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(MARXIST-LENINIST YOUTH AND STUDENTS MOVEMENT)

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The Canadian Internationalist is the theoretical organ of the Canadian Internationalists, (Marxist-Leninist Youth and Student Movement). We invite comments and criticism and we encourage all progressive people to share their experiences with us in order to develop the correct guidelines for the youth and student movement: These should be sent to:

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TASKS OF THE REVOLUTIONARY STUDENTS

[The Internationalists developed as a student movement at U.B.C., Vancouver, in 1963 when the universities in Canada were arrogantly perpetuating imperialist education which to Canadian students meant (1) glorification of western imperialist countries and docility towards U.S. imperialism, (2) a rat-race to get a "meal ticket" by confounding right and wrong and by obediently following fascist rules and regulations garbed under "academic standards" and (3) following the line of self-satisfaction and self-realization without paying attention to the working and oppressed people, but by becoming willing tools of the docile Canadian bourgeoisie. In short, in the name of "Canada is a free country," reactionary nationalism, careerism, and bourgeois individualism were forced upon students through the decadent imperialist education. What would a progressive student do in order to change this situation? To ally with the working class and oppressed masses and unite under working class ideology and party in order to seize state power from the hands of the Canadian bourgeoisie by defeating U.S. imperialism and establishing the dictatorship of the proletariat. But what will be the concrete guidelines to achieve this strategic goal? There are two lines which were prevalent at U.B.C: (1) Raise single issues - mainly bourgeois humanist slogans, e.g., Peace, Nuclear Disarmament, Fair Play for Cuba, etc. - and mobilise support on these. (2) Organise students on the fundamental level in a comprehensive manner, i.e., by analysing how does imperialism oppress the students in its peculiarity or particularity and then developing concrete slogans to mobilise the students. While it was important to take stands on the questions of Peace, Nuclear Disarmament, and Cuba, it was counter-revolutionary to emphasize only this side of the whole problem. Student issues were correctly raised in order to develop the political consciousness of the students and mobilise them against imperialism. This approach will not give any dramatic results but will achieve what is strategically necessary, i.e., mobilise

students against U.S. imperialism, in a consolidated manner.

[The first line was followed by the pacifists, revisionists, and Trotskyites, including certain sections of the social democrats. The pacifists were represented by the Nuclear Disarmament Club, the revisionists by the "Communist Club" and the Trotskyites and other social democrats by the "N.D.P. Club".

[The second line was taken by the Internationalists. The Internationalists correctly analysed that there "was no academic dialogue on the campus" and that various issues were drowned in reactionary rhetoric. The first task, therefore, was to open a discussion on western philosophical tradition, to encourage discussion based on facts, and to mobilise students against the reactionary Student Council. In a brief period of less than two years, the Internationalists organized various symposia, especially the one on Russia, China and the West, in the summer of 1964 (it was in this symposium that Comrade Bains exposed Nigel Morgan, the revisionist chieftain in B.C. and his bogus line on Peaceful Coexistence), organised the B.C. Students Federation, condemned the U.S. invasion of North Vietnam (Tonkin incident), and almost dislodged the reactionary student council in the winter of February 1965.

[Since 1963, the two lines have developed in a consistent manner and polarisation has taken place. In 1969, the Internationalists who started in Vancouver as a mere discussion group and a rallying point against reactionary student councils as well as against single issue organisations, have become the Marxist-Leninist Youth and Student Movement with support all over Canada and Quebec. The pacifists, revisionists, and Trotskyites including other social democrats have further degenerated into open bourgeois trends surviving on the mercy of the ruling circles, careerists, sectarians of various hues

and colours, fascists and bourgeois subjectivists. The attempts to organise under the bogeys of "End the War in Vietnam", "Canadian Independence," "Peace," and "Workers' Control" are not a "concrete analysis of concrete conditions," but a last ditch attempt to save themselves from political extinction.

[At this important juncture in the historic fight against imperialism and all systems of exploitation, students in Canada are joining their brothers all over the world. Youth and students in Germany, France, Britain, Ireland, Sweden, Spain, Turkey, Quebec, Canada, U.S., Brazil Mexico, India, Japan, Pakistan and many other countries all over the world have courageously risen. They have risen against the decadent educational system, against fascism, against systems of exploitation and against the U.S. aggression in Vietnam. They have risen against the concrete conditions in their own countries as well as in solidarity with the struggles of other oppressed nations and oppressed peoples. A mighty storm of peoples' struggles is raging all over the world.

[It is very important for the anti-imperialist student movement in Canada to properly analyse the internal conditions which are the basis of discontent among the students, and to expose those who build movements based on imported analysis. For example, these agents of foreign analysis always emphasize the struggles outside Canada and refuse to undertake "concrete analysis of concrete conditions" but attempt to mislead the students. There is a breed of such people in North America who move from east to west north to south, spreading news about "exciting developments" which are said to be taking place in other parts of the continent. We have experienced ideologues from Berkley, Columbia, and other "exciting" places attacking various Canadian universities; they have done their bit in the service of U.S. imperialism. Sociology departments are full of this breed. By analysing our own conditions and looking into the history of the student movement in Canada, we can form a united front against these agents.

This article is the first in a series which will analyse the student movements in historical context and will expose the erroneous lines that have come up. This article is the general analysis, and deals with the various groups currently existing on the Canadian campuses; what is their historical origin and whose interests do they serve?]

Our task is to build a mass anti-imperialist youth and student movement with the broadest possible base. The reason for so doing is simple and clear: U.S. imperialism, the number one enemy of the Canadian people as well as of the whole world including the American people, controls more than 70% of manufacturing in Canada, more than 80% of our natural resources and controls all of the culture, in ideological form, in art and literature forms, and social forms as well as the other parts of the superstructure. We have a lackey government in Canada headed by a sophisticated agent and millionaire, Trudeau; there are U.S. military bases in Canada; mass media and educational institutions are in the hands of the U.S. It is because of U.S. economic exploitation of our country that the political and cultural fronts are also U.S. controlled. To defeat one we must defeat the other. Our oppression then, is not linked to some oppressive rules and regulations in themselves but these are only the reflection of the root-cause, i.e. U.S. imperialism. But U.S. imperialism cannot be defeated overnight, nor through action without analysis but by a consistent and protracted struggle based on concrete analysis of concrete conditions. Thus in order to defeat U.S. imperialism, we must analyse the existing material conditions in themselves and historically and develop correct guidelines for action.

The anti-imperialist struggle in Canada, in the main, has been led by the 'peace' movement up until the start of the Internationalists in 1963. The salient features of the 'peace' movement are as follows:

1. Based on single issues.
2. Imperialism is considered to be too strong and the people too weak. People should give up all struggle and become servile tools of the

imperialists so that 'peace' can be preserved. They oppose anyone who calls for peace based on the destruction of U.S. imperialism and all forms of exploitation.

3. Promotion of sexuality, drunkenness and drugs as the ultimate goals of life. This is based on egocentrism, bourgeois individualism and 'individual freedom'.

This "peace" movement developed into "social action" groups, civil rights for the Afro-Americans, the anti-Vietnam War movement, the university reform movement and is at a standstill at the present time.

These "movements" were based on a "feeling" and strongly advocate "action without analysis" and consider that the problem is out there somewhere.

In opposition to this line is the line based on struggle, struggle against U.S. imperialism on all levels. This line is put forward by the Canadian Internationalists. The salient features of this line are:

1. It is based on a comprehensive analysis of the society. All issues are raised in the context of the general struggle against imperialism.

2. U.S. imperialism is weak and is riddled with irreconcilable contradictions. People must not give up struggle, instead they must work for the defeat of U.S. imperialism and its accomplice, Modern Soviet Revisionism and all systems of exploitation, before real peace can be achieved.

3. We must combat bourgeois hang-ups like sexuality, drunkenness, and drug taking, and wage a resolute struggle against its basis, i.e., egocentrism, bourgeois individualism and "individual freedom", which is the product of the imperialist system.

The Internationalists developed from an "informal discussion group" in 1963 to a "centre-left" organisation based on opposition to imperialism in 1966, anti-imperialist youth and student movement in August 1967 and Marxist-Leninist youth and student movement in 1968. (For a complete analysis, read: Historical Analysis of the Internationalists -- Necessity For Change Conference Resolution and One Struggle - Two Enemies - Three Guidelines and Four Levels of

Work).

Our movement is based on concrete analysis and not a feeling. We always advocated "Action with Analysis". We advocated that the problem is right here in Canada and called for the defeat of U.S. imperialism in Canada.

The two lines, in short, are 1. Organisations based on a single issues and 2. Organisations based on a comprehensive analysis of the society.

At the present time, as before, but on a much sharper and clearer level, a fierce struggle is going on between the two lines. The first line is taking its refuge in slander and malignment of Marxism-Leninism, Mao Tse-tung's thought as a guide to action, supporting anarchy in thinking and theoretical opportunism, and is uniting reaction against the progressive forces. The second line takes Marxism-Leninism, Mao Tse-tung's thought as a guide to action in the practice of the anti-imperialist struggle in Canada. For the first time in the history of the Canadian student movement, this polarisation is taking place in a comprehensive form. It is our responsibility to reveal the historical roots of the two lines. For the first time in the history of the Canadian student movement, we have the consolidation of the Marxist-Leninist Youth and Student Movement and also for the first time we have the "peace liners" in disarray, in search of ideology and issues which can save them from their political extinction.

We have seen a tremendous rise in militancy in the Canadian student movement during the last decade but this militancy has always been dissipated because of the lack of guidance from the Marxist-Leninist party and because the student militancy remained detached and isolated from the broad masses of the people. For the first time in the history of the Canadian student movement, we see the Marxist-Leninist leadership providing guidance and the militancy of the students linked with the broad masses of the people. It is because of this reason, that the "peace liners" are in disarray and are desperately looking for a flimsy straw to evade their political extinction.

Can we organize the Canadian student movement without the leadership of Marxist-Leninists who follow Mao Tse-tung's thought in a creative and all-sided manner? The history of our movement has concretely answered: No. Can we organize the Canadian student movement detached and isolated from the struggles of the broad masses of the people? The history of our movement has concretely answered: No. Thus whoever advocates opposition to Marxist-Leninist leadership and isolation from the broad masses of the people is our enemy and not our friend. This does not mean that we will refrain from doing mass work and propaganda amongst the masses about our line and give up struggle by saying that we have got "Marxism-Leninism" and whoever wants it can join us. On the contrary, Marxism-Leninism teaches us that struggle is the essence of all material activity, things do not remain static; the quality of a thing is unfolded in struggle. Thus those who may be misled by reactionary propaganda against communism and stand against the Marxist-Leninist leadership will soon find out through practice that Marxist-Leninist theory alone can guide us to the solution of the various problems. On the other hand, many "Marxist-Leninists" who shout their loyalty to the proletarian revolution today may turn out to be our worst enemies. Thus, struggle is the essence of all our work. Unity is only transitory and relative. Thus when we say that "whoever advocates opposition to Marxist Leninist leadership and isolation from the broad masses of the people is our enemy", we mean that the person is temporarily confused and misled by reactionary ideas and we must struggle with these groups.

The politics of the university is the reflection of the politics of the society. Various political groupings in the university reflect the existence of the same groups in the society. Thus the politics of the university is the same as of the society but has its own peculiarities because of the function it serves in the imperialist-dominated society. As the bourgeois parties do their best to win over the large majority of students to their side and convert educational institutions into an arena where fierce class struggle takes place all the time, so also the party of the proletariat lays great emphasis on building its own stronghold in the universities. The Marxist-

Leninist students have a two-fold role:

1. To deal with the problems of the students and win them over to the side of the anti-imperialist struggle, and
2. To do work for the Marxist-Leninist party, i.e. to act as the instruments of propaganda for the Marxist-Leninist party and be the reserve for the recruitment of new cadre for the Marxist Leninist party.

The two roles are inter-linked. Without participating in the solution of the problems of the students, links with the broad masses of the students cannot be forged and their confidence cannot be won over--they will not respond to the ideological guidance and will remain aloof from the working and oppressed people's struggles. But the problems of the students cannot be solved without the creative application of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tse-tung's thought. While the progressive students are willing to come under revolutionary discipline and welcome Marxist-Leninist leadership, at the same time, they will not support and sympathise with a detached, isolated and dogmatic group. Thus the task of the progressive students is to disseminate Marxist-Leninist ideas by linking themselves with the student struggles. The Marxist-Leninist must not hide himself behind some facade and allow his opinions to be shelved. A Marxist-Leninist must also not hide behind metaphysical assumptions and fail to deal with the concrete problems of the people.

The experience of the last decade of student struggles in Canada has shown that all movements which based themselves on "external issues" or "single issues" like Vietnam failed to mobilise and consolidate the majority of the students. It has been shown time and time again that as the basis for change is internal, a movement which engages in dealing with those problems which concern the everyday lives of the people successfully wins over the confidence of the people. Such a movement will, at no time, be destroyed. External conditions are also very important to grasp while making programmes and policies because each cell or organism of the society reflects the internal as well as the external contradictions of the society. In Canada, while the Vietnam issue is one of the external

manifestations of the imperialist aggression and exploitation, it will fail to mobilise the masses in an anti-imperialist struggle if it is not linked to the internal conditions. In fact, we must fully understand that our anti-imperialist movement is in solidarity with the people of Vietnam if we ourselves are engaged in mass anti-imperialist struggles right here in Canada. If we do not have a movement here and we attempt to build an anti-imperialist movement on the basis of Vietnam, or other such issues, we will remain one-sided in our approach and will not be able to serve the interests of the broad masses of the people.

The contemporary history of student struggles in Canada can be divided into the period before 1963, that from 1963-1968, and the present period. During these periods we find definite political alignments and changes taking place on the Canadian campus. Prior to 1963, the political scene on the campus was dominated by:

1. fraternities
2. undergraduate societies and other social clubs
3. "left" consisting of people organised on Peace issues and
4. a very small minority organised on a genuinely anti-imperialist basis.

Liberals, social democrats and Conservatives dominated the fraternities as well as the student councils, which meant that the bourgeois parties were in tight control of student politics. While the bourgeois parties fought with each other on "student issues," the mainstream politics of the students, the "left", was completely isolated and concentrated on "bigger and important" issues like "Peace and Nuclear Disarmament", "Fair Play for Cuba," etc. The genuinely anti-imperialist movement was weak but was struggling to become a mainstream movement.

During the next four years, polarisation was taking place between the first three groups, (which, in essence, were one in the first place), and the very small genuinely anti-imperialist movement. All the bourgeois parties, peaceniks and such-like formed one aspect of the student movement, to the right of which is overt fascism, to the left of which are the liberal bourgeois. The genuinely anti-imperialist movement was led by the Internationalists.

- In 1963-64 two important events occurred:
1. the Student Union for Peace Action was founded at Christmas time in Regina.
 2. the B.C. Student Federation was founded in October in Vancouver.

They developed as two opposite trends during the next four years. SUPA dissolved in 1967 to make way for other, more "progressive" organisations. The experience of the B.C. Student Federation gave rise to the Canadian Student Movement (CSM) in 1968. While the New Left the descendant of "peace" movements, controls various student councils across Canada and uses these resources to malign and attack the Canadian Student Movement, the CSM is gathering strength all over Canada and stands in opposition to all the bourgeois trends.

The period between 1963 and 1968 is very important to discuss and properly analyse. It is this period which exposes the two trends or two aspects which are in struggle in the student movement across Canada. Fraternities and student councils, long controlled by bourgeois parties with reactionary slogans are now being controlled through "progressive" slogans given by the new alliance of reaction. While, on the other hand the genuinely anti-imperialist movement is discriminated against and persecuted all over Canada.

So the politics in the university in 1969 will reflect the struggle between:

1. right-wing politics, which includes overt fascists, reactionaries, New Left types, Trotskyites and revisionists.
2. the genuinely anti-imperialist movement under the leadership of the Marxist-Leninists. Group 1 is divided into:
 1. overt fascists, die-hard anti-communists and racists. They do not believe that there should be any student movement; nonetheless they organise one against the "communists."
 2. student hacks and other careerists. They vacillate from anti-communism to accommodation with communism to supporter of communism; in short, whatever suits their purpose in a given period. They are also anti-communists and racists.
 3. social democrats of various hues and colours:

(a) Real Social Democrats - They advocate democratic socialism where workers and capitalists share equal benefits: and are strong supporters of the capitalist system.

(b) Trotskyites - Trotskyism was a trend in the working class in Russia before 1929 which opposed Leninism. Later on it degenerated into open cooperation with foreign imperialist powers and resorted to wrecking and murderous activities. They usually give ultra-left slogans, in order to obtain mass support for social democracy. In Canada, they advocate working within the NDP and do widespread propaganda for social democracy.

(c) Revisionists - Old Revisionists like Kautsky and Modern day Revisionists like Khrushchov are their ideologues. They have revised the basic Marxist principles in order to suit the interests of imperialism and advocate renunciation of struggle as a means of bringing about social revolution in the oppressed nations and peoples. They rigourously advocate improvement of the implements of production, the quality of labour and automation as a peaceful road to revolution. They do not advocate intensification of struggle against imperialism all over the world. Nor do they believe that the only way that the dictatorship of the proletariat can be established is through civil war against the bourgeoisie, their state apparatus and their economic base. They consider Pope Paul, the Kennedy family, U Thant, Rabbi Feinberg and such people as the pillars of "peace". Also they usually give appeals in their names to the masses for support. They call themselves "communists", but in fact, they are the opposite.

Apart from the above three kinds there are others who call themselves "revolutionaries". These are:

1. Those who categorise themselves "hippies", and those who consider hippies as the "revolutionary vanguard". These people advocate becoming "revolutionary" through, "doing one's own thing" through drugs, sexuality, bisexuality and other perversions.

2. Those who advocate that the mode of production in North America has changed. The quality of the implements has changed and with it, the quality of labour. This according to them, has a tremendous impact on the relations of produc-

tion. Thus the class which is going to be revolutionary has also changed. There are various lines as to who will now form the revolutionary class. It is very important to be conscious of two of these lines. Ideologues of one kind consider "Youth as a Class" as the basis of revolution. The other kind consider the well-educated and well-paid sections of the petty bourgeoisie to be transforming itself into the "New Working Class". The fact that this creation of "Youth as a Class" and the "New Working Class" is dependent on the "the changed mode of production" bestowed upon these "classes" the task of grave-diggers of imperialism. If you extend this argument to its logical conclusion, the dreamers of these theories claim that imperialism will be taken over by the petty bourgeoisie who will then assert dictatorship over the bourgeoisie as well as the working class. These people, like trotskyites and other social democrats are very loud-mouthed and are also supporters of the capitalist system.

3. Ideologues of the "Third World" line. These ideologues contend that the imperialist system will be destroyed through revolutions in the Asian African and Latin American countries and that even though class struggle has finished in the imperialist countries, the revolution will take place and imperialism will be defeated. Their line is to help the peasants in these countries by exporting modern technology and other know-how to them. They see no point in doing any political work in the imperialist countries.

4. The ideologues of the "affluent" line. According to these people, North America has become so affluent that there is no longer a struggle to make both ends meet, and the struggle is now for the 'quality of existence.' Self-realisation and self-satisfaction, eternal freedom, the usual dreams of the big bourgeoisie, are their dreams. They call themselves "radical Marxists" and various other names which may sound "progressive" and may have "revolutionary pretensions."

All the above groups pride themselves on "western culture," that is, imperialist culture. They are anti-communists, racists and elitists in all their political activities. They have contempt for mass work, and they discourage ideological struggle. They are self-centered and

support the bourgeois way of life. They are the worst defenders and apologists for imperialism.

In opposition to the alliance of fascists, student hacks and social democrats of various hues and colours are the following two categories of people

1. Genuinely progressive and anti-imperialist students. These students understand the basis of change, development and motion; they understand the relationship of superstructure to the economic base; they have grasped the role of consciousness in the development of history. They correlate the problems facing the Canadian students to the U.S. imperialist domination of Canada and they see the necessity for the liberation of Quebecois and other oppressed peoples, and oppressed nations. Because of the economic and political domination of Canada by the U.S. all culture serves imperialist economics and politics. They recognize the necessity for ideological struggles in the form of mass democracy meetings as an important step towards mobilising the mass of students against imperialism. This struggle is a political struggle and is geared towards seizing state power from the hands of the U.S. imperialists and their lackeys in Canada.

2. The genuine Marxist-Leninists. These people follow Mao Tse-tung's thought in a creative and all-sided manner and advocate seizing the state apparatus through armed struggle and establishing the dictatorship of the proletariat.

These two groups are anti-imperialist, advocating the propagation of anti-imperialist ideas through mass work in the process of solving "student issues" and are in strong opposition to the alliance of the fascists, student hacks and social democrats of various hues and colours.

In between the two warring groups are the large majority of students who are sincerely looking for an alternative. The history of student movement during the last decade has shown that wherever and whenever in Canada a genuinely anti-imperialist and progressive movement issued appeals for political action to the students the response was enthusiastic and militant. But the students have been continuously betrayed by the holy alliance. The two groups are waging fierce struggles to win over the student majority and

that is why whenever fascists, student hacks and social democrats of various hues and colours (the holy alliance) are threatened, the administration comes to their rescue.

Thus the arena of struggle is the student council and the goal is to win over the students to the anti-imperialist side. The holy alliance uses Student Councils to stop anti-imperialist struggle and keep the students bound to imperialism.

The class origin of the holy alliance as well as the genuinely anti-imperialist students, in the initial stages, is the same but with one fundamental difference, viz., while the holy alliance strives to win the students to the side of imperialism and betrays their struggles, runs rough shod over the genuinely anti-imperialist and progressive students, and supports imperialist economics, politics and culture, the genuinely anti-imperialist and progressive students do the opposite. As the struggle develops, more and more precipitation and polarisation takes place as has already occurred in some universities across Canada.

Those who stress the economic origin of the individual as the sole criterion of whether he is going to be revolutionary or not are all wrong!

The holy alliance in Canada, then, consists of the New Right, the Edmund Burke Society, the Communist Clubs (almost non-existent in many universities), the Young Socialists, Young Democrats, Radical Marxists, New Left types and "Marxist-Leninists" who consider that the New Left has "revolutionary potential."

The holy alliance is opposed by the Canadian Student Movement (mass anti-imperialist youth and student movement) and by Canadian Internationalists (Marxist-Leninist Youth and Student Movement).

Why do we consider "Communist clubs", Young Socialists, Young Democrats, Radical Marxists, New Left types and "Marxist-Leninists" who consider that the New Left has "revolutionary potential", as part of right-wing politics? Does this mean that anyone who belongs to these groups is counter-revolutionary, or

What to like and

"What to like and what to dislike" is the title of an article in the latest issue of 'Red Flag', the theoretical journal of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China.

It was written by Chao Kuo-hua, a member of the Workers Mao Tse-tung's thought propaganda team now at the Shanghai Foreign Languages Institute. The full text follows;

The first impression of many comrades in our workers Mao Tse-tung's thought propaganda team when we entered the Shanghai Foreign Languages Institute was one of dislike. What did we dislike? It was these things: as far as daily life went, the bourgeois intellectuals were always talking about food and clothes; when it came to study, they talked grandiloquently and with no relation to reality, they applied Marxism to others but liberalism to themselves; and they were free and easy about organizational discipline and did as they pleased.

The older workers shook their heads when they saw this and said: "We dislike it."

This is what certain people dislike.

Some intellectuals said: "The workers propaganda team stress class stand. Of course that's right. But sometimes they're too serious about small things," and "the workers propaganda team is very serious about the style of and discipline. That's right too. But when it comes to our concrete conditions, they're too rigid."

They express their views in a mild way but what they really mean is "We dislike it".

This is what certain other people dislike.

Chairman Mao teaches us: "In class society everyone lives as a member of a particular class, and every kind of thinking, without exception, is stamped with the brand of a class."

How a person sees any social phenomenon — whether he likes or dislikes — in the final analysis expresses his social and economic position, and is determined by his class stand. We workers dislike the bourgeois intellectuals style of work and the revisionist educational system. This shows that we have a firm proletarian stand.

The working class is boundlessly loyal to Chairman Mao, to Mao Tse-tung's thought and to Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line. How can we like the bourgeois style of work and the revisionist educational system that serve the bourgeois reactionary line? The working class is the most organized and has a high degree of revolutionary discipline and lofty communist ideals. How can we workers like a slipshod way of doing things, or people who say one thing but do another and who fly into a rage when the interests of their "independent kingdom" are threatened, because all these bad things result from the revisionist line dominating education and the poisonous influence of bourgeois ideology.

This shows that what the proletariat likes, the bourgeoisie dislikes and what the bourgeoisie likes, the proletariat naturally dislikes.

We can see that dislike is a manifestation behind which is the sharp struggle between the two classes, the proletariat and the bourgeoisie and between the two world outlooks, the proletarian and bourgeois.

What should be our attitude when we dislike something? There are three attitudes possible. One. We can shut our eyes and neither criticize nor struggle against it. Two. We can inveigh and give vent to our feelings. Three. We can take a hard look at it, analyze and criticize it with Mao Tse-tung's thought, and decide to fight with untiring efforts against repulsive bourgeois things and transform them.

The first attitude is the passive one of lib-

What to Dislike

eralism. With such an attitude, we cannot change the things we dislike. To the contrary, it is very likely that we would be transformed by the things we dislike and become captives of the bourgeoisie.

Chairman Mao teaches us: "The proletariat seeks to transform the world according to its own world outlook, and so does the bourgeoisie."

If we do not come to grips with things we dislike and fight against them, sooner or later we will surrender to the bourgeoisie. Here is a clear example. There was a student of poor peasant origin. When he first came to the Institute he disliked the ways of the bourgeois intellectuals. But he did not realize that this dislike involved a sharp class struggle, so he was not vigilant and therefore was unarmed ideologically. After a time, he began to like and admire what he had disliked. Soon he began to want clothes made of synthetic fabrics like others had and to feel uncomfortable about his own clothes of rough cloth. He tucked his old clothes away at the bottom of his trunk and began living in the way he formerly disliked. Isn't this vivid example a warning to comrades who take a passive attitude towards things they dislike?

As regards comrades who adopt the second attitude, their good intentions lead nowhere. They just react to what they dislike without getting to the heart of the matter, and so they do not develop the correct method for solving problems. Chairman Mao teaches us to analyze everything with the attitude of seeking truth of facts. He says: "facts" are all the things that exist objectively, "truth" means their internal relations, that is, the laws governing them, and "to seek" means to study." There are different categories of intellectuals. A small number fall into the category of contradictions between ourselves and the enemy, while the vast majority fall into the category of contradictions among the people. The majority or the vast are willing to make progress and to remould themselves and can be remoulded. This is an

objective fact. The bourgeois ideology and style of work of some intellectuals which the working class dislikes come as a result of the poisonous influence of the revisionist line in education. Therefore, we must conscientiously investigate and analyze the masses of the intellectuals, undertake deep and careful ideological and political work among them and organize thoroughgoing revolutionary mass repudiation. In this way we can unite the vast majority to hit at the handful. As regards the very small number of bad elements, we should also make deep investigations and studies, so as to accumulate sufficient material for mounting effective attacks. Inveighing against counter-revolutionaries in general will not hit the mark; on the contrary this might give the enemy the chance to cause troubles. Therefore, simply inveighing against things we dislike neither educates anyone nor exposes the enemy. Venting our feelings may stop what we do not like temporarily, but it cannot solve the problem fundamentally.

The veteran workers among us have firmly taken the third attitude. We recognize the working class as the main force in transforming the world and, now that it has stepped on to the political stage of struggle-criticism-transformation in the superstructure, it must persist in its task of remoulding in accordance with the outlook of the working class. We must grasp Chairman Mao's policies in concrete work so that we differentiate the two kinds of contradictions, which are different in nature. We have gone into the Institute in order to make revolution against what we dislike, to thoroughly transform everything in the superstructure that does not conform with the socialist economic base, to put an end to the domination of the college by bourgeois intellectuals, to transform the college in accordance with the proletarian world outlook, that is, with the thought of Mao Tse-tung. Eventually we will turn what we dislike into what we like, that is, turn the college into a truly working class college, a great red school of Mao Tse-tung's thought.

LET THE MARXIST-LENINISTS OF ALL COUNTRIES UNITE, LET THE REVOLUTIONARY PEOPLE OF THE WHOLE WORLD UNITE AND OVERTHROW IMPERIALISM, MODERN REVISIONISM AND ALL REACTION. A NEW WORLD WITHOUT IMPERIALISM, WITHOUT CAPITALISM AND WITHOUT EXPLOITATION OF MAN BY MAN WILL SURELY BE BUILT.

- Mao Tse-tung -

THE INTERNATIONALISTS AND THE
QUEBEC PATRIOTIC WORKERS AND INTELLECTUALS (ML)
HAIL THE PUBLICATION OF THE

"COMMUNIQUE OF THE ENLARGED 12th PLENARY SESSION OF THE
EIGHTH CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE CHINESE COMMUNIST PARTY"

on the concluding session of IOPQ's first public conference (November 13-16, 1968)
on the Foundations of Mao Tse-tung's Thought, held at the University of Montreal.

Comrades and Friends,

The Internationalists and the Quebec Patriotic Workers and Intellectuals (ML) warmly hail the publication of the "Communique of the Enlarged 12th Plenary Session of the Eighth Central Committee of the Communist Party of China (adopted on 31st of October)" and salutes the glorious party of China, led personally by Chairman Mao Tse-tung, the greatest Marxist-Leninist of our era.

The Chinese Communist Party, under the correct leadership of Comrade Mao Tse-tung, has solved yet another serious and complicated problem: defeated the take-over of the party by a handful of renegades, scabs and foreign agents, and consolidated the ranks of the people on the road to further victories.

We hail the glorious Communist Party of China which, under the leadership of Comrade Mao Tse-tung, the greatest Marxist-Leninist, not only defeated foreign imperialism and internal reactionaries, inaugurated the People's Republic of China, and brought about the socialist transformation of the economic base, but also solved the contradictions under the Dictatorship of the Proletariat as well as successfully transformed the superstructure. Thus, the Chinese Communist Party has the distinct

honour of being the party which is a party of a new type, a party developed and guided under Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tse-tung's thought exactly in the same manner as the Bolshevik Party was developed and guided under Marxism-Leninism.

We hail this glorious party, the party of the present and the future. We hail the mighty thought of Mao Tse-tung which guided and developed this glorious party. We hail Comrade Mao Tse-tung as the greatest helmsman who headed this glorious party. We hail the great Chinese people, who cherished and fought under this glorious party.

This most important communique which is the preview to the summation of the greatest summation of the recent history, the summation of the Greatest Revolution in human history which has transformed men right to their souls, is of utmost importance to us. That is why we vigorously hail its publication.

It is of greatest significance to us because it has brought to an end the phase of the period when modern revisionism was running amuck all over the world and misled a large number of honest comrades. This communique brings to an end this period because all over the world

the thought of Mao Tse-tung is shining like a bright red sun and guiding the world's people on to the correct path.

We hail this communique because it brings to us the news that "Liu Shao Chi, the number one Party person in authority taking the capitalist road, . . . a renegade, traitor and scab hiding in the Party . . . a lackey of imperialism, modern revisionism and the Kuomintang reactionaries who has committed innumerable crimes" is expelled "from the Party once and for all." His expulsion through the "exposure of the counter-revolutionary feature . . . by the Party and the revolutionary masses in the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution" has once again proved the correctness of Mao Tse-tung's thought and a great victory to this all-embracing highest development of Marxism-Leninism in our era. This means that China will remain the bright Red base-area for world revolutionary struggles and be of great hope and optimism to us. We hail the Red base-area as the strongest ally and friend of the struggling Quebec people. We hate Liu Shao-Chi and enthusiastically rejoice his expulsion from the Party because he stood against helping the anti-imperialist people of the world and advocated cooperation with imperialism, revisionism and reaction!

We hail this communique because the struggle which took two years and more between two roads, and two lines, and two classes culminated in the victory for Mao Tse-tung's thought, the Chinese people and the working and oppressed people of the whole world.

We hail the call on all workers, poor and lower middle peasants, commanders and fighters of the People's Liberation Army, revolutionary cadres, revolutionary Red Guards and revolutionary intellectuals and on the revolutionary people of all nationalities in the country to carry out resolutely Chairman Mao's teaching that "The Working Class Must Exercise Leadership in Everything, to establish the Dictatorship of the Proletariat in the Superstructure, Including all Spheres of Culture," to fulfill the tasks in all stages of struggle-criticism-

transformation put forward by Chairman Mao and to carry the great proletarian cultural revolution through to the end!!

This will ensure that China will never change colour.

We, the Quebec Marxist-Leninists who follow Mao Tse-tung's thought obediently as a guide to action in solving problems of our national liberation struggle, consider this communique as the death-knell of imperialism, its accomplice, old and new revisionism, and all kinds of reaction.

We are encouraged to fight against imperialism, old and new revisionism, and all kinds of reaction after reading this communique all over again. As many comrades remarked over and over again during the conference: whenever I have a problem I read Chairman Mao's works. In the process of working out guidelines from Chairman Mao I rediscover a wealth of knowledge all over again. Mao's works have limitless depth! I must not forget to read Chairman Mao when beset with a problem.

The communique is a clear guideline to all genuine Marxist-Leninists of the whole world and a clear warning to the reactionaries. The communique points out: "The World Revolution has Entered a Great New Era." In this era, Mao Tse-tung's thought will gain still further ascendancy in an all-embracing manner and all reactionaries of all hues and colours will be further exposed with the final collapse of imperialism from one country after another.

The future is bright for all genuinely revolutionary forces!

The communique warns, "Should the enemy dare to impose war on us, we will wipe him out resolutely, completely, thoroughly, wholly and completely."

We hail: "The Chinese Communist Party and the Chinese people under the leadership of Comrade Mao Tse-tung uphold proletarian internationalist principles and policies, unite with the

genuine Marxist-Leninists of all countries, firmly support the heroic Albanian people's struggle against imperialism and revisionism, firmly support the heroic Vietnamese people in carrying their war of resistance against U. S. aggression and for national salvation through to the end, and firmly support all the just struggles of the peoples of the world against imperialism, revisionism and all other reaction. The Communist Party of China holds that all peoples oppressed by U.S. imperialism, Soviet revisionism and their lackeys should form a broad united front to smash the plots hatched by U.S. imperialism and Soviet revisionism in their vain attempt to dominate the world, so as to win victory and liberation more quickly." which clearly shows that Red China, the China of Chairman Mao, is the strongest ally of the working and oppressed people of the world.

This meeting resolutely applauds the Great victory of Mao Tse-tung's thought and hails this communique as another historic document

which will pave the way for further progress.

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

Long Live the Staunchest, the Strongest and the Most Reliable Ally of the Working and Oppressed People of the World - People's Republic of China!

Long Live Chairman Mao, Long Long Life to Him!

Long Live the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution!

Long Live the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolutionaries!

Long Live the Friendship Between Anti-Imperialist People of Quebec and China!

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# Communique of the Enlarged 12th Plenary Session of the Eighth Central Committee Of the Communist Party of China

(Adopted on October 31, 1968)

The Enlarged 12th Plenary Session of the Eighth Central Committee of the Communist Party of China opened in Peking on October 13, 1968 and was successfully concluded on October 31.

Comrade Mao Tse-tung, Chairman of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China, presided over this session which is of great historic significance and made a most important speech on the great proletarian cultural revolution movement since the 11th Plenary Session of the Eighth Central Committee of the Party in August 1966.

Vice-Chairman Lin Piao, Chairman Mao Tse-tung's close comrade-in-arms, attended the session and made an important speech.

Attending the session were Members and Alternate Members of the Central Committee.

All members of the Cultural Revolution Group Under the Central Committee attended the session.

Principal responsible comrades of the revolutionary committees of the provinces, municipalities and autonomous regions attended the session.

Principal responsible comrades of the Chinese People's Liberation Army attended the session.

The Enlarged 12th Plenary Session of the Eighth Central Committee unanimously holds that the great proletarian cultural revolution, personally initiated and led by our great leader Comrade Mao Tse-tung, is a great political revolution made by the proletariat against the bourgeoisie and all other exploiting classes under the conditions of the dictatorship of the proletariat in our country.

The Plenary Session holds that in his great revolutionary document "Bombard the Headquarters" issued at the 11th Plenary Session of the Eighth Central Committee, Chairman Mao charted

the course of victory for the current great proletarian cultural revolution.

The Plenary Session holds that the "Decision Concerning the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution" drawn up under Chairman Mao's personal guidance at the 11th Plenary Session of the Eighth Central Committee and the Communique of the 11th Plenary Session are correct.

The Plenary Session holds that Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line, his great strategic plan for the great proletarian cultural revolution and the series of important instructions he has given at various stages of this revolution, and Vice-Chairman Lin's many speeches are all correct. The Cultural Revolution Group Under the Central Committee has played an important role in the struggle to carry out Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line.

Practice in the great proletarian cultural revolution proves that, as Comrade Mao Tse-tung has said, the current great proletarian cultural revolution is absolutely necessary and most timely for consolidating the dictatorship of the proletariat, preventing capitalist restoration and building socialism. Under the guidance of Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line and the leadership of the proletarian headquarters with Chairman Mao as its leader and Vice-Chairman Lin as its deputy leader, and in the process of extremely complicated and acute class struggle over the past two years, hundreds of millions of people have been mobilized on a scale unprecedented in breadth and depth and, with the support of the Chinese People's Liberation Army and through repeated trials of class strength, have finally smashed the bourgeois headquarters represented by Liu Shao-chi together with its agents in various places, which vainly attempted to usurp

the leadership of the Party, the Government and the army, and have seized back that portion of power they usurped. Revolutionary committees have been set up in 29 provinces, municipalities and autonomous regions, that is, throughout the country with the exception of Taiwan Province. Today this momentous proletarian cultural revolution has won great and decisive victory.

The Plenary Session holds that the victories of the great proletarian cultural revolution are further proof that the Communist Party of China with Comrade Mao Tse-tung as its leader is a great, glorious and correct Party. The Plenary Session holds that through the storms of the great proletarian cultural revolution, ample ideological, political and organizational conditions have been prepared for convening the Ninth National Congress of the Party. The Plenary Session decided that the Ninth National Congress of the Communist Party of China will be held at an appropriate time.

The Plenary Session ratified the "Report on the Examination of the Crimes of the Renegade, Traitor and Scab Liu Shao-chi" submitted by the special group under the Central Committee of the Party for the examination of his case. The report confirms with full supporting evidence that Liu Shao-chi, the No. 1 Party person in authority taking the capitalist road, is a renegade, traitor and scab hiding in the Party and is a lackey of imperialism, modern revisionism and the Kuomintang reactionaries who has committed innumerable crimes. The Plenary Session holds that the exposure of the counter-revolutionary features of Liu Shao-chi by the Party and the revolutionary masses in the great proletarian cultural revolution is a tremendous victory for Mao Tse-tung's thought and for the great proletarian cultural revolution. The Plenary Session expressed its deepest revolutionary indignation at Liu Shao-chi's counter-revolutionary crimes and unanimously adopted a resolution to expel Liu Shao-chi from the Party once and for all, to dismiss him from all posts both inside and outside the Party and to continue to settle accounts with him and his accomplices for their crimes in betraying the Party and the country. The Plenary Session calls on all comrades in the Party and the people of the whole country to carry on deep-going revolutionary mass criticism and repudiation and eradicate the counter-revolutionary revisionist ideas of Liu Shao-chi and the handful of other top Party persons in authority taking the capitalist road.

The Plenary Session points out that a fierce struggle between the two classes, the two roads and the two lines runs through the history of the great proletarian cultural revolution over the past two years and more. The struggle centres on the question of political power, the question of the fight for leadership between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie, and the question of whether the leadership of the Party and state is to be in the hands of Marxists or of revisionists. Unreconciled to their doom, the exploiting classes and their agents used all kinds of political and economic means both from the Right and from the extreme "Left" — that is, "Left" in form but Right in essence — in a vain attempt to confuse class alignments, sabotage the great proletarian cultural revolution and stage a counter-seizure of power from the proletariat. But all their plots have been exposed one after another by the masses of revolutionary people who have grasped Mao Tse-tung's thought. The Plenary Session holds that it is essential to continue sharpening vigilance against sabotage by the exploiting classes and their agents.

The Plenary Session seriously criticized and repudiated the "adverse February current" of 1967 directed against the decision of the 11th Plenary Session of the Eighth Central Committee, against the great proletarian cultural revolution and against the proletarian headquarters with Chairman Mao as its leader and Vice-Chairman Lin as its deputy leader. The Plenary Session holds that the shattering of the "adverse February current" and of the sinister trend last spring to reverse the correct verdict on the "adverse February current" was an important victory for Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line in smashing the bourgeois reactionary line.

The Plenary Session holds that the tremendous victories of the great proletarian cultural revolution have further demonstrated the profound and far-reaching significance of Comrade Mao Tse-tung's theory on continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat. Mao Tse-tung's thought is Marxism-Leninism of the era in which imperialism is heading for total collapse and socialism is advancing to worldwide victory; it is the thought guiding all the work of the Party, the army and the country. Once Mao Tse-tung's thought is grasped by the masses of the people, it generates an immense material force. In the great proletarian cultural revolution, Mao Tse-tung's thought has been

rapidly disseminated among hundreds of millions of people, making its way deep into their hearts; in their struggles, the masses of workers, peasants and soldiers have eagerly and creatively studied and applied Mao Tse-tung's thought. This is the basic guarantee for consolidating the dictatorship of the proletariat and preventing our country from ever changing its political colour. The whole Party, the whole army and the revolutionary committees at all levels must continue to hold aloft the great red banner of Mao Tse-tung's thought, unite closely around the proletarian headquarters with Chairman Mao as its leader and Vice-Chairman Lin as its deputy leader, closely follow Chairman Mao's great strategic plan, conscientiously carry out each and every one of Chairman Mao's latest instructions, carry forward the mass movement for the study of Chairman Mao's works, run Mao Tse-tung's thought study classes well, use Mao Tse-tung's thought to unify their thinking and co-ordinate their steps and actions and criticize and repudiate the reactionary bourgeois theory of "many centres," so as to go on winning fresh victories in all fields of our work.

The Enlarged 12th Plenary Session of the Eighth Central Committee calls on all workers, poor and lower-middle peasants, commanders and fighters of the People's Liberation Army, revolutionary cadres, revolutionary Red Guards and revolutionary intellectuals and on the revolutionary people of all nationalities in the country to carry out resolutely Chairman Mao's teaching that the working class must exercise leadership in everything, to establish the dictatorship of the proletariat in the superstructure, including all spheres of culture, to fulfil the tasks in all stages of struggle-criticism-transformation put forward by Chairman Mao and to carry the great proletarian cultural revolution through to the end!

We must continue to carry out Chairman Mao's great principle on the revolutionary great alliance and the revolutionary three-in-one combination and conscientiously implement Chairman Mao's instructions on conducting revolutionary mass criticism and repudiation, on simplifying the administrative structure, on cadres' going down to do manual labour and on changing irrational rules and regulations, so that our new-born revolutionary committees can forge close links with the masses, be constantly consolidated, developed and improved and perform the functions of the dictatorship of the proletariat still better.

We must continue fully to arouse the masses, conscientiously to carry out the work of purifying the class ranks in factories, people's communes, Party and government institutions, schools, all enterprises and undertakings and neighbourhoods, etc., and to dig out the handful of counter-revolutionaries hiding among the masses.

We must carry out Chairman Mao's directive that the Party organization should be composed of the advanced elements of the proletariat; it should be a vigorous vanguard organization capable of leading the proletariat and the revolutionary masses in the fight against the class enemy, carry out Chairman Mao's instruction on "getting rid of the stale and taking in the fresh," conscientiously do the work of Party consolidation and Party building, expel from the Party proved renegades, enemy agents, diehard capitalist roaders, degenerate elements and other alien class elements who have sneaked into the Party, take into the Party fresh blood from the proletariat — above all, advanced elements with communist consciousness from among industrial workers — and select outstanding Party members who are resolute in carrying out Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line for leading posts in the Party.

We must fulfil the great historic mission of the proletarian revolution in education. As regards intellectuals, they must be re-educated by the workers, peasants and soldiers so that they can integrate themselves with the workers and peasants. The workers' propaganda teams should stay permanently in the schools and colleges, take part in all the tasks of struggle-criticism-transformation there and always lead these institutions. In the countryside, schools and colleges should be managed by the poor and lower-middle peasants — the most reliable ally of the working class. This is a question of key importance in carrying the great proletarian cultural revolution through to the end. The workers, the poor and lower-middle peasants and the commanders and fighters of the People's Liberation Army who are undertaking this glorious task should constantly raise their political consciousness in the course of struggle.

We must grasp revolution and promote production and other work and preparedness against war, and do a still better job in building socialist industry, socialist agriculture and all other socialist undertakings in our country. The great proletarian cul-

tural revolution is a tremendous motive force for the development of socialist production in our country. It is promoting the emergence of a new leap in our socialist construction and will continue to do so.

We must continuously strengthen the great Chinese People's Liberation Army, further consolidate national defence, and continue to do a good job in supporting the army and cherishing the people. We are determined to liberate Taiwan. We must heighten our vigilance a hundredfold against the rapacious U.S. imperialists and the Soviet modern revisionist renegade clique. Should the enemy dare to impose war on us, we will wipe him out resolutely, thoroughly, wholly and completely.

The Plenary Session holds that, as Comrade Mao Tse-tung has pointed out, the world revolution has entered a great new era. The revolutionary movement of the people in all countries is developing vigorously.

Riddled with contradictions and beset with difficulties both at home and abroad, the imperialists headed by the United States and the modern revisionists headed by the Soviet revisionist renegade clique are disintegrating, they are at the end of their tether and are becoming more isolated than ever.

While both colluding and struggling with each other, the U.S. imperialists and the Soviet revisionists are trying in vain to redivide the world. In their war of aggression against Vietnam, the U.S. imperialists enjoy the tacit consent and support of the Soviet revisionists, while in turn the Soviet revisionist renegade clique enjoys the tacit consent and support of the U.S. imperialists in openly dispatching troops to occupy Czechoslovakia. Their dirty political deal has been thoroughly exposed before the people of the world. Their nakedly aggressive actions have deepened the internal contradictions within the imperialist and the revisionist blocs and helped promote the political consciousness of the oppressed masses in the U.S. imperialist and Soviet revisionist homelands and, at the same time, they are stirring up a great new upsurge in the struggle of the proletariat and the people throughout the world against U.S. imperialism and Soviet revisionism. No matter how tortuous the course of the struggle, no matter what rubbish the U.S. imperialists and Soviet revisionists have collected to organize an anti-China and counter-revolutionary "holy alliance," they are

inevitably "lifting a rock only to drop it on their own feet." We are not in the least isolated, for the people who want revolution, comprising over 90 per cent of the world's population, are our friends. The wheel of history can assuredly never be turned back, imperialism, revisionism and all other reactionary forces are bound to be smashed by the revolutionary people, and all the oppressed people and oppressed nations of the world will definitely achieve complete emancipation through their struggle!

The Chinese Communist Party and the Chinese people under the leadership of Comrade Mao Tse-tung uphold proletarian internationalist principles and policies, unite with the genuine Marxist-Leninists of all countries, firmly support the heroic Albanian people's struggle against imperialism and revisionism, firmly support the heroic Vietnamese people in carrying their war of resistance against U.S. aggression and for national salvation through to the end, and firmly support all the just struggles of the peoples of the world against imperialism, revisionism and all other reaction. The Communist Party of China holds that all peoples oppressed by U.S. imperialism, Soviet revisionism and their lackeys should form a broad united front to smash the plots hatched by U.S. imperialism and Soviet revisionism in their vain attempt to dominate the world, so as to win victory and liberation more quickly.

The Plenary Session was convened in an excellent domestic and international situation. This was a session of mobilization for the seizure of all-round victory in the great proletarian cultural revolution, a session of unprecedented unity in the whole Party under the leadership of the proletarian headquarters with Chairman Mao as its leader and Vice-Chairman Lin as its deputy leader, a session full of proletarian revolutionary vitality. The Plenary Session is convinced that the comrades of the whole Party, the people of the whole country and the revolutionary peoples of the whole world will all rejoice over the success of our session and that those who fear this session are but the handful of imperialists headed by U.S. imperialism, modern revisionists headed by the Soviet revisionist renegade clique, and other reactionaries at home and abroad.

Let us closely follow our great leader Chairman Mao and courageously march forward! Victory will be ours.

( Reproduced from Peking Review. Supplement to no. 44, Nov. 1, 1968 )

[Continued from page 9.]

non-revolutionary or an agent of imperialism? It must be made clear that these organisations represent various bourgeois trends which are in essence, pro-imperialist and are playing a counter-revolutionary role. But the members constituting these groups are not necessarily counter-revolutionary and we must win them over on various issues and wage ideological struggle with them. This ideological struggle cannot take place in a movement with all kinds of trends conniving for influence in it. Instead the ideological struggle can only take place if a genuinely anti-imperialist and revolutionary movement is well organised, distributes its propaganda and policies openly amongst the people and exposes erroneous trends to the people. The Student Councils are the only legitimate general organisations of the students and this ideological struggle can only take place in this context. It is very important to understand that an anti-imperialist organisation can only link with and win the confidence of the masses if it is in the forefront of the struggles of the students, that is if it does painstaking work amongst the

Student Councils and takes power which can then be used to build and further consolidate a mass anti-imperialist movement. It is incorrect to suggest that ideological struggle should take place in the "left" where they exchange metaphysical premises and invectives against each while remaining detached and isolated every struggle, (ideological as well as others), must be to educate and consolidate the people. However, if these struggles take place in isolation from the people then they will be useless subjective struggles.

Our task is to draw clear lines between the genuinely anti-imperialist and revolutionary forces and the 'holy alliance'. This cannot be achieved by coming into alliance with the "left" groups in one hodge podge organisation. While it would be incorrect to stop struggle with the "left" groups, it would also be wrong to leave the task of building a mass anti-imperialist movement to the "left" groups. Our slogan must be: develop the mass line against imperialism through active political work in the broadest masses of the students.

(to be continued in the next issue)

## ANTI-REVISIONIST STRUGGLE IN THE EXAMINATION ROOM

On January 10, 1964, at an oral examination in a Soviet higher educational institution, a Chinese student studying in the Soviet Union sharply denounced the revisionist writer Mikhail Sholokhov. The following is an account (slightly abridged) of the student's answer to the question "What is the significance of Sholokhov's short story The Fate of a Man in Soviet literature?" and remarks made by the presiding Soviet revisionist examiner.

The examinee: In the years of the great Patriotic War, the Soviet people demonstrated their heroism to the whole world. Fearing no sacrifice, they refused to bow their heads before the brute force of the fascist hordes. New fighters quickly took the places of the fallen. Thousands upon thousands of inspiring heroes such as Matrosov, Zoya and Shura Kosmodemyansky, and others arose amid the trials and tribulations of the war. The Soviet people defeated fascist Germany, successfully defended their motherland, gave mighty help to the cause of liberation of the East European peoples and thereby made an int-

mortal contribution to the cause of mankind's progress. They have good reason to be proud of this magnificent victory.

Sokolov, the chief character in the short story, The Fate of a Man, went through this great war like others. Sholokhov penned him as a hero calling for high praise. Now, let us see what were his thoughts during this great war, what he did and how he felt about it, and what Sholokhov wants to say in describing the fate of his hero:

Sokolov's dear ones died in the hungry year of 1922 and he was left alone. Marriage brought him happiness; he built his own nest, had a good wife who later bore a son and two daughters. He was particularly proud of his son for his keen intelligence. But the Patriotic War came and robbed him of his wife and children. His home was reduced to rubble and he was again alone. His grief knew no bounds.... While introducing him to readers, the author draws special attention to Sokolov's eyes, "eyes as if sprinkled with ashes, filled with such unforgettable death-like melancholy that it is painful to look into them."

Sholokhov felt deep compassion for the unhappy lot of his hero. Describing his fate, the author raised such questions as who destroyed Sokolov's happiness? How could his happiness be preserved? The answer to these questions is obvious. What the author means to imply is that it was the Patriotic War that ruined Sokolov's happiness; that without that war, Sokolov would not have lost his family and would have been the happiest of men. This implies that to preserve Sokolov's happiness the Patriotic War should not have been fought and should have been opposed. Such is Sholokhov's line of thought.

Examiner: What? Sholokhov was opposed to the Patriotic War?

Examinee: Exactly. It may be mentioned in passing, that the film The Fate of a Man is packed with gloomy, terrifying scenes. The director, like Sholokhov, went to great pains to show how horrifying the Patriotic War was. But as we know, that war was a just war. Marxism-Leninism teaches us that just wars are what the

people want and that only predatory, aggressive and unjust wars should be opposed. By raising his voice against the Patriotic War, was not Sholokhov actually opposing all just wars?

Examiner: The Soviet people lost 8 million lives in the war. Do you mean to say that all that sacrifice was necessary? The Patriotic War was a just war. But please remember that it brought the Soviet people the loss of no less than 8 million lives--nearly every one of us lost one of those dearest to him.

Examinee: But the Soviet friends I have had the pleasure to know think quite differently. They say proudly that it was the victory of the great Patriotic War that protected the independence of their Soviet motherland, upheld their national honour and gave a powerful impetus to the revolutionary struggles of the peoples of the whole world. It added a page of undying glory to the history of the international communist movement.

In his portrayals Sholokhov has distorted the image of the Soviet Communists. The only Communist in the story does not sound like a Communist at all. He is a wretched coward.

Examiner: A coward?

Examinee: He is. We need only recall that episode where the prisoners of war are spending the night in a church when a turncoat discovers Sholokhov's Communist. I quote the dialogue between them:

The turncoat: "I have no intention to answer for you. I'll be the first to point you out."

The Communist: "Please don't betray me, comrade....."

The turncoat: "Your comrades remained behind the front lines. I'm not your comrade anyway."

To save himself from being handed over to the enemy, this Communist stoops so low as to call the turncoat "comrade" and abjectly entreats

him not to betray him. Has he anything in common with a Communist? Has this portrayal anything in common with the image of, say, Zoya? Is this not sheer slander against Soviet Communists?

Examiner: But doesn't that Communist later on kill the turncoat?

Examinee: That's right.

Examiner: Is this not heroism?

Examinee: First of all, we must see what drives him to kill the turncoat and then, and only then, can we determine whether it is heroism or not. Seeing that the turncoat has made up his mind to betray him and that begging is of no use, the Communist decides to finish him off. He would not have killed him if the latter had promised not to betray him. So the Communist pleads with the turncoat to save his own skin, and for precisely the same purpose he kills the turncoat later. Can this in any way be compared with the revolutionary heroism of the Soviet Communists who have the courage to stare death in the face?

Examiner: Why should a Communist give up his life for nothing? Can't he be more flexible tactically?

Examinee: Tactical flexibility must be based on principle. Has not Lenin said that flexibility without principle is not true flexibility, but sophistry?

Examiner: Do you think that there are no villains among Communists?

Examinee: Of course, there are. However, can a particular villain represent the Communists? What impression did Sholokhov wish to leave on readers when he portrayed the only Communist in his story as a wretched coward? It is obvious that the impression he wanted to leave on his readers was that the Soviet Communists trembled before the enemy, before death, and begged for mercy for the sake of saving their own skins. This is a complete distortion of historical truth.

Examiner: That Communist is not the hero of the short story. It is Sokolov who is delineated as an image of the people. Why do you prefer to discuss a minor character instead of the hero?

Examinee: Very well then, let's see what sort of a "hero" is this Sokolov, this so-called "image of the people". He is called to the room of the commandant of the concentration camp and told to drink to the victory of the German army, he is not seized at that moment with that burning hatred for the enemy which characterizes the Soviet people. He doesn't have the courage to say: "I drink to my Soviet motherland!" because he knows that for such defiance he could be shot dead. So he merely says: "I drink to my own ruin and deliverance from torture." Thus he manages to remain whole, and later when a Nazi gives him "a small loaf of bread and a piece of fat," he is filled with gratitude. This, be it noted, is a favour from the Nazis who are starving the prisoners of war. This "image of the people" holds the tiny loaf tight to his body and tumbles into his barracks. He shares it with all equally, each obtaining a thin slice. Under Sholokhov's pen, the hungry Soviet prisoners all enjoy these alms from the German fascists, but not one of them seems to understand the matter or is bold enough to declare: "To hell with this German loaf! I would rather starve to death than shamefully beg for my life. For the enemy is making a mockery of us."

How many of the finest sons and daughters of the Soviet people, how many fearless Soviet soldiers died a worthy death for the sake of the revolutionary ideals and their national honour! But Sokolov--that mock "image of the people"--shows not a trace of this fearlessness of the Soviet people, neither do many other Soviet prisoners. The image of the Soviet people is deliberately distorted. Sokolov, in the eyes of the author, is a hero worthy of glorification, while in my opinion, he is not a hero at all but a complete egoist. This can be proved by the passages in which the Soviet people are joyously celebrating their victory after the Red Army has stormed Berlin. But on that very day of victory, what are Sokolov's sentiments? Because he has lost his son, he says in grim despair: "I've buried my last joys and hope in alien, German soil....."

For Sokolov, his son was his "last joys and hope." Here I must underline the word "last". It means that the loss of his son amounts to the loss of everything. This loss cannot be made up for even with the liberation of the motherland, the freedom of the people and the victory over the fascists.

Sokolov is a typical representative of those for whom "personal happiness is above all."

Examiner: You must understand Sokolov from the point of view of human feeling. Wouldn't you feel deeply grieved if you lost your son?

Examinee: The death of a son or daughter naturally grieves the parents. But if they die for the sake of the people, they die a worthy death and their parents should be proud of them. This is the true feeling of the proletariat; Sokolov's is not.

What is more, in The Fate of a Man, Sholokhov spared no pains in portraying the Soviet regime as devoid of human feeling. After demobilization, Sokolov, the author's beloved "hero", gets the job of a truck driver. One day his truck hits a cow and the transport inspector confiscates his driving license. After that he roams from place to place looking for a job. Does not Sholokhov mean to say by this: "See! The Soviet regime denies such heroes as Sokolov work because of a small fault, and forces him to wander from place to place. What lack of 'human feeling!'"

Examiner: Why should you drag the Soviet regime in? On what grounds do you declare that the Soviet regime is devoid of "human feeling"?

Examinee: It is Sholokhov, not I, who alleges that the Soviet regime was devoid of human feeling. Tell me if that transport inspector, who takes away Sokolov's driving license, does not represent the Soviet regime? I'm criticizing Sholokhov precisely because he calumniate the Soviet regime.

Examiner: That was a mistake on the part of a local functionary. Why should you attribute the mistake committed by an individual functionary to the Soviet regime?

Examinee: It is, I think, not uncalled-for to reiterate here that it is Sholokhov, not I, who portrays the Soviet regime as "devoid of human feeling". What message did Sholokhov want to give his readers by inventing the episode of Sokolov vainly seeking a job? The message is that the local agencies of the regime all treat this so-called "hero" with the same injustice, wherever he goes. Is this not because Sholokhov wants to convince his readers that the Soviet regime, for 30 years under Stalin's leadership, was "devoid of human feeling"?

Now I want to talk about the significance of the short story The Fate of a Man in the development of Soviet literature. In this work, Sholokhov preaches bourgeois humanism from the tribune of Soviet literature and raises his voice against the Marxist-Leninist theory of class struggle.....

Examiner: How does bourgeois humanism come in here? You must explain how you have come to this conclusion.

Examinee: According to Marxism-Leninism, "HISTORY SHOWS THAT WARS ARE DIVIDED INTO TWO KINDS, JUST AND UNJUST. ALL WARS THAT ARE PROGRESSIVE ARE JUST, AND ALL WARS THAT IMPEDE PROGRESS ARE UNJUST. WE COMMUNISTS OPPOSE ALL UNJUST WARS THAT IMPEDE PROGRESS, BUT WE DO NOT OPPOSE PROGRESSIVE JUST WARS. NOT ONLY DO WE COMMUNISTS NOT OPPOSE JUST WARS, WE ACTIVELY PARTICIPATE IN THEM."

The bourgeois humanists take altogether a different point of view. They are against all wars, including just wars, without analysing them. Sholokhov is one of them. Under the slogan of opposition to war, he actually attacked such a sacred war as the great Patriotic War of the Soviet people. What is it if it is not bourgeois humanism?

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## Message of Greetings

On behalf of the oppressed, exploited and discriminated against people of Azania (South Africa) and their revolutionary Party, the Pan Africanist Congress of Azania I, hereby, extend warm revolutionary greetings to the Canadian Internationalists - Marxist/Leninist Youth and Student Movement on the occasion of the launching of their official organ, the "Canadian Internationalist."

Canadians, who face imperialist exploitation and have become victims of imperialist cultural aggression, are engaged in a determined struggle at present and this struggle, although simmering beneath, constitutes the single spark which will start the prairie fire.

The Canadian youth and students are a vital component part of the present society for they will inherit the world of tomorrow, and from their own experience have come to realize that their oppression and their bleak future stems directly from the imperialist and capitalist system in which they find themselves. Guided by the revolutionary theory of Marxism/Leninism and Mao Tse-tung's thought, the students and youth all over the world are rising to overthrow the oppressive system of imperialism and capitalism and I am confident that the Canadian students too will rise and resolutely oppose U.S. imperialism and their local reactionaries.

**The motto of all youths and students must be "Rebellion is Justified."**

**While all the organs of free expression are in the hands of the ruling class in capitalist countries,**

and serve to brainwash youth and students, I am particularly happy to note that the Canadian Internationalists (Marxist-Leninist Youth and Student Movement) have courageously decided to launch an organ, the "Canadian Internationalist," which will provide youth and students with a medium through which they will be able to develop ideas, exchange revolutionary experiences and build a principled unity to resolutely oppose U.S.-led imperialism, Soviet-led revisionism and all reactionaries.

However, the struggle will be a long and protracted one, but in the final analysis victory will be ours.

The struggle of the fighting people of Azania and the struggle of the people of Canada is inextricably linked, for our enemy is the same. Therefore, I believe it is our sacred duty to further consolidate our bonds of solidarity, and our long-standing militant solidarity with the Internationalists has, I am convinced, practically enhanced the anti-imperialist, anti-revisionist and anti-reactionary struggles in our respective countries, and thus the world over.

I sincerely wish the "Canadian Internationalist" revolutionary success, and pledge our full support for the revolutionary principles for which it stands.

**Ahmed Gora Ebrahim**

**The Secretariat of the Publicity  
and Information Department  
of the P.A.C. of Azania**

# TAKE IN FRESH BLOOD FROM THE PROLETARIAT

## AN IMPORTANT QUESTION IN PARTY RECTIFICATION

(editorial of the 1968 fourth  
issue of the "Red Flag")

The great proletarian cultural revolution is an open Party rectification movement carried out by revolutionary methods and on an unprecedented scale. It far surpasses any previous Party rectification movement since Liberation, both in scope and depth, in profundity of ideological repudiation and in thoroughness of organizational consolidation. This is a great struggle being waged by the proletarian revolutionaries of China who persevere in Marxism-Leninism, Mao Tse-tung's thought, to smash the revisionist faction within the Party. This is a great struggle in which the broadest revolutionary masses all over the country, in response to Chairman Mao's call, have taken action to expose and repudiate China's Khrushchov and the rest of the handful of renegades, enemy agents, diehard capitalist-roaders and other counter-revolutionaries who wormed their way into the party. This is a decisive battle between the two lines--the line of upholding the dictatorship of the proletariat and the line of attempting to restore capitalism. This paean to the victory of Mao Tse-tung's thought reaches to the heavens.

The tremendous victories in the great proletarian cultural revolution have consolidated the dictatorship of the proletariat and have strengthened leadership by the Party, and, in the course of the struggle-criticism-transformation in all fields of the superstructure, are UNITING ALL THE MASSES THAT CAN BE UNITED AND FIRMLY ESTABLISHING THE COMPLETE RULE OF THE PROLETARIAT OVER THE SMALL NUMBER OF BOURGEOIS ELEMENTS. The proletarian headquarters headed by Chairman Mao and Vice-Chairman Lin Piao as its deputy leader has become the sole leading centre of the whole Party. Now our Party is purer, stronger and more united.

The valuable experience of the great proletarian cultural revolution tells us that building, consolidating and developing the Party during the socialist period are inseparable from the fundamental question--the dictatorship of the proletariat. Divorce from the dictatorship of the proletariat and from continued revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat makes it impossible to have a correct line on Party building. Proceeding precisely from the rubbish

of a "state of the whole people" which betrays the Marxist-Leninist theory of the dictatorship building. Proceeding precisely from the rubbish of a "state of the whole people" which betrays the Marxist-Leninist theory of the dictatorship of the proletariat, the Soviet revisionist renegade clique has negated class struggle, suppressed the labouring masses, changed the nature of the Party founded by Lenin and made it degenerate into a "party of the entire people", that is, a revisionist, fascist party. Likewise, the essence of the sinister book on "self-cultivation" written by China's Khrushchov is betrayal of the dictatorship of the proletariat, betrayal of scientific socialism. The sort of "self-cultivation" he advocated aims at protecting the bourgeois reactionaries who wormed their way into the Party, strangling the vigorous proletarian revolutionary spirit of the members of the Communist Party and abolishing the dictatorship of the proletariat so as to prepare "docile tools" for their plot to restore capitalism.

Comrade Mao Tse-tung has upheld, defended and developed the Marxist-Leninist theory of the dictatorship of the proletariat. Chairman Mao has solved the question of continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat. He points out that the struggle between the two classes and the two roads under the dictatorship of the proletariat exists for a long time, that the main danger of capitalist restoration comes from the handful of Party persons in authority taking the capitalist road who reflect the interests of the bourgeoisie, and that it is essential to enforce complete dictatorship of the proletariat in the ideological field, in culture as well as in the political field.

Starting from the firm faith in the overwhelming majority of the people and, first of all, the overwhelming majority of workers, peasants and soldiers, Chairman Mao himself initiated and is leading the first great proletarian cultural revolution. He encourages the communists together with revolutionary masses, to "FACE THE WORLD AND BRAVE THE STORM" in the great tempest of the turbulent and extremely complicated revolutionary mass movement, expose the persons in authority taking the capitalist road, ferret out the counter-revolutionaries, criticise

and repudiate revisionism and bourgeois ideas, take a correct attitude towards the masses and, in different forms of struggle, learn to distinguish and handle correctly the contradictions between ourselves and the enemy and the contradictions among the people under the conditions of the dictatorship of the proletariat. This has greatly raised the communist consciousness of the masses of Communist Party members, clearly indicated the direction for continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat, shattered the bureaucratic airs corrupting the revolutionary will, and made the ties between the Party and the working masses closer. And through this the Left, that is, the genuine proletarian revolutionaries, has been found and tempered, the wavering middle-of-the-roads educated, and the rightists, that is, the bourgeois reactionaries serving imperialism and the Koumintang, isolated and exposed. Only by carrying out this proletarian revolutionary line of Chairman Mao's and starting a mass movement, not a movement behind closed doors, for Party rectification, can we guarantee that the leadership of the Party organization at all levels is truly in the hands of those loyal to Chairman Mao, to Mao Tse-Tung's thought and to Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line; only in this way can the Party at all times maintain its character as the vanguard of the proletariat, the task of completely eliminating the bourgeoisie (the last exploiting class in the history of mankind), eliminating class differences and realizing communism.

A question that demands attention in the present Party rectification is taking in proletarian new blood.

Talking about Party rectification, Chairman Mao has said: "A HUMAN BEING HAS ARTERIES AND VEINS AND HIS HEART MAKES THE BLOOD CIRCULATE; ONE BREATHES THROUGH THE LUNGS; EXHALING CARBON DIOXIDE AND INHALING OXYGEN AFRESH, THAT IS GETTING RID OF THE WASTE AND LETTING IN THE FRESH. A PROLETARIAN PARTY MUST ALSO GET RID OF THE WASTE AND LET IN THE FRESH FOR ONLY IN THIS WAY CAN IT BE FULL OF VIGOUR. WITHOUT ELI-

## MINATING WASTE AND GETTING FRESH BLOOD THE PARTY HAS NO VIGOUR."

This vivid analogy by Chairman Mao contains profound dialectics. Chairman Mao teaches us to look at the proletarian revolutionary Party as an organization developing through the process of metabolism of the revolution, and not as a static and immutable organization.

"ELIMINATING WASTE" means resolutely expelling from the Party the proven renegades, enemy agents, all counter-revolutionaries, obdurate capitalist-roaders, alien class elements and degenerated elements. As for apathetic persons whose revolutionary will has worn out, they would be advised to resign from the Party.

"GETTING FRESH BLOOD" consists of two inter-related tasks: taking into the Party a number of outstanding rebels, primarily advanced elements from among the industrial workers, and selecting outstanding communists to leading bodies of Party organizations at all levels.

Tempered in the great proletarian cultural revolution, a number of rebel fighters with proletarian consciousness have emerged from among the working people, the workers, peasants, and soldiers. They have these characteristics: high consciousness in the struggle between the two lines, strong sense of class struggle, daring in defending Chairman Mao's revolutionary line in the forefront of the struggle and, particularly, firmness in opposing revisionism. These are very valuable revolutionary qualities. They also have shortcomings but these can be overcome through education.

One comrade worker at the Shanghai number one valve plant, who applied for Party membership, said: "The Party organization should admit into its ranks those rebel fighters who are boundlessly loyal to Chairman Mao, firmly carry out the battle orders of the proletarian headquarters and dash forward as the vanguard in class struggle and in the struggle for product-

ion. In applying for Party membership, comrade rebels must proceed from a correct motive and have the correct aim: they rise in rebellion during the great proletarian cultural revolution to defend Chairman Mao's revolutionary line (and not for any personal aim); after the seizure of power, they must do a good job in exercising power for the proletariat (and not for self-interest); they must always conscientiously study, firmly carry out, vigorously disseminate and courageously defend Mao Tse-tung's thought, consciously FIGHT SELF, REPUDIATE REVISIONISM and develop the thoroughgoing revolutionary spirit of the proletariat (and must not pride themselves on being 'veteran rebels' and become conceited or stop halfway in making revolution); and they must have close ties with the masses, act as their humble pupils and serve the people heart and soul (and must not act as high and mighty overlords or divorce themselves from the masses)."

How well said this is! It reflects the demands put by the awakened working class to its vanguard. The Party should actively take in such fresh blood as meets these demands and has proletarian revolutionary vigour. Comrades who apply for Party membership, as well as comrades who have already been admitted into the Party, should make these demands on themselves and should be able to stand the test of storms of any magnitude in the future.

During the period of socialist revolution, attention must be paid to Party building among the workers and to exerting revolutionary vigour. This has been Chairman Mao's consistent idea. As long ago as in March 1949 in his Report to the Second Plenary Session of the Seventh Central Committee of the Party, Chairman Mao pointed out that in our work in the cities, "WE MUST WHOLEHEARTEDLY RELY ON THE WORKING CLASS, UNITE WITH THE REST OF THE LABOURING MASSES, WIN OVER THE INTELLECTUALS". In June, 1950, in his Report "Fight For A Fundamental Turn For The Better In The Financial And Economic Situation In China" made at the Third Plenary Session of the Seventh Central Committee of the Party, Chairman Mao again pointed out: "ATTENTION MUST BE PAID TO DRAWING POLITICALLY CONSC

IOUS WORKERS INTO THE PARTY SYSTEM-  
ATICALLY, EXPANDING THE PERCENTAGE  
OF WORKERS IN THE PARTY ORGANIZATION!"  
In July 1957, in the article "The Situation In The  
Summer Of 1957", Chairman Mao again pointed  
out: "A COMMUNIST MUST BE FULL OF VIG-  
OUR; HE MUST HAVE A STRONG REVOLU-  
TIONARY WILL; HE MUST HAVE THE SPIRIT  
OF FEARING NO DIFFICULTIES AND OF O-  
VERCOMING ANY DIFFICULTY WITH AN UN-  
YIELDING WILL; HE MUST GET RID OF INDI-  
VIDUALISM, DEPARTMENTALISM, ABSOLUTE  
EQUALITARIANISM AND LIBERALISM; OTHER  
WISE HE IS NOT A COMMUNIST IN THE REAL  
SENSE." In 1967, at the time when decisive vic-  
tory had been won in the great cultural revolution  
Chairman Mao again pointed out: "THE PARTY  
ORGANIZATION SHOULD BE COMPOSED OF  
THE ADVANCED ELEMENTS OF THE PROL-  
ETARIAT; IT SHOULD BE A VIGOROUS VAN-  
GUARD ORGANIZATION CAPABLE OF LEAD-  
ING THE PROLETARIAT AND THE REVOLU-  
TIONARY MASSES IN THE FIGHT AGAINST  
THE CLASS ENEMY." China's Krushchov and  
company, this handful of class enemies who  
wormed their way into the leading body of the  
Party, were completely opposed to this prolet-  
arian line of Chairman Mao's on Party building.  
Instead of relying on the working class, they re-  
lied on the bourgeoisie (and bourgeois intellec-  
tuals). Instead of paying attention to admitting  
advanced elements of the proletariat into the  
Party, they provided protection for renegades to  
the proletariat, scabs, enemy agents and counter  
revolutionaries and resorted to every means to  
help them sneak into the Party and usurp lead-  
ing positions. Instead of raising the proletarian  
class consciousness of the workers and the ac-  
tivist who applied for Party membership, they  
tried to instill into them the most corrupt and  
the darkest bourgeois reactionary ideology. The  
"six theories" advocated by China's Krushchov  
are the revisionist rubbish he used to poison the  
minds of the masses of workers and to corrupt  
the Party. They are: the theory of "the dying out  
of class struggle" and the theory of "docile tools"  
the theory that "the masses are backward", the  
theory of "entering the Party in order to be an  
official", the theory of "inner-Party peace" and  
the theory of "merging private and public inter-  
ests" (that is "losing a little, gaining much").

The core of the "six theories" consists of the  
theory of "the dying out of class struggle" and  
the theory of "docile tools". The former negates  
the dictatorship of the proletariat and is aimed  
at stamping out the Party's proletarian revolu-  
tionary spirit so as to cause the proletarian rev-  
olutionary Party to degenerate. The latter ne-  
gates the necessity to carry on the revolution  
under the dictatorship of the proletariat and is  
aimed at stamping out the proletarian revolu-  
tionary spirit of the Communist Party member  
so as to make him degenerate. The reason some  
Party members took the wrong stand for a time  
in the early stage of the great cultural revolution  
is that they had been under the evil influence of  
the "six theories" of China's Krushchov. We must  
conscientiously carry out Chairman Mao's pro-  
letarian line on Party building, seriously study  
Chairman Mao's theories on continuing the re-  
volution under the dictatorship of the proletariat  
and his theories on the nature of the Party and its  
tasks, thoroughly eliminate the poison of the  
counter-revolutionary revisionist line on Party  
building pushed by China's Krushchov and thor-  
oughly repudiate the reactionary points of view  
mentioned above; and at the same time, we must  
make conscientious efforts to do a good job in  
purifying the class ranks and uncover the ex-  
tremely few counter-revolutionaries lurking a-  
mong people of all sections including those in  
factories, shops, people's communes, Party, gov-  
ernment and mass organizations, schools and  
colleges, and among other city inhabitants. This  
will provide a reliable ideological and organiza-  
tional foundation for admitting new Party mem-  
bers.

In order to do a good job in admitting new Par-  
ty members in accordance with Chairman Mao's  
revolutionary line, it is also necessary to have  
a new leading body of a revolutionary three-  
in-one combination which resolutely carries  
out Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary  
line. Those comrades who are good in the liv-  
ing study and application of Mao Tse-tung's  
thought, truly go in for the proletarian revolu-  
tion and have vitality should be selected to lead-  
ing posts in the Party organization, and unified  
leadership should be formed gradually.

Oppose the restoration of the old. In any place

where the leading body is composed entirely of former personnel, has not drawn in proletarian new blood, has no revolutionary three-in-one combination or has only a nominal but not revolutionary three-in-one combination, it is impossible to do a good job in admitting new Party members. Such leading bodies cannot maintain close ties with the revolutionary masses. Therefore, it is very possible that they would admit some "middle-of-the-roaders" or "goody-goody old men" into the Party. It is even possible that they would let some double dealing bad people and careerists sneak into the Party while excluding those comrades who dare to make frontal attacks on class enemies and persist in principled struggle. Those places where there is the tendency to restore the old often form two centres because of their lack of unity on the principled basis of Chairman Mao's revolutionary line. The work in such places is often lifeless, flashy and without substance, stagnant and shows no progress. It has a rich tinge of an "independent kingdom". In these places new proletarian forces should be drawn in, the manifestations of the theory of "many centres" should be overcome, the leading bodies should be revolutionized through the mass movement of struggle-criticism-transformation and by following the mass line to the full; and a revolutionary core which resolutely carries out Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line should be formed gradually in the course of struggle.

Some comrades have committed errors but have conscientiously corrected them and are taking an active part in work. They are different from those who persist in their errors or refuse to work. They have discarded their wrong ideas and wrong style of work, and achieved a fairly deep understanding of Chairman Mao's revolutionary line. They have been reinvigorated by the new spirit of the proletariat that they have gained from the revolutionary masses. We should support and unite with such cadres and work with them. The errors they committed should be turned into lessons for everybody to bear in mind.

Oppose conservatism. There are people who always try to find fault with anything new arising from revolutionary mass movements and

complain about this or that. They invariably try to obstruct the establishment of revolutionary new order with conventional criteria and old habits.

In some places there is conservatism in regard to the activists applying for Party membership. There are cases of fine comrades who are of good class origin and are good ideologically but have been kept out of the Party five or six years, although they applied many times. Such situations should be rectified.

Blind faith in elections is also conservative thinking.

Chairman Mao pointed out recently: "OUR POWER; WHO GIVES IT TO US? THE WORKING CLASS GIVES IT, THE POOR AND LOWER-MIDDLE PEASANTS GIVE IT, AND THE MASSES OF LABOURING PEOPLE WHO COMPRISE OVER NINETY PER CENT OF THE POPULATION GIVE IT. WE REPRESENT THE PROLETARIAT AND THE MASSES, AND HAVE OVERTHROWN THE ENEMIES OF THE PEOPLE; THE PEOPLE THEREFORE SUPPORT US. ONE OF THE BASIC PRINCIPLES OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY IS TO RELY DIRECTLY ON THE REVOLUTIONARY MASSES." This most important instruction of Chairman Mao penetratingly shows the mass basis of the great might of the dictatorship of the proletariat, criticizes and repudiates the formalism of blind faith in elections, and gives the fundamental orientation for building the Party and revolutionary committees.

The revolutionary committee is a most representative revolutionary organ of power of the dictatorship of the proletariat since Liberation. But it is established not by elections but by relying directly upon the action of the great numbers of revolutionary people. In the revolutionary committees of the 29 provinces, municipalities and autonomous regions under the leadership of the proletarian headquarters headed by Chairman Mao and with Vice-Chairman Lin Piao as its deputy leader, there are four thousand members or so; about half are representatives of the revolutionary masses and the overwhelming

majority are representatives of the revolutionary workers, peasants and soldiers. These four thousand or so comrades were tested and tempered in the revolutionary storms and were selected as a result of repeated arguments, deliberations, consultations and investigations. Those who are cadres should be discussed and examined by the revolutionary masses and approved of by the leadership, and there are always partial reshuffles or adjustments. When a revolutionary committee is set up, more than one hundred thousand or hundreds of thousands of people attend the celebration rally; everyone knows about it and is overjoyed. Has any Party committee or government council or People's Congress in any part of the country in the past ever had such a mass basis? Has any won the understanding of and supervision by the revolutionary masses to such an extent? What decides the nature of a leading organ is the line it carries out and the class interests it reflects, not just the form it takes. Democracy has class characteristics. The revolutionary organ of power -- including its revolutionary cadres, old and new, from various fields of work -- is created by a thoroughgoing mass line in the revolutionary movement; it is more conformable to proletarian democracy and democratic centralism, and reflects the interests of the proletariat and the working people far more penetratingly than those produced only by means of elections in the past. This experience should also be drawn upon in regard to Party life.

Engels said: "A REVOLUTION IS CERTAINLY THE MOST AUTHORITARIAN THING THERE IS". The process of revolution is the process of getting rid of the waste and letting in the fresh. The establishment of provincial, municipal and autonomous-regional revolutionary committees under the leadership of the proletarian headquarters headed by Chairman Mao and with Vice-Chairman Lin Piao as its deputy leader, has proclaimed the recapture by the proletariat of all the power which was usurped by China's Khrushchov and his local agents, and proclaimed their loss of all posts in the Party, Government, finance and culture. This is self-evident and has long been an objective fact. The great proletar-

ian cultural revolution long ago swept China's Khrushchov, this renegade, traitor and scab, on to the garbage heap of history. He was long ago deprived by the revolution of all power and position both within the Party and outside it.

Getting rid of the waste and letting in the fresh in the ranks of revolutionary cadres is a constant process accompanying the continuous development of the revolution. Whether or not a cadre can stand firmly and consistently on the proletarian revolutionary line must be tested in protracted class struggle. This is also true of the cadres who have just begun work. They must take particular care not to separate themselves from the working people. Nevertheless, we must not be afraid of using cadres boldly on the ground that they might make mistakes. The labouring masses promote them to leading posts and will also constantly educate and help them and, when necessary, will dismiss them.

We must expel counter-revolutionaries and exploiting class elements from the Party; admit into the Party outstanding proletarian revolutionary rebels; select to leading Party organs at all levels those Communist Party members who faithfully carry out Chairman Mao's revolutionary line and are full of vigour; rely closely on the revolutionary masses; send cadres to do manual work regularly so that they can work at both higher and lower levels, both serve as "officials" and remain one of the common people, and make it a regular system. In this way, we can carry out in an all-round way Chairman Mao's instruction: "GET RID OF THE WASTE AND LET IN THE FRESH" and can smash all types of counter-attacks and last ditch struggles by revisionism. Under the leadership of our great leader Comrade Mao-tse-tung, the great, glorious and correct Chinese Communist Party -- the vanguard of the proletariat of China -- will lead the proletariat and the revolutionary people throughout the country with even greater vigour in defeating all reactionaries both at home and abroad, systematically dig out the roots of revisionism and victoriously accomplish the great historic mission of the dictatorship of the proletariat.

# Develop the Party's Working Style of Forging Close Links With the Masses

— In Commemoration of the 47th Anniversary of the  
Founding of the Communist Party of China

Editorial of *Renmin Ribao*, *Hongqi* and *Jiefangjun Bao*

**F**ULL of vigour, the great, glorious and correct Chinese Communist Party with Comrade Mao Tse-tung as its leader, ushers in the glorious day of its 47th anniversary during the great march towards all-round victory in the great proletarian cultural revolution.

Chairman Mao teaches us: "Armed with Marxist-Leninist theory and ideology, the Communist Party of China has brought a new style of work to the Chinese people, a style of work which essentially entails integrating theory with practice, forging close links with the masses and practising self-criticism." Our Party's excellent style of work of forging close links with the masses, which Chairman Mao has fostered personally, has been greatly developed and has aroused the masses to the full and displayed unprecedentedly great revolutionary power in transforming the world in the course of the tempestuous mass movement of the great proletarian cultural revolution and in the fierce struggle against the counter-revolutionary revisionist line of China's Khrushchov.

Now, the great proletarian cultural revolution has won decisive victory. The bourgeois reactionary forces, which have China's Khrushchov and company as their representatives, have failed ignominiously in their scheme to restore capitalism in China. Mao Tse-tung's thought and Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line are being grasped by the revolutionary masses. Revolutionary committees have been established at all levels in the overwhelming majority of areas of the country. The socialist motherland is thriving. The situation in the country is better than ever. However, the class struggle remains acute and complicated. The handful of class enemies who have been defeated and are at their last gasp will still put up a death-bed struggle. In these circumstances, the continued development of our Party's working style of forging close links with the masses is of extremely great significance for the consolidation and development of the victories of the

great proletarian cultural revolution, for the consolidation and growth of the newly established revolutionary committees, for strengthening the dictatorship of the proletariat and for carrying the great proletarian cultural revolution through to the end.

Chairman Mao recently made this penetrating statement: "To protect the masses or to repress them — here is the basic distinction between the Communist Party and the Kuomintang, between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie, and between the dictatorship of the proletariat and the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie."

Since the great proletarian cultural revolution is a great political revolution carried out by the proletariat against the bourgeoisie and all other exploiting classes, it has to advance through repeated and extremely fierce class struggles. The struggle between the bourgeoisie which attempts to stage a come-back and the proletariat which opposes its come-back will be a very protracted one. The gradual consolidation and growth of the revolutionary committees will be a process of serious class struggle. At the same time, it will be a process of learning from the masses and of constantly summing up experience. We must soberly recognize this. At present, the enemy is using every means to sow dissension between the new-born revolutionary committees and the masses and to destroy the ties which have been forged between them. He is going all-out to stir up an evil Right deviationist wind to reverse correct decisions in a vain effort to blur the distinction between classes and turn the struggle away from its general orientation; or he is sugar-coating his bullets to deceive and corrupt our comrades and alienate certain members of revolutionary committees from the masses. Taking these characteristics into account, the revolutionary committees must at all times direct the spearhead of struggle against the handful of diehard capitalist roaders, renegades, enemy agents, and the landlords, rich peasants, counter-revolutionaries, bad

elements and Rightists who have not reformed themselves. The revolutionary committees must take the initiative and lead the revolutionary masses in dealing steady, accurate and relentless blows at the enemy. And, at the same time, the revolutionary committees must, at all times and in all circumstances, firmly protect the masses. Reliance on the masses and the strengthening of the dictatorship of the proletariat are two aspects of the same question. Repudiation of Right opportunism, Right splittism and Right capitulationism, and taking stock of the class ranks have the same class content; both are aimed at protecting the masses and hitting at the small handful of class enemies. Revolutionary mass criticism and repudiation should be carried on vigorously in close combination with taking stock of the class ranks and with struggle-criticism-transformation in each unit. We must be good at seeing through and courageously exposing the attempts of the small handful of counter-revolutionaries to undermine and distort the strategic tasks put forward by the proletarian headquarters, and all the other dirty intrigues of the enemy. The revolutionary masses of various groupings must pay attention to building unity in the fight against the enemy and make a strict distinction between the two different types of contradictions in the complicated class struggle; they should be good both at dealing with contradictions among the people and at discerning contradictions between ourselves and the enemy.

Chairman Mao points out in his work *On the Correct Handling of Contradictions Among the People* that the first function of the dictatorship of the proletariat "is to suppress the reactionary classes and elements and those exploiters in our country who resist the socialist revolution, to suppress those who try to wreck our socialist construction, or in other words, to resolve the internal contradictions between ourselves and the enemy." Chairman Mao also says: "Who is to exercise this dictatorship? Naturally, the working class and the people under its leadership. Dictatorship does not apply within the ranks of the people. The people cannot exercise dictatorship over themselves, nor must one section of the people oppress another." What great significance there is in this extremely penetrating Marxist analysis by Chairman Mao in guiding us at the present time in handling the contradictions between ourselves and the enemy and those among the people (for instance, contradictions between revolutionary organizations)!

Chairman Mao points out: "Having close ties with the masses is most fundamental in reforming state organs." The masses are the source of strength for the political power of the proletariat. Resolute reliance on the masses of the people and having close ties with them is the fundamental hallmark distinguishing the political party of the proletariat and the political power

of the proletariat from all forms of political parties and political power of the bourgeoisie. The rich experience of revolutionary committees in many places has shown that the "three-in-one" revolutionary committee, born in the storm of the mass movement of the great proletarian cultural revolution and embracing representatives of the revolutionary masses, representatives of the armed forces and representatives of the revolutionary cadres, has a solid mass basis and inherently good conditions for linking itself with the masses. We must bring this advantage into full play and develop it, resolutely oppose the corrosion by bureaucracy, firmly reform old regulations and customs which divorce us from the masses, and constantly maintain the most extensive and close ties with the working people, so that the revolutionary committee is able to take deep root among the masses and become a vigorous, militant command post which is revolutionary and enjoys proletarian authority.

The members of the revolutionary committee are ordinary workers. They should go deep among the masses and not take special privileges. They should consult the masses extensively whenever there are problems and take an active part in socialist productive labour. Chairman Mao teaches us: "Take the ideas of the masses and concentrate them, then go to the masses, persevere in the ideas and carry them through, so as to form correct ideas of leadership—such is the basic method of leadership." Both the veteran revolutionary cadres and the new cadres who emerge in the mass movement of the great cultural revolution, must carry out this instruction of Chairman Mao's and always maintain flesh-and-blood ties with the masses. Their posts may change but they must not alter their working style of linking themselves with the masses.

The members of the revolutionary committee, no matter where they come from, should serve as representatives of the revolutionary masses and act in accordance with Mao Tse-tung's thought and proletarian Party spirit. They must not just represent certain small "mountain-strongholds" and fail to represent the vast revolutionary masses; they must not just unite a minority and ignore the overwhelming majority of people. Individualism, the "mountain-stronghold" mentality, "small group" mentality, sectarianism and anarchism are not proletarian ideology but bourgeois. Within the revolutionary committee, we must constantly use Mao Tse-tung's thought, that is, the world outlook of the proletariat, to criticize and repudiate all the influences of bourgeois ideology. Only in this way can the revolutionary great alliance and revolutionary committee be continuously consolidated.

The revolutionary masses should cherish the newborn revolutionary committees. The revolutionary committees should take the initiative in accepting criticism and supervision by the revolutionary masses. Wherever the masses constantly and enthusiastically and with an attitude of cherishing the committees, are able to offer

criticism and make suggestions for improving the work, this will be an indication that there are a good democratic atmosphere, vigour in work and close links between the revolutionary committees and the masses. Chairman Mao points out: "The Communist Party does not fear criticism because we are Marxists, the truth is on our side, and the basic masses, the workers and peasants, are on our side." As for the plots of the handful of enemies who, under the pretence of "criticism," stir up trouble and make vicious attacks in an attempt to shake the revolutionary committees, they must resolutely be exposed and dealt blows.

"The people, and the people alone, are the motive force in the making of world history." When we read this brilliant axiom of Chairman Mao, we feel how profound it is. The rich experience of the great proletarian cultural revolution has taught us that to carry out a thoroughgoing revolution against the bourgeoisie and all other exploiting classes, we must have the great guidance of Mao Tse-tung's thought, must arouse the broad masses of revolutionary people and rely on them, must rely on the People's Liberation Army and on the great majority of the cadres. China's Khrushchov and company, the handful of agents in our Party — agents of the remnants of the Kuomintang and the landlords, rich peasants, counter-revolutionaries, bad elements and Rightists, for a long time pushed an all-embracing counter-revolutionary, revisionist line and adopted the working style of the Kuomintang. In doing so, they were trying to divorce the Party and proletarian political power from the masses so as to achieve their criminal aim of concealing their reactionary features and restoring capitalism. The great proletarian cultural revolution initiated and being led by Chairman Mao has gone further in fundamentally solving the question of the links between the Party and political power and the masses, thus guaranteeing that our country will never change its political colour.

Mao Tse-tung's thought and Chairman Mao's revolutionary line represent the basic interests of the masses and embody the will and demands of the proletariat and the masses in the most concentrated way. The basic task of the revolutionary committee is this — to persist in the creative study and application of Mao Tse-tung's thought, unswervingly carry out Chairman Mao's revolutionary line, and ensure that the fighting tasks, principles and policies of the proletarian headquarters with Chairman Mao as the leader and Vice-Chairman Lin Piao as the deputy leader are grasped by the masses promptly, accurately and comprehensively and turned into their conscious action. Only in the process of striving to fulfil this task can the revolutionary committee have close ties with the masses and be one with them. In order to carry out this task on a still wider scale and in a penetrating way, further big efforts must be made to run Mao Tse-tung's thought

study classes of all types well; with the development of the revolutionary mass movement, new content must be added and the political consciousness of the revolutionary masses must be raised continuously so that Mao Tse-tung's thought study classes are turned into a tremendous force promoting the success of work of all kinds.

At historic turning points in winning great victories, such as on the eve of the victory of the War of Resistance Against Japan and at the approach of nationwide victory in the Liberation War, when Chairman Mao put forward the revolutionary tasks, line, principles and policies, he always warned the whole Party and called on it to pay great attention to the question of working style and to look upon the maintenance and development of the Party's traditional style of work as an important guarantee for uniting the whole Party and the revolutionary masses, overcoming difficulties, defeating the enemy and consolidating victory and carrying it forward.

The time is now not far off when all-round victory will be won in the great proletarian cultural revolution, yet it will take a very long time and require tremendous efforts to consolidate and develop this victory. As long as we rely on the people, believe firmly in the inexhaustible creative power of the masses and hence trust and identify ourselves with them, we can overcome every difficulty, and no enemy can crush us while we can crush any enemy.

The great proletarian cultural revolution is a great movement in which the revolutionary masses in their hundreds of millions are mobilized to rectify Party organizations. Under the guidance of Chairman Mao's proletarian line on Party building, the whole Party and the people throughout the country have undertaken revolutionary mass criticism and repudiation on an unprecedented scale against China's Khrushchov's counter-revolutionary revisionist line on Party building. Cleansed, tempered and tested by the storm of this mass movement, our Party has greatly strengthened its ties with the masses and it is becoming purer, stronger and more vigorous. In the great proletarian cultural revolution, we Party members in our vast numbers must be able to stand up to every harsh test of the class struggle, make further efforts to use Mao Tse-tung's thought to remould our world outlook and strive truly to be vanguards of the proletariat. Assuredly we will be able to fulfil the great historic mission of continuing to make revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat and make still greater contributions to the communist movement.

Long live the great, glorious and correct Communist Party of China!

Long live the invincible thought of Mao Tse-tung!

Long live our great leader Chairman Mao!