, "it is absolutely essential to consider 'objective conditions' and 'characteristic national features,' as well as aggressive US policy which, "ultimately, was bound to arouse suspicion and doubts about the selfsame 'peaceful coexistence' whose principles China first helped to outline.

"It is common knowledge," continues Alicata, "that in the way the USSR and other socialist countries proceeded with their just struggle for peaceful coexistence, there was no lack, if not of genuine errors, then at least of theoretical approximation and practical inaccuracies, which doubtlessly could not help to remove this suspicion and these doubts.

Further Alicata remarks that, nevertheless, "there is always the problem of decisions which may prove to be correct or erroneous." "Today, more than ever, we are convinced that in adopting these decisions China has committed gross errors both in principle and in policy.

The author notes that the policy conducted by Mao Tse-tung and Lin Piao "is known to be designed (in all probability in order to 'camouflage' the failure of China's attempt to assert its hegemony not only over the communist and working-class movement, but also over the revolutionary movement in Asia, Africa and Latin America) as a further step in aggravating relations with

the USSR as well as other socialist countries and the entire international communist and working-class movement, and at the same time to put a maximum effort into activities to alter class relations existing in China.'

"Yet with regard to the latter," Alicata continues, "they are doubtlessly most obscure. Indeed, all that is clear is their initial anti-Marxist and anti-Leninist standpoint, to be rejected and condemned without hesitation, on certain problems of ideological struggle, e. g., such issues as the relationship between a socialist revolution and the cultural heritage and intelligentsia. But what, exactly, is the class essence of their 'cultural revolution'? Here everything becomes far less understandable. This is because, on the one hand, there are pronouncements by Mao Tse-tung and particularly Lin Piao against remnants of the bourgeoisie, against wide sections of petty bourgeoisie, against the dangers of 'revisionism' and 'revival of capitalism' (the last phrase, however, sounds rather ambiguous, since it has long been employed to characterise the situation which has allegedly developed in the USSR and other socialist countries). On the other hand, however, it is indisputable that the 'cultural revolution' is resisted by wide sections of the workers and peasants and, still more significantly, that the role of the main driving force in the 'cultural revolution' is obviously reposed in a movement (the 'Red Guards') created outside the Party and Young Communist League and consisting, mainly, not of workers and peasants, but of students, often acting against legal Party organisations.

"Doubtlessly, the situation is not made any clearer by the fact," continues Alicata, "that the ideological basis of the 'cultural revolution' is formed, apparently, of nationalistic concepts carried to the extreme, of which there was never a lack (and this, in a certain sense, is easy to understand) in the Chinese revolutionary movement, and the increasingly unbridled Mao Tse-tung personality cult, so that, for example, the term 'Maoism' is gradually ousting the terms 'Marxism' and 'Leninism' in defining the ideas that inspire the authors of the 'cultural revolution'.

"Such a situation cannot but cause grave concern among us, Communists, as well as all civilized people and all oppressed nations and classes, who at one time greeted the Chinese revolution, the downfall of the colo-

nial and semi-feudal régime in one of the greatest countries of Asia and the whole world, as an event of major historic purport. But concern alone will not suffice. It is imperative to prevent imperialism from exploiting this situation to further its dirty intrigues, particularly in Vietnam and throughout Asia, as well as elsewhere, to continue its multiple manoeuvres, utilising the split of anti-imperialist forces and the internal crisis, the period of internal ferment which China is experiencing at present.

"Thus, all other socialist countries, all Workers' and Communist Parties and revolutionary forces, all anti-imperialist and peace-loving forces are faced with a still greater responsibility. The same responsibility confronts the working class and democratic public of the imperialist and capitalist countries that support the US aggressive policy. Today, therefore, more than at any other time, we must work for the unity of the international communist and working-class movement, for active solidarity with the Vietnamese people. Still more resolutely we must fight for world peace and, consequently, for isolation of the imperialist aggressors, to compel them to recognise unconditionally the rights and international status of the Chinese People's Republic, and to force them to begin negotiations founded on recognition of the Geneva Agreements as a basis for solving the problem of Vietnam and South-East Asia, and not (as apparent, for example, in the latest American proposals submitted to the United Nations) founded on an attempt to reassert the non-existent right of the USA to intervene in the home affairs of the Vietnamese people.

"Never before," concludes Alicata, "has the indivisible struggle against imperialism for peace been so closely bound with the interests of the overwhelming majority of mankind and hence the Chinese people as well. Never before have we stood in such need of genuine (and not verbal) revolutionary passion for carrying on the struggle."

THE "GREAT SOCIALIST CULTURAL REVOLUTION" IN CHINA

by Kristina Nurdgren-Ra

The world has of late been flooded with the most sensational dispatches and reports making people ponder whither China is marching. Now, seventeen years after the country's liberation, China is living through the most difficult crisis in her home policy, which the Party, Government and army are trying to overcome with the help of the so-called great socialist cultural revolution.

China has already twice experienced such crises: in 1952 and in 1957, but never before has the crisis been so all-embracing and astounding to the outer world as the present one. In 1957 the campaign under the slogan: "May a Hundred Flowers Bloom" was unexpectedly turned into a "struggle against right-wing revisionists"; this led to the political and ideological *volte-face* which we have been witnessing for the last ten years, although, it was relatively painless.

In 1959 for the first time the whole world saw the strong opposition group in the Party led by the then Defence Minister Peng Teh-huai and Chen Yun (Party economic adviser who was against the setting up of people's communes) make its last attempt to prevent a final break with the Soviet Union and the international communist movement. After a stormy session of the Central Committee in 1959 both these leaders have been labelled "revisionists," and disappeared from the political scene.

After that everything seemed quiet, but we know now that it was not so.

Military Ideas

Marshal Lin Piao, Peng Teh-huai's successor, has never been able to secure the complete support of the army leadership. He propounds Mao's concept of a "popular war" and the thesis that the war outcome depends upon soldiers and not weapons, therefore the Chinese Army need not be armed with the most up-to-date weapons. Bayonets are just enough. Other marshals and generals, however, continued to insist on supplying the Army with atomic and rocket weapons. One of the most active persons in the opposition was Lo Jui-tsing, head of the security police. Last March he wrote an article stating that China must seriously consider the possibility of a major war taking into consideration and emphasising (using quotations from Mao) "the significance of unity of the socialist camp." He even went so far as to refer to the Soviet-German Treaty of 1939. Since then his name has no longer been mentioned, and after the 11th Plenum of the Party's Central Committee last August (the first in the last four years) it became clear that he had been dismissed.

Bitter Struggle

But discontent with the present course is not confined to the army. During the past week I have been reading everything important that has been written about the "cultural revolution" since April 18, when the newspaper of the People's Liberation Army launched the campaign by publishing an article saying that the army as "the most loyal instrument of the Party" intends to unmask "all bourgeois intellectuals" who oppose Mao's ideas. This article was inspired by Defence Minister Lin Piao who has now joined the Party leadership. Since August 12 he has been Mao's closest associate while Liu Shao-tsi has been demoted to eighth place.

It is clear from the above article that a bitter struggle in the ideological and cultural sphere has been waged since the August 1962 Plenum of the Central Committee. The paper wrote it was necessary to launch a general offensive to enable the cultural revolution to ultimately triumph. This general offensive was started early in May and reached a climax about August 20, when the "Red Guards" took over in all the big cities of China.

Shakespeare, Monuments and Dark Glasses Banned

The turn of events is known to all. The "Red Guards" consisting of teenagers clad in a military-looking form with red arm-bands have of late, as *Jenmin Jihpao* put it, swept away everything inherited from the class structures of the past and broken ties with China's age-old culture. Foreign and Chinese classical writers from Shakespeare, Balzac and Tolstoi to Lu Sin are banned. Beethoven, that "spokesman of the reactionary theory of mankind," and other classical composers have been cursed and anathematised. Book-shops are empty, only Mao's works are on sale. (A new edition of his works running into 35 million copies is to be published.) Peking's famous shops no longer sell traditional pictures in Indian ink, only Mao's portraits. Reading-rooms in parks are used for reading Mao's works aloud. The growing personality cult is acquiring ridiculous forms; the notorious swim of Chairman Mao hardly needs any comment now.

Enormous Book Purchases

On August 15, *Jenmin Jihpao* wrote that "on August 12th almost 120,000 revolutionary teachers and students of Peking higher and technical schools bought new editions of the first and third volumes of Mao Tse-tung's selected works. This bright sunny morning," the paper went on, "the Hsinhua book-shop personnel arranged the delivery of books to 40 higher and technical schools in the city. When the lorries decorated with fir-tree branches and loaded with Mao's books drove through the schools' gates they were immediately surrounded by revolutionary teachers and students. One happy group started to sing 'The East Becoming Red,' another chanted the song 'I Like Chairman Mao's Works Most of All.' All shouted 'Hurrah' and 'Long Live Chairman Mao.' They carried big portraits of their great leader, beat drums, shot rockets into the air and waved hands with garlands of flowers..."

The "black list" of banned "capitalist" goods includes perfumes and cosmetics (which are only for the bourgeoisie and handsome people), toy-bells, children's handbags, various decorative articles, western costumes, coffins, certain samples of furniture, dark glasses, pointed shoes and many other items.

Hsiafang, Laotung

The "cultural revolution" has not just started. It has been going on for a number of years and actually began in 1957 when China decided to go her own way. It was then that persecution of intellectuals began. In 1957 a law was introduced under which any person, be he professor or student, chief engineer or technician, can be "selected" to be sent to the village in order to work there among the peasants. This is called "hsiafang" (to go below). In March, 1964, about 7,700 people were sent to the village from Peking alone, and in August, 1965, the number of those "exiled to rural areas" increased by several thousand. These technicians, scientists and other professional people can no longer work in their specialities but must do the job of ordinary workers and peasants in the most out-of-the-way, poorest provinces. No one knows when they will be able, if at all, return to their cities. In October, 1965, somewhere in the vicinity of 125,100 residents of Peking left the city, "their eyes full of joy," as *Peitsin Jihpao* wrote. At present all schools of higher learning are closed and 14 million students are working in the villages.

Apart from that, there is another legalised system of bringing pressure to bear on intellectuals. It is called "laotung," which means "labour." Each year all intellectuals, irrespective of their positions, must do manual labour for at least a month. For example, an editor works as compositor in a printing-shop, an engineer takes the job of painter, and a professor drives a trolley. Such a system is based on the premise that only physical labour makes man "proletarian" and that the difference between manual and mental labour can be eliminated by giving intellectuals an opportunity to do manual labour. Consequently, intellectuals are always under heavy pressure due to "hsiafang" and "laotung" and can do nothing about it.

The question arises as to whether China can get along without specialists of her own. Yes, she can, for, according to Mao Tse-tung's theory, politics should be given top priority. The People's Liberation Army newspaper wrote on August 21, 1966: "We can be victorious in the material struggle only after winning the ideologic-

al struggle. We must never concentrate on material values, like revisionist countries. If we do it will inevitably lead to the restoration of capitalism." Further the article claimed that "revolution in the ideological sphere precedes revolution in the material sphere." In other words, Marxist theory has been turned upside-down by the Chinese.

What Opposition Wanted

From polemics in the newspapers one can learn the opposition's viewpoint. The above-mentioned article in the army paper makes a note of "certain people" who wrote about "average character" and love. The article criticises Chinese classics, foreign literature and the arts. "We must overcome blind respect for them," the paper wrote. It pointed to last year's reform of the Peking opera which now stages only revolutionary drama. But "some people" defend the classical heritage because it is a source of "foreign currency," because "one cannot go abroad with revolutionary works." Certain critics are also criticised in the article. "Some persons reproached us for simplifying and vulgarising matters and for literature which smells of powder smoke."

On May 4, the paper published new revealing details. The polemics not only "concern" certain articles, plays or films," "the cultural revolution is an acute class struggle, a prolonged struggle to determine the ideological winner: the proletariat or the bourgeoisie." This can be seen from the series of allegorical stories written by three leading Party workers, Wu Han, Teng To and Liao Mo-sha, under the pen-name of Hsiang Yang-shen and published in *Peitsin Jihpao*, *Frontlinjen* and *Peitsan vanpao* in 1961-62. They refer to historical events but directly deal with the present situation in China. These stories have become very popular throughout the country.

On the 16th of April, 1966, they were still defending their views, and now they are dismissed and the papers closed. Two old comrades of Mao Tse-tung, the Mayor of Peking Penh Cheng and the Minister of Culture Lyu Tin-yi were also dismissed from the leadership. The paper has gone so far as to claim that bourgeois elements have organised something like the "Pötefi Club" which existed in Hungary on the eve of the counter-revolutionary rebel-

lion and went on to say "it is better to be the hammer than the anvil." "We must never think that the vicious attack against us launched by a handful of revisionists and bourgeois elements is simply a prepared rebellion and nothing more." "There is a danger of undermining the very foundations of our socialism and changing the colour of our country."

Graphic Description

The situation could hardly have been described better than the picture presented by the newspaper. The opposition declared that the general line ("big leap forward") "had failed," causing popular discontent. The opposition criticised the Party for "having lost all its friends" and for the fact that "difficulties were mounting instead of diminishing" in China. The Chinese Party practice of using "jargons" and attaching "labels" to make people suffer from "amnesia" was another subject of criticism by opposition.

The opposition called on the Party "to renounce its course" and "to stand on the firm ground." All this can be read in the leading newspapers. If all these separate accusations are put together the picture will become quite clear. The group which has now been "swept away" wanted China to return to the policy pursued before 1957, to come closer to the Soviet Union and reject the adventurist course. The great cultural revolution was the Party leadership and the army's answer to these "laughing tigers." In this campaign the most vicious accusations are hurled against the "Soviet revisionists," who are now greater enemies than the American imperialists. For "the enemy within one's own ranks is much worse than the outside enemy."

The Plenary Meeting of the Central Committee that ended on August 11 mapped out the lines along which the struggle against the opposition will proceed. The people are divided into four groups: "good, relatively good, those who have committed serious errors but have not become right-wing revisionists and 'right-wing revisionists.'" The struggle is now aimed at "winning over the majority of the people (95 per cent) and isolating the right-wing elements." An article in *Jenmin Jihpao* several

days ago called on workers and peasants not to interfere with the "Red Guards'" activities "inasmuch as you are unfamiliar with the foundations of the revolution." Confusion and opposition are reigning among the broad masses. Proof of this is the ten Red Guardsmen killed in Peking streets. Is not the "great cultural revolution" the last manoeuvre to salvage the Party's present course before it becomes completely bankrupt?

(*Ny Dag*, September 30, 1966)

"NOVA MYSL" ON EVENTS IN CHINA

In its October issue the magazine *Nova Mysl*, theoretical and political organ of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia, published an article on current events in China.

"During the last two years," it says, "relationships between the world communist movement and the Communist Party of China have taken an unprecedented turn. In reply to the appeal of the fraternal Parties, and the Soviet Communist Party in particular, for the Chinese Party to join in united action against the military crimes of imperialism, China heaps invectives on our Parties and refuses to cooperate.

"Beginning with the summer of 1966, the Communist Parties of all continents have published statement upon statement expressing grave concern at the latest events in China and their harmful international consequences. The root cause, according to *Nova Mysl*, is the drastic changes in the Chinese political situation, in the role of the Party, the methods employed by its leaders to effect their policy and the attitude of the CPC towards the world communist movement. With growing rapidity, the CPC leaders are moving away from Marxism-Leninism and hence from the very aims and essence of socialist revolution. The process has reached a point where other Communist Parties cannot remain indifferent. The pseudo-radical manifestations and eccentricities displayed by the Chinese leaders are exploited by world reaction to attack the world communist movement.

"By early August 1966, when the 11th Plenary Meeting of the CC CPC under Mao Tse-tung's chairmanship adopted its decision on the 'great proletarian cultural rev-

olution,' the campaign so christened was already well under way. Convened for the first time in four years, the Plenary Meeting of the CC CPC merely sanctioned the far-reaching measures against Party committees, schools and whole population groups which had been initiated by army periodicals instead of the Party press, measures that result in chaos throughout the country. Interminable 'exposures' of opponents of the current policy and, incidentally, of those who lag behind others in their ardour of personality worship, have gone on for a number of years. But as of now, the movement has culminated in a universal frenzy of pogroms: groups of adolescents oust and manhandle the secretaries of provincial Party committees, trample on civil rights, etc. The wholesale outrages against the Party and its members encouraged by the CC CPC, like earlier purges in higher educational institutions which affected only Party workers and not bourgeois lecturers, prove that the events on hand have nothing to do with a cultural, much less proletarian revolution, but manifest a clash of opposing trends in the Communist Party and Chinese life in general.

"While at the outset, the workers, peasants and soldiers were considered the model culture-creating force, schoolchildren are now declared to be the principal promoters of the 'great proletarian cultural revolution,' to the total exclusion of the class-differentiating approach so essential in ideological and cultural issues.

"In this respect it is opportune to recall the peculiar regularity in modern China with which the voluntarist slogan of skipping stages followed by artificial 'aggravation of the class struggle' and unprincipled attempts to rally the population on a nationalist basis invariably gives way to adventurist radical proclamations when the failure of a current 'leap' causes loss of public faith.

"It is quite clear," the magazine writes, "that the 'cultural revolution' is nothing more than a veil camouflaging the forceful implementation of adventurist policies sponsored by the CPC, policies which, as assumed by the authors themselves, must sooner or later come up against inevitable resistance, primarily, on the part of experienced Party cadres from the working class.

"This 'cultural revolution,' conducted in the form of a pogrom-like campaign, is incapable of achieving even

partial results in the cultural field. New socialist culture, which should merit popular acclaim by its profundity of ideas and consistent revolutionary humanism, cannot be replaced by the pillory and unrestrained excesses. A Party organising an anti-cultural campaign with no hint at class differentiation, inevitably finds itself isolated, rendering effective service to bourgeois propaganda by providing material for slanderous attacks against other Communist Parties as well. Today, when it is particularly vital to draw the widest sectors of the world public into the struggle against imperialism, the fallacious activities of one Communist Party discourage many honest people from wanting to act in a united anti-imperialist front. Consequently, aggressive circles of US imperialism find it easier to divert world opinion from their criminal activities in Vietnam.

"However, the Chinese leadership," the magazine emphasises, "not only reconciles itself to such isolation—an outcome of non-Marxist, sectarian policy—but proclaims it as their permanent programme despite the escalation of the US-conducted war against the Vietnamese people, and, what is more, in defiance of the CPSU and the Soviet Union—the birthplace of Leninism and the world revolution, the greatest stronghold of freedom and socialism in Vietnam and throughout the world.

"The Chinese leaders express their wish to 'unite with all peoples of the world' except the very people that helped them to win victory, with whom they can defy imperialist aggression and which, more than any other people, assist fighting Vietnam. Such a policy represents nothing but a new upsurge of great-power chauvinism and thirst for hegemony.

"Thus, anti-Sovietism, fostered among the 'Red Guards' as an ideological weapon in their drive against workers, peasants and Party workers, constitutes a component part of the current 'great proletarian cultural revolution.'

"The Chinese leaders approach international problems, and their relationship with the world Communist movement from the same non-class conceptions manifested in the 'cultural revolution,' wrongfully called proletarian. They make no secret of their intention to spread these anti-cultural atrocities and anti-Soviet provocations to other parts of the world.

"The provocations against the USSR which went on for several days in Peking offered a regrettable display of the moral outlook of the organisers. Disgraceful acts which they dared not attempt even against diplomatic representatives of imperialist countries, including those participating in the US war against Vietnam, were perpetrated with mass hysteria against the world's first land of socialism, now rendering the greatest aid to the Vietnamese people.

"The Communique of the 11th Plenary Meeting of the CC CPC expounds on the development of revolutionary movements primarily in Asia, Africa and Latin America, evading by such already well-known subterfuges the decisive role of the international working class.

"Not a single country or Communist Party can turn a blind eye to the mounting and ultimately decisive role of the working class, whose historic mission is to direct, organise and effect the eradication of class society and the construction of a classless communist society in its place. No kind of hysterical campaign, no manner of retreat from Marxism-Leninism under any guise whatsoever can violate the objective requirements and laws of historical development."

(*Pravda*, October 14, 1966)

