

WANG MING

**CHINA.
Cultural
Revolution
or
Counter-
Revolutionary
Coup?**

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ABOUT THE AUTHOR

Wang Ming (b. 1904), a CC CPC member, is a prominent figure in the Communist Party of China and in the world communist movement. In the 1930s he led the CPC Central Committee and was the CPC representative in the Comintern and a member of the Politsecretariat of the Comintern Executive. In 1935-37 he was a Presidium member of the Comintern Executive and a candidate member of its Secretariat. He has held high posts in the Communist Party of China for a number of years, and has strongly advocated the Comintern line and the principles of proletarian internationalism in Chinese revolution.

At the request of the *Canadian Tribune*, the central organ of the Communist Party of Canada, Wang Ming wrote an article on the so-called cultural revolution in China. The following is the full text of this article which was published in the *Canadian Tribune* on March 19, 1969.

China is at present in the grip of an unprecedentedly crucial moment of the sharp struggle between two lines: a struggle between the line of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism and the line of anti-Marxist Maoism and bourgeois nationalism, between the Chinese Republic's socialist development and the anti-socialist development of China.

In the latter half of 1966, relying on military units which he had deluded and on the hung-weiping and tsaofan organisations that had been set up by deceit and under pressure brought to bear by him, Mao Tse-tung used the screen of "cultural revolution" to launch an anti-communist, anti-popular counter-revolutionary military coup and establish a personal reactionary military dictatorship. At the close of July 1967 he sent paratroops and warships to strike at the garrison of the Wuhan Military District and to take bloody retribution against the working people of Wuhan. He followed this up by sending the 40th and 47th Armies and another five divisions against the revolutionary workers and revolutionary military units in Canton, causing enormous bloodshed among the revolutionary masses with such

heavy weapons as artillery, tanks and so forth. To this day Mao Tse-tung constantly uses armed force against Communists and working people, now in one place now in another. As a result, in the summer of 1967 a situation began to emerge in China which could cause the counter-revolutionary military coup to develop into an anti-people's civil war.

An unparalleled tragedy has overtaken the Communist Party and the long-suffering Chinese people in consequence of the counter-revolutionary crimes of Mao Tse-tung and his group. The gains of the Chinese revolution are threatened with total annihilation. The building of socialism in China faces complete collapse.

In domestic policy the Maoists are doing their utmost to drag China onto the dismal road of political reaction, economic chaos, cultural retrogression and poverty. In foreign policy they use all their resources to drag China onto the reactionary and dangerous road of hostility for the Soviet Union and other socialist countries, split the world communist and working-class movement, subvert the national liberation, social-progressive and democratic movements and also the world peace movement, and provoke another world war.

At the same time thousands upon thousands of Communists and Young Communist Leaguers, workers, peasants and intellectuals, officers and men of the PLA and of the public security forces, and foremost youths and juveniles have selflessly risen against the Maoist counter-revolutionary military coup and Mao Tse-tung's personal dictatorship. They have risen in defence of Marxism-Leninism, the

Communist Party and the legal state authority, in defence of the gains of the Chinese revolution and the cause of socialism. In contrast to Mao Tse-tung and his group they aim to put China, in domestic policy, on the bright road of political freedom, economic florescence, cultural progress and a happy life, and, in foreign policy, on the road to win progress, world security, on the road of friendship, co-operation, alliance and mutual assistance with the Soviet Union and other socialist countries, the road of unity and co-operation with the world communist and working-class movement and with the national liberation, social-progressive and democratic movements, the road of concerted struggle with all the peoples for world peace, to avert another world war.

At the very outset of the so-called "cultural revolution" Mao Tse-tung and his group had openly proclaimed that it was a life and death struggle between two roads, between two classes, between two lines. Countless facts show that the anti-communist, anti-Soviet, anti-popular counter-revolutionary Maoist group is indeed a "handful of people in authority taking the capitalist road", that they are in fact championing the interests of the bourgeoisie and pursuing a reactionary, bourgeois policy.

The leaders and cadres of the Party, state, military and mass organisations who are in the front ranks of the anti-Maoist revolutionary struggle are the real revolutionaries who are following the socialist road, and they are indeed championing the interests of the workers, peasants and intellectuals and pursuing a proletarian revolutionary policy.

Judging by indisputable facts and on the basis of my own experience gained in the struggle against the thought and policy of Mao Tse-tung in the course of decades, I should like first and foremost to say that the blame for the present catastrophic state in which the CPC and China now find themselves devolves primarily on Mao Tse-tung, on his thought and policy and his extremely self-centred, extremely careerist, criminal calculations.

At first Mao Tse-tung and his group shifted and dodged, claiming that Mao Tse-tung was accomplishing only a "cultural revolution", whose purpose was to "safeguard the dictatorship of the proletariat", "safeguard the socialist system", and "avert the restoration of capitalism". They said that the "cultural revolution" was aimed only at a "handful of persons in authority in the Party taking the capitalist road" and "champions of the bourgeois reactionary line", only against "counter-revolutionary revisionists", "traitors", and so on.

However, facts are stronger than demagogery. They cannot be twisted. Let us see what Mao Tse-tung is really doing.

TEN MAJOR CRIMES COMMITTED BY MAO TSE-TUNG IN CHINA

1. He is trying to expunge Marxism-Leninism from the minds of the Communists and working people of China and replace it with the anti-Marxist, anti-Leninist thought of Mao Tse-tung.

He insists that the "thought of Mao Tse-tung must capture all ideological positions", that the "thought of Mao Tse-tung are the highest instructions in all spheres of life", that the "thought of Mao Tse-tung is the absolute authority" and so forth. At the same time he declares that Marxism-Leninism is "obsolete" and trumpets that "the world has entered a new epoch—the epoch of the thought of Mao Tse-tung".

He has banned the reading of Marxist-Leninist literature. He burns progressive Marxist-Leninist literature. He calls Marxism-Leninism "revisionism" or "dogmatism". Earlier he had called Marxist-Leninists "dogmatists", now he calls them "counter-revolutionary revisionists" and persecutes and destroys them. He has made the persecution and destruction of Marxist-Leninists ideologically, politically, organizationally, spiritually and physically the principal means of eradicating Marxism-Leninism in China. Although at times he is compelled to use such an authoritative term as Marxism-Leninism as an honourable tag in the sale of his sinister anti-Marxist, anti-Leninist "thought" in China and abroad, everything he is doing proves that in effect he is using the screen of Marxism-Leninism to destroy Marxism-Leninism. Actually he is replacing Marxism-Leninism with the anti-Marxist, anti-Leninist reactionary "thought" of Mao Tse-tung.

2. He is smashing the Communist Party of China and preparing to replace it with an essentially anti-Communist party which will be "Communist" in name only.

In a tatzupao written by him personally on

August 5, 1966 he proclaimed the slogan "open fire at the headquarters" which was the signal for the rout of the CPC. He crushed the CC CPC that was elected by the 8th Congress of the CPC. According to reports from various sources, of the 174 members and alternate members of the CC CPC nearly four-fifths have been subjected to repression. All the members of the Political Bureau of the CC and its Standing Committee as well as of the Secretariat of the CC, elected prior to the 11th Plenary Meeting of the CC, with the exception of Mao Tse-tung and a few persons from his group, have been brutally persecuted on the basis of all sorts of false accusations. They include the Deputy Chairman of the CC Liu Shao-chi, Chu Teh, Chen Yun, the General Secretary of the CC Teng Hsiao-ping, members of the Political Bureau Peng Teh-huai, Ho Lung, Chen Yi, Peng Chen, Tan Chen-lin, Lu Fu-chun, Lieu Po-cheng, Tung Pi-wu, Li Hsien-nien, Li Ching-chaun, alternate members of the Political Bureau Ulanfu, Chang Wen-tien, Lu Ting-yi, Po Yi-po, members of the CC Secretariat Wang Chia-hsiang, Tang Cheng, Teng Tzu-hui, Huan Ke-cheng, Lo Jui-ching, Tao Chu, Wang Jen-chung, Liu Ning-i, Li Hsueh-feng, alternate members of the CC Secretariat Yang Shang-kun, Hu Chiao-mu and Liu Lang-tao. All these comrades were without foundation accused of "counter-revolutionary revisionism", branded "traitors" and "elements against the three" ("elements opposing Mao Tse-tung, the Party and socialism") and subjected to cruel repression, persecution and insults. Of these some were "defiled", others "defeated", still others

"overthrown", arrested, killed, declared as deserving to be "burnt alive", slandered, insulted or publicly humiliated. Premier of the State Council Chou En-lai, who was also Deputy Chairman of the CC, until the 11th Plenary Meeting of the CC, was likewise repeatedly declared by the hungweipings as deserving to be "burnt alive". Even Tao Chu, who was elected a member of the Political Bureau and of its Standing Committee at the 11th Plenary Meeting of the CC, has been subjected to brutal repression, while Nieh Hung-chen, Hsueh Hsiang-chen and Yeh Chien-ying, who were elected members of the Political Bureau, have fallen into disfavour. Mao Tse-tung is destroying Party committees and CPC cells of all levels. Wherever it has been possible he has sent hungweipings, tsaofans, the military and the police mercilessly to smash territorial bureaus of the CC CPC, provincial, municipal, district, county and regional Party committees, and Party cells at workshops, factories, mines, transport organisations and rural production teams, and also brutally to persecute and destroy leading functionaries and cadres of the Party committees.

The persecution and physical annihilation of Party leaders, cadres and rank-and-file members has become Mao Tse-tung's main means of destroying the CPC.

Mao Tse-tung and his group have dealt our Party a severe blow such as the international imperialists, the Peiyang warlords or the Kuomintang of Chiang Kai-shek and Wang Ching-wei could not inflict in the course of decades. But they have not been able to destroy

the Party, which has nearly 25 million members and enjoys tremendous prestige and the all-round support of the working class and the whole people.

Although in issuing orders and instructions for all sorts of sinister actions Mao Tse-tung still demagogically uses the name of such an authoritative organ as the CC CPC, it is nothing more than what is correctly described in a Chinese proverb, which says: "Where the skin is lost what is the hair to cling on to?" Since Mao Tse-tung has already routed the Communist Party of China and its leading organs—the CC and its Political Bureau—how and on what grounds can he still call himself Chairman of the Military Committee of the CC CPC? Since these organs of the CPC have, in effect, ceased to exist, on what grounds does Mao Tse-tung commit acts of villainy in their name? What right does Mao Tse-tung have to use the name of the CC CPC to guide the so-called "Group for Cultural Revolution Affairs at the CC CPC" to all sorts of anti-communist, anti-popular, counter-revolutionary crimes? Who gave Mao Tse-tung the right to convene the so-called 11th and 12th "plenary meetings of the CC CPC"? No matter how much he tries to use the signboards "CPC" and "CC CPC" to mask his real face, all his actions betray him as an anti-Communist from head to toe. His group is incontestably an anti-Communist clique. He bends every effort to destroy the CPC as a genuine Marxist-Leninist, revolutionary Party of the working class, a Party that emphatically opposes the reactionary thought and policies of Mao Tse-tung in general, and his

counter-revolutionary military coup masked as a "cultural revolution" in particular.

He plans to organize a false Communist Party of his supporters to supersede the former real CPC. A campaign to "prepare" for the so-called "9th Congress of the CPC" was conducted for this purpose last year. Actually these were not preparations for the 9th Congress of the CPC but only preparations for an assemblage of anti-Communists, of Maoists.

The decision of the so-called "12th Extended Plenary Meeting of the CPC" was published recently in Peking. This, as everybody knows, was a plenary meeting without the participation of the overwhelming majority of members and alternate members of the CC CPC. Instead, it was attended by members of the so-called "Group for Cultural Revolution Affairs", representatives of the hungweipings and tsaofans, of the provincial "revolutionary committees" and of military leaders favoured by Mao Tse-tung. Incidentally, Mao Tse-tung granted all of them the "right of a casting vote" of members of the CC CPC. The decision stated that the so-called "9th Congress of the CPC" would be convened in the immediate future. On the one hand this decision proclaimed that delegates to this "congress" must be those who were utterly devoted to Chairman Mao and to his thought, those who had shown this devotion in the course of the "cultural revolution", that is, those hungweipings, tsaofans and military who had been particularly vicious. On the other hand, it was announced that there would be another purge of Communists, Young Communist Leaguers, foremost workers, intellectuals

and peasants at every office, factory and educational institution, in every people's commune and in every family. Moreover, the draft of the so-called "New Rules of the CPC" to be submitted for endorsement to the coming "9th Congress" have been circulated. This is a monstrous anti-Communist and anti-democratic document. Mao Tse-tung's notorious thesis of "removing the old and absorbing the new", which has been given wide publicity in recent months and has now been formally included in the above-mentioned "draft Rules", is a cynically frank admission of the fact that he is preparing to make away completely with the real Communist Party of China and replace it with a new false Communist Party, which he plans to use to further his personal aims. All this irrefutably proves that the so-called "9th Congress of the CPC" will be, in fact, a gathering of Mao Tse-tung's toadies even though a small group of leading functionaries and cadres of the CPC are to be allowed to attend in order to hide its real face with the purpose of misleading the Chinese people and public opinion abroad. But their participation cannot in the least change its true, anti-Communist nature. "Delegations" from foreign pseudo-Communist parties will most certainly attend this gathering. It will indeed be a conclave of traitors and renegades of all hues, who together sing an anti-Communist, anti-Soviet, anti-popular tune under the direction of Mao Tse-tung.

A new Maoist anti-Marxist, anti-Leninist, reactionary party, "Communist" in name but anti-Communist in substance is to be formed at this gathering. Mao Tse-tung reckons that this

is the only kind of party which he can use as a blind tool to prop up his tottering imperial throne and pursue reactionary domestic and foreign policies. He calculates that this is the only kind of party that can be used as an obedient tool for the continuation of the sinister work he has bequeathed to Lin Piao, the successor he has himself appointed. Judging by reports from various sources, after this false Communist Party is formed Mao Tse-tung plans to follow the example of his predecessor and teacher—the Judas Trotsky—to set up an anti-Communist, counter-revolutionary Maoist "International". I am deeply convinced that not only Chinese Communists and the Chinese people but also Communists and their friends throughout the world take a firm stand against these machinations of Mao Tse-tung.

3. He has smashed state organs of the democratic dictatorship of the people and is replacing them with the machinery of his personal reactionary military dictatorship.

Mao Tse-tung tried to use the slogan of the destruction of the old bourgeois state machine as a pretext for crushing the constitutional state organs of people's power in China. He has completely paralyzed the higher legislative body—the National People's Congress and its Standing Committee, both of which had been elected in accordance with the Constitution. The Chairman, Deputy Chairmen, members of the Standing Committee and most of the deputies of the NPC have been savagely persecuted on all sorts of false accusations levelled at them by Mao Tse-tung.

To all intents and purposes, the State Coun-

cil, which is the highest organ of executive power in China, has also been paralyzed. More than two-thirds of the Premier's deputies have been relieved of their posts or arrested, and the remaining deputies have been slandered and attacked by the hungweipings and tsaofans.

With the exception of the Defence Ministry and a few other offices, the ministries and state committees subordinated to the State Council were placed under the control of hungweipings and tsaofans and then an integrated military control was established over them. Many high-ranking officials of the State Council and Ministries have been killed, wounded, baited until they lost their health or subjected to other repressions in the form of unbearable, humiliating or health-destroying hard labour.

Provincial and lower people's congresses and "people's" councils have been made away with, and legal organs—people's courts and people's procurator's offices of all levels—have likewise ceased to function. Their heads and cadres have been either persecuted or physically destroyed. The exceptions are the members of the national bourgeoisie in all legislative and executive bodies. They have not been touched at all by Mao Tse-tung.

Mao Tse-tung has elected to liquidate the Party backbone and foremost representatives of non-Party people in organs of power as the cardinal means of destroying these organs. In planting so-called "revolutionary committees", Mao Tse-tung counted on creating a weapon of his personal military dictatorship. Their paramount task is to persecute and annihilate Communists, Young Communist Leaguers, revolution-

ary servicemen and foremost workers, peasants and intellectuals. As soon as a so-called "revolutionary committee" was set up, hungweipings led by the chairman of the "revolutionary committee" publicly smashed the signboards of the local CPC committee and of the people's committee. This was followed by the publication of notices ordering all officials of local Party organizations and Communists as well as cadres of the organs of power to register at the "revolutionary committee" within three days and await further sanctions. Arrest, exile, imprisonment or murder awaited many of those who registered and also those who did not register but were later discovered. Communists who headed provincial or other local Party organizations or people's committees and charged with being "counter-revolutionary revisionists", "traitors" or "Soviet spies" were brutally executed at public rallies in many localities where so-called "revolutionary committees" were formed. Are these not typical features of an anti-communist coup of any counter-revolution? The key role in the "revolutionary committees" is played by military people whom Mao Tse-tung still manages to delude. The so-called "Leftist elements" (hungweipings and tsaofans) are merely their assistants, while the few former Party and administrative cadres who have been recruited with the help of the "tripartite alliance" slogan play the role of supernumeraries. In spite of Mao Tse-tung's having proclaimed the slogans of "struggle against the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie" and "defence of the dictatorship of the proletariat", all his actions prove the

reverse: behind the screen of "defending the dictatorship of the proletariat" he is destroying the people's power and replacing it with his personal reactionary military dictatorship.

4. He is inflicting harm on the People's Liberation Army, splitting its ranks and employing it as a blind tool for his own personal ends directed against the Party and the people.

Mao Tse-tung has used part of the PLA as an instrument of the counter-revolutionary coup and reactionary personal military dictatorship; concentrated part of the PLA on seizing power from Communist Party and the people's government, killing Communists, workers, peasants and intellectuals; incited one part of the PLA against another part and ordered the PLA to pursue his reactionary policy of "three supports"¹ and "two military measures".²

He utilized the abolition of military ranks as a means for isolating in one blow the marshals, generals and officers who held no military posts from any contact with the army. Mao Tse-tung

¹ Three supports: "support of the Lefts," meaning support of the hungweipings and tsaofans, "support of industry" and "support of agriculture," which means the establishment of military control over the country's entire economy.

² Two military measures: "military administration," which signifies the establishment of a military regime in the cities and countryside, in factories, offices and educational establishments to watch the workers, peasants, intellectuals and students and persecute them; "military training," which means that the entire population, young and old, is forced at the point of the bayonet "to study Mao Tse-tung's thought" and that military drill is introduced in schools and higher educational establishments.

purged and persecuted marshals, generals, officers and sergeants of the PLA. Of the nine marshals, all except Lin Piao have been subjected to brutal persecution and indignities and some, for example, Marshals Peng Teh-huai and Ho Lung, have even been arrested. The number of generals and admirals of the army, navy and air force removed from their posts and persecuted, runs, according to incomplete data, from 70 to 80. According to information from various sources, among those purged are four Deputy Defence Ministers, the Chief of the General Staff and several of his Deputies, Chief of the Operational Department of the General Staff and his Deputy, Chief of the Central Political Administration and two of his Deputies, three Deputy Commissars of the Public Security Forces, three Deputy Commanders, the Commissar and First Deputy Commissar of the Navy, the Commander, four Deputy Commanders and three Commissars of the Artillery, seven Deputy Commanders, the Commissar and two Deputy Commissars of the Air Force, Commander of the Armoured Forces and his Deputy, three Deputy Commanders and Deputy Commissar of the Railway Forces, Deputy Commander of the Engineers, Commander of the Anti-Aircraft Forces, five Deputy Chiefs, the Commissar and Deputy Commissar of the Central Administration of the Logistics Service, and so on.

Still more commissars and political workers were persecuted among the medium-rank and junior officers. More than half of the personnel in the General Staff and the Central Political Administration of the PLA have been removed

from their posts and persecuted; the removal and persecution of the commanders of the Peking Military Area and the Peking garrison was even reported on two occasions. The facts show that Mao Tse-tung and Lin Piao not only carried through a mass purge, persecuted and annihilated the higher commanders and commissars and also the commanders and political workers of all ranks in the former First, Second and Third Field Armies, which they have always regarded as an alien body, but they also purged, persecuted and annihilated, group after group, the higher commanders, commissars, commanders and political workers of the former Fourth Field Army whom Mao Tse-tung and Lin Piao did not trust or who Chiang Ching thought did not obey her orders. They are ruthlessly purging the communist backbone of the PLA and are planning to replace wholesale the cadres of Communists and members of the Young Communist League in the PLA with the new men tried and tested in the course of the "cultural revolution". All this is being done to make it easier for Mao Tse-tung, Lin Piao and Chiang Ching to usurp all the power in the PLA and to convert, in a conspiratorial way, the People's Liberation Army, created and led by the Communist Party, into their personal anti-communist hordes directed against the people.

They have already set up special army units directly subordinated to the "headquarters of Mao Tse-tung". It is only with the help of these units that Communists, the population and "unreliable" detachments of the PLA are suppressed and the "revolutionary committees" in

the localities are protected. All this demonstrates the fear of Mao Tse-tung and his supporters in face of the dissatisfaction mounting in the army. Indeed, the commanders, political workers and soldiers of the PLA will not be able to tolerate for long the present situation. Sooner or later they will rise up to fight against Mao Tse-tung and his group, for the restoration of a genuine Chinese Communist Party and the building of socialism in China.

5. He is ruining the younger generation; he has disbanded the Young Communist League of China and is replacing it with the reactionary organisation of hungweipings.

On the one hand, Mao Tse-tung has disbanded the Young Communist League and the Young Pioneer Organisation and is brutally persecuting the leaders of the YCL and the Young Pioneers, their functionaries and YCL members. On the other hand, utilising the military and the police as the leading core and backbone of command, he has by coercion and deception compelled part of the university students and secondary and elementary school pupils to organise in hungweipings and to play the part of the storm detachments in villifying, hounding, insulting, beating up, arresting and killing people and in arranging arson—all according to his wishes—to act as small fry, as bullies who shed their blood to stage the "rebellion" and the seizure of power he wanted.

He has compelled millions of young people and children to waste their valuable time, to drop their studies, to undergo moral corruption and to lose their health and life. He has committed a grave crime, crippling the growing

generation of the Chinese people. He has wounded the soul of tens of millions of fathers and mothers anxious for the fate of their young sons and daughters.

Those whom Mao Tse-tung and his group wanted abused and insulted were abused and insulted on their orders by the hungweipings at their assemblages. Those whom Mao Tse-tung and his group wanted purged or ousted from office were, on their orders, marked down by the hungweipings, who, at their rallies and demonstrations demanded that they be purged or ousted from office. Those whom they wanted beaten up, were, on their orders, beaten up by the hungweipings. Those whom they wanted to arrest, on their orders were arrested by the hungweipings. Those whom they wanted to kill, on their orders were killed by the hungweipings. The books they wanted to burn and the historical monuments they wanted to destroy, on their orders were burned and destroyed by the hungweipings. But all these actions, committed by them through their puppets, just as the "campaign to rectify style" and other false "mass movements", staged by Mao Tse-tung in the past, are demagogically pictured by them as a result of applying the "line of the masses", that is, "the line from the masses—to the masses", as some kind of "big democracy" of the masses, as a "real mass movement" and "demands of the masses". But all their demagogic cannot deceive anyone. When the hungweipings were sent to commit their infamies, Mao Tse-tung and his group repeatedly and openly declared that no one, no institution or organisation, including military institutions, had

the right to interfere in the actions of the hungweipings or stop them, because the hungweipings were the "little initiators" and "the vanguard" which was carrying out the "cultural revolution" under the personal guidance, the personal organisation and personal leadership and command of Mao Tse-tung. Similarly, the hungweipings, too, often shouted that Mao Tse-tung was their "supreme commander-in-chief", that they were the "guards commanded by Chiang Ching".

Replacing the Young Communist League and Young Pioneer Organisation, by hungweipings and hunghsiaopings, Mao Tse-tung thereby wanted not only to abolish the assistants and reserve of the Communist Party, but also to abolish the most politically conscious, the most organised vanguard of the youth and children, the vanguard richest in revolutionary traditions, in order to make the young people and children easily susceptible to his fraud and convert them into his personal reactionary tool for any crime.

Today many hungweiping detachments have escaped this control and millions of young people have become aware of the criminal character of the "cultural revolution" and the reactionary nature of Mao Tse-tung's "thought". The Mao Tse-tung group is brutally suppressing them, sending millions of young men and women to remote areas and to the countryside in order that they should not be able to raise a rebellion against Mao Tse-tung and his group in the cities under the selfsame slogan "a rebellion is a just cause!" But this does not save the situation, because they can raise an anti-Mao

"rebellion" not only in the cities together with the masses of workers, but also in the villages, together with the peasant masses. There is no doubt whatsoever that China's younger generation cannot tolerate for long the present situation. It will necessarily rise up more and more to struggle against the baneful regime of Mao Tse-tung and his group, for a bright future for themselves and their country.

6. He is attacking the working class and splitting its ranks. He has disbanded the All-China Federation of Trade Unions.

Mao Tse-tung is breaking up the Party of the working class—the Chinese Communist Party. He has disbanded mass organisations of the working class—the All-China Federation of Trade Unions and trade unions of all levels, is brutally persecuting the leaders, functionaries and rank and file of the trade unions.

Mao Tse-tung is openly advocating a reduction of wages. He has abolished piece-rates and bonuses. He openly calls for lowering the living standard of the working class to that of the rural population. On the pretext of "the struggle against counter-revolutionary economism", he is against improving the life of factory and office workers, is arresting and killing all who advocate an improvement in the life of factory and office workers. Ignoring the difficult living conditions of the workers, he pursues the so-called "combination of industry, agriculture and military affairs", compelling the workers, in addition to their jobs, to engage also in agriculture and undergo military drill. He has sent to each industrial, mining and transport enterprise military units for permanent billeting in

order to institute military control over the workers and other employees and bring military pressure to bear on them. Before their shift starts, workers and other employees are forced to recite and sing "quotations" in front of Mao Tse-tung's portrait. This is called "asking Chairman Mao for directives"; at the end of the shift, they also recite and sing "quotations"—"report to Chairman Mao about their work for the day". Military men make use of every free minute to compel the workers and other employees "to study Mao Tse-tung's thought", depriving them of any possibility of resting.

By coercion and deception he forces part of the workers and other employees to organise into so-called tsaofans, to attack the overwhelming majority of the workers and other employees at factories, mines and on transport as conservatives and reactionaries, to rebel against them and capture power from them. This splits the unity of the working class and causes conflicts in their ranks. On many occasions Mao Tse-tung has falsely proclaimed that "in conditions of the dictatorship of the proletariat there are no grounds within the working class for necessarily splitting into two irreconcilably hostile camps". But the question is asked, who split the working class into two irreconcilably hostile camps? Was it not Mao Tse-tung and his group? The aim pursued by Mao Tse-tung in splitting the working class is, on the one hand, to prevent the working class from being a solidly-knit and united foremost leading force in China's political and social life and, on the other, to prevent the working class

from acting as a solidly-knit and united force against the counter-revolutionary military coup of Mao Tse-tung.

Recently, under the demagogic slogans that the "working class must lead everything" and "the proletariat must exercise its dictatorship in the entire superstructure, including all the spheres of ideology and culture", Mao Tse-tung has forcibly organised so-called "workers' brigades for the propaganda of Mao Tse-tung's thought". Actually these are a kind of detachments of storm troopers who act merely as assistants of military units in suppressing the intelligentsia, hungweipings and other student youth; they have nothing in common either with the "leadership of everything by the working class" or with the dictatorship of the proletariat. This venture of Mao Tse-tung is foul mockery of the ideas of scientific communism about the leading role of the working class and the dictatorship of the proletariat.

Though Mao Tse-tung resorts to various methods of blackmail and deception in an attempt to rally the working class under the banner of "Mao Tse-tung's thought" to support his reactionary rule, the facts show that the working class of China wishes to rally only under the banner of Marxism-Leninism so as to fight unitedly against the anti-Marxist "Mao Tse-tung's thought" and the anti-communist, anti-proletarian Mao group.

7. He is persecuting the working peasants and is ruining socialist construction in the countryside.

Mao Tse-tung is shifting responsibility for the failure of the people's communes in the

countryside onto rural cadres and the peasants. Since 1962, he under the guise of the "movement for socialist education" has been effecting brutal persecution of the peasants, named the "four purges" (that is, "purge of ideology, purge of politics, purge of organisations and purge of the economy").

In the course of the so-called "cultural revolution" he has even further stepped up the endless indignities, arrests and killing of the cadres and members of rural people's communes, has broken up the Party, Young Communist League and administrative organisations of the people's communes, production teams, and so on.

He, as before, adheres to the erroneous division of the middle peasants into three sections: higher, average and lower, constantly compelling and provoking the so-called poor and lower middle peasants to hound the so-called average and higher middle peasants; he is wrongly ousting the well-to-do middle peasants from the middle-peasant ranks and destroying them as the main representatives of capitalism in the countryside. All this is ruining the internal solidarity of the peasants, undermining their labour enthusiasm and impeding the development of socialist agriculture.

He, far from abolishing the system of the food tax, far from establishing single rational rates and purchase prices of farm produce, even decided to raise the food tax, increasing thereby the burden borne by the peasants. Moreover, he is also applying the notorious "combination of industry, agriculture and military affairs" compelling the peasants, in addition to farming, to

engage in industrial production and undergo military drill. He sent military units for permanent billeting in the countryside in order to institute military control and supervision over the work and life of the peasants. Members of peasant families, men and women, aged and young, are forced every day to waste much time in memorising "quotations" and "studying" Mao Tse-tung's thought, robbing the peasants of rest after arduous work.

On the pretext of fighting against "counter-revolutionary revisionism" he is rejecting the system of workday units, based on the principle of payment according to work done, and also material incentives—rewards for increasing production. Under the cover of the notorious slogan of "reliance on one's own forces", the state does not render the necessary financial, economic and technical assistance to collective farming which was just getting under way, assistance to the peasants who lead a wretched and hard life. As a result of Mao's pursuing this entire wrong policy China's agriculture, as hitherto, is extremely backward and the life of the peasants remains poor and hard.

But the working peasants cannot tolerate such a situation for long. They necessarily will rise up more and more to resolute mass struggle against Mao Tse-tung for improving their material and cultural standards.

8. He is destroying culture and education, destroying the cultural heritage, persecuting and annihilating the intelligentsia.

To "defend the absolute authority of Mao Tse-tung and of Mao Tse-tung's thought", he is destroying the precious national cultural

heritage accumulated and preserved in China throughout the millenniums; he is also seeking to wipe out the influence of progressive foreign culture. He is burning Marxist-Leninist literature published in China and other countries, destroying progressive books of national and foreign origin. He is destroying the works of classics and contemporary writers and artists: novels—from Cervantes, Balzac and Ibsen to Leo Tolstoy, Gorky and Sholokhov; poems—from Homer, Dante and Heine to Whitman, Hikmet and Neruda; musical compositions—from Mozart and Beethoven to Chaikovsky and Shostakovich; the works of Shakespeare, Gogol and Tagore, paintings of Leonardo da Vinci, Rembrandt, Picasso and Siqueiros—all this is regarded by Mao Tse-tung as objects which have to be destroyed.

He prohibits the showing of plays and films of different countries in China. Even Chaplin's films and Paul Robeson's records have been placed under a strict ban by him.

He is destroying the works of the classics and contemporary writers and artists of China: poems—from Chu Yuan, Tao Yuan-ming, Li Po, Tu Fu, Po Chu-i, Lu Fang-weng to Hsiao San and Ai Ching; novels—from Lo Kuang-chung, Shih Nai-an, Wu Chen-en, Tsao Hsueh-ching to Ting Ling, Lao She and Chao Shu-li; plays—from Kuang Han-ching, Wang Shih-fu to Mei Lan-fan, Tien Han and Tsao Yu; musical compositions—from Yu Po-ya, Tsai Wen-chi, Chi Kang to Nieh Erh, Hsi Hsin-hai and Huo Lu-ting, paintings—from Su Tung-po, Chen Pan-chiao to Chi Pai-shih and Hsu Pei-tung; works on history—from Ssuma Chien,

Ou-yang Hsiu to Lu Chen-you and Hou Wai-lou—all this is regarded by Mao Tse-tung as objects which have to be destroyed.

All plays and films, which have not been revised by Chiang Ching and do not extol Mao Tse-tung have been banned by him. Artists beloved by the entire people like Chou Hsin-fang, Yan Hui-chu and Pai Yang are persecuted by him.

He has dug up the graves of the ancient Chinese thinker Confucius, the national hero Shin Ko-fa, the world-renowned painter Chi Pai-shih, the well-known leader of the CPC and man of letters Chu Chiu-po, burned the memorial museum of the hero of the Tai Ping revolution Li Hsiu-chen and destroyed the monument to the great revolutionary democrat Sun Yat-sen and the monument to the world-renowned poet Pushkin.

Mao Tse-tung is destroying Buddhist and Taoistic temples and pagodas which are of great cultural and artistic value, desecrating and destroying Moslem mosques. He has inflicted on the Chinese nation losses in the sphere of culture which are incalculable and irreparable.

Under the guise of "struggle against authorities" he brutally persecutes prominent intellectuals in all fields of knowledge. He mercilessly baits philosophers, historians, economists, lawyers, medical workers, mathematicians, chemists, physicists, biologists and other scientists and specialists in social and natural sciences. Under the pretext that literary and art workers of the 1930s followed the so-called "Wang Ming line" and the trends in Russian literary criticism and that

the literature and art of China were not in accord with the thought of Mao Tse-tung, all CPC officials and prominent non-party literary and art workers of the period from the 1920s to 1960s inclusive were dubbed "counter-revolutionary revisionists" and "counter-revolutionary black bandits"; they were subjected to arrests, beatings and humiliation, forced to march through the streets wearing dunce caps, condemned to hard labour or killed.

Under the slogan "seize all the positions of public opinion", Mao Tse-tung routed newspaper and magazine offices throughout the country, and arrested, humiliated and exiled to hard labour or killed newsmen. More than 500 newspapers and magazines have been closed down.

To prevent the intellectuals from offering him organised resistance, he dissolved and routed the All-China Federation of Literary and Art Circles, the All-China Association of Educational Workers, the All-China Journalists' Association and other mass professional and scientific organisations of the intellectuals.

Under the slogan of struggle against the "counter-revolutionary revisionist system of education" he, in effect, stopped the work of all educational institutions in the country. Mao Tse-tung harshly persecutes and annihilates educationalists, he has burnt the bulk of the text-books and decided greatly to shorten the period of study in all educational establishments and to turn all higher, special and military-political schools into short-term courses (from a few months to a year) of the Kanda type that existed from the close of the 1930s to the beginning of the 1940s in Yenan.

He forces young people and children to read less and even not to read at all. He has instructed all educational institutions to replace scientific and literary text-books with his book of *Quotations and Selected Works of Mao Tse-tung*.

Already in the beginning of the so-called cultural revolution the hungweipings acting on Mao Tse-tung's orders burned text-books on various subjects and named their former teachers and employees of educational institutions "counter-revolutionary black bandits" and "revisionists"; they humiliated them in all manner of ways, subjected them to public dishonour and beatings and assassinated them. As a result studies in China's educational establishments cannot be resumed to this day. This situation is exactly what Mao Tse-tung had planned. Only in such a situation can he, on the one hand, direct a great mass of the hungweipings into the army (according to available information 500,000 have already been sent there) and thus gradually change the composition of the officers and rank-and-file of the PLA, and, on the other, send servicemen into educational institutions of all levels so that henceforth primarily only two subjects, "Mao Tse-tung's thought" and military training, should be taught.

This discloses his great fears of intellectuals and of knowledge. That is why he not only persecutes and exterminates the best part of the Chinese intelligentsia, but also pursues a policy of stupefying the people thus preventing the younger generation of China from becoming knowledgeable people and turning them into a crowd of fools. Knowing only Mao Tse-tung and his thought they can become no more than the blind tools of Mao Tse-tung and his group and would

be ready to fulfil all their wishes and suffer any sacrifice for their sake.

In destroying culture and the cultural heritage, in annihilating the intellectuals and enforcing the policy of stupefying the people Mao Tse-tung has committed incomparably greater crimes than Chin Shih-Huang-ti (first emperor of the Chin dynasty) who in the 3rd century B. C. burned books and buried alive several hundred Confucianists for which he was cursed by the people for all times. In the 20th century there are many more intellectuals in China and they are much wiser than the intellectuals of the 3rd century B. C.; they will assuredly find appropriate ways of punishing Mao Tse-tung, the present, second Chin Shih-Huang-ti, this most despotic of all the despots in China's history.

9. He conducts a barbarous great-Han chauvinistic policy with regard to the national minorities and annihilates their revolutionary leaders and cadres.

Following the traditions of the reactionary regimes of Chinese feudal emperors, the Peiyan warlords and Chiang Kai-shek, Mao Tse-tung uses military-police forces to decimate national minorities; he steadfastly enforces a policy of great-Han chauvinism which finds its expression in discrimination, disparagement, repressions, forcible assimilation or resettlement and disrespect for the faiths, customs and traditions of the national minorities.

At the outset of the so-called cultural revolution he sent numerous hungweiping detachments from Peking to Inner Mongolia, Sinkiang, Ning-sia, Chinghai, Tibet, Kwangsi, Yunnan, Kwei-chow and other regions inhabited by national mi-

norities where they destroyed temples and mosques, insulted the believers, committed murders and arson, "rebelled" and seized power. He used military units deceived by him to annihilate cadres and ordinary citizens—Mongols, Tungkangs, Chuangs, Tibetans, Tais, Miaoos and others. Mao Tse-tung arrests and persecutes Party, administrative and military leaders of the Mongol, Uighur, Tungkang and other peoples. He tests atomic and hydrogen bombs in regions inhabited by the national minorities, caring little for their health or lives.

He dispatched military units consisting of national minorities to Canton to attack the workers and the troops remaining loyal to the revolution, and incited them to fratricidal slaughter making cat's paws of other people to be able to fish in muddy waters.

These crimes of Mao Tse-tung are alien to Marxist-Leninist national policy and a betrayal of proletarian internationalism. They evoked not only vigorous resistance and armed struggle of the national minorities, but also opposition to his reactionary policy and compassion for the national minorities on the part of those local Party and administrative workers and servicemen of the Han people who adhere to the Marxist-Leninist internationalist tradition. Accordingly in some regions inhabited by national minorities, the leaders, cadres and the masses of the Han people¹ have been rallying together with the national minorities for joint resistance against Mao Tse-tung.

¹ There are more than 50 nations and nationalities in the CPR. The Han nation accounts for over 90 per cent of the total population.

10. He does everything to protect the national bourgeoisie and co-operates with domestic and external reaction.

According to Mao Tse-tung's theory of "new democratism", the bourgeoisie is a class which exercises dictatorship jointly with the workers, peasants and the petty bourgeoisie. In his explanation of the national flag of the CPR—red with five stars—he says that the bourgeoisie is an equal member of society just as the working class, peasantry and the petty bourgeoisie. Therefore he attaches particular significance and grants special privileges to the national bourgeoisie in the spheres of policy, economy and social status. In the economic sphere, immediately after the country's liberation Mao Tse-tung acceded to the demands of the national bourgeoisie and allowed them to retain capital and profits, thus fostering the development of capitalism. In 1956, after the establishment of the joint state-private administration of industry and trade he decided to pay an annual 5 per cent guaranteed profit to the capitalists for a period of 5-7 years. In 1962, upon the expiration of this term, Mao Tse-tung decided to prolong the payment of profits for another five years. This period has also expired and he has once again decided to continue paying out profits for another... 10 years.

At the same time the administration of all state-private enterprises in effect remained in the hands of the capitalists. Occupying the posts of directors, managers, engineers and so forth, capitalists receive salaries several times higher than those paid to other people holding the same jobs. Prior to the adoption of the Constitution, at the time when the so-called new democratic policy

was being put through, representatives of the bourgeoisie made up a considerable part of the People's Political Consultative Conference. A considerable number of them also held the posts of heads and their deputies in the Central People's Government Council and the State Administrative Council, in its ministries and committees. On top of that they had a fairly large number of official posts in the consultative councils and administrative bodies in all major, medium and small towns.

The national bourgeoisie retained a very important place in China's political life even in the period of the socialist revolution and the building of socialism and after the Constitution was adopted. Statistics show that out of approximately 1,260 deputies of the National People's Congress (NPC), the country's highest organ of power, 260 were representatives of the bourgeoisie. It is common knowledge that deputies of the NPC are not elected by a direct vote. Nominally they are elected at provincial meetings of people's representatives. In fact, however, they are all selected by Mao Tse-tung. As a result of this selection the national bourgeoisie which numbers less than a hundredth part of the country's population held over a fifth of the seats in the NPC, while the workers, peasants and the petty bourgeoisie comprising over 90 per cent of the population had less than four-fifths of the seats. There is a fairly large number of the bourgeoisie occupying posts of deputy-chairman and members of the Standing Committee of the NPC. In the State Council and its ministries and state committees many of the heads and deputies are from the bourgeoisie. Moreover, they hold an even larger

number of important posts in the People's Congresses and People's Councils in all towns. For example, Jung Yi-jen, a big capitalist, who annually gets over 3,000,000 yuan in profits, is a deputy of the NPC and member of its Standing Committee; he is deputy of the Shanghai Municipal People's Congress and deputy-mayor of Shanghai.

In the course of the so-called "cultural revolution" workers, peasants and the intellectuals had been and are being subjected to brutal repressions on the part of the hungweipings, tsaofans, the army and the police, and only the national bourgeoisie continues to live as before, and as before receives profits and exploits the people. Foreign correspondents after visiting China and seeing the life of the Chinese bourgeoisie, unanimously agree that in the China which is living through the so-called "cultural revolution" the bourgeoisie is the sole flourishing and contented class. It is not surprising, therefore, that the bourgeoisie, in the course of all its major conferences, has always sent telegrams of greetings to Mao Tse-tung calling him "beloved father and teacher" and thanking him for his profound solicitude and all-round care.

As regards the facts of Mao Tse-tung's connivance with internal and external reaction there are more than enough of them. We shall only mention some of the more striking ones.

Mao Tse-tung had an exceptionally high opinion of Li Chi-shen. After the formation of the CPR Li Chi-shen was appointed Deputy Chairman of the Standing Committee of the NPC. What sort of a man was Li Chi-shen? He was a notorious hangman. After Chiang Kai-shek had

betrayed the revolution of April 12 (1927) in Shanghai, Li Chi-shen on April 15, 1927 betrayed the revolution in Canton and in the course of three days executed more than 5,000 Communists, revolutionary workers and students. Therefore, at a solemn reception on the occasion of the formation of the CPR a veteran Party member upon seeing Li Chi-shen and others of his ilk, hit the table with his hand and exclaimed: "This is an outrage! Old revolutionaries are valued less than non-revolutionaries, and non-revolutionaries are valued less than counter-revolutionaries".

Mao Tse-tung is on friendly terms with Li Tsung-jen, he made Li Tsung-jen his honoured guest and the guest of all the country. What sort of a man is Li Tsung-jen? He is also a notorious hangman who together with Wang Ching-wei betrayed the revolution of July 15, 1927 in Wuhan. Within a few days they executed tens of thousands of Communists and other revolutionary workers and students. He is war criminal No. 2 who had replaced Chiang Kai-shek as president in order to bring the anti-communist, anti-popular, counter-revolutionary civil war to a conclusion. A loyal flunkey of US imperialism he fled to the United States after the defeat of the Kuomintang in the civil war and stayed there for 15 years. Upon Li Tsung-jen's return to China in 1965, Mao Tse-tung organised official welcomes and receptions in his honour in Peking and other cities at which Li Tsung-jen widely propagated the slogan "to fight against imperialism it is necessary to fight against revisionism" which he had brought from the United States. In fact, Mao Tse-tung made him his adviser for anti-Soviet, anti-communist and anti-popular affairs.

Mao Tse-tung admired Chang Tung-sung. What sort of a man is Chang Tung-sung? Chang Tung-sung taught the notorious history of Western philosophy. His book *History of Western Philosophy* praises to the skies the reactionary-idealistic philosophers of the West. Marx's name is mentioned on the very last page. "As regards the philosophy of K. Marx," it is stated in the book, "it simply merits no discussion. For only the insane can believe in his philosophy."

At a joint meeting of the leaders of the central ministries and committees held a few days prior to the official proclamation of the CPR, someone suddenly informed Mao Tse-tung: "Chang Tung-sung has arrived!" A joyous smile spread across Mao Tse-tung's face and he said for all to hear: "That's great! That's great! Chang Tung-sung has also arrived! He is a veteran of the Peiyang and Yanchiu groups and on top of that he is a prominent professor. Since he has come to us he at least should be given the post of member of the Central People's Government Council." I told him there and then: "Chairman Mao! This man still needs to be looked into. The veterans of the Peiyang and Yanchiu groups had not only always opposed the Communist Party but even the Kuomintang at the time when it was still participating in the revolution."

Several days later the name of Chang Tung-sung was on the list of members of the Central People's Government Council. A short while later public security organs discovered that he and his son were American spies and had a secret radio station in their home specially for maintaining contact with the US secret service.

On November 25, 1965 *Jenmingjihpao* publi-

shed an account of how Mao Tse-tung and his wife congratulated the writer Anna Louise Strong, propagandiser of Mao Tse-tung's thought in the USA, on her birthday and published a group photograph. The newspaper mentioned that all the Americans in the photograph were friends of Mao Tse-tung and Chiang Ching. The past of some of these people is still unclear. Among them were L. Early and Epstein who, as is well known, were advisers and friends of Chiang Kai-shek and his wife Sung Mei-ling and have now become the advisers and friends of Mao Tse-tung and Chiang Ching.

Mao Tse-tung is striking a secret diplomatic deal with the US imperialists. The Chinese and American ambassadors have already had 134 meetings in Warsaw. Both sides have made the subject of their talks a complete secret from the Chinese and American peoples and from the world public. A US State Department representative frankly admitted that Washington and Peking have been maintaining direct contact ever since the Geneva Conference of 1954 and that although the USA has no official diplomatic relations with Peking, the successes that have been achieved at the Warsaw talks by far surpass those achieved by Britain and other countries who have diplomatic relations with Peking. It is clear from the above that the secret diplomatic deal between China and the United States has already attained considerable scope and level.

Such are the 10 principal crimes committed by Mao Tse-tung within the country. These crimes are proved by incontrovertible facts. These crimes cannot be refuted by any verbal artifices of Mao Tse-tung and his group. These 10 crimes

demonstrate with especial clarity and precision that Mao Tse-tung is engaged not in some kind of a "cultural revolution", but in an armed counter-revolution, an anti-communist counter-revolutionary military coup directed against the people. Even at the time when the vaunted "cultural revolution" was only getting under way, Marxists-Leninists of all countries pointed out that the so-called "great proletarian cultural revolution", launched and led by Mao Tse-tung personally, far from having anything to do with either the proletariat or culture, or the revolution, was indeed spearheaded against the proletariat, against culture, against revolution; far from having anything in common with Marxism-Leninism, it was spearheaded against Marxism-Leninism; far from resembling in any way the policy of a Communist Party and a socialist state, it was spearheaded against the Communist Party and socialism. The entire course of subsequent events has increasingly demonstrated the absolute correctness of such an appraisal. Comrade L. I. Brezhnev, General Secretary of the Central Committee of the CPSU, in his speech at a meeting with electors on March 11, 1967, already concretely pointed out: "The legend about the 'proletarian cultural revolution' is merely clumsy camouflage of a policy alien to Marxism-Leninism." "This looks more like a reactionary coup." In his speech on September 8 of the same year at a brotherhood meeting in Budapest he once again noted: "What has been named the 'cultural revolution' by the Mao Tse-tung group would be more correct to call counter-revolution." Subsequent events in China have fully corroborated the exceptional correctness of this

Marxist-Leninist evaluation.

These 10 crimes also demonstrate very clearly that the aim of the so-called "cultural revolution" effected by Mao Tse-tung and his group is not "to safeguard the dictatorship of the proletariat", but, on the contrary, to abolish people's rule in China; not "to safeguard the socialist system", but, on the contrary, to undermine the foundation for building socialism in China. These 10 crimes show with exceptional clarity and precision that the object against which the "cultural revolution" is spearheaded is not "a handful of Party persons in authority taking the capitalist road" and not "carriers of the bourgeois reactionary line", not "counter-revolutionary revisionists" and not "traitors", but, on the contrary, it is the Marxist-Leninist Chinese Communist Party which unites in its ranks about 25 million members; it is the Young Communist League of China which unites in its ranks about 30 million members; it is the All-China Federation of Trade Unions which unites in its ranks over 20 million members; it is the millions of leaders, cadres and activists of Party, administrative, military and various other institutions and organisations, including schools, higher educational establishments, industrial, agricultural and transport enterprises; it is the majority of the workers, peasants and intelligentsia of the entire country. According to incomplete data, the number of people persecuted, arrested and physically annihilated by Mao Tse-tung and his group in the course of the "cultural revolution" exceeded five million long ago.

And, lastly, these 10 crimes prove with exceptional clarity and precision that indeed the so-cal-

led "handful of persons in authority taking the capitalist road" and "carriers of the bourgeois reactionary line" are no one else but Mao Tse-tung himself and his group! The facts show, and all recognise, that the anti-communist and anti-popular Mao Tse-tung group consists only of a few people. And among them the person closest and most trusted by Mao Tse-tung is his wife Chiang Ching. That is why Mao Tse-tung is forced himself openly to praise her as the only person who really understands well, propagates and applies Mao Tse-tung's thought in general and his thought in the sphere of literature and art in particular. That is why he has appointed her formally the deputy, and actually, the chief of the so-called "group for cultural revolution affairs" and commander-in-chief of hungweipings. That is why he artificially put her in the third place, so far after Lin Piao, in the Mao hierarchy. And that is why public opinion in China and foreign observers unanimously agree that Chiang Ching remains the only person Mao Tse-tung could really trust in everything. Here indeed is a handful of persons! The persons who committed 10 such crimes, the persons who are breaking up the Communist Party, the people's government, the trade unions, Young Communist League, and so on and who are protecting the national bourgeoisie politically and economically—are not these the persons who really take the capitalist road and carry the bourgeois reactionary line!? To this day they abuse, and take cover behind the name of the Central Committee of the CPC, the Council of State, the Military Committee of the Central Committee of the CPC, are sending troops to suppress and annihilate workers, peasants and

intellectuals, to attack leading Party, administrative and military bodies and crush their cadres; they are administering the "Group for Cultural Revolution Affairs of the Central Committee of the CPC", under whose command the hungweipings and tsaofans daily and everywhere insulted, beat up, arrested and killed people. Are not these really the "persons in authority"? Are the men who committed 10 such crimes not real counter-revolutionary revisionists and traitors to the revolution?!

That Mao Tse-tung and his group have tacked on to Liu Shao-chi, Teng Hsia-ping and others the labels they fabricated, such as "a handful of Party persons in authority taking the capitalist road" and "carriers of the bourgeois reactionary line", is a political trick with concealed aims.

These aims are, first, to blame Liu and Teng for the various mistakes and crimes committed by Mao Tse-tung over a number of years in home and foreign policy and thereby make Liu and Teng the scapegoats.

Second, Liu and Teng were for many years colleagues of Mao Tse-tung and know of the many crimes and unseemly secrets of Mao Tse-tung in internal and international affairs; that is why Mao is trying to liquidate Liu and Teng as living witnesses.

Third, another still more important aim is to tack on to Liu Shao-chi, Teng Hsia-ping and Tao Chu labels of "Party persons in authority taking the capitalist road" and on this pretext to liquidate Liu, Teng and Tao themselves and then arbitrarily tack on a label of "supporters of Liu, Teng and Tao" to all persons whom Mao Tse-tung and his group intend to persecute.

The real objective of their call—necessarily to link together "big criticism" of the "top Party person in authority taking the capitalist road" with the campaign of "struggle, criticism and transformation" in all the country's institutions and organisations, is to utilise the slogan of "struggle against the handful of Party persons in authority taking the capitalist road" as a screen and pretext for persecuting and destroying Party cadres in all institutions and organisations throughout the country.

By decision of the unlawful so-called "12th Plenary Meeting of the Central Committee of the CPC", Liu Shao-chi was removed from all the Party and state posts he held and "expelled from the Party for ever" on the basis of absolutely false accusations entirely fabricated by Mao Tse-tung himself. Mao Tse-tung followed this up by another, wider, still more slanderous campaign in the press, radio and at meetings and rallies all over the country under the slogan of "launching a struggle of unusual scale and depth against the top traitor, top scab and top spy of the Kuomintang, imperialism and Soviet revisionism, Liu Shao-chi, and his supporters in all the localities." This once again most clearly reveals "the tiger's aspect and snake's soul" of Mao Tse-tung as an unprecedentedly bestial and absolutely brazen plotter.

Communists and other upright people throughout the world are raising their wrathful and just voice in protest against such foul persecution by Mao Tse-tung of the Vice-Chairman of the Central Committee of the CPC and Chairman of the Chinese People's Republic Comrade Liu Shao-chi.

Mao Tse-tung acted in a similar way during the so-called "campaign to rectify style", started in February 1942. Making use of the military power he usurped in the Party and the difficult international situation during the early period of the Hitlerite attack on the Soviet Union, Mao Tse-tung began this campaign which formally was called the "campaign to rectify three styles" (that is, the Party style, style of education and literary style); actually it was a campaign of "four antis" (that is, anti-Leninist, anti-Comintern, anti-Soviet and anti-Party). For what purpose did Mao Tse-tung need that campaign? In preparing it and in the course of conducting it, Mao Tse-tung himself repeatedly said that by carrying out the campaign he wanted to achieve three aims: 1) to replace Leninism by Maoism; 2) to write the history of the Chinese Communist Party as the history of Mao Tse-tung alone; 3) to elevate the personality of Mao Tse-tung above the Central Committee and the entire Party. Why did he have to do it? He himself replied: this would give him two opportunities: first, to capture the chief leading place in the Party leadership and all power in the Party in his own hands; second, if he already has taken the first place in the Party leadership, no one should ever be able to oust him. To achieve these ends he did the following in this campaign: 1) he declared Leninism to be Russian Marxism suitable only for leading the Russian revolution and unsuitable for leading the world and the Chinese revolution; 2) declared that the leadership and assistance of the Communist International to the CPC was entirely wrong; 3) declared that the all-round support given by the Communist Party of

the Soviet Union (Bolsheviks) and the Soviet Union to the Communist Party of China and to the Chinese Revolution was not only "invalid" and "ineffective" but even "harmful"; 4) accused the entire Party of "non-recognition of Maoism" and of "loyalty to Leninism and the Communist International" and of "adherence to the CPSU(B) and the Soviet Union". And who was to blame for all this? Mao Tse-tung held that the blame lay with all the leaders and important cadres of the Party who had studied in the Soviet Union and spread the influence of Leninism, the Comintern, the CPSU(B) and the Soviet Union in China. Their main representatives were Wang Ming, Ching Po-ku, Chang Wei-tien, Wang Chia-hsiang, Kai Fang, Yang Shang-kun, Chu Jui and others. And who was to blame for supporting these Comintern men? Mao Tse-tung held that these were Chu-Teh, Chou En-lai, Hsisen Ying, Teng Fa, Peng Teh-huai, Ho Lung and others. And who was the "top man" to blame? Mao Tse-tung held that this was Wang Ming. According to his statement, Wang Ming was the "main representative of Russian Marxism and the line of the Comintern in the Communist Party of China". Wang Ming was the "principal adherent and defender of the CPSU(B) and the Soviet Union in China." Wang Ming was the "principal foe of Maoism in the CPC." But how was the struggle against Wang Ming to be waged and linked with the struggle against the absolute majority of the leaders, Party cadres and members? For this Mao Tse-tung artificially divided the entire Party into two groupings—the "dogmatic" and "empiristic" and at the same time united them as one target of his attack. He pla-

ced all the Communists who had studied in the Soviet Union or engaged in ideological and political work and also those who socially originated from the intelligentsia into the so-called "pro-Soviet and dogmatic Wang Ming grouping". All the Communists who engaged in practical work or who were of working-class and peasant social origin he placed into the so-called "empiristic grouping". At the same time he declared that the empiristic grouping was a "captive and assistant" of the dogmatic grouping. Moreover, Mao Tse-tung held that in order to write the history of the CPC as the history of Mao Tse-tung alone it was necessary not only not to recognise the services of Leninism, the Comintern, the CPSU(B) and the Soviet Union in the history of the CPC and the Chinese Revolution. It was necessary to deny that any leader, any Party functionary or member had rendered any service to the CPC and the Chinese revolution. According to Mao Tse-tung's statement, it was particularly necessary: 1) to deny the services rendered by Chu Chiu-po in the struggle against Right opportunist Chentuhsuism and also the services of the extraordinary August Conference of the CPC (1927) which approved in its decisions this struggle and the services of the Comintern leadership which was the direct sponsor of this conference and to proclaim the line of the August CPC Conference to be a "Chuchiu-poist Left opportunist line"; 2) to deny the services rendered by Wang Ming in the struggle against the Left adventurist line of Li Li-san and also the services of the 4th Plenary Meeting of the Central Committee of the CPC, sixth convocation (January 1931), and the Presidium of the

Executive Committee of the Comintern (May 1931) which approved this struggle in their decisions and to declare the line of the 4th Plenary Meeting of the CPC Central Committee a "Left opportunist line of Wang Ming"; 3) to deny the services rendered by Wang Ming in putting forward the policy of the anti-Japanese national united front and the services of the 7th Comintern Congress which approved this policy in its decisions and to declare this policy of the anti-Japanese national united front, a "Right-wing capitulatory line of Wang Ming". According to Mao Tse-tung's statement, if the services of other persons in the history of the CPC and the Chinese revolution were recognised then "there would be no Maoism", "the history of the CPC as the history of Mao Tse-tung alone would be impossible" and there would be no "especially high and unshakable place of Mao Tse-tung in the CPC." In keeping with his conspiratorial plan, Mao Tse-tung first of all struck the main blow at Wang Ming—not only ideologically, politically, organisationally and morally, but also physically (at the beginning of this campaign Wang Ming had already been gravely poisoned by toxic preparations). Mao Tse-tung also struck blows of different severity at the absolute majority of the leaders, cadres and Party members. Employing diverse methods of deception, slander, threats and coercion he compelled all of them to admit that they were either dogmatists or empiricists, that is, "captives and assistants of the dogmatists" and that, of course, all without exception carried out the above mentioned so-called "Left" or "Right" line of Wang Ming. Moreover, by similar methods and cruel torture he compelled

a considerable part of the Communists and YCL members to confess that they were "traitors", "counter-revolutionaries" and "spies of the Kuomintang, the imperialists and the Soviet Union". Many of those who did not confess to being such criminals were arrested or killed or committed suicide. This continued for more than three years. As a result of this campaign, the 7th Plenary Meeting of the CPC Central Committee, 6th convocation (April 1945), under the pressure of Mao Tse-tung adopted a "Resolution on Some Historical Questions of the CPC". This was the first official document falsifying the history of the CPC in accordance with Mao Tse-tung's concepts. Following this the Rules, adopted by the 7th Congress of the CPC (April-May, 1945), forcibly included recognition of Mao Tse-tung's thought as the only guiding ideas of the CPC. Moreover, Mao Tse-tung succeeded in capturing the top leading post (at the 1st Plenary Meeting of the CPC Central Committee, 7th convocation, he for the first time was "elected" Chairman of the Central Committee) and all power in the Party, in creating a cult of his personality, and establishing his personal dictatorship in the CPC which relied mainly on the support of army units.

After the 7th Congress and until the so-called cultural revolution, for more than 20 years, Mao Tse-tung constantly conducted campaigns under different names. But their chief content, chief aims, chief methods and chief objects of attack in the main were the same as in the first "campaign to rectify style" of 1942-45. The first "campaign to rectify style" was a rehearsal of the so-called "cultural revolution". The various

campaigns which followed it, were to one or another extent direct preparatory measures for the "cultural revolution". During this time in view of the many fundamental mistakes and repeated failures and defeats of Mao Tse-tung's home and foreign policy and especially in view of the obviously reactionary and counter-revolutionary nature of these campaigns and the "cultural revolution", even men who were closest and most loyal to Mao Tse-tung as, for example, Liu Shao-chi, Hu Chiao-mu, Tan Chen, Tao Chu, Lo Jui-ching, Ho Chang-kung, Peng Chen, Lu Ting-i, Chou Yang and others, one after another became his enemies and victims. These facts graphically show that Mao Tse-tung, notwithstanding his frenzied terror and perfidy, is today even more isolated and is in a really unprecedented desperate position.

Similarly Mao Tse-tung has slyly branded Peng Teh-huai, Ho Lung, Lo Jui-ching and others as "army persons in authority taking the capitalist road", not only to utilize this as the pretext for persecuting them but also in order to be able arbitrarily to brand as "supporters of Peng, Ho and Lo" any military leaders and army cadres whom he intended to persecute.

Similarly, as early as 1962 Mao Tse-tung ordered Chi Pen-yu to write an article slandering as "traitor" the national hero of the T'al P'in revolution Li Hsiu-cheng who heroically perished at the hand of the national traitor Tseng Kuo-fan; thereby Mao Tse-tung initiated the so-called "campaign of struggle against traitors". Following this, Chu Chiu-po, well-known leader of the Chinese Communist Party who heroically perished singing the "Internationale" at the hands

of butcher Chiang Kai-shek, was classed among the "traitors". Next a list of "traitors" was compiled which included more than 2,700 leaders and important cadres of Party, administrative, military, educational and mass organizations whom he had long ago planned to destroy.

In reality, all of these persons are the flower of the Chinese people, the finest sons and daughters of the Communist Party of China, worthy fighters of the great army of world communism who have been reared in the spirit of the great doctrine of Marxism-Leninism, who have for decades been tried and tested and schooled in revolutionary battles against international imperialism and internal reaction. Such criminal actions, falsification of the "corpus delicti", slander of upright people with the object of elevating himself and trampling upon others—these are Mao Tse-tung's favourite foul ways and perfidious methods.

Fourth, Mao Tse-tung deliberately and with great pomp pictures the counter-revolutionary military coup, effected by himself and directed within the country against the Communist Party and the people and also against the Soviet Union and the international communist movement, as a struggle for "seizure of power" between his group and the so-called "supporters of Liu and Teng". Similarly, the general movement of resistance, in the entire Party and the entire country, aroused by his counter-revolutionary military coup, he also deliberately pictures as a struggle for "seizure of power" between the so-called "supporters of Liu and Teng" and "supporters of Mao and Lin", thereby trying to mislead the people of his country and world progressive opinion, to

prevent them from divining the essence of Mao Tse-tung's counter-revolutionary military coup.

Fifth, one of the artifices frequently employed by Mao Tse-tung is that he not only abuses in the vilest terms the various abominable crimes actually committed by himself, but even shifts the blame for them onto the victims of his attacks and persecution in order to distort the truth and to mix black with white.

In other words, it is because Mao Tse-tung himself and his group are really the notorious handful of persons in authority taking the capitalist road, the carriers of the bourgeois reactionary line, it is because they themselves are the counter-revolutionary revisionists and traitors that they, like a thief who shouts "stop thief!", fraudulently repaste the labels of these crimes onto the backs of others in order to conceal their own real visage of anti-communist, anti-popular, anti-Marxist and anti-socialist counter-revolutionaries.

It is because the slogan of struggle against the so-called "handful of Party persons in authority taking the capitalist road", put forward by Mao Tse-tung for plotting purposes, has such an intricate and perfidiously treacherous content that he and his group tirelessly repeat that this slogan indicates "the main direction of the struggle" in the vaunted "cultural revolution". They openly extol this slogan as the "great strategic plan" of the so-called "cultural revolution" elaborated by Mao Tse-tung well in advance.

In the course of the "cultural revolution" Mao Tse-tung issued so-called "latest instructions" such as "we must fight egoism and criti-

cize revisionism", "combat clannishness" and so forth as the main trend in continuing the "cultural revolution" in an attempt to reduce the steadily mounting discord and split within the Maoist group and, in particular, among the hungweipings and tsaofans; to charge cadres of Party, administration, military and mass organizations of all levels who oppose Mao Tse-tung with "revisionism" and also "egoism" in order to have an additional pretext for slighting or persecuting them; to use the bugbear "egoism" against non-Party workers, peasants and intellectuals inasmuch as in their case it was more convenient than the bugbear "revisionism". But the main thing was that he aimed to use these slogans to mask what for the entire nation were the increasingly evident ugly features of the counter-revolutionary military coup, which he was accomplishing for the sake of his own extremely egoistic, careerist interests and those of his wife and other members of his group.

Developments upset his expectations. They showed that the louder Mao Tse-tung called for a struggle against "egoism" and "clannishness" the clearer he revealed the substance of these slogans and the more obvious it became that none other than Mao Tse-tung was the egoist No. 1 and that his group personified premier clannishness founded, besides, on an abuse of state power.

What, according to his explanations, does the "struggle against egoism" mean? That "unselfishness" should triumph. What does "unselfishness" mean? "The loftiest unselfishness means boundless devotion to Chairman Mao." And what does "devotion" mean? It means

"vowing to defend to the last breath Chairman Mao's status as the supreme leader".

Therefore, despite the fanfare surrounding the publication of these slogans, he failed to stimulate the lauded "great unity of the whole country" or the notorious "unity of the three sides" and he failed to reduce the split and conflicts among the hungweipings and tsaofans. All he did was to increase the split and the bickering among the forces forming his immediate mainstay; moreover, all he achieved was that those in whom political consciousness, Party conscience and a sense of justice still live are rising against Mao Tse-tung and his group, who are committing any crime for the sake of their egoistic interests.

The so-called "Group for Cultural Revolution Affairs of the CC CPC" consisted of 17 persons handpicked by Mao Tse-tung. Twelve of them have been subjected to repression, and only five are left. Even people like Wang Li, Kuan Feng, Chi Pen-yu, Mu Hsin and Ling Chieh, who had displayed exceptional zeal in the "cultural revolution", found themselves in disfavour, and today one after another they are declared to be "counter-revolutionary black bandits" who have opposed the "thought" of Mao Tse-tung, the "Group for Cultural Revolution Affairs" and Chiang Ching.

Yang Chen-wu, Acting Chief of the PLA General Staff and commander of the Peking Military District, Yu Li-chin, who was recently appointed Political Commissar of the Air Force, and Fu Chun-pi, commander of the Peking Garrison, have likewise been declared "double-dealing counter-revolutionaries" who had op-

posed Mao Tse-tung, the "Group for Cultural Revolution Affairs" and Chiang Ching.

These facts best of all bear out the aforesaid.

No matter what cunning Mao Tse-tung and his group resort to in their demagogic and no matter what masks they put on, whether it be the "cultural revolution", Marxist-Leninist "Leftist" verbiage, the slogan "struggle for power of two groups" or any other new screen which they may yet conjure up, they cannot hide the truth about their anti-Communist, anti-popular counter-revolutionary military coup. The ten crimes committed by their hands are ten indictments which they themselves have inscribed.

FIVE MAJOR CRIMES COMMITTED BY MAO TSE-TUNG IN INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

Foreign policy is a continuation of domestic policy. Let us now see what crimes Mao Tse-tung has committed in the sphere of international policy.

1. He frenziedly attacks the Soviet Union and other socialist countries.

He organized a siege of the embassies and other diplomatic offices of the USSR, Bulgaria, Hungary, the German Democratic Republic, Czechoslovakia and Mongolia in China, insulted the leaders of these countries and caused the manhandling and baiting of diplomats and members of their families. Like the Peiyan war-lords and Chiang Kai-shek he in effect does

not recognize the Mongolian People's Republic as an independent state, openly threatens its sovereignty and lays claim to its territory. He persists in his frenzied opposition to joint action with the Soviet Union and other socialist countries in the rendering of assistance to the Vietnamese people in order to repulse United States aggression, and seeks to undermine the Vietnamese people's bonds of friendship with the Soviet Union and other socialist countries, thereby encouraging US imperialism to keep escalating the war of aggression in Vietnam. He spreads slanderous rumours, insulting and undermining the prestige of the Korean People's Democratic Republic, thereby encouraging provocations against the KPDR by aggressive United States troops and the South Korean puppets. Besides bringing trade and economic pressure to bear on Cuba after the manner of the US imperialists, he engages in subversive activities against the Communist Party and revolutionary Government of Cuba. He openly proclaims his intention of "demolishing" the USSR and other socialist countries, constantly fans anti-Soviet hysteria in China and fosters hostility for the Soviet Union.

Mao Tse-tung savagely attacks the CPSU and the Soviet Union because the great Communist Party of the Soviet Union, founded and reared by Lenin, has the longest history, the most extensive experience, the most imposing achievements and the greatest prestige, because the great Land of Soviets, created by Lenin and embodying Marxism-Leninism, is the world's first socialist country with the longest history, the most impressive achievements and

the greatest might, because led by the CPSU the Soviet Union is indeed the mightiest and most reliable mainstay of the world revolution and of world peace, that it is indeed the most enduring and consistent revolutionary bastion of the struggle against imperialist cliques and reactionaries of all the capitalist countries headed by the USA.

Mao Tse-tung has turned frenzied anti-Sovietism into his banner of struggle against Marxism-Leninism, against the Communist and Workers' Parties, against socialism and communism, against the world revolution and peace in order to gain the approval and understanding of the imperialist clique headed by the USA and obtain the possibility of collaborating with it.

Another reason for the violence of his attacks on the Soviet Union and the CPSU is that the Great October Revolution has witnessed its 50th anniversary. The Great October Socialist Revolution and its brilliant achievements in the building of socialism and communism over the past 50 years have opened the vista of a bright future for all mankind. This is the greatest force inspiring the working class and all other working people throughout the world. It is the greatest force inspiring the CPC and the Chinese people, who are at present afflicted by a great tragedy.

Through furious anti-Soviet campaigns Mao Tse-tung seeks to rupture the long-established, traditional friendship and fraternal relations between the Communist Parties and the peoples of China and the Soviet Union. He is beset by a harrowing fear that the Chinese Communists

and the Chinese people will learn of the immense achievements, which the Soviet people, led by the CPSU, have attained in the course of the fulfilment of the new Party Programme and the decisions of the 23rd CPSU Congress, in the building of communism, in the struggle for world peace and in rendering support to the communist and working-class movement in different countries and to the national liberation and social-progressive movement in Asia, Africa and Latin America.

He is exceedingly afraid that the Chinese Communists and the Chinese people will learn that the material and cultural life of the Soviet people is steadily improving, that they are gradually moving from the principle of "from each according to his ability, to each according to his work" to the principle of "from each according to his ability, to each according to his needs", in other words, that they are moving towards a prosperous and happy life under communism.

Mao Tse-tung is extremely afraid that if the Chinese Communists and the Chinese people learn the truth in all these questions they will see clearer the gross absurdity and perniciousness of the so-called "thought of Mao Tse-tung" and of his policies. They will then inevitably and unanimously demand that China take the correct Marxist-Leninist road of socialist construction and of the struggle for peace, which has been followed by the Soviet Union. After appreciating all this they will rise with greater determination, on a larger scale, in a more organized manner and in greater unity against Mao Tse-tung and his "thought", aga-

inst the counter-revolutionary coup of Mao Tse-tung and his group. That is precisely why anti-Sovietism has become the focal point of Mao Tse-tung's foreign policy and the core of his policy at home.

The armed provocative attack of the Mao Tse-tung clique on Soviet frontier guards of March 2 on Soviet territory on the Damansky Island in the Ussuri River and in this connection the new anti-Soviet racket in China and abroad accompanied by outrageous territorial claims to the USSR are not accidental events. Internally, they represent an attempt by Mao Tse-tung to distract the attention of the Chinese people from the incredible and growing difficulties of a political and economic character arising out of the consequence of the so-called "cultural revolution", as well as the preparation for the carrying through of the so-called "Congress of the CPC" in an atmosphere of exceptional anti-Soviet, anti-communist hysteria. Externally, this armed provocation and anti-Soviet propaganda ballyhoo represents an act of assistance to the anti-Soviet, anti-communist sorties of the ruling circles of the USA and of the German Federal Republic, in particular in regards to the Bonn venture to carry through presidential elections in West Berlin on March 5 and even more so serves as an encouragement to the revanchist claims of Bonn to reshape the map of Europe. It also represents an attempt to interfere with the International Conference of Communist and Workers' parties which aims to achieve the strengthening of the unity of the world communist and workers' movement and the unity of action of

all anti-imperialist forces.

Simultaneously these facts clearly show the absurd, shameful, adventurist and dangerous point reached by the anti-Sovietism and anti-communism of Mao Tse-tung.

2. He venomously attacks the Marxist-Leninist Communist and Workers' parties of all countries.

He goes to extremes to intensify his splitting and subversive activities against the overwhelming majority of the militant contingents of Communists in different countries, organizes a fifth column to combat Communist and Workers' parties, openly slanders them, calling them "counter-revolutionary revisionist" parties, and publicly proclaims his intention of "destroying" them. He has slandered the Karlovy Vary Conference, which was attended by representatives of 24 Communist and Workers' parties, calling it a "conference of scabs and traitors", and he has called the leaders of each of these parties "a handful of traitors and scabs". The Budapest Consultative Meeting, attended by representatives of 66 Communist and Workers' parties, has been named by him "the Budapest farce", while the parties which attended it have been called a "handful of traitors and scabs".

In Western Europe he concentrates his attacks mainly on the largest and most influential Communist parties. He not only maliciously attacks Comrade Waldeck Rochet and other leaders of the French Communist Party but also slanders the late Maurice Thorez, the great fighter for communism. He not only maliciously attacks Comrade Luigi Longo and other leaders

of the Italian Communist Party but also slanders the late Palmiro Togliatti, who was another great fighter for communism.

At the same time he fiendishly attacks the heroic Communist Party of Spain and its glorious leader Comrade Dolores Ibarruri, a party which is in the forefront of the struggle against fascism. He intensifies subversion and splitting activities against the Communist parties of the USA, Canada and Latin America as well as against the Communist parties of the Arab countries. He makes a special effort to split and undermine the communist movement in Asian countries neighbouring on China. The Communist Party of Indonesia which came under the influence of Mao Tse-tung's "Leftist" and reactionary ideas, suffered a tragic defeat as a result of which millions of Communists and non-Party workers, peasants and intellectuals suffered horribly. Mao Tse-tung drew no lesson whatever from this. Instead, he imputed the blame to the leaders of the Communist Party of Indonesia, who died heroically.

He ceaselessly engages in splitting and subversive activities against the Communist parties of India and Ceylon, causing enormous difficulties in their work. In the case of the Communist Party of Japan, which urged Mao Tse-tung to create a united front of struggle against US imperialism and came out against the Maoist anti-Soviet "united front", he did not confine himself to open slander and splitting and subversive activities. He organized Chinese residents in Japan into hungweipings gangs in order to manhandle Japanese Communists, and attack and destroy the building

housing the Society for Japanese-Chinese Friendship; he bribes hooligans and Trotskyite elements to attack offices of the Japanese Communist Party. In Peking, acting on his instructions, hungweipings beat up and seriously injured alternate member of the Presidium of the CC CPJ Itiro Sunama, correspondents of the CPJ newspaper, as well as Japanese students. Moreover, he openly proclaims his intention to "demolish" the CPJ and calls for the liquidation of top leaders of the CPJ, comrades Sandzo Nosaka and Kendzi Miyamoto.

Thus, Mao Tse-tung mouths "Leftist" verbiage about a "world revolution" but in fact engages in splitting and subversive activities with the object of "demolishing" the foremost contingents heading the revolutionary movement in different countries; he speaks of a "struggle against the imperialist clique and reactionaries of all countries headed by the USA" but does exactly what the US imperialists and all reactionaries want but cannot do.

A striking example in this respect is his attitude towards the developments in Czechoslovakia. He and his group level dirty slander and fabrications at the Soviet Union and other socialist countries as well as against the healthy forces in the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia and among the Czechoslovak people, thereby directly and openly pouring grist on the mill of US and West-German imperialism and of the counter-revolutionary and anti-socialist forces within Czechoslovakia.

3. He plans to split and undermine the national liberation movement in Asia, Africa and Latin America, pursuing a policy of openly

pressuring the developing countries of Asia and Africa.

He does his utmost to split and undermine the Afro-Asian unity movement and the movement for solidarity of the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America in the joint struggle against imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism. He is, in fact, helping to put into effect the imperialist design of crushing the countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America one by one. He makes every effort to undermine the friendship and unity of the national liberation and social-progressive movements of Asia, Africa and Latin America with the Soviet Union and other socialist countries as well as with the international communist movement, thereby seeking to isolate the national liberation and social-progressive movements in Asia, Africa and Latin America and deprive them of the all-round assistance of the socialist countries and the international communist movement. Mao Tse-tung keeps talking about support and assistance for the national liberation movement in Asia, Africa and Latin America, but no sooner does US imperialism undertake aggression against any Asian, African or Latin American country than he, in effect, sides with US imperialism.

When Vietnam was made the target of armed aggression by US imperialism, instead of taking joint action with the Soviet Union and other socialist countries to help the Vietnamese people repulse this aggressor, Mao Tse-tung directed his efforts towards slander and provoking a rupture of the Vietnamese people's friendly relations with the Soviet Union and other

socialist countries in order to isolate the Vietnamese. Similarly, in 1962 when Cuba was confronted with armed aggression by US imperialism, instead of taking joint steps with the Soviet Union and other socialist countries to defend the Cuban revolution, Mao Tse-tung concentrated on slander and on provoking a severance of the Cuban people's friendly relations with the Soviet Union and other socialist countries in an effort to force Cuba into isolation and thereby help US imperialism to smash her.

When the Arab states were subjected to US imperialist stage-managed Israeli aggression, instead of taking joint steps with the Soviet Union and other socialist countries to help the Arab states. Mao Tse-tung directed his efforts towards slander and provoking the breaking off of the Arab countries' friendly relations with the Soviet Union and other socialist countries in order to isolate them and thereby facilitate US and Israeli aggression.

At a time when the vast majority of countries have applied economic sanctions to the South African Republic, which, created by the British imperialists and colonialists, proclaimed barbarous apartheid as its policy at home, Mao Tse-tung acts at one with the US and British imperialists. He has used this opportunity to promote trade with the South African Republic, not only purchasing chromium ore from that racialist Government but selling it armaments and munitions, thereby helping in the repressions against the indigenous population of the South African Republic. In effect, he sides with the white racialists, vivid testimony of this

being his vitriolic outpourings against Martin Luther King, the late leader of the civil rights movement, of the movement against poverty and against the US war of aggression in Vietnam. This man, who enjoyed the respect and affection of all American Negroes, was called by Mao Tse-tung "a tool in the service of the reactionary ruling groups in the USA."

During the "cultural revolution" Mao Tse-tung still further intensified his policy of pressure founded on barbarous great-power chauvinism with regard to developing Asian and African countries, which had recently shaken off imperialist rule. The reactionary "thought" of Mao Tse-tung is exported by compulsion with the help of Chinese diplomatic representatives and technical experts to countries like Nepal, Cambodia and Ceylon. Mao Tse-tung forces citizens of other countries to wear badges with his portrait, infringes upon the sovereignty of other states, and interferes in the internal affairs of other countries, thereby giving rise to inter-state conflicts and development that seriously harm relations between states. Vis-a-vis India he not only frequently provokes armed frontier conflicts but proclaims his intention to organize armed uprisings in India with the purpose of overthrowing the Indian Government.

In Burma he organizes Chinese residents into hungweiping gangs in order to provoke armed conflicts and bloodshed; in addition, he is hatching out plans for an armed invasion across the Burmese frontier and the organization of armed uprisings to overthrow the Burmese Government. Protesting against Mao Tse-tung's interference, through Chinese diplomats, in their

internal affairs African countries like Dahomey, the Central African Republic and Burundi have already broken off diplomatic relations with China. In Kenya and Tunisia, as well, Mao Tse-tung has used Chinese diplomats for openly circulating documents discrediting the governments of these countries and propagating the reactionary "thought" of Mao Tse-tung. This has brought diplomatic relations between China and these countries to the brink of rupture.

The policy pursued by Mao Tse-tung with regard to developing Asian and African countries is fully in line with the Great-Han "Celestial Empire" policy of the Chinese feudal emperors. Its substance is that a foreign state must become either a vassal of the "Celestial Empire" or its enemy. Having become the victims of Mao Tse-tung's insults, the Asian and African countries have replied to him by word and action that they have no desire to be vassals of Mao Tse-tung.

4. He plans to provoke a US-Soviet and world war.

At the Moscow International Meeting in 1957 he openly pressured for a nuclear war which would destroy from one-third to half of mankind. In documents attacking the world communist movement, published in April 1960, he continued to call for a nuclear war, which could destroy the entire world. He constantly shouts that the "atomic bomb is a paper tiger", that the "hydrogen bomb is a paper tiger," that "atomic and thermonuclear war is not terrible at all."

The purpose of all this is to demoralize the world anti-war movement and instigate a

world war. He constantly comes out against any action taken by the Soviet Union and other socialist countries on the international stage to relax international tension, avert a world war and secure peaceful co-existence and peaceful conditions for the building of communism and socialism. His objective is to undermine world peace. He slanderously accuses the leadership of the Soviet Union of "modern revisionism," of "capitulating to US imperialism", of "US-Soviet collaboration in order to rule the world together." The motive underlying these accusations is that in upholding the interests of the Soviet people and of all mankind, the leadership of the Soviet Union does not accept his mad proposals for the unleashing of a US-Soviet and world war.

The main reason for Mao Tse-tung's constant displeasure with the US rulers is that, being aware that by starting a thermonuclear war against the USSR they would be signing their own death warrant, they do not dare to begin a thermonuclear war against the USSR. Therefore, while the presidential campaign in the USA was under way in 1964, Mao Tse-tung openly called upon the American people to vote for the leader of the "hawks" Goldwater, who shamelessly urged war against the USSR, a world war. Inasmuch as Mao Tse-tung's plan to provoke a US-Soviet thermonuclear war cannot be realized to this day, he has turned his hopes on some local war growing into a US-Soviet and world war.

For that reason he welcomes the US war of aggression in Vietnam and wants it to continue as long as possible and acquire the largest pos-

sible scale. He welcomed the frontier conflict between India and Pakistan and opposed the agreement on the cessation of hostilities and a peaceful settlement of the differences between the two countries. For that reason he came out against the Tashkent talks and the agreement that was signed there. He welcomed the Israel's war of aggression against the Arab States, a war inspired by US imperialism, and was opposed to a halt of the Israeli forces and a cease-fire as preliminary steps towards abolishing the consequences of the aggression and restoring peace in the Middle East.

He does not give up hoping that the imperialists should continue fanning the flames of local wars in many parts of the world and that in the long run they would flare up into a raging conflagration of a US-Soviet and world war. But his hope that local wars would develop into a world war have still not materialized and now he is endeavouring to incite it himself. He has already turned the Sino-Indian border into a major base from which he can stir up international tension and provoke military incidents between states whenever he wants to. He is trying to create a similar situation on the Sino-Burmese and Sino-Nepalese borders. He has repeatedly announced his intention of annexing the Mongolian People's Republic and seizing part of Soviet territory and carried out acts of provocation on the Sino-Soviet and Sino-Mongolian borders. In the future such provocations might increase in scale and become more numerous.

He has frankly stated that one of the aims of the so-called cultural revolution is prepara-

tion for an international war and that one of the aims of the hungweiping movement is likewise preparation for an international war. What is this international war for which Mao Tse-tung is preparing? Were he preparing for a war against imperialism he would have never started a counter-revolutionary military coup, which was internally directed against the Communist Party and the people and externally against the Soviet Union and the international Communist movement, as a means of preparing for war. On the contrary, considering that he regards the anti-Soviet, anti-communist, anti-popular counter-revolutionary coup as a preparation for an international war, it is clear that his entire activity not only does not foreshadow some sort of international war against the US imperialism, but, on the contrary, is designed to promote the anti-Soviet, anti-communist plans of the US imperialists and to curry favour with them with expressions of loyalty.

In recent years he has been extending a hand of friendship to the neo-nazi and militarist ruling circles in West Germany. In the sphere of commercial and economic relations with China, the FRG has already surpassed Britain and France and now holds first place among the European countries. The West German Government is co-operating with Mao Tse-tung in the armaments field and is sending specialists to help him expand the war industry, particularly the production of nuclear weapons and rockets. According to reports from different sources, Mao Tse-tung and Bonn are intending to establish closer political ties. It is common knowledge that co-operation between Mao Tse-tung

and Bonn rests on anti-Sovietism, anti-communism, disruption of peace in Europe and Asia and incitement of a world war.

Hence it is vital that the Chinese people and peace supporters in all countries should keep a vigilant eye on Mao Tse-tung's intrigues. In the current situation when he is beset by increasing difficulties and has to face ever gloomier prospects Mao Tse-tung, spurred on by his extreme selfishness and extreme nationalistic fanaticism can really plunge China into reactionary and adventuristic international wars.

Why is Mao Tse-tung so impatient to provoke a US-Soviet and world war? Because he views it as a means of attaining his extreme individualistic and selfish aims. He believes that if he would succeed in provoking a US-Soviet and world war, he would not only attain his goal of "killing two birds with one stone", but would also see his dream of "winning twice on one stake" come true. What he means by "killing two birds with one stone" is that he wants a war in which while destroying the USSR and the international communist movement, both deeply hated by him, the USA would also be destroyed together with other states whom he deeply envies for having a higher level of economic and scientific development. His dream of "winning twice on one stake", if it were to come true, would permit him to spend the remainder of his years enjoying the longed-for life of a sovereign and ruler of that part of China's territory where, according to his imagination, "there would still be people," while at the same time he would make an attempt to

realize his age-old dream of becoming the "master of the world" and instituting his rule over it on the ruins left in the wake of a world thermonuclear war.

5. In the economic sphere he is severing ties with the world socialist system and transferring them to the capitalist camp.

This, above all, is clearly seen in the changes that have taken place in China's foreign trade. In 1950, right after the country's liberation, China's foreign trade still bore the old semi-colonial features: 74 per cent was with the capitalist countries of which 50 per cent fell to the share of the imperialist states, while the share of the socialist countries and the USSR was 26 and 23 per cent respectively. By 1959, China's foreign trade had undergone radical changes: all foreign commerce with capitalist countries dropped to 32 per cent of which the imperialist states accounted for 23 per cent, at the same time trade with socialist countries went up to 68 per cent including 60 per cent with the USSR. Here we have a clear manifestation of the distinguishing feature of the foreign trade of a socialist country. But by 1967, the situation in China's foreign trade became even worse than in 1950: commerce with the non-socialist countries went up to 80 per cent including 57 per cent with imperialist states, while trade with socialist countries fell to 20 per cent of which only 7 per cent was with the USSR. Today China's chief trading partners are not only Britain and the countries of the British Commonwealth—Canada, New Zealand and Australia—not only Japan and West Germany but also the USA which Mao Tse-tung

daily showers with invectives and curses but with which he has established economic ties through Hongkong. Thus, in the sphere of foreign economic relations China has once again become dependent on imperialism.

In the beginning of the 1960s, preparing to curtail economic ties with socialist countries Mao Tse-tung launched intensive propaganda of such thoughts as "reliance on one's own forces" and "rejection of outside assistance." Today facts show that they were a pretext for severing foreign economic ties with the world socialist system and going over to the capitalist camp. He views as necessary economic co-operation with the capitalist world as part of his platform of "reliance on one's own forces," and economic ties with the world socialist system as unnecessary "outside assistance." All this is striking indication of the fact that in the sphere of foreign policy, just as in the sphere of domestic policy, Mao Tse-tung has taken the road of political and economic rapprochement with the bourgeoisie directed against the proletariat and the working people, that he is supporting capitalism and is against socialism.

Such are the five principal crimes actually committed by Mao Tse-tung in the international sphere. There are indisputable facts proving these crimes, and they cannot be disproved by whatever demagogery Mao Tse-tung and his group may resort to. The crimes of Mao Tse-tung and his group in international affairs just as in China's internal affairs, merely play into the hands of imperialist circles and reactionaries in all countries headed by the USA. Therefore they have been welcomed in imperialist count-

ries with unfeigned pleasure. Former US President Johnson, former State Secretary Dean Rusk, former Defence Secretary Robert McNamara repeatedly spoke in favour of hastening the adjustment of US-Chinese relations and establishment of US co-operation with Mao Tse-tung in the Far East. A conference of US specialists on the Far East frankly declared that the White House is staking on Mao Tse-tung because his victory in the cultural revolution would be in the interests of the USA. Expressing hopes for the establishment of co-operation with Mao Tse-tung, the US Government has not only permitted US publishers to issue Mao Tse-tung's "book of quotations" and sell them in the USA, but has also sanctioned their export, thus helping Mao Tse-tung to spread his "book of quotations". It is universally known that Spain's fascist secret police and the neo-nazi West German secret service more than anything else fear the publications of the Spanish and German Communist Parties or any other Communist literature and prohibit their dissemination. Nonetheless, they do not ban the anti-Soviet and anti-communist propaganda materials put out by Mao Tse-tung. On the contrary they help spread these materials and even frequently reprint them. All this leaves no doubt as to who are Mao Tse-tung's friends today and against whom their joint efforts are directed.

No matter how Mao Tse-tung and his group shift and dodge and no matter what screen they set up around themselves—whether it be the slogan of "struggle against modern revisionism" or the slogans "spur the world revolution" and

"support the national liberation movement," and no matter what double-dealing they engage in under the mask of "we are against the USSR and against the USA" in order to camouflage their anti-Sovietism and their make-believe struggle against US imperialism, no matter what old and new intrigues they may employ to conceal their activity—they cannot cover up the real character of their anti-Soviet, anti-communist and man-hating crimes in international affairs. The five crimes they have committed, are five indictments written with their own hand.

Inasmuch as such 10 major crimes inside the country and 5 major crimes in international affairs were perpetuated on the initiative, under the personal supervision and on instructions of Mao Tse-tung, he has become not only an enemy of the Communist Party of China but also the common enemy of the international communist movement. He has become not only the enemy of the Chinese people, but the common enemy of the entire progressive and peace-loving humanity.

Mao Tse-tung spares no effort to commit every kind of infamy chiefly for the sake of achieving his extremely egoistic goals, namely while he lives he wants to preserve his unlimited imperial rule in China and to prevent anyone from overthrowing his power. And when he will leave this world nobody will be able to make him pay for the terrible crimes he committed during his lifetime. Yet facts show that his intentions are not destined to materialize and that everything will be totally unlike his expectations.

Mao Tse-tung is aware of his real position and realizes the danger arising from his hostility towards the Communist Party of China and the international communist movement, towards the whole Chinese nation and all progressive and peace-loving mankind. He can be likened with a coward who is walking in a cemetery at night and trying to dispel his fright by whistling. He requires a daily dose of sedatives. And so on his instructions Chinese newspaper editors daily give a great deal of space to articles describing how the Changs, Wans, Lis and Chas throughout their country "dearly love Chairman Mao," how they are "devoted to Chairman Mao" and wish him "long, long years." They also publish other stereotype eulogies, which can only evoke a feeling of disgust and loathing. This is supplemented by false reports allegedly coming from abroad that in all countries citizens A, B, C, D, etc. "dearly love Mao Tse-tung that they are "devoted to Mao Tse-tung," and his "thought" and that they wish him "innumerable years of life." All this is just as shameless and absurd as his personal deification as the "sun," or as the all-seeing and omnipotent "living god." All this is just as comical and ridiculous as his claims that his "thoughts" are a talisman capable of "miraculously and immediately transforming any wish into reality," and that his *Three Old Articles, Book of Quotations and Selected Works* are a "magic encyclopaedia" or "sacred books". All this is by no means a sign of his strength, but of his extreme weakness. It shows his morbid fear and desperation of a person held in a vice of difficulties at home and abroad, of a man

abandoned by his near ones and associates, a man who in solitude faces a dismal future.

No matter what Mao Tse-tung invents or does to elevate or praise himself, to deceive or soothe himself, historical facts prove that only one destiny awaits a man such as Mao Tse-tung is today, and that destiny is inevitable defeat, which neither charlatanism, incantations, demagogery, slander, nor resort to killings, arson "rebellions", "capture of power" or other like methods can avert. Such is the irrevocable law of historical development. And such will be the inevitable end of Mao Tse-tung, of his "thought" and of his policy.

Why has Mao Tse-tung fallen so low? It is by no means an unexpected phenomenon but the inevitable outcome of the natural evolution of the thought and policy of Mao Tse-tung over the decades. All this has its ideological and theoretical as well as historical and social roots. But these questions have to be studied separately.

**«Мао Цзэ-Дун проводит не «культурную революцию»,
а контрреволюционный переворот»**
на английском языке
Цена 10 коп.