

SMASH THE PRIVILEGED STRATUM IN THE FOREIGN AFFAIRS MINISTRY
Peking, Wai-shih Hung-ch'i, 14 June 1967

[Full text of an article entitled, "Thoroughly Smash the Privileged Stratum in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs", attributed to the Red Guards Service Center of Returned Students of the Capital Red Guard Congress.]

Long before the founding of the People's Republic of China our great leader Chairman Mao pointed out with wisdom: "Imperialists and all reactionaries in the country will never be reconciled to their defeat and will continue to make a last-ditch struggle. After the whole country is pacified they may employ various means to carry out sabotage and make trouble. They will try to stage a comeback in China every day, every hour. This is inevitable and beyond a shadow of doubt; in no way should we slacken our vigilance."

Facts are exactly so. In the spheres of politics, economic affairs, culture, military affairs and diplomacy in China, there always exists the struggle between the two classes, between the two roads and between the two lines. This struggle finds expression in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, particularly sharp, acute, and complex! For a long time the proletarian revolutionaries of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs have waged an unremitting struggle against the reactionary bourgeois line of the Liu-Teng group so as to defend Chairman Mao's revolutionary line. However, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs headed by Ch'en I has not completely established the absolute supremacy of the thought of Mao Tse-tung. On the other hand, under the disturbing influence of the Liu-Teng line a revisionist privileged stratum has or is taking shape. This stratum is the agent of Liu and Teng in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, an instrument for bringing about a capitalist restoration in that Ministry.

Today, under the impact of the great proletarian cultural revolution personally initiated and led by Chairman Mao, the Foreign Affairs Ministry's privileged stratum has been brought to light. Let us swing the mighty cudgel of the thought of Mao Tse-tung and thoroughly smash this privileged stratum into bits!

Sagging Will and Decadent Ideas

Chairman Mao teaches us: "It is possible that some communists have never been subdued by enemies with guns and before these enemies they may truly be called heroes. However, they cannot withstand the attacks by people who use sugar-coated shells and therefore they will be defeated by sugar-coated bullets. We must take precautions and guard against this situation.

Fighting during the war years in a rain of bullets, the minister, vice ministers, department heads and bureau chiefs of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, ambassadors, ministers, counselors, attaches and other cadres contributed meritorious deeds to the revolutionary cause. After the liberation, however, some of them resting on their laurels have long lived like bureaucrats and seriously alienated themselves from the masses. Others who have lived abroad in pursuit of the bourgeois way of living have gradually degenerated and lost their good character. These people have succumbed to bourgeois aspirations such as the pursuit of fame and personal gain, the seeking of high position, money, beautiful women -- thus becoming the victims of bourgeois sugar-coated shells. Ideologically, politically and in daily life, they have degenerated into downright bourgeois elements of a new type while some have become Khrushchev lying near us.

These diplomatic representatives of the People's Republic of China should have spread the thought of Mao Tse-tung among the people of the world and taken up the important tasks of waging a face-to-face struggle against imperialism, revisionism and all counter-revolutionaries and promoting world revolution. However, many of them have never read Chairman Mao's writings. Some ambassadors who have worked abroad for several years have not even kept a single set of Selected Works of Mao Tse-tung, let alone exercise ideological remolding.

Comrade Lin Piao has said: "The 'three much-read articles' should be studied by fighters as well as cadres." However, some ambassadors and counselors said: "For us glancing over these articles will do. The main thing is to solve the question of thinking and method of work." These people are all "veteran Party members" but they belong to a "special" category of Party members. They are not subject to Party discipline and are exempted from attending Party conferences or leading an organized life. Even their Party membership dues may be paid by others. Because they are heads of missions, they consider themselves above the organization and the masses. These people only listen to flattery but turn away from words of criticism. They keep serenely aloof from others and keep to themselves like tyrants of independent kingdoms. Consequently, many Chinese embassies abroad have simply become

"one doctrine" halls or "family-type gangster inns" which trample under foot the Party's principle of democratic centralism. Whoever makes suggestions to the leadership of these missions may be labelled persons who have no respect for the leadership or who lack a strong sense of organizational discipline. In some cases, those who dare to make suggestions to the heads of missions may even be branded as "anti-Party elements" or "careerists" and recalled. Isn't this precisely what Chairman Mao has said: "Confusing right with wrong and black with white, encircling and attacking the revolutionaries, suppressing dissenting opinions and imposing a white terror" and "taking the reactionary bourgeois stand to carry out bourgeois dictatorship"?

The idea of class classification is very apparent among diplomatic personnel, because foreign service staff classified in different grades receive vastly different treatment in respect to salaries, living quarters, furniture and clothing allowances. In compliance with the wishes of Liu and Teng, Ch'en I who heads the Ministry of Foreign Affairs has drawn up regulations specifying the different types of treatment for those employed in the foreign service, thus legalizing the privileged stratum of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. According to these stipulations, those holding the rank of ambassador or counselor may be exempted from performing any type of labor under the pretext of their age or preoccupation with office work. Some of them are known to have asked their subordinates to give them massages and in some cases even hit them whenever they are dissatisfied with their service. These bureaucrats, however, treat themselves with minute care but are indifferent to the well-being of the service staff. For instance, the quarters of the embassy staff in a certain country were provided with air-conditioners in summer but the dormitory of the service personnel was not. A cook on the embassy staff of another country, for another instance, died of heatstroke. However, these bureaucrats took no heed of these incidents. By treating the lives of their worker-comrades lightly, how can these bureaucrats have any class feelings at all?

Living a Life of Comfort and Abandonment

In the Ministry of Foreign Affairs headed by Ch'en I, an irrational system of high salary scales has long been in force. In the case of the embassy staff in general, for instance, the salary of an ambassador is ¥480 that of a military attache ¥455 and an attache ¥450... (before the pay readjustment, the payroll was even more startling!) This system of high pay for the foreign service staff which is three or four times higher than the domestic salary scales is the material basis conceived by the privileged stratum.

Elements of this privileged stratum have had a good time abroad, sight-seeing and entertaining foreign guests with choice food and wines. Some of them, for instance, disregarded their country's dignity and drank to their hearts' content. They did not stop drinking until they got drunk, producing a very bad impression on others. In some Chinese embassies dinner parties were given almost every day while embassy staff had a gay time at balls, forgetting completely the practice of austerity associated with the seething revolutionary movements which had taken place in China.

On the other hand, ambassadors and counselors have often taken advantage of their diplomatic mission abroad to evade class struggle at home and have given themselves up to the pursuit of the bourgeois way of living. Apart from indulging in bourgeois amenities appealing to low tastes, they have never got tired in the pursuit of decadent Western art exemplified in movies depicting nude women or in frequenting night clubs.

It will be recalled that when a certain ambassador passed through Hong Kong he was entertained by merchants at a night club featuring a special performance of the strip-tease. Some bad and utterly demoralized members of the embassy staff even went so far as to make a pass at women members of theatrical troupes on tour of foreign countries. This privileged stratum of bureaucrats live extravagantly abroad and spend money like water while their working-class compatriots at home brave the rigors of the elements to create social wealth.

The ambassador to a certain country was driven around in a US-made Cadillac limousine, a luxury-class car which only the head of state of that country and the American ambassador there had. Hence, another ambassador to that country said sarcastically to our ambassador: "The Chinese people are strongly against American imperialism, yet your car is a product of American imperialism." The Chinese ambassador replied brazenly: "I am against American imperialism but I also go in for cars made by American imperialists."

In some Chinese embassies costly renovation jobs are undertaken every year to give the embassy premises a touch of palatial magnificence. Some responsible members of nationalistic political parties frankly told our ambassador: "The official residence of China's ambassador resembles a palace. Seeing is believing. You care for nothing but the bourgeois way of living!" On hearing these words, who won't feel resentful and furious!

Adoring and worshipping foreign things, these people take advantage of their assignments abroad to get rich quick. What is most irritating is that these people despise Chinese products. For instance, ambassadors, counselors and their wives wear nothing but stuff made in the United States, Britain, Germany, France, Japan... They prefer everything foreign, even including foreign-made paper napkins, otherwise a certain Chinese diplomat would not have brought back from abroad eight rolls of tissue! Many Chinese envoys to other countries are known to have brought back dozens of trunks of foreign merchandise, such as radios, television and stereo sets, tape recorders, cameras, body-conditioners, vacuum cleaners, sewing machines, bicycles, wrist watches, toys... In addition to sizable bank balances.

Chairman Mao teaches us: "We should make it clear to all government functionaries that corruption and wasteful practices are serious offences."

By squandering the wealth amassed by the working people, these parasites shamefully commit the offense of extravagance and waste!

Afraid of Waging Struggle and Making Revolution

To safeguard their acquired interests the elements of the privileged stratum are necessarily afraid of waging struggle and making revolution. In the diplomatic work they are bound to implement Liu Shao-ch'i's revisionist and capitulationist line of "three conciliations and one reduction." When the people of the world cherish deep affection for Chairman Mao and show a strong desire to study Chairman Mao's writings, these bureaucrats are so scared that they dare not spread the thought of Mao Tse-tung and distribute the revolutionary booklet Quotations from Chairman Mao.

When a certain overseas Chinese student who was persecuted by the authorities for studying Chairman Mao's writings and singing "The East Is Red" song approached the Chinese embassy for clarification of its stand on the issue, the person who held power in the embassy said: "It isn't necessary for us to study Selected Works of Mao Tse-tung because here we follow the X party and do things as we are told."

What nonsense for these people not to give support to those who want to study Selected Works of Mao Tse-tung and how utterly submissive they are in trying to suppress what altogether is revolution action!

In the field of diplomacy, since the elements of the privileged stratum carry out the line laid down by the higher strata they establish connections with the ruling groups of the countries in which they are stationed, flattering and applauding them as much as they can. For instance, when the foreign minister of a certain country accused us of being the "yellow peril" and declared that "attempts to communize the world will end up in broken and bleeding heads," our diplomat remained indifferent and did not even refute the accuser -- a serious loss of one's political stand.

After the bloody incident which occurred in the Red Square, many key members of the Chinese embassy in Moscow did their best to obstruct Chinese students from protesting to the Soviet revisionists on the ground that "smart people always avoid suffering immediate losses."

These people of the privileged stratum want to live and are so afraid of death that staying alive is uppermost in their minds. Others become so nervous and scared stiff that they were restless day and night. Some even held the absurd view that "diplomats may give themselves up after they have been kidnapped." Isn't this the same stuff as the survival philosophy and renegade philosophy expounded by Khrushchev revisionism and Liu Shao-ch'i revisionism?

Judging from these startling instances, it is clear that a privileged stratum is taking shape in diplomatic institutions, a privileged stratum formed by the small handful of Party persons in authority taking the capitalist road and counter-revolutionary revisionist elements. But today the proletarian revolutionaries have dragged these people out! This is a great

victory for the thought of Mao Tse-tung on the diplomatic front! "With power and to spare let us pursue the tottering foe." We must carry out Chairman Mao's "9 September" directive in all seriousness, redouble our efforts, pursue and hit hard at the privileged stratum of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs until these people are completely overthrown. Let us thoroughly revolutionize the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and truly turn the Ministry into a big school of Mao Tse-tung's thought and a forward post for carrying out world revolution!