

TO WIN 獲得的將是整個世界 **МИР ВБИГРАТЬ**
1986/7

A WORLD
LE MONDE GAGNER जीतने के लिए सारा विश्व है

*Forward
Along the Path
Charted by
Mao Tsetung*



Forward Along the Path Charted by Mao Tsetung



This is the 20th anniversary of an unprecedented event — Mao Tsetung, the leader of a socialist country, turned around and launched *another revolution*. It was also ten years ago that Mao died; shortly afterward came the coup carried out by the “bourgeoisie within the Party” against whom Mao had led China’s workers and peasants in bitter battle.

To uphold and further popularise Mao’s contributions and the advances he led in achieving, and to continue to expose and fight revisionism, the Revolutionary Internationalist Movement is currently conducting an international campaign with the slogan, “Forward Along the Path Charted by Mao Tsetung.” In future issues we will report on the wide gamut of meetings and other kinds of activities being held under different conditions in many countries.

This issue consists principally of articles submitted by participating parties and organisations of the Revolutionary Internationalist Movement.

THE PROLETARIAT HAS NOTHING TO LOSE
BUT THEIR CHAINS, THEY HAVE
A WORLD TO WIN



1986/7

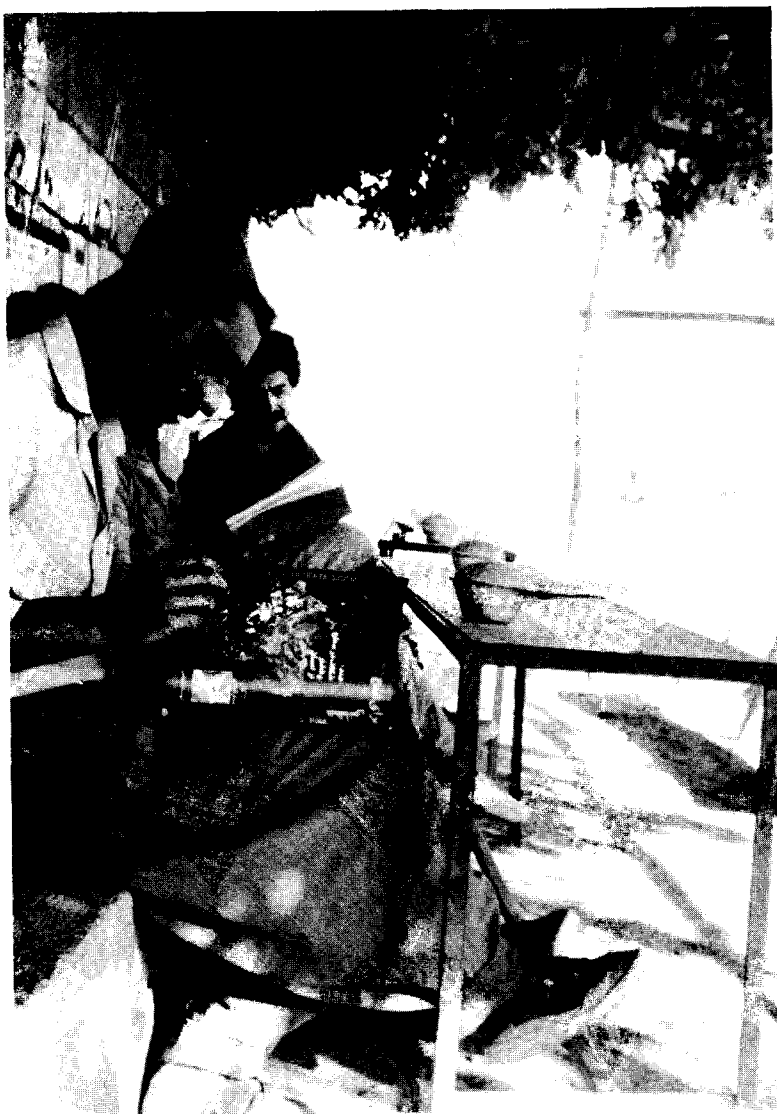
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TO WIN

獲得的將是整個世界

МНР ВБИТРАТЬ

A WORLD

UN MUNDO QUE GANAR

MONDE A GAGNER जीतने के लिए सारा विश्व है

KAZANILACAK DÜNYA विश्व विजय

A World To Win has been inspired by the formation of the Revolutionary Internationalist Movement, announced on March 12th, 1984, which has regrouped many Marxist-Leninist parties and organisations from around the world. It is not an official organ of the RIM. Its pages are open to all those on the same sides of the barricades in the fight against imperialism and reaction.

A World to Win is presently available in English, Farsi, Italian, Spanish and Turkish.

Step Forward

A World to Win cannot accomplish its tasks without the active support of its readers. Letters, articles and criticism are needed and welcome. Manuscripts should be typed double spaced. In addition, we need translators, help with distribution (including through commercial channels) to make this magazine available in as many countries as possible, art work (as well as clippings and original photos), and of course financial contributions from those who understand the importance of the continued publication of this magazine. This includes both individual contributions and the efforts of those who undertake the responsibility for raising funds for this magazine. Send pledges and donation cheques made out to "A World to Win."

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UN MONDO DA CONQUISTARE جہانی برای فتح

Forward Along the Mao Tsetung!

by the Committee of the RIM

The following speech has been prepared by the Committee of the Revolutionary Internationalist Movement to be used in meetings and other appropriate activities by participating parties and organisations in conjunction with the current international campaign "Forward Along the Path Charted by Mao Tsetung!"

Comrades,

It has been ten years now since the death of Mao Tsetung and twenty years since the opening salvos of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution. Amongst many who fight for revolution today Mao and the Cultural Revolution are but a distant childhood memory while for others a bit older the bright red images of proletarian rule in China, of the flood of revolutionary energy unleashed by Mao Tsetung, are scorched forever in their memory. Today, the working class and the oppressed people have no state of their own, not a single country in which to begin building the communist future. No, today's world is completely in the hands of imperialist marauders and reactionary clans of puppets and tyrants in league with them. We have seen over and over again that even in the so-called "socialist camp" the situation is basically the same — there, too, the tasks of the workers and peasants is to produce, to be ruled over, to be suppressed, and to get ready to go to war on behalf of their own exploiters. What a far cry from China of only ten years ago, when *our class had power*.

Clearly, we must never allow the imperialists and reactionaries to

besmirch the memory of our great accomplishments. Now, more than ever, the working class and the exploited of all countries *need* to have the confidence, strength and vision that comes from the legacy of our movement. One of our important tasks at present is to carry through this battle to defend and hold high the highest accomplishments of our class. But this is not enough. Our purpose is nothing less than to carry forward the struggle for communism throughout the world, thus the slogan for the campaign that genuine revolutionary communists are carrying out on all continents — Forward Along the Path Charted by Mao Tsetung!

Even before the formation of the Revolutionary Internationalist Movement, at the First International Conference of Marxist-Leninist Parties and Organisations in 1980, it was pointed out that "without upholding and building upon Mao's contributions it is not possible to defeat revisionism, imperialism and reaction in general."

This statement is absolutely correct. Without Mao Tsetung Thought we will flounder and go astray. Of course, the class struggle continues to exist and the masses of revolutionary people will continue to rise up and even take up armed struggle — but these efforts, however heroic, cannot and will not enable the masses of the people to take destiny firmly into their hands and begin shaping the future. For it is only Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought which can unleash the torrent of genuine, conscious, revolutionary struggle, only this ideology will clearly enable us to distinguish

friend from foe and with it, determine the character and tasks of the revolution.

Today, when the contradictions of the imperialist system are sharpening, when both the danger of world war and the opportunities for revolution have greatly increased, Mao Tsetung Thought makes the difference between revolution or failure.

Mao Tsetung carried on the work begun by Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin. Mao came to stand for the defense of Marxism-Leninism in the face of the attacks of modern revisionism whose centre was and is the clique of usurpers who have taken power in the Soviet Union. Mao Tsetung also left us a rich understanding of a whole series of questions which faced the communist movement in China and the world. The most important single contribution of Mao was his analysis of the contradictions in socialist society itself and, flowing from this, his development of the theory — and practice! — of continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat. We will return to this question later.

In the course of solving, on the basis of dialectical and historical materialism, the problems with which Mao and the communist movement were confronted he *raised the science of revolution itself to a qualitatively new level*; its name, Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought, reflects this truth. It is for this reason that it is impossible today to speak of Marxism-Leninism without speaking of Mao Tsetung.

Those who claim in today's world to uphold Marxism-Leninism

Path Charted by



A WORLD TO WIN 1986/7

without upholding Mao Tsetung are imposters or fools. Such a view would strip our revolutionary science of its most advanced elements as well as reverse verdicts on a whole series of revisionist distortions which Mao had to fight against.

* * *

To understand why it is correct to affirm that without upholding and building on Mao Tsetung Thought 'it is not possible to defeat revisionism, imperialism and reaction in general' it is necessary to consider some of the key principles that Mao Tsetung Thought has come to stand for in the contemporary world.

Mao Tsetung has come to represent the armed struggle of the masses. Mao made the profound statement, in keeping with the Marxist-Leninist understanding of the nature of the state, that "political power grows out of the barrel of a gun." The enemies and false friends of the proletariat never forgave Mao Tsetung for revealing this truth and vilified him as "blood-thirsty." Actually, all that Mao did was speak openly of what has long been the practice by the exploiting classes who maintain their rule through police, prisons and firing squads. As Marx and Engels had put it long ago, "the communists disdain to conceal their aims" and in this same spirit Mao Tsetung boldly called on the people of the whole world to cast away illusions and prepare to take power through armed struggle.

Mao Tsetung developed the glorious theory of People's War, based on applying the science of Marxism-Leninism to the long years of revolutionary armed struggle in China. People's War cannot be reduced to a series of tactics or military policies, it is the military expression of the line of the proletariat in the oppressed countries, it is the key to arousing the broadest masses of the exploited and the oppressed, especially the peasantry, under the leadership of the working class and its party.

Mao stressed, "the revolutionary war is a war of the masses." In today's world there are many who preach the necessity for armed struggle against imperialism and reaction

and even those who sometimes carry out armed actions. But the path of Mao Tsetung alone leads to mobilising, unleashing and *relying* on the masses of people. The opportunist perversion of the armed struggle, of the isolated actions of a handful of individuals or pushing the masses to carry out acts of armed resistance so that opportunist cliques can capitalise on them, sometimes to use the sacrifices of the masses as chips in negotiations aimed at coming to an understanding with reactionaries — all this was anathema to Mao.

For Mao Tsetung, the people represented "the true bastion of iron" and by relying on them even the most powerful of enemies could be defeated in revolutionary warfare. What a far different cry from those who argue shamelessly that the liberation of the peoples cannot be accomplished without the assistance of reactionaries. Mao pointed out that revolutionary warfare throughout history has always been the combat of the poorly armed against their better armed oppressors. Even when it came to defending socialist China against powerful well armed imperialist enemies Mao continued to stress the key role of the masses. When some top leaders of the Communist Party were stressing the decisive role of modern weapons or were ready to capitulate to the imperialists, Mao called on the people "to dig tunnels deep and store grain everywhere" and in this manner be prepared to meet any imperialist aggression with People's War.

In recent times we have seen the debacle of those who have put armaments and technique in command all the while deprecating the decisive role of the masses in revolutionary warfare. In 1966, Mao Tsetung had given the brilliant advice to the Palestine Liberation Organisation that they should follow the policy of "you fight in your way, and I'll fight in mine" but the advice went unheeded and the PLO has suffered repeated defeats in which huge quantities of modern military equipment proved useless and in fact fell into the hands of the Zionist enemy during the 1982 invasion of Lebanon while the resistance of the masses of people was

thwarted and shackled. Compare that to the tremendous progress made by our comrades of the Communist Party of Peru who have shown that by mobilising and relying on the masses it is possible to make great strides forward in the carrying out of people's war without accepting a single bullet from enemies of the revolution!

* * *

Even now, ten years after his death, Mao Tsetung is the symbol of opposition to modern revisionism led by the Soviet Union. It was Mao who led the genuine communists of the whole world to denounce and split with the Soviet Union after that country changed its colour in 1956 with the coming to power of Khrushchev and a new band of exploiters.

When Mao refused to knuckle under to the blackmail of Khrushchev and company the arrogant revisionists of Moscow predicted that he could be forced back to the fold through economic and military pressure as well as by the strong forces within the Chinese Communist Party in league with the Soviets. Indeed, the abrupt withdrawal of Soviet aid and experts in 1960 was a cruel blow to the young socialist state. But Mao showed that the policy of relying on one's own efforts could be carried out and China was able to successfully resist Soviet blackmail. For this, he was never to be forgiven.

Mao Tsetung stood completely opposed to the policy of seeking an accommodation with reaction, of stopping the revolution in return for a few reforms or positions in government. He stood as the great exception to what had become the accepted pattern on the part of the communist parties: occasional references to revolution and socialism while, in deeds, doing nothing but hindering the actual preparation and seizure of power. On the ideological plane, Mao was the merciless opponent of those who declared that Marxism-Leninism needed to be revised (by which they meant, gutted). Through a series of brilliant polemics written under his leadership the Chinese Communist Party exposed the theoretical basis of modern revisionism and laid the

foundation for the contemporary Marxist-Leninist movement.

From the beginning, the world revisionists have vilified and slandered the Maoists of all countries. Often they have even cooperated with reaction to attack the genuine revolutionaries — as they did in India during the Naxalbari period or as they are doing in Peru today. This is because Mao Tsetung Thought stands for *thoroughgoing* revolution and those who see the revolutionary struggle simply as a means to obtain their share in the exploitation of the workers and peasants will forever view it as their mortal enemy.

* * *

In 1956, Mao Tsetung was to shock the world by declaring that “the East Wind will prevail over the West Wind.” To his detractors, this statement is one more evidence of his supposed xenophobia and nationalism. Actually, quite the contrary is the case.

Mao Tsetung, at the head of revolutionary China, came to an insightful and correct view of the times in which he lived. The revisionists were declaring that Leninism was outdated and that a new era of peaceful transition to socialism and peaceful coexistence between socialism and capitalism had come about. Furthermore they tried to claim that the development of horrendous new weapons made it impossible to wage revolutionary warfare. Mao Tsetung, on the other hand, saw that the period following the Second World War had been marked by the shifting of the storm centres of revolution to the “East” (that is Asia, Africa and Latin America) and that the advance of the world revolution depended on the development of the revolution in those areas.

It was this analysis that led him to conclude that the East Wind would prevail over the West Wind. For this reason Mao has been, and correctly so, closely identified with the revolutionary upsurges of the oppressed people that have rocked Asia, Africa and Latin America — from the victory of the Chinese Revolution to the Vietnamese people’s war of liberation. For Mao Tsetung, the liberation struggle of the oppressed

peoples was an integral part of the world proletarian-socialist revolution — a thesis he had upheld in the course of the Chinese Revolution and which was borne out by the policies and path he adopted in China itself from 1949.

* * *

Mao Tsetung, more than any other contemporary figure, came to stand for the *dictatorship of the proletariat*. As one of his close comrades, Chang Chun-chiao, was to put it, the question of the dictatorship of the proletariat has always been at the centre of the conflict between Marxism and revisionism. Mao struggled fiercely against the views of Khrushchev and his Chinese counterparts who argued the possibility of a “state of the whole people,” that is, a state that was not characterised by the dictatorship of one class over another.

Mao understood well that either the working class, allied with other strata of the labouring people, exercises its rule or the bourgeoisie will again come to power and rule over the labouring masses. Further, Mao taught that the proletariat must exercise its *all-round dictatorship*, in other words, that it should strive to occupy all of the commanding heights of society — the political power, of course, but also control of the economy, education, literature and art, sciences, medicine — all aspects of social life. He knew that in whatever sphere the power of the proletariat did not reach, the power of the bourgeoisie would remain and grow. Mao taught that the fundamental right of labour (or the proletariat) was to rule. He pointed out that without this understanding any talk of the “rights of labour” in socialist society were meaningless.

During the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution Mao Tsetung led the proletariat in occupying many areas previously jealously guarded by the bourgeois authorities and considered off limits to the proletariat. Higher education, for example, had, even in socialist society, been considered the reserve of “experts” and had changed very little since liberation. Theory was divorced from practice, the student body was recruited mainly from the sons and daughters of the old

privileged classes (or of the cadres), and bourgeois ideology was rampant. In fact, the universities were not helping to build up the socialist system, but were reinforcing and training a new bourgeois strata.

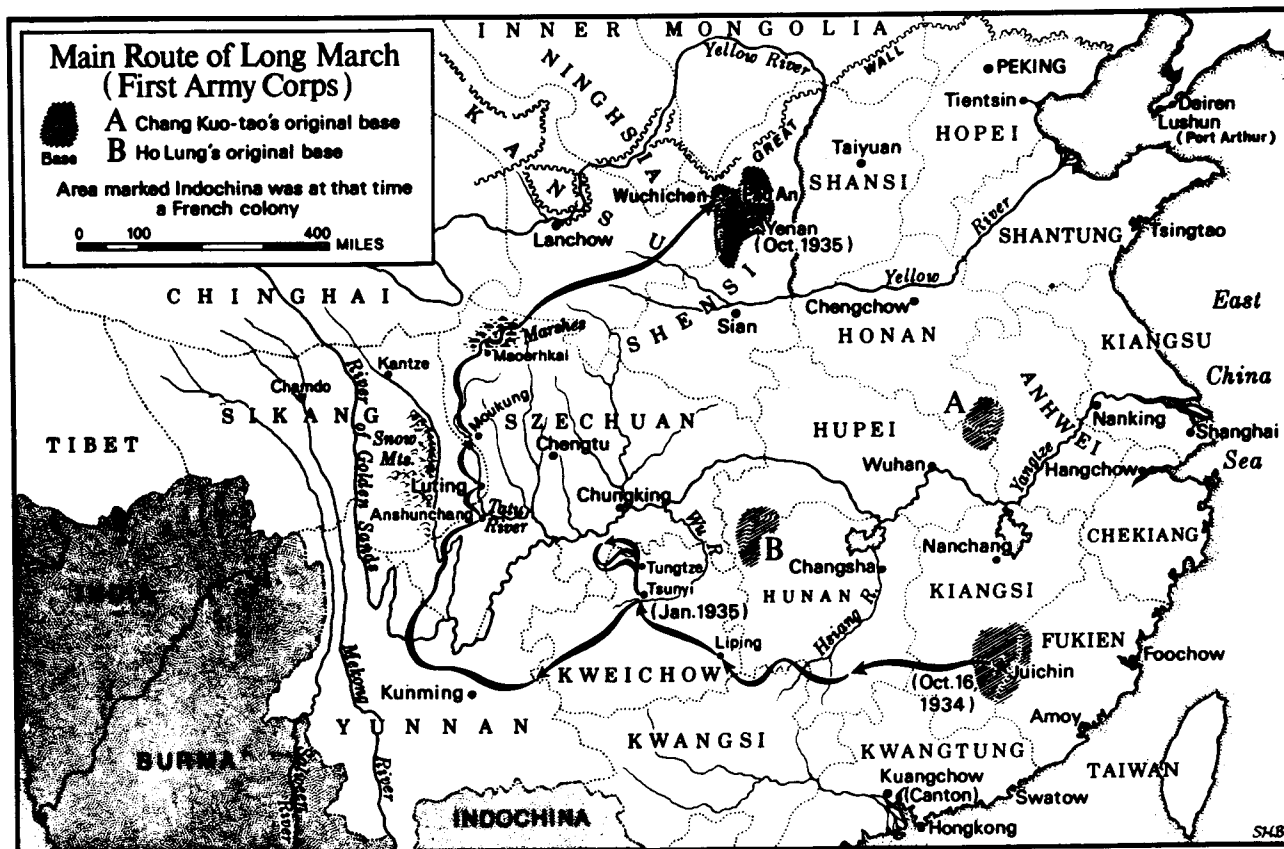
During the Cultural Revolution class conscious workers went to the universities and took charge of them. Uniting with revolutionary elements among the students and faculty, these proletarians were able to use the science of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought to radically transform these institutions. In the place of the old experts who had previously been produced by these types of institutions, new “red experts” were trained, including students recruited from amongst the workers and peasants, who had both a correct world outlook and high level of political understanding as well as proving quite capable of assimilating the most modern science and technique. Time and again these red experts, by linking closely with the workers and peasants and by putting Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought in command, were capable of carrying out feats that the “learned authorities” considered impossible.

The same was true of other fields as well. Many spheres of culture were also radically transformed once the proletariat “took the stage” and the question of “for whom?” was settled. No longer would literature and the arts remain a private preserve for a few, where the bourgeois notions of human nature, pessimism and so forth predominated and where, on top of it all, public opinion was being created to topple the rule of the workers and peasants. By boldly calling for the broom of the proletariat to sweep this area of social life as well, Mao unleashed a revolution in this sphere that not only shattered the domination of the bourgeoisie but also led to tremendous achievements unprecedented in history. The workers and peasants appeared at the centre of the stage and the ideology of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought illuminated a whole series of model works in opera, ballet, symphonic music, film and so forth.

These and other great ac-



One of the first people's militias.

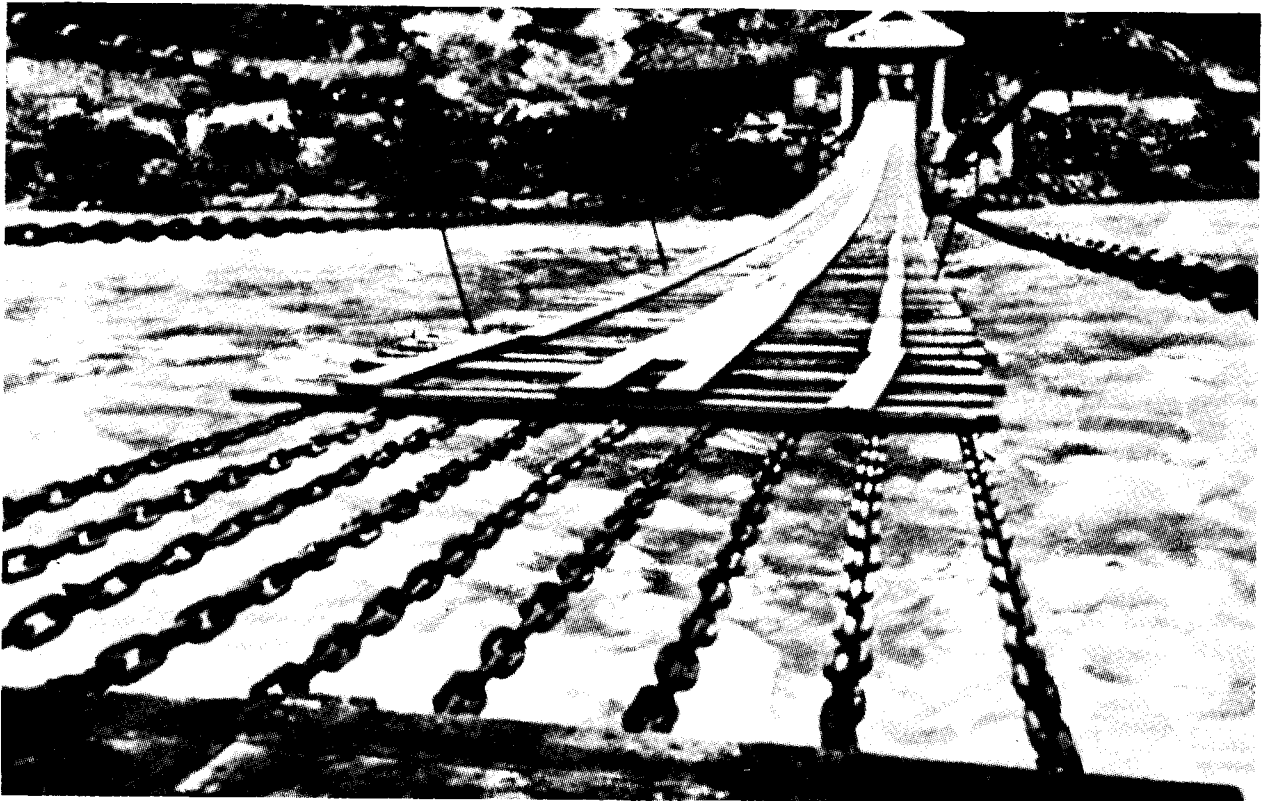




"Speaking of the Long March, what is its significance? We answer that the Long March is the first of its kind in the annals of history, that it is a manifesto, a propaganda force, a seeding machine ... It has proclaimed to the world that the Red Army is an army of heroes. It has announced to some 200 million people in eleven provinces that the road of the Red Army is their only road to liberation ... The Long March ... has sown many seeds which will sprout, leaf, blossom and bear fruit, and will yield a harvest in the future."

"On Tactics Against Japanese Imperialism," *Selected Works of Mao Tsetung, Vol I*

Lutting bridge over the Tatu river. While under fire, the Red Army swung from the chains to cross and capture it from Kuomintang troops during the Long March.



accomplishments of proletarian rule in China continue to inspire the workers and peasants the world over who have an opportunity to find out about them. For the proletariat, it is a cause of joy, and certainly nothing to be afraid of, that the workers and peasants — and their worldview — had invaded the heights of society. But for the reactionaries in China and abroad there was nothing more frightening! When those who themselves are forever stained by the blood of innumerable crimes refer to Mao as a “tyrant” or a “dictator,” they mean that he exercised dictatorship over *the bourgeoisie and the reactionaries*. When they say he “stifled” the sciences and the arts they are referring to the fact that he stifled *bourgeois* domination of science and art while opening the floodgates to an outpouring of creation and mastery of knowledge from the workers and peasants. This is the kind of “dictatorship” and “tyranny” we need more of — in China and throughout the whole world!

* * *

Mao Tsetung stood for the conscious, dynamic role of people in changing the world. This was true for waging warfare, carrying out scientific experiment, increasing production, transforming literature and art as well as all other aspects of the revolutionary process.

From the earliest years of the Chinese revolution, Mao Tsetung had hammered home the principle that the Party had to arouse the masses and rely on them in all things, and he stressed the importance of applying *the mass line*. This was a principle that he was never to abandon and, in fact, whose importance would grow along with the fierceness and the complexity of the class struggle during the socialist period.

Mao recognised that such things as technique, machinery, and weapons were products of human beings and ultimately dependent on them. This went completely against the revisionist “theory of the productive forces” in the construction of socialist society which held that social transformation trailed passively in the wake of technological progress and that therefore the task was no longer to

make revolution but to increase production.

It is only the revolutionary proletariat that can thoroughly implement the policy of “relying on the masses.” This is firstly because the class blinders that effect even revolutionary elements of the propertied classes (those, that is, who have not taken up the ideology of the proletariat) make it impossible for them to see the dynamic and creative energy that exists among the oppressed and exploited masses. Furthermore, even to the extent that the bourgeoisie is able to partially recognise the potential strength of the masses (for example to wage a national war), these class forces recoil at mobilising the masses since they know that their own privileged position requires that the masses remain passive. Mao knew that only *revolution* could unlock this force that exploitative social relations smothered and shackled. In the construction of socialism, for example, Mao stressed that it was necessary to “grasp revolution, promote production” thus brilliantly expressing the relationship between continuing to wage revolution to further unleash the masses and knock down the obstacles in their way and *on this basis and no other* going all out to rapidly construct the socialist economy.

* * *

Above all, Mao Tsetung stood for communism. This is another “crime” for which imperialism, revisionism and all reaction will never forgive his memory. He knew that seizing power, while a great accomplishment, was only the first step “in a thousand *li* journey.” He refused to mislead others — or himself — with illusions of final victory. He saw that the revolution must continue, that it must go ever deeper in digging up the remnants of the old society, and that it would inevitably meet with fierce resistance, not only from the old exploiters but also from those elements within socialist society itself who would try to reap for themselves the fruits of the revolutionary struggle and in so doing impede the march for socialism and even revert back to capitalism. No, Mao Tsetung promised only struggle for the people.

But not blind struggle. Not the kind of spontaneous, desperate and ultimately hopeless struggle of a class not conscious of its future. With Mao as its teacher, the most revolutionary elements of the proletariat in China and indeed the world had a clearer understanding of the nature of the enemy and of their tasks.

Mao warned that defeat in the revolution was possible. He pointed out that revolution is a complex and protracted process complete with victories and defeats — as Mao put it, “the future is bright, the road is tortuous.” This was also his assessment at the end of his life when he again saw clearly the danger of the capitalist restoration that finally came about after his death. But despite the fact that he was fully aware of the possibility of defeat in the short-run, Mao never lost his confidence — based on his mastery of materialist dialectics — of the eventual victory of communism throughout the world.

This, too, is why Mao has often been attacked as a “utopian” or a “dreamer,” because he refused to lose sight of the final goal of the revolutionary process. The revisionists of all countries had long ago relegated communism to an unobtainable goal with no connection to the tasks of the present or (what amounts to the same thing) had stripped communism of its real meaning — the elimination of all class distinctions and of all the economic and social conditions on which they are based. The Soviets, for example, had tried to redefine communism as simply material abundance (Khrushchev’s famous “goulash”) and left out the struggle to do away with classes themselves.

Mao Tsetung refused to degrade communism by reducing it to simply improved conditions of life for the workers. He called on the proletariat to never lose sight of its lofty mission. It must, he said, “carry out Marx’s teaching that only by emancipating all mankind can the proletariat achieve its own emancipation.” Unless *this* vision guides the thinking and action of the class-conscious workers genuine socialism cannot be built and instead the values and exploitative relations of

the old society will remain fundamentally intact — as is the case in the Soviet bloc countries today.

Mao's correct vision is of vital necessity for carrying through a genuine socialist transformation, but it would be wrong to think that the importance of this political line only comes about *after* political power has been seized. What type of a revolutionary movement are we trying to build — one whose aim is the complete destruction of class exploitation, or one which seeks to "render services" for the oppressed (or sections of them)? Whether the class conscious proletariat and other revolutionary elements are infused with the communist ideal has everything to do with defeating "imperialism, revisionism and all reaction." At a time when the revolutionary struggle of the proletariat and the oppressed is again on the upswing, it is all the more essential that the *vanguard* be clear on the goal, or else the danger will exist of the revolution being aborted or turned from its original ends.

* * *

We often say that Mao Tsetung's most important contribution was his teachings on "continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat." It was in the course of thoroughly summing up the experience of the dictatorship of the proletariat in the Soviet Union and in China and on that basis developing for the first time a comprehensive understanding of the contradictions of socialist society that Mao was able to find the means and the method for continuing along the path toward communism. The expression in terms of class struggle of the understanding achieved by Mao was the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution.

While Mao made great contributions in all spheres to the science of revolution it was particularly in tackling the problems of continuing the revolution that he raised Marxism-Leninism to a "qualitatively new level."

The problem of continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat first came on the agenda in a very sharp way in 1956, with the coming to power of Khrushchev in the Soviet Union.

Until that point, the possibility of the dictatorship of the proletariat being reversed from *within* socialist society was not seriously considered.

This was largely because the *nature* of socialist society was not clearly understood. In the 1930s, for example, Stalin had argued that the bourgeoisie had been eliminated as a class and that socialist society contained no antagonistic contradictions. Although Stalin made some modifications of his views late in his life, he never was able to really understand the dynamics of socialist society.

Mao saw that socialist society itself *generated* new bourgeois elements. This is because socialist society is a *transition* from a society based on class exploitation and oppression to communism. History has shown that this transition period is protracted, complex and difficult. As Marx put it, socialist society comes into being bearing the "birthmarks" of the old society both culturally and economically. In order for this transition to be accomplished it is necessary to establish and maintain, for the entire transition period, the revolutionary dictatorship of the proletariat.

But the dictatorship of the proletariat is itself a complex phenomenon. We have seen that it is possible to restore capitalism under the guise of the proletarian dictatorship. Even the current rulers in China who have overthrown the line of Mao Tsetung wrap themselves in the garb of working class rule.

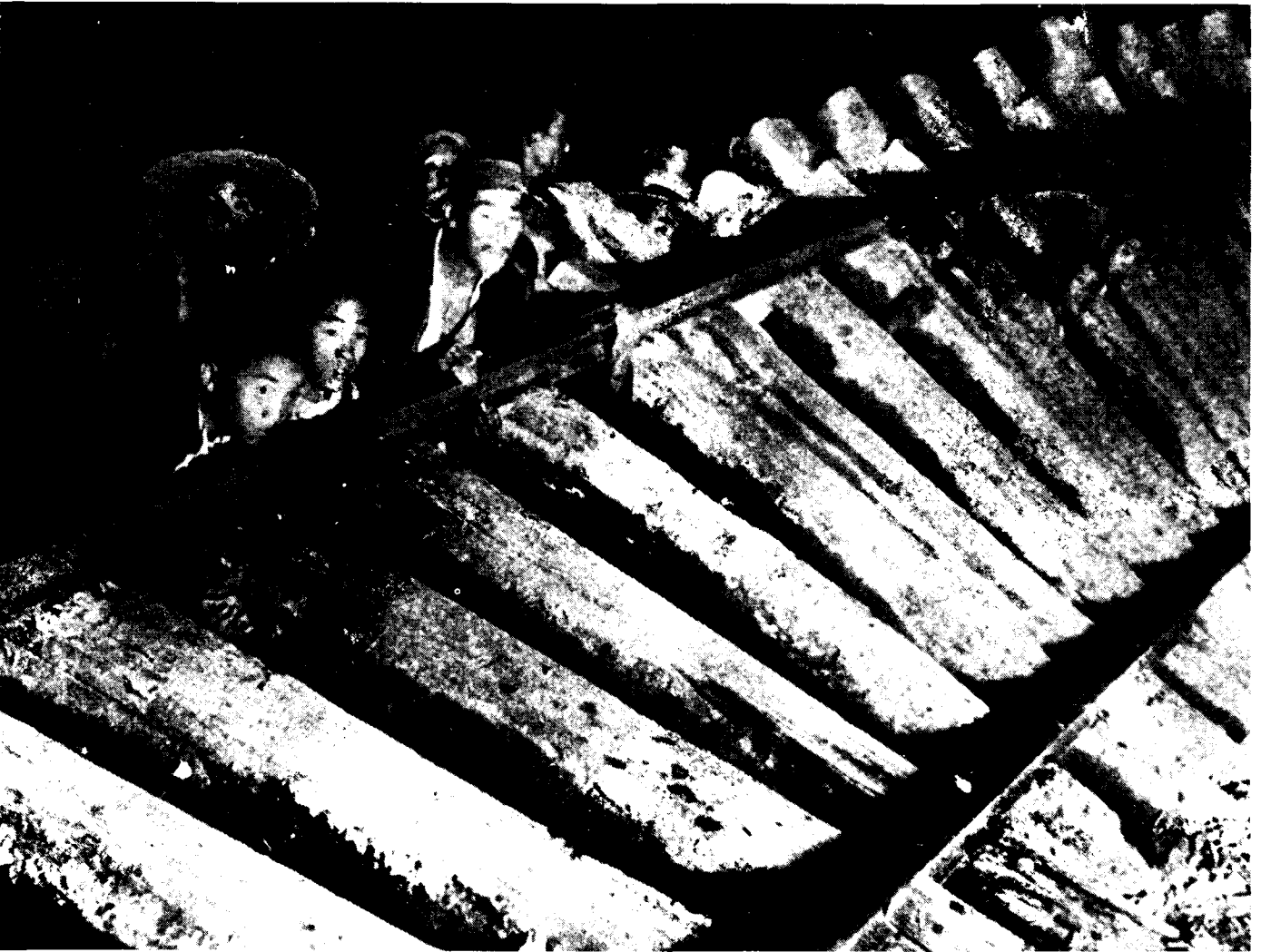
Of course, now that the capitalist roaders in China have all the reins of power at their command it is easy to see the ugly features of capitalism restored. But at the time of their bid for power it was necessary for Deng Xiaoping and especially for Hua Guofeng to conceal their nature and try to confuse, as much as possible, less politically advanced sections of the masses.

Preventing restoration, therefore, is *not* a question of good intentions but of political line. And Mao Tsetung worked tirelessly the last years of his life to train his successors to differentiate between a political line that leads further along the path toward communism and a

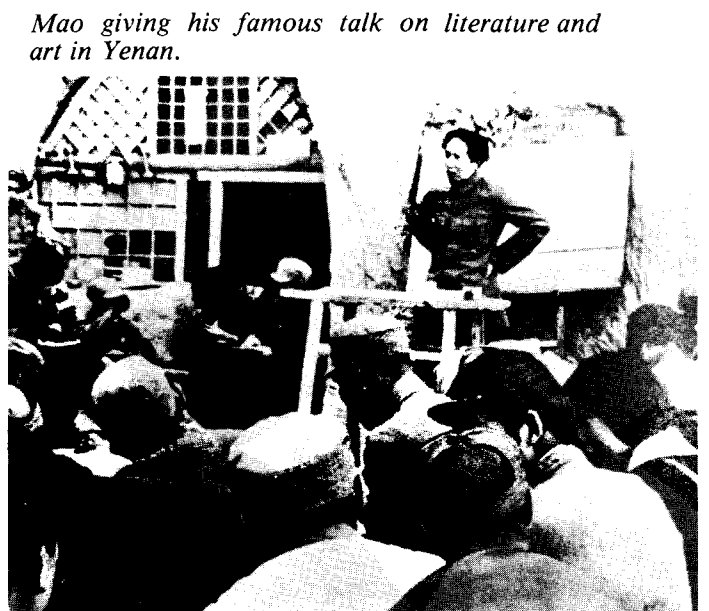
line that would reinforce the existing inequalities and lead back toward capitalism — that is, to distinguish Marxism from revisionism.

Mao Tsetung had analysed as early as 1956 that "socialist society is full of contradictions." He pointed out that conflict as well as harmony existed between the socialist system and the productive forces. In other words, the socialist revolution and the resulting changes in the system of ownership had removed tremendous shackles on the productive forces — especially the most important productive force of all, the proletariat. Still, he pointed out that changes in the ownership system alone did not solve the problem of carrying thorough the genuine socialisation of agriculture and industry. If the leadership of a factory practiced one man management, if the workers were shackled by irrational rules and regulations, if material incentives were promoted, if the workers were treated as mere appendages of the machines — in short, if a revisionist line was in command — then couldn't it be said that an enterprise was socialist in name only? Further, Mao pointed out that such revisionist strongholds would be breeding grounds of capitalism and a new bourgeoisie which would inevitably engage in tests of strength with the proletariat.

Mao also proved that even if public ownership represented a great advance over private ownership it was necessary to carry through the revolution in all the spheres of social relations. For example, in his last great battle to beat back the revisionists headed by Deng Xiaoping, Mao stressed the importance of restricting "bourgeois right" — by which he meant the principle that each is "paid according to his work" which is itself exceedingly unequal since people have the most *unequal* work abilities and the most *unequal* needs. (The communist principle, "from each according to his ability, to each according to his needs" can only be implemented when society has reached a much higher level both in terms of productive capacity and social relations than was the case of China in the early 1970s.) A great debate took place over whether to *restrict* "bourgeois right" or



Peasants sabotaged rail lines to prevent Japanese penetration into China during the anti-Japanese war in 1940.



Mao giving his famous talk on literature and art in Yanan.



Officers and fighters of the 8th Route Army. On the blackboard — “We are arming our understanding with Marxist-Leninist theory.”

Revolutionary masses support the anti-Japanese front.



whether, in fact, to expand it — as Hua and Deng ultimately did.

Mao demonstrated that the various contradictions of the socialist system were concentrated within the Communist Party itself. He pointed out that the Communist Party in power is qualitatively different than a party that was still trying to seize power. This is because in a socialist society Party members occupy the key posts in the state and the economy and it is the policy of the Party that determines the basic direction of society. For this reason the centre of the bourgeoisie comes to be located *within the communist party itself*. This is why Mao was to say, in one of his last statements before his death, “You are making the socialist revolution, and yet don’t know where the bourgeoisie is. It is right in the Communist Party — those in power taking the capitalist road. The capitalist-roaders are still on the capitalist road.”

Mao Tsetung has been roundly condemned for the above statement, above all by the new revisionist rulers in China who were stung to the quick by Mao’s exposure of a new bourgeoisie generated within socialist society and centred in the communist party. But others, as well, launched attack after attack on these theses. Some, like Enver Hoxha of Albania, even claimed that Mao Tsetung, the implacable foe of everything reactionary, actually *permitted* the bourgeoisie in the Party!

But Mao’s thesis had nothing to do with permission. Far from “permitting” the bourgeoisie to exist, his teachings are the key for understanding the nature of the bourgeoisie, why it arises even under socialism, and what must be done to repeatedly overthrow it and gradually dig away at the conditions which allow it to arise. Ask Deng Xiaoping and his cohorts in China if Mao “permitted” them to carry out the revisionist line in his lifetime!

One of the most widespread challenges to Mao’s teaching is also the most simplistic — he failed to prevent capitalist restoration, therefore he must have been wrong. First, it must be said that Mao *did* prevent capitalist restoration for a full decade during the Cultural Revolution. And this was no small

accomplishment given the strength that the revisionist headquarters in the communist party had already amassed up to that time. Second, those who say that failure can only result from mistakes are proceeding from the realm of the conflict of ideas and not the battle of actual classes in society. To say that class struggle still exists under socialism means that the *possibility* of losing still exists as well. The fact that Mao Tsetung was aware of this possibility and constantly warning against it did not make the proletariat any weaker in the face of the loss in China — on the contrary. When the proletariat lost political power in the Soviet Union there was little resistance there and great confusion reigned in the ranks of the genuine communists throughout the world. The loss in China, also, was a very brutal shock to the communist movement — but in China, as elsewhere, genuine revolutionary communists have risen up and battled the revisionist usurpers. As Mao correctly predicted, “if the Right stage an anti-Communist coup d’état in China, I am sure they will know no peace.” In particular we must salute our two comrades, Chiang Ching, Mao’s widow, and Chang Chun-chiao, who have held aloft the banner of Mao Tsetung Thought even in the face of bitter defeat and who from the prisoners dock turned their trial into a condemnation of revisionism heard round the world.

Counter-Revolutionary Offensive

Since the death of Mao Tsetung and the reversal of proletarian rule in China, imperialism, revisionism and all reaction have gone on a protracted offensive against Mao Tsetung Thought. Of course, the reactionaries always hated Mao Tsetung and everything that he stood for, but during the height of the Cultural Revolution when the proletariat in China was dealing one blow after another against the exploiters in China and around the world — and, linked to this, accomplishing amazing feats in the construction of the new society — these same reactionaries were forced to bite their tongue!

Now that the CPC itself de-

nounces the Cultural Revolution as a “great tragedy” and Mao Tsetung is renounced in all but name, the opponents of Mao feel that they have *carte blanche* to repeat every long discredited slander against Mao and the Cultural Revolution.

It is not surprising that the new rulers in China would be Mao’s most vociferous opponents, even if, for considerations of form, they sometimes pay lip-service to his revolutionary accomplishments — especially those leading up to the liberation of China in 1949. These people, some of whom had fought with Mao in the caves of Yen-an, wanted to see the Chinese revolution defeat imperialism and feudalism, that is, accomplish its first, or bourgeois democratic stage. But if these people and Mao were, for a time, united in carrying through the democratic revolution it was for diametrically opposed reasons. For Mao, the democratic revolution was the vehicle *to advance toward the socialist revolution* — in China and as part of the revolution the world over. But some others, like Deng Xiaoping, only wanted to make revolution so that they themselves could become a new exploiting ruling class.

Mao was to describe this phenomenon as “bourgeois democrats becoming capitalist roaders.” As he put it, “After the democratic revolution the workers and the poor and lower-middle peasants did not stand still, they want revolution. On the other hand, a number of Party members do not want to go forward; some have moved backwards and opposed the revolution. Why? Because they have become high officials and want to protect the interests of high officials.”

It is these same “high officials” who are the source of the “horror stories” of the Cultural Revolution which are gleefully repeated by bourgeois everywhere. Really these charges against the Cultural Revolution boil down to the horror of the bourgeoisie at seeing its privileged position challenged, the horror of seeing the workers and peasants invade the sacred preserves of the capitalist roaders. Mao represented the dictatorship of the proletariat

and so it is logical that those who were the *object* of this dictatorship are now taking their revenge.

* * *

The Soviet Union, also, is gloating at the defeat of Mao Tsetung in China. Mao was their towering opponent who never hesitated to reveal the true features of the Soviet revisionists to the oppressed the world over.

Today the Soviets are again masquerading as the "reliable allies of the national liberation struggles" and, in order to be able to bolster this fraud, it is necessary for them to try to definitively bury the legacy of Mao Tsetung.

Even now, ten years after his death, it is Mao who continues to represent the road of genuine revolutionary struggle, of determination to carry through the struggle until the end without stopping half-way. All of this remains anathema to the Soviet Union who hope that, with Mao out of the picture and with his line temporarily reversed in China, enough confusion and demoralisation exists to permit the Soviets to pass off stale revisionism as the only alternative for the oppressed.

Closely linked to the Soviet criticism of Mao has been that which has emanated out of Albania when Enver Hoxha, seizing upon the confusion brought about by the coup d'état in China, used the prestige of the Party of Labour of Albania (gained in large part, ironically, by the PLA's identification with Mao!) to attack Mao Tsetung and his legacy. As the *Declaration of the RIM* puts it, Hoxha's attack represents "revisionism in its dogmatic form."

In his attacks on Mao Tsetung Thought, Hoxha seized on the coup to try to offer an explanation of these events that is really aimed at the simple-minded (or those who cannot grasp dialectics). Mao "permitted" the bourgeoisie in the Party, Mao "advocated" the two-line struggle in the Party (by which they mean that Mao "advocated" the right of the bourgeois line to flourish), etc., etc. In short, Hoxha's attack on Mao is centred squarely on *repudiating* Mao's central thesis of "continuing revolution

under the dictatorship of the proletariat."

Today the Hoxhaite line is less and less in evidence in the world and hardly constitutes an "independent" revisionist trend given its close interconnection with traditional modern revisionist theses and currents. Nevertheless, the Hoxhaite brand of revisionism did considerable damage to the efforts to rebuild the international communist movement after the coup in China and remnants of this type of thinking continue to exist. It is still necessary to thoroughly trounce the erroneous Hoxhaite line if we are to advance forward along the path charted by Mao Tsetung.

In particular, Hoxha hid behind an appeal to "Marxist orthodoxy" to attack Mao, seizing hold of certain erroneous understandings that had previously existed in the international communist movement. For example, a number of Stalin's wrong formulations concerning the non-existence of the bourgeoisie under socialism and so forth were brought forward as a "refutation" of Mao Tsetung Thought. In raising these kinds of arguments Hoxha, and others like him, were doing great disservice not only by trying to deprive the revolutionary proletariat of Mao Tsetung Thought but also to the memory of comrade Stalin who, despite serious errors, is part of the heritage of *revolution* and not of *the repudiation of revolution* that Hoxha and company represent!

The attacks against Mao Tsetung Thought have also come from the West. Of course, the imperialist ruling classes of the Western countries have always hated Mao and all that he stood for, but they, too, were thrown back by the great accomplishments of the Cultural Revolution and consequently were often forced to temporarily tone down or even suspend their most hysterical anti-Mao ravings and seek other tactics to attack his line.

Within many of the Western countries, support for Mao Tsetung and the Cultural Revolution was widespread. At a time when large sections of the youth especially, from among the intellectuals as well as the proletariat, were developing a radical critique of capitalist society

and were increasingly making common cause with the oppressed peoples around the world, it is easy to see why the Cultural Revolution was such a powerful attraction. In particular, the tremendous outpouring of initiative by the masses, the critical spirit and the willingness to go against authority and convention, struck a vibrant cord among the rebels in the West as well as the East.

But it is also clear that the understanding of the Cultural Revolution was incomplete and often wrong on the part of even many of those who wanted to uphold it. The class position of the intellectuals made it difficult for them to grasp Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought and hence, they analysed the Cultural Revolution from other ideological viewpoints. In particular, such forces were often tempted to separate Mao Tsetung from Marxism-Leninism and to separate the experience of the Cultural Revolution from the theory and practice of the dictatorship of the proletariat.

After the coming to power of the capitalist roaders in China and their condemnation of the Cultural Revolution, many of those who had been vociferous supporters of the Cultural Revolution joined the ranks of its enemies. Some others refused to go along with the attacks of the Chinese leadership but, without the leadership of Mao Tsetung and his line, were increasingly unable to keep their bearings and developed a series of erroneous, petit bourgeois explanations for the defeat in China that all ended, sooner or later, in liquidating Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought.

It must be noted, also, that the international communist movement itself was greatly affected by the loss in China. The communist movement is not and cannot be impervious to the political and ideological development in society. The loss of such a vital bastion of revolution, one quarter of the world's population; the tidal wave of reaction that was unleashed by the defeat in China; all of these things, combined with new and complex problems posed at the international level would inevitably

and did deal a heavy blow to the international communist movement.

It is also clear, as the *Declaration* points out, that the depth of the crisis of the Marxist-Leninists and the difficulty that the revolutionary communists have encountered in putting an end to it shows that some revisionist deviations were already strong even before the death of Mao Tsetung. Still, it can be said that, based on the teachings of Mao and determined to carry forward along his path, the international communist movement has shown that it will be able to surmount the current crisis and fulfill its responsibilities of advancing the world proletarian revolution.

Forward Along the Path Charted by Mao Tsetung

Mao Tsetung made a profound observation which was later to become a material force of millions of workers, peasants and revolutionary intellectuals in the turbulence of the Cultural Revolution: "Marxism consists of thousands of truths, but they boil down to the one sentence: it is right to rebel!" In the Cultural Revolution, "It's right to rebel against reaction" meant that it was correct and justified to rise up in struggle against bourgeois authorities. It also means that the proletariat and the oppressed of every nation have the right to raise up and wage revolutionary armed struggle. And it means that it is necessary to hold firm to the Marxist critical spirit embodied by Mao Tsetung, to challenge old ideas and fight to bring the fresh and alive into being.

It is this slogan, and this spirit, that has inspired the Revolutionary Internationalist Movement and other Maoist forces to regroup after the blow of the loss of China and to continue to make revolution.

Today our movement is still weak. Nevertheless, we have rebelled against the old, reactionary order that holds the earth in chains and we will continue to rebel, until communism has been established. We have the path bequeathed to us by Mao Tsetung — he led us far on this path to communism and we are determined to continue along it: to seize state power in many parts of the world in the favourable condi-

tions that history is increasingly providing us with, and to move ahead to build communism worldwide.

Today there are workers, peasants and revolutionary intellectuals in many countries who are continuing to march along Mao's path. And now, thanks to the Revolutionary Internationalist Movement, we are more and more united in this march, and are learning from each other as we go. Mao Tsetung taught us "to learn warfare through warfare." This is true not only about military matters. Even in those places where it is not yet possible to launch the revolutionary armed struggle for power our movement cannot adopt a position of passive waiting — we struggle, we prepare the revolution, we change the world and, through all of this we learn better how to march forward along the path of Mao Tsetung.

Mao had said, in the course of the the bitter years of armed struggle, that the "future is bright, the road is tortuous." He was also to repeat this assessment shortly before his death when he surveyed, with sober optimism, the class struggle in China. We see no reason to revise this estimate.

No one can overestimate the loss that the communist movement all over the world suffered when Mao died and China changed color. China was a bright red base area for the advance of the world revolution and Mao's support for the struggle of the proletariat and the oppressed throughout the world never faltered. Be it the Naxalbari struggle in India, the struggle of Black people in the United States, the Vietnamese people's war of liberation — Mao Tsetung was always in the forefront of those who said revolution "was fine" and was the fierce opponent of all who tried to block its path or trail behind it, gesticulating and criticizing, saying that the oppressed and the exploited had "gone too far." Ten years without such a base area, without a socialist China with one quarter of the world's population and pregnant with revolution, this weighs heavily on all of us and the road is all the more tortuous for this reason. But even in this period of difficulty, in the face of the offensive of reaction, the flame of Mao

Tsetung Thought could not be extinguished. And from a world historic point of view, when we examine the progress of the world proletarian socialist revolution we realise that ten years is really not that long. We have lost China but the red flag is flying now in other corners of the world, most notably in the Andes mountains where our comrades of the Communist Party of Peru are marching along Mao's path and illuminating it for the world to see.

Today there are ominous clouds brewing that threaten to unleash an imperialist world war with all the horror that would entail. But the contradictions of the world imperialist system which bring about the danger of war also help create favourable opportunities for revolutionary struggle on all of the continents. Mao's statement "Either revolution will prevent world war, or world war will give rise to revolution" is still valid, and we are determined to do all in our power to bring about the first possibility Mao spoke of, of *preventing* world war by shattering the existing world order with revolution!

At this moment of celebrating the twentieth anniversary of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution let us end by reciting the poem of Mao Tsetung that was reissued in the midst of the fury of that momentous event:

"So many deeds cry out to be done,
And always urgently;
The world rolls on,
Time presses.
Ten thousand years are too long,
Seize the day, seize the hour!" □



Declaration of the Revolutionary Internationalist Movement

Central Reorganisation Committee, Communist Party of India (Marxist-Leninist) • Ceylon Communist Party • Communist Collective of Agit/Prop [Italy] • Communist Committee of Trento [Italy] • Communist Party of Bangladesh (Marxist-Leninist) [BSD (M-L)] • Communist Party of Colombia (Marxist-Leninist), Mao Tsetung Regional Committee • Communist Party of Peru • Communist Party of Turkey/Marxist-Leninist • Haitian Revolutionary Internationalist Group • Nepal Communist Party [Mashal] • New Zealand Red Flag Group • Revolutionary Internationalist Contingent [Britain] • Proletarian Communist Organisation, Marxist-Leninist [Italy] • Proletarian Party of Purba Bangla (PBSP) [Bangladesh] • Revolutionary Communist Group of Colombia • Leading Committee, Revolutionary Communist Party, India • Revolutionary Communist Party, USA • Revolutionary Communist Union [Dominican Republic] • Union of Iranian Communists (Sarbedaran)

The *Declaration of the Revolutionary Internationalist Movement* was adopted in March 1984 by the delegates and observers at the Second International Conference of Marxist-Leninist Parties and Organisations which formed the Revolutionary Internationalist Movement. The above are the participating parties and organisations of the RIM. Available in the following languages (partial list): Arabic, Bengali, Chinese, Creole, Danish, English, Farsi, French, German, Gujarati, Hindi, Italian, Kannada, Kurdish, Malayalam, Nepali, Punjabi, Spanish, Tamil, Turkish. 1£ plus 50 p handling.

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The Solution: Continue the Revolution Under the Dictatorship of the Proletariat

by Ajoy Dutta*

Shortly after the death of Comrade Mao Tsetung, the great leader and teacher of the world proletariat, the Deng Xiaoping Hu Yaobang clique, using the centrist revisionist Hua Kuofeng, managed a coup d'etat and usurped the leadership of the Chinese party and state. Thus the world communist movement fell into a great crisis for the third time. Even so, today, ten years later, the world proletariat, tempered by the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, have risen up to resist revisionism and, among other ripostes, have formed the Revolutionary Internationalist Movement.

It must be said that the incidents in China after the death of Mao were not completely unexpected. Mao himself had cautioned about such a possibility several times before his death. In 1965 Mao sharply warned: "If China's leadership is usurped by revisionists in the future, the Marxist-Leninists of all countries should resolutely expose and fight them and help the working class and masses of China to combat such revisionism."

Taking advantage of the profound mourning that the people of



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China felt after Mao's death, the Deng-Hu clique carried out their conspiratorial coup. They were cunning: they did not at first open their ugly face against the Cultural Revolution and Mao, but instead concentrated their attacks on Mao's close associates, mainly using slander. Soon enough, however, they turned to attack the Cultural Revolution itself. We Marxist-Leninists must grasp firmly the profound worldwide significance of the Cultural Revolution, the content of which is continued revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat.

The solution to the problem of consolidating socialism and successfully advancing from socialism to communism requires dealing with three points. First, the question of socialisation of the ownership of the means of production, which means collective ownership. This is a necessary precondition, but it is not sufficient in itself without actually achieving collective *control*. This is opposed to the control of a handful of individuals or bureaucrats, which means safeguarding the interests of the bourgeoisie. If collective control is not established in reality, then the dictatorship of the proletariat will be transformed into the dictatorship of the bureaucratic bourgeoisie in the long run. To establish real collective control it is necessary to rouse the masses and to make them conscious and raise their initiative in all spheres of society, including the party. After capturing state power in the USSR, though he only had a brief experience to sum up, Lenin said, "To the extent that the majority of the working class can take the responsibility into their own hands to govern the state without depending on state officials, the necessity of the state will become more and more unnecessary, and the objective conditions for establishing communism will be created." (LCW, vol. 29, p. 183, Bengali edition)

Second, there is a contradiction between the concept of individual interest and collective interest. This contradiction exists in the mind of every individual. In all class society, including capitalism, individual interest has dominated. If collective interest does not become dominant in socialist society, if individual in-

terest is not subordinated to the collective interest of advancing the revolution, then socialism will be defeated and there will certainly be no advance to communism. In connection with this, Lenin said, "When the people cease to work for their close kith and kin and consciously work for the development of society and to create a communist world in the long run, then and only then will communism begin." ("Lecture on Summing up the Subbotniks")

Third, on the question of ownership of the means of production. In 1956, socialisation of the means of production had become almost complete in China. But as for collective ownership, there existed two forms: the state sector and the co-operative sector. Moreover, there existed the difference between town and country, between workers and peasants, and between mental and physical labour. There was the 8-grade wage-scale. There was a continuation, in a lower form, of commodity production, which is the principal form of production under capitalism. Lenin summed up that this will persist for a long time in socialist society, and it must be restricted cautiously, so as to become weaker and weaker over time. In communist society it will be completely eliminated. All this constitutes the basis for the rise of a new bourgeois class throughout socialism.

Though Lenin gave attention to this problem, he did not have the time to solve it, as he died in 1924. Comrade Stalin, though aware of this problem, departed from the Marxist-Leninist outlook to a great extent in dealing with this, and so could not grasp the essence of the continuation of classes and class struggle under socialism. Consequently, he considered the capitalist-roaders in Russia as imperialist agents, and used the method of eliminating them from the party and state. In fact, this method created a more favourable environment for the capitalist-roaders. Due to the lack of a correct method for solving this problem, bureaucracy grew more powerful, and a new bourgeoisie regenerated. Even during his own life, Comrade Stalin became surrounded by bureaucracy

and the new bourgeoisie, so that within three years of his death, these elements, under Khrushchev, easily usurped party and state leadership. In collusion with U.S. imperialism, they fiercely attacked Stalin, the great proletarian leader, which was an attack on Marxism-Leninism and socialism too.

In this situation the revisionists in China gained strength and encouragement. At the Eighth Congress of the CPC in 1956, the revisionists, led by Liu Shao-chi, came out and successfully passed the reactionary theory of the productive forces. This situation compelled Mao to concentrate entirely on the three points mentioned above; he gave up responsibility as head of state and focussed on party work.

Mao reflected deeply over the negative experience of the loss of proletarian power in Russia in 1956, and over the experience of mass struggle against the capitalist-roaders in culture and education in China. The solution was the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution. On the one hand the Cultural Revolution is the line of consolidating socialism through protracted struggle, continuing revolution by the working class and its allies against the bourgeoisie and their reactionary ideologies, and to continue this throughout the transformation to communism. On the other hand it is the line of struggle against revisionism on a world scale, a struggle which it raised to a higher stage. Like the October Revolution of 1917 and the Chinese Revolution of 1949, it is a great historic event, but it is much more complex and unparalleled in history. The touch-stone of true revolutionaries today is whether they uphold the Cultural Revolution.

The Content of the Cultural Revolution

One must start by examining what Marx and Lenin had to sum up about this problem. In a letter to J. Weydemeyer, Marx observed that, "As to myself, no credit is due to me for discovering the existence of classes in modern society or the struggle between them. Long before me bourgeois historians had described the historical development of this

class struggle and bourgeois economists the anatomy of the classes. What I did that was new was to prove: 1- that the *existence of classes* is only bound up with *particular historical phases in the development of production*, 2- that the class struggle necessarily leads to the *dictatorship of the proletariat*, 3- that this dictatorship itself only constitutes the transition to the *abolition of all classes* and to a *classless society*.”

In “Critique of the Gotha Programme,” Marx also says, “Between capitalist and communist society lies the period of the revolutionary transformation of the one into the other. Corresponding to this is also a political transition period in which the state can be nothing but *the revolutionary dictatorship of the proletariat*.”

After several years of the October Revolution in Russia, Lenin remarked on the possibility of capitalist restoration, “The transformation of capitalism to communism requires a whole historical period. Before the abolition of this period the exploiting class hopes to re-instate itself in their old position and hope turns into attempt.” (*Collected Works*, vol. 28, p. 254, Bengali edition)

On the question of the birth of a new bourgeoisie from within the Soviet system, Comrade Lenin said, “The bourgeois class are emerging not only from government officials — only a few can emerge from their ranks. They emerge even from the ranks of the peasants and handicraftsmen. This proves that even in Russia commodity production is a living factor, it is working, it is developing, and it is giving birth to a new bourgeoisie just as it does in every capitalist country.” (*Collected Works*, vol. 29, p. 189, Bengali edition)

Stalin, who had many years of experience of socialist construction, said, “We have rooted up capitalism and have established a dictatorship of the proletariat. We are speedily developing socialist industry and integrating peasant economy into it. But we have not yet rooted out the roots of capitalism. Where are these roots? The roots exist in commodity production in the towns and

small-scale production in the villages.” (*Collected Works*, vol. 11, p. 235, Bengali edition) He went on to remark, “The positive remedy to bureaucracy is the cultural development of the working class and the peasantry....” “But bureaucracy will exist, until that stage when overwhelming numbers of the working class are able to think and are capable of controlling the state. How shall we abolish bureaucracy? There is only one way, and that is to organize control from below. To organize the working class on a mass scale to criticize the errors and defects of the bureaucracy.” (*Collected Works*, vol. 11, p. 40, p. 77, Bengali edition)

Despite this, after the death of Comrade Lenin a cultural revolution on a mass scale was not organized and as a result the bureaucracy became very powerful. Though Comrade Stalin followed Lenin in this regard till 1935, he was encircled by the bureaucracy and new bourgeoisie, and he moved away from the Leninist line. This is reflected in the new Constitution adopted at the 18th Congress, which declares that Soviet society was then a classless society, and pleaded for slackening the dictatorship of the proletariat. However, Stalin partially rectified this error in his last thesis, *Economic Problems of Socialism*.

1956: A Decisive Year

Two significant events: in China, the completion of the socialisation of the ownership of the means of production; and in the USSR, the 20th Congress, the usurpation of state and party leadership by the Khrushchev-led revisionists, which strengthened the Chinese revisionists and led to an uncompromising counter-attack by Mao and the revolutionaries, both internationally and in China.

Mao was certainly making important summations. At the national conference of propaganda held in 1957, Comrade Mao said, “For the complete consolidation of socialism, socialist industrialisation and socialist revolution in the field of economy is not sufficient. It is also necessary to carry on continued socialist revolutionary struggle for

the consolidation of socialism, and the struggle to decide whether socialism or capitalism will win will continue for a long historical period.” He further remarked, “In China, although socialist transformation has in the main been completed as regards the system of ownership, and although the large-scale turbulent class struggles of the masses characteristic of times of revolution have in the main come to an end, there are still remnants of the overthrown landlord and comprador classes, there is still a bourgeoisie, and the remoulding of the petite bourgeoisie has only just started. Class struggle is by no means over. The class struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie, the class struggle between the various political forces, and the class struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie in the ideological field will still be protracted and tortuous and at times even very sharp. The proletariat seeks to transform the world according to its own world outlook, and so does the bourgeoisie. In this respect, the question of which will win out, socialism or capitalism, is not really settled yet.” (“On the Correct Handling of Contradictions Among the People,” *Selected Works*)

Several years later, in 1967, following a number of years of back-and-forth struggle with the capitalist roaders, Mao explained the necessity of the Cultural Revolution: “In the past we waged struggles in rural areas, in factories, in the cultural field, and we carried out the socialist education movement. But all this failed to solve the problem because we did not find a form, a method, to arouse the broad masses to expose our dark aspect openly, in an all-round way, and from below. But now we have found that form. That form is the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution.” (Report to the Ninth Party Congress) With regard to its purpose, Mao elaborated, “To struggle against power holders who take the capitalist road is the principal task, but it is by no means the goal (of the Cultural Revolution). The goal is to solve the problem of world outlook; it is the question of eradicating the

roots of revisionism." ("Talk to Albanian Military Delegation," *A World to Win*, no. 1)

The Cultural Revolution was initiated in the field of education and culture. But since, despite collectivisation and the transformation of ownership, truly complete people's ownership had not yet been realised, the capitalist roaders sought to take advantage of this and keep control in their own hands in this and every other sphere too. Thus the Cultural Revolution inevitably developed into an all-out, life-and-death struggle against the new and old bourgeoisie. It was a struggle to make the working class and the people conscious and fit to maintain ownership in their own hands, to consolidate the superstructure in conformity with the economic base, and to move society forward, with determination, towards communism. Comrade Mao Tsetung summed up rightly, Put politics in command in every sphere, take class struggle as the key link.

The capitalist roaders led by the Deng-Hu clique defame the Cultural Revolution in every way possible, but the central thrust of their attack is that it brought about economic disaster. Chou En-lai, though he had some leanings towards the capitalist road, delivered a report to the Fourth National People's Congress which exposed this:

"We have over-fulfilled the target of the third five-year plan (1966-70). We shall be able to fulfill the fourth five-year plan by 1975. Progress in agricultural production has been continuous for the last 13 years. Agricultural production has increased by 51% from 1964 to 1974. Since liberation the increase in population has been about 60%; the increase in the production of corn has been 140% and cotton 470%. Compared to 1964 industrial production has increased by 190%, steel 140%, coal 91%, petroleum 650%, electricity 200%, chemical manure 330%, tractors 520%, cotton fibre 333%.... We have successfully exploded the atomic bomb and launched space satellites. We have neither internal nor external debt. The price of commodities is fixed, and socialist construction and the living standard of

the people are advancing on a sound footing. Reactionaries inside and outside China hoped that the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution would cripple the development of the national economy. But reality has slapped them in the face."

Up until 1976, the proletarian revolutionaries in China were able to consolidate their position and continue to advance. But a number of incidents, especially the defection of Lin Piao, the sudden death of leaders of the first rank and finally the death of Comrade Mao, led to a change in the balance of forces between the revolutionaries and counter-revolutionaries. This was compounded by some errors of the revolutionaries, for example, an absence of far-sightedness with regard to a possible coup. Though organisational measures such as consolidating the revolutionary committees had begun, these had not yet really been consolidated. There were other factors weakening the revolutionaries. The Russian Revolution took place in a capitalist country, where there were many proletarians, whereas the Chinese Revolution took place in a semi-feudal, semi-colonial society where only a small portion of the people were working class. As a result the struggle in the realm of the superstructure was especially complex. Comrade Mao was acutely aware of and warned repeatedly about all this.

In spite of the reactionary coup, the contribution of the Cultural Revolution is truly great. Firstly, it checked the rise of the capitalist roaders for a decade. Secondly, because the struggle in China against restorationism and revisionism went so deeply, the revisionists have not been able to confuse the people and many revolutionaries so much as the Russian revisionists did. Thirdly, in spite of their strong desire, they could not dare to destroy the body of Mao as the Russian revisionists did. Fourthly, revolutionaries like Chiang Ching and Chang Chun-chiao were able to withstand the counter-revolutionary attacks. And finally, the Chinese counter-revolutionaries face strong resistance from their own people and so are forced to try and drug the

youth with feudal and imperialist culture.

Just as with the development of matter, the development of revolution does not move along a straight line, but in spirals. There will be temporary defeats, and temporary retreats. But the revolutionary movement of the past has shown that every temporary setback has been followed by a great leap forward. Tempered by the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, the working class of China and the world will be able to come out of the present crisis of the international communist movement. Indeed, the process has already begun. Basing themselves on the ideology of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought and the historical experience of the Cultural Revolution, a number of Marxist-Leninist parties and organisations have already formed the Revolutionary Internationalist Movement, with a view to forming an international of a new type. The people of Peru, led by the Communist Party of Peru based on Marxism-Leninism-Maoism, as they say, are continuing to advance their armed struggle in the face of severe repression by the reactionaries of Peru and of the imperialist powers, including both the U.S. and Soviet imperialists. Armed struggle is erupting in other countries as well.

The Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution is the principal content of Mao's Thought; it is a new and immortal contribution to the working class of China and the world; it is the touchstone of genuine revolutionaries. Just as those who accept Marx but not Lenin are not genuine Marxists, so too those that accept Marx and Lenin but not Mao and the Cultural Revolution cannot be considered genuine Marxist-Leninists. As Leninism is a qualitative development of Marxism, so too is Mao Tsetung Thought a qualitative development of Marxism-Leninism. Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought is the ideology of the working class; it is the science of revolution; it is invincible.

Long Live Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought!
Long Live the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution! □

Some Lessons of the Cultural Revolution

by David Joseph*

During the ten years after Mao the leadership in China has almost undone all the positive gains of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution carried out by the socialist roaders within the CPC, under the leadership of Mao Tsetung. Indeed, the process of capitalist restoration in China during this period has been significantly speedier than the same process in the Soviet Union. No doubt this experience is a serious setback to the international communist movement, especially at a time when it is engaged in a protracted struggle against imperialism and reaction.

But the positive lessons of the Chinese Revolution in general and the GPCR in particular stand high, above the failures and setbacks, and continue to illuminate the path of world revolution. These experiences provide answers to many of the questions raised during this era; at

the same time they raise many new questions too, because the course of history itself brings up many new complexities and situations which could not be foreseen.

During the era of imperialism and proletarian revolution which was ushered in by the October Revolution of 1917, two most important aspects of world revolution came to the fore. First, the worldwide anti-imperialist struggle in the various types of colonies, to be carried forward as part and parcel of the world proletarian revolution; and second, carrying forward the socialist revolution itself along the correct path. Starting with the Leninist teachings on both these questions, Mao Tsetung developed the Marxist-Leninist theory and practice to a higher level on both these fronts. By completing the anti-imperialist, anti-feudal phase of the Chinese revolution, establishing the people's democratic state and developing the theory of New Democratic Revolution, Mao set the model for completing this phase of revolution throughout the world.

Later, faced with the possibility of capitalist restoration during the process of socialist revolution, as happened in the USSR, Mao developed the theory and practice of class struggle under the dictatorship of the proletariat. He unleashed an unprecedented form of revolution in China, the lessons of which have not yet been properly assimilated even within the international communist movement, though the historic significance of this has already been recognised by the advanced elements all over the world.

What is attempted here is only a brief evaluation of some of the important theoretical questions raised during the preparation for the Cultural Revolution and some other new questions which have emerged in relation to these.

Preparation for building the theoretical background for the GPCR was able to commence only after the necessity of a decisive break with the theory of productive forces was recognised. The overall philosophical basis for such a break had already been provided by the

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philosophical works of Mao. In one of his important early works, "On Contradiction," he wrote: "...True, the productive forces, practice and the economic base generally play the principal and decisive role; whoever denies this is not a materialist. But it must also be admitted that in certain conditions such aspects as the relations of production, theory and the superstructure in turn manifest themselves in the principal and decisive role. When it is impossible for the productive forces to develop without a change in the relations of production, then the change in the relations of production plays the principal and decisive role.... When the superstructure (politics, culture, etc.) obstructs the development of the economic base, political and cultural changes become principal and decisive." But this is only a generalisation; the crucial question is to determine the given conditions when this change of place of opposites takes place. And it is specifically in relation to this question that crucial struggles have emerged within the communist

movement.

There had been, and still have been, repeated attempts within the international communist movement to confuse the positions of classical Marxism with the theory of productive forces. It started systematically with the theoreticians of the Second International. Lenin dealt decisive blows against this perception by developing the theory of imperialism and proletarian revolution. The myth that the proletarian revolution can take place only where the productive forces are the most developed, even under imperialism, was blown to pieces with the success of the October Revolution. But the philosophical basis of the view that the productive forces always play the determining role in the development of society was not shattered, as Lenin's contributions to philosophy in this regard, manifested in his "Philosophical Notebooks", did not become generally known. Moreover, during the period under Stalin, the theory of productive forces grew stronger as it became the basis of the official policy for

socialist construction. The Soviet party under Stalin even came to the conclusion that in Soviet society class struggle between antagonistic classes had ceased to exist. This was reflected in Stalin's statement in 1936, "...Thus all the exploiting classes have now been eliminated." This meant that the changes required in the production relations for socialist construction had already been accomplished and that what was needed now was only the development of the productive forces. So the task of consciously developing the class struggle under the dictatorship of the proletariat was given up, allowing the bureaucratic capitalist class to strengthen itself in Soviet society. Even though Stalin tried to rectify this mistake, at least partially, in the last stages of his life, it did not have any effect as the new bourgeois class had already taken over the real control of affairs in Soviet society.

Though Mao had put forward a philosophical position against the point of view adopted by Stalin, it was not considered a direct challenge

to the Soviet party and so no ideological struggle developed on this question within the international communist movement. There is no proof so far to show that Mao had noticed this basic deviation in the position of the Soviet party. It was only after 1956, when the CPC's Eighth Party Congress also adopted — unchallenged — the same basic position as that of the CPSU in 1936 that Mao started to struggle against this reactionary position. Certainly this development was related to the struggle against Khrushchevite revisionism which openly came out in 1956 at the time of the Twentieth Congress of the CPSU. Since the beginning of 1957, Mao started a consistent struggle against the theory of productive forces and during the course of that struggle developed the theory and practice of class struggle under the dictatorship of the proletariat. The ideological and political struggle culminating in the GPCR developed in and outside the CPC, mainly on the basis of the solid foundation laid down by Mao.

It is true that all aspects of the theoretical problems related to the theory of the productive forces were not discussed in a thoroughgoing manner even in the Cultural Revolution. But even since the late 1950s Mao's efforts in this direction are very evident in works like *A Critique of Soviet Economics*. The most important theoretical position cited against the theory of productive forces was Marx's unequivocal emphasis on the revolutionary changes in all the aspects of social relations during the period of social revolution. Marx said, "This socialism is the *declaration of the permanence of the revolution, the class dictatorship of the proletariat as the necessary transit point to the abolition of class distinctions generally, to the abolition of all the relations of production on which they rest, to the abolition of all the social relations that correspond to these relations of production, to the revolutionising of all the ideas that result from these social relations.*" So during the period of socialism, which is the transition period from capitalism to communism, the process of changing every aspect of capitalist relations into communist relations is the cen-

tral task.

As Mao has already pointed out in his *A Critique of Soviet Economics*, the change in the ownership of the means of production is only one aspect of the change in the production relations. The relationship among the producers, especially between the managing cadre and the producers, as well as the entire distribution system, are aspects of production relations which have to undergo basic changes. Even though these aspects of production relations belong to the economic base, the changes in these arenas is possible mainly through constant ideological struggle, especially in changing the relationships among the producers. So the ideological struggle in the superstructure gets very interlinked with the changes in the economic base, thus making any artificial separation between base and superstructure difficult.

The theory and practice of revolution in the superstructure are of greater significance as they encompass the task of changing all aspects of the existing ideological system as a whole. The struggle in the superstructure means, all the more so, struggle at the political level for ideological hegemony between the contending classes, between bourgeois ideology and the proletarian ideology. The revolution in the superstructure is not at all limited to politics, which is definitely the determining aspect, but also extends to various aspects of the whole cultural life of society. It has been proved again and again that the lingering influence of the decadent culture of the previous phase can easily assert itself as an obstacle for changing social relations. This recognition of the revolution in the superstructure as playing the determining role during the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat is certainly a departure from the previous understanding, which considered the changes in the superstructure only as supplementary to changes in the economic base. That is why the theory and practice of revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat really advances Marxism-Leninism to a new height.

Another important question that

came to the forefront in the ideological struggle during the GPCR was related to the basic understanding of the nature of political power itself. The restoration of capitalism in the Soviet Union showed in an unambiguous way that the capitalist class can recapture political power from the hands of the proletariat without forcing a violent counter-revolution, that is, through a peaceful process. This phenomenon cannot be explained simply on the basis of the accepted understanding of the seizure of political power by one class from another. In order to unravel this process we will have to go deeply into the nature of the political power held by the proletariat and the process of establishing its power under the dictatorship of the proletariat.

The basic contradiction in capitalist society which is resolved through the proletarian revolution is that between socialised production and capitalist appropriation. This contradiction can be resolved only through the establishment of wholly social production. And this can be affected by the seizure of power by the proletariat and thus socialising the production relations in society as a whole. While this thesis remains the cornerstone of the whole political strategy of the communist movement, the experience so far gained has proved how complex this process of the socialisation of the production relations really is. We have seen in practice, at the time of the October Revolution, how the All-Russia Conference of the Soviets made all the major sectors of the means of production public property through issuing a decree. But this was only a juridical declaration. The real socialisation of the means of production and production relations will take place only when the people can really exercise their power in a concrete manner over the whole process of production. How this real socialisation can be translated into reality is a question that is still not properly solved.

Converting all the means of production into public property does not in itself solve the problem of socialisation of the production relations. On the contrary, it creates production relations of a new sort.

The whole lot of the means of production gets concentrated into a single unit and the overall control over the means of production gets concentrated into the hands of the decision-making bodies at the top echelons of the hierarchy of political power. This centralisation of political power gets all the more concentrated with the consolidation of the means of production into a single unit objectively. Democratic centralism at the political level alone is not going to solve this problem of over-centralisation of the means of production which has already become an objective reality. Subjective wishes and intentions of the leadership alone cannot resolve this problem if its line does not provide a concrete answer to this over-centralisation of the means of production. This situation was well illustrated during the period of socialist construction in the Soviet Union under the leadership of Stalin.

The juridical socialisation socialises the relations of production only at an abstract level. It definitely prohibits the type of private ownership over the means of production that exists in a typical capitalist society. But it does not automatically lead to the socialisation of the means of production. The over-centralisation that really takes place negates the prospects of a real socialisation. Real socialisation can take place only at a concrete level: that is, at a social level where the people can exercise their political power objectively. When such real socialisation is ensured at this appropriate social level, overall socialisation can materialise at a broader level.

But what happens in a juridically socialised society is only the objective centralisation of political power as a result of the objective concentration of the means of production. It is this objective power at the political level that gives room for the development of social-fascist power within the juridically socialised societies. In order to counter this type of development, what is required is a common line and strategy which will help the process of real socialisation of production. Here centralism means providing an

overall political line and supervising its implementation, while democracy creates the basis for the real socialisation at the appropriate concrete social level.

Mao's attempt to tackle this question has already given us unprecedented experience as reflected during the Cultural Revolution. He tried to handle even the minute questions related to changes in the production relations, like the relationship between managerial cadre and the workers in the factories, communes, etc., and showed how the basis for capitalist restoration is being created at these levels. The most important aspect of Mao's strategy for preventing capitalist restoration was to make the people at all levels capable of wielding political power with their own hands, by taking class struggle as the key link and putting politics in command. And this struggle, class struggle under the dictatorship of the proletariat, had to be waged by the people at all levels, especially at the basic level of factories, communes, etc., in order to prevent the emergence of the new bourgeoisie at these levels.

As Mao had repeatedly warned, all these attempts failed in preventing capitalist restoration in China. Indeed, it was a life-and-death struggle between the new bourgeoisie and the proletariat, in which the bourgeoisie won, though only temporarily. Of course we must further study and analyse deeply the whole history of this struggle that took place in China in order to find out the reasons for such an early defeat of the socialist roaders — a task not within the scope of this article. Even so we must still realise that the lessons of the Cultural Revolution are the most advanced in dealing with the class struggle under the dictatorship of the proletariat, and the only basis for further advance in this direction.

Mao's struggle against the theory of productive forces has far-reaching implications on another level too. The blind development of the productive forces is really threatening the very existence of the human race and our globe itself. In this situation, to achieve overall control over the development of the means of production and

technology in the interest of the future of human society is very crucial. The theoretical basis provided by the Cultural Revolution again throws light onto this problem. It is the socialised relations of production that are going to determine the future of humanity. The development of science and technology has to be brought under the purview of such socialised production relations. This means an alternate path of development of human society. Mao's search in this direction is very significant. His attempt to resolve the contradiction between town and country, between mental and manual labour, and the method of walking on two legs, etc., were all envisaging such a new approach to this question. Mao's communes as the self-reliant and self-sufficient socio-economic units of the future communist society encompass all elements of this basic approach. We are bound to develop these themes which Mao had already initiated, if we are to carry forward the tasks of the world revolution. □

Revolution in Imperialist Countries Requires Mao Tsetung Thought

by the Revolutionary Communist Party, USA

“It is no exaggeration to say that without the theory and line developed by Mao and the practice of the Chinese masses in carrying it out, especially through the Cultural Revolution, our party would not and could not have been founded when it was and on such a revolutionary basis.” — Bob Avakian, *Bullets*.

The dawn of the 1960's arose on new revolutionary stirrings that would eventually build into a global force ripping and battering at all the fortifications of imperialism. But at that very time the international communist movement, which should have been the center for intransigent and thoroughgoing revolution, bore more resemblance to a barracks of smug and fattened priests. And these priests delivered one commandment to the masses: thou shalt not rise up in revolutionary struggle.

Not that the Pharisees encountered no opposition. The Communist Party of China, led by Mao Tsetung, had begun to unfold struggle, as early as 1957, against this betrayal of communist principles, and as the terms grew clearer the international movement began to polarize. But as Marx himself once noted, the weapon of criticism, while absolutely necessary, cannot

match the impact of criticism by weapons, and while the struggle against revisionism did not mainly assume the form of armed combat, the real emergence of a new and genuinely communist current internationally still required the transformation of theory into revolutionary practice on a grand scale.

The storm center of revolution at that point focused on the wars of national liberation then raging in the oppressed nations (especially Vietnam) — struggles which the Soviet Union mainly openly attempted to hold back at that point, and which the Communist Party of China crucially upheld and supported on many different levels. This in itself served to demarcate revolution from revisionism in concrete practice. But that as crucial backdrop, the thing that finally crystallized the revolutionary, anti-revisionist vision of Mao Tsetung, and which really revitalized the cause of communism and the international movement with it, was the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution. In the words of the *Declaration of the Revolutionary Internationalist Movement*, the Cultural Revolution “gave rise to a whole new generation of Marxist-Leninists” and struck “a vibrant chord among millions of

people across the world who were rising up as part of the revolutionary upsurge that swept the world in the 1960s and early 1970s.”

The revisionists offered as “socialism” an ideology and a program insisting that the masses keep their noses to the grindstone, content themselves with individual gain, stick to tried and true ways, and ask no questions — in the name of some law-like logic of efficiency, economic rationality, and social stability. In opposition, Mao proclaimed that all of Marxism could be concentrated in a single truth: that it is right to rebel against reaction. To those disgusted by the cynicism and callousness of revisionism and the stagnant societies it ruled, the Cultural Revolution revealed the prospect of a society so vital and so utterly revolutionary in its determination to shatter and move beyond every shackle of the past that it was like a revelation in flesh and blood.

Those heady, turbulent days have a far-reaching legacy, including the growing strength of the international trend that bases itself directly on the contributions forged by Mao. Speaking of our own party in the editorial marking the 10th Anniversary of the founding of the

RCPUSA we noted that we “grew up in and [were] part of that ‘60’s tradition’ here and internationally of making radical *breaks* with tradition”; there is a Maoist “intoxication” with revolution bred into our marrow.

But does the importance and influence of Mao, after all, go beyond that — especially for a party preparing to make revolution in an imperialist country? There are many who recognize, or in some cases pay lip service to, Mao’s military thinking, or who regard him as an important revolutionary nationalist (and nothing more). And there are those who concede Mao’s relevance, even his importance, to this or that area of Marxist theory, but who still view him as fundamentally a theoretician “just for the third world.”

We differ with all these views. We stand instead with the *Declaration*, which affirms Mao Tsetung Thought as a “new stage in the development of Marxism-Leninism” and states further that “without upholding and building on Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought it is not possible to defeat revisionism, imperialism and reaction in general.” This holds as true for the imperialist countries as it does for the oppressed nations.

* * *

Mao’s single most important contribution to the body of Marxism is the theory of continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat. In the wake of the 20th Party Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union in 1956 (at which Khrushchev repudiated Stalin as a way of repudiating the experience of socialism and revolution generally) and the Hungarian revolt, Mao noted drily that socialist society does not just “contain” contradiction, it *teems* with them.

Later, in 1962 — after the experience of the Great Leap Forward in China, after the betrayal by the Soviets, and in the midst of the polemical battle then raging within the international movement — Mao formulated what came to be called the basic line of the Chinese Communist Party, the opening passage of which introduced a qualitative advance over anything yet achieved in the international movement:

“Socialist society covers a considerably long historical period. In the historical period of socialism, there are still classes, class contradictions and class struggle, there is the struggle between the socialist road and the capitalist road, and there is the danger of capitalist restoration.” The theoretical kernel here — a concentrated summation of nearly a half-century of practice in socialist society — would soon flower into the line that led the Cultural Revolution, the most important revolutionary milestone since the days of Lenin.

The Cultural Revolution marked nothing less than a qualitative leap in humanity’s understanding of how to advance to classless society. RCPUSA Chairman Bob Avakian has noted that “adjectives such as ‘unprecedented,’ ‘historic,’ ‘earth-shaking’ and so on have frequently been used to describe this mass revolutionary movement, and if anything they understate its importance. With the reversal of the revolution in China in 1976 and the suppression of everything revolutionary there in the years since, and in the present world situation, there is a strong tendency to forget what it meant that there was a country, with one-quarter of the world’s population, where there had not only been a successful revolution leading to socialism, overcoming tremendous obstacles and powerful reactionary forces in the process, but even after that there was again a mass revolutionary upheaval, initiated and inspired by the leading figure in the new socialist state, Mao Tsetung, against those in authority who sought to become the new party of order, restoring capitalism in the name of ‘socialism,’ using their revolutionary credentials as capital. The Cultural Revolution involved literally hundreds of millions of people in various forms and various levels of political struggle and ideological debate over the direction of society and affairs of state, the problems of the world revolutionary struggle and the international communist movement. Barriers were broken down to areas formerly forbidden to the masses of people — science, philosophy, education, literature and art. Putting self above

the interests of the revolution, in China and the world, was an outlook under attack and on the defensive and few were those who would openly utter such phrases as ‘my *career*.’ Through all this, transformations were brought about in the major institutions in society and in the thinking of masses of people, further revolutionizing them. Through all this as well, new breakthroughs were made and new lessons gained in moving, through the exercise of the dictatorship of the proletariat itself, toward the eventual withering away of the state — striking at the soil engendering class distinctions and at the same time drawing the masses more broadly and more consciously into the running of society.” (*For a Harvest of Dragons*, pp. 110-111)

It is important to note that whatever the particularities of China, which include the influence of a new-democratic stage on its revolution and the ongoing legacy of semi-colonial oppression, Mao’s central contributions on the theory and practice of continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat apply, and directly so, to imperialist countries, along with, and as the central element of, his overall development of revolutionary science.

Can anyone deny that upon seizing power in an imperialist country the proletariat will also face very acute contradictions between the socialist road and the capitalist road? Certainly the soil for new bourgeois headquarters to arise within the party in power will be at least as great in a (formerly) imperialist power as in former colonies and semi-colonies. At bottom, there is going to be the ongoing question of restructuring its international relations on a completely new economic foundation and according to communist internationalist principles. Especially within the party in power (and linked, of course, to the ideological pressures resulting from privileges enjoyed by large sections of the population due to imperialist rule) it is almost inevitable that struggles will arise over how (or ultimately even whether) to eradicate that imperialist legacy and to lend every support to interna-

tional proletarian revolution.

While important revolutionary advantages will accrue to the proletariat in power in an advanced country, these will not and cannot negate the centrality of class struggle to preventing capitalist restoration and advancing the revolution further. Indeed, Mao found himself fighting continually against one or another variant of the "theory of productive forces", which propounded the opposed view that greater productive capacity was the key to resolving the contradictions of socialist society. This theory will no doubt recur at least as tenaciously, if in different forms, in a more developed society.

Likewise, the uprooting of the well-established institutions and ideas of the superstructure will certainly be just as necessary in an imperialist country as in one emerging from semi-feudalism. The bourgeoisies of the advanced countries have honed and perfected their superstructures over centuries, the better to foster the production and reproduction of bourgeois social relations. Because these institutions are in some ways more firmly entrenched and viable in imperialist countries than they are in oppressed nations, where the entire culture is often in the throes of acute crisis and dissolution, the necessity to uproot these may well be all the greater.

Mao's theory and the practice of the Cultural Revolution, in other words, possess universal relevance. There are those, however, who portray the Cultural Revolution not as a further extension of proletarian dictatorship but almost as something in direct opposition to it. This mistaken view — or outright distortion, in some cases — is especially prevalent in imperialist countries. People with this view seize on certain aspects of the Cultural Revolution, particularly the direct mass revolt against those sections of the party that had become bourgeois strongholds, and try to make this into an argument for doing away altogether with the party's leading role in socialist society. Sometimes genuinely important innovations like the Shanghai Commune, which attempted the direct unmediated rule of the proletariat, are seized

upon as the alpha and omega of the Cultural Revolution, and it is then said that following the Commune's abandonment in early 1967 everything was downhill.

Such people ignore that Mao himself explained that the reason for not continuing with the Commune form was its vulnerability to the enemies of the proletariat and their various forms of attack and, related to that, the fact that the various contradictions of socialist society (between town and country, worker and peasant, mental and manual labor, etc.) had not yet reached a stage of resolution sufficient to attempt such a thing. These people also negate the genuine achievements made in the years following the initial upsurge; they miss, really, the last leg of the famous Maoist formula of "struggle -criticism -transformation." They negate as well the real purpose of the all-out mass struggles of the Cultural Revolution. Their ultimate purpose, as Mao saw it, was not to dismantle the party or weaken the proletarian dictatorship. The real objective was the dual task of overthrowing capitalist-roaders *and* revitalizing and transforming the institutions of socialist society — including the party — onto a qualitatively higher level (while accomplishing the aim of further remolding people's world outlook). At its most extreme this phony version of "upholding the Cultural Revolution" liquidates the tasks of overthrowing, uprooting, and transforming; it fixes instead on a sort of anarcho-syndicalist vision of the "workers running the plants unhindered by party bureaucrats," a very much economist view that openly denies (or turns away from) the ability of (and need for) the proletariat to master all spheres of society — including the struggle within the vanguard party!

Mao did not project the communist future as some kind of endpoint, whether a kingdom of great harmony or a cheerful little conglomeration of Jeffersonian communes. Mao understood revolutions as the decisive force of social development not only through socialist society but on into communism as well (though these latter

revolutions would not be violent suppressions of one class by another). Truth is ever at first in the hands of a minority, Mao maintained, and he insisted that "going against the tide is a Marxist-Leninist principle," one that stretched across all social formations.

Certainly without this orientation of going against the tide those parties that held to principle in the face of the 1976 counter-revolutionary coup could not have taken the stand that they did. True, Mao also stressed that while one must always be ready to go against the tide, one must also be able to recognize what is, and what is not, a counter-revolutionary tide. In both of these aspects Mao taught well. As Comrade Avakian pointed out at the time of the fierce struggle (and eventual split) within the ranks of the RCPUSA over the import of the coup, "it is wrong to look at the experience of the Soviet Union and China as the same. There are a number of differences, not the least of which is that at the time of Khrushchev's coup, denunciation of Stalin and repudiation of Marxism-Leninism, the masses in the Soviet Union and millions of revolutionary-minded people in other countries (though not all of them) were left confused, without an understanding of what was taking place, and this could only create large-scale demoralization. On the other hand, because of the Cultural Revolution in China, because of Mao's great leadership and because of the heroic struggle put up by the Four, millions of people in China are armed with an understanding of what is going on, and millions more are debating and struggling over the questions involved, while those of us in other countries also have the basis for understanding not only what has happened but what is the basis for it." (*Revolution and Counter-Revolution*, pp. 130-131)

Mao's leadership during this period (as well as earlier) also educated a generation in proletarian internationalism. Lenin first noted that the exploitation of whole sections of the world by the imperialist countries profoundly alters the terms and character of the class struggle, simultaneously giving rise

to revolutionary struggle in the oppressed nations while also creating (or drastically enlarging) the basis for opportunism within the oppressor nations.

Mao, it should be remembered, was accused of racism by the Soviets for maintaining that the storm center of proletarian revolution had shifted to the third world, and that the "East wind would prevail over the West. . ." What the Soviets really opposed here was Mao's steadfast grasp on the centrality of the wars for national liberation during that period, their important role in the eventual destruction of imperialism, and the consequent duty of all revolutionaries to fully support such struggles. Of course, Mao did not confine his support to these struggles alone — the demonstrations all over China, along with Mao's statement in support of the Black revolts in the U.S. in 1968 stand as evidence for that, as do other important examples. And Mao also summed up at the height of the Cultural Revolution, in 1968, that despite the great victories already won, "the final victory of a socialist country not only requires the efforts of the proletariat and the broad masses of the people at home, but also involves the victory of the world revolution and the abolition of the system of exploitation of man by man over the whole globe, upon which all mankind will be emancipated. Therefore, it is wrong to speak lightly of the final victory of the revolution in our country; it runs counter to Leninism and does not conform to facts."

All this provided an excellent internationalist orientation for the movement; in particular, the support for the struggles of the oppressed nations against the imperialist powers provided something of a school of revolutionary defeatism for the movement within the imperialist nations. This was, on the other hand, a *basis* — and whether parties would face the challenges presented by the changes in the world situation during the mid-1970s by deepening and building on that basis, or whether they would abandon and ultimately betray it, would be settled in practice. For the revolutionary groups

and organizations in the imperialist countries who did move forward, however, the line of Mao during the 1960's formed a *sine qua non* and necessary point of departure for deepening their internationalist orientation and practice.

* * *

The taproot of Mao's many contributions was his mastery of the dialectical method. Mao focused on the unity and struggle of opposites as central to the analysis and transformation of all things, in nature and society.

"Why is it," Mao asked in "On Contradiction", "that the 'human mind should take these opposites not as dead, rigid, but as living, conditional, mobile, transforming themselves into one another'? Because that is just how things are in objective reality. The fact is that the unity or identity of opposites in objective things is not dead or rigid, but is living, conditional, mobile, temporary and relative; in given conditions, every contradictory aspect transforms itself into its opposite...It is only the reactionary ruling classes of the past and present who regard opposites not as living, conditional, mobile and transforming themselves into one another, but as dead and rigid, and they propagate this fallacy everywhere to delude the masses of the people, thus seeking to perpetuate their rule."

Here, of course, we can only broadly characterize Mao's thinking on this cardinal point. As to its particular applicability to revolution in the advanced countries, it is nothing less than fundamental. To take just one important aspect of this, the bourgeoisie has maintained relative stability in these countries for some time now, and revolutionaries run the risk of being lulled into what Lenin warned against so sharply: the failure to grasp or the outright disbelief in the possibility of sudden and dramatic changes, and the consequent lack of preparation for and inability to seize revolutionary opportunities within vast social upheavals erupting at a moment's notice. In *Coming From Behind to Make Revolution*, Comrade Avakian discussed those activists who may concede the seriousness of the crisis faced by the imperialists

and the looming prospect of world war, but who nevertheless remain blind to the revolutionary possibilities within that same situation, and noted that "...the very fact that revolution hasn't happened conditions people's thinking; and unless you consciously strive to overcome that by a scientific analysis, then spontaneously you're just going to see what appears before you and not the potential that could arise in vastly different conditions in the future — in fact, not even what is developing beneath the surface and the seed of the future that already exists and is developing in the present, including the minor crises and eruptions that occur..."

"Of course, if you look at things metaphysically — statically, without internal contradiction and with everything absolutely isolated from everything else — then you won't and can't recognize this revolutionary potential."

Part of applying Mao Tsetung Thought to the imperialist countries, then, means learning to identify, analyze and foster the revolutionary elements that inevitably exist in an overall non-revolutionary situation. Communists have to learn to seize hold of the contradictions within society and not wait hopelessly for "deus ex machinas"; they must concretely grasp what gives the "identity," or temporary stability, of society its fragile and transitory underlying character, and strive as far as possible to identify the sources and the dimensions of that identity's inevitable rupture. They must trace the crises and foreshocks back to their source in the contradictions within society, and use the knowledge thus gained to project ahead and prepare in practice for the day when those contradictions assert themselves with full fury. They must, in short, master that most Maoist of methods: dividing one into two!

Elsewhere Comrade Avakian has written that the "ceaseless emergence and resolution of contradictions, as against all notion of absoluteness and stagnation — this Mao grasped as the driving force in the development of all things, in nature, society and thought, and this understanding runs like a crimson

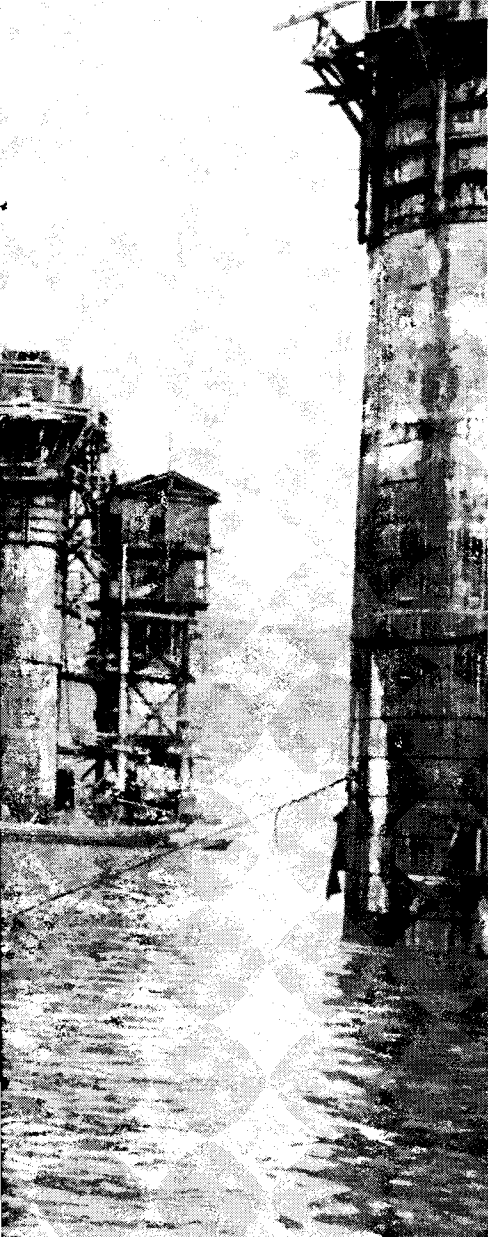


Building a bridge over the Yangtze (Yellow) River. Mao referred to the Yangtze as the spine of China.



Mao talks with steel workers in Anhwei province.





October 1, 1949. From Mao's speech, "The Chinese people have stood up" ... [all which had gone before was] "but a first step ... in a 25,000 li Long March."

Victorious Red Army greeted by ecstatic Peking residents.



path through Mao's writings and actions." That path must also run through the orientation and basic method of the parties in imperialist countries to enable them not only to successfully resist the corrosion of "peaceful times" but more than that to seize those invaluable opportunities for revolutionary insurrection which will no doubt erupt quite suddenly, with many novel and unanticipated features, and which will present challenges and opportunities not necessarily apparent — or perhaps necessarily not apparent! — to the naked eye.

The deeper recognition of fluidity, leaps, etc., has not led — and should not lead, if properly understood and grasped — to a "que sera, sera" attitude. For, dialectically enough, the deeper one grasps the pervasiveness of instability, volatility, and leaps to the new in affairs of nature and society, the more one should see the need for active and thorough-going preparation and plans, precisely so as to be ready for anything. Mao, discussing that most uncertain of human enterprises, war, wrote that within "the great river of absolute fluidity throughout the war there is relative stability at each particular stretch", and he insisted that this relative stability both necessitates and makes possible specific plans which enable the planners to gain the initiative and alter the course of that "great river". Otherwise one would fall into relativism and run the risk of "negating everything, including the war itself as well as the negator himself." (On Protracted War, Vol. II, p. 169-170) So to *really* be "ready for anything" means active, revolutionary preparation, practice, and planning.

This points to another major philosophical contribution of Mao: the principle that "matter can be transformed into consciousness and consciousness into matter". This informed and infused Mao's view of the goal of communist society — he scoffed at the "goulash communism" promised by the Soviets, posing instead a vision of "all mankind voluntarily and consciously changing itself and the world". Mao's thinking on the transition to communist society — which

pivots on the need for the proletariat to wage class struggle around cardinal questions of political line and to master all spheres of society — flows out of his grasp of the dynamic and transformative role of human consciousness.

The 1976 coup sharpened up this question in particular. Economist interpretations of a dozen different shades flowed out of Moscow, Tirana, Peking and points west, and these challenged genuine revolutionaries to dig more deeply into the essence of Mao's thinking and contributions. Especially as the trend to inter-imperialist world war became increasingly sharp and pressing, the widespread tendency of the early 1970s to try to combine Mao's great (and thoroughly anti-economist) contributions on the class struggle under socialism with a certain more or less economist approach to the class struggle within the imperialist countries became untenable. The stakes were no longer errors or deviations caused by economism (serious as those might be), but — with the rapidly changing objective conditions and the related crisis in the international movement — whether one would capitulate or not. Lenin had pointed out in the "Collapse of the Second International" during World War I that the seeds of opportunism (including economism) had given rise to full-grown, social-chauvinist capitulation. A similar situation was now presenting itself to the movement in the imperialist countries, a problem that continues to face us.

Necessity itself posed the question of whether to work backward from Mao, so to speak, into the at best flawed orientation of the old Comintern parties in the imperialist countries, or instead to work forward and to apply the spirit and thrust of Mao Tsetung Thought to fully "breaking with old ideas" concerning the movement within the imperialist countries.

Pursuing that latter course leads necessarily to a re-appreciation of Lenin. *What Is To Be Done?* — with its insistence that communist ideology must be imparted to the proletariat from outside the spontaneous movement, its grasp on the primacy of the political struggle over

the economic struggle, its focus on all-round exposure of political and social life by communists as key to instilling communist consciousness in the masses, and its proposal of the revolutionary political newspaper as the main medium for communist work in preparation for the armed seizure of power in the imperialist countries — is as important today as when it was written. For those coming out of a deeper immersion in Mao Tsetung's line on consciousness in that post-coup period of questioning, study, and struggle, and facing the challenges of the 1980's, those truths struck with special freshness and vigor. Lenin took the vanguard party as the key link in all this, as did Mao (a point to which we will return). In this, in their opposition to all forms of economism, and in their stress on the dynamic role of human consciousness Lenin leads to Mao . . . and Mao, in turn, to Lenin.

* * *

But there is a history to this question of the party. By the summer of 1968 the question before thousands of activists in the imperialist countries was no longer *whether* the masses could ever rise up — the Black people in the U.S. had decisively affirmed that in April of that year, and they were followed by the French students and workers a month later — but *how* they could be led to actually make revolution. This urgent posing of the question in practice, coupled with the influence of the Cultural Revolution, led many, including us, to the answer of a vanguard party based on Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought.

"It may seem bizarre," we wrote on the occasion of the 10th Anniversary of our founding, "to come to an understanding of the crucial need for a vanguard party through the Cultural Revolution, when Mao and the other leading revolutionaries were unleashing the Chinese masses and bringing under their fire large sections of the Chinese Communist Party structure, even dismantling it in many cases. But it is not really so bizarre when you understand that in fact this was also and very importantly a method for revitalising the party which, thus revolutionised, would be key in unleashing the power of the masses on a still

grander scale.”

The method Mao used, of course, was specific to the conditions and contradictions of a proletarian party *in power*, but the need to keep the party truly revolutionary is universal. Stagnation must be combatted; the party must strain to attune itself to and to unleash, temper, and guide the truly advanced and revolutionary initiatives that arise from the masses (and “the masses” here should be taken in an international dimension). Assuming that a correct line is in command, the party is key to enhancing the freedom of the masses to consciously make history.

The rub is that one cannot just “assume” that a correct line will inevitably command the party. Mao wrote in “On Contradiction” that “Opposition and struggle between ideas of different kinds constantly occur within the Party; this is a reflection within the Party of contradictions between classes and between the new and the old in society.” He saw this struggle as the very lifeblood of the party. Later, during the period of proletarian dictatorship, Mao developed the view that the struggle between two lines within the party in socialist society became the key focus of struggle in society overall and he fought to arm the masses with an understanding of the history and terms of those struggles so as to enable them to consciously enter the arena on the side of the genuinely proletarian line.

The existence of contending lines within the vanguard party reflected, as Mao noted, objective social contradictions, and it would go on whether one liked it or not. The more orthodox revisionists — from the Soviets to the Albanians — howled that this flew directly in the face of the Leninist principle of unified party leadership. Meanwhile, those forces who wished to adapt Mao Tsetung Thought to one or another brand of anarchism or social-democracy — those mentioned earlier who “liked” the Cultural Revolution but didn’t quite care for proletarian dictatorship — also argued that the Cultural Revolution went against Leninist principles, although for their part they applauded this alleged departure and called for the full legalisation of fac-

tions within the party openly campaigning for competing platforms.

Our party has extensively addressed the problems with such anarchist or social-democratic views elsewhere (see especially the pamphlet “If There Is To Be a Revolution...” by Bob Avakian). But we must reiterate here that Mao did not view vigorous inner party struggle as an end in itself but instead treated it as a necessary means to combat revisionism and to a deeper, more correct line, and thus a richer, more powerful, revolutionary practice; his famous formula after all was “unity-struggle-unity”. Even in conditions of proletarian dictatorship, where the two line struggle within the party concentrates social struggles and at points assumes the character of antagonistic class struggle, Mao would only unfold and finally bring the struggle into the open in order to more or less fully expose and defeat the opposed bourgeois line (and factional headquarters).

Certainly those who claim the Cultural Revolution as inspiration for departing from the principle of a unified vanguard have somehow missed the fact that Mao was hardly advocating that Liu Shao-chi, and those who followed him, be given a freer rein to promulgate and organise for his line! (Though Mao did, again, bring the terms of the struggle into the open at the appropriate and necessary time to politically and ideologically arm — and unleash — the masses.) In fact Mao valued highly, and fought very hard for, the unity of will of whatever organisational form the vanguard assumed at different points during the tumultuous 1966-76 period.

Take Mao’s insistence that “the correctness or incorrectness of the ideological and political line decides everything,” or his statement, widely circulated during the Cultural Revolution, that “if the masses alone are active without a strong leading group to organise their activity properly, such activity cannot be sustained for long, or carried forward in the right direction, or raised to a high level” — can these really be construed as somehow opposed to Lenin’s basic orientation? A

development yes, but not a departure. Such statements also help explain why and how Mao Tsetung Thought has led our party, along with others, to a deeper appreciation of the need for vigorous internal struggle, a unified centralist organisation, and a strong party overall.

This question of vanguard leadership relates directly to the principle of the mass line. Of all Mao’s many contributions this has perhaps been most often taken as a reference point by revolutionaries in the imperialist countries. But the exhilaration of taking revolutionary politics to the masses in the late 60’s/early 70’s had by the middle of the decade all too often been vulgarised into a method for finding out just what the majority of masses were willing, at any given point, to wage struggle over.

While Mao always emphasised the need to deeply understand the sentiments of the masses, he stressed at least as much the necessity to transform those “scattered and unsystematic ideas...through study into concentrated and systematic ideas,” and then to persevere in them until the masses embrace them as their own. He also called on cadre to distinguish between the “relatively active, the intermediate and the relatively backward” — to refrain, that is, from regarding the masses as a level whole. Finally Mao connected the mass line to fostering and tempering the new revolutionary shoots brought forward by the masses themselves. In fact, some of the key junctures of struggle within the Chinese Communist Party focussed precisely on upholding new forms of struggle brought into being by the masses, going back to the Hunan Peasant Movement, extending into the socialist collectivisation of agriculture and later the Great Leap Forward, and continuing into and through the Cultural Revolution.

On the other hand, the formulation of the principle of the mass line *did* occur in a specific time and place where, as Bob Avakian has pointed out, “for a good part of the struggle... the revolutionary movement was going *with* the spontaneous thrust of nationalism — against Japan, for example.” Mao was not

contending with the sort of situation typical of imperialist countries where the revolutionary movement must oppose the outbreaks of national chauvinism at the start of, or during the run-up to, imperialist war. Our party's experience, to put the matter bluntly, is that the patriotism of the workers of the oppressor nation, carefully nurtured on the basis of imperialist privilege, is a basis for counter-revolution; there is nothing in that ideology to try to "raise to a higher level."

Mao provided some insights on this sort of problem. For one thing, he knew well and made a fundamental point of strategy the difference between oppressor and oppressed nations. And let us again point out that Mao's consistent internationalism, as well as the birth of the Maoist trend in the midst of the storm of national liberation struggles, have provided a powerful and important basis for an internationalist and revolutionary defeatist orientation to take root in parties and organisations in the imperialist countries. Further, the Maoist principle of "going against the tide" certainly applies in this context — providing a foundation of ideological and political firmness to oppose such chauvinism in a war or pre-war period and thus open the door of revolutionary possibilities in such a time.

On the other hand, this does not mean finding something or someone else to rely on beside the masses. In the imperialist countries the task of winning those who rally to the national banner of the imperialists, especially the proletarians among them, to their more fundamental class interests — to proletarian internationalism — demands that the party devote itself from the very start to fostering any and all shoots of internationalism or of potential revolutionary defeatism that emerge (and such shoots inevitably do, in one form or another) in both the sentiments and actions of the proletariat and other class forces as well. The party must train the proletariat through many concrete instances to see their real class interests in opposition to the bourgeoisie's nationalist pandering, and thus imbue in it the ability to recognise,

unite with and march to the head of the nascent opposition to the imperialists. The challenge consists in readying the advanced section of the advanced class not only to withstand the inevitable tide(s) of national chauvinism but also (and inextricably connected to that) to take advantage of the real crises that imperialist wars and aggression entail for the bourgeoisie...so as to do nothing less than lead masses in their millions to make revolution. And this challenge can only be met by utilising, and not rejecting, the mass line — correctly understood and applied.

* * *

Mao's development of the united front strategy also has important application in imperialist countries. In 1969 the Revolutionary Union (forerunner of the RCP,USA) put forward the united front against imperialism under proletarian leadership as *the* strategy for proletarian revolution in the U.S. We still adhere to that view. And while we have deepened, and in important respects changed, our class analysis over the years, our appreciation for Mao's strategic principle has grown.

Unfortunately, the main thrust of Mao's strategic thinking on the united front is too often reduced to "the proletariat unites all who can be united, including the national bourgeoisie, against the imperialists." While this is certainly an important aspect of Mao's application of the united front strategy in China, it is only half the story, and the less important half at that. Mao grasped that the contradiction between imperialism and the oppressed nation(s)- must generate, independent of anyone's will, huge social upheavals in which many different class forces, including the national bourgeoisie, would be bound to participate.

What he did that was really new, however, was to illuminate under what conditions such a united front with the bourgeoisie was appropriate and, more important, *how the proletariat could find the ways to exercise leadership over such a front, infuse it with a real revolutionary orientation and thrust, and prevent its usurpation by bourgeois forces.* In this Mao stands in sharp contrast

to all those many forces which declared united front on Monday only to essentially liquidate the independent ideological, political and military role of the proletariat on Tuesday morning; unlike them, he forged the correct handling of the dialectic between the proletariat's participation in a united front and the enhancement of its own class-consciousness and leading role. Key to this was maintaining the independence and initiative of the proletariat's armed forces, and using those forces "to keep the red flag flying" to the greatest possible extent through every turn of events.

Mao viewed the united front as a strategy to wage revolutionary war in order to achieve a qualitatively different form of state power. This is the new-democratic revolution, which in essence (as the Chinese Communist Party summed up during the Cultural Revolution) brings into being a form of proletarian dictatorship in which the proletariat and its vanguard firmly lead the other revolutionary classes and strata in uprooting imperialism and pre-capitalist social relations and preparing the way for socialism. Mao was not a proponent of "power sharing", that is, of bartering the proletariat's independent forces for positions in an essentially bourgeois state apparatus, even if that state labels itself "progressive", "anti-fascist", or "anti-imperialist".

In the imperialist countries, such rightist interpretations of united fronts often amount to reducing this strategic conception to a diluted "coalition politics" and as a pragmatic "here's what I can offer you" approach to unity. This has never been our understanding of the united front strategy and, in this, we owe to Mao. The proletariat leads and forges the united front on the basis of the clarity of its aims, the material strength it musters, and the force of its program — it and only it can resolve the contradictions of capitalist society.

Now a party in an imperialist country must take several important differences into account between it and an oppressed nation in applying the united front strategy. First, the bourgeoisie in such countries can in no way comprise part of the united

front, as it (and the social relations it embodies) forms the target of the united front; second, unlike China, the revolution does not take the form of armed struggle from the beginning but instead goes through a protracted period of mainly political struggle until conditions ripen for a nationwide insurrection. What *does* apply, however, is quite profound, beginning with Mao's insistence that the goal of such a united front is a new, revolutionary state power: a revolutionary dictatorship led by the proletariat (again, even if it takes a specific form in oppressed nations).

Further, the united front principle and strategy speaks to the fact that many diverse class forces and strata within the imperialist countries will come into motion against the bourgeoisie, depending on circumstances. Lenin noted this when he wrote that the socialist revolution "cannot be anything other than an outburst of mass struggle on the part of all and sundry oppressed and discontented elements."

"Inevitably, sections of the petty bourgeoisie and of the backward workers will participate in it — without such participation, *mass struggle is impossible*, without it *no revolution is possible* — and just as inevitably will they bring into the movement their prejudices, their reactionary fantasies, their weaknesses and errors. But *objectively* they will attack *capital*, and the class-conscious vanguard of the revolution, the advanced proletariat, expressing this objective truth of a variegated and discordant, motley and outwardly fragmented, mass struggle, will be able to unite and direct it, [and] capture power..." (*Collected Works*, 22, p. 356)

Unfortunately, communists have often bounced back and forth between either attempting to deny this fact (with notions of leading the workers' economic struggle straight ahead to socialist revolution), or else turning ideologically mute in the face of it, reduced to united fronts in which they can only mimic the ideological propaganda and serve the political ends of the liberal bourgeoisie. Especially in the crucial days of the present, Mao's further

development of the principle and strategy of united front — especially his thinking on the proletariat's necessity and freedom to struggle for its ideological, political and organisational hegemony within it — are indispensable.

Drawing on Mao Tsetung's approach to the united front strategy and applying it to today's challenges, Comrade Avakian has noted that "it is precisely and only by establishing a clear-cut revolutionary stand and revolutionary pole in U.S. society and consistently working to rally the advanced, especially among the proletariat, to this pole, that it will be possible to apply the united front strategy correctly. It is only thus that other strata and forces with which it is correct and strategically necessary to seek unity will feel inclined and/or compelled to enter into a united front with us; and only thus that the strategic interests of the proletariat will be upheld and the prospect of proletarian leadership of the united front, infusing it with a clear-cut revolutionary thrust and content, will be maintained." (*An End to the Horror*, p. 101)

* * *

The united front strategy aims toward one end; as Mao wrote, "The seizure of power by armed force, the settlement of the issue by war, is the central task and the highest form of revolution. This Marxist-Leninist principle of revolution holds good universally, for China and for all other countries." (*Selected Works*, II, p.219)

In the course of leading the Chinese Revolution to victory, during 22 years of war, Mao developed the first comprehensive Marxist military line. Though the product of a particular war (or wars, actually), these fundamental principles have rich universal content for all revolutions.

Key among these is that the party must command the gun — that is, that the party must *lead* the armed struggle and the revolutionary armed forces, and never allow the army to become either the leading *political force* of the revolution, or a force independent of the party's political leadership. A correct military line and strategy can only flow out of an

accurate assessment of the overall political situation and alignment of classes, internationally and within a given country, and such an analysis can only be all-sidedly undertaken and carried through by the party. The party's analysis and its methodology must be brought to bear upon the military sphere throughout the military struggle — consciousness must lead spontaneity, in this sphere as in every other, since the spontaneous road is ultimately a *bourgeois* one. Further, the revolutionary army will necessarily contain very broad forces, and without the party's firm leadership and consistent ideological education (and struggle) one or another tendency to reduce the aim of the revolutionary war to something short of all-the-way revolution — tendencies which Mao so tirelessly combated — will inevitably take root, flourish, and put the advance of the revolution in serious danger. All this is basic — or at least it has been (or should be) basic since it was hammered out by Mao on the anvil of nearly three decades of revolutionary war!

Of course, the specific military strategy appropriate to proletarian revolution in the imperialist countries is not the same as China's, as Mao himself makes clear shortly after the passage cited earlier: "But while the principle (of armed revolution — *RCP, USA*) remains the same, its application by the party of the proletariat finds expression in varying ways according to the varying conditions." He then points out that revolutionary war in the imperialist countries must begin as insurrection in the cities at a time when the bourgeoisie is really susceptible to losing — which obviously differs from Mao's strategy in China of protracted people's war, in which the party first built up its army and base areas in one or several distinct parts of the country, then accumulated strength through waging battles and campaigns, and only took the cities in the final phases of the war. This very distinction proved important in the struggle against a revolutionary adventurist tendency that arose in the imperialist countries in the early 1970s (and which found expression in the U.S. in a

sharp struggle and split inside the Revolutionary Union).

On the other hand, woe be to those who would dismiss or under-rate the relevance of Mao's specific military thinking to the advanced countries. Mao faced an army that highly outgunned and, overall, out-manned the one he commanded. For those who don't indulge in Trotskyite fantasies of immediate and wholesale defections of imperialist troops at the first proletarian salvo, there must be a recognition that a similar sort of situation will obtain at the outset of a revolution (and for some time beyond) in an advanced country. What to do?

First one must really grasp the dimensions of Mao's remark to the PLO in 1965 that all military logic, whatever the particulars, can be boiled down to the principle "you fight your way, I'll fight mine." As Comrade Avakian has pointed out, for the imperialists (and especially the U.S. imperialists) this has always meant relying on and striving to bring into play the advantages of massive firepower, sophisticated technology and (in the beginning at least) superior numbers of soldiers. The proletariat and the oppressed cannot hope to and should not aim to match this gun for gun, soldier for soldier; what they must do is bring into play *their* specific advantages. Most of all they must forge strategy and tactics that can unleash (and temper) the initiative and enthusiasm of the masses when fighting for their genuine class interests, at the same time as it breaks down, demoralises and finally shatters the bourgeois army.

This basic principle of Mao's in fact advanced beyond much of the Bolshevik experience in army-building and waging revolutionary war. The Bolsheviks in large measure took the tack of relying on those officers and military specialists of the old regime whom they could win over, or at least force to fight, and attempted to lead and control these officers through political commissars. Often they adopted almost whole the military tactics of these officers — military tactics developed by, and ultimately best fitted to, armies of reaction. This is not to diminish the Bolshevik achievement:

they did, after all, not only smash the old state power but also defeated the armies of 14 other imperialist powers at one time or another during the three-year civil war. However they did not, in the course of doing this, forge anything near the level of what Mao did in terms of a proletarian military doctrine.

It is true that one cannot simply copy Mao to find the answers for waging revolutionary war in an imperialist country. Much new in the way of strategy and tactics will have to be developed to be able to overcome the imperialist armies now arrayed, no matter how dire the situation that the bourgeoisies may and will face. Still, one must have a point of departure in undertaking such a monumental task; that comprehensive proletarian military line has been provided by Mao.

Basic to that foundation — and closely linked to "you fight your way, I'll fight mine" — is Mao's principle that people, and not weapons, are decisive in warfare. Bob Avakian has commented that "when imperialist and reactionary armies are deprived of the ability to fight their way — to overwhelm and pound the enemy with superior technology and force — then their strategic weaknesses increasingly stand out: they are an army of plunder and exploitation, opposed to the interests of the masses of people worldwide; their troops have no real political consciousness or awareness of the actual interests and objectives they are fighting for; they rely on technology and technological superiority and therefore are at a loss to a great degree when they do not have it or it is effectively neutralised; their ranks are organised in a strict, oppressive hierarchy and command structure and are riddled with acute class and national (and male-female) contradictions and conflicts, including among the 'grunts' themselves as well as between officers and rank-and-file soldiers..."

"In a fundamental sense, an army is a concentration of the society it is fighting for — of the social and political relations, values, etc. that are dominant and characterise that society...and the fundamental difference between revolutionary ar-

mies and counterrevolutionary armies will continue to find fuller expression the more a war between them goes on."

And what of the question of nuclear weapons? Mao's most famous epigram, or at least the one which most drove the imperialists up the wall, was his branding of imperialism as a "paper tiger" at a time when the U.S. was attempting to threaten and blackmail China with nuclear weapons. Mao was hardly being flip — he was more than intimately acquainted with the content of war, and took care to note that these paper tigers also possessed, in the short run, an aspect of iron about them as well. What Mao based himself on, in this statement and throughout his life, was the knowledge of imperialism's *strategic* weakness, once an oppressed people straighten their backs, lift their eyes, raise their fists and use their heads.

The ability to find the ways to turn imperialism's strategic weakness into tactical weakness, to realise concretely and bring into play the sources of the proletariat's strategic strength at each crucial tactical juncture, and to infuse his whole approach with this — surely this must be learnt from Mao Tsetung! Especially at a time when the architects of hell and masters of reactionary war prepare to unleash an unprecedented amount of destruction on the planet and its people, Mao's precious contributions must not be squandered.

* * *

This year is a celebration of the 20th anniversary of the Cultural Revolution, and a commemoration of the 10th year since the death of Mao Tsetung. Let this also then be a time to reflect upon the ways in which those crucial turning points and the response of revolutionaries worldwide to them have infused the revolutionary orientation — and the achievements — of our entire movement, from its birth to the struggles of today and most of all to its bright future. The most fitting commemoration of all, of course, is to re-examine yet again those basic tenets and that basic orientation of Mao Tsetung, and to apply them to the various and diverse challenges

we now face.

In that light, let us state as clearly as possible that there will be no revolution in the imperialist countries, at least no proletarian revolution, without Mao Tsetung Thought. To deny or downgrade the importance of Mao's contributions, or to view them as an "optional accessory" to Marxism relevant only to the oppressed nations, is profoundly mistaken and can only lead away from revolution. A party in an imperialist country must grasp at its very bedrock that, as the Chairman of the Central Committee of our party has written, "overall Mao Tsetung Thought represents a qualitative development of Marxism-Leninism. Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought, then, is an integral philosophy and political theory at the same time as it is a living, critical and continuously developing science. It is not the quantitative addition of the ideas of Marx, Lenin and Mao (nor is it the case that every particular idea or policy or tactic adopted by them has been without error); Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought is a synthesis of the development, and especially the qualitative breakthroughs, that communist theory has achieved since its founding by Marx up to the present time. It is for this reason and in this sense that, as Lenin said about Marxism, it is omnipotent because it is true." (For a Harvest of Dragons, p. 114)

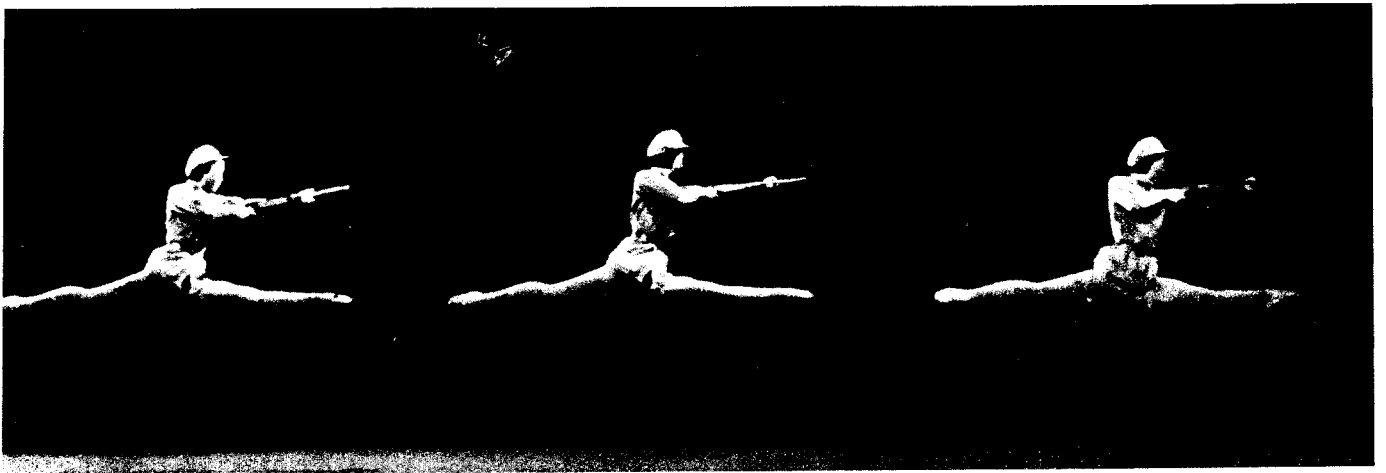


Taching. The imperialists said China couldn't find and extract its oil without Western technology. By revolutionising production relations the workers of Taching not only proved this wrong, but established China's self-sufficiency in oil.



After Soviet technicians left China in 1960, the workers employed self-reliance to overcome great obstacles.





On the Revolutionary Ballet

Red Detachment of Women

From *Chinese Literature*, no. 1, 1971

“The orientation is correct, the revolutionisation successful and the artistic quality good.” This is the brilliant comment made by our great leader Chairman Mao on the modern revolutionary ballet *Red Detachment of Women* in 1964.

The proletarian revolution in literature and art is now in full swing. As we recall the journey we have travelled in revolutionising ballet under the guidance of Comrade Chiang Ching, we understand all the more profoundly the significance of our great leader Chairman Mao’s brilliant comment. It is a positive approval and high appraisal of the proletarian revolution in literature and art, a guiding light for the creation and development of the revolutionary literature and art of the proletariat.

Chairman Mao points out in his *Talks at the Yen-an Forum on Literature and Art* that “in the world today all culture, all literature

and art belong to definite classes and are geared to definite political lines.”

In a class society ballet always serves definite classes. In feudal times it was a form of court art used by European nobles and lords to celebrate their rise in rank or their coronations. When capitalism was in its ascendancy during the Renaissance, enlightenment movement and the romantic periods, ballet was known among the bourgeoisie as the “crown of the arts.” Today, as imperialism heads for total collapse, in capitalist and revisionist countries the ballet serves imperialist and social-imperialist policies of aggression and war, helps to consolidate the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie, and propagates by ugly imagery the decadent “American way of life.” In a word, the ballet has been a tool in the service of the exploiting classes right from the start.

Renegade, hidden traitor and scab Liu Shao-chi and his counter-revolutionary revisionist agents in literary and art circles Chou Yang, Lin Mo-han and their gang, in order to safeguard their monopoly over literature and art, made a fuss about ballet, which they used to create public opinion for the restoration of capitalism. They put out the counter-revolutionary slogan that ballet must be “foreign through and through,” and frantically opposed the correct policy set by Chairman Mao of “critically assimilating” the legacies of literature and art. Their objective was to stop the proletarian revolution in the arts.

In 1964, revolutionary literary and art fighters, enlightened by the *Talks*, under the lead of Comrade Chiang Ching started a revolution in ballet. Smashing all the obstacles and sabotage engineered by Liu Shao-chi, Chou Yang and Lin Mo-han, they succeeded in taking over

this branch of the arts and converting it into a weapon which helps to consolidate the dictatorship of the proletariat.

"The principal form of struggle in the Chinese revolution is armed struggle. Indeed, the history of our Party may be called a history of armed struggle." *Red Detachment of Women* describes the birth, growth and maturing of a women's company, a revolutionary armed force under the correct leadership of the Communist Party of China, during the Second Revolutionary Civil War (1927-1937). The ballet reveals in accordance with Mao Tsetung Thought the principal class contradiction in this period and shows how to solve it. It conveys a great truth, namely, that to seize political power, the proletariat must have a revolutionary Party armed with the theory of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought and a revolutionary working style, and a people's army led exclusively by such a Party; that the Party and the army must arouse the people and rely on them to build and strengthen rural revolutionary bases and carry out a people's war.

Leafing through the pages of the history of world ballet, nowhere can we find one like *Red Detachment of Women* that praises with brimful political enthusiasm the true creators of history, the masses, and their turbulent struggles to break the age-old chains and to win emancipation. Has any other ballet ever unfolded such an extensive panorama of people's war with all its violence and stormy intensity? No, never. The bourgeoisie has always shamelessly proclaimed that "love and death" are the eternal themes for ballet. But this "love" can never disguise sanguinary reality — the cruel exploitation and oppression of the labouring people. Nor can it save them from their doom.

Chairman Mao in his *Talks* teaches us: "revolutionary literature and art should create a variety of characters out of real life and help the masses to propel history forward." The content and theme of an artistic work is primarily expressed through its characters. In different historical periods different classes create their ideal characters accor-

ding to the world outlook and aesthetics of their own classes, and propagate their political aims through these characters.

The proletariat never conceals its political stand, but declares in unequivocal terms that the fundamental task and sacred duty in literature and art is the creation of proletarian heroes. The proletariat, the workers, peasants and soldiers are the masters of the arts and must exercise dictatorship over the bourgeoisie in these fields. This is exactly what our ballet artists do. Through the creation of perfect worker, peasant and soldier heroes, they spread Mao Tsetung Thought and the proletarian revolutionary line represented by Chairman Mao, oppose and criticise feudal, bourgeois and revisionist ideologies, educate the people with revolutionary tradition and the prospect of the revolution, awaken and raise class consciousness of the masses, inspire them with revolutionary enthusiasm, and encourage the people to carry the proletarian revolution through and fight for the complete emancipation of mankind so as to propel history forward.

Red Detachment of Women vividly presents heroic commanders and fighters of the Chinese Workers' and Peasants' Red Army, in particular two dazzling proletarian heroes, Hung Chang-ching and Wu Ching-hua.

Hung is a fine political cadre, a representative of the heroic people's army personally built and led by Chairman Mao, a glorious image of the Communists armed with Mao Tsetung Thought. He closely follows Chairman Mao's teaching that "political power grows out of the barrel of a gun" and conscientiously, faithfully and bravely carries out and defends Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line. That is, with Mao Tsetung Thought he guides the enslaved people's anger and hatred against the landlord class onto the revolutionary road to destroy the old world and emancipate mankind.

On the battlefield he is an intrepid, gallant commander and fighter, who fears neither hardship nor death. On the enemy's execution grounds he is a towering proletarian

hero who says, "What does death matter? The communist creed is the truth." The lofty image of Hung Chang-ching crystallises the fine qualities of the great proletariat, the great people's army and the Communists.

Wu Ching-hua, the heroine, is a typical representative of millions of working people cruelly exploited and oppressed by imperialism, feudalism and bureaucrat-capitalism in the old society. She has a deep hatred for the landlord and capitalist classes and a passionate spirit of revolt. Educated by the Party she quickly matures into a Communist highly conscious of the responsibilities of the vanguard of the proletariat. The road she travels is the correct road for all exploited and oppressed people seeking emancipation.

The production of *Red Detachment of Women*, which now firmly occupies the ballet stage with proletarian heroes, is itself a revolution in which the proletariat overthrows bourgeois control of ballet. It is a starting point in the process of making the ballet serve the workers, peasants and soldiers and help consolidate the dictatorship of the proletariat.

In his *Talks* Chairman Mao teaches us, "Nor do we refuse to utilise the literary and artistic forms of the past, but in our hands these old forms, remoulded and infused with new content, also become something revolutionary in the service of the people." The revolutionary artists proceeded to create the ballet in which Chairman Mao's concepts of people's war were incorporated as the theme and where proletarian heroes were portrayed in accordance with the great leader's directive, "Make the past serve the present and foreign things serve China" and "weed through the old to bring forth the new." Led by Comrade Chiang Ching, they waged a fierce struggle against the sinister counter-revolutionary revisionist line in literature and art. They made a profound remoulding of the forms of the old ballet including dance, music and décor.

The dance is one of the ballet's most important means of character delineation. An accurate, clear-cut

dance vocabulary derives from the organic combination of different dance movements and poses.

Ever since the 18th century, the bourgeoisie has boasted that the ballet is possessed of "great elegance and nobility," that it has "reached a high degree of perfection," that it "leaves nothing to be desired." But in actuality the old form of ballet is pitifully poor. It can at best express despair, sorrow, debauchery and madness, and the neurotic psychology of the exploiting classes. Western bourgeois and Soviet revisionist ballet follow the modernist and abstractionist schools, using vulgar and offensive modes of expression.

Chairman Mao teaches us, "There is no construction without destruction, no flowing without damming and no motion without rest." The portrayal of proletarian heroes on the ballet stage requires of necessity a rich, colourful and representative dance vocabulary capable of conveying proletarian thoughts and feelings. The new era, with its revolutionary political content, demands this, and the ballet artists have discarded the mushy, superficial dance movements that express the ideal characters of the exploiting classes. By smashing the dogmas and conventions of the old ballet they have created a new and beautiful proletarian dance vocabulary.

In order to mould the highest type of proletarian heroes, when creating the characters Hung Chang-ching and Wu Ching-hua, the choreographers made an analysis of their mentality and determined their essential traits, and stressed these in their dances. Hung Chang-ching, Party representative in the women's company, is a prototype of the Party leadership at the grass roots level. He is armed with Mao Tsetung Thought and is an outstanding example of the people's army imbued with a revolutionary spirit of fearing neither hardship nor death. So the dominant notes of his dances are firmness, strength, sweeping vigour and invincibility. Similarly, the dominant notes for Wu Ching-hua, a poor peasant's daughter who has suffered much and been excessively wronged, are fiery revolt, rough-

hewn ardour and revolutionary explosive force.

Having determined these traits, the choreographers created specific dance vocabulary in order to bring the hero and heroine out boldly from among other positive characters and, basing on the requirements of the struggle in various circumstances, express the inner world of the characters in various aspects of its development. Maximum time and space are allotted to them to bring out their proletarian feelings and thoughts.

In the scene in which Hung faces death on the execution grounds, he is in the last moment of his life, seriously wounded and fighting the enemy all by himself. What kind of dance vocabulary is to be designed for him, then, is a matter of principle, a principle of which class's world outlook and what aesthetics should guide the artistic creation. Hung's serious wounds and the execution grounds are but the outward appearances. In essence he is a hero, an indomitable man of steel inspired by an inner strength that can vanquish all enemies. For him the execution grounds are a battlefield to fight the class enemy. His figure dominates the entire stage. Consequently the dance vocabulary must be militant and vigorous.

The counter-revolutionary and revisionist Lin Mo-han clamoured that since Hung is seriously wounded, it is not realistic for him to stand up chest high and head raised. Obviously, what Lin preferred was a display of the ugly cringing of a cowardly renegade. What a vicious slander of the thousands of martyrs who gave their lives for the revolution! This is what the revisionists call "writing about truth." The ballet artists flatly refuted this trash. Adhering to the proletarian Party principles, they designed the dance vocabulary for Hung Chang-ching in accordance with the proletarian world outlook and aesthetics. The hero always stands up head raised and chest high. In the various dance movements — "yen shih tiao," "chien shih pien shen tiao — jeté entrelacé," "ling kung yueh — grand jeté," "kung chuan — tour en l'air," and "ping chuan — chaine" — he is a soaring eagle, moving free-

ly and widely on the stage as he denounces the bandit gang. In this way his dancing gives full expression to the indomitable spirit of the communist, who is "determined to vanquish all enemies and never to yield," no matter what the circumstances.

The series of dances Hung executes are based on the real struggles of the revolution, yet are so artistically refined as to make them "on a higher plane, more intense, more concentrated, more typical, nearer the ideal, and therefore more universal than actual everyday life." They critically assimilate the healthier, more spirited and more flexible techniques and methods of Peking opera, Chinese folk dances and traditional calisthenics and adapt them to create a whole set of new dance vocabulary which retains the characteristics of ballet with due transformation and at the same time is infused with rich Chinese national colour.

Another example is the scene in which Wu Ching-hua, blazing with class hatred, accuses the landlord the Tyrant of the South of savage oppression. At first when the choice of dance vocabulary for her was being decided on, the counter-revolutionary Lin Mo-han launched a desperate struggle to sabotage, ranting that the heroine must look sad and distressed and that for her to lift a fist does not fit in with her character. If this reactionary view were put into practice, the heroine would be distorted into an effete figure at once melancholy and submissive.

The ballet artists determinedly resisted this evil attack. The choreography they worked out is highly expressive of the heroine's rebellious character. By repeatedly improving and polishing they created a set of clear-cut, concise and typical dance movements which bring out to the full the heroine's deep suffering and bitter hatred, her proletarian ability to distinguish between what to love and what to loathe. When Wu is accusing the Tyrant of savage oppression, for instance, the Company Commander hands her a bowl of cocoanut milk and sees weals on her arms. Wu suddenly rises on points, does "tse shen

hsi tui," pulls up her sleeves and reveals long weals. Then with "chan chih tun chuan" and "pei shen kuei pu" she faces the soldiers and civilians, raises the other arm with clenched fist and shows more bloody weals. Anger flares up in her bosom, and her eyes blaze with the fire of class hatred. With the accurate poses of "pang yueh pu — jeté fermé" she turns to "tsu chien ping li — soutenu en tournant" and shows the tortures she went through chained in the Tyrant's dungeon.

Wu's dances in this scene, filled with cadence, counterpoise, ardent passion, sharp contrast, distinctive nuances and clear-cut vocabulary, deeply reveal the heroine's intrinsic class love and hatred, and sharply set off her flaming enmity for the landlord class and her unyielding rebellious character.

To achieve unity in the heroes' inner and outward beauty, the ballet artists pay special attention to the creation of action poses of the heroes to bring forth the beauty of their inner world. Dance poses are an effective means to convey the class character, ideological integrity and spiritual realm of the heroic characters. In the course of dancing a pose cannot last very long, sometimes only for a moment. But in this twinkling of an eye a pose can crystallise the most essential qualities of character, thus leading the audience more deeply into the soul of the hero, and intensifying the impact of the art.

In the ballet a great number of poses were designed for Hung Chang-ching and Wu Ching-hua that reveal their fine qualities and noble mentality. In Scene One, for instance, Hung, disguised, is passing through a cocoanut grove on a scouting mission. The moment he appears we see him brimming over with gallantry, stately and noble of deportment, his eyes darting sharply like daggers at the cannibalistic old world. These series of poses, adapted from Peking opera "liang hsiang," show the traits of a scout of the people's army, emphasising his courage, quick wit, sharp insight and level headedness. Other poses representing his bravery when he is slashing the enemy with his sword show his dexterous handling of the

foe while penetrating by strategy into the manor of the Tyrant of the South, his soaring heroism and indomitable will in face of death on the execution grounds.

For Wu Ching-hua the ballet artists also designed a series of poses such as "tsu chien kung chien pu liang hsiang," and "hsien shen tan hai — attitude basse" to accentuate her hatred and resistance against the class enemy. The various poses of "ying feng chan chih — arabesque" show her extraordinary courage when, after she has matured under the Party's education, she fights the landlord's guards with confidence and supremacy. Practically in every scene all the dances for her, as well as for Hung Chang-ching, unfold from various aspects the communist spiritual world of proletarian heroes.

In the process of revolutionising ballet it has been established that unique, stabilised and refined poses are necessary to express profound ideological content and to portray moving heroic images of the proletariat. This goal cannot be achieved otherwise.

Proceeding from the aesthetics of the proletariat, the dance vocabulary and poses for *Red Detachment of Women* successfully reflect and crystallise the militant life of workers, peasants and soldiers and the beauty of the spiritual world of the proletarian labouring masses — masters of a

new age which flies Mao Tsetung Thought as its banner. The bourgeois ballet can never aspire to such heights, although it also attaches importance to dance vocabulary and poses, most of which are based on dilettantism and formalism. As a matter of fact, no matter what great pains the bourgeoisie takes in their choreography, they can by no means disguise the empty soul of despondency, decadence and reaction of their ideal characters. It is impossible for them to have the revolutionary zeal of the proletariat. All the techniques they have developed are devoid of vitality.

Our practice in the art fully testifies that only the revolutionary artists, boundlessly loyal to Chairman Mao's proletarian line in literature and art, determined to sing of workers, peasants and soldiers, and imbued with intense revolutionary zeal to create heroic characters of the proletariat, can infuse powerful vitality into these new dances and poses.

In ballet, music plays a subordinate part to dance. This is where the relationship between music and dance lies. A subordinate part only serves to set off the principal part, and not otherwise. But it also plays a positive, creative role in its own way. Handled properly, it can assist the dance to bring out the content more effectively, and in the joint efforts discharge its duty of moulding

Chiang Ching applauds cultural troupe.





the proletarian heroic characters.

“Music is the fountain head of ballet,” “Dance is the echo of music,” and so on and so forth — all these are reactionary fallacies on ballet hatched by the bourgeoisie to meet the needs of its own class. It makes music something mystic and unfathomable, and attempts through abstruse scores to disguise the reactionary, decadent, vulgar and indecent political content. For a considerable length of time the fallacy that “music is the absolute determining factor” has been an artistic “criterion” for ballet which could not be offended.

When the scores for *Red Detachment of Women* were being written, Lin Mo-han and his handful of counter-revolutionary revisionist cronies did their utmost to sabotage the work, insisting that it be as “lyrical” as the music in the decadent ballet *Giselle*. Their purpose was to distort and uglify through bourgeois “lyricism” the musical images of proletarian heroes.

Guided by the great banner of Mao Tsetung Thought, the revolutionary artists maintained that the music serve the content, the dance, the creation of proletarian heroes. They stick firmly to the proletarian

line. Breaking away from the foreign conventions and dogmas and smashing all the plots concocted by a handful of revisionists, they set up a proletarian principle for the music of revolutionary ballet.

In ballet music helps to bring out the content and the portrayal of proletarian heroes. To accomplish this task it must first of all create dazzling musical images of the proletarian heroes. In this the theme melody plays an important role. In writing ballet music the composers adhere to two principles: clarity and simplicity. Clarity means that the melody must convey the most typical and noblest characteristics and temperaments of the heroes. Simplicity means that the melody must be easily understood and remembered, and suit the dancing. Based on these principles two theme melodies were designed for Hung Chang-ching and Wu Ching-hua.

For Hung Chang-ching, the theme melody is simple yet passionate, profound yet strong, expressing a heroic revolutionary temperament of the proletariat.



The melody for Wu Ching-hua is also simple but clear-cut, with a compelling sense of motion and power, accentuating her unyielding rebellious character and reflecting the deep hatred of the oppressed for their oppressors.



The theme melodies always appear when the heroes come on stage, presented with variations according to the different environment. In Scene Six, full play is given to the positive functions of the music in emphasising Hung Chang-ching's



sublime revolutionary optimism before he goes to his death. Against the background of broad and majestic theme melodies Hung Chang-ching walks dauntlessly to the execution grounds. With the morning sun in his heart, head high and smiling, he towers at the centre of the stage, accompanied by the theme melodies which are set off by the soft touch of strings and harp. He seems to hear the marching song of the women's company. His blood coursing rapidly and heart overflowing, he clenches his right hand into a fist, which shakes to the powerful rhythm of the march. The bugle echoes in his ears, announcing the victory of the women's detachment over the fleeing enemy, and unfolding before his eyes a splendid sight: "Workers and peasants have risen in their millions to fight as one man," and "Forests blaze red beneath the frosty sky." His firm conviction in the final victory of communism makes his spirit soar and his will strong. To the beating of battle drums, he strides to his death, fighting for communism to the last moment of his life.

The theme melody for Wu Ching-hua in Scene Two in which she tells about her sufferings is also fully



developed. To the quick beat of kettledrums, she begins her accusation of the landlord the Tyrant of the South. Variations of the melody are played on the expressive strings. Turbulent, impetuous and full of power, every note conveys forcefully the heroine's vehement desire to rebel and avenge herself and her firm determination to tear the Tyrant of the South to pieces.

Running throughout the ballet is the *March of the Women's Company*, the theme melody for people's war, the musical image of the women's detachment, a militant revolutionary collective.



To give a deeper portrayal of the heroes' lofty mentality and give the ballet a "fresh, lively Chinese style and spirit which the common people of China love," the musicians broke the restrictions imposed by the make-up of the Western orchestra and smashed the vicious attempts of the counter-revolutionary and revisionist Lin Mo-han and his gang to eliminate from the orchestra for the ballet traditional Chinese instruments which they slandered as something capable of producing only "a wooden sound."

In the course of revolutionising the music the percussion instruments of Peking opera and other traditional folk instruments were successfully incorporated into the orchestra after careful experiments and repeated improvement. The bold combination of the Western orchestra's broad range of sound and volume with lively national colour enriches the music's power of expression and gives it a unique style popular with the workers, peasants and soldiers.

This music, with its distinct class character, its popularity with the masses and its broad contemporaneity, fulfills with success its task of creating musical images of Hung Chang-ching, Wu Ching-hua and other heroic characters. It shatters the so-called "fountain-headism," "echoism" and other reactionary "laws" of bourgeois

dilettantism and formalism, and sweeps away all the sentimentalism, gloominess and decadence of the bourgeois music.

Stage art — including scenery, lighting, costume, make-up and properties — also serves the portrayal of characters. It helps to bring out and set off the characters, their historical background and the circumstances in which they live.

Red Detachment of Women discards completely the naturalistic, formalistic and abstract treatment of bourgeois stage art, and follows instead the principle of putting proletarian heroes and revolutionary political content to the fore. In portraying heroic and positive characters, the stress is on "cleanliness." This helps to bring out effectively the outward beauty of proletarian heroes and the sublime spiritual realm of communism. For example, the first half of Scene Two is given to the celebration by the armymen and civilians of the formation of the women's company. To illustrate the brilliant idea, "Without a people's army the people have nothing," the ballet artists took great pains in working out a décor for the Party representative Hung Chang-ching and the red detachment of women under his lead, rejecting the practice of using noisy colours to create an atmosphere that overshadows the portrayal of the principal hero.

True, much attention is paid to the very prosperous atmosphere in the décor for the revolutionary base area. But when Hung Chang-ching and the fighters of the women's company stride onto the stage, the colours of the scenery, lights and costumes quickly arrange themselves to set off the hero and the army under his lead. The blue sky and white clouds set off the company's bright red battle flag. The peasants' attractive festival clothes set off Hung Chang-ching's and his fighters' plain silver-grey uniforms, the distinct red stars on their army caps, their red collar tabs and red arm-bands — "a red star on our army caps, two red flags of the revolution on our collars," symbols of their loyalty to Chairman Mao's revolutionary line. Again, in Scene Four in which the armymen and

civilians celebrate together, costumes in intermediate colours were designed for the peasants to set off the splendid beauty of Hung Chang-ching, Wu Ching-hua and other heroic people's fighters.

In designing the costumes naturalistic representation of everyday attire is rejected, just as any attempt to deviate from life or actual historical circumstances based on an art-for-art's sake formalism is dismissed. Both tendencies distort the images of the labouring masses. The women's company, for instance, is a revolutionary force composed of the daughters of peasants and workers who have been cruelly exploited and oppressed by landlords and capitalists for generations. The ballet deals with a difficult period when the enemy was superior in strength and numbers. So the silver-grey uniforms they wear are full of patches. But these patches are put on neatly and properly, not in any shabby manner.

By combining revolutionary realism with revolutionary romanticism, the stage art, proceeding from a clear-cut, strong class love and hatred, eulogises heroes and lays bare the ugly features of the negative characters. In Scene Five when Hung Chang-ching passes out after being wounded while covering the retreat of his comrades-in-arms, clouds begin to gather in the background, accentuated by the rumble of distant thunder. Then when the Tyrant of the South and his bandit soldiers move up to Hung Chang-ching, the latter pushes them aside with an indignant sweep of the arms and looks at the Tyrant with cold fury. At this point flashes of lightning and peals of thunder bring to the fore the image of the hero towering over his enemies, at the same time symbolising the power that will destroy the old world, the coming fierce storm of revolution.

The success of the first revolutionary modern ballet in our country is a great victory for Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line in literature and art, an outstanding achievement made under the meticulous care of Comrade Chiang Ching. The *Red Detachment of Women* opens a brand-new road for more and better Chinese ballets. □

Ten Years of Tumultuous Advance

1. The Cultural Revolution is Unleashed: November 1965 - January 1967

The "signal," Mao called it, was the publication of the newspaper article "On the New Historical Drama *Hai Jui Dismissed from Office*." This play by a Peking Deputy Mayor was a thinly disguised demand for the reinstatement of former Defense Minister Peng Teh-huai, dismissed as head of the armed forces in 1959. Peng Teh-huai had refused to go along with Mao on creating a People's Militia. He had been a standard-bearer of the Right's opposition to the political mobilisation of the peasants and the formation of People's Communes in the Great Leap Forward. Now he was demanding reinstatement and the Right was using him as a battering ram.

A criticism of the play was written by Yao Wen-yuan under the leadership of Chiang Ching, Mao's wife. Peking Mayor Peng Chen blocked its publication. Behind Peng Chen stood head of state Liu Shao-chi and another powerful Party leader, its Secretary-General, Deng Xiaoping. "At that time," Mao later explained, "certain departments and certain localities were dominated by revisionism. It was so tight that even water could not seep in and pins could not penetrate." Finally the article appeared in Shanghai November 10th.

When the Right found it couldn't suppress the publication of Yao Wen-yuan's criticism of *Hai Jui*, it tried, through its leading positions in the Party, to steer the debate into purely academic and historical waters. They forbid big meetings, big debates and the posting of big posters.

Mao later explained, "Yao Wen-yuan's article was merely the signal

for the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution. Consequently, in the Central Committee, I was especially keen on drawing up the May 16th Circular. Because the enemy was especially sensitive, once the signal was sounded, we knew he would take action. Of course we had to take action on our own. This circular had already been very precise in bringing out the question of line, and the question of two lines. At that time, the majority did not agree with my view, and I was left alone for a time. They said my views were outmoded.... After some debate I gained the endorsement of a little over one-half of the comrades."

"Open Wide" — The May 16th Circular

The circular was meant to blow the debate wide open and indicate its true targets: "Those representatives of the bourgeoisie who have sneaked into the Party, the government, the army and various fields 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 the 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 to be our successors. Persons like Khrushchev, for example, who are still nestling beside us. Party committees at all levels must pay attention to this matter...."

As to method, "Open wide." "To open wide" means to let all people express their opinions freely, so that they dare to speak, dare to criticise and dare to debate."

This May 16th Circular was at that time an inner-Party document, but Mao had no intention of seeing the struggle confined to Party ranks and circles.

On May 25th 1966, seven students

and teaching assistants at Peking University put up a big character poster criticising the university head and other high-ranking Party officials linked to Mayor Peng Chen. Written with broad brush strokes on a large sheet of paper, it said, "What kind of people are you actually?... to hold big meetings and put up big-character posters is one of the best ways for the masses to do battle. By 'guiding' the masses not to hold big meetings, not to put up big-character posters and by creating all kinds of taboos, aren't you suppressing the masses' revolution, not allowing them to make revolution, and opposing their revolution? We will never permit you to do this!"

The young people who put up this poster had no way of knowing what would happen to them. Mao asked that it be broadcast on the radio and printed in newspapers on June 1st. He called it, "China's first national Marxist-Leninist big character poster." There was celebration on the Peking University campus.

Elsewhere secondary school students wrote the Central Committee a letter demanding the transformation of an educational system which augmented the difference between manual and intellectual labour, between workers and peasants, and between city and country. In support of these kinds of demands, student outbursts became widespread, especially in Peking.

By June, Peng Chen and the Peking University president were removed from office. Exams and matriculation were postponed on instructions from the Central Committee. In the schools, wall posters began to cover every inch of space; then they were hung from wires in great sheets across the lunchrooms. A torrent of leaflets, brochures, printed wall newspapers and handwritten wall posters began to overflow the campuses and engulf

all of China.

Once again the Right strove to put itself at the head of this movement and distort it for its own ends. During Mao's fifty-day absence from Peking in June and July, Liu Shaoyi and Deng Xiaoping, still second and third-ranking Party leaders, sent in work teams to "guide" the Cultural Revolution in the schools, offices and factories. They forbid off-campus discussion of university affairs. Meetings were also forbidden and persecution was the order of the day. The work teams tried to "point the spearhead down," by focusing criticism on real or alleged errors among ordinary teachers, students and workers, instead of on the policies being carried out by leading Party officials. The Cultural Revolution was close to being extinguished by these officials masquerading as supporters of Mao Tsetung Thought. Small, sometimes semi-clandestine resistance groups sprang up, especially among students. But the situation was serious and many were confused. The stakes were mounting: at that time the U.S. bombed Hanoi and Haiphong, in Vietnam, bringing the war closer to China's borders.

On July 25, in the newspaper *People's Daily*, a photo appeared on page one: Mao swimming in the Yangtze River. At 73 he had swum a good number of miles in turbulent waters. Rumours about Mao's indisposition were wrong, those who counted on being able to write him off were wrong, and he was definitely not out of the political combat.

In August, there was a plenum of the Central Committee. It was to break down important political and ideological barriers holding back China's young rebels, by clearly affirming the main targets, goals and methods of the Cultural Revolution. Its main document, called the 16 Points, was to become the basic programme of the Cultural Revolution.

The 16 Points: August 1967

"Comrade Mao Tsetung 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 the counterrevolutionary class.' This

thesis of Comrade Mao's has 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 comeback. The proletariat must do the exact 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 society. At present, our objective is to struggle against and overthrow those persons in authority who are taking the capitalist road, to criticise and repudiate the reactionary bourgeoisie 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 not in correspondence with the socialist economic base, so as to facilitate the consolidation and development of the socialist system."

"Large numbers of revolutionary young people," the 16 Points continued, "previously unknown, have become courageous and daring pathbreakers" who "argue things out, expose and criticise thoroughly, and launch resolute attacks on the open and hidden representatives of the bourgeoisie." "Since the Cultural Revolution is a revolution," it added, "it invariably meets with resistance.... chiefly from those in authority who have wormed their way into the Party and are taking the capitalist road. It also comes from the forces of habits from the old society.... 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 zigzags and does not run smoothly...."

"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 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....

"In the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, the only method is for the masses to liberate themselves, and any method of doing things in their stead must not be used. Trust the masses, rely on them and respect their initiative. Cast out fear. Don't be afraid of disturbances. Chairman Mao has often told us that revolutions cannot be so 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."

The 16 Points distinguished between "antisocialist Rightists" and those who had made mistakes, and between people in authority and "people who have ordinary bourgeois academic ideas." It also made a distinction between contradictions among the people and contradictions between the people and the enemy, stating "it is normal for the masses to hold different ideas." "The minority should be protected, because sometimes the truth is with the minority." "When there is debate, it should be conducted by reasoning, not force." It divided cadres (full-time officials of various kinds) into good; comparatively good; people who had made mistakes "and put fear above everything" else and who could either make self-criticism or become an obstacle; and capitalist roaders in authority. Regarding the latter, the document warned, "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 counterrevolution, all for the pur-

pose of attacking the revolutionaries.” The pertinence of this last point would become even clearer in the coming months.

On August 5th, in the midst of the Party meeting that issued this 16 Point decision, Mao put out “My Big Character Poster: Bombard the Headquarters!”

Summer - Fall 1966: Red Guards and Revolutionary Rebels

In mid-August, Red Guard units, which had begun to develop based on the resistance to the reactionary work teams, began to appear publicly and to spread with dizzying rapidity. These were mass organisations of secondary and university students and teachers. The majority were 12 to 17 years old. Despite their organisation in detachments and so on, military style, they did not carry weapons and were not really military in organisation and discipline.

During their first phase, in August, they swarmed through Peking, Shanghai and Canton, painting over streets and store signs which evoked the memory of old, feudal, enslaved China. (Contrary to malicious Western reports, they did not attack museums.) They searched the homes of former capitalists and landlords, confiscating and dragging into the daylight gold, jewelry, opium pipes and opium, weapons and deeds to former property.

Then they began to spread out from these cities into the rest of the country, while new Red Guard organisations sprang up everywhere. Soon Red Guards were traveling around the country to exchange experience. Everywhere they went they distributed the 16 Points and encouraged people to implement them. Later they began distributing hundreds of millions of *Quotations from Chairman Mao Tsetung* and other works by Mao.

Mao donned a Red Guard armband himself and personally greeted the first big Red Guard rally in Peking’s Tien An Men square. A million youth took part, many coming from far-flung provinces (meanwhile many Peking Red Guards were traveling in the hinterlands). Similar rallies were to take place every two

weeks after that. Often they were held in support of the struggles of the peoples of the world, and Mao issued statements in support of specific struggles including the Black people in the U.S. and the Indochinese people then at war with U.S. imperialism. It was estimated that at any one time, in addition to its four million usual inhabitants, Peking also housed another million traveling Red Guards, who organised themselves carefully so as not to break the city’s back.

The workers were becoming active and began to organise the Cultural Revolution among their own ranks, department by department and factory by factory. They began criticising, evaluating and pasting up big-character posters regarding questions facing society as a whole as well as about the management in their work-places.

Generally these worker Cultural Revolution organisations were called “rebels” or “proletarian revolutionaries.” Policies were issued so that the workers could have at their command paper, ink, printing facilities, loudspeakers, meeting places, and transport. Soon worker and student organisations began setting up joint centres of leadership on the city and provincial levels.

Mao later explained, “Although it was the intellectuals and the broad masses of young students who launched the criticism of the bourgeois reactionary line, it was, nonetheless, incumbent upon the masters of the time, the broad masses of workers, peasants and soldiers, to serve as the main force in carrying the revolution through to completion.... Intellectuals have always been quick in altering their perceptions of things, but, because of the limitations of their instincts, and because they lack a thorough revolutionary character, they are sometimes opportunistic.”

On October 1st 1966, China’s national day, two million Red Guards and rebel workers paraded through Tien An Men square.

The “Adverse Current” Begins: Winter 1966

In October, the Party theoretical organ *Red Flag* published an editorial warning that the two-line struggle in the Party, “while not yet

antagonistic, might become so.” Discussion around this editorial was widely organised in the schools and factories. Though not yet named in the official press, Liu Shao-chi and Deng Xiaoping had been labeled opponents of the Cultural Revolution in wall posters and Red Guard publications. It was understood who Mao meant when he said “Bombard the Headquarters.” But the struggle became especially complicated because some leaders who had openly supported Liu and Deng in a straightforwardly rightist manner now saw themselves forced to switch tactics. They began trying to deflect the attacks on the Right by working to “broaden the target” to include genuine revolutionaries as well.

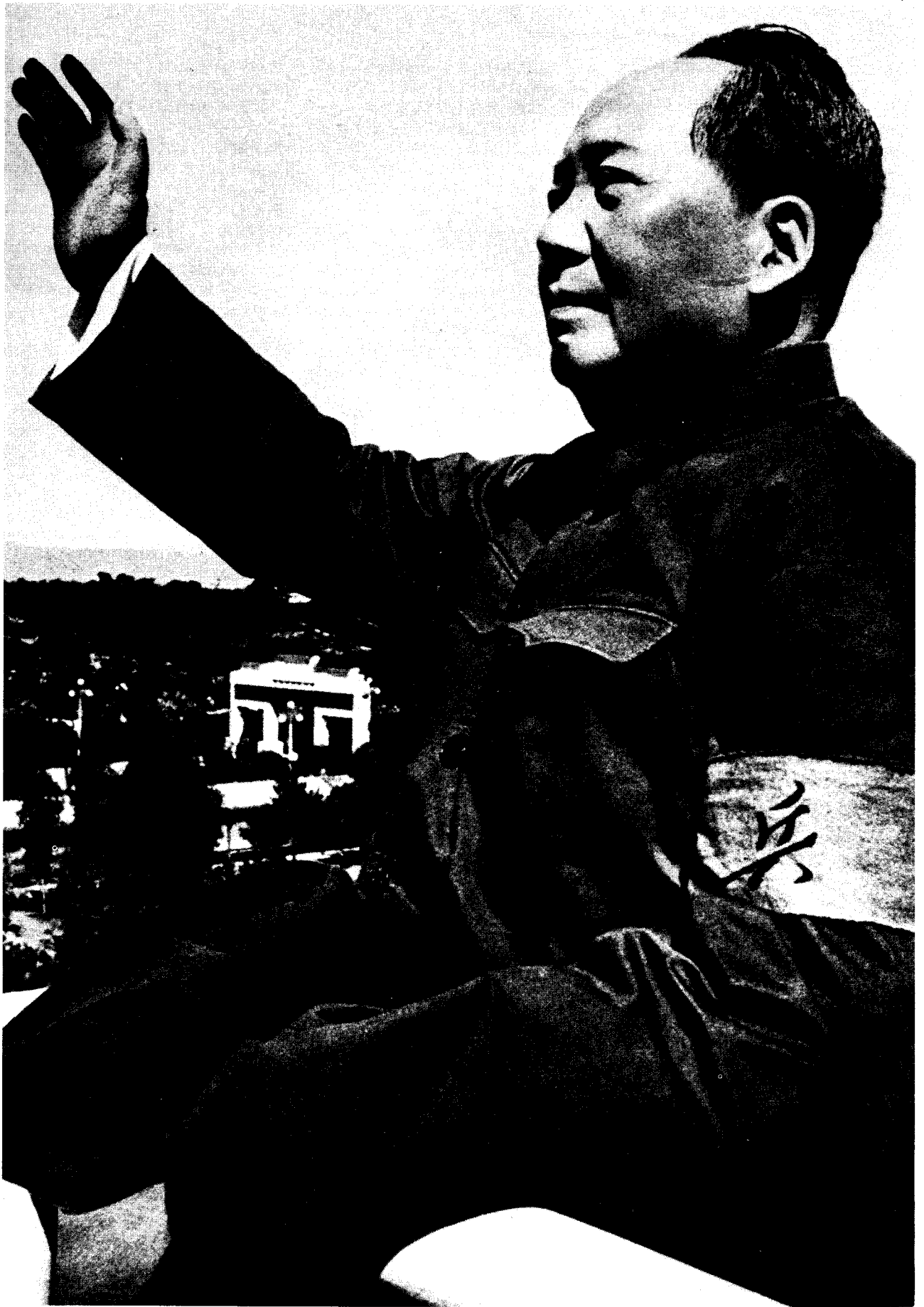
“Suspect all, Overthrow all” was a favourite rallying cry designed to divert the struggle from overthrowing the bourgeoisie in the Party. Reflecting this and the sharpening differences within the Party, conflicts between different Red Guard organisations also began to sharpen. In some cases, the Right was able to foment pitched battles. At the same time, since it had failed to keep the Cultural Revolution from taking hold among the workers, the Right promoted an “economist wind” of encouraging workers to demand — and to strike for — pay raises and bonuses, in order to distract the workers from the current political battles and their revolutionary political goals, to promote individualism and to create economic difficulties which they hoped to use as an excuse to demand that the Cultural Revolution be reined in.

During this “adverse current,” despite it — and directly in the face of it — the centre of gravity of the Cultural Revolution began to shift to China’s industrial areas. In November 1966, the Shanghai Workers Revolutionary Headquarters was established to fight the rightist city Party leadership. In response, the authorities set up their own rival Detachment of Red Defense of Mao Tsetung Thought, a “rebel worker” organisation headquartered on the top floor of City Hall. Chang Chun-chiao, a former Shanghai party leader loyal to Mao’s line, was sent back to



*Young student activist
pins Red Guard
armband on Mao.*





Mao greets Red Guards at Tien An Mien demonstration.

Shanghai from Peking to intervene.

The Workers Revolutionary HQ and other mass organisations issued an "Urgent Warning" to the city's people denouncing the Right's political intrigues and economic sabotage of socialism. This appeal received the backing of the Party Central Committee but the Right refused to back down.

2. The Working Class Seizes Power From Below: January 1967 - September 1968

On January 11th 1967, worker rebels seized strategic sites and workplaces all over the city and overthrew the city administration, taking power firmly in their own hands. At first they called it the Shanghai Commune. Later, under Mao's guidance, they renamed it the Revolutionary Committee of the Municipality of Shanghai.

This was the January storm. The Cultural Revolution had entered a new phase. The revolutionary rebels, having learned some lessons through the twists and turns, were seizing political power.

Revolutionary committees sprang up in many places, but unevenly and often in a checkerboard pattern. There were protracted struggles in many areas where revolutionary committees could not be established or where the Right established its own phony revolutionary committees to preempt the masses and the Left.

The Party's proletarian leadership began to make efforts to form "great alliances" between different and often rival mass organisations to facilitate further seizures of power. In some places this was successful, while in others it was impossible for the various mass organisations to come to agreement. Sometimes alliances were formed only to quickly collapse.

Mao commented, "This was a crucial stage in the decisive battle between the two classes, the two roads and the two lines, and this [seizure of power — *AWTW*] was the main and proper theme of the whole movement. After the 'January storm,' the Central Com-

mittee repeatedly concerned itself with the problem of a great alliance, but it did not work out. Later, it was discovered that this subjective wish was not in keeping with the objective laws of the class struggle. This is because each class and political power wanted to exert itself stubbornly. Bourgeois and petit-bourgeois ideologies burst forth like unbridled flood waters, thus undermining the great alliance. It was impossible to work out such a great alliance, and even if it were, it would eventually be broken up. Thus the present attitude of the Central Committee is merely to promote it, not to work it out. The method of pulling the sprout to accelerate its growth is unfeasible." (This, like many of Mao's comments summing up the earlier phases of the Cultural Revolution quoted here, are from his "Speech to the Albanian Military Delegation" given on May 1st 1967 — reprinted in *A World To Win* 1984/1.) "The problem," Mao said elsewhere about this period, "is that those who have committed ideological errors are mixed up with those whose contradiction with us is between ourselves and the enemy, and for a long time it is hard to sort them out."

Despite the difficulties that had arisen, cutting the process short could only thwart the movement's goals: "The Central Committee has emphasised time and time again that the masses must educate themselves and liberate themselves. This is because world outlook cannot be imposed upon them. In order to transform ideology, it is necessary for external causes to function through internal causes, though the latter are principal. If the world outlook is not transformed, how can the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution be called a victory? If the world outlook is not transformed, although there are 2,000 power holders taking the capitalist road in this Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, there may be 4,000 next time."

Mao's Two Calls

After the January storm, Mao issued two calls. One was, "Proletarian revolutionaries unite and seize power from the handful of

Party persons in power taking the capitalist road." The other was, "The People's Liberation Army should support the broad masses of the Left." PLA units (unarmed), usually propaganda teams, were sent in to the factories and peasant communes to work and engage in political struggle. Their assigned task was to support the Left through persuasion, help assure production and aid in forming great alliances and revolutionary committees called three-in-one combinations. These were made up of representatives of the masses selected by them, Party representatives also selected by the masses, and army representatives.

The "adverse current" was beaten back by March 1967. The Central Committee asked that school classes resume without halting the Cultural Revolution, with emphasis on criticising and revolutionising teaching methods. Mass revolutionary criticism flourished, with the number of posters reaching new heights when the Party officially began blasting Liu and Deng and exposing their political and ideological programme in an all-around way, including exposing some of the Rightist manoeuvres in "leftist" guise such as during the period of the work teams.

The Right, however, was not dead. "In the summer of 1967 and the spring of 1968, they again fanned up a reactionary evil wind both from the Right and the extreme 'Left' to reverse correct verdicts." (From the *Report to the Ninth Party Congress*) Serious incidents included army support for the Right in the major industrial city of Wuhan and several days of major battles. In a few places fighting between rival Red Guard organisations went over to bloodshed.

In the summer of 1967 Mao toured North, East and South-Central China. When he returned to Peking in September he announced that despite these difficulties, "The situation of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution in the whole country is excellent, not just good; the entire situation is better than at any time before."

The situation was excellent for continuing the revolution. Nation-

wide study sessions were organised to study Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought, fight individualism and criticise revisionism. The revolutionary committees spread.

“The Working Class Must Exercise Leadership In Everything”: July 1968

“There is no fundamental conflict of interests within the working class,” Mao said. In July 1968, he issued the directive, “It is essential to bring into full play the leading role of the working class in the Great Cultural Revolution and in all fields of work.” “The working class must exercise leadership in everything.”

Worker control teams were sent into the universities to settle problems and to play a permanent role in revolutionising education. They were also sent into government offices.

In the fall of 1968, with the establishment of the last major revolutionary committees, in Tibet and Sinkiang, the Party press announced that the Cultural Revolution had been brought to a successful stage throughout the country. Mao made a very important and far-sighted statement:

“We have won great victory. But the defeated class will still struggle. These people are still around and this class still exists. Therefore, we cannot speak of final victory. Not even for decades. We must not lose our vigilance. According to the Leninist viewpoint, the final victory of a socialist country not only requires the efforts of the proletariat and the broad masses of people at home, but also involves the victory of the world revolution and the abolition of the system of exploitation of man by man over the whole globe, upon which all mankind will be emancipated. Therefore, it is wrong to speak lightly of the final victory of the revolution in our country; it runs counter to Leninism and does not conform to facts.”

3. Struggle — Criticism — Transformation

The period of tumultuous marches, rallies and fighting was drawing to a close. For the first time in

history, the formerly exploited masses in a socialist country had seized back the power usurped by a new bourgeoisie arisen within the very bosom of the Party — an achievement crowned with the Party’s Ninth Congress in 1969, marking the successful reforging of the Party itself in the furnace of mass struggle against revisionism. But the Cultural Revolution was far from over. In fact, it was to become both deeper and even more complex — or perhaps it is truer to say that it became increasingly complex as it dug deeper and deeper into the soil from which this bourgeoisie had arisen and from which new bourgeois would inevitably continue to arise until the basis for them to exist had been completely eradicated.

The entire nature and purpose of China’s education system was transformed. Formerly it had been much like any educational system serving exploiting society anywhere in the world. Now, as Mao said, its goal was to train “workers with both socialist consciousness and culture.” “It is still necessary to have universities; here I refer mainly to colleges of science and engineering. However, it is essential to shorten the length of schooling, revolutionise education, put proletarian politics in command and take the road of the Shanghai Machine Tools Plant in training technicians from among the workers. Students should be selected from among workers and peasants with practical experience and they should return to production after a few years of study.”

The number of full-time officials working for the central government in Peking was reduced from 60,000 to 10,000 in 1971. Under the system of “May 7th Cadre Schools,” officials spent part of each year in the countryside doing farm labour and studying Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought.

In the countryside, a new model arose: throwing out the old system of allocating the harvest according to work points based on a competitive system among the peasants not much different from the old society, and replacing it with a policy meant to promote “working wholeheartedly for the public interest, self-assessment of work points confirm-

ed by public discussion.” Spurred by their political and ideological understanding and no longer kept so much apart by conflicting interests, peasants carried out enormous construction projects on a scale unprecedented in history. Even the course of rivers was transformed so as to free China of floods and harness the waters for irrigation and electricity. Despite China’s still relatively low level of mechanisation all this led to tremendous increases in agricultural production.

In industry, workers carried out mass movements to free themselves from cumbersome rules and regulations and downgraded material incentives and bonuses. Such measures, necessary for organising production when the fruits of labour are alienated from the producers, were to a large extent replaced by the conscious control of proletarians determined to free society and the world. One-man management was replaced by revolutionary committees and the relations between workers, technicians and management were fundamentally altered through the use of three-in-one teams of these three forces to spearhead continual technical innovations. The division between manual and mental labour was being cut away in production itself, as well as in education and in revolutionising the cadre.

“Grasp revolution, promote production” the 16 Points had declared. This freeing to an unprecedented extent of the productive forces, the greatest of which is the producers themselves, led to spectacular achievements in production. These included the construction of a 10,000 tonne ship on a Shanghai dry dock built for ships of a maximum of 5,000 tonnes. Such victories helped socialist China to withstand imperialist pressures and were quite consciously carried out as part of enabling the country to step up its aid to the world revolution, especially to Vietnam, which directly involved a significant percentage of production and transport.

Characterising the situation before the Cultural Revolution, Mao had suggested that the Ministry of Culture change its name to “the Ministry of Emperors, Kings,

Generals and Ministers, the Ministry of Talents and Beauties, or the Ministry of Foreign Mummies.” Now the workers and peasants occupied the centre stage. Traditional Chinese and Western forms were transformed while a radical rupture was made with their content and the outlook of the proletariat was given its fullest cultural expression in history. Eight model theatrical works were created in the early years of the Cultural Revolution. Within a decade, artists in all fields, political workers and large numbers of the masses themselves who were drawn into the process had developed 17 model operas, ballets, symphonic music pieces and so on. On a local level thousands of other works were created by professional artists and by the contingents of part-time artists flourishing among workers, peasants and soldiers.

Mao had also said that the Ministry of Health should be called “the Ministry of Health for Urban Overlords.” Health care was revolutionised to reverse this, putting emphasis on the countryside and on workers’ health problems. Professional medicine and the professionals themselves were transformed. Tens of millions of people from among the masses were drawn into solving health problems. These were called “barefoot doctors” because you can’t work in the rice paddies wearing shoes. By mobilising the masses of peasants to wipe out disease-carrying snails infesting the canals and rice paddies, China was freed of a terrible scourge that had long afflicted the peasants. At the same time, guided by the same principles, socialist China achieved important world breakthroughs in medicine, including the first synthetic manufacture of insulin, the use of acupuncture, new advances in surgery and so on.

In connection with all this, there was a fundamental leap made in the political and ideological education of the masses, both in the course of class struggle, production and scientific experiment, and involving study in its own right. In a country where a great many people had no books, the 400 million copies of *Quotations From Chairman Mao Tsetung* (the “little red book”) meant that many

people had the chance to study Mao’s Thought for the first time. In addition, 70 million copies of his *Selected Works* enabled deeper study to take place on a truly mass scale. Programmes in the factories, fields and schools trained millions upon millions in rigorous study and debate over major basic works by Marx, Engels and Lenin as well as Mao. With the slogan “Philosophy is No Mystery,” vast numbers of workers and peasants studied, debated and consciously applied the basic philosophical principles of materialist dialectics as part of a movement that involved important philosophical advances made under the leadership of Mao’s line.

4. The Revolutionary Road Is Full of Twists and Turns: 1969 - 1976

As Mao often pointed out and as was repeatedly witnessed in the course of the Cultural Revolution, every revolutionary offensive gives rise to a desperate battle by representatives of the status quo. September 1971 saw a grave setback: Lin Piao decisively turned against the Cultural Revolution and hatched an attempt to assassinate Mao. Lin himself was killed in an airplane crash near the Soviet border after his coup attempt failed.

Lin Piao had become Defense Minister in 1959 after the defeat of Peng Teh-huai. Later he had played a prominent role in the Cultural Revolution and had helped bring the support of the armed forces to bear against Liu and Deng. Lin and his followers “never showed up without a copy of *Quotations* in hand and never opened their mouths without shouting ‘Long Live’ and...spoke nice things to your face but stabbed you in the back.” (From the 10th Congress *Report*) After Liu and Deng went down, Lin and his followers themselves took an increasingly stubborn stand against continuing the Cultural Revolution. As early as 1966, Mao had written to Chiang Ching warning that this might happen with Lin Piao: “Monsters and demons will jump out themselves. Determined by their own class nature, they are bound to jump out.”

Especially in 1969, as Russia stepped up military pressure on China and attacked its northern borders, Lin called for an accommodation with the USSR. He argued that China could not defend itself without rebuilding its armed forces to put the emphasis on heavy weapons and not the revolutionary consciousness of the soldiers and masses. As Mao once pointed out, for a country like China such a line could only lead to capitulation in the face of imperialism. Lin wrote a draft report to be submitted to the Ninth Party Congress which claimed that the principal contradiction was no longer between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie but rather between China’s “advanced social system and backward productive forces,” and called for politics to take a back seat to production. This was the same line that Liu Shao-chi had put forward earlier under different circumstances. (This draft was rejected.)

In the wake of Lin’s attempted coup, the Cultural Revolution faced a rather difficult period. Many people were confused and anxious. The army had to be reorganised; Lin was far from being without followers. In order to save the Cultural Revolution, some people who had previously opposed it had to be brought back. The Right used the occasion to accumulate forces and prepare to “reverse correct verdicts.” One of those brought back was Deng Xiaoping.

Struggle Over Summation: 1971 - 1973

The Cultural Revolution could not and did not subside. Battles raged over exactly how to sum up what had happened. A particularly concentrated expression of this took place in the bitter struggle over the relationship between revolution and production.

The 1973 Tenth Party Congress was an important victory in this regard. It analysed Lin Piao’s line and programme; in opposition to the view that held that the problem had been that Lin wanted to go “too far,” Lin was exposed as a revisionist who had tried to bring the Cultural Revolution to a halt. The Congress Report quoted Mao saying

“Probably another revolution will have to be carried out after several years.” It added, “when a wrong tendency surges towards us like a rising tide, we must not fear isolation and must dare to go against the tide and brave it through. Chairman Mao states, ‘Going against the tide is a Marxist-Leninist principle.’”

After the 10th Congress, the Left launched a campaign to “Criticise Lin Piao and Confucius,” which brought out the common ideological essence of all revisionists and exploiting classes and the political programme that was bound to be common to all who would restore capitalism in China. The purpose was to make the summation of the recent past serve to arm the masses of Chinese people for the inevitable trials of strength that would follow.



Mao in 1941.

A New “Right Deviationist Wind” — 1974

The Right, of course, could not simply sit and watch with folded arms. A new rightist tide — the “Right deviationist wind” — began to rise. They argued that the economy was a mess and fixing it required more rightism. Both assertions were strongly rebutted by the 1974 National People’s Congress which underscored the successes of China’s economy in the course of the Cultural Revolution and proclaimed, “socialist revolution is the powerful engine for developing the social productive forces.” Still, some people who had only grudgingly supported the Cultural Revolution at first and then later opposed it, and others (like Deng) who had opposed it all along, were able to reinforce their organisational positions.

In 1974-75, while the Left was putting emphasis on freeing the productive forces by carrying out further transformations of the relations of production and in the superstructure, the Right went on a powerful offensive to bring back some of the old relations between managers and workers in the factories and so on and to chain the workers to their posts so as to keep them out of politics. “Be masters of the wharf, not slaves to tonnage,” the Shanghai workers replied, making it clear that the real issue was not whether or not

to produce but what — which class — to produce for.

Mao gave direct leadership and guidance to the proletariat in this battle to “beat back the Right deviationist wind.” At the end of 1975, he sharply and publically criticised Deng Xiaoping and his programme for restoring capitalism under the guise of “modernising” China.

Once again political activity was turning white-hot. In April early 1976, on the occasion of the death of top Party leader Chou En-lai, the Right staged a riot in Tien An Men square; Mao and Chiang Ching were openly denounced. As a result, Deng was dismissed from his posts. Again there were pitched battles in various parts of the country, reflecting the all-out confrontation between two headquarters in the Party.

On September 9th 1976, Mao died. On the 6th of October, on the eve of an important Party meeting, Rightist Party leaders and army commanders staged a military coup. Mao’s closest followers in the Party, including Chiang Ching, were arrested. This was the end of the Cultural Revolution and indeed, for now, the end of the socialist revolution in China. But it was not and is not the end of the resistance to bourgeois rule in China by the many millions of workers and peasants who still follow Mao’s line and it is very far from the end of the story.

The new revisionist government

met with serious resistance and had to bare its teeth. In Shanghai itself, immediately following the arrests, there was an attempted insurrection which failed due to a combination of vacillation and confusion about the nature of the new government. In the provinces of Anhui, Fujian, Sichuan, Hunan, Yunnan, Xinjiang and Jiangxi, revolutionary armed struggle against the new regime was fierce and protracted. According to the government, these areas remained outside of government control for some time.

Chiang Ching and Chang Chun-chiao put up soul-stirring resistance within the clutches of the enemy during their January 1981 public trial. Chiang Ching in particular gave very important encouragement to the world’s revolutionaries with her defiant denunciation of the new revisionist regime. Both of them were sentenced to death. As far as is known abroad, they are still being held in prison by the bourgeoisie they fought unceasingly against.

As Mao said, “If the Rightists stage an anti-Communist coup d’état in China, I am sure that they will know no peace either and their rule will most probably be short-lived, because it will not be tolerated by the revolutionaries who represent the interests of the people making up more than 90% of the population.” □

"Sweep Away All Monsters and Ghosts"

by the Ceylon Communist Party (Sri Lanka)

It is now twenty years since the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution (GPCR) personally initiated and led by Comrade Mao Tsetung unfolded in China. The Cultural Revolution is without doubt not only the greatest epoch-making event in history, even more profound in its influence than the October Revolution but also the highest peak yet achieved in the worldwide battle of the proletariat for Communist Society.

One of the greatest contributions of Comrade Mao Tsetung to the treasure house of Marxism-Leninism is the theory he initiated of continuing classes and class struggle even after the socialist revolution, and the necessity to continue the revolution even under conditions of working class power until we reach the stage of communism. He taught that the capture of state power by the working class was only a beginning. Summing up the experience of the revolutions in China and other countries, he concluded that classes and class struggle exist throughout the entire historical epoch from socialism to communism; that there existed the danger of capitalist restoration and the danger of the dictatorship of the proletariat being lost and subverted.

Capture of state power is one thing. Consolidating that power is yet another and even harder task. As the "Chinese Liberation Army Daily" pointed out: "We know from historical experience of the proletarian revolution that the basic question in every revolution is that of state power. We conquered the enemy in the country and seized the

power by the gun. They can all be overthrown, be it imperialism, feudalism or the bureaucrat capitalist class; millionaires, billionaires, trillionaires can be toppled, whoever they may be and their property can be confiscated. *However, confiscation of their property does not amount to confiscation of the reactionary ideas in their minds.* Daily and hourly they are always dreaming of a comeback, dreaming of restoring their lost 'Paradise.' Although they are only a tiny percentage of the population, their political potential is quite considerable and their power of restoration is out of all proportions to their numbers.

"Socialist society emerges out of the womb of the old society. It is not at all easy to eradicate the idea of private ownership formed in thousands of years of class society and the force of habit and the ideological and cultural influence of the exploiting classes associated with private ownership. The spontaneous forces of the petite bourgeoisie in town and country constantly give rise to new bourgeois elements. As the ranks of the workers grow in number and extent, they take in some elements of complex background. Then, too, a number of people in the ranks of the party and state organisations degenerate following the conquest of state power and living in peaceful surroundings." This is extremely well put.

Under the guidance of their great leader, Comrade Mao Tsetung, the Chinese Communists were conscious of the threat they faced. They

took warning, in particular, from the tragedy that befell the Soviet Union where capitalist restoration was effected peacefully, without even a shot being fired. They, therefore, consciously took steps to prevent a similar happening in China.

The Cultural Revolution was an attempt to uproot the old feudal and bourgeois ideology — habits and thoughts — which had existed in China for thousands of years and had continued to exist even after the socialist revolution had been successful, and to transplant in its stead proletarian ideology. It was a mass movement in which 700 million people had become critics of the old world and the old ideas connected with the old system of exploitation — "the old customs and habits which imperialism and the exploiting classes used to poison the minds of the working people." It was an endeavour to bring the superstructure in line with the changed socialist economic base. Why the revolution unfolded in the cultural field was because of the fact that political counter-revolution is always preceded by ideological counter-revolution. This is what those in China who had become revisionist and decided to follow the path of capitalist restoration undertook to do. A number of these people had high positions in the party and state. Their main organising centre was the former municipal party committee in Peking.

Wu Han, Vice Mayor of Peking, had tried to lay the foundation for cultural counter-revolution in a series of articles and dramas. Best

known among these was his drama entitled "Hai Jui Dismissed from Office." The story is about a feudal official in the Ming dynasty who was dismissed 400 years ago. Wu Han used that story to satirise the present. He tried to tell the people that the dismissal of a handful of rightists in 1959 was wrong. He wanted that verdict reversed.

The party's leading bodies decided to expose Wu Han's reactionary nature. But the former Peking party committee did nothing about it. Then on November 10th, 1965, the Shanghai daily "Wen Hui Ba" published an article by Yao Wen Yuan exposing the anti-party and anti-socialist nature of Wu Han. Yet no Peking paper would reproduce the article. Nevertheless, the battle had begun.

On May 10, 1966, the "Liberation Daily" and the Shanghai daily "Wen Hui Ba" raised the question of carrying out a great cultural revolution in the political, ideological and cultural fields. On May 26, the first big character poster criticising the reactionary bourgeois academic authorities appeared in Peking University, whose president was exposed as a revisionist. On June 2nd, Radio Peking broadcast this poster and it was editorially hailed by the "People's Daily" and "Red Flag." That was the call to battle and the Cultural Revolution was on. People were called upon to struggle against and overthrow those in authority who wanted to take the capitalist road, to sweep away all monsters and ghosts, to criticise and repudiate the bourgeois reactionary academic authorities, to criticise all those things in the superstructure which did not suit the socialist economic base, to destroy in a big way the four olds — old ideas, old culture, old habits and old customs of all exploiting classes, and to establish in a big way the new culture, new ideas, new customs and new habits of the proletariat.

On August 1966, the Central Committee of the CCP issued its 16 point communique on the GPCR. By then the Red Guards had come into existence spontaneously in some colleges. With the genius that characterises Mao, he saw in this organisation of the Red Guards the

form through which the Cultural Revolution could be initiated. On August 18th Comrade Mao Tsetung reviewed the revolutionary students and teachers in Peking and, by putting on the Red armband of the Red Guards, he gave public approval to their formation.

From there on the revolution rushed like a torrent sweeping aside everything that was opposed to it. The Cultural Revolution was a great class struggle between the revolutionary forces led by Comrade Mao Tsetung and the handful of scabs and traitors led by Liu Shao-chi who wanted to take China back along the path of capitalist restoration as had happened in the Soviet Union and in the other countries ruled by the modern revisionists. This fierce class struggle was indeed a revolution carried out under the conditions of the dictatorship of the proletariat.

At many stages it took violent forms. This was to be understood because the imperialists, revisionists and reactionaries of all kinds and their agents inside China had conspired to take China away from its revolutionary road and they were ready to resort to any means. Comrade Mao Tsetung did not attempt to solve this ideological struggle through bureaucratic methods from above. Instead, he invited the participation of the masses in what was to become the greatest mass struggle the world had ever seen. Thereby, he also demonstrated his great faith and confidence in the masses of the people.

Of course, the GPCR did not proceed smoothly like a gently flowing river. There were many upheavals and storms because the enemy put up stiff resistance. The camp of the revisionists against whom Mao led the great fight was not a unified or homogeneous one. It consisted of different factions. One, headed by Liu Shao-chi and Deng Xiaoping, were Soviet-style revisionists who looked towards Khrushchev and the Soviet Union as a model of what socialism should be. On the opposite end stood Chou En-lai, who opposed Soviet domination by pushing for capitulation to the U.S. and the West. In between stood Lin Piao who seems to have been a careerist but who played an important role in

the early part of the Cultural Revolution because he wanted to knock down Liu Shao-chi in order that he himself could inherit the mantle of power.

Mao's tactics were always to narrow the target of attack by isolating the most dangerous of the opponents while making accommodation with the others. He realised that Liu Shao-chi and Deng Xiaoping were the greatest threat to socialism in China and therefore teamed up with Lin Piao and Chou En-lai to strike at Liu Shao-chi and Deng Xiaoping — which he did successfully.

All these revisionist cliques had one political line in common: the line of the "productive forces" and the "dying out of the class struggle." "We have established socialism, so there is no more need to wage class struggle." They also claimed that, "the task now is to concentrate on the economy and make China a powerful modern country."

These revisionists used all kinds of methods against Mao, such as the economist promotion of giving workers more wages and bonuses, etc. In January 1967, hundreds of thousands of workers in Shanghai rose up to overthrow the revisionist municipal party committee and to elect a new one, led by Chang Chun-chiao. Mao hailed this as the January Storm.

After the defeat of the bourgeois headquarters of Liu Shao-chi, Lin Piao's power ascended to its highest point, as he became Mao's second-in-command. But his careerism knew no bounds and in 1971 he "jumped out" to capture power for himself. In the course of this attempt, he even went so far as to plan to assassinate Mao himself. But Lin Piao was exposed, and, in sheer desperation, he tried to flee to the Soviet Union but wound up crashing in his plane and so died in September 1971.

The death of Lin Piao was a traumatic event for all China and had deep repercussions at all levels of society. After all, he had been the Defense Minister and second-in-command to Mao. Lin Piao's defection gave a big boost to the rightists who used it as a pretext for combat-

ting Lin Piao's "ultra-left." They seized this opportunity to launch an assault on the Cultural Revolution and Mao's line as a whole. Lin Piao's defection in turn brought Chou En-lai to the pinnacle of his authority and, under Chou's tutelage, the rightists succeeded in rehabilitating many of those people who had been struck down during the earlier stages of the Cultural Revolution. One of those so rehabilitated was Deng Xiaoping, who now became the spearhead of the rightists, while Chou En-lai became the rallying point and guardian angel.

The defection of such an important person as Lin Piao forced on Mao and the left the necessity to carry out an intensive ideological campaign among the people. This was the movement known as the Movement to Criticise Lin Piao and Confucius. It turned out that Lin Piao had politically borrowed from Confucius, a reactionary thinker who upheld the slave system in ancient China in opposition to the rising landlord class and feudal system, and whose doctrines had been promoted for more than 2000 years by reactionaries in China.

Criticising Confucius meant striking at the roots of this reactionary philosophy and its enslaving principles, such as: intellectuals are meant to rule over the manual workers, the masses must passively accept their lot for it is not meant to be changed, sons must blindly obey their fathers, all men are naturally superior to women so that the wife must be silently subordinate to her husband, and so on.

This movement also used political and historical analogies to begin a thorough exposure of the revisionists then in top leadership of the party and their whole right opportunist programme.

In August 1975, Mao called for the study of a historical Chinese novel, *Water Margin*, whose main character is someone from the landlord class who is driven to join peasant rebels but ends up capitulating to the emperor and attacking the genuine rebels on behalf of the emperor. Mao pointed out that the book would help the people to recognise capitulationists, people

who join the revolution and may even become among its leaders but are not thorough-going revolutionaries and finally ended as traitors.

Mao also pointed out that, although in China the ownership system had changed and was in the main socialist, in many other important respects China was not much different than a capitalist country. There were different wage grades, the commodity system was still practiced, "bourgeois right" had not yet been eliminated and there were many other inequalities left over from capitalism. Because of all these survivals of the whole exploiting society, if revisionists — people like Lin Piao or Deng Xiaoping — came to power, it would be quite easy for them to rig up the capitalist system.

By now the movement was targeting both Deng Xiaoping and Chou En-lai, who had emerged as the leaders of the right. The revisionists had hoped that Mao would die before Chou En-lai and that the latter could thereafter preside over the transition back to capitalism. But Chou En-lai died before Mao. The revisionists made their first show of strength by staging a large-scale riot in Tien An Men, the main square in Peking, on 5 April 1976, only five months before Mao's death. They directly attacked Mao and the left, praised Chou En-lai and loudly declared their support for Deng Xiaoping. The riot was crushed and Mao came from his sick-bed to condemn Deng Xiaoping and to expell him from his leading positions.

But Mao did not last much longer. He died on September 9th, 1976. His death was the signal for counter-revolution. Without the sanction of the Central Committee or its Political Bureau or Standing Committee, four close associates of Mao, including his widow Chiang Ching, were jailed by Hua Kuofeng, who claimed the doubtful legitimacy of being nominated by Mao. The party and the nation were faced with a fait accompli. From this to the restoration of Deng Xiaoping to power was only a matter of time. The revolution had been temporarily defeated in China. □



The effects of the Cultural





Revolution spread throughout China.

Red Guards distribute leaflets.



The Proletariat



Workers and peasants stormed the artistic stage during the Cultural Revolution. Their images became the subjects of art, and they themselves became its creators — through their own efforts and through constructive criticism given to professional artists. The following examples are selections from some fields of art that flowered during that period.

Storms the Stage

"Mounting the platform to criticise Lin Piao and Confucius."



A WORLD TO WIN 1986/7

The White-Haired Girl is one of the model works created during the Cultural Revolution under the guidance of Chiang Ching. Here are some comments of peasants who had seen ballet for the first time.

In the old society, everything in our village, even the sky and the earth, belonged to the landowners who ruled over us. The hell that Yang Pai-lo and Hsi-eul went through in the ballet was the lot of every poor peasant.

I am now an old woman, but this is the first time I've seen a ballet. I had no idea what this thing called "ballet" could do for me. I find it's not only easy to follow and to understand, but it's also a lesson. We poor and lower middle peasants, we welcome this kind of revolutionary ballet with open arms.

This ballet teaches us to not forget the crimes of the propertied class, to not forget our class hatred; it teaches us that it wasn't easy for us the masses of people to seize power in our country and that we must firmly hold on to the reins of this power.







From sculptures entitled "Wrath of the Serfs".



Mao's Theory of People's War

by the Proletarian Party of Purba Bangla (Bangladesh) [PBSP]

Considering their socio-economic structure, the level of development of their mode of production and their fundamental features, the countries of the present-day world can generally be divided into two groups: a handful of capitalist and imperialist countries, and the great majority of the countries oppressed by imperialism. From amongst the capitalist-imperialist powers, the two imperialist superpowers, the U.S. and the USSR, are the principal enemies of the world's peoples. On the other hand the undeveloped or less developed countries are oppressed by imperialism and tied to its neo (or semi) colonial system. Though these countries are formally independent and native governments are in power, they have no real independence. The native governments are in fact stooges and puppets of different imperialists (or of an imperialist bloc). In spite of differences in their mode of production, the development of their productive forces, the stage or level of development, etc., these neo (or semi) colonial countries have some common fundamental features:

- Except for a few, these countries more or less retain feudalism in agriculture. But in most of the cases feudalism does not exist in its old classical form. Rather, due to a certain development of capitalism as a result of the functioning of imperialism, and to increasing imperialist penetration more generally, feudalism has decayed and is decaying.

- As a consequence, agriculture

has been reduced to semi-feudalism. The feudals do not hold state power by themselves. They are agents of imperialism and are one of the main pillars of continued imperialist plunder.

- The capitalism that has developed (and is developing) in these countries is not independent national capitalism; rather, it is a perverted capital dependent on imperialism and comprador and bureaucratic in its character. This distorted comprador-bureaucratic capitalism is one of the main props of imperialist exploitation.

- The governments of these countries are the representatives of comprador-bureaucrat capitalism and feudalism and are puppets in the hands of the imperialists and serve its interests.

- Imperialist penetration in and domination over these countries impedes the development of national capital and the national bourgeoisie.

- The main obstacles in these countries to the emancipation of the masses of the people and to social progress are foreign imperialism, along with comprador-bureaucrat capitalism and feudalism in unholy alliance with and dependent on imperialism.

These characteristics determine that the nature of these countries is generally neo (semi) colonial and semi-feudal. The stage of the revolution in these countries is bourgeois-democratic, i.e., national-democratic, and its aim is, as Mao Tsetung put it, "to carry out national revolution to overthrow

foreign capitalist oppression and a democratic revolution to overthrow feudal landlord oppression."¹ These two revolutions interpenetrate and are interconnected and dependent on each other — it is not possible to accomplish one without the completion of the other. The path of revolution for these countries is the path of New Democratic Revolution and people's war, charted and developed by Chairman Mao Tsetung and proven correct in the crucible of the great Chinese revolution. Through his personal participation in the Chinese revolution and through his creative application of the universal truth of Marxism-Leninism to the concrete conditions of the Chinese revolution, Chairman Mao developed this path of people's war and New Democratic Revolution and the related revolutionary theory, strategy and tactics. These tremendously important contributions to the world proletarian revolution and to Marxism-Leninism were not simply applicable to the Chinese revolution; rather, as the *Declaration of the Revolutionary Internationalist Movement* has accurately said, "The point of reference for elaborating revolutionary strategy and tactics in the colonial, semi- (neo)-colonial countries remains the theory developed by Mao Tsetung in the long years of revolutionary warfare in China."²

Since the victory of the Chinese revolution and since World War 2, many significant changes have occurred in the imperialist system and the world situation as a whole. These

include:

- Neo-colonialism has replaced the old colonial system. In almost all the old colonial countries, so-called "independent national" states have emerged.

- Under the neo-colonial system imperialism has accelerated capitalist development in almost all the undeveloped countries, so that these countries are gradually coming out of extreme backwardness, even in agriculture, though all this is taking place in a distorted way. Powerful centralized military-bureaucratic state machinery now stands on a firm footing.

- During and immediately after World War 2 socialist and new democratic revolutions led by the proletariat won victory in a number of countries, and thus a socialist camp emerged. But owing to the turning back to revisionism and capitalism first in the Soviet Union and then in Albania and China, no socialist country exists in the world today. As a consequence of this renegacy on the part of the revisionists and due to the inevitable impact of all these factors, anti-imperialist national liberation movements throughout the world, as well as the revolutionary movements of the proletariat (i.e. the world communist movement) took a wrong course and suffered tremendous setbacks, and genuine national liberation movements have been deprived of any progressive international help.

Since 1960, the revisionist Soviet Union has developed into a social-imperialist country and stepped on to the stage of world politics as a new imperialist superpower. As a result the imperialist countries are grouped into two contending blocs led by the two superpowers. U.S. imperialism and Soviet social-imperialism are locked in fierce contention, even a life-and-death struggle for redivision of the globe, in order to intensify their oppression and exploitation and constantly expand their spheres of influence. This contention is becoming increasingly sharp. Because of this, the Soviet social-imperialists have started using the anti-imperialist national liberation movements of many countries in their own interests. Likewise, the

U.S. imperialists are using the anti-Soviet liberation struggles for their own purposes. As a result of all this doubt and confusion has arisen as to whether a liberation struggle against one imperialist bloc can win victory without the help of the other.

In the context of these changes, and due to the attacks on Mao Tsetung and the distortion and negation of his contributions since the fall of the Soviet Union and especially of China into revisionism, questions have been raised regarding the relevancy and applicability of the path of people's war to revolution in the neo, semi-colonial countries. Specifically, the pro-Moscow, pro-Deng and pro-Hoxha revisionists are spreading confusion and advocating different revisionist and reactionary lines in the name of their so-called "alternative path" and are causing irreparable harm to the revolutionary movements. It is quite natural that these masquerading agents of imperialism and revisionism will conduct wild attacks and try to distort, discredit and ultimately discard the highest development of Marxism-Leninism, which is Mao Tsetung Thought. They will be able to continue this so long as genuine Marxist revolutionaries do not set examples of victorious people's wars. The advancing people's war in Peru under the leadership of the Communist Party of Peru has in this respect already roused new hopes and aspirations for oppressed people around the world.

In this present article, we will try to beat back the attacks on the principles of people's war and lay bare the fallacies of the so-called "alternative path." We will show that in spite of the changes in the world since World War 2, the path of people's war, forged and charted by Mao Tsetung, continues to possess decisive significance in the oppressed countries for making the New Democratic Revolution victorious. It is not simply that the principles and lessons of Mao on People's War are useful; rather, it is not possible in these countries to gain victory without them.

The path of people's war in oppressed countries is the path of capturing state power by the revolutionary

people under the leadership of the proletariat — that is why it is a question of the overall strategy and political line of new democratic revolution.

People's War: A Question of Mere Tactics, or of Strategy and Overall Political Line?

But there are a good number of forces who are engaged in armed struggle in different countries and claim themselves Marxists, who even speak of taking lessons from Mao, but who in fact only value his contributions in the field of military affairs, especially guerrilla warfare. Some of these forces are pro-Cuba elements, some pro-Moscow, some are Hoxhaites and other left petit bourgeois revolutionaries. Some claim to be Maoists themselves. Although almost all of these forces oppose Mao Tsetung Thought, they speak of his contributions in the military field — the reason being that Mao's contributions in the field of warfare and especially guerrilla warfare are unparalleled in history. Thus, since they themselves are engaged in armed struggle, and compelled to study and apply military strategy, they cannot but recognise Mao's contributions in these fields. However, the advocates of these different views either do not understand or reject or distort the strategic and political essence of the theory of people's war in the interests of their respective opportunist class positions. Many misinterpret Mao's theory of people's war as simply tactics of guerrilla warfare.

The main question of debate with these forces is: what is the path of capturing power by the people under proletarian leadership in the oppressed countries, and why?

Up to the advent of the revolutionary struggles of the Chinese people led by Mao, the science of Marxism had in its treasure-house only one conception of seizing power: the path of the October Socialist Revolution of Russia. The capture of power in some way other than the October road — such an idea was lacking then in Marxist quarters. It was Mao Tsetung who for the first time made a comparative study of the pre-revolutionary socio-economic conditions of both Russia

and China and showed that the Russian path, or the October road, of seizing power is not applicable in a predominantly feudal country like China which is oppressed by imperialism. Mao explained:

“...Internally capitalist countries practice bourgeois democracy (not feudalism) when they are not fascist or not at war; in their external relations, they are not oppressed by but themselves oppress other nations. Because of these characteristics, it is the task of the party of the proletariat in the capitalist countries to educate the workers and build up strength through a long period of legal struggle, and thus prepare for the final overthrow of capitalism.... The only war they want to fight is the civil war for which they are preparing. But this insurrection and war should not be launched until the bourgeoisie becomes really helpless, until the majority of the proletariat are determined to rise in arms and fight, and until the rural masses are giving willing help to the proletariat. And when the time comes to launch such an insurrection and war, the first step will be to seize the cities and then advance into the countryside and not the other way about. All this has been done by communist parties in capitalist countries, and it has been proved correct by the October Revolution in Russia.

“China is different however. The characteristics of China are that she is not independent and democratic but semi-colonial and semi-feudal, that internally she has no democracy but is under feudal oppression and that in her external relations she has no national independence but is oppressed by imperialism. It follows that we have no parliament to make use of and no legal right to organise the workers to strike. Basically the task of the communist party here is not to go through a long period of legal struggle before launching insurrection and war, and not to seize the big cities first and then occupy the countryside, but the reverse.”³

Mao showed that in a predominantly agricultural country like China which was oppressed by imperialism and characterised by feudalism, the peasants form the main component of the revolutionary forces and, for this reason,

the countryside was the centre of gravity of party work, and power should be captured first in the countryside and then in the cities. Seizing power in the vast countryside proceeded by phases in the long process of protracted people's war relying mainly on the peasant masses in order to establish liberated areas or base areas and developing and spreading these, and then taking power in the cities. For all these reasons the principal form of struggle in China's revolution would be armed struggle right from the beginning and not mass movements and legal struggles for a long period leading up to countryside insurrection, as in Russia. The principal form of organisations would be armed organisation — the revolutionary army; such an army would be led by the proletariat and mainly filled with peasant fighters. Thus Mao identified the characteristic features of the path of capturing power in the Chinese revolution which were different from those of the Russian revolution.

So it is quite evident that the question of armed struggle or the question of people's war is not a problem of certain tactics, rather it is a basic question of overall line closely linked to a number of significant political questions: the importance of the peasant question, the centre of gravity of party work, the means and forms of capturing power, etc. If it were the case that in the revolution in China (or more generally in countries oppressed by imperialism and characterised by feudalism) the party were to decide that the armed struggle might or might not be the central task, that the capture of power might be possible starting either from the countryside or from the cities, then the party would be reducing the armed struggle to simply a tactical question. But this is not how it was in fact treated in China. Wang Ming and Li Li-san and other such representatives of “left” and right lines in the Chinese party repeatedly tried to put the matter this way. They advocated a line of city-centred insurrection, and relegated work among the peasants and the armed struggle to secondary positions. Due to the influence of these lines, the Chinese revolution

suffered losses. These wrong military lines were also linked with political deviations of a “left” or right variety.

Does the fact that armed struggle and armed organisation are the principal forms of struggle and organisation, respectively, mean that mass organisation and mass movements are rejected? No. Saying armed struggle is the principal form of struggle and saying armed struggle is the only form of struggle are not the same thing. Mao noted the importance of both types of struggles in the Chinese revolution:

“However, stressing armed struggle does not mean abandoning other forms of struggle; on the contrary, armed struggle cannot succeed unless coordinated with other forms of struggle. And stressing the work in the rural base areas does not mean abandoning our work in the cities and in the other vast rural areas which are still under the enemy's control; on the contrary, without the work in the cities and in these other rural areas, our own rural base areas would be isolated and the revolution would suffer defeat. Moreover, the final objective of the revolution is the capture of the cities, the enemy's main bases, and this objective cannot be achieved without adequate work in the cities.”⁴

As regards the relation between armed struggle and mass movements, Mao said,

“In China war is the main form of struggle and the army is the main form of organisation. Other forms such as mass organisations and mass struggle are also extremely important and indeed indispensable and in no circumstances to be overlooked, but their purpose is to serve the war. Before the outbreak of a war all organisation and struggle are in preparation for the war.... After war breaks out, all organisation and struggle are coordinated with the war either directly or indirectly.”⁵

Basic Features of People's War

Though we have generally discussed the line of people's war, particular discussion of its basic features is necessary here. These include:

- 1- the leadership of the proletariat;
- 2- the central task: guerrilla war, the question of starting the armed struggle

gle right from the beginning;
3- mass line and the principle of self-reliance;

4- "surrounding the cities from the countryside" and other related military matters, i.e., base areas, protracted war, the strategy and tactics of guerrilla war, etc.

The Leadership of the Proletariat

This is the first and foremost principle of the strategy of people's war; it is key to victory. Only proletarian leadership can carry forward new democratic revolution through to the end — up to the revolution for socialism and communism. Through the summing up of the experience of contemporary world history, the *Declaration of the RIM* has rightly said:

"...history demonstrates the bankruptcy of an 'anti-imperialist front' (or similar 'revolutionary front') which is not led by a Marxist-Leninist party, even when such a front or forces within it adopt a 'Marxist' (actually pseudo-Marxist) colouration. While such revolutionary formations have led heroic struggles and even delivered powerful blows to the imperialists they have been proven to be ideologically and organisationally incapable of resisting imperialist and bourgeois influences. Even where such forces have seized power they have been incapable of carrying through a thoroughgoing revolutionary transformation of society and end up, sooner or later, being overthrown by the imperialists or themselves becoming a new reactionary ruling power in league with imperialists."⁶

This is exactly what happened in countries like Cuba, Angola, Ethiopia, Zimbabwe, Nicaragua, etc. Cuba itself has become an abettor to and accomplice of Soviet social-imperialism. The rest of those countries have become neo-colonies of this or that imperialism. All these incidents show that without proletarian leadership even the national-democratic revolution cannot be completed, not to speak of going ahead to the stage of socialist revolution.

To conduct armed struggle under the leadership of a front of anti-imperialist left petit bourgeois or

bourgeois revolutionaries while rejecting the indispensability of proletarian leadership, to refuse the necessity of forming and developing a proletarian party, to reject the path of people's war and reduce the question of armed struggle from a general line to mere tactics, to reject the revolutionary mass line, i.e., the line and principle of depending on the masses of people for waging armed war and the line of mass participation in it, to conduct armed struggle isolated from the masses and simply hiding in favourable geographical areas and in such a way as to conduct the armed struggle along more or less terrorist lines — all these are the features of the so-called "alternative path" which is opposed to Mao Tsetung Thought and the path of people's war. Cuba is the main advocate of this "alternative path." However painful may it be, the fact is that this "left armed revisionist" line has had, and still has, tremendous influence in the Latin American countries.

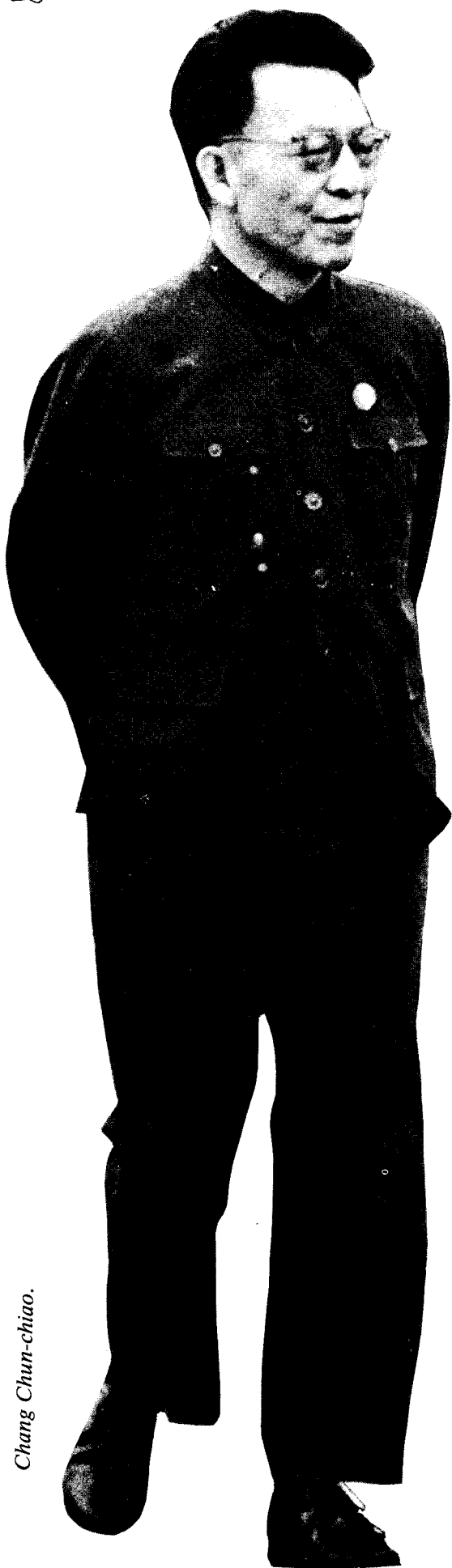
In recent years another "alternative path" known as the Sandinista model has surfaced, which has many similar features. One other important similarity is that they combine all the stages of revolution into one and raise the slogan of "socialist" revolution. In this way they ignore the actual tasks of the new democratic revolution: they isolate the working class from its allies, especially the peasantry, thus seriously hampering the ability of the working class to thoroughly eliminate imperialism and feudalism. Because of its form this is "left" armed revisionism. These left petit bourgeois revolutionaries who follow this line are some of the means through which Soviet social-imperialism misleads, controls and uses the national liberation movements of the oppressed countries to serve its twisted purposes.

After the USSR's degeneration to capitalism, the Soviet revisionist scoundrels put forward the theory that as a result of the emergence of a strong Soviet "socialist" state and a strong "socialist camp" imperialism and neo-colonialism have weakened and the balance of power between imperialism and socialism definitively changed. They argued

then that this changed balance of power made possible peaceful transition to socialism and, at that time, they opposed the armed national liberation struggle of different countries. After they gained strength as social-imperialists and their appetites grew, they pretended to be sympathetic towards the national liberation movements against U.S. imperialism, with the intent of infiltrating and using them. They trumpeted that due to the increased strength of the "socialist" camp, proletarian leadership in the national liberation movements was no longer necessary and that national liberation movements could win victory by depending solely on the financial, military and other aid of the "socialist" countries, and made possible going directly to socialism (of the Soviet revisionist brand). Naturally this theory gained much acceptance among the left bourgeois and petit bourgeois revolutionaries who began to tilt increasingly towards Soviet material aid. The defeat of socialism in China, the outright rejection of and attacks on revolution by the renegade Deng clique, the absence of strong proletarian leadership in the national liberation movements, the absence of a strong people's war waged under a correct line — these developments also strengthened this line.

Today the above mentioned "left" armed revisionism is becoming increasingly mingled with right revisionism, because their ideological root is the same: rejection of proletarian leadership and of the line of self-reliance and instead complete dependence on foreign (i.e. social-imperialist) aid under the banner of going directly to "socialism." In a word, their line rejects Mao's theory of people's war.

In another variant of this same "alternative path" certain so-called left army officers (generally junior ones), in isolation from the masses but sometimes playing on public sentiments, capture state power through a military coup. They then form a "communist" or "socialist" or even "labour" party and proclaim their action a revolution. They then raise a hue and cry about establishing socialism through of-



Chang Chun-chiao.



Workers from Shanghai rally behind the revolutionaries in the Party.



*Revisionist party leaders were paraded through the streets facing the
sion and criticism of the masses.*



Revolutionary 3 in 1 committees.



Red Guards in Shanghai.

ficial decrees. Ethiopia and Afghanistan are examples of this variation, as is Libya to a great extent. Generally in such cases the leaders of the coup oppose the U.S. bloc and rush to the Soviet fold, thus turning their country into a neo-colony of social-imperialism. Sometimes the Soviets even direct the coup, as in Afghanistan. This path too rejects proletarian leadership and reliance on the masses of people and depends on the good wishes of a group of individuals and on foreign aid, all of which means complete rejection of people's war. Such a path is bound to lead to domination by one imperialist or another.

Mao summed up the question of proletarian leadership in the new democratic revolution this way:

"The people's democratic dictatorship needs the leadership of the working class. For it is only the working class that is most farsighted, most selfless and most thoroughly revolutionary. The entire history of revolution proves that without the leadership of the working class revolution fails and that with the leadership of the working class revolution triumphs. In the epoch of imperialism, in no country can any other class lead *genuine* revolution to victory. This is clearly proved by the fact that the many revolutions led by China's petit bourgeois and national bourgeois all failed."⁷ (emphasis PBSP)

Today the imperialists and other regional hegemonist and expansionist forces are increasingly infiltrating different national liberation struggles and diverting and misleading them with financial, military and other so-called aid. Furthermore, the imperialist superpowers, in their intensifying rivalry over redivision of the globe and expanding their spheres of influence, are continually trying to use liberation struggles directed against their rival for their own use, and so set their respective stooges at the head of these movements. In such a world situation, it is especially imperative that the genuine Marxist-Leninists widely spread the understanding of the indispensability of proletarian leadership in the new democratic revolution.

Leadership of the Proletariat: What Does It Mean?

Many of the forces who call themselves socialist or Marxist — and who we have seen are but pseudo-socialists and pseudo-Marxists — reject or do not give adequate importance to the indispensability of forming an independent political party of the proletariat. The leadership of its party is in fact the most significant aspect of the proletariat's leadership. It is the only way that the proletariat can exert its leadership in revolutionary movements (or in state power and administration). It is impossible to establish the proletarian class's leadership of the revolutionary movement by undermining, negating or opposing the establishment of the independent proletarian party or of its leadership of the movement. Mao put this point in unequivocal language:

"If there is to be a revolution, there must be a revolutionary party. Without a revolutionary party, without a party built on the Marxist-Leninist revolutionary theory and in the Marxist-Leninist revolutionary style, it is impossible to lead the working class and the broad masses of the people in defeating imperialism and its running dogs."⁸

Such a party of the proletariat must be, again in Mao's language, "a well-disciplined party armed with the theory of Marxism-Leninism, using the method of self-criticism and linked with the masses of people."⁹ The overall theoretical basis guiding the ideology of the proletariat is Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought.

How Does the Victory of New Democratic Revolution Pave the Way for Socialist Revolution?

Stalin and Mao repeatedly observed that a new democratic revolution under the leadership of the working class was not part of the old democratic world revolution (whose aim was to establish capitalism and bourgeois dictatorship), but rather a component part of the world proletarian socialist revolution, whose ultimate aim is socialism and communism. Mao made this clearer when he said, "The democratic revolution is the necessary prepara-

tion for the socialist revolution, and the socialist revolution is the inevitable sequel of the democratic revolution."¹⁰ And it is working class leadership that makes it possible to advance the revolution through and beyond new democracy to socialist revolution. As Mao said:

"The new democratic revolution in China is part of the world proletarian socialist revolution, for it resolutely opposes imperialism, i.e., international capitalism. Politically, it strives for the joint dictatorship of the revolutionary classes over the imperialists, traitors and reactionaries, and opposes the transformation of Chinese society into a society under bourgeois dictatorship. Economically, it aims at the nationalisation of all the big enterprises and capital of the imperialists, traitors and reactionaries, and the distribution among the peasants of the land held by the landlords, while preserving private capitalist enterprise in general and not eliminating the rich-peasant economy. Thus, the new democratic revolution clears the way for capitalism on the one hand and creates the prerequisites for socialism on the other. The present stage of the Chinese revolution is a stage of transition between the abolition of the colonial, semi-colonial and semi-feudal society and the establishment of a socialist society..."¹¹

There are other factors to mention too:

Firstly, this process of revolution makes possible the building of the party of the proletariat steered through revolutionary storms in these countries as strong, mass-based and on a country-wide scale. The party can gain the confidence of the people so as to later initiate and lead the socialist revolution. Mao gave maximum emphasis to this.

Secondly, throughout the entire period of national democratic revolution, which is naturally and generally long, the party has the opportunity to do propaganda work and create public opinion among the masses in favour of Marxism-Leninism, socialism and communism. Thus the party can prepare the people ideologically for carrying through to the socialist revolution. Mao also gave much importance to

this.

Thirdly, the successful completion of the new democratic revolution led by the proletariat creates some material basis for socialism (what Mao refers to above as the "prerequisites for socialism"). By completely eliminating imperialism and comprador-bureaucrat capitalism and nationalising all their wealth and capital, a long stride towards socialist transformation of a major part of the country's capital and industry takes place, because in such countries the imperialists and bureaucrat capitalists own the majority. At the same time during the long process of protracted people's war, the great masses of peasants get organised in innumerable lower and higher types of organisations, including cooperatives and also such an advanced and highly disciplined organisation as the revolutionary army, and they gain much experience. The consciousness of the masses of erstwhile backward peasants develops rapidly in their character under the impulse of war, especially such a swift-paced and creative practice as guerrilla war. All this too is part of the material basis for going over to socialist revolution.

Central Task: Guerrilla War

To be "What Is To Be Done-ists" in these countries means to start armed struggle right from the beginning and to grasp guerrilla warfare as the central task.

To build and develop organisation and struggle in the oppressed countries, the central task is armed struggle, the specific form of which is guerrilla war. Thus the central task for building organisation and struggle is guerrilla war. This question is directly linked to the prime importance of work among the peasants in the countryside.

"What is to be done?" — how and when to start? In his epoch-making book Comrade Lenin put forward the solution to this problem in the concrete conditions and epoch of the Russian revolution. He showed that at the initial stages of party building in Russia the central task for building organisation and struggle was to develop an all-Russian political organ. He argued further that revolutionary politics, i.e. the

politics of seizing power, and not reformism and economism, should be taken to the working class right from the beginning, and that the best means for this required a centrally operated all-Russian political organ. For Lenin, revolutionary politics was a science, and so it could not possibly come to the working class spontaneously and automatically through its movements for economic and reformist ends; rather, it had to be brought from outside, from a party of professional revolutionaries which trained the workers with a central political organ. Such an organ also functioned as the centre of preparatory work for the future insurrection and revolutionary war. Lenin established this line of the central party organ as the central task through theoretical struggle and revolutionary practice; the October Revolution proved it correct, and it remains the guideline for revolution in the capitalist countries.

But in the oppressed countries a party organ is not the central task; rather the central task is people's war. In fact, the conclusion that guerrilla war is the central task derives from the line of *What Is To Be Done?* itself. For if one wants to follow the ideology of *What Is To Be Done?* in the oppressed countries, one will have to take revolutionary politics to the countryside and to the peasants. The peasants would have to be united, organised and trained in revolutionary politics, i.e. the politics of capturing power. To organize them some other way, for example on the basis of their economic demands and side-by-side with this to educate them in politics — this is not the Leninist style. Organising peasants in trade unions is not the task of revolutionary communists. To educate and organise the peasants on the basis of revolutionary politics right from the beginning — this and only this is, according to Lenin, "Social-Democratic", i.e. Marxist-Leninist, politics.

The problem then is *how* the peasants can be educated and organised in revolutionary politics right from the beginning. Doing this, for example, with a central political organ, or any other means,

such as economic movements, etc., which is based on educating them for a long time on a more or less peaceful path, is not possible in these countries. Because in the oppressed countries the peasants always live under autocratic rule and, generally, feudal despotism. They do not even have minimum democratic rights. So it is not possible to engage in lengthy education of revolutionary politics in the same way. Before such a thing could happen the peasants are sure to be crushed by the feudal despots' armed attacks. In many cases even simple economic movements of the peasants are dealt with by heavy hands — much less movements based on revolutionary politics. Moreover the peasants are engaged in small-scale production. They are not concentrated in large numbers on huge work-sites. Their mutual isolation is acute, and this is added to by their relative cultural backwardness. Thus in comparison to the organisation, unity and struggle of the workers, that of the peasants is bound to assume a much more local character. Also, because they are isolated and scattered, the peasants' consciousness may rise in a very uneven manner.

For all these reasons the consciousness and struggle of the peasants of a certain area may develop to a higher stage on a local basis, while in some other area it may not develop at all. So while in some areas the peasants' level of consciousness may be very backward, in other areas conditions may be ripe for initiating armed struggle. In such a situation, not to start armed struggle in the favourable areas is tantamount to giving up on revolution itself. Should the party take educating people through a political organ as the central task, such cases of abandoning favourable conditions for initiating armed struggle are bound to arise frequently. Sooner or later this is certain to reduce a proletarian party to an opportunist party.

Mao showed that it is only guerrilla warfare that can awake, unite and organise the peasants crushed under the wheel of feudal despotism and make them conscious of the politics of seizing power. It is only

guerrilla warfare that can give them confidence in their own ability, and allow their participation in the armed struggle for power. And it is only through guerrilla war that the working class, through the leadership of the party and through their own participation in guerrilla war, can unite and build the revolutionary alliance with its main ally, the great majority of the peasantry. In a word, only guerrilla warfare can educate and organise the peasants in revolutionary politics. It is indeed the application of *What Is To Be Done?* to these countries.

If instead work around a political organ is taken as the central task, work will invariably wind up city-centred and mainly among the urban middle class intellectuals and to some extent the workers, and this will result in their isolation from the masses of people. Moreover, in the absence of any link with guerrilla war in the rural districts, work among the workers under this line is ultimately bound to fall into the pit of reformism and economism.

Many people speak of another way of uniting the people in these countries, of "applying the mass line". Their method is to conduct economic movements among the peasants, to build up mass organisations among them for this purpose and to take these as the key link. It follows from the politics of *What Is To Be Done?* that this central task is void of revolutionary politics; it is a reformist, revisionist conception of the mass line. All the legal revisionists who have rejected armed struggle are engaged in this fruitless search.

In sum, once guerrilla war is abandoned, the party either will be isolated from the masses of peasants, or if it is able to retain relations with them these will be relations based on reformism and economism that have no link with revolutionary politics and the revolutionary seizure of power.

There are also those who raise the question in this fashion: Yes, guerrilla warfare is undoubtedly the main task — but should guerrilla activity really be started right from the beginning? Would not armed struggle started from the beginning be isolated from the people? Rather,

would it not be better to first develop some organisational strength through different types of economic and other mass movements based on issues and demands and thus make some advance preparations, and only then launch the armed struggle? The advocates of this view actually serve a reformist and economist line, only in a round-about way. They actually run away from the Leninist stand of *What Is To Be Done?*

To say that armed struggle should be started from the beginning does not neglect the necessity of certain preparations. The real point of debate here is not over preparation, but over what line leads: reformist politics or revolutionary politics. This is exactly the point of *What Is To Be Done?* Depending on the specific circumstances of a country, minimum preparation such as building a primary organisational base, creation of public opinion, etc., must be done, but on the basis of revolutionary politics. Such preparation can *never* be completed based on reformism and economism or through mass movements based on such politics; even revolutionary public opinion cannot be built up in this way.

Many of the forces who put forward such views and who attack the line of guerrilla war right from the start as "adventurist" and "terrorist" are ex-revolutionaries who degenerated to opportunism as a result of the disasters of the 1970s and who have taken pro-Sino or pro-Sino/Soviet middle course lines. They pay lip service to armed struggle but argue that "this is not the way to start." Others, too, centre their attack on the question of starting armed struggle and guerrilla warfare. But whatever the diversity of forms their attacks take, they all come down to this: that people, through spontaneous economic movements, will automatically grasp the politics of armed struggle and capturing power and one fine morning will rise up in arms out of the spontaneous upsurges. In a nutshell, they claim to prepare for revolution, but without revolutionary politics.

Thus in these countries it is not enough for the Marxist-Leninists to simply theoretically accept the

necessity of people's war. They must give maximum importance to solving the problem of how to start it and what is the central task. Revolutionary politics is the vital point. The line that, whatever form preparations take, armed struggle should be started right from the beginning and guerrilla war is the central task — this should be adhered to strictly and firmly. It is demanded by Mao's path of people's war, and by Leninism as well.

A Few Points on "Starting the Armed Struggle Right from the Beginning"

1- One of the main obstacles to initiating armed struggle and guerrilla war right from the beginning is the tendency to magnify the enemy's strength. In actual practice this tendency fails to assess the real state of affairs in these countries. Due to imperialism and neo-colonialism a state of crisis prevails all the time in these countries, and consequently a permanent revolutionary situation generally exists (though with ebbs and flows). That is why a small spark of struggle once ignited even in one remote corner can spread around and flare up. Mao's axiom that "a single spark can start a prairie fire" is generally applicable in these countries. This is also one reason why revolutionary struggle can often take the form of armed struggle right from the beginning in these countries.

2- To start armed struggle right from the beginning does not mean to start guerrilla war from the very first day of party building. Some minimum preparatory work is a must. To grasp the basic theoretical aspects of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought; the theoretical-political formulations of the main issues of basic political and socio-economic analysis; propaganda on theoretical, ideological and political matters; training a minimum number of cadres necessary for initial development of organisation and struggle; the rearing of a few professional revolutionaries and initial practice of professional life; a minimal organisational foundation among the revolutionary intellectuals, workers and peasants; the formation of a few guerrilla units; mak-

ing a Marxist-Leninist class analysis and summation of the movements and revolutionary struggles of the people — this is some of the preparatory work. These must be performed more or less simultaneously, or at least in an orderly manner. So naturally there will be, or might be, a preparatory period or a period of “peaceful” development in the life of almost every revolutionary party.

Sometimes we meet a definite problem here. Under the pretext of “necessary” subjective preparation things sometimes begin to take a much longer time, lines emerge about the need for extensive preparation so as to launch guerrilla warfare overnight, perhaps throughout the country, and so on, all of which unnecessarily delay the starting of revolutionary war. Adherence to such lines runs down the path of reformism, and Marxist-Leninists must resolutely oppose this right deviationist tendency in the party. The root of this tendency is magnifying the enemy’s strength and failing to grasp the essence of Mao’s formulation that “a single spark can start a prairie fire”; it also fails to grasp the application of *What Is To Be Done?* to these countries. Sometimes its adherents indulge in subjective dreams of starting widespread struggle and by-passing the tortuous path of protracted people’s war.

3- Though in the oppressed countries a revolutionary situation generally exists, it has ebbs and flows. Thus, though generally the central task is to start armed struggle right from the beginning, for various reasons (such as an ebb in the revolutionary situation, setbacks to the revolutionary movement, centralisation of cadres for certain jobs other than armed struggle, etc.) at a certain time armed struggle temporarily may not be the central task. But even then political and organisational functions should be directed towards increasing preparation for initiating and conducting the armed struggle so that the revolution can be advanced even while anticipating the development of more favourable overall conditions.

4- The question of isolation from the masses. At the initial stage guer-

rilla warfare is bound to remain, to some extent, isolated from the masses of people, or at least it may appear to be so. In most cases, guerrilla war must be started from almost zero, so that it may not possess, and in many cases it is not possible to possess, all of the characteristic features of what is known as people’s war, in that it is not yet waged as a war of masses of people themselves. At this stage, enemies and revisionists of all hues pour forth their slanders of “isolation from the masses,” “terrorists,” “ultra-left extremists,” etc. This must be opposed and exposed, including by strong politico-ideological propaganda work among the people. For the reality is that the starting of guerrilla war under a correct line is the starting of people’s war itself, and it is exactly through such starting of people’s war on a small scale that it can be gradually spread around the country. The initial stage is almost inevitably begun in small areas or pockets which act as a spark for the masses of people themselves throughout the country to take it up.

Mass Line and Self-Reliance

“The revolutionary war is a war of the masses; it can be waged only by mobilising the masses and relying on them.”¹² This single sentence of Mao excellently reflects the fundamental nature of people’s war and its relation to mass line. There can be no application of this principle of mass line without at the same time applying another principle emphasised by Mao, self reliance and arduous struggle; conversely, firmness in self-reliance can lead one to the application of mass line.

Mao explained self-reliance in the following way:

“On what basis should our policy rest? It should rest on our own strength, and that means regeneration through our own efforts. We are not alone; all the countries and people in the world opposed to imperialism are our friends. Nevertheless, we stress regeneration through our own efforts. Relying on the forces we ourselves organise, we can defeat all Chinese and foreign reactionaries.”¹³

He also explained the relation be-

tween self-reliance and foreign help: “We stand for self-reliance. We hope for foreign aid but cannot be dependent on it; we depend on our own efforts, on the creative power of the whole army and the entire people.”¹⁴

Without implementing the mass line, without dependence on the masses of people, all struggles are bound to be dependent on others. The revolution’s leading force — the working class and its party — and the revolutionary army cannot defeat the powerful enemy alone; they must depend on one of the two forces, foreign aid or the masses of people. Further, at the time Mao spoke of hoping for foreign aid, socialism existed in the Soviet Union, which it no longer does. Foreign aid, especially on a state level, is not now available to genuine liberation struggles, as what is going on in the people’s war in Peru under the leadership of its Communist Party shows. Thus it is more important than ever to fully depend on the masses of people.

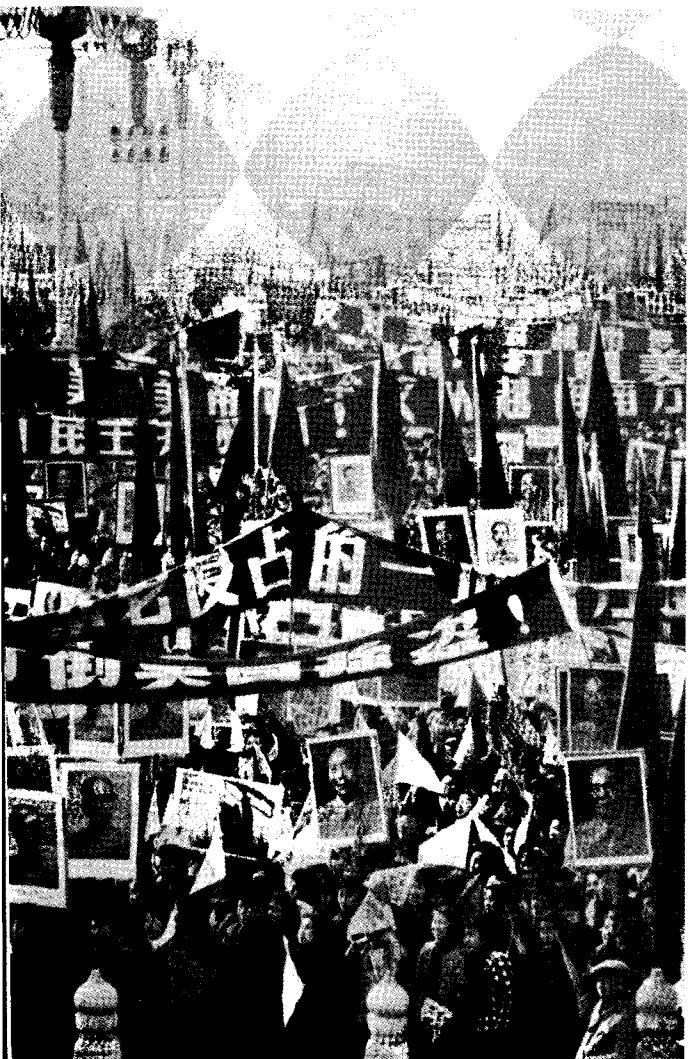
When one turns away from depending on the masses of people one is bound to depend on foreign sources. And whatever pretext this takes place under — “socialism,” “democracy,” “world humanitarianism,” etc. — one is bound to turn into a tool of Soviet, U.S. or some other foreign imperialist and the revolutionary struggle will stray and fail. Examples should not really be necessary to establish the fact that such phenomena are abundant in the present-day world. It should also be pointed out that it is only proletarian leadership that can truly mobilise and depend on the masses.

Surrounding the Cities from the Countryside, and Related Military Matters

The main military matters included here are: the role of base areas; the protracted nature of the war; and the strategy and tactics of guerrilla war. We have already discussed how the basic strategy of surrounding the cities from the countryside is rooted in the nature of the social system and the stage of the revolution in the oppressed countries themselves. The basic theoretical guidelines for-



Demonstration in support of the revolutionary struggle of Vietnamese people in their war against U.S. imperialism.



Mao greets Latin American visitors.





Red Guards give it to "Uncle Sam."

mulated by Mao Tsetung which guide this strategy are still valid, nor has any fundamental development of the theories and principles of people's war taken place since his time. Here we will just touch on these major military points and discuss how far they are still applicable in the new world situation where important changes have taken place in the characteristics of the oppressed countries.

The strategy of surrounding the cities from the countryside demands that base areas should be established in rural areas for capturing power. This is not possible simultaneously throughout the country but must begin in small or limited areas.

Furthermore, base areas are necessary due to the protracted character of the war. At the initial stage the enemy is far more powerful than the revolutionary forces. The revolutionaries start with weak forces and then gain strength, so as to gradually change the balance of forces and conduct the final assault on the enemy. So the war is protracted and necessarily takes the form of a guerrilla war over a long period. Thus in order to protect the revolutionary forces, to spread the revolution and to stand on a firm footing base areas are essential. This is the foundation of the strategy and tactics of guerrilla war.

Mao explained that,

"In the face of such enemies, there arises the question of base areas. Since China's key cities have long been occupied by the powerful imperialists and their reactionary Chinese allies, it is imperative for the revolutionary ranks to turn the backward villages into advanced consolidated base areas, into great military, political, economic and cultural bastions of revolution from which to fight their vicious enemies who are using the cities for attacks on the rural districts, and this way gradually to achieve the complete victory of the revolution through protracted fighting....the protracted revolutionary struggle consists mainly in peasant guerrilla warfare led by the Chinese Communist Party. Therefore it is wrong to ignore the necessity of using rural districts as revolutionary base areas, to

neglect painstaking work among the peasants, and to neglect guerrilla warfare."¹⁵

Guerrilla warfare and the establishment of base areas are offensive actions within the overall defensive stage of protracted people's war. Relative to the whole country, base areas create the conditions for self-protection of the revolutionary forces, but relative to particular parts of the country they are offensive pursuits. Guerrilla warfare spreads the revolutionary war and expands base areas, thus advancing the process of capturing power in the countryside.

Besides these military aspects, there are also political and ideological features of base areas, and these are very important. The establishment of base areas means the growth of the revolutionary political power of the great majority of the peasantry, especially the landless and poor peasants, under the leadership of the proletariat (which is a form of the dictatorship of all revolutionary classes under proletarian leadership, today, in Peru for example, this is called People's Committees). The implementation of the programme of new democratic revolution, the complete or partial elimination of feudalism and the distribution of the enemies' lands among the peasants in accordance with the principle of "land to the tiller," the establishment of people's courts and handing out of revolutionary justice — these and many other revolutionary changes are taken by the new revolutionary political power.

As a consequence, the toiling masses and patriotic people stand up with heads erect, they become immensely confident of their own revolutionary vigour, the people place their hopes and confidence in the party and the army it leads, as the people see concretely the goal of revolution and witness for themselves the form of the future liberated social system. In a word, base areas set examples of revolution before the people. All these things encourage the peasants to come under the flag of the revolutionary war with multiplied enthusiasm, and enable them to participate in the revolutionary pursuit and to

sacrifice themselves with immense spirit. From the viewpoint of the whole country, base areas act as "sparks."

Also, through establishing and consolidating base areas, the proletariat leads people in capturing and wielding state power, however small, and thus the people can conduct experiments with the new state power and in the process prepare themselves for future state administration.

These are the political and ideological roles of base areas.

Post World War 2 Changes and the Path of People's War

On the one hand, since World War 2 developments have taken place such that most of the oppressed nations are no longer as backward as pre-revolutionary China. The wide and increasing penetration of imperialism has wrought many changes, some basic and qualitative. Capitalism has developed, including in agriculture, so that feudalism has been eroded to a great extent; workers have multiplied in number and become more experienced; alongside the industrial workers non-industrial labourers have tremendously increased in number, as have the landless peasants; urbanisation has increased; centralised military-bureaucratic state machines have been established. These changes are continuing, and sometimes even increasing.

On the other hand despite all these changes, the fundamental character of the socio-economic structure and the state remain basically, or mainly, unchanged. The so-called "independent national" states actually are not independent but under the most severe imperialist domination and exploitation. The ruling class is dependent on imperialism; feudal (and semi-feudal) exploitation and despotism still exist extensively in rural areas; cities and towns are still the strongholds of the enemy; the great majority of the population remain peasants, in vast rural areas, where impoverishment is even increasing steadily; the masses have no real democratic rights, and people are often crushed under the wheel of fascist military or civilian dictatorial rule which is in essence fascist. In a

word, the situation in these countries with a few exceptions, is still, in essence, like that of pre-revolutionary China.

Thus despite the changes that have taken place, the basic strategy of surrounding the cities from the countryside remains valid (with the few exceptions). The rapid development of the people's war in Peru under the leadership of its Communist Party proves this truth. But because there *have* been important changes, the necessity of applying the strategy and tactics of people's war creatively — something which Mao always stressed — is more felt than ever.

In undertaking this task, two wrong tendencies are frequently seen. One is the tendency to neglect and even refuse to recognise the changes and differences and so mechanically apply the Chinese experience, instead of creatively applying Mao Tsetung Thought. The other tendency over-emphasises and exaggerates the changes and differences due to inability to grasp the fundamental similarity, and consequently suffers from indecisiveness on the path of revolution. Actually this second tendency, too, takes the Chinese experience mechanically, but in a negative way, and fails to see that Mao Tsetung Thought and people's war *must be applied creatively*. The revisionists too overemphasise the differences so as to deny the fundamental character of the oppressed nations and categorically reject people's war.

The struggle with these two tendencies, and the problem of applying the line of people's war more generally, centres on two questions: firstly, starting armed struggle right from the beginning (i.e., what is the central task and how should it be carried out?); and secondly, the question of establishing base areas.

Because of the changes we have noted it is no longer possible in many countries to try to follow China's model exactly and try to spread guerrilla warfare throughout a country by starting from and depending on a base area established in a certain remote corner of a country. Instead, alongside the initiation of guerrilla warfare with the aim of establishing base areas, country-

wide political and organisational work, mass movements and mass upsurges in urban areas, work among the workers and in the cities, activity centred on a party organ, etc. — all these have gained in importance, and it is imperative to co-ordinate them properly with guerrilla war (Mao gave these importance even in connection with the revolution in China). Otherwise, it will not be possible to lead the revolutionary war correctly. Moreover, the importance of all this work is bound to increase.

This work in urban areas may be helpful in facing enemy pressure in the initial period of the development of guerrilla war and base areas (of whatever kind) where the revolutionary forces are still weak. Conversely, the development of guerrilla war, and especially of base areas, can exert tremendous revolutionary influence in accelerating the mass upsurge and rebellion in urban areas, and giving these a more revolutionary character. Also, work in urban areas, especially among workers and in mass movements, can play a major role in supplying cadres and fighters.

The tendency to neglect all this and blindly apply the Chinese method of proceeding from local base areas was a major reason for the disasters which befell so many of the new generation of Marxist-Leninists who arose in the 1960s. Unfortunately, this tendency is still widespread. Specific reflections of this are:

- an inability to understand and blind denial of the process of capitalist development and the decay of feudal relations (in a non-revolutionary way) in the oppressed countries;

- as a consequence of the above, the inability to understand or again denial of the importance of work in the cities and among workers, of mass organisations and upsurges and of the ability to carry out legal activity;

- inability to understand or denial of the importance of work on a country-wide scale for the establishment of base areas.

This tendency, widespread in the South Asian subcontinent, resulted in the revolutionary movements suf-

fering severe setbacks. As a result a large number of persons degenerated from the ranks of Marxist-Leninists, and rejected Mao Tsetung Thought and people's war. Further, revisionists and other enemies have sought to capitalise on these setbacks to assault anew the line of Mao and of people's war.

Yet though the importance of grasping these changes and the adjustments they mandate in revolutionary work is clear, it must still be affirmed that work among peasants in the rural areas remains principal and that the task of developing guerrilla warfare remains in general the central task. Work in urban areas, or mass movements, etc., cannot advance revolutionary politics beyond a certain limit in the struggle for power without the development of armed struggle in the countryside. Only on-going guerrilla warfare in the countryside can create the conditions for establishing proletarian leadership of the city-centred mass organisations and raising them to higher stages and making use of them in service of the revolutionary war.

In some of the oppressed countries, in Asia, Africa and Latin America, capitalist development and the increase in the number of workers has been extensive, though these countries are not yet "predominantly capitalist." In such countries both the political and the military importance of the cities has increased and is increasing. This is an objective reality. Sometimes in these countries mass movements may leap into mass uprisings or mass revolt, even in the absence of armed struggle in the rural areas. Thus opportunities may arise for initiating armed struggle through first staging mass uprisings in the cities, and this may be quite necessary. That is why, though in such countries surrounding the cities from the countryside is the path of revolution, the party of the proletariat should take into account in its overall strategy the possibility of using such situations and it should remain prepared to do so. So in these circumstances the line of developing guerrilla warfare and capturing power first in the rural areas does not apply in the same static way, but varies with the vary-

ing circumstances.

But if one's conception of overall strategy is hazy or if one neglects the main aspects of the overall strategy one will not be able to reap the fruits of such eventualities, because there is every possibility that the situation may take many turns. For example, in spite of mass uprisings in the cities, it may not be possible to proceed to the overall capture of power; or even if it is possible victory may not last long; or perhaps it will be possible to capture and even maintain power, but it will be necessary to conduct long-term civil war in the rural areas. Here the relevant experience of the Russian revolution is worth remembering. There, though Russia had developed to imperialism, its rural districts were still feudal, and there was civil war in the countryside. Cases may arise in which civil war should be waged according to the principle of people's war relying mainly on the peasants.

As in the case of starting armed struggle and guerrilla war, differences may also arise because of the afore-mentioned changes in the case of establishing base areas. The opponents of people's war like to say that the points Mao mentioned in the article "Why Is It That Red Political Power Can Exist in China?" as conditions for the survival of base areas no longer exist in most oppressed countries. In particular they argue that there are no longer locally fragmented feudal warlords as existed in China, but rather there are now powerful centralised military-bureaucratic state machines. These problems are multiplied, they say, in the relatively small countries that have no hills and forests. They conclude that it is not possible to establish base areas at all.

The material basis for these arguments should of course be examined thoroughly by Marxist-Leninists, so as to accurately understand the problems and limitations imposed by objective conditions. But the more important point here is that under the pretext of "objective conditions" these people present Mao's theory of red base areas in a mechanical and often partial and distorted manner.

The process of summing up base

areas that Mao had undertaken up to 1928, when he wrote "Why Red Political Power Can Exist," did not end there, nor were these conditions something immutable. Mao later showed that even in the absence of the conditions he described in 1928 different types or forms of base areas could be developed. He mentioned, for instance, the following types of base areas: those in the hills and mountains, those on the plains, and those in the river-lake-estuary regions, and showed their comparative advantages and disadvantages. He also mentioned the following variable conditions that would effect the establishment of base areas, and required different and flexible policies: temporary or seasonal base areas in unfavourable terrain, shifting of base areas from place to place, taking advantage of "green curtains" of tall crops in summer in plains areas, of frozen rivers in winters, etc.¹⁶ Thus Mao, in the course of summing up base areas over a long period of time, showed that a revolutionary party should try to start guerrilla war and set up permanent or temporary base areas in all places where people and enemy forces are found.¹⁷

As for the rise of centralised state machines and the absence of feudal warlords, many exaggerate the strength of these state apparatuses. They ignore their internal contradictions, the fact, for instance, that various power-hungry factions of the ruling class are at times locked in even bloody in-fighting in these countries, which throws the state machinery into a state of instability. This is an inevitable reflection of sharp contention among competing different imperialists, especially the two superpowers, over domination of these countries. It is an insoluble crisis under the neo-colonial system.

At the same time this system gives birth to fascist dictatorial rule over and over again in almost all such countries. Even the masquerading social-democrats cannot for long hide their real fascist character. This, and the most severe exploitation, intensely sharpens the contradictions between the people of different strata and the ruling class. As a result, in many of these countries, even where there is no pro-

letarian leadership, a good many armed rebel groups more or less linked to the people have emerged and maintained their existence for long periods. In some countries these groups have strongholds in rural areas and wage powerful armed attacks against the government. And such incidents take place even in small countries.

Thus whatever the diversities of process, form or duration, it is possible for armed struggle and base areas to emerge and develop. As the *Declaration of the Revolutionary Internationalist Movement* says:

"In these countries the exploitation of the proletariat and the masses is severe, the outrage of imperialist domination constant, and the ruling classes usually exercise their dictatorship nakedly and brutally, and even when they utilise the bourgeois-democratic or parliamentary form their dictatorship is only thinly veiled. This situation leads to frequent revolutionary struggles on the part of the proletariat, the peasants and other sections of the masses which often take the form of armed struggle. For all these reasons, including the lopsided and distorted development in these countries which often makes it difficult for the reactionary classes to maintain state rule and to consolidate their power throughout the state, it is often the case that the revolution takes the form of protracted revolutionary warfare in which the revolutionary forces are able to establish base areas of one type or another in the countryside and carry out the basic strategy of surrounding the city by the countryside."¹⁸

People's War in the "Predominantly Capitalist" Countries

In the "Joint Communiqué" issued by 13 parties and organisations in 1980, it was said:

"There is an undeniable tendency for imperialism to introduce significant elements of capitalist relations in the countries it dominates. In certain dependent countries, capitalist development has gone so far that it is not correct to characterise them as semi-feudal. It is better to call them predominantly capitalist even while important

elements or remnants of feudal or semi-feudal production relations and their reflection in the superstructure still exists.

"In such countries a concrete analysis must be made of these conditions and appropriate conclusions concerning the path, tasks, character and alignment of class forces must be drawn. In all events, foreign imperialism remains a target of the revolution."¹⁹

In addition to South Korea, Taiwan, etc., considerable capitalist development has taken place in a few Latin American and some oil-rich countries.

The capitalist development that has taken place in these countries is not an independent national capitalism, it is not capitalism that has come into being through the overthrow of feudalism and foreign imperialism. On the contrary, it is capitalism introduced *through* imperialism, in the process of its post-World War 2 expansion and under its neo-colonial system. This is comprador-bureaucrat capitalism, shaped by and intimately bound up with and dependent on foreign imperialism. Hence its distorted lopsided character, and, despite the predominantly capitalist character of the society, its continued neo-colonialist domination. The state machineries of these countries are watch-dogs of comprador-bureaucrat capital and imperialism. There is no doubt that imperialism is one of the targets of revolution in these countries.

Since the old feudal/semi-feudal system was not overthrown by revolutionary means but transformed in a non-revolutionary way by imperialism itself, it is quite natural and possible that a big or major part of the property holders under the feudal system have, through a gradual and compromising process, turned into owners under the capitalist agricultural system, still dependent on imperialism. At the same time, the new comprador bureaucrats are bound to participate too in the agricultural economy. Also because of this non-revolutionary transformation, important elements or remnants of the feudal relations of production are bound to persist, and to have on-

going reflections in the superstructure.

That these countries are imperialist-dominated neocolonies is also reflected in the lack of democracy in the political state system, in the absence of legal rights of the people, in the continuation of savage military-bureaucratic dictatorships and their crushing of the people's movements.

All this means that in these countries the task of new democratic revolution has not been completed. One important feature of the new democratic revolution, as Mao showed in China, is that the bourgeoisie divide, that the middle and small bourgeoisie (i.e., the national bourgeoisie) can play a role in favour of revolution, and that is why the proletariat must strive to unite with them. This important formulation of Mao's is completely applicable in these countries. On the one hand widespread capitalist development has inevitably given birth to a large number of national bourgeois. On the other hand the comprador-bureaucratic capital in these countries in close collaboration with imperialism has developed into monopoly capital, and the reactionary state machine protects them. As a result, the small and middle bourgeois is obstructed and impeded. Thus to divide the bourgeoisie and try to unite the national bourgeois in the course of the revolutionary, anti-imperialist struggle is still an important task.

It is clear that the stage of revolution in these countries remains new democratic. The Trotskyites, social-democrats, and different types of revisionists put forward that new democracy in these countries is no longer necessary, that since the economy is capitalist the stage of revolution is directly for socialism. This is not only wrong, it is reactionary, because, in seeing only capitalism, they cover up imperialist exploitation and place imperialist countries and countries under imperialism on a par.

But the question here is: what is the path for revolution in these countries, to what extent are the lines of people's war and surrounding the cities from the countryside still applicable?

It can be said without doubt that the methods and lines applicable to predominantly agricultural countries are not applicable in the same way in these countries. We have already mentioned that in non-predominantly capitalist countries with significant capitalist development work in the cities and among the workers has gained importance, and that it might be possible to even start armed struggle through mass uprisings there, instead of by launching it in the countryside. This is all the more so in the case of the predominantly capitalist countries. And because these are predominantly capitalist countries, the peasantry, though still an important force, is no longer the main revolutionary force here, nor is the countryside necessarily the centre of work. That is why it is probably no longer the case that armed struggle and armed organisation are principal throughout the entire period of revolution in these countries. Even so, it is quite possible that power cannot be captured all at once through armed uprising, so that after some kind of partial capture of power it may be necessary to wage a more or less protracted revolutionary war. Even a total capture of power may be reduced to a temporary victory, so that it may be necessary to retreat and go to the rural areas or areas where the enemy is weak so as to conduct protracted people's war.

In sum then, though the exact path of revolution in these countries is not clear, serious study of Mao's theory of New Democratic Revolution, protracted people's war and guerrilla war by the party of the proletariat and the education of the cadres workers and peasants in these theories, and the creative application of the path of people's war for preparing for and capturing power — these remain very important tasks for the party.

In these countries, because the workers and the cities are now principal, the task of educating the workers through the party organ(s) and through revolutionary mass movements and organisations has gained greater importance than ever.

Finally, only the development of truly revolutionary parties of the

proletariat, based on Marxism-Leninism, will be able to ultimately give a correct answer to the exact path of revolution in these countries.

Conclusion

Through his charting of the path of China's revolutionary war, Mao Tsetung qualitatively developed the Marxist theory of war. He learned from important wars of the world and China, especially progressive and revolutionary wars; he assimilated the teachings of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin on war in general and revolutionary wars in particular; and finally, he learned by applying the dialectical materialist outlook in the course of leading war itself — as Mao taught, one learns warfare through warfare. And so Mao forged the path of people's war in illustrating brilliantly how the people of the weak and oppressed countries can courageously rise up to defeat seemingly omnipotent imperialism and its accomplices.

If one looks at the path of people's war from a purely military viewpoint, it is impossible to understand its truly profound significance, nor will it be possible to apply it creatively amidst whatever changes imperialism has wrought in the oppressed nations. Only if one conceives the strategy of people's war as an overall dialectical materialist outlook for solving the problem of revolutionary warfare will it be possible to accomplish these and other critical tasks.

The present world situation is that on the one hand different forms of struggle, including armed struggle, of the people against imperialism and its agents are forming anew. The anti-imperialist national liberation movements are again rising up strong, and symptoms of gathering momentum of worldwide mass upheavals, after a long pause since the 1960s, have surfaced. On the other hand, the two contending imperialist blocs led by the U.S. and Soviet imperialists are hatching conspiracies and preparing to unleash a world war, and are tremendously increasing their war preparations. In such a situation it is imperative to develop national liberation movements and revolutionary struggles under correct leadership in the

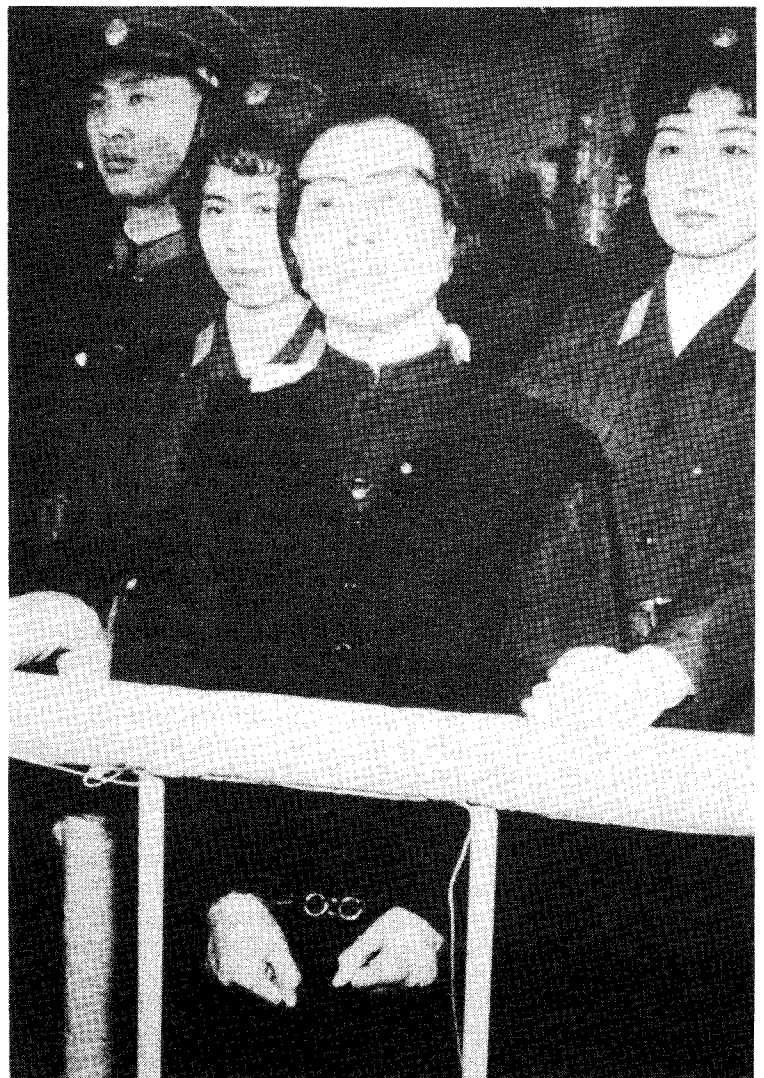
oppressed countries. This means, in general, grasping the path of people's war and initiating guerrilla warfare. These obligations have fallen to the true Marxist-Leninists. So it is that it is urgent to hold high, explain and propagate the path of people's war and especially Mao Tsetung Thought, because it is only Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought which can give the guidance required to the upcoming struggles. □

Footnotes

1. Mao Tsetung, "The Chinese Revolution and the Chinese Communist Party," *Selected Works*, Vol. 2, p. 318.
2. *Declaration of the Revolutionary Internationalist Movement*, Indian English language edition, p. 31.
3. Mao Tsetung, "Problems of War and Strategy," *Selected Works*, Vol. 2, pp. 219-20.
4. Mao Tsetung, "The Chinese Revolution and the Chinese Communist Party," *Selected Works*, Vol. 2, p. 317.
5. Mao Tsetung, "Problems of War and Strategy," *Selected Works*, Vol. 2, p. 221.
6. *Declaration of the RIM*, Indian English edition, p.32.
7. Mao Tsetung, "On the People's Democratic Dictatorship," *Selected Works*, Vol. 4, p. 421.
8. Mao Tsetung, "Revolutionary Forces of the World, Unite, Fight Against Imperialist Aggression," *Selected Works*, Vol.4, p. 284.
9. Mao Tsetung, "On the People's Democratic Dictatorship," *Selected Works*, Vol. 4, p. 422.
10. Mao Tsetung, "The Chinese Revolution and the Chinese Communist Party," *Selected Works*, Vol. 2, p. 331.
11. *Ibid.*, pp. 326-27.
12. Mao Tsetung, "Be Concerned with the Well-Being of the Masses, Pay Attention to Methods of Work," *Selected Works*, Vol.1, p. 147.
13. Mao Tsetung, "The Situation and Our Policy After the Victory in the War of Resistance Against Japan," *Selected Works*, Vol. 4, p. 20.
14. Mao Tsetung, "We Must Learn to Do Economic Work," *Selected Works*, Vol. 3, p. 241.
15. Mao Tsetung, "The Chinese Revolution and the Chinese Communist Party," *Selected Works*, Vol. 2, pp. 316-17.
16. Mao Tsetung, "Problems of Strategy in the Guerrilla War Against Japan," *Selected Works*, Vol. 2, pp. 94-95.
17. *Ibid.*, p. 100.
18. *Declaration of the RIM*, Indian English edition, p.31.
19. Quoted in the *Declaration of the RIM*, *Ibid.*, p.35.



Chiang Ching at her trial: "If I have to admit to anything I can only say I lost in this round of struggle for political power... It is not I, but your small gang which is on trial in the court of history."



THE WEAPON OF CRITICISM

“To Get Rich Is Glorious” Recent Books on Capitalist China

by Y. B.

To Get Rich Is Glorious

by Orville Schell (New American Library, 1986)

Chen Village: The Recent History of a Peasant Village in Mao's China

by Anita Chan, Richard Madsen, and Jonathan Ungar (University of California Press, 1984)

La société chinoise après Mao: Entre autorité et modernité

C. Aubert, et al. (Fayard, 1986)

Of the books reviewed here, it is Orville Schell's readable account which certainly delivers the meatiest offering; his slices of life in contemporary China and frequent contrasts of this with Mao's epoch will be food for thought especially for those who are still trying to sort out events which have followed the death of Mao and the subsequent rise to power of Deng Xiaoping. Schell's book does not pretend to be an overall summation of the post-Mao period, however, nor does it attempt to mount any sort of thoroughgoing challenge to the current regime. Indeed, Schell himself is quite obviously torn by the direction of events in China since Mao's death and does not appear to have any kind of systematically worked-out summation of what has happened and why. What he does have is an evident sympathy with the Chinese masses, a profound conviction that with the revolution in 1949 "the Chinese people stood up," as Mao put it, and a creeping feeling that they are now in increasing danger of being shoved back down.

Schell's book is formed around his observations during a few recent trips to the People's Republic of China which took him through a number of the main cities, combined with accounts of the countryside gathered from a number of long-standing "friends of China" such as William Hinton, author of the classic account of revolution in a Chinese village, *Fanshen*. The book is anecdotal; it mingles statistics on agricultural production with quotes from major speeches of the current leadership and conversations with Chinese people who Schell sought out on his trips. Though particularly the conversations are weighted — the Chinese quoted here cannot be said to be representative of a cross-section of Chinese society, as they are mostly in the areas and jobs most accessible to a foreign journalist — even so what Schell manages to draw from this material is a picture that will give rise to sadness, and rage, in the heart of anyone who was ever truly inspired by the Chinese masses' tortuous battle to throw the weight of imperialism off their backs and build a new China.

It is a story, above all, of restoration: of the dismantling of "socialist new things" and the return of the ugly sores that so disfigured the old China, things which many, including Schell himself, thought had disappeared from the Chinese landscape forever. His book opens with an account of his first sighting ever of a pedicab in the PRC: "These small, rickshaw-like conveyances, which are powered by a man on a bicycle rather than on foot, had long been banned in China. The image of one human being straining on a bicycle to haul another human being around was one that came too close

Reactionary subjects like this Buddha and other demons, ghosts and mummies are once again the vogue among artists in China.



to suggesting the old exploitative society the Communists had set out to transform with their revolution. But sensitivity to such socialist niceties is evidently on the wane, for as I watched, a potato-shaped woman, carrying several net bags bulging with food and packages, rudely tapped the driver on the chest with her fan and woke him up. After haggling over the price, she heaved her bulk into the pedicab and barked an order, and a moment later they were off, the calf muscles of the driver flexing as he strained to get his vehicle moving."

These "tails of capitalism" as they were called in socialist China appear throughout Schell's book. He notes, for example, the explosion in demand for notary publics; in 1982 there were more than 400 million new economic contracts signed in China along with a plethora of wills as people seek to ensure the inheritance of their newly gained private property. A few years earlier there had been very few of such things.

Schell devotes ample discussion to an element at the core of the new economic programme of the Chinese government: the *zeren zhi*, or "responsibility system." Ma Hong, president of the Chinese Academy of Social Sciences, explained: "In the past, we overemphasised collective leadership and slighted individual responsibility; the result was that everyone was nominally responsible but no one actually assumed responsibility. This has now begun to change." Schell recounts that, "when I asked an elderly peasant guarding a heap of watermelons he had brought in from the countryside to sell at a market in

Peking what was meant by the responsibility system, he furrowed his brow at first, and then a pleased smile creased his face. 'It means we can do what we want,' he replied.'

Indeed, so far as the new system is concerned, each person is "responsible" principally for himself — as in any system where commodity production prevails. For workers in industry, as *La société chinoise après Mao* notes, this has meant efforts to return to the piece-rates abolished at the end of the 1950s, individual labour contracts and now, following the most recent Central Committee meeting in September 1986, even large-scale layoffs. After all, each factory must be "responsible" for itself and, above all, for its profits! In agriculture, this same logic has led to perhaps the most dramatic transformation of all: the decollectivisation of the land.

It is above all in agriculture that the Chinese leadership has touted the success of their reforms, as they boast of rich peasants springing up throughout the countryside, buying colour televisions, building new homes, going on vacations to Tokyo, and so forth. Schell believes, along with the authors of the other books here, that there has been a definite and marked increase in agricultural production, at least in a number of areas. To no small extent this may be due to the unusually good weather that has prevailed in China for the past few years. As for the reforms, their overall impact is, however, far from clear. It is possible, even very likely, that they have in fact stimulated growth of a certain kind, but as Schell reveals, there is an ominous side to this. For example, while Deng and Co. present themselves as the champions of modernisation (especially in opposition to Mao and the "Gang of Four" whom they accuse of wanting to keep China backwards), decollectivisation of the land spells certain doom for mechanisation and hence of modernisation in agriculture, the foundation of the Chinese economy. Schell quotes Hinton on mechanisation: "Actually, most of these big machines are white elephants anyway. Since fields have been divided up again into small plots,

there is no way the peasants can use elaborate farm machinery. In fact, it's hard for most farmers to justify any kind of mechanised equipment. Except for small grain-grinding machines and transport vehicles, there is now virtually no agricultural mechanisation. It may have been the first of China's Four Modernisations but, as far as I can see, it is dead in the water."

The authors of *Chen Village* report that, "The peasantry of a prosperous village in Jiangsu province feared that dividing the large collective fields would play havoc with the irrigation networks they had built up and would be poorly suited to the mechanisation they had installed," and so resisted the decollectivisation order. (Schell relates that the Chinese themselves "have facetiously concocted their own version of the Four Modernisations: the elite-isation of the cadres; the freedom-isation of the peasants; the bonus-isation of the workers; and the diploma-isation of the intellectuals.")

So even insofar as production itself is concerned, the revisionists' modernisation programme, by redividing the land and relying on unleashing the "enterprising" or rich peasant in the countryside, has

in fact created insuperable barriers, in the context of China, to any long-term growth in production. Such growth depends on the socialist consciousness and organisation of the masses of peasantry, including even in order to realise mechanisation. As Mao pointed out, "In agriculture, with things as they are in our country, cooperation must precede the use of big mechanisation." ("On the Cooperative Transformation of Agriculture") This was actually at the heart of one of the first all-out battles that Mao had to wage against the capitalist-roaders in the 1950s. It also reveals the accuracy of Mao's analysis of the capitalist-roaders in China when he pointed out that one of their characteristics was having opposed the cooperative transformation of agriculture — though at the time certainly some people abroad doubted that there were those in the Chinese party who would seriously attempt to undo collectivisation itself.

Decollectivisation also goes hand-in-hand with an end to relying on the masses to consciously plan production. Today instead the peasant plants according to the logic of the marketplace. One result of this discussed by Schell is that land is being rapidly pulled out of production

American-born hotel owner has opened China's first deluxe hotel. "I'm making a revolution," he says, "and I'll show them what service is all about."





Capitulation and idolizing of the West stretches from high Party leaders to Peking's clinics: cosmetic surgery to give women "double eyelids" common to Western features has skyrocketed in recent years. Only one eye is done at a time.

of grain, and converted to the production of more lucrative cash crops like cotton, tobacco, fruits and vegetables, etc. While increased production of higher-priced goods contributes to an apparent rise in overall agricultural production, it disguises a potential long-term disaster for the Chinese economy. For the practice long established under Mao had been to take grain as the key link in agricultural production, and this was founded on a solid basis. After all, feeding people in a planned and expanding way is a key task. The undoing of socialist policies regarding grain cannot be compensated for by simply relying on the market mechanism to encourage productivity by raising prices — and even if it could, rising grain prices would lead to further disaster. The poorer workers — and polarisation is certainly increasing in the cities too — would be left unable to afford the grain, and inflation, rampant in pre-revolutionary China, would be pushed ahead. But if the current regime doesn't let grain prices rise, then land will continue to be taken out of grain production, giving rise to shortages and hunger.

Secondly, grain surpluses were a key to protecting the masses of peasants against natural disasters — which in pre-revolutionary China

frequently resulted in the poorer peasants, who had no reserves, going into debt and then being locked in a cycle of debt/repayment with the landlords. Similarly, grain surpluses were a key link in the Chinese revolutionaries' defense strategy against potential imperialist invasion, which was signalled by the slogan of "dig tunnels deep, store grain everywhere, and never seek hegemony." Grain storage was to facilitate people's war, enabling the masses to hold out in the countryside and wage guerrilla war under conditions of imperialist attack. These agricultural policies undermining the only means the Chinese could hope to resist imperialism — like the revisionists' substitution of a strategy of relying on importing advanced technology to gear up its military machine so as to fight "a war of steel" — only made it inevitable that the new Chinese rulers see themselves unable to do anything but capitulate.

Schell illustrates vividly how decollectivisation has unleashed the furies of private interest throughout the countryside. The collective system had, besides being an important basis for forming a revolutionary world-view, also enabled the peasants to overcome many of the wasteful practices associated with

the feudal family-oriented production. Schell recounts how, for instance, crops are protected now that the collectives are dismantled; in the words of a Western observer who went to Long Bow, the village discussed in *Fanshen*: "All over the countryside, you see little guard shacks in the fields, where peasants now have to spend the night watching their crops. Not only do they have to work all day farming but they have to stay up all night as well. And by the time harvest season approaches, you can feel the tension in the air. As soon as one family starts gathering its crops, everyone else in the area is forced to begin also. It's like a wind that sweeps across the land. No peasant wants to be the only one with crops still out in the field, because he knows he is just setting himself up to be robbed." Besides the waste of labour, this is also wasteful because peasants are tending to harvest crops before they have fully ripened.

A fever of property-grabbing spread in the wake of decollectivisation, with extremely harmful results. "In the rural areas," William Hinton told Schell, "people are ripping apart and dividing up everything they can get their hands on. They figure that if things are being parcellled out, they better get in there and get their share before someone else does." A social scientist told Schell how in Long Bow, the peasants had gone so far as to strip apart the motors for the irrigation system built by collective labour, and sold parts such as the copper wire from the generators on the "free market." The governing logic was that if they didn't someone else would, and besides, part of *their* labour had gone into building it in the first place.

How much resistance there is to all this is unclear. But there is resistance. In *Chen Village*, one peasant recounts how decollectivisation was greeted in another nearby village in Guangdong: "The peasants were literally forced to do it. In fact, one peasant (in my team) was so angry he refused to go draw lots for the parcels of land he was entitled to.... Before people weren't as worried as they are now; ... they felt sure of having something to eat in the end.

But now (1982), with the land all distributed, they feel financially insecure.... Everyone I know in Xinhui County dislikes the new policies. People practically go around saying, 'Down with Deng Xiaoping.'" Similarly, in the cities, a study for the World Bank (cited in *La société chinoise après Mao*) reports that in response to the Deng regime's assault on "egalitarianism" and its attempts to promote material incentives such as piece rates, etc., "the egalitarianist pressures basically come from the workers themselves. Too big a difference among the workers is poorly accepted. This is why an attempt in 1981 to restore piece-rates was met by failure." They also note that "to be a cadre in industry these days 'is like sitting on a volcano.'"

Resistance is also appearing to another institution from the old society which Schell notes is making a remarkable comeback: the tax code. Having unleashed commodity production everywhere the revisionists are working feverishly to put in place a vast tax-collecting bureaucracy. Even Western experts are, however, pessimistic about compliance, especially in the countryside. The head of the tax office has complained of several hundred incidents of physical assaults on his tax collectors, including where they have been paraded before jeering crowds through village streets.

Schell provides numerous examples of how what Western social scientists call the "social safety net" is disappearing from beneath the Chinese masses. The number covered by organised cooperative medical systems has dropped from 80-90% in 1979 to only 40-45% today. *Chen Village* reports how its own medical facility was sold during decollectivisation to a doctor who promptly doubled the prices for a basic vaccination. Hinton, looking over these developments and especially the situation of the poorer peasants, the old, etc., observes that, "What I am more concerned about is who is going to take care of people if there are floods, droughts, or famines, or if the rural economy suddenly goes sour. If any of these things happen — which is not impossible — there are going to be a lot

of people back out on the roads begging, with no place to go and nothing to eat.' He paused, and then remarked, somewhat fatalistically, 'If you ask me, a situation like that would put China back pretty close to the way it was before 1949.'"

In the last half of his book, Schell goes particularly into the relations of China with foreign countries and the way Chinese people now look at these. He tells of talking with a host at one of the fancier Chinese hotels, who turned out to be a Party member and a former People's Liberation Army soldier. The host, named Chen, informed Schell that "his boss" came from Hong Kong. Schell: "Do any members of your Chinese staff resent having to work under foreign managers?" I asked, still trying to adjust to Chen's use of the word 'boss,' a term I had never heard in China except to refer to such unacceptable categories of people as 'capitalist bosses' or 'Soviet bosses.'

"No. Why should they?" replied Chen, with a surprised look on his face. 'They are good managers... Besides, if we had a Chinese hotel manager, we would have more trouble restricting local people from coming in and wandering around as they pleased.'

"It was amazing to hear a Chinese speak of 'restricting local people,' not because it was an unusual practice, but because few official Chinese ever discuss the subject with foreigners so unselfconsciously. Chen, however, acknowledged it without any suggestion of hesitation or circumspection, as if it was the most natural thing in the world for a Chinese hotelier — who was working in a country that was at least theoretically 'under the dictatorship of the proletariat' — to want to keep his countrymen out of his hotel lest they scuff up the rugs and wear out the furniture. The fact that Chen felt no evident uneasiness with this whole concept suggested the degree to which local employees in these new hothouse areas of foreign comfort and convenience may have internalised the values of their clients."

In the domain of China's relations with the rest of the world restoration has meant exactly this kind of

restoration of kowtowing to imperialism, complete with the old "No Chinese Allowed" admonitions. Chinese repeatedly told Schell how things Chinese were inferior to those from the West; the head of one Chinese hotel responded to a criticism that his hotel had "no Chinese flavour" by saying, "What is Chinese flavour anyway these days? It's cockroaches and ugly, Russian-designed buildings. That's not much to build on."

Perhaps the most poignant single instance Schell gives of this new worship of Western things is the new fashion among women. He recounts how Pierre Cardin and the like are now the rage among urban better-off women, and how in response to a new-found concern among women for their bustline, *China Sports News* suggests nutrition and even hormones and plastic surgery. Dr. Song, head of a hospital at the Chinese Academy of Medical Sciences, remarked that with the rise in the standard of living one could expect more and more demand for cosmetic surgery involving reconstruction of eyelids, noses and breasts. Schell notes, "The most common kind of cosmetic surgery performed in China today is surgery on the epicanthus of the eyelid, which gives the eye a rounder and more Western look by adding a second fold. 'The love of beauty is human nature,' Dr. Song recently told a reporter from the *China Daily*. 'Now that the people's living standard has improved, and they have begun to want more from life, some girls think that single-fold eyelids are not beautiful enough.'"

This ugly movement to model the Chinese woman along the lines of the latest Western pin-up girl is paralleled by an all-round effort to restore women to their ancient place as decidedly subordinate to men. In the countryside the breakdown of collectivisation and the subsequent return to family-oriented production, with its consequent emphasis on sheer muscle-power, together with the ideological assault on women, has created a situation where infanticide is on the rise. Schell writes that travellers to some parts of China report that up to eighty percent of the surviving in-

fants are male! Mothers who have produced only female babies have become objects of general abuse, and many have turned to the ancient religious rites in their desperate search to somehow produce a male offspring.

Despite Schell's illustration of the direction of Chinese society, he never once labels this "capitalist." He seems to share instead the kind of view that Hinton espouses, that the problem is that "The Party seems to be making no distinction between what is worth keeping from the old system and what is not." There has been a tendency among some "friends of China" who criticised the "Gang of Four" as "ultra-left" and more or less went along with the 1976 coup d'état to become increasingly disturbed at what they see in the current regime's program. Yet many of them are unable, or unwilling, at least so far, to draw the lessons taught by Mao about the class struggle under socialism. For it is not the Chinese revisionists who "make no distinction between what is worth keeping from the old system and what is not" — they are in fact overthrowing socialism in every sphere. Rather, the problem is that many of these forces, including Schell here, tend not to make a distinction between the capitalist road and the socialist road in China.

The coup d'état in 1976 was not simply a turn to the right, it was an overthrow of the dictatorship of the proletariat and its revolutionary headquarters — and the overthrow of socialist social relations and restoration of capitalist relations followed as night follows day. Despite this, Schell's thoughtful observations about the contradictions growing rapidly in Chinese society validate Mao's incisive summation of the key importance of the line of the Party for determining the nature of the social system: "Our country at present practices a commodity system, the wage system is unequal too, as in the eight-grade wage scale, and so forth. Under the dictatorship of the proletariat such things can only be restricted. Therefore, if people like Lin Piao come to power, it will be quite easy for them to rig up the capitalist

system."

Towards the end of his book, Schell describes a visit to Pierre Cardin's recently opened Peking branch of Maxim's Restaurant. As he and his companion finish their \$160 meal with a *mousse glacée aux framboises* and pay with an American Express card, Schell watches one of the young waiters get ready to leave, garbed once again in his bulky Chinese street clothes and carrying a large thermos bottle in which he was taking home some hot water, a luxury few Chinese have in their homes. He muses on what Mao Tsetung, lying only a short distance away in the mausoleum, would have had to say about Maxim's of Peking:

"Had he decided to make an inspection tour, would he simply have handed his familiar cap and coat to the French hatcheck girl as other Chinese officials had done more recently when invited by foreigners to dine at Maxim's? And how would he have responded when he ascended the staircase to the bar and heard the strains of Mozart and Strauss being played by two of his minions dressed up like a nineteenth-century French *comte* and *comtesse*, and then seen twelve young Chinese in European formal dinner wear pouring imported wine into crystal glasses for wealthy foreigners? Might he not have retreated behind the vermilion walls of his quarters at Zhongnanhai and launched another cultural revolution? Might not his followers, now hidden in the woodwork, someday have the power to do the same, once again disappointing the hopes and dreams of the West and those Chinese who are drawn by its powerful magnetism? Might not the dreams embodied in Maxim's and other possibly more practical Western projects prove, in the long term, a terribly fragile structure on the tumultuous Chinese body politic?"

* * *

Chen Village is by a group of American social scientists who interviewed several dozen refugees from a single village in Guangdong Province, not far from Canton. Through meticulous piecing together of these interviews the authors draw a picture of what they

describe as a more or less ordinary Chinese village going through the 1960s and early 1970s, with an epilogue covering the 1980s. Their account does give a picture of the complexity of events in a peasant village, how muddled the struggle was at times — for example, the youth who brought the Cultural Revolution and Red Guards to Chen Village were middle-class sent-down students who had been excluded from the Communist Youth League and who, in the middle of the Cultural Revolution, seem to have abandoned political activity and the village as well. The book also gives a picture of economic development in the village that is hardly congruent with the desire of the current regime to paint things as all bleak during the Cultural Revolution, and flourishing today. Yet the authors' method of focusing on the style and form of political struggle, and neglecting its content or taking this as simply bureaucratic in-fighting, obscures the actual development of village life.

This goes hand-in-hand with a tendency to de-emphasise change in the village, a tendency which is taken to the level of dogma by the authors of *La société chinoise après Mao*. One of the French scholars who authored this book goes to the extent of arguing that collectivisation was actually a conservative measure reinforcing the family structure because it tied the peasants more firmly than ever to the land. Decollectivisation is, from the pseudo-leftist perspective of this particular author, hailed as "liberating" the peasant from the land and giving him mobility, as peasants now take their produce to marketplaces, etc. Such "freedom" will be familiar to any reader who is familiar with the "freedom to travel" etc. of peasants in any oppressed country who are forced into the massive slums of Mexico City, Calcutta, and on and on. The value of this reactionary work, whose sophisticated authors repeat almost every available hackneyed slander against Mao's China (that, for instance, 15 million were killed during the Great Leap Forward, etc.), lies exclusively in the data, not insubstantial, that can be gleaned from its pages. □

***Forward Along the Path
Charted by
Mao Tsetung***

