

12

October '68

# Liberalization

## CHINESE REVOLUTION NUMBER

*Chairman Mao's 5 Militant Documents*

*Long Live The Victory of The Great Chinese Revolution*

*Two Articles By Comrade Charu Mazumdar*

*Marxism-Leninism and Thought of Mao Tse-tung are One*

*Important Documents of CPC on Cultural Revolution*

*China's Great Revolution And Soviet Union's Big Tragedy*

*Flames of Naxalbari Spread to Bihar*

*Homage to Comrade Babulal Biswakarmakar*

CHINESE REVOLUTION NUMBER  
LIBERATION

Chairman Mao's 5 Militant Documents	
On Art and Literature	... 3
Undertake The Work of Building	
A Revolutionary Party— <i>Charu Mazumdar</i>	... 8
To My Comrades— <i>Charu Mazumdar</i>	... 14
Notes :	
— <i>Long Live The Victory of The Great Chinese Revolution !</i>	... 16
— <i>Heroic Death of A Revolutionary Fighter</i>	
— <i>Naxalbari Struggle Reaches A New Stage</i>	
— <i>Flames of Naxalbari Spread To Bihar</i>	
— <i>The Strike And After</i>	
Decision of The C.C. of The Chinese Communist Party	
Concerning The Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution	33
An Epoch-Making Document	... 46
China's Great Revolution and Soviet Union's	
Big Tragedy— <i>People's Daily</i>	... 58
Trust The Masses, Rely On The Masses— <i>Hongqi</i>	... 66
From The Masses, To The Masses— <i>People's Daily</i>	... 71
Summary of The Forum On The Work In Literature	
And Art In The Armed Forces	... 75
Programme for Building A Mighty Proletarian	
Cultural Army— <i>Chi Pen-Yu</i>	... 94
Marxism-Leninism And Thought of Mao Tse-tung	
Are One— <i>Asit Sen</i>	... 117

Editor-in-Chief  
Sushital Ray Chaudhury

### QUOTATION FROM

CHAIRMAN MAO TSE-TUNG

*According to the Marxist theory of the state, the army is the chief component of state power. Whoever wants to seize and retain state power must have a strong army. Some people ridicule us as advocates of the "omnipotence of war." Yes, we are advocates of the omnipotence of revolutionary war; that is good, not bad, it is Marxist. The guns of the Russian Communist Party created socialism. We shall create a democratic republic. Experience in the class struggle in the era of imperialism teaches us that it is only by the power of the gun that the working class and the labouring masses can defeat the armed bourgeoisie and landlords; in this sense we may say that only with guns can the whole world be transformed.*

## CHAIRMAN MAO'S 5 MILITANT DOCUMENTS ON LITERATURE AND ART

### Letter to the Yen-an Peking Opera Theatre After Seeing "Driven to Join the Liangshan Mountain Rebels"

[January 9, 1944]

HAVING seen your performance, I wish to express my thanks to you for the excellent work you have done. Please convey my thanks to the comrades of the cast! History is made by the people, yet the old opera (and all the old literature and art, which are divorced from the people) presents the people as though they were dirt, and the stage is dominated by lords and ladies and their pampered sons and daughters. Now you have reversed this reversal of history and restored historical truth, and thus a new life is opening up for the old opera. That is why this merits congratulations. The initiative you have taken marks an epoch-making beginning in the revolutionization of the old opera. I am very happy at the thought of this. I hope you will write more plays and give more performances, and so help make this practice a common one which will prevail throughout the country.

### Give Serious Attention to the Discussion of the Film "The Life of Wu Hsun"

[May 20, 1951]

THE questions raised by *The Life of Wu Hsun* are fundamental in character. Living in the era of the Chinese people's great struggle against foreign aggressors and the domestic reactionary feudal rulers towards the end of the

\* This article is taken from an editorial written by Comrade Mao Tse-tung for RENMIN RIBAO.

Ching Dynasty, people like Wu Hsun did not lift a finger to disturb the tiniest fragment of the feudal economic base or its superstructure. On the contrary, they worked fanatically to spread feudal culture and, moreover, sedulously fawned upon the reactionary feudal rulers in order to acquire the status they themselves lacked for spreading feudal culture. Ought we to praise such vile conduct? Can we ever tolerate such vile conduct being publicly praised, especially when such praise flaunts the revolutionary flag of "serving the people" and the failure of the revolutionary peasant struggle is used to heighten the contrast? To approve or tolerate such praise means to approve or tolerate reactionary propaganda vilifying the revolutionary struggle of the peasants, the history of China and the Chinese nation, and to regard such propaganda as justified.

The appearance of the film *The Life of Wu Hsun*, and particularly the praise lavished on Wu Hsun and the film, show the degree of ideological confusion reached in our country's cultural circles!

In the view of many writers, history develops not by the replacement of the old by the new, but by the exertion of every effort to preserve the old from extinction, not by class struggle to overthrow the reactionary feudal rulers who had to be overthrown, but by the negation of the class struggle of the oppressed and their submission to these rulers, in the manner of Wu Hsun. Our writers have not studied history to ascertain who were the enemies oppressing the Chinese people, and whether there is anything praiseworthy in those who submitted to these enemies and served them. Moreover, they have not tried to find out what new forms of social economy, new class forces, new personalities and ideas have appeared in China and struggled against the old forms of social economy and their superstructure (politics, culture, etc.) in the century and more since the Opium War of 1840, and they have accordingly failed to determine what is to be commended

and praised, what is not to be commended and praised, and what is to be condemned.

Certain Communists who have reputedly grasped Marxism warrant particular attention. They have learned the history of social development—historical materialism—but when they come across specific historical events, specific historical figures (like Wu Hsun) and specific ideas contrary to history (as in the film *The Life of Wu Hsun* and the writings about Wu Hsun), they lose their critical faculties, and some have even capitulated to these reactionary ideas. Is it not a fact that reactionary bourgeois ideas have found their way into the militant Communist Party? Where on earth is the Marxism which certain Communists claim to have grasped?

For the above reasons, there should be discussion on the film *The Life of Wu Hsun* and on books and essays relating to Wu Hsun so as thoroughly to straighten out the confused thinking on this question.

### Letter Concerning Studies of "The Dream of the Red Chamber"

[October 16, 1954]

ENCLOSED are two articles refuting Yu Ping-po. Please look them over. They are the first serious attack in over 30 years on the erroneous views of a so-called authoritative writer in the field of study of *The Dream of the Red Chamber*. The authors are two Youth League members. First they wrote to the *Wenyi Bao* (Literary Gazette) to ask whether it was all right to criticize Yu Ping-po, but were ignored. Having no other alternative, they wrote to their teachers at their alma mater—Shantung University—and got support. Their article refuting "A Brief

\* This is a letter written by Comrade Mao Tse-tung to the comrades of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party and other comrades concerned.

Comment on *The Dream of the Red Chamber* was published in the university journal *Wen Shi Zhe* (Literature, History and Philosophy). Then the problem came up again in Peking. Some people asked to have this article reprinted in *Renmin Ribao* in order to arouse discussion and criticism. This was not done because certain persons opposed it for various reasons (the main one being that it was "an article written by nobodies" and that "the Party paper is not a platform for free debate"). As a result a compromise was reached, and the article was allowed to be reprinted in the *Wenyi Bao*. Later, the "Literary Legacy" page of *Guangming Ribao* carried another article by the two young men refuting Yu Ping-po's book, *Studies of "The Dream of the Red Chamber"*. It seems likely that the struggle is about to start against the Hu Shih school of bourgeois idealism which has been poisoning young people in the classical literature for more than 30 years. The whole thing has been set going by two "nobodies," while the "big shots" usually ignore or even obstruct it, and they form a united front with bourgeois writers on the basis of idealism and are willing captives of the bourgeoisie. It was almost the same when the films *Inside Story of the Ching Court* and *The Life of Wu Hsun* were shown. The film *Inside Story of the Ching Court*, which has been described as patriotic but is in fact a film of national betrayal, has not been criticized and repudiated at any time since it was shown all over the country. Although *The Life of Wu Hsun* has been criticized, up to now no lessons have been drawn; what is more, we have the strange situation in which Yu Ping-po's idealism is tolerated and lively critical essays by "nobodies" are obstructed. This deserves our attention.

Towards such bourgeois intellectuals as Yu Ping-po, our attitude should naturally be one of uniting with them. But we should criticize and repudiate their erroneous ideas which poison the minds of young people and should not surrender to them.

## Two Instructions Concerning Literature and Art

### One. Instruction Dated December 12, 1963

**P**ROBLEMS abound in all forms of art such as the drama, ballads, music, the fine arts, the dance, the cinema, poetry and literature; the people engaged in them are numerous; and in many departments very little has been achieved so far in socialist transformation. The "dead" still dominate in many departments. What has been achieved in the cinema, new poetry, folk songs, the fine arts and the novel should not be underestimated, but there, too, there are quite a few problems. As for such departments as the drama the problems are even more serious. The social and economic base has changed, but the arts as part of the superstructure, which serve this base, still remain a serious problem. Hence we should proceed with investigation and study and attend to this matter in earnest.

Isn't it absurd that many Communists are enthusiastic about promoting feudal and capitalist art, but not socialist art?

### Two. Instruction Dated June 27, 1964

**I**N the last 15 years these associations, most of their publications (it is said that a few are good) and *by and large* the people in them (that is not everybody) have not carried out the policies of the Party. They have acted as high and mighty bureaucrats, have not gone to the workers, peasants and soldiers and have not reflected the socialist revolution and socialist construction. *In recent years*, they have slid right down to the brink of revisionism. Unless they remould themselves in real earnest, at some future date they are bound to become groups like the Hungarian Petofi Club.

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- 1) No question of Khatam.  
2) No question of working class struggles  
also.

## Undertake the Work of Building A Revolutionary Party

—Charu Mazumdar

CHAIRMAN MAO has taught us that to make revolution we must have a revolutionary party, a party that is based on the revolutionary theory of Marxism-Leninism and reared in the revolutionary Marxist-Leninist style of work. Without such a party it is impossible to lead the proletariat and the broad masses of the people in their struggle against imperialism and its lackeys.

In the present era, Chairman Mao's thought is the highest development of Marxism-Leninism. Chairman Mao has not only creatively applied Marxism-Leninism but has enriched Marxism-Leninism and developed it to a new stage. Mao Tse-tung's thought can be called the Marxism-Leninism of the era in which imperialism is heading for total collapse and socialism is advancing towards world-wide victory.

Chairman Mao has taught us that in a semi-feudal semi-colonial country, peasants constitute the majority of the population and that the peasantry is exploited and ruled by three mountains, namely, imperialism, feudalism and bureaucrat capitalism. This is why the peasants are extremely eager to make revolution. Therefore, the proletariat must rely on the peasants in order to achieve victory through People's War.

Chairman Mao has taught us that the peasants are the main force of the revolution and victory in the revolution depends on arousing and arming the peasant masses. It is the duty of the revolutionary party of the proletariat to go to the peasant masses and painstakingly work among them for a long period with a view to building up areas of armed

struggle in the countryside. Failure to realise the importance of this peasant question gives rise to "Left" and Right deviations within the party. And democratic revolution is primarily an agrarian revolution. Therefore, it is the responsibility of the proletariat to provide leadership in this agrarian revolution.

Chairman Mao has taught us that the Marxist-Leninist style of work is that which essentially entails integrating theory with practice, forging close links with the masses and practising self-criticism. To master this style of work we must build our party basically among the peasant masses. We must also build the party among the working class on the basis of a programme of action of the working class based on the politics of agrarian revolution.

In the past also, we recruited Party members from among the workers and the peasants. There were even quite a few district committees in which workers and peasant Party members were of a much greater number than the petty bourgeois members. In spite of this our Party could not become a revolutionary party. Why? The reason for this is that the working class Party members had no revolutionary politics, no revolutionary programme of action before them. They were made to work as a force complementary to the trade union movement. This prevented their free development and they had to act under the direction of the petty bourgeois leaders of the trade union movement. No class analysis of the peasant Party members was also made and owing to the absence of revolutionary politics they were not made conscious of the great responsibility that had to be shouldered by the peasantry. The Kisan Sabha was reformist in nature and was led mainly by the rich and middle peasants. As the peasant movements were kept within the bounds of the existing laws, the majority of the Party members came from the rich and middle peasants and their main job was to carry out the dictates of the petty

bourgeois Party leaders. As a result of all this, the Party basically turned into a petty bourgeois party in spite of the fact that there were worker and peasant Party members. That is why the Party was transformed into an out and out revisionist party. Like a true revisionist party, our Party carried on mass movements during the period from one General Elections to another with the purpose of securing more seats at the next elections. All the main centres of the Party were located in the cities and towns and creating city-based movements became the main concern of the Party. Even the peasants were brought into the cities with a view to boosting the city-based struggles. The tragic lessons of 1959\* were also the result of this city-based struggle. The object of all the mass struggles was invariably to *gherao* [surround] the Legislative Assembly. Nothing could be kept secret within the Party and even efforts to keep anything secret gradually ceased. Even the reports of differences in the Party's Central Committee found their way into the bourgeois press. Vigilance on the part of the Party members was blunted. Moreover, it was the constant effort and concern of the Party leaders to make all struggles conform to the limitations imposed by law. The Party leaders not only betrayed the cause of the armed revolt in Telangana but made it a point to intervene and withdraw any peasant struggle as soon as it showed signs of offering determined resistance to police repression. Take, for example, the Punjab peasants' struggle against 'betterment levy'. The Party's central leadership withdrew the struggle without even consulting the Party leaders of Punjab. They also refused to lead peasant struggles in Bihar and Uttar Pradesh. They even slandered the

\* On August 31, 1959, the CPI brought thousands of peasants into Calcutta in order to bolster up the city-based food movement. After a mass meeting a demonstration, in which the peasants participated, was brutally attacked by the reactionary police force of the Congress govt. At least 80 people were killed and hundreds were injured as a result of this.—Ed. Board, Liberation.

Darjeeling district Party leadership as extremists during the struggle to seize *benami* lands [lands held by landlords under fictitious names to evade the existing laws.—Ed.] in 1959. Why did the Party leaders act like this? The reason is, the peasants had wanted to rise up in determination to oppose the police repression. The Party leadership forced every struggle to be open and confined it within the bounds of law.

Publishing Party newspapers and periodicals became the sole occupation of the Party leaders. And what good are these Party publications in our country where the overwhelming majority of the people are unable to read or write? These serve only the petty bourgeois intellectuals. It is in no way possible to educate our workers and peasants politically through the Party papers. That is why the Seventh Congress of the Party gave birth to a revisionist party and not a revolutionary party.

Today, at a time when we are taking up the task of building a revolutionary party, the people's revolutionary struggle in every country in South-east Asia, inspired by the thought of Chairman Mao, has reached a new stage. The Vietnamese people's struggle against the U.S. imperialist aggressors has filled the minds of the oppressed people with a new hope. Even in our country, the peasants' struggles are trying to overcome formidable difficulties and move forward in various places, for instance, in Naxalbari, Uttar Pradesh, Andhra Pradesh. In India also, the peasants have undertaken the task of creating liberated areas in accordance with the teachings of Chairman Mao. To build a revolutionary party in the present era it is not enough to spread and propagate the thought of Chairman Mao. A revolutionary party must also master Chairman Mao's style of work. Only then can we call such a party a truly revolutionary party.

In India, today, we must combine revolutionary theory with revolutionary practice. The party must immediately

start building up areas of peasants' armed struggle in the rural areas. So, in order to combine theory with practice we must learn how to make class analysis of the peasants and establish the Party among the landpoor and landless peasants who constitute the main force of the agrarian revolution. To forge close and intimate links with the people these Party units comprising the landpoor and landless peasants must organise class struggles of the broad peasant masses by spreading and propagating revolutionary politics in accordance with the thought of Chairman Mao. When such class struggles are organised, these Party units comprising the landpoor and landless peasants will be transformed into guerrilla units. These guerrilla units must then broaden and strengthen the Party's mass basis by spreading and propagating revolutionary politics and through armed struggle. Only in this way and through a protracted struggle can a regular people's armed force be created and can the struggle develop into a People's War. It is a formidable task and can only be accomplished by correctly applying the weapon of criticism and self-criticism. We have come together to serve the revolution. So, we should not be afraid of criticism. On the other hand, if we are unwilling to undertake self-criticism we shall not be able to change ourselves qualitatively and so shall prove ourselves unable to carry out the tasks confronting us as communist revolutionaries. A revolutionary party will be born when we have mastered this style of work. Such a party will certainly not be dependent on the revolutionary intellectuals.

We must ceaselessly propagate the politics of agrarian revolution and the thought of Chairman Mao among the working class. The advanced section among the working class, which grasps and assimilates the thought and the style of work of Chairman Mao as a result of this propaganda, must be sent to the rural areas to participate actively in organising agrarian revolution. In this way, the

leadership of the proletariat over the agrarian revolution will be realised in an effective form. That is why Chairman Mao has said that the revolutionary party is composed of the advanced and active section of the proletariat.

Such a revolutionary party will not be a party to fight election campaigns, nor will it be based in the cities. A revolutionary party can never be an open party, nor can its main concern be to publish Party papers etc., nor can it depend on the revolutionary intellectuals. The revolutionary party must depend on the workers and the landpoor and landless peasants. Peasant struggles and secret organisations must be built up with the villages as their bases. Without this the Party will be defenceless in the face of attacks of the counter-revolutionaries. Only such a party can be called a revolutionary party that can build up peasants' armed struggles in the rural areas. All revolutionaries must today actively participate in building a revolutionary party of this type. Revolutionary intellectuals can, of course, help in building such a revolutionary party. They are well-read and can also tell the workers and peasants about the experience of revolutionary struggles in other countries. They can help by propagating, among workers and peasants the thought of Chairman Mao to the extent they have understood it. But our own experience is that in most cases the revolutionary intellectuals prove themselves a hindrance to the free development of the workers' and peasants' Party units and do not try to enhance the initiative of those units. So, the revolutionary intellectuals must always keep in mind the teaching of Chairman Mao: "The masses are the real heroes, while we ourselves are often childish and ignorant, and without this understanding it is impossible to acquire even the most rudimentary knowledge."

Comrades, the events in Czechoslovakia have fully exposed the naked fascist nature of Soviet revisionism.

(Continued at the foot of Page 15)

## To My Comrades

—Charu Mazumdar

ISOLATION from the broad peasant masses constitutes a most harmful political weakness on the part of the revolutionaries. This danger appears at every stage of the struggle. That is why Chairman Mao, in explaining the tactics of guerrilla warfare, has said: "*Divide your forces to arouse the masses, concentrate your forces to deal with the enemy.*" This is the first law. This process of arousing the masses is never completed. The second lesson is that guerrilla warfare is, basically, a higher stage of class struggle, and class struggle is the summation of economic and political struggles. The more I am trying to have a clear understanding of the thought of Chairman Mao, the more I am learning ever newer lessons from it. Comrades in every area will have similar experience and only then will our understanding deepen and we shall become better Marxists. However, it cannot be said just now that all of our comrades have understood this correctly. But all the comrades have started thinking along this line. Learning from the masses is a very difficult task. Subjectivism is an offshoot of revisionism. Our struggle against revisionism has only just started. We have still a very long distance to go.

While the comrades who are working among the peasants should continue to propagate politics, they should never belittle the necessity of formulating common slogans on economic demands. For, without this, broad sections of the peasantry cannot be drawn into the movement, nor

First published in the Bengali weekly DESHABRATI, August 1, 1968.

can the backward sections of the peasants be raised to a level where they can grasp our political propaganda, nor can their hatred against their class enemy be sustained. "Seize the coming crops"—is a slogan which must be propagated from this moment. Hatred must be roused against the *jotedar*\* class as it starves the peasants throughout the year. "Peasants should seize the next harvest" is a slogan which will draw broad sections of the peasants into the fold of the movement, and our conscious political propaganda will change the nature of this peasant movement.

\*JOTEDAR—The landowning class which does not itself till the land and is the mainstay of feudal exploitation and oppression in the villages.

(Continued from page 13)

These events have also clearly revealed the fact that the traitorous Dangeite clique and the neo-revisionist clique are obedient tools of the Soviet revisionists. As a result, the revisionist propaganda in this country is sure to get blunted. India has today become a US-Soviet neo-colony. With the help of the Indian reactionaries they have turned India into a base of counter-revolution in South-east Asia. Under these circumstances, the sooner the Soviet revisionists are exposed, the more powerful will grow the upsurge of revolutionary class struggle and resistance all over India and the more will the peasant revolts develop. The future of the revolution depends on how quickly we can build Party organisations among our classes during this period. On this will depend whether we shall be able to lead this revolutionary upsurge or not. It may be that this upsurge will take place during the coming struggle to seize the crops. Let the revolutionary intellectuals come forward and help build the revolutionary party by spreading and propagating the thought of Chairman Mao among the workers and peasants.

## NOTES

### LONG LIVE THE VICTORY OF THE GREAT CHINESE REVOLUTION!

Together with the people of the whole world we greet the nineteenth anniversary of the momentous victory of the great Chinese revolution, which sounded the death-knell of world imperialism. It inflicted the first major defeat on U.S. imperialism, which had emerged out of the Second World War as the most powerful, arrogant and aggressive imperialism the world has ever seen. The fond dream of the U.S. imperialists enjoying a monopoly of nuclear weapons and filled with the lust for world domination—the dream of using the most populous country in the world as its base for conquest of the whole world—was rudely shattered. The Chinese revolution was the first successful revolution in a colony or semi-colony against imperialism, feudalism and comprador bureaucrat capital. The triumph of this anti-imperialist, anti-feudal revolution under the leadership of the proletariat in the biggest semi-colony, a country inhabited by one quarter of the world's population, was indeed the prelude to the total defeat and collapse of imperialism and its lackeys, the prelude to the triumph of freedom and socialism all the world over.

The Chinese revolution is, no doubt, the model for revolutions in all colonies and semi-colonies, the countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America. The path along which the Communist Party of China, guided by Chairman Mao, led the Chinese people to victory over imperialism and its lackeys is the path that is being followed by the peoples of the various colonial and semi-colonial countries for attaining the goal of national independence and people's democracy. This is the path mapped out by the genius of Comrade Mao Tse-tung—the path illumined by his thought.

In his *Address to the Second All-Russia Congress of Communist Organisations of the Peoples of the East* (November 22, 1919), Lenin said;

"In this respect you are confronted with a task which has not previously confronted the Communists of the world: relying upon the general theory and practice of communism, you must adapt yourselves to specific conditions such as do not exist in the European countries; you must be able to apply that theory and practice to conditions in which the bulk of the population are peasants, and in which the task is to wage a struggle against medieval survivals and not against capitalism. This is a difficult and specific task..."

Lenin added:

"The task is to arouse the working masses to revolutionary activity, to independent action and to organisation, regardless of the level they have reached; to translate the true communist doctrine, which was intended for the communists of the more advanced countries, into the language of every people; to carry out those practical tasks which must be carried out immediately, and to join the proletarians of other countries in a common struggle.

"Such are the problems whose solution you will not find in any communist book, but will find in the common struggle begun by Russia. You will have to tackle that problem and solve it through your own independent experience."

Lenin pointed out that the character of the revolution in the countries of the East would be anti-imperialist and anti-feudal. Stalin devoted considerable attention to the revolutions in colonies and semi-colonies, particularly, to the Chinese revolution and emphasised the bourgeois-democratic character of the revolution. He repeatedly pointed out that the Chinese revolution would be a bourgeois democratic revolution directed against both feudalism and imperialism, led not by the bourgeoisie but by the proletariat, and would form a part of the world

proletarian revolution. Stalin had to wage a fight against Trotsky and others who ignored the 'feudal survivals' in China and denied the role of the peasantry in the Chinese revolution, who 'saw the bourgeoisie and saw the proletariat, but did not notice the peasantry and did not understand its role in the bourgeois-democratic revolution.' On the role of the peasantry, which Trotsky always ignored, Stalin was quite explicit. He pointed out that the agrarian revolution would be "the basis and content of the bourgeois democratic revolution." He refuted the argument of those who held that "if the peasantry were drawn into the revolution it would disrupt the united anti-imperialist front." "The more quickly and thoroughly the Chinese peasantry," Stalin said, "is drawn into the revolution the stronger and more powerful the anti-imperialist front in China will be." "The Prospects of the Revolution in China" *Works*, Vol. 8, p. 385). ("The colonial and semi-colonial question," declared Stalin, "is in essence the peasant question.")

Stalin's works on China were not available for quite some time to Comrade Mao Tse-tung and other comrades who were actually leading the Chinese revolution. Opportunists within the Chinese Communist Party kept back, either intentionally or unintentionally, Stalin's works on China. Besides, there were the language difficulties and the counter-revolutionary blockade. "But despite this situation," writes Chen Po-ta in *Stalin and the Chinese Revolution*, "Comrade Mao Tse-tung has been able to reach the same conclusions as Stalin on many fundamental problems through his independent thinking based on the fundamental revolutionary science of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin."

Comrade Mao Tse-tung "brilliantly developed the theories of Lenin and Stalin on the colonial and semi-colonial question as well as Stalin's theory concerning the Chinese revolution." Comrade Mao Tse-tung's theory and

practice of the Chinese revolution represent the integration of the universal truth of Marxism-Leninism with the concrete practice of the Chinese revolution.

Comrade Mao Tse-tung clearly stated :

"...The whole Chinese revolutionary movement led by the Chinese Communist Party is a complete revolutionary movement embracing the two revolutionary stages, democratic and socialist, which are two revolutionary processes differing in character and...the socialist stage can be reached only after the democratic stage is completed."

"The present task of the revolution in China," said Comrade Mao Tse-tung, "is one of opposing imperialism and feudalism; until this task is completed, socialism is out of the question. Two steps have to be taken in the Chinese revolution: the first is New Democracy, and the second socialism."

Ridiculing the Trotskyists and other tools of reaction, who opposed communism and the Communist Party with "the theory of a single revolution", Comrade Mao Tse-tung said :

"'The theory of a single revolution' is simply a theory of no revolution; that is the gist of the matter." (*On New Democracy*).

Discussing the targets of the Chinese revolution, the kind of enemies it had to deal with, Comrade Mao Tse-tung pointed out that the Chinese revolution would be "protracted and ruthless in nature," and would "so far as its principal means or the principal form is concerned, be an armed rather than a peaceful one." He said :

"Confronted with such enemies [imperialism, feudalism and the comprador bourgeoisie], the Chinese revolution has also to tackle the question of revolutionary base areas. Since powerful imperialism and its allies, the reactionary forces in China, have occupied China's key cities for a long time, if the revolutionary forces do not wish to compromise with them but want to carry on the struggle staunchly,

and if they intend to accumulate strength and steel themselves and avoid decisive battles with their powerful enemy before they have mustered enough strength, then they must build the backward villages into advanced consolidated base areas, into great military, political, economic and cultural revolutionary bastions, so that they can fight the fierce enemy who utilises the cities to attack the rural districts, and through a protracted struggle, gradually win an over-all victory for the revolution. In these circumstances, owing to the unevenness in China's economic development (not a unified capitalist economy), to the immensity of China's territory (which gives the revolutionary forces sufficient room to manoeuvre in), to the disunity inside China's counter-revolutionary camp which is fraught with contradictions, and to the fact that the struggle of the peasants, the main force in the Chinese revolution, is led by the party of the proletariat, the Communist Party, a situation arises in which, on the one hand, the Chinese revolution can triumph first in the rural districts and, on the other hand, a state of unevenness is created in the revolution and the task of winning complete victory in the revolution becomes a protracted and arduous one. It is thus clear that the protracted revolutionary struggle conducted in such revolutionary base areas is chiefly a peasant guerrilla war led by the Chinese Communist Party. To neglect building up revolutionary base areas in the rural districts, to neglect performing arduous work among the peasants, and to neglect guerrilla war, are therefore all incorrect views."

To quote from Comrade Chen Po-ta's book *Mao Tse-tung on the Chinese Revolution*, (1953) "The conclusion concerning the waging of protracted revolutionary warfare in the countryside and of surrounding the towns with the villages and then taking the towns, the conclusion concerning the establishment and maintenance of revolutionary power in many small, scattered bases and the gradual development

and expansion of these bases through prolonged struggles until the seizure of power throughout the country—these constitute the clear-cut conclusions reached by Comrade Mao Tse-tung some twenty years ago by applying Marxism-Leninism in his study of the problems of the Chinese revolution. They are the new conclusions of Marxism for colonial and semi-colonial countries. These new conclusions are correct because they have been verified by the Chinese revolution and because they are being verified by the activities in the countries of Southeast Asia. This demonstrates the irresistible power of the theory of Marxism-Leninism, the irresistible power of dialectics."

Comrade Mao Tse-tung's correct views had had to struggle against erroneous views of both the Right and the Left variety for a number of years before they could triumph. There were Rightists like Chen Tu-hsiu who held that after the 1927 revolution the bourgeois-democratic revolution in China had been completed, that the Chinese bourgeoisie had already been victorious over imperialism and feudalism. They advised the Chinese proletariat to wait until the future to make the "socialist revolution." They later joined the reactionary Trotskyists and became counter-revolutionaries.

Between 1927 and January 1935, there arose three "Left" lines which caused much harm to the revolution. The exponents of these "Left" lines shared certain characteristics. They lacked a clear understanding of the character of the Chinese revolution, its targets and motive forces. As Comrade Mao Tse-tung said, "Although many of the revolutionary tasks set by the various 'Left' lines were democratic in character, the exponents of the 'Left' lines were invariably confused about the definite distinction between the democratic revolution and the socialist revolution and subjectively were anxious to go beyond the democratic revolution; they invariably under-estimated the decisive role of the peasants' anti-feudal struggle in

the Chinese revolution, and they invariably advocated a struggle against the bourgeoisie as a whole, including even the upper petty bourgeoisie." As the exponents of the "Left" lines failed to understand the specific features of semi-colonial and semi-feudal Chinese society, did not realize that the bourgeois-democratic revolution in China was essentially a peasant revolution and were unable to recognize the uneven, tortuous and protracted nature of the revolution, they neglected the question of peasant guerrilla war and rural base areas.

It was in January 1935 that, at an enlarged meeting of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the CPC, all the Right and "Left" deviations were rejected and Comrade Mao Tse-tung's leadership was established. This marked the turning point in the history of the Chinese revolution; the Chinese party and people took to the only correct road for the Chinese revolution, the road pointed out by Comrade Mao Tse-tung.

Since then the Chinese revolution under the leadership of Chairman Mao has marched from one epoch-making victory to another. After completing the New Democratic revolution, the Chinese revolution passed on to the Socialist stage. Under the leadership of Chairman Mao, another revolution, greater than any previous revolution in any country of the world, has been accomplished. It is the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution under the dictatorship of the Chinese proletariat, a revolution which while being a great ideological and cultural revolution is basically a great political revolution. It has shattered the dream of imperialists and revisionists, the dream of restoring capitalism in China. On the very eve of the nineteenth anniversary of the first great victory of the Chinese revolution, China celebrated the victory of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution. At a vast Peking rally on September 7 last, Premier Chou En-lai announced that revolutionary committees had been set up in all the provinces,

municipalities and autonomous regions with the exception of Taiwan, and that the whole country except Taiwan had become red. Chairman Mao Tse-tung has not only taught us how to make revolution in colonial, semi-colonial and other countries, has not only solved the problem of transition from New Democracy to Socialism, but has also solved the problem of carrying on revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat in order to prevent restoration of capitalism. The world has entered a new era, the era of Mao Tse-tung's thought.

After the treachery of the leaders of the CPSU, China has become the centre, the base, the Yenan of the world revolution. Today, the touchstone of a communist, of a revolutionary, is his attitude towards China, his attitude towards Mao Tse-tung's thought. One who is opposed to China, to the CPC, to Mao Tse-tung's thought, finds oneself in the unenviable company of counter-revolutionaries. There is no room for neutrality between the camp of revolution and the camp of counter-revolution.

In this country, both the Dange revisionists and the sham Marxists—Ranadive, Namboodiripad, Sundarayya Basavapunniah and Co.—have joined the anti-China chorus led by the imperialists and domestic reactionaries. Their hostility to the CPC and Mao Tse-tung is not a recent phenomenon. Joshi or Ajoy Ghosh, Dange or Ranadive, Sundarayya or Rajeswar Rao—they may have their quarrels but they all share this hostility. They have always sought to belittle the greatness of Chairman's Mao's theory and practice of the Chinese revolution. They have always sought to prove that the path of the Indian revolution is different from the path of the Chinese revolution, the path that revolutions in all colonial and semi-colonial countries must take. Are these antics strange? No, they are not at all strange, for these so-called communists and Marxists have always loyally served the interests not only of the domestic reactionaries but also of the imperialists.



### HEROIC DEATH OF A REVOLUTIONARY FIGHTER

At midnight on Saturday, September 7, Comrade Babulal Biswakarma (Biswa Karmakar), a valiant young peasant revolutionary and a leader of the Naxalbari peasant struggle, was killed near the Birsingh Jote village under Naxalbari P. S., after a 4 hour gun-duel with the armed police of the reactionary Indian government but not before he had inflicted casualties on the few hundred strong fascist attacking force with his solitary gun, which, according to police reports, was taken away forcibly by the revolutionary peasants from the possession of a feudal oppressor a few months back. He assisted the other comrades of his group, which was very small and was surrounded earlier in the evening by the enemy force, to move away to safety by skilfully using his gun from various positions and thus holding the reactionary force at bay for hours. Frustrated and confused they fired volleys but to no effect. It was only when Comrade Babulal came out of his hiding place and was trying to move away to a safe place, that the murderous policemen could spot him in the clear moonlight and riddled him with eight bullets.

A true revolutionary and a true disciple of Chairman Mao, Comrade Babulal died with gun in one hand and the little Red Book of quotations from Chairman Mao, in the other. The Red Book was his constant companion. He was hardly thirty at the time of his heroic death.

A close comrade-in-arm of Comrade Babulal writes: Comrade Babulal's revolutionary political life began at the age of 15 when on February 7, 1953, he took part in a fight of angry share-croppers who demanded stopping of the unbearable interest-burden imposed by the jotedar. Babulal was seriously injured on the head by the jotedar and his goondas. He was arrested in that condition and was released on bail after remaining in prison for quite some time. After this Babulal demanded to be taken in as

whole-time organiser of the Kisan Samity. In 1955 he did become a whole-time organiser and took up work in the Phansidewa P. S. area. He laid the foundation of the revolutionary peasant movement that is going on at present in that area. He took part in each of the statewide movements that took place in Bengal since then and was repeatedly arrested and jailed.

Babulal was a landless poor peasant. So he plunged with tremendous enthusiasm into the work of organising the struggle for seizing benami lands which began in 1959-60, and took part in clashes with the police. But the struggle fizzled out owing to the revisionist leadership. Babulal came out as a peasant leader during this struggle and was elected assistant secretary of the sub-divisional Kisan Samity and Secretary of the Hatighisa Union Kisan Samity that year. He was never satisfied until he managed to obtain membership of the Party in 1956 after repeated insistent demands.

Babulal, himself a peasant, fully realised that all the unorganised people must be united in order to achieve victory in the revolution. That is why, he also worked as an organiser of the tea-garden workers and established himself as a trade union organiser. He became an assistant secretary and member of the working committee of the Terai tea-garden workers' union. He was a fighting organiser of the day-to-day struggles and of the strikes of the tea-garden workers. This made him very popular with the tea-garden workers.

At the time of the Sino-Indian border conflict in 1962, when 'Communist' leaders all over India were rending the skies with anti-China cries, Comrade Babulal's class consciousness led him to uphold the truth in opposition to those leaders. For this he was thrown into prison.

In 1964 he lined up with the CPI (M) in the hope that a new revolutionary party was being born. But his indignation knew no bounds when at the Darjeeling

District Party Conference in 1964, Harekrishna Konar, a top Party boss forbade them to raise the slogan 'Mao Tse-tung Zindabad !' After the Seventh Party Congress (in 1964) when Comrade Charu Mazumdar initiated a political debate over the strategy and tactics of the Party, Comrade Babulal upheld the revolutionary politics and was thrown as a detenu into the Baharampur Jail in May, 1965. Coming out of jail in 1966, he began to organise the peasants on the basis of revolutionary politics. For this, he was again arrested before the elections in 1967. Later he was released. And the CPI (M) expelled him from the Party because he was a leader of the Naxalbari struggle. He was also expelled from the Terai tea-garden workers' union.

In the course of the struggle of the peasants in the Sili-guri sub-division, Comrade Babulal was apprehended with a gun, at the instance of the revisionist Minister of the UF Government in West Bengal, Jyoti Basu. The Superintendent of Police of the Darjeeling district failed to subdue him in spite of all sorts of threats and temptations. Even solitary imprisonment in the Kurseong Jail could not subdue or dispirit him. At this moment, the revisionists of the district began to work upon him and tried to tempt him in various ways but failed. In March 1968 Babulal was released on bail and he at once went underground and began again to organise the peasants. During this period when he was working underground, his wife was subjected to all kinds of mental torture. The police also threatened her with dire consequences if the land let out to Babulal for share-cropping remained untilled. Comrade Babulal always aspired to take an active part in making the revolution. That he did and did well. He will never know that his self-less heroism has made of him a national hero of India's democratic revolution.

The Editorial Board of *Liberation* pays its heart-felt homage to the memory of the great revolutionary fighter

Comrade Babulal Biswakarma. As Chairman Mao has said: "To die for the people is heavier than Mount Tai." Comrade Babulal died for the people and served the people wholeheartedly and unreservedly. His death, as well as his life, will serve as a source of inspiration to tens of thousands of peasants and workers and revolutionaries to intensify their revolutionary activities and strengthen the forces of revolution.

#### *NAXALBARI STRUGGLE REACHES A NEW STAGE*

At a conference of the peasant revolutionaries of Naxalbari, Kharibari and Phansidewa, attended by about two hundred delegates, it was decided to boycott elections actively and to take full possession of the next harvest and not to part with any portion of it.

Homage was paid to the memory of Comrade Babulal Biswakarma. The conference came to the conclusion that with the fight and death of Comrade Babulal the Naxalbari struggle had developed to a higher stage, the stage of guerrilla warfare. It resolved to carry forward the work initiated by Comrade Babulal.

[The full text of the resolution adopted at the conference will appear in the next issue of *Liberation*. —Ed.]

#### *THE FLAMES OF NAXALBARI REACH MUZAFFARPUR*

Led by the Communist revolutionaries, the flames of Naxalbari have spread to about 12 villages of the Mushahari Block in Muzaffarpur district, in Bihar. For about a year the peasants there have been agitating against the landlord and were also getting organised. Last April, the peasants of Bangapur, led by the Communist revolutionaries seized land. At this, Bijli Singh, the tyrant zamindar of Narsinghpur organised an attack on the peasants with three hundred goondas variously armed with lathis, spears, swords and

daggers. They brought with them one elephant and two cart-loads of stones. About 600 poor peasants, half of whom were women, led by the Communist revolutionaries, armed themselves with whatever they could to defend themselves. They appealed to those poor peasants who were among the zamindar's force to break their relations with the oppressor zamindar and to join the fighting peasants. Moved by this appeal from their class brothers, they deserted the zamindar's force and joined the fighting peasants and took the path pointed out by Chairman Mao. After this, the revolutionary peasants seized the two stone-laden carts and counter-attacked the goondas. The zamindar and his powerful force were unable to withstand this and after a battle lasting for about four hours, during which about 50 goondas were injured, they fled. Only 3 of the fighting peasants received minor injuries.

The sparks of this fight spread to the whole of Mushahari region and peasants in various places began to rise up and fight against the zamindars. The influence of the Kisan Sangram Samity has spread from four or five villages to the whole region. The reactionary zamindar, frustrated in his attempt to suppress the peasants, pressed into service the reactionary state machine and had a police camp established in the Mushahari Block area. He also instituted cases against the fighting peasants.

On August 23, the peasants of Harkesh village seized lands. The zamindar, Ramasray Singh brought a detachment of armed police under one officer, who arrested and tortured a peasant. As soon as this news spread, the peasants of the entire village and from nearby places gathered, got the arrested peasant released by force and beat up the zamindar. The peasant masses resisted the armed police men heroically and with firmness. The peasant women took an active part in this fight. The police officer was injured and fled with his men in panic. The entire area was under the control of the peasants for

about three days. Only when a much superior police force arrived, the peasants retreated for the time being.

A police camp under a magistrate and a DSP has been established in the area, and regular patrolling by armed police in the interior villages has been undertaken to instil fear in the minds of the people. The revolutionary vigilance of the people has however foiled all the attempts of the police to arrest the Communist revolutionaries. The Communist revolutionaries, well-protected by the people, have continued their political propaganda and are strengthening the organisation with a view to deal with the reactionary measures of the police. The struggle of the peasants here is not merely a struggle for land, it is a political struggle. Conscious of this, they are dealing blows at the reactionary state apparatus which exists and works only to perpetuate the bloody rule of exploitation and oppression. The peasant struggle of Mushahari has reached a new stage.

### THE STRIKE AND AFTER

The hundreds of thousands of striking workers and employees of the Central government offices and establishments including the railways, and the Posts and Telegraphs have added a fresh new chapter to the history of the people's struggle against the exploitation and oppression of the imperialists and their domestic lackeys in this country.

Striking workers and employees, you have done well! The Central government leaders, acting with the sole purpose of protecting the vested interests of the imperialists, the Soviet revisionists and their Indian lackeys promulgated draconic Ordinances, which are unprecedentedly vicious and openly fascist in nature, in order to suppress you. And you very correctly ignored them with scorn and openly defied them with exemplary firmness, and thus completely smashed the fond dreams of the reactionary rulers. This has been your first-round victory. When

threats and intimidations failed, the ruling class resorted to open, bloody repression. And you, enjoying the warm sympathy and active support of the people courageously fought back. It is indeed a magnificent, an exhilarating inspiration for all the people of our country who are struggling for liberation. It is your brave defiance of threats, intimidations and provocations of the reactionary rulers, your courageous resistance to the bloody repressive police measures, and your firm refusal to be subdued—it is all this that won for your struggle warm sympathy and support of the broad masses of our toiling people. For, in present-day India, every struggle that hurts and deals blows against the reactionary Indian ruling classes and their masters—the US imperialists and the Soviet revisionists, who are sitting like mountains on the shoulders of the Indian people and sucking their blood, naturally and invariably finds support and sympathy among the people.

And it is clear as daylight that your strike action of September 19 has hit the Indian reactionary rulers hard, has isolated them even more from the masses and helped to intensify the people's hatred against them and brought new inspiration to the fighting millions. It is indeed "a new blow to the reactionary Indian government", as the Peking Radio has commented.

The fighting mood and militancy displayed by the striking workers and employees have however, not pleased the revisionists, neo-revisionists and other reactionary leaders who have usurped the leadership of the trade unions and have done everything in their power to disrupt the struggle from within. It is basically the same bunch of revisionists and seasoned scabs and labour bureaucrats, with some alterations, that almost openly stabbed the strike action of the Central government workers and employees in the back in 1960, that has energetically worked to weaken, demoralise and sabotage the present token strike at every

(Continued on page 132)

## A HISTORIC DOCUMENT

# Decision of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party

## CONCERNING

## THE GREAT PROLETARIAN CULTURAL REVOLUTION

[The following is the full text of the "Decision of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party Concerning the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution" adopted on August 8, 1966, at the Eleventh Plenary Session of the Eighth Central Committee held in Peking from August 1 to 12, 1966.]

### 1. A New Stage In The Socialist Revolution

The great proletarian cultural revolution now unfolding is a great revolution that touches people to their very souls and constitutes a new stage in the development of the Socialist revolution in our country, a deeper and more extensive stage.

At the Tenth Plenary Session of the Eighth Central Committee of the Party, Comrade Mao Tse-tung said: To overthrow a political power, it is always necessary, first of all, to create public opinion, to do work in the ideological sphere. This is true for the revolutionary class as well as for the counter-revolutionary class. This thesis of Comrade Mao Tse-tung's has been proved entirely correct in practice.

Although the bourgeoisie has been overthrown, it is still trying to use the old ideas, culture, customs and habits of the exploiting classes to corrupt the masses, capture their minds and endeavour to stage a come-back. The proletariat must do just the opposite: it must meet head-on every

challenge of the bourgeoisie in the ideological field and use the new ideas, culture, customs and habits of the proletariat to change the mental outlook of the whole of society. At present, our objective is to struggle against and crush those persons in authority who are taking the capitalist road, to criticize and repudiate the reactionary bourgeois academic 'authorities' and the ideology of the bourgeoisie and all other exploiting classes and to transform education, literature and art and all other parts of the superstructure that do not correspond to the Socialist economic base, so as to facilitate the consolidation and development of the Socialist system.

## 2. The Main Current And The Zigzags

The masses of the workers, peasants, soldiers, revolutionary intellectuals and revolutionary cadres form the main force in this great cultural revolution. Large numbers of revolutionary young people, previously unknown, have become courageous and daring path-breakers. They are vigorous in action and intelligent. Through the media of big-character posters and great debates, they argue things out, expose and criticize thoroughly, and launch resolute attacks on the open and hidden representatives of the bourgeoisie. In such a great revolutionary movement, it is hardly avoidable that they should show shortcomings of one kind or another, but their main revolutionary orientation has been correct from the beginning. This is the main current in the great proletarian cultural revolution. It is the main direction along which the great proletarian cultural revolution continues to advance.

Since the cultural revolution is a revolution, it inevitably meets with resistance. This resistance comes chiefly from those in authority who have wormed their way into the party and are taking the capitalist road. It also comes from the old force of habit in society. At present, this resistance is still fairly strong and stubborn. However, the great proletarian cultural revolution is, after all, an irresistible general

trend. There is abundant evidence that such resistance will crumble fast once the masses become fully aroused.

Because the resistance is fairly strong, there will be reversals and even repeated reversals in this struggle. There is no harm in this. It tempers the proletariat and other working people, and especially the younger generation, teaches them lessons and gives them experience, and helps them to understand that the revolutionary road is a zigzag one, and not plain sailing.

## 3. Put Daring Above Everything Else And Boldly Arouse The Masses

The outcome of this great cultural revolution will be determined by whether the Party leadership does or does not dare boldly to arouse the masses.

Currently, there are four different situations with regard to the leadership being given to the movement of cultural revolution by Party organizations at various levels.

(1) There is the situation in which the persons in charge of Party organizations stand in the van of the movement and dare to arouse the masses boldly. They put daring above everything else, they are dauntless Communist fighters and good pupils of Chairman Mao. They advocate the big-character posters and great debates. They encourage the masses to expose every kind of ghost and monster and also to criticize the shortcomings and errors in the work of the persons in charge. This correct kind of leadership is the result of putting proletarian politics in the forefront and Mao Tse-tung's thought in the lead.

(2) In many units, the persons in charge have a very poor understanding of the task of leadership in this great struggle, their leadership is far from being conscientious and effective, and they accordingly find themselves incompetent and in a weak position. They put fear above everything else, stick to outmoded ways and regulations, and are unwilling to break away from conventional practices

and move ahead. They have been taken unawares by the new order of things, the revolutionary order of the masses, with the result that their leadership lags behind the situation, lags behind the masses.

(3) In some units, the persons in charge, who made mistakes of one kind or another in the past, are even more prone to put fear above everything else, being afraid that the masses will catch them out. Actually, if they make serious self-criticism and accept the criticism of the masses, the party and the masses will make allowances for their mistakes. But if the persons in charge don't, they will continue to make mistakes and become obstacles to the mass movement.

(4) Some units are controlled by those who have wormed their way into the Party and are taking the capitalist road. Such persons in authority are extremely afraid of being exposed by the masses and, therefore, seek every possible pretext to suppress the mass movement. They resort to such tactics as shifting the targets for attack and turning black into white in an attempt to lead the movement astray. When they find themselves very isolated and no longer able to carry on as before, they resort still more to intrigues, stabbing people in the back, spreading rumours, and blurring the distinction between revolution and counter-revolution as much as they can, all for the purpose of attacking the revolutionaries.

What the Central Committee of the Party demands of the Party committees at all levels is that they persevere in giving correct leadership, put daring above everything else, boldly arouse the masses, change the state of weakness and incompetence where it exists, encourage those comrades who have made mistakes but are willing to correct them, to cast off their mental burdens and join in the struggle, and dismiss from their leading posts all those in authority who are taking the capitalist road and so make possible the recapture of the leadership for the proletarian revolutionaries.

#### 4. Let The Masses Educate Themselves In The Movement

In the great proletarian cultural revolution, the only method is for the masses to liberate themselves, and any method of doing things on their behalf must not be used.

Trust the masses, rely on them and respect their initiative. Cast out fear. Don't be afraid of disorder. Chairman Mao has often told us that revolution cannot be so very refined, so gentle, so temperate, kind, courteous, restrained and magnanimous. Let the masses educate themselves in this great revolutionary movement and learn to distinguish between right and wrong and between correct and incorrect ways of doing things.

Make the fullest use of big-character posters and great debates to argue matters out, so that the masses can clarify the correct views, criticize the wrong views and expose all the ghosts and monsters. In this way the masses will be able to raise their political consciousness in the course of the struggle, enhance their abilities and talents, distinguish right from wrong and draw a clear line between the enemy and ourselves.

#### 5. Firmly Apply The Class Line Of The Party

Who are our enemies? Who are our friends? This is a question of the first importance for the revolution and it is likewise a question of the first importance for the great cultural revolution.

Party leadership should be good at discovering the Left and developing and strengthening the ranks of the Left, and should firmly rely on the revolutionary Left. During the movement this is the only way to isolate thoroughly the most reactionary Rightists, win over the middle and unite with the great majority so that by the end of the movement we shall achieve the unity of more than 95 per cent of the cadres and more than 95 per cent of the masses.

Concentrate all forces to strike at the handful of ultra-reactionary bourgeois Rightists and counter-revolutionary

revisionists, and expose and criticize to the full their crimes against the Party, against Socialism and against Mao Tse-tung's thought so as to isolate them to the maximum.

The main target of the present movement is those within the Party who are in authority and are taking the capitalist road.

Care should be taken to distinguish strictly between the anti-Party, anti-Socialist Rightists and those who support the Party and Socialism but have said or done something wrong or have written some bad articles or other works.

Care should be taken to distinguish strictly between the reactionary bourgeois scholar despots and "authorities" on the one hand and people who have the ordinary bourgeois academic ideas on the other.

#### 6. Correct Handling Of Contradictions Among The People

A strict distinction must be made between the two different types of contradictions: those among the people and those between ourselves and the enemy. Contradictions among the people must not be made into contradictions between ourselves and the enemy; nor must contradictions between ourselves and the enemy be regarded as those among the people.

It is normal for the masses to hold different views. Contention between different views is unavoidable, necessary and beneficial. In the course of normal and full debate, the masses will affirm what is right, correct, what is wrong and gradually reach unanimity.

The method to be used in debates is to present the facts, reason things out, and persuade through reasoning. Any method of forcing a minority holding different views to submit is impermissible. The minority should be protected, because sometimes the truth is with the minority. Even if the minority is wrong, they should still be allowed to argue their case and reserve their views.

When there is a debate, it should be conducted by reasoning, not by coercion or force.

In the course of debate, every revolutionary should be good at thinking things out for himself and should develop the Communist spirit of daring to think, daring to speak and daring to act. On the premise that they have the same main orientation, revolutionary comrades should, for the sake of strengthening unity, avoid endless debate over side issues.

#### 7. Be On Guard Against Those Who Brand The Revolutionary Masses As "Counter-Revolutionaries"

In certain schools, units, and work teams of the cultural revolution, some of the persons in charge have organized counter-attacks against the masses who put up big-character posters against them. These people have even advanced such slogans as: "Opposition to the leaders of a unit or a work team means opposition to the Party's Central Committee, means opposition to the Party and Socialism, means counter-revolution." In this way it is inevitable that their blows will fall on some really revolutionary activists. This is an error on matters of orientation, an error of line, and is absolutely impermissible.

A number of persons who suffer from serious ideological errors, and particularly some of the anti-Socialist Rightists are taking advantage of certain shortcomings and mistakes in the mass movement to spread rumours and and gossip, and engage in agitation, deliberately branding some of the masses as "counter-revolutionaries." It is necessary to beware of such "pick-pockets" and expose their tricks in good time.

In the course of the movement, with the exception of cases of active counter-revolutionaries where there is clear evidence of crimes such as murder, arson, poisoning, sabotage or theft of State secrets, which should be handled in accordance with the law, no measures should be taken

against students at universities, colleges, middle schools and primary schools because of problems that arise in the movement. To prevent the struggle from being diverted from its main objective, it is not allowed, whatever the pretext, to incite the masses to struggle against each other or the students to the likewise. Even proven Rightists should be dealt with on the merits of each case at a later stage of the movement.

### 8. The Question of Cadres

The cadres fall roughly into the following four categories :

- (1) good ;
- (2) comparatively good ;
- (3) those who have made serious mistakes but have not become anti-Party, anti-Socialist Rightists ;
- (4) the small number of anti-Party, anti-Socialist Rightists.

In ordinary situations, the first two categories (good and comparatively good) are the great majority.

The anti-Party, anti-Socialist Rightists must be fully exposed, hit hard, pulled down and completely discredited and their influence eliminated. At the same time, they should be given a way out so that they can turn over a new leaf.

### 9. Cultural Revolutionary Groups, Committees and Congresses

Many new things have begun to emerge in the great proletarian cultural revolution. The cultural revolutionary groups, committees and other organizational forms created by the masses in many schools and units are something new and of great historic importance.

These cultural revolutionary groups, committees and congresses are excellent new forms of organization whereby under the leadership of the Communist Party the masses

are educating themselves. They are an excellent bridge to keep our Party in close contact with the masses. They are organs of power of the proletarian cultural revolution.

The struggle of the proletariat against the old ideas, culture, customs and habits left over from all the exploiting classes over thousands of years will necessarily take a very, very long time. Therefore, the cultural revolutionary groups, committees and congresses should not be temporary organizations, but permanent, standing mass organizations. They are suitable not only for colleges, schools and government and other organizations, but generally also for factories, mines, other enterprises, urban districts and villages.

It is necessary to institute a system of general elections, like that of the Paris Commune, for electing members to the cultural revolutionary groups and committees and delegates to the cultural revolutionary congresses. The lists of candidates should be put forward by the revolutionary masses after full discussion, and the elections should be held after the masses have discussed the lists over and over again.

The masses are entitled at any time to criticize members of the cultural revolutionary groups and committees and delegates elected to the cultural revolutionary congresses. If these members or delegates prove incompetent, they can be replaced through election or recalled by the masses after discussion.

The cultural revolutionary groups, committees and congresses in colleges and schools should consist mainly of representatives of the revolutionary students. At the same time, they should have a certain number of representatives of the revolutionary teaching staff and workers.

### 10. Educational Reform

In the great proletarian cultural revolution a most important task is to transform the old educational system and the old principles and methods of teaching.

In this great cultural revolution, the phenomenon of our schools being dominated by bourgeois intellectuals must be completely changed.

In every kind of school we must apply thoroughly the policy advanced by Comrade Mao Tse-tung, of education serving proletarian politics and education being combined with productive labour, so as to enable those receiving an education to develop morally, intellectually and physically and to become labourers with Socialist consciousness and culture.

The period of schooling should be shortened. Courses should be fewer and better. The teaching material should be thoroughly transformed, in some cases beginning with simplifying complicated material. While their main task is to study, students should also learn things. That is to say, in addition to their studies they should also learn industrial work, farming and military affairs, and take part in the struggles of the cultural revolution as they occur to criticize the bourgeoisie.

#### 11. The Question of Criticizing By Name In The Press

In the course of the mass movement of the cultural revolution, the criticism of bourgeois and feudal ideology should be well-combined with the dissemination of the proletarian world outlook and of Marxism-Leninism, Mao Tse-tung's thought.

Criticism should be organized of typical bourgeois representatives who have wormed their way into the Party and typical reactionary bourgeois academic "authorities", and this should include criticism of various kinds of reactionary views in philosophy, history, political economy and education, in works and theories of literature and art, in theories of natural science, and in other fields.

Criticism of anyone by name in the Press should be decided after discussion by the Party committee at the same

level, and in some cases submitted to the Party committee at a higher level for approval.

#### 12. Policy Towards Scientists, Technicians And Ordinary Members Of Working Staffs

As regards scientists, technicians and ordinary members of working staffs, as long as they are patriotic, work energetically, are not against the Party and Socialism, and maintain no illicit relations with any foreign country, we should in the present movement continue to apply the policy of "*unity, criticism, unity.*" Special care should be taken of those scientists and scientific and technical personnels who have made contributions. Efforts should be made to help them gradually transform their world outlook and their style of work.

#### 13. The Questions of Arrangements for Integration With the Socialist Education Movement In City And Countryside

The cultural and educational units and leading organs of the Party and Government in the large and medium cities are the points of concentration of the present proletarian cultural revolution.

The great cultural revolution has enriched the Socialist education movement in both city and countryside and raised it to a higher level. Efforts should be made to conduct these two movements in close combination. Arrangements to this effect may be made by various regions and departments in the light of the specific conditions.

The Socialist education movement now going on in the countryside and in enterprises in the cities should not be upset where the original arrangements are appropriate and the movement is going well, but should continue in accordance with the original arrangements. However, the questions that are arising in the present great proletarian cultural revolution should be put to the masses for discussion at a

proper time, so as to further foster vigorously proletarian ideology and eradicate bourgeois ideology.

In some places, the great proletarian cultural revolution is being used as the focus in order to add momentum to the Socialist education movement and clean things up in the fields of politics, ideology, organization and economy. This may be done where the local Party committee thinks it appropriate.

#### 14. Take Firm Hold Of The Revolution And Stimulate Production

The aim of the great proletarian cultural revolution is to revolutionize people's ideology and as a consequence to achieve greater, faster, better and more economical results in all fields of work. If the masses are fully aroused and proper arrangements are made, it is possible to carry on both the cultural revolution and production without one hampering the other, while guaranteeing high quality in all our work.

The great proletarian cultural revolution is a powerful motive force for the development of the social productive forces in our country. Any idea of counterposing the great cultural revolution against the development of production is incorrect.

#### 15. The Armed Forces

In the armed forces, the cultural revolution and the Socialist education movement should be carried out in accordance with the instructions of the Military Commission of the Central Committee and the General Political Department of the People's Liberation Army.

#### 16. Mao Tse-tung's Thought Is The Guide For Action In The Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution

In the great proletarian cultural revolution, it is imperative to hold aloft the great red banner of Mao Tse-tung's

thought and put proletarian politics in command. The movement for the creative study and application of Chairman Mao Tse-tung's thought should be carried forward among the masses of the workers, peasants and soldiers, the cadres and the intellectuals, and Mao Tse-tung's thought should be taken as the guide for action in the cultural revolution.

In this complex great cultural revolution, Party committees at all levels must study and apply Chairman Mao's works all the more conscientiously and in a creative way. In particular, they must study over and over Chairman Mao's writings on the cultural revolution and on the Party's methods of leadership, such as 'On New Democracy', 'Talks at the Yen-an Forum on Literature and Art', 'On the Correct Handling of Contradictions Among the People', 'Speech at the Chinese Communist Party's National Conference on Propaganda Work', 'Some Questions Concerning Methods of Leadership' and 'Methods of Work of Party Committees'.

Party committees at all levels must abide by the directions given by Chairman Mao over the years, namely that they should thoroughly apply the mass line of "*from the masses, to the masses*" and that they should be pupils before they become teachers. They should try to avoid being onesided or narrow. They should foster materialist dialectics and oppose metaphysics and scholasticism.

The great proletarian cultural revolution is bound to achieve brilliant victory under the leadership of the Central Committee of the Party headed by Comrade Mao Tse-tung.

## An Epoch-Making Document

—In Commemoration of the Second Anniversary of the Publication of the Circular

by the Editorial Departments of “Renmin Ribao,”  
“Hongqi” and “Jiefangjun Bao”

Two years ago, the May 16, 1966 Circular of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party [*Peking Review*, No. 21, 1967]—a brilliant, historic Marxist-Leninist document—was drawn up under the personal guidance of the great leader Chairman Mao.

This Circular is an epoch-making document for conducting the great proletarian cultural revolution; it is a militant call to the proletariat and the broad masses of revolutionary people, under the conditions of socialism, to march against the bourgeoisie and all other exploiting classes.

Two years is a short time. But what great revolutionary changes have taken place in these two years! The theory, line, principles and policies for continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat advanced by Chairman Mao in the Circular have smashed the resistance put up in one after another by the bourgeois reactionary line, armed the proletarian revolutionaries and hundreds of millions of revolutionary people in our country, and displayed the mighty power of Marxism-Leninism, thus winning the decisive victory for the unprecedented, great proletarian cultural revolution during the past two years.

### I

Chairman Mao points out in the Circular: **The whole Party must “hold high the great banner of the proletarian**

cultural revolution, thoroughly expose the reactionary bourgeois stand of those so-called academic authorities who oppose the Party and socialism, thoroughly criticize and repudiate reactionary bourgeois ideas in the sphere of academic work, education, journalism, literature and art and publishing, and seize the leadership in these cultural spheres. To achieve this, it is at the same time necessary to criticize and repudiate those representatives of the bourgeoisie who have sneaked into the Party, the government, the army and all spheres of culture, and to clear them out or transfer some of them to other positions.”

“Those representatives of the bourgeoisie who have sneaked into the Party, the government, the army and various spheres of culture are a bunch of counter-revolutionary revisionists. Once conditions are ripe, they will seize political power and turn the dictatorship of the proletariat into a dictatorship of the bourgeoisie. Some of them we have already seen through, others we have not. Some are still trusted by us and are being trained as our successors, persons like Khrushchov, for example, who are still nestling beside us. Party committees at all levels must pay full attention to this matter.”

Practice in the great proletarian cultural revolution in the past two years has fully confirmed Chairman Mao's brilliant foresight. The people have understood ever more deeply that these instructions of Chairman Mao's constitute a creative development of the Marxist-Leninist theory of the dictatorship of the proletariat, a development which will play a far-reaching historical role in consolidating the dictatorship of the proletariat and continuing the socialist revolution in our country, and in the international communist movement.

The revolutionary mass movement undertaken on an unprecedentedly large scale during the past two years, like the surging waves of the sea, has smashed the bourgeois headquarters headed by China's Khrushchov, which was hidden in our Party, brought into the open the

counter-revolutionary revisionists who oppose the Communist Party, the people and Mao Tse-tung's thought, as well as the renegades, enemy agents and counter-revolutionary double-dealers, and crushed their criminal schemes to subvert the dictatorship of the proletariat and restore capitalism in our country.

The abundant, irrefutable evidence already brought to light has established that China's Khrushchov and the others who form the handful of top Party persons in authority taking the capitalist road are a counter-revolutionary sinister gang that represents the interests of the Kuomintang reactionaries, of imperialism, the bourgeoisie, the landlords, rich peasants, counter-revolutionaries, bad elements and Rightists. A considerable proportion of this gang are the dregs and bad eggs left by the Kuomintang reactionaries. China's Khrushchov, this top capitalist roader in the Party, is a despicable renegade who on many occasions fell on his knees before the imperialists and the Kuomintang reactionaries. Another top Party person in authority taking the capitalist road, and Tao Chu, Peng Teh-huai, Peng Chen, Tan Chen-lin, Lo Jui-ching, Lu Ting-yi, Yang Shang-kun, An Tzu-wen and others are all renegades, enemy agents and counter-revolutionary revisionists of all stripes who hid themselves in our Party.

These scoundrels wormed their way into our Party and usurped many important positions. They were the Khrushchovs who nestled beside us, time-bombs placed in our Party and the most dangerous enemies of the proletariat under socialist conditions. Once conditions were ripe, they would seize political power, turn the dictatorship of the proletariat into a dictatorship of the bourgeoisie, and turn the socialist system into a capitalist system, into a semi-feudal, semi-colonial system. The historical tragedy of the restoration of capitalism in the Soviet Union and other countries controlled by revisionist renegade cliques would be repeated in China and our country would be

pulled back to the dark period of Kuomintang reactionary rule.

Our struggle against these counter-revolutionaries is a sharp, complex, life-and-death struggle, a great revolution in which one class overthrows another. As Chairman Mao profoundly pointed out in one of his latest instructions: **"The great proletarian cultural revolution is in essence a great political revolution under the conditions of socialism made by the proletariat against the bourgeoisie and all other exploiting classes; it is a continuation of the prolonged struggle waged by the Chinese Communist Party and the masses of revolutionary people under its leadership against the Kuomintang reactionaries, a continuation of the class struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie."** Victory in this struggle has greatly consolidated the dictatorship of the proletariat.

Our Party relied on the masses of revolutionary people in waging a people's war in the past and succeeded in defeating powerful domestic and foreign enemies and overthrowing the reactionary Kuomintang rule. Now, under new historical conditions, our Party again relies on the masses of revolutionary people to advance and carry out this great political revolution which has no precedent in history, a revolution launched by the proletariat against the bourgeoisie and all other exploiting classes. Precisely because several hundred million revolutionary people and young Red Guard fighters have been mobilized under the guidance of Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line, it has been possible to uncover and bring to light the bourgeois representatives and the dregs and bad eggs left by the Kuomintang reactionaries—persons who are most sly, insidious and vicious, and who have hidden themselves for so long and wormed themselves in so deep.

The great victory won by the proletarian revolutionaries, by the hundreds of millions of revolutionary people and young Red Guard fighters in China in waging the soul-stirring struggle against these class enemies in this great

revolution, will shine for ever with unfading and militant brilliance in the history of the proletariat's revolutionary struggle.

## II

The mass movement of the great proletarian cultural revolution has undertaken revolutionary mass criticism and repudiation of the handful of class enemies which in breadth and depth is without parallel in history.

Inspired by the Circular, the proletarian revolutionaries and the revolutionary masses have held high the great banner of revolutionary criticism and repudiation in line with Mao Tse-tung's thought, incisively exposed and repudiated the towering crimes against the Party, socialism and Mao Tse-tung's thought committed by the handful of top capitalist roaders in the Party and their agents in various regions and departments, vigorously criticized and repudiated the counter-revolutionary revisionist line and the old ideas, culture, customs and habits of the bourgeoisie and of all other exploiting classes.

The revolutionary mass criticism and repudiation has enhanced the widespread dissemination of Mao Tse-tung's thought. The enthusiasm of the masses in the creative study and application of Mao Tse-tung's thought has never been so high as today. The outlook of the people has undergone a tremendous change. Successors to the revolutionary cause of the proletariat are emerging in the course of the struggle.

The revolutionary mass criticism and repudiation has helped the proletariat attain a still more dominant position ideologically. It has helped the proletarian revolutionaries overthrow the handful of capitalist roaders in the Party not only organizationally, but also in a thoroughgoing way politically, ideologically and theoretically, thus consolidating the dominant position of the proletariat in the political and economic spheres.

In the political and ideological spheres, either the East wind prevails over the West wind, or the West wind prevails over the East wind; either the proletariat prevails over the bourgeoisie, or the bourgeoisie prevails over the proletariat. There is no middle course.

In the great proletarian cultural revolution, the aim of the proletarian revolutionaries is precisely to fight and repudiate resolutely the bourgeois reactionaries, poisonous weeds and those landlords, rich peasants, counter-revolutionaries, bad elements and Rightists who have not reformed themselves. The aim of the proletariat is precisely to prevail over the bourgeoisie; "equality" with the latter is out of the question. As Chairman Mao points out in the Circular: **"Can equality be permitted on such basic questions as the struggle of the proletariat against the bourgeoisie, the dictatorship of the proletariat over the bourgeoisie, the dictatorship of the proletariat in the superstructure, including all the various spheres of culture, and the continued efforts of the proletariat to weed out those representatives of the bourgeoisie who have sneaked into the Communist Party and who wave 'red flags' to oppose the red flag?"**

The great victories in China's great proletarian cultural revolution movement over the past two years are the mighty results won by Mao Tse-tung's thought in the revolutionary mass criticism and repudiation of the old ideology of the bourgeoisie and all other exploiting classes.

Chairman Mao often says that **there is no construction without destruction. Destruction means criticism and repudiation, it means revolution. It involves reasoning things out, which is construction. Put destruction first, and in the process you have construction.**

Representatives of different classes and different ideologies will continue to perform on the stage in this unprecedented, great proletarian cultural revolution, in this extremely intense class struggle. The representatives

of the moribund classes will continue to put on different disguises and resort to double-faced tactics to hoodwink people. We must continue to carry out the instruction "put destruction first, and in the process you have construction, and continue to repudiate the handful of top Party persons in authority taking the capitalist road, and the reactionary world outlook of the bourgeoisie.

All comrades in the ranks of the proletarian revolutionaries must hold aloft the great red banner of Mao Tse-tung's thought, firmly act according to Mao Tse-tung's thought and adhere to the high degree of principledness of the proletariat. They must repudiate the counter-revolutionary revisionist line represented by China's Khrushchov, and repudiate Right opportunism and the reactionary thinking that is "Left" in form but Right in essence. They must repudiate all reactionary factions against Marxism-Leninism, against Mao Tse-tung's thought, repudiate anarchism, the mountain-stronghold mentality, sectarianism and all manifestations of the ideology of the bourgeoisie and all other exploiting classes. They must carry revolutionary mass repudiation through to the end and clear the way ideologically for all-round victory in the great proletarian cultural revolution. This will ensure that the great red banner of Mao Tse-tung's thought will fly high on all fronts.

### III

During the great proletarian cultural revolution movement, on the basis of the revolutionary great alliance formed by the proletarian revolutionaries and the broad masses of revolutionary people, there has come into existence the entirely new revolutionary committee which is based on the revolutionary "three-in-one" combination. As Chairman Mao points out: "The 'three-in-one' revolutionary committee is the creation of the working class and the masses in the current great cultural revolution."

One of Chairman Mao's latest instructions says: "There are three elements in the basic experience of the revolutionary committee: It embraces representatives of the revolutionary cadres, representatives of the armed forces and representatives of the revolutionary masses, constituting a revolutionary 'three-in-one' combination. The revolutionary committee should exercise unified leadership, eliminate duplication in the administrative structure, follow the policy of 'better troops and simpler administration' and organize a revolutionized leading group which links itself with the masses."

Guided by Mao Tse-tung's thought, such a revolutionary committee which has the participation of representatives of the revolutionary masses who have brought about the revolutionary great alliance, and representatives of the People's Liberation Army and revolutionary leading cadres, is the rich fruit of the struggle launched from below by the proletarian revolutionaries and the broad revolutionary masses, who have grasped Chairman Mao's theory on continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat, to seize power from the handful of capitalist roaders in the Party. It has greatly enriched and developed the Marxist-Leninist theory of the state.

With outstanding elements of the proletariat, who have emerged in the mass movement, taking a direct part in state administration, such an organ of power represents the basic interests of the labouring masses of workers and peasants, and maintains close and extensive ties with the masses. This will be of great help to our leading bodies at all levels in revolutionizing themselves and becoming organs of power which are revolutionary, enjoy proletarian authority, maintain close ties with the masses and are full of vitality. Such a revolutionary committee which closely unites the basic forces (representatives of the revolutionary masses), the staunch pillar (representatives of the People's Liberation Army) and the leading core (representatives of the masses)

tatives of the revolutionary cadres) of the dictatorship of the proletariat, has further strengthened the unity between the army and the people, between the army and the government and between the cadres and the masses, and strengthened the dictatorship of the proletariat so that our state organs of the dictatorship of the proletariat will meet still better the need of the socialist economic base and the need to consolidate the dictatorship of the proletariat and prevent the restoration of capitalism.

Chairman Mao long ago taught us: **"Without extensive people's democracy, the dictatorship of the proletariat cannot be consolidated and political power will be unstable. Without democracy, without arousing the masses and without supervision by the masses, it is impossible effectively to exercise dictatorship over the reactionaries and bad elements or effectively to reform them; they will continue to make trouble, and there is still the possibility of a restoration. We should be vigilant on this question, and comrades should think about it carefully."** (From the speech at the 7,000-strong meeting in 1962.)

The great proletarian cultural revolution has aroused the masses to the fullest extent. The broad revolutionary masses are paying attention to the major issue of consolidating proletarian political power and are taking an active part in exercising dictatorship over the class enemy. This is dictatorship by the overwhelming majority over a tiny minority, a dictatorship by the proletariat and the masses of the people over the bourgeoisie and all reactionaries, and a dictatorship by the masses of the people under the leadership of the political party of the proletariat. With the gradual winning of all-round victory in the great cultural revolution and the establishment, improvement and growth of revolutionary committees at all levels, the dictatorship of the proletariat, in which the masses of the people are aroused to participate, will display ever greater revolutionary power.

## IV

The great historic contributions of the mass movement of the great proletarian cultural revolution are magnificent and indelible.

The victory of the mass movement of the great proletarian cultural revolution is irresistible.

With inveterate class hatred, the handful of class enemies, facing their last days but unreconciled to their doom, are frantically opposing the revolutionary mass movement and trying in vain to negate the tremendous victories of the great proletarian cultural revolution. But the law of history inexorable and operates independent of their will. No matter what criminal conspiracies and sabotage they may undertake, and no matter how much they may stir up the evil Right deviationist trend of trying to reverse correct decisions, they will end up crushed by the revolutionary mass movement.

The influence of the tremendous victories in our great proletarian cultural revolution over the past two years has spread throughout the world, inspiring the militant will of the revolutionary people of all countries. We can see that the great proletarian cultural revolution has played a certain role in pushing forward the revolutionary mass movement in countries ruled by the imperialists and their lackeys and in countries ruled by the revisionist renegade cliques. The great proletarian cultural revolution which is guided by Mao Tse-tung's thought has inspired the heroism of the revolutionary people the world over in daring to struggle and to win. It has won enthusiastic support from Marxist-Leninists and the revolutionary masses throughout the world.

China's great proletarian cultural revolution has aroused extreme fear, hatred and panic among the imperialists, the modern revisionists and the reactionaries of all countries. These bourgeois overlords always pin their hopes on the "premature end" of China's great proletarian

cultural revolution, on the "collapse" of China's proletarian political power. Like witches, they mutter vicious curses about "the gloomy prospects of the cultural revolution." But the fond dreams of these overlords have been crushed under the strides of the victorious advance of China's proletarian revolutionaries and the broad revolutionary masses.

The sweeping torrent of China's great proletarian cultural revolution is breaking through all obstacles and surging forward with powerful momentum.

We are at the key moment of winning all-round victory in the great proletarian cultural revolution. We still face arduous struggles.

In this new situation, we should follow Chairman Mao's teachings, guard against arrogance and rashness, and advance from victory to victory. We should constantly sum up our experience, pay profound attention at all times to investigation and study, be alert to new trends, new characteristics and new problems in the class struggle, and hold firmly to the general orientation of the struggle.

We should resolutely safeguard the leadership of the proletarian headquarters headed by Chairman Mao and with Vice-Chairman Lin Piao as the deputy leader, expose and smash all conspiracies and schemes by the class enemy to undermine the proletarian headquarters. We should further purify and consolidate our class ranks, unite and win over our allies, and continue to launch offensives against the class enemy. We should strictly differentiate contradictions between the enemy and ourselves from contradictions among the people. With regard to errors within the revolutionary ranks, we should persist in Chairman Mao's traditional policy of "learning from past mistakes to avoid future ones, curing the sickness to save the patient."

We should proceed from the cardinal issue of the struggle between the two lines and deepen the revolutionary mass criticism and repudiation. We should repudiate the reactionary bourgeois ideas which come from the Right and

from the ultra "Left," resolutely oppose Right opportunism, Right capitulationism and Right splittism, and completely smash the evil Right deviationist trend of trying to reverse correct decisions.

We should carry forward the enthusiastic mass movement for the creative study and application of Mao Tse-tung's thought on a still wider scale, continue to exert great efforts to run Mao Tse-tung's thought study classes effectively, energetically strive to consolidate and develop the revolutionary great alliance on the basis of departments, trades and school classes and the revolutionary "three-in-one" combination, unite the great majority of the cadres and the masses, make a success of struggle-criticism-transformation in each and every unit, **grasp revolution, promote production and other work and preparedness against war** and do still better in all fields.

The great Chinese People's Liberation Army has made tremendous contributions in the great proletarian cultural revolution. We should continue to develop the movement to support the army and cherish the people and strengthen the unity between the army and the people.

We should cherish and support the new-born revolutionary committees so that they are steadily consolidated and improved and become fighting headquarters which hold aloft the great red banner of Mao Tse-tung's thought and put proletarian politics to the fore. The revolutionary committees should lead the masses in their tens of millions to win new victories and carry the great proletarian cultural revolution through to the end.

Let us rally firmly around the banner of Mao Tse-tung's thought, resolutely follow Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line and fight unremittingly to fulfil in an all-round way the momentous historic task of the great proletarian cultural revolution which is the first of its kind in the history of mankind! New victories call to us, let us march forward courageously!

## China's Great Revolution and the Soviet Union's Big Tragedy

[Observer, *People's Daily*; from Hsinhua News Agency  
June 4, 1967]

FROM the beginning, China's Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution has hit the Soviet revisionist clique of renegades in the solar-plexus and shaken their tottering "throne."

Throughout the past year, scarcely one day has passed without the Soviet revisionist clique, headed by Brezhnev and Kosygin, slandering, attacking and vilifying China's Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution. In a constant outpouring of venom, they allege, that China's great cultural revolution is a "big tragedy."

Is this strange? Not at all. History shows that a genuine, great revolution is always a joyous festival to the revolutionary people but a big tragedy to the reactionary forces.

When the great Paris Commune came into being, Marx hailed it as the greatest day for the proletariat. But the monarchs and bourgeois rulers in Europe cried out in alarm that it was a catastrophe.

When the salvos were fired by the cruiser *Aurora* in 1917 and when the song of triumph was sounded for the Great Russian October Revolution, how elated and inspired were the proletarians and other revolutionary people the world over! But then the imperialists and the renegades of the Second International said through clenched teeth that this would be the "last act" of the Russian Revolution, that it was "arbitrariness" and an "adventure of the Bolsheviks."

Reprinted from "World Revolution," Vol. 1, No. 1, Winter 1967.

When victory was won by the Great Chinese Revolution in 1949, how jubilant were the people throughout China and the rest of the world! But then U.S. imperialism cried out in panic that the situation in China was "unfortunate" and "tragic" that it was a "most anguished period."

The Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution now going on in China is a revolutionary movement which is more deep-going and larger in scale than the Paris Commune, the October Revolution and all past revolutions in China. Isn't it quite logical that such a great revolution should give rise to howls and abuse from the Soviet revisionist clique of renegades and all reactionary forces in the world?

Who abused the first Soviets created by the Russian working class? Lenin wrote after the Russian October Revolution that they were "all the bourgeois scoundrels, the whole gang of blood-suckers with Kautsky echoing them."

Brezhnev, Kosygin and their like today are 'disciples of the renegade Kautsky, whom Lenin bitterly denounced. In abusing China's great cultural revolution as a "big tragedy" they only expose themselves fully as counter-revolutionaries.

Indeed a big tragedy has taken place in the international communist movement of our times. It occurred in the Soviet Union, not in China. Its authors are precisely the gang of big renegades and scabs represented by Khrushchov and his successors Brezhnev, Kosygin and Company.

Revisionism is now dominant in the homeland of Leninism where the banner of the great Lenin has been lowered and trampled underfoot by the Khrushchov revisionist clique.

In the Soviet Union, the first socialist state in the world, set up by Lenin, the dictatorship of the proletariat has today become the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie; capitalism has been restored and the socialist state has changed colour.

The Soviet people who performed praiseworthy acts

under the guidance of Lenin and the leadership of Stalin have today again been reduced to the position of oppressed and exploited. The fruits of the revolution won through protracted struggles and watered with their blood, have been appropriated.

In the Soviet Union, which people throughout the world looked upon as the bastion of world revolution and millions upon millions of revolutionaries turned to, the ruling clique has today become the chief accomplice of U.S. imperialism and another headquarters of world reaction. The star over the Kremlin has completely lost its radiance.

What a fearful picture this presents and what a serious, big retrogression in history!

The history of the international communist movement provides almost no instance of proletarian state power being toppled in a socialist country by the international bourgeoisie through armed attack from without. But a fortress can most easily be taken from within. Imperialism, which is at the end of its rope, while using war threats and intimidation against socialist countries from without is now mainly using the Khrushchov clique to carry out subversion from within and has effected "peaceful evolution" in the Soviet Union without using a single soldier or a single round of ammunition. Is this not a major historical lesson?

The great historical retrogression in the Soviet Union has confronted the international communist movement with an extremely important new question, that is, after seizing power how will the proletariat retain it and prevent the restoration of capitalism? How can the socialist revolution be carried through to the end in acute and complex class struggle? These are major questions which all our Marxist-Leninist predecessors did not encounter, did not live long enough to solve, or were unable to solve.

It is the greatest Marxist-Leninist of the present era, our talented leader Chairman Mao, and the historically

unparalleled Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution in China, led by him, that have solved these questions theoretically and given answers to these questions through the earth-shaking revolutionary practice of millions upon millions of people.

The most fundamental lesson to be drawn from why the tragedy took place in the Soviet Union is that proletarian state power has been usurped by the Khrushchov revisionist clique. After the death of the great Marxist-Leninist Stalin, Khrushchov a careerist and long-time schemer who sneaked into the Party, and others, found the conditions ripe and staged a palace coup and usurped Party, army and state authority in the Soviet Union. From that point, state power in the Soviet Union changed its character. A dictatorship of the bourgeoisie has replaced the dictatorship of the proletariat and the bourgeoisie has effected counter-revolutionary restoration through its agents.

Chairman Mao has pointed out: "These representatives of the bourgeoisie who have sneaked into the Party, the government, and the army and various cultural circles are a bunch of counter-revolutionary revisionists. Once conditions are ripe, they will seize political power and turn the dictatorship of the proletariat into a dictatorship of the bourgeoisie."

China's Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution is the result of studying the serious historical lesson of the Soviet Union.

This great revolution has educated and tempered the Chinese people very deeply and has also educated and influenced the revolutionary people profoundly the world over. Throughout the world as well as in China, thousands upon thousands of revolutionaries, by their own experience, or observation, of China's Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, by comparison and analysis, are arming themselves more fully with the infinitely brilliant thought of Mao Tse-tung. Revolutionary theory, once grasped

by the masses, releases an infinitely powerful material force for the transformation of the world.

Through this great revolution all revolutionary people understand ever more clearly that during the entire historical period of the dictatorship of the proletariat, classes, class struggle and struggle between the socialist road and capitalist road exist in society. And, consequently, the danger of a capitalist restoration exists for a long period.

Through this great revolution, all revolutionaries are understanding more and more clearly that in the class struggle under the dictatorship of the proletariat the most basic thing remains political power. The proletariat wants to consolidate its political power and the bourgeoisie wants to overthrow it. The proletariat wants to consolidate the dictatorship of the proletariat and the bourgeoisie wants to overthrow it. This is a life and death struggle. If we lose our vigilance, state power will be usurped by persons of the Khrushchov brand and the political power of the proletariat will be lost after it has been seized.

Through this great cultural revolution all revolutionaries understand ever more clearly that the danger of capitalist restoration comes mainly from those representatives of the bourgeoisie who have sneaked into the organs of the dictatorship of the proletariat, from the handful of Party persons in authority taking the capitalist road. The contradictions between the proletariat and the handful of Party persons in authority taking the capitalist road is the main contradiction in socialist society. This is the concentrated expression of the class struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie and between the socialist road and the capitalist road. The handful of Party persons in authority taking the capitalist road are the main target of the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat.

Through this great cultural revolution, all revolutionaries are coming to understand more clearly that the class

struggle of the proletariat against the bourgeoisie in the ideological sphere is of vital importance and necessity. Chairman Mao says: "To overthrow a capitalist power, it is always necessary first of all to create public opinion, to do work in the ideological sphere. This is true for the revolutionary class as well as for the counter-revolutionary class." And therefore, "the class struggle in the ideological field between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie will continue to be long and tortuous and at times will ever become very acute." If the proletariat does not thoroughly defeat the bourgeoisie in the ideological and cultural revolution, then the bourgeoisie will, first of all, attack the proletariat from the ideological and cultural positions, the political power of the proletariat may still be seized by the bourgeoisie and everything that has been achieved through struggle by the labouring people may still be destroyed one day.

Through this great cultural revolution all revolutionaries understand more and more clearly that proletarian mass democracy is the best form for arousing the masses to revolutionary struggles under the dictatorship of the proletariat. Proletarian revolutionaries and the revolutionary masses are undertaking a mass movement of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution from below, bringing out into the open persons of the Khrushchov brand, exposing the handful of Party persons in authority taking the capitalist road, thoroughly refuting and repudiating them, seizing power from their hands and insuring that the political power of the proletariat is firmly in the hands of the proletarian revolutionaries.

Chairman Mao teaches: "The present great cultural revolution is only the first, and in the future there are bound to be many others. In the revolution the question of who will win will only be settled over a very long historical period. If things are not properly handled, a capitalist restoration is a possibility at any

time. All members of the Communist Party and the people of the whole country must not think that everything will be all right after one or two great cultural revolutions or even three or four. We must be very alert and never lose vigilance."

In a word, through this great revolution, all revolutionaries will come to understand more and more clearly the laws of development of socialist society, the laws of the class struggle in socialist society and the laws of the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat. All this is the great result achieved by our great leader Chairman Mao Tse-tung after penetratingly summing up the historical experience of the international proletarian revolution and the dictatorship of the proletariat, especially the historical lessons of the restoration of capitalism in the Soviet Union and analyzing the contradictions in socialist society, thereby creatively developing Marxism-Leninism.

Marx and Engels analyzed the contradictions in capitalist society, discovered the law of the inevitable extinction of capitalism and created the theory of scientific socialism.

Lenin and Stalin developed Marxism. They analyzed the contradictions of imperialism, solved a series of problems concerning the revolution of the proletariat in the epoch of imperialism, and resolved in theory and practice the question of realizing the dictatorship of the proletariat in a single country.

Chairman Mao has developed Marxism-Leninism still further in solving a series of problems in the proletarian revolution in the present era, and in solving in theory and practice the problem of how to carry on the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat and how to prevent the restoration of capitalism. This is a great leap forward in the revolutionary theory of Marxism-Leninism. It indicates that Marxism-Leninism has reached a brand new stage, the stage of Mao Tse-tung's thought.

Thus the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution now being carried out in China in line with the scientific theories formulated by Chairman Mao Tse-tung has prevented not only repetition of the tragedy of the Soviet Union in China, but also smashed the dream of imperialism and revisionism to restore capitalism in China. Furthermore, it has opened up a new epoch in the international communist movement, a new era in the proletarian world revolution for socialism.

China's great cultural revolution is an event for great rejoicing, a great hope and an immense inspiration to the proletariat and revolutionaries all over the world, a heart stirring song of triumph of the international proletariat which resounds all over the globe. But to imperialism and the Soviet revisionist renegade group, it indeed comes as a cause for anguish and deep regret, as a calamity because their death now has been sounded, and the end of their days is approaching. Their "throne" is tottering.

In the history of mankind, the replacement of one social system by another go through twists and turns and reversals. This was true also of the bourgeois revolution which was the replacement of one system of exploitation by another. It is therefore still more inconceivable that there would be no twists and turns and reversals in the proletarian revolution which aims to eliminate all systems of exploitation.

From the historical materialist point of view, the great reversal of history created by the renegade group of the Soviet ruling clique of the Soviet Union is only an episode in history. It is indeed an immensely bad thing. Yet Chairman Mao has summed up the positive and negative historical experience and found the way to prevent the restoration of capitalism, thus turning this immensely bad thing into an immensely good thing.

We are now in a new era, an era under the great banner of Mao Tse-tung's thought. Marxist-Leninists and the revolutionary people all over the world, equipped with the great invincible thought of Mao Tse-tung, will certainly be able to smash the old world into smithereens and drive the imperialists, modern revisionists and the reactionaries of all countries, these monsters and demons, off the stage of history.

## Trust The Masses, Rely On The Masses

A mass movement of the great proletarian cultural revolution is now arising throughout the country. In response to the call of the Party's Central Committee and Chairman Mao Tse-tung, the revolutionary masses in their tens of millions, with the force of a thunderbolt, have launched a sharp struggle against the anti-Party and anti-socialist representatives of the bourgeoisie. The monsters have been engulfed in the great ocean of the broad masses and been dealt extremely heavy blows.

To carry out this great proletarian cultural revolution by arousing the broad masses and employing the method of mass movement is a great creative act.

A fundamental feature of this great proletarian cultural revolution is this—hundreds of millions of people have risen up and are criticizing the old world.

Chairman Mao tells us: "*The revolutionary war is a war of the masses; it can be waged only by mobilizing the masses and relying on them.*"

This is a universal truth. It is true of the revolutionary war, it is true of the whole proletarian cause, and without question, it is also true of the great proletarian cultural revolution. Without a mass movement, there can be no proletarian revolution. Likewise, without a mass movement, there can be no great proletarian cultural revolution.

In the past, our Party relied on the broad masses of the people to wage the revolutionary wars that overthrew the rule of imperialism, feudalism and bureaucrat capitalism. It was precisely the organized, broad masses of the people

led by Chairman Mao who overthrew the old China under the rule of the Kuomintang reactionaries and founded New China under the dictatorship of the proletariat. Today, in carrying out this great proletarian cultural revolution which touches the people to their very souls, our Party must also rely on the broad masses of the people. Whether the gun or the pen is used as the weapon in criticizing the old world, it is necessary to rely on the masses.

The great proletarian cultural revolution is the revolutionary cause of the masses. Throughout its whole course it is necessary to rely on the masses and boldly arouse them. Only by a mass mobilization, an energetic mass movement, the use of big-character posters and a full airing of views and great debates will the great proletarian cultural revolution be able to develop in breadth and depth, will it be able to expose and strike down monsters of all kinds, to really settle the question of who will win in the ideological field—the proletariat or the bourgeoisie, and victoriously fulfil its tasks.

History has proved that the revolutionary masses are the grave-diggers of the reactionary state machine and the reactionary social system. And history will certainly prove the revolutionary masses to be the grave-diggers of all exploiting-class ideology.

An immense enthusiasm for the cultural revolution is to be found among the broad masses of the people. In recent years, revolutionary cadres, revolutionary intellectuals and, especially, the broad masses of the workers, peasants and soldiers, have achieved great successes in their creative study and application of Chairman Mao's works. They have grasped Moe Tse-tung's thought and made good use of his works in class struggle, in the struggle for production and in scientific experiment. In the current proletarian cultural revolution, too, they are making good use of Chairman Mao's works. They are the true wall of bronze that protects the dictatorship of the proletariat. They are the

main force for destroying the ideological and cultural positions in which the representatives of the bourgeoisie have entrenched themselves. To underestimate this would lead to gross error.

The great proletarian cultural revolutionary movement which has been sweeping ahead magnificently over the past few months has proved :

That the broad masses of the people who have grasped Mao Tse-tung's thought are extremely able when it comes to detecting monsters and seing through them ;

That the broad masses of the people who have grasped Mao Tse-tung's thought fight most effectively against the monsters and deal them most accurate and heavy blows ;

That the broad masses of the people who have grasped Mao Tse-tung's thought are most skilled in waging struggles and most skilled in thoroughly repudiating the representatives of the bourgeoisie by citing facts and reasoning things out.

The great proletarian cultural revolutionary movement which has been sweeping ahead magnificently over the past few months has proved :

That the leadership of the Chinese Communist Party armed with Mao Tse-tung's thought, is the fundamental guarantee for victory in the great proletarian cultural revolution.

Correct Party leadership means to be skilful at following the mass line and to take the bold arousing of the masses as the fundamental basis of the movement from beginning to end. The inexhaustible strength of our Party stems from its confidence in and reliance on the masses. Confidence in, reliance on and the bold arousing of the masses, and the energetic development of the mass movement, constitute an extremely important policy of our Party in carrying out the great proletarian cultural revolution.

Whether one trusts and relies on the masses and dares to arouse them boldly marks the dividing line between the

proletarian world outlook and the bourgeois world outlook and fundamentally differentiates a genuine Marxist-Leninist Party from all revisionist parties. Our Party is strong because it trusts and relies on the masses and dares to arouse them boldly. Only by marching at the head of the mass movement and arousing the masses fearlessly can the function of leadership be exercised in the great proletarian cultural revolution. Fear of the masses and the mass movement goes against the principle of Party leadership which Chairman Mao has constantly taught us and makes leadership completely out of the question.

Chairman Mao has taught us that, in the great proletarian cultural revolution, it is essential to organize and expand the ranks of the proletarian Left and to rely on them to arouse, unite with and educate the masses.

A resolute proletarian revolutionary Left exists in every part of the country. The overwhelming majority of the members of the Chinese Communist Party and the Chinese Communist Youth League are trustworthy and reliable. Under the correct leadership of the Party, they form the nucleus of the proletarian revolutionary Left.

Those of the proletarian revolutionary Left are the most faithful in following the teachings of the Party and Chairman Mao Tse-tung. They are the bravest and the most resolute people in the revolution. They are the most capable of uniting with the majority, and they are able to serve as models in the struggle. They are the vanguard in this great proletarian cultural revolution.

Our Party must rely on the resolute Left in all areas and all departments. It must not be trammelled by erroneous conventions about rank, working experience and age, but must organize the resolute Left as the backbone of the movement and boldly arouse them to play the role of vanguard in the great proletarian cultural revolution.

Only by relying on the resolute Left and by arousing the masses boldly will it be possible truly to implement

the instructions of Chairman Mao and the Party's Central Committee and distinguish genuine revolutionaries from sham ones, and revolutionaries from counter-revolutionaries. Only in this way will it be possible to lead the great proletarian cultural revolution and enable it to develop in a healthy way.

According to Chairman Mao's teachings, it is a fundamental principle of the Party's method of leadership that the leadership should be combined with the masses. This principle must also be persistently adhered to in the great proletarian cultural revolution.

The mass line is the fundamental line of the Party in all work. The masses of the people are the source of strength in all of our revolutionary work. By relying on the masses of the people, we can overcome all difficulties, triumph over all enemies, and do all our work well. Once divorced from the masses, we shall become like water without a source, a tree without roots, and we shall accomplish nothing. Chairman Mao has said:

Every comrade must be helped to understand that as long as we rely on the people, believe firmly in the inexhaustible creative power of the masses and hence trust and identify ourselves with them, we can surmount any difficulty, and no enemy can crush us while we can crush any enemy.

In the great proletarian cultural revolution, we must follow Chairman Mao's teachings, trust the masses, rely on them, boldly arouse them and be at one with them, so as to carry the great proletarian cultural revolution through to the end.

## From the Masses, To the Masses

COMRADE Mao Tse-tung has said: "In all the practical work of our Party, all correct leadership is necessarily 'from the masses, to the masses'." This also holds good for the work of the proletarian cultural revolution.

Wherever a unit has done its work well in the movement of the cultural revolution, it is because the leaders there, acting on the teachings of Comrade Mao Tse-tung, have marched in the van of the movement, boldly aroused the masses, boldly encouraged them to put up big-character posters, air their opinions without reservation and hold great debates, and led them into the battle to sweep away all the ghosts and monsters.

Such good leaders have been able to serve first as pupils of the masses before they serve as their teachers.

They have been able to listen, observe, and think a good deal and pay a good deal of attention to the views of the masses.

They have dared to "draw fire" on themselves by calling for exposure and criticism of their shortcomings and mistakes in their work.

They welcomed the big-character posters put up by the masses that expose and criticize them, and thus showed a fine communist style.

In this way, they have won the confidence of the masses, and, in their work, gained the initiative, the right to speak out and the right to lead; therefore they are able to guide the movement successfully.

But some other people occupying leading posts in their units have not been acting like this, but rather like the proverbial Lord Sheh who claimed to be fond of dragons but in fact was mortally afraid of them. They have talked about the mass line but they took fright as soon as the masses were really roused. They are afraid of many things, fearing that they themselves will be caught in the revolutionary flames lit by the masses and that the masses will seize on their shortcomings and mistakes. In fact, so long as comrades who have committed ordinary mistakes dare to take their shortcomings and mistakes seriously, are sincere and earnest in their self-criticism, modestly accept the criticism of the masses, and show by deeds their determination and willingness to correct their mistakes, the masses will understand and excuse them and will welcome them doing so.

Then there are a handful of other people who have adopted the attitude of bureaucratic overlords towards the masses and placed themselves above the masses. They utterly refused to listen to the opinions of the masses. When the masses put out a few big-character posters criticizing them, they could not bear it. They even sought various pretexts to suppress the mass movement and retaliate against the masses in revenge. Acting in this way, they cannot lead the cultural revolution and cannot muddle on any longer. In consequence, the masses will discard them.

Comrade Mao Tse-tung has said: "**All our cadres, whatever their rank, are servants of the people, and whatever we do is to serve the people.**"

It is absolutely impermissible for Communist Party members to take the attitude of bourgeois overlords towards the masses. The great proletarian cultural revolution is precisely a revolution against bourgeois overlords. If a Communist does not learn modestly from the masses but adopts the attitude of a bureaucrat towards them, in what

sense is he a Communist? This is absolutely contrary to the Communist Party style of work, it is the Kuomintang style of work.

Back in Yen-an Comrade Mao Tse-tung said that it was necessary to distinguish between the Communist Party's style of work and that of the Kuomintang. Our Communist Party style is to have close links with the masses, learn from them and wholeheartedly serve the people, and, just as we wash our faces or sweep the floor every day, to undertake constant self-criticism of our own shortcomings and mistakes. The Kuomintang style is to divorce oneself from the masses, lord it over them and bully them.

Comrade Mao Tse-tung has said that Communist Party members absolutely cannot retain the Kuomintang style of work and preserve the dust of bureaucratism and warlordism.

The overwhelming majority of the Communist Party members are able to draw the distinction between the Communist Party style of work and the Kuomintang style of work. However, some are able to do so only at certain times and not at others, or only on some questions and not on others. It is a most dangerous thing for a Communist Party member to be unable to see the line that divides the Communist Party style from that of the Kuomintang, for he will find himself standing on the wrong side of the line and in opposition to the revolutionary mass movement.

The road of revolution is never straight and smooth; it always has twists and turns and ups and downs. It is inevitable that certain shortcomings and mistakes and twists and turns should appear in the course of the movement of the great proletarian cultural revolution—a revolution that touches people to their very souls, an extremely sharp, complex and deep-going class struggle. What matters is that we should spare no efforts to do a still better job in leading the movement, ensure the movement to

develop in a still healthier way, and strive to make fewer mistakes and have fewer twists.

Can the movement be led in a better way? Certainly it can. This calls for the thorough implementation of the Party's mass line put forward by Comrade Mao Tse-tung and the persistent carrying out of the line of boldly mobilizing the masses.

The great proletarian cultural revolution is developing with such speed and force that many people find themselves insufficiently prepared mentally. Every Communist Party member must be tested in this great revolution, in the flame of the mass struggles. They must prove by their actions that they are the faithful servants of the masses, and that they really take Comrade Mao Tse-tung's teachings as the supreme guide in all their actions.

## Summary of the Forum on the Work in Literature And Art in the Armed Forces With Which Comrade Lin Piao Entrusted Comrade Chiang Ching

### I

**ENTRUSTED** by Comrade Lin Piao with the task, Comrade Chiang Ching invited some comrades in the armed forces to a forum held in Shanghai from February 2 to 20, 1966, to discuss certain questions concerning the work in literature and art in the armed forces.

Before these comrades left for Shanghai, Comrade Lin Piao gave them the following instructions: "Comrade Chiang Ching talked with me yesterday. She is very sharp politically on questions of literature and art, and she really knows art. She has many opinions, and they are very valuable. You should pay good attention to them and take measures to insure that they are applied ideologically and organizationally. From now on, the army's documents concerning literature and art should be sent to her. Get in touch with her when you have any information for her to keep her well posted on the situation in literary and art work in the armed forces. Ask her for her opinions, which will help improve this work. We should not rest content with either the present ideological level or the present artistic level of such work, both of which need further improvement." Comrade Hsiao Hua and Comrade Yang

Cheng-wu expressed enthusiastic approval of and support for the forum and instructed us to act in accordance with Comrade Chiang Ching's opinions. They also expressed their thanks to Comrade Chiang Ching for her concern for the work in literature and art in the armed forces.

At the beginning of the forum and in the course of the exchange of views, Comrade Chiang Ching said time and again that she had not studied Chairman Mao's works well enough and that her comprehension of Chairman Mao's thought was not profound, but that whatever points she had grasped she would act upon resolutely. She said that during the last four years she had largely concentrated on reading a number of literary works and had formed certain ideas, not all of which were necessarily correct. She said that we were all Party members and that for the cause of the Party we should discuss things together on an equal footing. This discussion should have been held last year but had been postponed because she had not been in good health. As her health had recently improved, she had invited the comrades to join in discussions according to Comrade Lin Piao's instructions.

Comrade Chiang Ching suggested that we read and see a number of items first and then study relevant documents and material before discussing them. She advised us to read Chairman Mao's relevant writings, had eight private discussions with a comrade from the army and attended four group discussions, 13 film shows and three theatrical performances together with us. She also exchanged opinions with us while watching the films and the theatrical performances. And she advised us to see 21 other films. During this period, Comrade Chiang Ching saw a sample copy of the film *The Great Wall Along the South China Sea*, received the directors, cameramen and part of the cast and talked with them three times, which was a great education and inspiration to them. From our contacts with Comrade Chiang Ching we realize that her understanding of

Chairman Mao's thought is quite profound and that she has made a prolonged and fairly full investigation and study of current problems in the field of literature and art and has gained rich practical experience through her personal exertions in cultivating "experimental plots of land." Taking up her work while she was still in poor health, she held discussions and saw films and theatrical performances together with us and was always modest, warm and sincere. All this has enlightened and helped us a great deal.

## II

In the course of about 20 days, we read two of Chairman Mao's writings and other relevant material, listened to Comrade Chiang Ching's many highly important opinions and saw more than 30 films, including good and bad ones and others with shortcomings and mistakes of varying degrees. We also saw two comparatively successful Peking operas on contemporary revolutionary themes, namely, *Raid on the White Tiger Regiment* and *Taking the Bandits' Stronghold*. All this helped to deepen our comprehension of Chairman Mao's thought on literature and art and raise the level of our understanding of the socialist cultural revolution. Here are a number of ideas which we discussed and agreed upon at the forum.

1. The last 16 years have witnessed sharp class struggles on the cultural front.

Actually in both stages of our revolution, the new-democratic stage and the socialist stage, there has been a struggle between the two classes and the two lines on the cultural front, that is, the struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie for leadership on this front. In the history of our Party, the struggle against both "Left" and Right opportunism has also included struggles between the two lines on the cultural front. Wang Ming's line represented bourgeois thinking which was once rampant within our

Party. In the rectification movement which started in 1942, Chairman Mao made a thorough theoretical refutation first of Wang Ming's political, military and organizational lines and then, immediately afterwards, of the cultural line he represented. Chairman Mao's "*On New Democracy*," "*Talks at the Yen-an Forum on Literature and Art*," and "*Letter to the Yen-an Peking Opera Theatre After Seeing 'Driven to Join the Liangshan Mountain Rebels'*," are the most complete, the most comprehensive and the most systematic historical summaries of this struggle between the two lines on the cultural front. They carry on and develop the Marxist-Leninist world outlook and theory on literature and art. After our revolution entered the socialist stage, Chairman Mao's two writings, "*On the Correct Handling of Contradictions Among the People*" and "*Speech at the Chinese Communist Party's National Conference on Propaganda Work*," were published. They are the most recent summaries of the historical experience of the movements for a revolutionary ideology and a revolutionary literature and art in China and other countries. They represent a new development of the Marxist-Leninist world outlook and of the Marxist-Leninist theory on literature and art. These five writings by Chairman Mao meet the needs of the proletariat adequately and for a long time to come.

More than 20 years have elapsed since the publication of the first three of these five works by Chairman Mao and nearly ten years since the publication of the last two. However, since the founding of our People's Republic, the ideas in these works have basically not been carried out by literary and art circles. Instead, we have been under the dictatorship of a black anti-Party and anti-socialist line which is diametrically opposed to Chairman Mao's thought. This black line is a combination of bourgeois ideas on literature and art, modern revisionist ideas on literature and art, and what is known as the literature and art of the 1930s (in the Kuomintang areas of China). Typical

expressions of this line are such theories as those of "truthful writing", "the broad path of realism," "the deepening of realism," opposition to "subject-matter as the decisive factor," "middle characters," opposition to "the smell of gunpowder" and "the spirit of the age as the merging of various trends." Most of these views were refuted long ago by Chairman Mao in his "*Talks at the Yen-an Forum on Literature and Art*." In film circles there are people who advocate "discarding the classics and rebelling against orthodoxy," in other words, discarding the classics of Marxism-Leninism, of Mao Tse-tung's thought, and rebelling against the orthodoxy of people's revolutionary war. As a result of the influence or domination of this bourgeois and modern revisionist counter-current in literature and art, there have been few good or basically good works in the last decade or so (although there have been some) which truly praise worker, peasant and soldier heroes and which serve the workers, peasants and soldiers; many are mediocre, while some are anti-Party and anti-socialist poisonous weeds. In accordance with the instructions of the Central Committee of the Party, we must resolutely carry on a great socialist revolution on the cultural front and completely eliminate this black line. After we are rid of this black line, still others will appear and the struggle must go on. Therefore, this is an arduous, complex and long-term struggle which will take decades, or even centuries. It is a cardinal issue which has a vital bearing on the future of the Chinese revolution and the future of the world revolution.

A lesson to be drawn from the last decade or so is that we began to tackle the problem a little late. We have taken up only a few specific questions and have not dealt with the whole problem systematically and comprehensively. So long as we do not seize hold of the field of culture, we will inevitably forfeit many positions in this field to the black line and this is a serious lesson. After

the Tenth Plenary Session of the Central Committee in 1952 adopted a resolution on unfolding of class struggle throughout the country, the struggle to foster proletarian ideology and liquidate bourgeois ideology in the cultural field has gradually developed.

2. The last three years have seen a new situation in the great socialist cultural revolution. The most outstanding example is the rise of Peking operas on contemporary revolutionary themes. Led by the the Central Committee of the Party, headed by Chairman Mao, and armed with Marxism-Leninism, Mao Tse-tung's thought, literary and art workers engaged in revolutionizing Peking opera have launched a heroic and tenacious offensive against the literature and art of the feudal class, the bourgeoisie and the modern revisionists. Under the irresistible impact of this offensive, Peking opera, formerly the most stubborn of strongholds, has been radically revolutionized, both in ideology and in form, which has started a revolutionary change in literary and art circles. Peking operas with contemporary revolutionary themes like *The Red Lantern*, *Shachiapang*, *Taking the Bandits' Stronghold* and *Raid on the White Tiger Regiment*, the ballet *Red Detachment of Women*, the symphony *Shachiapang* and the group of clay sculptures *Rent Collection Courtyard* have been approved by the broad masses of workers, peasants and soldiers and acclaimed by Chinese and foreign audiences. They are pioneer efforts which will exert a profound and far-reaching influence on the socialist cultural revolution. They effectively prove that even that most stubborn of strongholds, Peking opera, can be taken by storm and revolutionized and that foreign classical art forms such as the ballet and symphonic music can also be remoulded to serve our purpose. This should give us still greater confidence in revolutionizing other art forms. Some people say that Peking operas with contemporary revolutionary themes have discarded the traditions and basic

skills of Peking opera. On the contrary, the fact is that Peking operas with contemporary revolutionary themes have inherited the Peking opera traditions in a critical way and have really weeded out the old to let the new emerge. The fact is not that the basic skills of Peking opera have been discarded but that they are no longer adequate. Those which cannot be used to reflect present-day life should and must be discarded. In order to reflect present-day life, we urgently need to refine, create, and gradually develop and enrich the basic skills of Peking opera through our experience of real life. At the same time, these successes deal a powerful blow at conservatives of various descriptions and such views as the "box-office earnings" theory, the "foreign exchange earnings" theory and the theory that "revolutionary works can't travel abroad."

Another outstanding feature of the socialist cultural revolution in the last three years is the widespread mass activity of workers, peasants and soldiers on the fronts of ideology, literature and art. Workers, peasants and soldiers are now producing many fine philosophical articles which splendidly express Mao Tse-tung's thought in terms of their own practice. They are also producing many fine works of literature and art in praise of the triumph of our socialist revolution, the big leap forward on all the fronts of socialist construction, our new heroes, and the brilliant leadership of our great Party and our great leader. In particular, both in content and in form the numerous poems by workers, peasants and soldiers appearing on wall-newspapers and black-boards represent an entirely new age.

Of course, these are merely the first fruits of our socialist cultural revolution, the first step in our long march of ten thousand *li*. In order to safeguard and extend these achievements and to carry the socialist cultural revolution through to the end, we must work hard for a long time.

3. The struggle between the two roads on the front

of literature and art is bound to be reflected in the armed forces, which do not exist in a vacuum and cannot possibly be an exception to the rule. The Chinese People's Liberation Army is the chief instrument of the dictatorship of the proletariat in China. It represents the mainstay and hope of the Chinese people and the revolutionary people of the world. Without a people's army, neither the victory of our revolution nor the dictatorship of the proletariat and socialism would have been possible and the people would have nothing. Therefore, the enemy will inevitably try to undermine it from all sides and will inevitably use literature and art as weapons in his attempt to corrupt it ideologically. However, after Chairman Mao pointed out that basically, literary and art circles had not carried out the policies of the Party over the past 15 years, certain persons still claimed that the problem of the orientation of literature and art in our armed forces had already been solved, and that the problem to be solved was mainly one of raising the artistic level. This point of view is wrong and is not based on concrete analysis. In point of fact, some works of literature and art by our armed forces have a correct orientation and have reached a comparatively high artistic level; some have a correct orientation but their artistic level is low; others have serious defects or mistakes in both political orientation and artistic form, and still others are anti-Party and anti-socialist poisonous weeds. The August First Studio has produced as bad a film as the *Pressgang*. This shows that the work in literature and art in the armed forces has also come under the influence of the black line to a greater or lesser degree. Besides, we have as yet trained relatively few creative workers who are really up to the mark; the ideological problems in creative work are still numerous, and the ranks are still not so pure. We must analyse and solve these problems properly.

4. The Liberation Army must play an important role

in the socialist cultural revolution. Comrade Lin Piao has kept a firm hold on the work in literature and art since he has been in charge of the work of the Military Commission of the Central Committee of the Party. The many instructions he has given are correct. "The Resolution on Strengthening Political and Ideological Work in the Armed Forces" adopted at the enlarged session of the Military Commission clearly specified that the aim of the work in literature and art in the armed forces was "to serve the cause of fostering proletarian ideology and liquidating bourgeois ideology and consolidating and improving fighting capacity in close conjunction with the tasks of the armed forces and in the context of their ideological situation." There is already a nucleus of literary and art workers in the armed forces whom we have trained and who have been tempered in revolutionary war. A number of good works have been produced in the armed forces. Therefore, the Liberation Army must play its due role in the socialist cultural revolution and must fight bravely and unswervingly to carry out the policy that literature and art should serve the workers, peasants and soldiers and serve socialism.

5. In the cultural revolution, there must be both destruction and construction. Leaders must take personal charge and see to it that good models are created. The bourgeoisie has its reactionary "monologue on creating the new." We, too, should create what is new and original, new in the sense that it is socialist and original in the sense that it is proletarian. The basic task of socialist literature and art is to work hard and create heroic models of workers, peasants and soldiers. Only when we have such models and successful experience in creating them will we be able to convince people, to consolidate the positions we hold, and to knock the reactionaries' stick out of their hands.

On this question, we should have a sense of pride and not of inferiority.

We must destroy the blind faith in what is known as

the literature and art of the 1930s (in the Kuomintang areas of China). At that time, the Left-wing movement in literature and art followed Wang Ming's "Left" opportunist line politically; organizationally it practised closed-doorism and sectarianism; and its ideas on literature and art were virtually those of Russian bourgeois literary critics such as Belinsky, Chernyshevsky and Dobrolyubov and of Stanislavsky in the theatrical field, all of whom were bourgeois democrats in tsarist Russia with bourgeois ideas and not Marxist ones. The bourgeois-democratic revolution is a revolution in which one exploiting class replaces another. It is only the proletarian socialist revolution that finally destroys all-exploiting classes. Therefore, we must not take the ideas of any bourgeois revolutionary as guiding principles for our proletarian movement in ideology or in literature and art. There were of course good things in the 1930s too, namely, the militant Left-wing movement in literature and art led by Lu Hsun. Around the middle of the 1930s, some Left-wing leaders under the influence of Wang Ming's Right capitulationist line abandoned the Marxist-Leninist class standpoint and put forward the slogan of "a literature of national defence." This was a bourgeois slogan. It was Lu Hsun who put forward the proletarian slogan of "a mass literature for the national revolutionary war." Some Left-wing writers and artists, notably Lu Hsun, also raised the slogans that literature and art should serve the workers and peasants and that the workers and peasants should create their own literature and art. However, no systematic solution was found for the fundamental problem of the integration of literature and art with the workers, peasants and soldiers. The great majority of those Left-wing writers and artists were bourgeois nationalist-democrats, and a number failed to pass the test of the democratic revolution, while others have not given a good account of themselves under the test of socialism.

We must destroy blind faith in Chinese and foreign classical literature. Stalin was a great Marxist-Leninist. His criticism of the modernist literature and art of the bourgeoisie was very sharp. But he uncritically took over what are known as the classics of Russia and Europe and the consequences were bad. The classical literature and art of China and of Europe (including Russia) and even American films have exercised a considerable influence on our literary and art circles, and some people have regarded them as holy writ and accepted them in their entirety. We should draw a lesson from Stalin's experience. Old and foreign works should be studied too, and refusal to study them would be wrong; but we must study them critically, making the past serve the present and foreign works serve China.

As for the relatively good Soviet revolutionary works of literature and art which appeared after the October Revolution, they too must be analysed and not blindly worshipped or, still less, blindly imitated. Blind imitation can never become art. Literature and art can only spring from the life of the people which is their sole source. This is borne out by the whole history of literature and art, past and present, Chinese and foreign.

The rising forces in the world invariably defeat the forces of decay. Our People's Liberation Army was weak and small at the beginning, but it eventually became strong and defeated the U.S.-Chiang Kai-shek reactionaries. Confronted with the excellent revolutionary situation at home and abroad and our glorious tasks, we should be proud to be thoroughgoing revolutionaries. We must have the confidence and courage to do things never previously attempted, because ours is a revolution to eliminate all exploiting classes and systems of exploitation once and for all and to root out all exploiting-class ideologies, which poison the minds of the people. Under the leadership of the Central Committee of the Party and Chairman Mao and

under the guidance of Marxism-Leninism, Mao Tse-tung's thought, we must create a new socialist revolutionary literature and art worthy of our great country, our great Party, our great people and our great army. This will be a most brilliant new literature and art opening up a new era in human history.

But it is no easy matter to create good models. Strategically we must take the difficulties in creative work lightly, but tactically we must take them seriously. To create a fine work is an arduous process, and the comrades in charge of creative work must never adopt a bureaucratic or casual attitude but must work really hard and share the writers' and artists' joys and hardships. It is essential to get first-hand material as far as possible, or when this is impossible at least to get the material at second hand. There should be no fear of failures or mistakes. Allowance should be made for them, and people must be permitted to correct their mistakes. It is necessary to rely on the masses, follow the line of "from the masses, to the masses," and repeatedly undergo the test of practice over a long period, so that a work may become better and better and achieve the unity of revolutionary political content and the best possible artistic form. In the course of practice it is necessary to sum up experience in good time and gradually grasp the laws of various forms of art. Otherwise, no good models can be created.

We should give the fullest attention to the themes of socialist revolution and socialist construction, and it would be entirely wrong to ignore them.

A serious effort should now be made to create works of literature and art about the three great military campaigns of Liaohsi-Shenyang, Huai-Hai and Peiping-Tientsin and other important campaigns while the comrades who led and directed them are still alive. There are many important revolutionary themes, historical and contemporary, on which work urgently needs to be done in a planned and

systematic way. A success must be made of the film, *The Great Wall Along the South China Sea*. The film *The Long March* must be revised successfully. A nucleus of truly proletarian writers and artists should be trained in the process.

6. People engaged in the work of literature and art, whether they are leaders or writers and artists, must all practise the Party's democratic centralism. We favour "rule by the voice of the many" and oppose "rule by the voice of one man alone." We must follow the mass line. In the past, some people pressed the leadership to nod and applaud when they produced something. This is a very bad style of work. As for the cadres in charge of creative work in literature and art, they should always bear two points in mind: First, be good at listening to the opinions of the broad masses; second, be good at analysing these opinions, accept the right ones and reject the wrong ones. Completely flawless works of literature and art are non-existent, and as long as the keynote of a work is good, we should help improve it by pointing out its shortcomings and errors. Bad works should not be hidden away, but should be shown to the masses for their comment. We must not be afraid of the masses; but should have firm trust in them, and they can give us much valuable advice. Besides, this will improve their powers of discrimination. It costs several hundred thousand or as much as a million yuan to produce a film. To hide a bad film away is wasteful. Why not show it to the public so as to educate writers and artists and the masses and at the same time make up for its cost to the state and thus turn it to good account ideologically and economically? The film *Beleaguered City* has been shown for a long time but it received no criticism. Shouldn't the *Jiefangjun Bao* write an article criticizing it?

7. We must encourage revolutionary and militant literary and art criticism by the masses, and break the

monopoly over literary and art criticism by a few so-called critics (those wrong in orientation and deficient in militancy.) We must place the weapon of literary and art criticism in the hands of the masses of workers, peasants and soldiers and integrate professional critics with critics from among the masses. We must make this criticism more militant and oppose unprincipled vulgar praise. We must reform our style of writing, encourage the writing of short, popular articles, turn our literary and art criticism into daggers and hand-grenades and learn to handle them effectively in close combat. Of course, we must at the same time write longer, systematic articles of theoretical depth. We oppose the use of terminology and jargon to frighten people. Only in this way can we disarm the self-styled literary and art critics. The *Jiefangjun Bao* and the *Jiefangjun Wenyi* should set up special columns, regular or occasional, for comment on literature and art. Warm support should be given to good or basically good works and their shortcomings pointed out in a helpful way. And principled criticism must be made of bad works. In the theoretical field, we must thoroughly and systematically criticize typical fallacies on literature and art and the many other fallacies spread by certain people who attempt to falsify history and to boost themselves in such books as the *History of the Development of the Chinese Film*, *A Collection of Historical Data on the Chinese Drama Movement in the Last Fifty Years* and *A Preliminary Study of the Repertory of Peking Opera*. We must not mind being accused of "brandishing the stick." When some people charge us with over-simplification and crudeness, we must analyse these charges. Some of our criticisms are basically correct but are not sufficiently convincing because our analysis and evidence are inadequate and should be improved. With some people it is a matter of understanding; they start by accusing us of over-simplification and crudeness but eventually drop the charge. But when the enemy condemns

our correct criticisms as over-simplified and crude we must stand firm. Literary and art criticism should become one of our day-to-day tasks, an important method both in the struggle in the field of literature and art and in Party leadership in this field of work. Without correct literary and art criticism it is impossible for creative work to flourish.

8. In the struggle against foreign revisionism in the field of literature and art, we must not only catch small figures like Chukhrai. We should catch the big ones, catch Sholokhov and dare to tackle him. He is the father of revisionist literature and art. His *And Quiet Flows the Don*, *Virgin Soil Upturned* and *The Fate of a Man* have exercised a big influence on a number of Chinese writers and readers. Shouldn't the army organize people to study his works and write convincing critical articles containing well-documented analysis? This will have a profound influence in China and the rest of the world. The same thing should be done with similar works by Chinese writers.

9. As for method, we must combine revolutionary realism with revolutionary romanticism in our creative work, and must not adopt bourgeois critical realism or bourgeois romanticism.

The fine qualities of the worker, peasant and soldier heroes who have emerged under the guidance of the correct line of the Party are the concentrated expression of the class character of the proletariat. We must work with enthusiasm and do everything possible to create heroic models of workers, peasants and soldiers. We should create typical characters. Chairman Mao has said that "life as reflected in works of literature and art can and ought to be on a higher plane, more intense, more concentrated, more typical, nearer the ideal, and therefore more universal than actual everyday life." We should not confine ourselves to actual persons and events. Nor should we portray a hero only after he is dead. In fact, there are

many more living heroes than dead ones. This means that our writers must concentrate and generalize experience from real life accumulated over a long period of time to create a variety of typical characters.

When we write about revolutionary war, we must first be clear about their nature—ours is the side of justice and the enemy's is the side of injustice. Our works must show our arduous struggles and heroic sacrifices, but must also express revolutionary heroism and revolutionary optimism. While depicting the cruelty of war, we must not exaggerate or glorify its horrors. While depicting the arduousness of the revolutionary struggle, we must not exaggerate or glorify the sufferings involved. The cruelty of a revolutionary war and revolutionary heroism, the arduousness of the revolutionary struggle and revolutionary optimism constitute a unity of opposites, but we must be clear about which is the principal aspect of the contradiction; otherwise, if we make the wrong emphasis, a bourgeois pacifist trend will emerge. Moreover, while depicting our people's revolutionary war, whether in the stage in which guerrilla warfare was primary and mobile warfare supplementary, or in the stage in which mobile warfare was primary, we must correctly show the relationship between the regular forces, the guerrillas and the people's militia and between the armed masses and the unarmed masses under the leadership of the Party.

Regarding the selection of subject-matter, only when we plunge into the thick of life and do a good job of investigation and study can we make the selection properly and correctly. Playwrights should unreservedly plunge into the heat of the struggle for a long period. Directors, actors and actresses, cameramen, painters and composers should also go into the thick of life and make serious investigations and studies. In the past, some works distorted the historical facts, concentrating on the portrayal of erroneous line instead of correct line; some described

heroic characters who nevertheless invariably violate discipline, or created heroes only to have them die in a contrived tragic ending; other works do not present heroic characters but only "middle" characters who are actually backward people, or caricatures of workers, peasants or soldiers; in depicting the enemy, they fail to expose his class nature as an exploiter and oppressor of the people, and even glamorize him; still others are concerned only with love and romance, pandering to philistine tastes and claiming that love and death are the eternal themes. All such bourgeois and revisionist trash must be resolutely opposed.

10. Re-educate the cadres in charge of the work of literature and art and reorganize the ranks of writers and artists. For historical reasons, before the whole country was liberated it was rather difficult for us proletarians to train our own workers in literature and art in the areas under enemy rule. Our cultural level was relatively low and our experience limited. Many of our workers in literature and art had received a bourgeois education. In the course of their revolutionary activities in literature and art some failed to pass the test of enemy persecution and turned traitor, while others failed to resist the corrosive influence of bourgeois ideas and became rotten. In the base areas, we trained a considerable number of revolutionary workers in literature and art. Especially after the publication of the "*Talks at the Yen-an Forum on Literature and Art*," they had the correct orientation, embarked on the path of integration with the workers, peasants and soldiers, and played a positive role in the revolution. The weakness was that, after the country was liberated and we entered the big cities, many comrades failed to resist the corrosion of bourgeois ideology in the ranks of our writers and artists, with the result that some of them have fallen out in the course of advance. Ours is the literature and art of the proletariat, the literature and art of the Party. The

principle of proletarian Party spirit is the outstanding feature distinguishing us from other classes. It must be understood that representatives of other classes also have their principle of party spirit, and that they are very stubborn too. We must firmly adhere to the principle of proletarian Party spirit and combat the corrosion of bourgeois ideology in creative thinking, in organizational line and in style of work. As for bourgeois ideology, we must draw a clear line of demarcation and must on no account enter into peaceful coexistence with it. A variety of problems now exist in literary and art circles which, for most people, are problems of ideological understanding and of raising such understanding through education. We must earnestly study Chairman Mao's works, creatively study and apply them, tie up what we learn from them with our own thinking and practise and study them with specific problems in mind. Only in this way can we really understand, grasp and master Chairman Mao's thought. We must plunge into the thick of life for a long period of time, integrate ourselves with the workers, peasants and soldiers to raise our class consciousness, remould our ideology and wholeheartedly serve the people without any regard for personal fame or gain. It is necessary to teach our comrades to study Marxism-Leninism and Chairman Mao's works and to remain revolutionaries all their lives, and pay special attention to the maintenance of proletarian integrity in later life, which is not at all easy.

### III

By taking part in the forum, we have acquired a relatively clear understanding of all the questions mentioned above, and our opinions on them now correspond with the realities in the work in literature and art among the armed forces. As a result, the level of our political consciousness has been raised, and our determination to carry out the

socialist cultural revolution and our sense of responsibility in this respect have likewise been strengthened. We will continue to study Chairman Mao's works conscientiously, make serious investigations and studies and do well in our cultivation of "experimental plots" and the production of good models, so as to take the lead in the current struggle of the cultural revolution to foster proletarian ideology and liquidate bourgeois ideology.

# Chairman Mao's "Talks at the Yen-an Forum of Literature and Art" Is A Programme for Building A Mighty Proletarian Cultural Army

—Chi Pen-Yu

Comrades, friends, proletarian revolutionary comrades-in-arms, dear young Red Guard fighters !

Let us first wish our most respected and beloved great leader Chairman Mao a long life ! And lasting good health to Comrade Lin Piao, Chairman Mao's close comrade-in-arms !

## I

Today is the 25th anniversary of the "Talks at the Yen-an Forum on Literature and Art," written by our most respected and beloved great leader Chairman Mao. These 25 years have been a period of momentous growth, one unprecedented in the thousands of years of history of our motherland. Who has led us in turning the oppressed, exploited, dark and impoverished, semi-feudal and semi-colonial old China into the independent, unified, sound and powerful socialist New China ? It is our most respected and beloved great leader Chairman Mao ! It is he, the very red sun that shines most brightly in our hearts !

Chairman Mao is not only the great leader of the Chinese people but also the great leader of the revolutionary people

Reprinted from "China Reconstructs", August, 1967.

of the world. As many proletarian revolutionary comrades in the world today so correctly, say, Chairman Mao is the Lenin of the present era.

Chairman Mao has inherited, defended and developed Marxism-Leninism with genius, creatively and comprehensively. Mao Tse-tung's thought is Marxism-Leninism at its highest level in the present era.

Since its birth, Marxism has gone through three great stages of development. The first stage was the stage of Marx and Engels, who established Marxism and worked out the theory of scientific socialism. The second stage was the stage of Leninism. When capitalism entered the era of imperialism Lenin and Stalin developed Marxism, solved a series of questions of the proletarian revolution, especially those concerning the theory and practice of realizing the proletarian dictatorship in a single country. The third stage is the stage of Mao Tse-tung's thought. Mao Tse-tung's thought is Marxism-Leninism further developed in the era in which imperialism is heading for total collapse and socialism is advancing to worldwide victory. Our great leader Chairman Mao has creatively and with genius solved a series of important questions of the proletarian revolution in the present era, especially those concerning the theory and practice of carrying on the revolution and preventing a restoration of capitalism, in the historical period of the dictatorship of the proletariat, and has thus brought Marxism-Leninism to a higher and completely new stage.

On the eve of the October Revolution, Lenin emphatically pointed out : **"Those who recognise only the class struggle are not yet Marxists ; they may be found to be still within the bounds of bourgeois thinking and bourgeois politics."** **"A Marxist is solely someone who extends the recognition of the class struggle to the recognition of the dictatorship of the proletariat.** And today, no one is a genuine Marxist if he only pays lip service to the dictatorship of the proletariat

but does not recognize that, in the historical period of the dictatorship of the proletariat, there is still the struggle between restoration and counter-restoration, the struggle between the efforts of the proletariat to defend its dictatorship and those of the bourgeoisie to overthrow this dictatorship. From what can be learnt from the emergence of modern revisionism and the restoration of capitalism in the Soviet Union and from the historical experience internationally of the dictatorship of the proletariat, and in the light of the schemes for a capitalist restoration carried out by the handful of Party people in authority taking the capitalist road in China, our great leader Chairman Mao has developed the Marxist-Leninist theory concerning the dictatorship of the proletariat, worked out the most complete revolutionary theory for opposing counter-revolutionary revisionism and defending the proletarian dictatorship and has personally aroused and led hundreds of millions of people in carrying out this unprecedented great proletarian cultural revolution, thereby making a great contribution in theory and practice to the international proletarian revolutionary movement.

"Talks at the Yen-an Forum on Literature and Art" is a great Marxist-Leninist work that shines with dazzling radiance in the splendid treasure-house of Mao Tse-tung's thought. It is the most complete, most systematic and most correct programme for the great proletarian cultural revolution, the first work of its kind in the history of the proletarian revolution. It is an embodiment of universal truth, a brilliant and epoch-making document in the history of human culture.

When this brilliant work was published in 1942, the anti-fascist war which was raging throughout the world and China's War of Resistance Against Japan were in their most bitter stage. It was at this time that a handful of anti-Party elements, Trotskyites and renegades such as Chou Yang, Wang Shih-wei and Ting Ling produced many

poisonous weeds and made wild attacks on the Party. They viciously attacked the Party leadership, energetically advocated "freedom of creation", opposed the Marxist viewpoint of class struggle and publicized the bourgeois "theory of human nature" and "love of humanity." They opposed extolling the proletariat. In an attempt to incite others to come out and attack the Party and the people, they talked such nonsense as "even the sun has spots" and "the task of literature and art has always been to expose." Chou Yang, Wang Shih-wei, Ting Ling and others stirred up this anti-Party adverse current in the literary and art circles in Yen-an in coordination on the cultural front with the Chiang Kai-shek reactionaries' wild attacks on the liberated areas. Its purpose was to disintegrate the revolutionary forces, to undermine the people's political power in the base areas and to sabotage the War of Resistance Against Japan.

At that time the Yen-an rectification campaign, which is well-known in the history of our Party, was unfolding on a large scale, and the struggle between the two lines on the political, ideological and cultural fronts was very acute. The Yen-an forum on literature and art was an important component part of this great rectification campaign. The *Talks*, which are of immense historic significance, were delivered by Chairman Mao at this forum and became the guide to the great Yen-an rectification campaign and to the building up of a political party of Marxism-Leninism, Mao Tse-tung's thought. Chairman Mao's *Talks* made a most penetrating criticism of the anti-Party adverse current and various bourgeois reactionary trends and thought, which were then appearing on the cultural front. Chairman Mao pointed out:

**Proletarian literature and art are part of the whole proletarian revolutionary cause. The revolutionary literary and art process are an army serving the political struggle and the dictatorship of the proletariat.** Chairman Mao said: "In

our struggle for the liberation of the Chinese people [there are various fronts, among which there are the fronts of the pen and the gun, the cultural and the military fronts. To defeat the enemy we must rely primarily on the army with guns. But this army alone is not enough; we must also have a cultural army, which is absolutely indispensable for uniting our own ranks and defeating the enemy." He also pointed out that proletarian literature and art "Operate as powerful weapons for uniting and educating the people and for attacking and destroying the enemy and that they help the people fight the enemy with one heart and one mind," and that they are instruments for winning liberation and seizing political power. Chairman Mao's idea of regarding literary and art workers as an army serving the Chinese people's struggle for liberation has fundamentally solved the problem of the relationship between literature and art on the one hand politics on the other. In his talks, Chairman Mao also solved the problem of the general orientation of struggle for the mighty proletarian cultural army. He pointed out that **the fundamental orientation for proletarian literature and art is to serve the workers, peasants and soldiers.**

This proletarian revolutionary line on literature and art put forward by Chairman Mao clearly indicated to revolutionary literary and art workers the objectives of their fight and the orientation of their struggle, struck at the enemy's vitals and repulsed the frantic attacks by a handful of anti-Party elements, Trotskyites and renegades. In response to the call Chairman Mao made in his *Talks*, fine literary and art workers in the Liberated Areas went among the workers, peasants and soldiers to learn from them and portray them. They used literature and art as means to encourage the people and to attack and annihilate the enemy, thus performing meritorious service in the great cause of liberating nation and people in the struggle to seize and consolidate the people's political power.

## II

We are solemnly commemorating the 25th anniversary of Chairman Mao's great, epoch-making work "Talks at the Yen-an forum on Literature and Art" at a time when there is an upsurge in the great proletarian cultural revolution. This has a very important practical significance.

The victory of the socialist revolution, of the struggle of the proletariat to seize power, does not mean that class struggle has ended. On the eve of the liberation of the country, Chairman Mao said: **After the enemies with guns have been wiped out, there will still be enemies without guns; they are bound to struggle desperately against us, and we must never regard these enemies lightly.** After the proletariat seizes power, class enemies which have been overthrown will always attempt to stage a counter-revolutionary comeback and the question of who will win is still not settled. In order to recapture their lost power, the exploiting classes will first of all create public opinion and prepare the ground ideologically for their attempt at a counter-revolutionary restoration. Literature and art are one of their advance positions for creating public opinion for the counter-revolutionary restoration and carrying out their scheme to usurp the leadership of the Party, the army and the government. The top Party person in authority taking the capitalist road and the handful of counter-revolutionary revisionists including Peng Chen, Lu Ting-yi, Chou Yang, Lin Mo-han, Chi Yen-ming, Hsia Yen, Tien Han and Teng To, who usurped the leadership in cultural circles, took control of the old Propaganda Department of the Party Central Committee, the old Ministry of Culture, the old Peking Municipal Party Committee and the associations under the All China Federation of Literary and Art Circles. They held the leadership in many (not all) cultural and publishing institutions and they turned these institutions and organizations into revisionist clubs, into tools of the bourgeoisie for opposing the Party and socialism.

Our wise and great leader long ago saw through the conspiratorial activities of this handful of counter-revolutionary revisionists. Between 1963 and 1964, Chairman Mao pointed out on many occasions that, since liberation, various departments in culture and art, including literature, the drama, the cinema, balladry, music, the fine arts and the dance, and the art academies and schools "by and large (this does not apply to every individual) have not carried out the policies of the Party, have acted as high and mighty bureaucrats, have not gone to the workers, peasants and soldiers and have not reflected the socialist revolution and construction." He said, "the 'dead' still dominate" many departments. Our stage was not dominated by workers, peasants and soldiers. Instead, it was dominated by emperors and kings, generals and ministers, scholars and beauties, ghosts and monsters. We were subjected here to the dictatorship of feudalism, capitalism and revisionism. Particularly during the period of the country's economic difficulties between 1959 and 1962, the handful of counter-revolutionary revisionists, supported by the handful of top Party persons in authority taking the capitalist road, took the opportunity to put out a large number of poisonous weeds such as *Hai Jui Dismissed from Office*, *Hsieh Yao-huan* and *Li Hui-niang*. In these they insidiously attacked and insulted our great Party in an attempt to reverse the verdicts on the Right opportunist Peng Teh-huai and others dismissed from office at the Lushan Meeting and to incite people to join them in activities aimed at a counter-revolutionary restoration. At the same time, many plays and operas glorifying renegades, propagating capitulationism and advocating the philosophy of survival, such as *Yang Yen-hui Visits His Mother*, *Peach Blossom Fan* and *Li Hsiu-cheng*, appeared one after another. The situation in the cinema was even more striking. What a lot of poison was spread by films from those of the early post-liberation period, such as the *Inside*

*Story of the Ching Court* and *The Life of Wu Hsun* down to the more recent *The Besieged City* and *Threshold of Spring!* They perpetrated every conceivable evil in vilifying the workers, peasants and soldiers and prettifying capitalism, feudalism and revisionism in order to glorify the capitalist road and carry out their scheme for a counter-revolutionary restoration. Moreover, in accordance with the wishes of the top Party person in authority taking the capitalist road, they distorted the history of the Party, established China's Khrushchov as a hero on the screen and gave three cheers for Right opportunism.

Chairman Mao has pointed out, "it is a great invention to use novels to carry out anti-Party activities". This was exactly what the handful of counter-revolutionary revisionists including Chou Yang did. Under their direction a novel appeared which aimed at vindicating the notorious anti-Party element Kao Kang and which openly distorted history, directing an attack against the Party Central Committee headed by our great leader Chairman Mao.

However, these counter-revolutionary revisionists' conspiratorial activities aimed at a capitalist restoration could not escape exposure by the magic, monster-detecting mirror of Chairman Mao's "*Talks at the Yen-an Forum on Literature and Art*." Therefore this pack of ghosts and monsters extremely feared and hated the *Talks*. They used all manner of despicable means to spread such fallacious theories as "truthful writing", "writing about middle characters", opposition to "the smell of gunpowder" and "the merging of various trends and the spirit of the age" in order to attack this brilliant work of Chairman Mao's.

"Like mayflies trying to topple the giant tree, they ridiculously overrated themselves." All their attacks on Chairman Mao's brilliant work have long ago been utterly crushed by the criticisms contained in Chairman Mao's *Talks* itself. Led by Chairman Mao himself, the revolutionary masses who have mastered the powerful weapon

of the *Talks* have launched repeated tit-for-tat struggles against the handful of Party persons in authority taking the capitalist road and the reactionary academic "authorities."

As far back as 1951, Chairman Mao personally initiated and led the criticism and repudiation of the reactionary film *The Life of Wu Hsun*. In 1954, he again initiated and led the criticism and repudiation of the *Studies in "the Dream of the Red Chamber"* and the reactionary ideas of Hu Shih.

The struggle against the Hu Feng counter-revolutionary clique took place between 1954 and 1955, and since 1957 struggles have been carried out to repulse the Rightists, to oppose Right opportunism and to criticize Yang Hsien-chen's theory of "two combining into one" and Chou Ku-Cheng's theory of "the merging of various trends as the spirit of the age."

At the Tenth Plenary Session of the Eighth Central Committee of the Party held in 1962, in particular, Chairman Mao issued the great, militant call to the entire Party and all the Chinese people "**never to forget class struggle**", and directed them to take a firm hold of the class struggle in the fields of ideology.

On two occasions in 1963 and 1964, Chairman Mao gave extremely important instructions concerning literary and art work, hitting hard at the sinister counter-revolutionary, revisionist line on literature and art represented by the top Party person in authority taking the capitalist road. Following this, Comrade Chiang Ching, a most courageous fighter on the cultural front, responded enthusiastically to Chairman Mao's call and led vanguard fighters in the cultural revolution to mount an offensive against the stage of art occupied by the lords of the exploiting classes. They broke through ring upon ring of repression and obstruction created by the handful of Party persons in authority taking the capitalist road, and for the first

time succeeded in making the heroic image of the real creators of history—the workers, peasants and soldiers—shine in splendour on the stage of Peking Opera, the ballet and symphonic music. The lords and ladies and their pampered sons and daughters who for so long have dominated the stage of art are beginning to be ousted. This reversal of history has been reversed. This is an illustrious milestone in the history of the proletarian cultural revolution. All the victories in these struggles are victories for the proletarian revolutionary line on literature and art represented by Chairman Mao, victories for this great work of Chairman Mao's.

Then came the moment for the proletariat to launch a general counter-offensive against the bourgeoisie.

In November 1965, the proletarian revolutionaries in Shanghai, resolutely carrying out Chairman Mao's instruction given at the Tenth Plenary Session of the Eighth Central Committee of the Party, and led by Comrade Chiang Ching, launched the criticism and repudiation of *Hai Jui Dismissed from Office*, thus firing the first shot at the Peng Chen counter-revolutionary revisionist clique and sounding the clarion call for the great proletarian cultural revolution.

In February of the following year Comrade Chiang Ching was entrusted by Comrade Lin Piao to call the forum on literature and art in the armed forces. This was a highly important meeting in the history of China's struggle in the field of culture. As pointed out by Comrade Chiang Ching, the forum opened a fierce attack on the handful of Party persons in authority taking the capitalist road and the reactionary bourgeois "authorities" who had monopolized the leadership in cultural circles for many long years.

The forum, presided over by Comrade Chiang Ching, adopted the "Summary of the Forum of Literature and Art in the Armed Forces." This Summary, revised by

Chairman Mao himself on three occasions, gives an extremely penetrating and correct analysis of many fundamental questions concerning the struggle since liberation between the two lines on the literary and art front. Comrade Lin Piao has pointed out that the Summary "is a very good document which uses Mao Tse-tung's thought to answer many important questions concerning the cultural revolution during the socialist period. It not only has tremendous practical significance but has far-reaching and profound historical significance as well."

Soon afterwards, the great historic document—the May 16, 1966 Circular of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party—was drawn up under Chairman Mao's personal guidance. It put forward in a systematic way the theory, line, principles and policies of the great proletarian cultural revolution, shattering the "February Outline", a reactionary programme for restoring capitalism knocked up by the counter-revolutionary revisionist clique represented by Peng Chen. It repulsed their counter-attack and threw them into confusion, and set in motion the great proletarian cultural revolution which swept the whole country.

Like an irresistible torrent, the revolutionary masses and revolutionary young Red Guard fighters armed with Mao Tse-tung's thought have charged straight into the "palaces of hell" ruled by the ghosts and monsters.

The old Propaganda Department of the Party Central Committee collapsed:

The old Ministry of Culture collapsed!

The old Peking Municipal Party Committee collapsed!

The handful of Party persons in authority taking the capitalist road, who used to be so arrogant and regard themselves as "important figures", may look like giants but in fact are only paper tigers that cannot withstand a single blow!

## III

The acute struggle on the cultural front since the liberation of the whole country clearly shows that the struggle of Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line on literature and art against the sinister counter-revolutionary revisionist line on literature and art is, in the last analysis, a struggle between the bourgeoisie which wants to restore capitalism and the proletariat which fights against it.

In the historical period of the dictatorship of the proletariat, the mighty revolutionary cultural army is an important force in opposing a capitalist restoration and checking the spread of revisionism. It relies primarily on the people's army with guns to defend the dictatorship of the proletariat, but the cultural army is also indispensable. Like the Chinese People's Liberation Army, the cultural army, too, has the important task of defending the great dictatorship of the proletariat and the great socialist cause.

Today we must fully realize the important role the revolutionary cultural army plays in the struggle to consolidate the dictatorship of the proletariat and prevent the restoration of capitalism. Chairman Mao's *Talks* is the programme for the building of this mighty proletarian cultural army. We must use it to establish a correct orientation, build up our ranks and arm our fighters.

As the mighty proletarian cultural army forges ahead braving the winds and storms in the great proletarian cultural revolution, every one of our fighters is confronted with all sorts of questions. What road should the literary and art circles take? What is their fighting task at present? What are the principles and policies for literary and art work? The answers to all these questions can be found in Chairman Mao's *Talks*.

**First, hold fast to Chairman Mao's orientation that literature and art must serve the workers, peasants and**

soldiers, actively participate in the revolutionary mass campaign of criticism and repudiation, and fight to defend the dictatorship of the proletariat.

In his *Talks* Chairman Mao pointed out: "This question of 'for whom?' is fundamental: it is a question of principle." This is the question of orientation for literary and art work. Should literature and art serve the millions of workers, peasants and soldiers or a handful of exploiters? Should they serve the defence of the dictatorship of the proletariat or a handful of counter-revolutionary revisionists in their activities for capitalist restoration? This is the focal point of the struggle between Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line on literature and art and the sinister counter-revolutionary revisionist line. The struggle between the two lines in literary and art circles over the past 17 years has demonstrated in practice that the question of orientation remains the most fundamental one for the cultural circles, which have been controlled and influenced by the sinister counter-revolutionary revisionist line over a long period of time. Only when we have solved the question of the general orientation for literary and art work not only in theory but also in practice can we take a firm proletarian revolutionary stand and fight in defence of the dictatorship of the proletariat, in defence of socialism and against capitalist restoration.

The masses of the workers, peasants and soldiers are the real creators of history, the masters of socialist society. To serve the workers, peasants and soldiers means that the literary and art workers must go among the masses of the workers, peasants and soldiers. They must go into the heat of the struggle and **"move their feet over to the side of the workers, peasants and soldiers, to the side of the proletariat"**, so as to transform thoroughly their thoughts and feelings and their world-outlook in the three great revolutionary movements of the class struggle, the struggle for production and scientific experimentation. They must

become one with the masses of workers, peasants and soldiers, and create the new literature and art of the proletariat. Only in this way can they really make literature and art powerful weapons for uniting and educating the people and for attacking and destroying the enemy.

The top Party person in authority taking the capitalist road and the handful of counter-revolutionary revisionists used double-dealing tactics to furiously oppose the orientation pointed out by Chairman Mao that literature and art must serve the workers, peasants and soldiers. To counter Chairman Mao's revolutionary line on literature and art, they put forward the slogan of "a literature and art of the whole people."

In 1962, on the occasion of the 20th anniversary of the publication of the *Talks*, Chou Yang, Lin Mo-han and company put on a sham celebration and produced a big poisonous weed—the article "In the service of the Broadest Masses of the People." In it, they maintained that literature and art should serve "the whole people", including bourgeois elements, and hoisted the reactionary evil flag of "literature and art of the whole people." They even openly declared that "socialist culture is a culture of the whole people."

Can proletarian literature and art serve the bourgeoisie?  
Can socialist culture be a culture of the whole people?

Absolutely not, Chairman Mao long ago denounced such absurd views in his *Talks*.

"A literature and art of the whole" is nothing new; it is merely a duplication in the field literature and art of Khrushchov's "state of the whole people" and "Party of the entire people." There is absolutely no such thing as a literature and art of the "whole people" in the world. Literature and art must be something which either serves the proletariat or the bourgeoisie. Chou Yang and Lin Mo-han's theory of "a literature and art of the whole

people" is, in the guise of transcending classes, to oppose literature and art serving the workers, peasants and soldiers and proletarian politics, and to turn literature a counter-revolutionary tool of capitalist restoration.

There is no construction without destruction. In the mass campaign to criticize and repudiate the handful of top Party persons in authority taking the capitalist road, we must smash their orientation of literature and art serving counter-revolutionary revisionism, and firmly establish our orientation of literature and art serving the workers, peasants and soldiers. We must use Chairman Mao's *Talks* as our weapon and take an active part in the mass movement of criticism and repudiation to safeguard the dictatorship of the proletariat and the socialist state.

**Secondly, organize the Left forces to do a good job of "struggle-criticism-transformation"<sup>1</sup>, in each unit.**

Bourgeois rule in our cultural circles must not continue any longer. Proletarian revolutionaries must seize power in the leading organs, cultural organizations, art academies and schools in which the handful of counter-revolutionary revisionists have been entrenched and which they have controlled for the past 17 years.

A mighty army of the proletarian cultural revolution must be organized, and in each unit strong Left forces be formed step by step in the course of the struggle. Proletarian revolutionaries should bring about a revolutionary great alliance in the course of the revolutionary mass movement of criticism and repudiation, coordinate their efforts in doing a good job of struggle-criticism-transformation in their own units, and direct the spearhead of struggle at the handful of Party persons in authority taking the capitalist road, expose their crimes, wipe out their evil influence and completely refute, overthrow and discredit them!

Reactionary bourgeois scholar-tyrants and reactionary "authorities" should be thoroughly criticized and repudiated.

A new and truly revolutionary core leading the cultural forces should be established in all places where power needs to be seized.

In accordance with Chairman Mao's instructions in the *Talks*, all forces that can be united should be united, the relationship between enemies, friends, and ourselves should be clearly distinguished, and a line of demarcation should be drawn between the two different types of contradictions. There are people who support the Party, socialism and Chairman Mao but have said or done something wrong, written works that are not good or acted in bad plays. However, so long as they dare to examine their own mistakes and gain a clear understanding of them, we proletarian revolutionaries should welcome and unite with these people and work with them in carrying out the struggle-criticism-transformation.

**Thirdly, pay attention to creative work, establish good models and make great efforts to create new proletarian works.**

Paying close attention to creative work is a key to overthrowing bourgeois literature and art and developing proletarian revolutionary literature and art. In the light of the new situation in the current great proletarian cultural revolution, generally speaking, all cultural units should carry on their own struggle-criticism-transformation, and at the same time create and produce modern, revolutionary works of literature and art which serve the workers, peasants and soldiers.

Creative works by workers, peasants and soldiers must be given serious attention and helped to develop. The fine works of literature and art springing up from among the masses of workers, peasants and soldiers are reflections of the new features of the epoch of our country's proletarian cultural revolution. All revolutionary literary and art workers ought to learn modestly from them.

In paying attention to creative work the most essential thing lies, in turn, in the establishing of fine models.

Peking Operas with contemporary themes like *Taking the Brandits' Stronghold*, *On the Docks*, *The Red Lantern*, *Shachiapang* and *Raid on the White Tiger Regiment*: the revolutionary ballets *The Red Detachment of Women* and *The White-haired Girl*; and the symphonic music *Shachiapang* form a series of such fine models. They are new models of art shining with the splendour of Mao Tse-tung's thought. The appearance of these fine artistic models is a victory for Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line on literature and art.

The proletariat requires fine artistic works in which real revolutionary struggles are integrated with noble revolutionary ideals. Such fine works can be produced only by following the creative method advanced by Chairman Mao, that of combining revolutionary realism with revolutionary romanticism.

The blind worship of that which is ancient, foreign and revisionist and the habit of certain slavish worshippers who cannot open their mouths without quoting the ancient Greeks must be done away with. We have no faith in heaven, nor blind faith in that which is foreign, famous and ancient. We believe only in the workers, peasants and soldiers, the proletariat, Marxism-Leninism, Mao Tse-tung's thought. We must never have blind belief in ancient Peking Opera, films of the 1930's, French literature, England's Shakespeare, Russia's Belinsky, Chernyshevsky and Stanislavsky, and the revisionist Soviet Union's Sholokhov. We must critically take over those ancient things which are good and also critically assimilate those foreign things which are good. But in so doing, we must follow Chairman Mao's instructions of "making the old serve the present and the foreign serve China", and never allow ourselves to be misled by the exploiting classes' rubbish.

Anyone who looks down upon the labouring people and the proletariat, follows others blindly, and obsequiously

complies with their wishes will never succeed. Our artistic treasures that shake the world are not *Swan Lake* copied from the bourgeoisie by westernized experts who were worshipped by the top Party person in authority taking the capitalist road like "gods", but our own revolutionary ballets, *The Red Detachment of Woman* and *The White-haired Girl*. We did not intend these two ballets of ours for the whole world, but they have been warmly acclaimed by progressive people everywhere, who did not expect that this ancient art form gradually decaying in the western world would burst into new and youthful life in the East. The top Party persons in authority taking the capitalist road and their supporters called our artistic treasures "vulgar trash", treating the rubbish of foreign countries as almighty. Having received a bit of western education, they have forgotten their ancestors, and prate that "even the moon in foreign countries looks rounder." One wonders whether they have any sense of shame.

We should learn from the initiators and the vanguard fighters of the revolution in Peking Opera, ballet and symphony. The revolution in Peking Opera, ballet and symphony is the most difficult battle of storming strong fortresses on the literary and art front. They are the prologue to the unprecedented great proletarian cultural revolution. Difficulties are great and the struggle is hard. The bourgeoisie and those monsters and demons have incessantly attacked, slandered, and viciously persecuted the vanguard fighters on the literary and art front. But Chairman Mao's *Talks at the Yen-an Forum on Literature and Art* has inspired them. They have never become disheartened and have no fear of difficulty. In order to take the literary and art positions from the bourgeoisie in order to defend Chairman Mao's revolutionary line on literature and art, the pioneers of the cultural revolution have, under the leadership of Comrade Chiang Ching, waged a long, uninterrupted and bitter struggle. After

overcoming countless difficulties and obstacles, they have finally opened up a bright road in a desolate land, using the invincible thought of Mao Tse-tung as their weapon. Their revolutionary fighting spirit, which finds expression in their courage, perseverance and staunchness, has set an example for all cultural fighters. Now that our vanguard fighters have broken through such seemingly impregnable strongholds of literature and art as Peking Opera, ballet and symphony, is there any other stronghold of literature and art in the world that can't be broken through? Fighters of our mighty cultural army, hold high the banner of Mao Tse-tung's thought and march forward courageously and with complete confidence!

**Fourthly, open up mast literary and art criticism.**

Chairman Mao teaches us: "**Literary and art criticism is one of the principal methods of struggle in the world of literature and art**". In literary and art criticism, it is essential to adhere to the principle that political criterion must be put first and artistic criterion second. All reactionary ideas and works of literature and art that harm the dictatorship of the proletariat and the socialist revolution must be criticized and repudiated. In no circumstance should these poisonous weeds be allowed to spread unchecked to poison the minds of the people.

The handful of top Party persons in authority taking the capitalist road and their supporters did their best to spread around an absurd argument about "harmless" works, saying that "whatever play relaxes and pleases the audience is good". Are there really any so-called "harmless" works in the world? No. Chairman Mao teaches us in the *Talks*: "In the world today all culture, all literature and art belong to definite classes and are geared to definite political lines." One man's meat is another man's poison. How can there be any work of literature or art that is "harmless" to all classes? Hasn't enough harm been done to the labouring people, especially to the

younger generation, by decadent bourgeois and revisionist works of literature and art? The purpose of the top Party person in authority taking the capitalist road and the handful of counter-revolutionary revisionists in spreading this fallacy of "harmlessness" was to use it as a shield to prevent criticism by the masses so that all sorts of big anti-Party, anti-socialist poisonous weeds could be labelled "harmless" and sold to hundreds of millions of revolutionaries. Their aim was to lull the labouring people and poison their minds with such works of literature and art so as to carry out their scheme of peaceful evolution and capitalist restoration.

Moreover, the top Party person in authority taking the capitalist road and the handful of counter-revolutionary revisionists resisted literary and art criticism by flaunting the banner of "letting a hundred flowers blossom and a hundred schools of thought contend." They clamoured for "opening wide", saying that "there should be freedom to 'open wide'", that "all kinds of things should be tolerated and accepted", that "there should be free competition", that "there should be fewer restrictions", that "there should not be too much interference" and that "there should be no crudeness." They used such slogans to open the way for the proliferation of their poisonous weeds and create public opinion for their conspiratorial activities for a bourgeois restoration.

They completely distorted Chairman Mao's policy of "letting a hundred flowers blossom and a hundred schools of thought contend", and emasculated the class content of this great policy. "To let a hundred flowers blossom and a hundred schools of thought contend" is the class policy of the proletariat and is aimed at consolidating the dictatorship of the proletariat and encouraging proletarian culture. In discussing this policy, Chairman Mao said: "**We still have to wage a protracted struggle against bourgeois**

and petty-bourgeois ideology. It is wrong not to understand this and to give up ideological struggle. All erroneous ideas, all poisonous weeds, all ghosts and monsters, must be subjected to criticism; in no circumstance should they be allowed to spread unchecked." He also said: "to 'open wide' means to let all people express their opinions freely, so that they dare to speak, dare to criticize and dare to debate." And by "opening wide", these revisionists actually meant bourgeois liberalization, which would allow only poisonous weeds to "open wide" but not fragrant flowers, and allow only Rightists to air their views but would not permit the Left to debate. This means a dictatorship of the bourgeoisie over us, the proletariat, and this we will absolutely not allow! We will act in accordance with Chairman Mao's instructions and eradicate all the poisonous weeds you have spread.

"Don't be crude?" Those who are really crude are no one but the bourgeois overlords. In places under their rule, not even a single new shoot belonging to the proletariat is allowed to grow. Is this not crude? No sooner do new things emerge than they want to wildly suppress, satirize, curse, repress, attack, encircle and strangle them, going to every extreme. Is there anything cruder than all this?

Precisely when a few models had been created during the Peking Opera revolution, the bourgeois overlords tried to suppress and sabotage them. Having failed, they indulged in all kinds of abuse, saying that "modern Peking Opera is as dull as plain water," that "it is nothing but modern drama plus singing." Aren't you ready to give up yet? Be so kind as to take out the best old Peking Operas and compare them with our models! Is there anything in the old Peking Opera that can compare with ours? Who after all act more beautifully—the workers, peasants and soldiers in our modern operas, or the lords and ladies and their pampered sons and daughters in the old

Peking Opera? On the old Peking Opera stage, the emperors and kings, generals and ministers, scholars and beauties, are ugly through and through from their soul to their appearance. Can they compare with the workers, peasants and soldiers on our stage? They cannot, neither politically, nor ideologically, nor even artistically. Is there anything in our modern opera so loose, languid and dispirited as in the old Peking Opera?

The old Peking Opera was performed for 130 or 140 years, while we have put on the new ones for only three or four years. The three or four years of the new have defeated the 130 or 140 years of the old. The revolution has hit you, the bourgeois lords, hard, and your arbitrary rule can no longer be maintained. So you foist the blame on us, alleging that we were crude. You have indeed turned black into white and right into wrong! You had better take back all this stuff

The top Party person in authority taking the capitalist road and the handful of counter-revolutionary revisionists are most afraid of the masses' criticism and they curse our criticism, saying it is a "club." Chairman Mao says: **"We should support whatever the enemy opposes."** What they fear is precisely what we should encourage. We do, indeed, want to promote mass literary and art criticism. If this mass criticism is called a "club", then this is the proletariat's "steel club" and "gold club" especially for the purpose of beating the bourgeoisie and revisionism. It is very precious. And furthermore, we say to the bourgeois lords: this kind of "club" will be greatly strengthened through the great proletarian cultural revolution.

The line of placing sole reliance on "experts" in literary and art criticism must be smashed. It is utterly wrong to make literary art and criticism an "ivory tower" for intellectuals, something monopolized by a few people.

The weapon of literary and art criticism must be wielded by the masses of workers, peasants and soldiers.

Only when the hundreds of millions of workers, peasants and soldiers throughout the country are aroused to examine works of literature and art, can the real poisonous weeds be eradicated and the genuine fragrant flowers be protected. Only by arousing them to examine literary and art works can the quality of the works be raised and creative activity in revolutionary literature and art flourish.

The unprecedented great proletarian cultural revolution has opened up a new era which will provide the best conditions for a vigorous development of proletarian literature and art. A new era of brilliant revolutionary culture has begun!

Let us arm ourselves with the brilliant works of our great leader, ceaselessly remould ourselves, closely follow Chairman Mao and the revolutionary worker, peasant and soldier masses, carry on uninterrupted revolution, always be revolutionaries. Let us defend the great dictatorship of the proletariat and build proletarian revolutionary culture, the most magnificent and resplendent culture in human history!

Let all reactionaries who try to go against the tide of history tremble before the great victories of the proletariat!

Long live the great proletarian cultural revolution!  
 Long live the dictatorship of the proletariat!  
 Long live the great Chinese Communist Party!  
 Long live the invincible thought of Mao Tse-tung!  
 Long live the great leader Chairman Mao! A long long life to Chairman Mao!

## Marxism-Leninism and Thought of Mao Tse-tung are One

—Asit Sen

**S**WEAR by Marxism-Leninism and you admit the indispensability of accepting the thought of Mao Tse-tung as a guide to world proletarian revolution. Ignore Chairman Mao's thought and you discard Marxism-Leninism. So organically connected with Marxism-Leninism is the thought of Mao Tse-tung. In fact, it is today the acme of Marxism-Leninism, it itself is Marxism-Leninism in the present era, the era of final and total collapse of imperialism. To grasp the real nature of this oneness one has to recall the basic tenets of Marxism-Leninism as well as the characteristics of the present era and in the light of that, study the thought of Mao Tse-tung.

As to Marxism, Lenin pointed out three basic aspects of it—Philosophy, Political Economy and Socialism.

The philosophical aspect of Marxism is dialectical materialism which purports to explain the world phenomena as they objectively take place outside and independent of our subjective world. It also points to the fact that our subjective world is a reflection of the objective one. But the realm of reflection does not remain static. Though it reflects the objective reality it nevertheless acquires a movement of its own which in turn enables a man to consciously act on the objective world and change it. The conscious act, however, must be in accord with the laws governing the objective reality. So dialectical materialism cannot but take into account these objective laws of movement. But one of the greatest achievements of this

philosophical thought is its extension to the sphere of knowledge of human society. This extension is historical materialism. Here Marx furnishes a strikingly integral and harmonious scientific theory which shows how out of one social system another system develops in consequence of the growth of productive forces. Not only that, he clearly shows how man's various views and doctrines—philosophical, religious, political and so forth, reflect the economic system of society. It follows from Marx's philosophical teachings that as nature moves and develops, man's knowledge of nature also develops, and as human society develops, man's social knowledge, i.e., his various views and doctrines also develop. In a word, Marx's philosophy advances the doctrine of the relativity of human knowledge which provides us with a reflection of eternally developing matter. And as man's consciousness becomes active in changing and developing the material world, so his knowledge can only develop through conscious activities. Thus, as Lenin puts it, "Marx's philosophy is finished philosophical materialism, which has provided humanity, and especially the working class, with powerful instruments of knowledge."

The economic aspect of Marxism is a study of the economic system which as shown by Marx is the foundation of human society on which the political superstructure is created. It is devoted to the study of the economic system of capitalist society historically. That the exchange of one commodity for another is not merely an expression of relation of things, but manifests a relation between men is clearly demonstrated by Marx. The tie with which individual producers are bound through the market finds expression through exchange of commodities. Introduction of money is the result of this tie becoming closer and closer. Money is the binding medium through which the entire economic life of the individual producers is integrated. Conversion of money into capital signifies a further

development in the relation between men when man's labour power becomes a commodity. This commodity is utilized by the capitalist class for the creation of surplus value, the source of wealth of the capitalist class. While tracing the development of capitalism historically, Marx clearly shows that the triumph of capitalism over other forms of economic system is only the prelude to the triumph of labour over capital. From Marx's analysis of the capitalist society we arrive at the conclusion that the last social form based on exploitation of man by man is capitalist society, which will inevitably give birth to socialist society.

Now, as man is not a passive onlooker of the moving nature and society but actually takes part in these movements, Marx undertook the task of examining the matter of human activities in relation to social development. Analysing the entire historical course of man's social existence Marx showed that the entire history of human society save the primitive tribal one was the history of class struggle. That is, at a certain stage of development of productive forces human society was split into antagonistic classes. This class antagonism can by no means be reconciled. So in the face of this irreconcilability the only way left to maintain the status quo in class relation is that one class should suppress another antagonistic to it by coercion. To adopt this coercive measure requires consolidated political power. The class having this necessary political power becomes the ruling class, which then exercises this power through the organs of the state, the chief component of which is armed forces. It is implied here that only through fierce class struggle can the problem of political power be settled, and once settled, the victorious class becomes the dictator of the state machinery which exists as a socially recognised legal organisation.

The logic of the above analysis of history by Marx led him to draw up this theoretical proposition that in order

to put an end to all sorts of exploitation and oppression the working class has to seize political power. This cannot be done by wielding the ready-made state machinery. The working class has to crush it and set up a new one in its place. The new one cannot be anything other than the dictatorship of the proletariat in which the political power of the working class is consolidated. Now by exercising its political power through its dictatorship the working class will gradually eliminate all class antagonisms and put an end to all forms of exploitation of man by man. Until these tasks are completed firm maintenance of the dictatorship of the proletariat is a must for the working class. This finds a precise expression when Marx says in a letter to Wedemeyer that class struggle necessarily leads to the dictatorship of the proletariat. And here Marxism has its third aspect. It casts aside all unscientific and utopian formula and shows the working class the right way to fight for socialism.

From all that has been said above it can easily be inferred that the three aspects of Marxism are interconnected and interdependent, nay, Marxism is an integral entity comprising these different aspects. It is also evident that the chief object of this integral doctrine is to guide the exploited and oppressed people to such action as to change the world and ultimately make it free of all class contradictions. But man has to act in conformity with the actual movement of social development; and as the course of this movement is not simple and even nor the same irrespective of time and space, man cannot undertake the task of achieving the ultimate all at once. More than that, this variability may necessitate occasional development of the Marxist doctrine if it is not to become a lifeless dogma. At the same time, it should be borne in mind that development is not revision. Development takes place on the original foundation of the doctrine while revision seeks to do away with the very foundation.

Thus, in a constantly moving world Marx and Engels themselves had the occasion subsequently to develop their original thought in respect of certain theoretical formulations. For example, on the question of seizure of political power, Marx and Engels, in the *Manifesto of the Communist Party*, gave a general formulation only of the inevitability of the conquest of political power by the proletariat, but after having the experience of the class struggle in France in 1848-51, Marx arrived at the conclusion that to establish the dictatorship of the proletariat, one must first of all smash the old military-bureaucratic machine, the apparatus of the class rule of the bourgeoisie. Subsequently the Paris Communards' heroic 'storming heaven' led Marx to take a new and extremely important step in the development of his doctrine. Marx drew the conclusion that to consolidate the dictatorship of the proletariat the form of political power must be of the type of the Paris Commune and not a Parliamentary Republic. Finally, in the *Critique of the Gotha Programme*, Marx put forward the theoretical formulation that socialism and communism are two phases of development of the new communist system of society, and that during the entire period of transition from one to the other the state must necessarily be the revolutionary dictatorship of the proletariat.

In this way the task of developing the doctrine undertaken by Marx and Engels themselves was carried forward by Lenin in the new social historical context hitherto unforeseen. Marx dissected the capitalist system when capitalism was still developing. Though he could very well notice the tendency of capital to grow into monopoly, the real era of monopoly capital, the economic basis of imperialism, emerged in its entirety only after his days. It was Lenin who could observe the phenomenon before his own eyes. He witnessed the reality that capitalism entered into a new stage of extra-territorial expansion and

exploitation gradually bringing the underdeveloped world under its sway. Here he took up Marx's anatomy of capital and with the help of it further examined and analysed capital in its new form thereby developing the Marxist doctrine itself.

Marx showed how the contradiction between capital and labour would eventually lead to the triumph of labour over capital. But the whole question of this contradiction had to be presented anew in the new context and that was done by Lenin. He did it superbly by analysing the exact nature and role of monopoly capital. From Lenin we can learn that at the stage of monopoly, capital acquires some new features, new characteristics which give rise to many more contradictions in addition to the one between capital and labour. On the one hand, international capitalist monopolies are formed which share the world among themselves. Thus, the striving for domination instead of striving for liberty, the exploitation of an increasing number of small or weak nations by an extremely small group of the richest or most powerful nations, produces an irreconcilable contradiction between the exploiter and the exploited nations. On the other hand, over the question of division and redivision of the world, acute contradiction arises among different national monopolies. These contradictions logically culminate in bloody wars—wars of national liberation as well as wars for colonial markets. While propounding this theory of the inevitability of war in the era of imperialism, Lenin showed that imperialism is parasitic and decaying capitalism when monopoly capital has intensified all the contradictions of capitalism. Not only that, this historical course of development of capital is extremely uneven throughout the world which cannot but make way for socialism to emerge in an uneven manner, too. Thus capitalism having reached the stage of imperialism, a world system, will break at its weakest link, that is, where all its contradictions have become most acute.

This theoretical proposition of Lenin is an enrichment of Marx's proposition of 'triumph of labour over capital' in the light of newer development of capital, not present in Marx's time. That is why Stalin aptly says that Leninism is Marxism in the era of imperialism. Guided by this theory Lenin and Stalin successfully led the Russian revolution to victory. Having debunked the theory of permanent revolution advocated by Trotsky, they clearly demonstrated that socialism in one country was possible. While pursuing this theory in practical politics Lenin had to supplement it by some other propositions of great theoretical value. Of them one relating to the question of dictatorship of the proletariat was of vital importance. He showed that in the era of imperialism, in some countries, the enormous growth of capital can co-exist with the vast field of feudal productive relation. In such cases the question of the dictatorship of the proletariat can only be meaningful if it is taken up as a special form of alliance of the working class and the peasantry, the working class being the leader and the peasantry the led. Again, on the question of working class leadership, Lenin developed Marxism by sharply bringing out the theoretical aspect involved in it. He made it clear that working class leadership is nothing more than the leadership of the political party of the working class. Such a party should be of a special type having the principle of democratic centralism as its basis. Without such a revolutionary Party, the highest form of class organisation, the proletariat can in no way fulfil its historic task of making the revolution victorious.

But for these theoretical postulates it would have been quite impossible to strike a death blow at all the Trotskyite arguments of permanent revolution and justify the validity of the theory of uneven development of socialism.

Not only in the sphere of political economy and socialism but in the sphere of philosophy also, Lenin has his

contribution to the treasury of Marxism. He enriched Marxian dialectics by elaborating its essence, the law of unity of opposites and struggle of opposites. It was Lenin who developed the idea that dialectics in its essence is the study of contradiction inherent in the thing itself. Again, when, after the failure of the 1905 revolution, many pseudo-Marxists started a crusade against dialectical materialism capitalising the new discovery in physics, Lenin rose to the occasion in defence of materialism. He shattered the bogey of 'matter has disappeared', further developing materialism in the light of the new discovery. Here he was outstanding in orienting Marxist theory of knowledge. His remarkable philosophical work 'Materialism and Empirio-Criticism' bears testimony to this.

But though he developed Marxist philosophy to a great extent, put stress on the study of contradiction, and pointed to the various contradictions in the era of imperialism, Lenin did not furnish any theoretical guideline to find out the exact nature and role of each specific contradiction, to study the interrelation and interaction of different contradictions. In other words, Lenin did not furnish any abstraction or generalisation for studying contradiction in its movement and development.

This task was left only to Chairman Mao Tse-tung whose genius penetrated deep into the whole problem of contradiction. No one before him, not even Marx himself, had the occasion to study the problem so precisely or elaborately in the context of highly complex social processes, no one made generalised study of it in its moving process, though the method was time and again indicated by all—Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin. But the complex social realities of semi-colonial China presented the problem of contradictions in such a complicated manner that knowledge of contradiction already acquired proved inadequate and only by developing it could Chairman Mao tackle the complications. While so doing, he discovered some such

objective laws of contradiction that are universally true. Thus a new chapter has been added to the philosophy of dialectical materialism. It is not only invaluable but indispensable as well to the people of the whole world.

Contradiction is the basis of existence, contradiction is the basis of change. But this knowledge of the universality of contradiction amidst multiple pairs of contradiction cannot explain the complexities of social life nor can follow the zig-zag course of social development. And Chairman Mao illumines all this with the brilliance of his thought.

Mao Tse-tung teaches us that each contradiction has characteristics of its own and so apart from containing the law of universality, each one is particular in itself. In other words, the universality of contradiction only manifests itself through the particularity of contradiction and each particular contradiction has its particular way to be resolved. As Chairman Mao puts it, "...the contradiction between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie is solved by socialist revolution; the contradiction between the broad masses of the people and the feudal system is solved by democratic revolution; the contradiction between colonies and imperialism is solved by national revolutionary war; the contradiction between the working class and the peasantry in socialist society is solved by collectivization and mechanization of agriculture; the contradiction within the Communist Party is solved by criticism and self-criticism, the contradiction between society and nature is solved by the development of productive forces..."

It can be easily understood how important and indispensable this theoretical guidance as detailed is for the toiling people to wage successful revolutionary struggle in a world of uneven development. But far more important in this respect is his teaching that "Processes change: old processes and old contradictions disappear, new processes and new contradictions emerge, and the methods of

solving contradictions differ accordingly." Thus, for the first time, we have a general guide-line to get into the problem of triumph of labour over capital in its movement, in its process.

Again, in the context of this changing world, in each particular era, in each particular society, certain contradictions require immediate resolution, certain others do not. In such case one has correctly to differentiate the various contradictions. Here also Chairman Mao appears before us as a great teacher and guide. He teaches us not only to differentiate between the principal and non-principal contradictions, but to realise also that once the principal contradiction is grasped and solved, it paves the way for resolutions of other contradictions. So, in order to carry on a successful struggle, it is essential and imperative to find out the principal contradiction correctly which can be one and only one at a given moment and in a given social context. At the same time, his teaching warns us to be on guard against any mechanical approach to this problem by pointing out that principal and non-principal contradictions may be transformed into one another with the turn of events at any time and that once the principal contradiction is solved, the non-principal becomes the principal one.

We can see that the knowledge of contradiction in the capitalist system found out by Marx in the era of developing capitalism proved inadequate in the era of parasitic or decaying capitalism. So Lenin developed Marx's thought by showing the various contradictions of capitalism in that new era and formulating the theory of breaking the imperialist chain at its weakest link. But how to study the weakest link, i.e., where all the contradictions of imperialism have concentrated most? The contradictions of imperialism often manifest themselves in the most diverse and complicated manner, the study of which requires something more than Marx or Lenin had the occasion to work out. This development is carried on by Mao Tse-tung and

it is this development that has found expression in his teaching on contradiction.

It is the great genius of Chairman Mao which has taught us to have a clear picture of all the open and latent characteristics of imperialism and discover even the most complicated manner in which parasitic or decaying capitalism cannot but manifest itself, especially in the era of its rapid and total collapse. The contradiction between imperialism and a colony is solved by national revolutionary war. But when this contradiction manifests itself in an indirect manner, that is, when imperialism adopts a subtle, indirect manner of exploiting the colony economically, politically and culturally, then the contradiction often intensifies the internal social contradictions of the colony, of which the one between the broad masses of the people and the feudal system becomes the principal one. Citing examples from the history of the Chinese revolution he has pointed out the immense importance of this theoretical premise. Today, the objective reality of the post-Second World War has brought imperialism to the verge of final and rapid collapse, forcing it to change the old colonial policy of direct rule. For the first time in world history, the reign of finance capital with an apparently innocent and often benevolent look, but in reality having the most vicious and dangerous blood-sucking nature, is trying hard to bring the people of the world under its sway—and that in an indirect manner. In this situation, particularly the countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America are having varied and complicated problems of contradiction. In this respect, the contradiction between imperialism and all the domestic reactionaries of the countries mentioned is transforming itself into an active alliance to counter the revolutionary tide of the people. Here world imperialism under the leadership of U.S. imperialism is seeking its last refuge. So, the storm centre of world revolution has been shifted to these regions and in the

world arena to-day, of all the fundamental contradictions the one between imperialism and national liberation has become the principal one. Without having a proper realisation of this, without having a grasp over the varied and complicated manifestations of this contradiction, the revolutionary people cannot play their historic role in imparting death blows to imperialism.

But to use dialectical materialism as an effective weapon something more in the study of contradiction is necessary. Chairman Mao teaches us, "...the development of the contradictory aspects in any given contradiction is uneven. Sometimes there may appear to be a balance of forces, but that is only temporary and relative while unevenness remains fundamental. Of the two contradictory aspects, one must be the principal and the other secondary. The principal aspect is that which plays the leading role in the contradiction." And again, "...Between the new and old aspects of a thing there is a contradiction which gives rise to a series of intricate struggles. As a result, the new and minor aspect grows and becomes dominant while the old and major aspect dwindles and gradually approaches extinction...". So, at a given moment even if a particular aspect stands as non-principal and minor, that should not be the main concern. What is more important is that whether it is growing and gradually becoming the principal one. For example, as capitalism entered into the era of imperialism, the era of triumph of labour over capital actually began. Why so? Because "each of the opposite aspects within a thing, under certain conditions, tends to transform itself to the position of its opposite." That is, identity or unity of opposites is conditional and relative; identity of contradictory aspects can exist only under certain necessary conditions. If a proper understanding of these conditions can be had, one can take an active part in successfully transforming the aspects of a contradiction. It is not difficult to understand how invaluable this teaching

about the aspects of a contradiction is to the revolutionary peoples of the world.

Last but not the least element in Mao's teaching about contradiction is to take cognizance of the different forms of struggle to solve contradiction. As he teaches, "some contradictions are characterised by open antagonism, others are not. Based on the specific development of things some contradictions, originally not antagonistic, develop and become antagonistic, while others, originally antagonistic, develop and become non-antagonistic."

Thus, Chairman Mao enables us to make a comprehensive study of contradiction in its movement, in its process. The most outstanding of this theoretical contribution is its extension to the study of contradiction among the people. He has taught us to differentiate two types of social contradictions, one between the people and the enemy of the people and the other among the people themselves. But as indiscriminate use of the word 'people' often muddles the class question and consequently blurs the class consciousness, he had to coin a scientific definition and make a scientific analysis of the people. He himself has said, "If we are to have a correct understanding of these two different types of contradictions, we must, first of all, make clear what is meant by 'the people' and what is meant by 'the enemy'." Thus he has developed Marx's idea of 'the people' as advanced in his "Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte" into a finished theory about 'the people'. "The term 'people', says Mao, has "different meanings in different countries and in different historical periods of each country."

So far as Marxist philosophy is concerned, Mao Tse-tung has also developed its epistemological component still further since Lenin. To make clear this Marxist proposition that in the last analysis man's knowledge arises from practice and in turn serves practice, he has examined the process of knowing with such thoroughness as to

present the Marxist theory of knowledge in the most precise and comprehensible form. Chairman Mao teaches us how perceptual knowledge, the first stage of knowledge, grows out of first-hand experience and how first-hand experience can be had through practice only. But in order to avoid any mechanical approach to this, he appropriately points out, "But man cannot have first-hand experience in everything; as a matter of fact, most of our knowledge comes from second-hand experience, for instance, from the knowledge obtained in ancient times and foreign lands.....Hence a man's knowledge consists only of two parts, first-hand experience and second-hand experience. And what is second-hand experience to me is of course first-hand experience to someone else. Consequently, considered as a whole, knowledge of whatever kind is inseparable from first-hand experience."

Having scientifically put the question of perceptual knowledge, Mao proceeds on to explain the process through which the perceptual stage reaches the stage of conception, judgement and inference and, subsequently, the stage of rational knowledge. He has shown that from perceptual to rational all stages of knowledge are organically connected. Thus his teaching guides us to understand that rationalism or empiricism in philosophy is opposed to the Marxist theory of knowledge as none of this recognises the historical or dialectical nature of knowledge. But if we stop here we have not learnt anything from Chairman Mao. For, as he himself remarks on this score, ".....the process of knowing does not end here. Should the dialectical materialist process of knowing stop at rational knowledge, it has covered only half the problem. And so far as Marxist philosophy is concerned, it has covered only half the ground, and the less important half at that." So we must learn this lesson also, "the active function of knowing not only manifests itself in the active leap from perceptual to rational knowledge, but also—and this is the more important—in the leap from rational knowledge to revolutionary practice."

We can clearly see that Mao Tse-tung does not confine himself to stressing the need for revolutionary practice for developing one's knowledge but goes on to the extent of emphasising practice as a positive and decisive stage in the process of the development of knowledge. That is, to deny or minimise this aspect of practice is to deny the process of knowledge and abandon the principle of the Marxist theory of knowledge itself. It is the genius of Chairman Mao that, for the first time, developed the Marxist theory of knowledge in such correct and extensive relation to practice.

Carrying forward the development of the theory of knowledge made by Lenin in "Materialism and Empirio-criticism," Mao Tse-tung brings out the quintessence of the Marxist theory of knowledge with remarkable clarity in the following lines: "To discover truth through practice, and through further practice to verify and develop truth. To start from perceptual knowledge and actively develop it into rational knowledge, and then starting from rational knowledge, actively direct revolutionary practice so as to remould the subjective and the objective world." To grasp the development of knowledge as a process, as Mao teaches us, means to grasp this truth that at a given moment our knowledge is the result of concrete and historical unity of the subjective and the objective, of theory and practice, of knowing and doing. This teaching obviously is a sharp weapon in our hand to fight against all ideological deviation, Right or Left. It is also apparent now why the thought of Mao is essential and indispensable in a new era of neo-colonialism, an era of rapid and total collapse of imperialism, because only in Mao's thought can we get the concrete and historical unity of the 'subjective and objective' of this era.

But when Mao teaches us, he teaches himself too. So before anybody else he himself plunged into the thick of revolutionary activities whence he could develop Marxism-Leninism in other aspects also. This other side must necessarily be taken into full account to understand the historical place and role of Chairman Mao's thought in its totality.

*(To be continued)*

## NOTES

(Continued from page 32)

stage of its development. They have tried their best to make the workers and employees pin their hopes on the endless 'negotiations' that they have carried on in the so-called Joint Consultative Machinery (JCM) created by the reactionary rulers with the help of these very scabs after the 1960 strike, with a view to preventing the workers and employees from resorting to militant forms of movement. The JCM is a crude device to deceive the oppressed workers and employees and has not and can never serve as an instrument of their struggle. On the contrary, it is the reactionary rulers who made use of this so-called JCM to take back even the little they were forced to concede earlier.

What, indeed, have the workers and employees gained as a result of the 'negotiations' that the official leaders have carried on during the last 8 years or so? Only 'promises', and 'recommendations' and 'Commissions' and negotiations, which are broken or ignored as soon as they are made, to be succeeded by a new set of promises, recommendations and Commissions—and further negotiations. While whole years are taken up by such "meaningful negotiations", the treacherous leaders have held the workers and employees in check, keeping them 'quiet' so that the reactionary rulers could go on oppressing them with impunity in the mean time. The case of DA neutralisation is a good pointer as to how utterly worthless are such 'negotiations' and JCM and 'Commissions' for the workers and employees. Even the meagre benefits that accrued to them from the recommendations of the Gajendragadkar Commission regarding DA neutralisation, were denied to them by the Central government. The traitorous leaders not only refused to organise the workers and employees against this but made them even swallow

and "agree" to the postponement of cash payment of a part of their DA claims for "some months", at the dictates of the reactionary rulers. The Congress rulers have convinced themselves that they can make these traitorous revisionist and reactionary leaders do anything they desire and that too, 'safely', that is, without risking any strong opposition from the workers and employees. This has made them more arrogant than ever in their attitude to the workers and employees. They rely more and more on the revisionist and neo-revisionist leaders to carry on their policy of increasingly exploiting and oppressing the people. The constant effort of the renegade Dange clique and the neo-revisionist traitorous leaders to sing the praise of 'negotiated settlement', their idolising of the reactionary ruling class's devices of 'arbitration', 'tribunals', 'Commissions' etc. fit in perfectly with the requirements of the reactionary rulers. Even the token strike of September 19 was not organised by them to win the ten demands that went with the strike notice but for the specific purpose of opening the door to the so-called 'collective negotiations' and for 'arbitration', in case such 'negotiations' failed. The one-day strike and the deliberate narrowing down of its platform—"open door for negotiations!"—made sure that the enthusiasm, militancy and wrath of the workers and employees would be aroused, if at all, as they calculated, within safe limits. They use the interests of the workers and employees merely as pawns to further their own narrow reactionary interests. They use them so long as they serve their ends, and throw them away as soon as they deem them useless to further their ends. What happened in West Bengal proves this beyond doubt. The renegade Dangeite clique and the neo-revisionist clique, in alliance with other petty bourgeois and reactionary parties, have formed a so-called UF and boastfully claim to represent 'the people' of this State. They have always used their sway over the trade union movement to inculcate

all kinds of reactionary, legalist illusions and ideas among the workers and employees and thus to further their own narrow selfish ends. When September 19 came, they were feverishly engaged in trimming all the movements of workers, employees, teachers and students to fit into their present electoral 'battle' against Congress, so much so, that they tried almost openly to sabotage the token-strike of the Central government workers and employees, fearing that a militant form of movement might disturb the peaceful and congenial atmosphere which they were sedulously trying to bring about to win the 'battle of the ballot box'. The devastating effect it had over the strike is clearly stated in the review made by the Joint Council of Action (JCA): "The most disappointing results were seen in West Bengal—it was felt that several factors were responsible for the failure of the strike in West Bengal.

"According to some JCA circles, the need for campaign in the coming mid-term poll deterred some Leftist parties from rallying their ranks in support of the strike. They feared that Government repression in the wake of the strike leading to arrests might deprive them of their cadre essential for the election." (*Statesman*, September 26, 1968). In Kerala, where the neo-revisionists are the major leading force in the so-called UF government, E.M.S. Namboodiripad, a neo-revisionist chieftain, and chief minister of Kerala has begun a clumsy manoeuvre to white-wash his image. He has embarked upon a furious verbal war with the Central government leaders over the tactic used to "tackle" the strike. He is straining himself to prove before the rulers that he and his tactic are even more suited to serve the interests of the ruling classes. Everyone who has cared to follow the Namboodiripad government's handling of workers and employees during the last 18 months or so, will be easily convinced by his present arguments.

The ugly face of a scab was exposed most thoroughly when the neo-revisionist and reactionary trade union bosses of the central and West Bengal JCA shamelessly withdrew the work-to-rule campaign of the P & T employees. When the reactionary rulers and their lackeys, the neo-revisionist and reactionary T. U. bosses were fondly expecting the workers and employees to go down on their knees in the face of unprecedented repressive measures, the heroic P & T employees on their own and without delay correctly resorted to a tit-for-tat tactic in order to hit back at the repressive measures, and adopted the work-to-rule method to the great embarrassment and dismay of the neo-revisionists and their masters, the Indian ruling classes. It proved an extremely effective weapon in the hands of the workers and employees, which put the reactionary rulers and the exploiting classes to great hardship forcing them to relent. Four days later, worried at the increasing distress in which the vested interests and reactionary rulers found themselves as a result of the work-to-rule K. G. Bose, the neo-revisionist boss of West Bengal JCA, admitted anxiously that the effect of the work-to-rule programme was being "more seriously felt all over the State." (*Statesman*, 24. 9. 68). After another three days, the JCA, controlled by the revisionists and other reactionary scabs unilaterally withdrew the work-to-rule programme to rescue the reactionary ruling classes from distress. K. G. Bose shamelessly explained this rank treachery by saying that this was done in consideration of 'the hardships of the people.' (*Ananda Bazar Patrika*, 28. 9. 68). The real reason behind this treacherous action becomes clear when the "Ananda Bazar Patrika", a reactionary paper, candidly admitted that the industrialists and business men heaved a 'sigh of relief' as a result of this withdrawal.

September 19 has brought with it both glory and responsibility for the workers and employees. Glory—for their spirit of defiance and self-sacrifice, undaunted determination and courageous resistance to repressive measures. Responsibility—of carefully and diligently assessing the weakness and strength and boldly taking measures to remove the weaknesses. What the workers and employees have done has been well-done. Their action has aroused international reactions. The Soviet revisionists who cruelly exploit our

country have openly come out to white-wash the reactionary Indian government against which the workers and employees are fighting at present. They ask us to believe that the blood-thirsty Indian government has a "sincere desire to consider the employees' problems with full understanding and good will". The Soviet revisionists have thus once more proved themselves the enemy of the Indian workers, peasants and other toiling people. It is imperative for us to differentiate between the enemies and the friends. Without this no struggle can succeed. We have no doubt that our workers, peasants and other toiling people will surely succeed in marching from strength to strength and will gain one victory after another.

The following appeared in *The Statesman* of October as part of a report from Peking :

"Anna Louise Strong...has described as ludicrous recent Hongkong reports that she had been imprisoned. Miss Strong, writing in 'Letter from China,' distributed in Peking yesterday, said: 'I cannot hope to catch up with Hongkong's wholesale manufacture of lies. I can only state that no interference of any kind is made with my life or work, not even to the extent of a Red Guard poster.'

"Miss Strong also denied any connexion with the March Letter Supplement issued under her name and distributed in several countries. The Supplement apparently criticized North Vietnam and South Vietnam's National Liberation Front as bourgeois. She said its purpose was to discredit her and to sow suspicion between China and Vietnam. With the help of Peking printers, she reported, she was able to establish that the Supplement's ink, paper, envelope and even its Peking postmark were forgeries.

"All these facts indicate that the forgery was not done by an individual but required an organization with money, staff and presumably Government authority hostile to both China and Vietnam,' she wrote yesterday."

The March Letter Supplement obviously refers to the article, *Problems Ahead for Vietnam*, published in the last issue of *Liberation*. The recent *Letter from China* from which the correspondent of the bourgeois paper claims to have quoted the above is yet to be seen by us. It must have been a matter of great regret if we have been unwary victims of a fraud. We are making investigations and shall be grateful if any friend can help us in this matter.

Editorial Board, *Liberation*