

Letter by Party Critics of the anti-Maoist line of Grippa

Published 31 October 1967 republished <https://www.centremlm.be/Critique-de-la-ligne-anti-maoiste-de-Grippa-par-des-militants-de-son-Parti>

Transcription, Editing and Markup: Paul Saba and Sam Richards.

Copyright: This work is in the Public Domain under the Creative Commons Common Deed. You can freely copy, distribute and display this work; as well as make derivative and commercial works. Please credit the Encyclopedia of Anti-Revisionism On-Line as your source, include the url to this work, and note any of the transcribers, editors & proof readers above.

**COMMUNIST PARTY OF BELGIUM
CENTRAL COMMITTEE**

31 October 1967

Doc. 3.67

Dear Comrade,

The comrades of our Party who work in Beijing, participate with the Chinese workers, since the beginning of the great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, when they became aware of the betrayal of Grippa and his group, wrote the letter of which we are sending the copy. (This letter had been sent by friends from Beijing, to several of our comrades and also to Jacques Grippa).

We consider that a document constitutes an interesting contribution to the discussion that is currently taking place in the Party and to the preparation of the National Conference. It is for this reason that we decided to distribute it.

Fraternally.

Dear friends,

Today we are starting a series of open letters in which we will denounce Grippa's line and wrong positions.

THE THOUGHT OF MAO TSE-TUNG IS THE MARXISM-LENINISM OF OUR TIME

"The thought of Mao Tse-tung is Marxism-Leninism of the time when imperialism is going to its total collapse and when socialism is going to victory all over the world".

"Adopting or not adopting the thought of Mao Tse-tung as a guide for revolutionary action constitutes the touchstone which makes it possible to distinguish the true revolutionaries, from the non-revolutionaries and from the counter-revolutionaries".

Marx and Engels created the theory of scientific socialism.

Lenin and Stalin developed Marxism; they solved a whole series of problems relating to the proletarian revolution in the imperialist era; they provided a solution to the theoretical and practical problems posed by the realization of the dictatorship of the proletariat in one country.

Mao Tse-tung developed Marxism-Leninism by solving a whole series of problems concerning the proletarian revolution of our time; it brought a solution, on the theoretical and practical planes, to the problems of the revolution and the prevention of the restoration of capitalism under the dictatorship of the proletariat.

These are the three major milestones in the history of Marxism.

Historical significance of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution

In the land of the October Revolution, a revisionist clique seized the leadership of the Party and the State, and the Soviet Union embarked on the path of the restoration of capitalism. This bitter lesson has posed a new problem for the international proletariat to solve: can the power which the proletariat has seized be preserved, can the restoration of capitalism be prevented? The Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution aims to solve this problem, of immense historical significance, since it decides on the revolutionary future of the proletariat and the oppressed nations.

The attitude that we adopt towards the Cultural Revolution makes it possible to distinguish between revolutionaries and those who claim to be revolutionaries who claim to defend the thought of Mao Tse-tung but in reality are neo-revisionists.

The Great Proletarian Revolution, class struggle under the dictatorship of the Proletariat

"When the Chinese Revolution has triumphed throughout the country and the land problem has been resolved, two fundamental contradictions will nonetheless remain in China. The first, internal, is the contradiction between the working class and the bourgeoisie. The second, external, is the contradiction between China and the imperialist countries. This is why, after the victory of the people's democratic revolution, the state power of the People's Republic under the leadership of the working class should not be weakened but strengthened." (Mao Tse-tung 1949)

The class struggle under the leadership of the proletariat boils down to one problem: THAT OF POWER. Because the proletariat wants to consolidate its dictatorship, while the bourgeoisie wants to overthrow it. Among the representatives of the bourgeoisie, the most dangerous, there are only a handful, are those who, fighting the red flag by raising it, have sneaked into the leading bodies of the Party and of power.

The main contradiction at the current stage of the Chinese Revolution is the contradiction between this handful and the masses (workers, peasants, soldiers, cadres and revolutionary intellectuals). This contradiction is ANTAGONIST. To resolve it there is a struggle; this struggle is the essential manifestation of the struggle between two classes: the proletariat and the bourgeoisie, between two paths: socialism and capitalism, between two lines: the revisionist line and the proletarian line.

As Comrade Mao Tse-tung says,

"Fighting the handful of officials who, although of the Party, have taken the capitalist path is the central task, not the main goal, which is to solve the problem of the conception of the world, to root out the roots of revisionism. "

Thus, while transforming the objective world, the proletarian revolutionaries transform their subjective world, their own conception of the world by replacing non-proletarian ideas with the thought of Mao Tse-tung. The Proletarian Cultural Revolution is the guarantee that China will not change political color; revolutionaries can only rejoice!

* * *

Here is what Grippa wrote in an editorial published on September 16, 1966 in "*Voix du Peuple*":

"Comrade Mao Tse-tung is not only the great helmsman of the Chinese Revolution: he is the Lenin of our time. His thought constitutes the crystallization of the experience of the world proletarian revolution. He took Marxism-Leninism to new heights. The thought of Mao Tse-tung is the Marxism-Leninism of our time.

This is why, any true Marxist-Leninist of our time assimilates the thought of Mao Tse-tung, takes it as a guide for revolutionary action ”.

Here is what Jacques Grippa said at the Free University of Brussels on October 19, 1966:

"It is a new merit of Comrade Mao Tse-tung to have developed this Marxist-Leninist conception by analyzing precisely - and notably on the basis of the experience of the Soviet Union - the lessons of the Proletarian Revolution of the dictatorship of the proletariat by showing how the class struggle continues, does not end after taking power ”.

But in July 1967, the same Grippa declared during private interviews or meetings of PCB executives:

"This phenomenon of destruction (he speaks of the Cultural Revolution) is a reflection of the petty bourgeois ideology of the peasantry and this revolution has the characteristics of the inconsequence of the inevitable limitation of the revolutionary process.

In light of current events in China, it is necessary to review whether the Comintern's analysis of Mao Tse-tung was not accurate. In any case, his work, which lacks economic analysis and remains abstract, could have caused great harm to the revolution in certain countries. Texts such as "*La Démocratie Nouvelle*" are the basis for temporary setbacks suffered by certain countries.

At this precise moment we can still wonder if it is the real Mao Tse-tung and not a doppelgänger who would act in the name of a dead or sick man to the point of no longer being able to appear in public "!! !

Let's go back to September 16, 1966, the date Grippa wrote:

"The Great Socialist Cultural Revolution corresponds to an objective law of the development of the class struggle, of social development in China, of an objective law which exists and which will exist for the whole socialist revolution.

For weeks the bourgeoisie press, its radio and television have been unleashed against the Great Socialist Cultural Revolution in China, against Comrade Mao Tse-tung, against the Communist Party and the Chinese people. And the revisionists are distinguished by their zeal in this reactionary choir.

This delirium is only the reflection of the great fear which tortures the imperialists, and particularly American imperialism, enemy number one of the peoples, as well as its puppets, its valets and its revisionist collaborators.

Young people play an important role in this great Socialist Cultural Revolution, particularly in the committees of the Cultural Revolution of educational establishments and in the Red Guard, this additional and new instrument of the revolutionary order, of the dictatorship of the proletariat, taking as models the example and traditions of the glorious People's Liberation Army.

Thus is also ruined a hope of the imperialists, the revisionists, of those who in China embarked on the capitalist path: that of seeing the second generation after liberation forget the lessons of the past, lose revolutionary momentum and fall under the influence of revisionism.

It is by forging that one becomes a blacksmith, it is by swimming that one learns to swim, it is by making the revolution that one learns to make it. Young workers and students are effectively participating in a great revolution, educating themselves as revolutionaries in a bitter and arduous struggle. "

A month later, still at the ULB, he said:

"The Proletarian Cultural Revolution is rich in learning for us. China is and will remain red! The victories of the Proletarian Revolution demonstrate this. We must defend China against the slanders that the reactionaries pour on it even as it leads its socialist revolution further and to the end, which constitutes for us a great example and a great stimulus ... The victories of the Great Revolution Cultural Proletarian are victories for the world proletariat

revolution. They show that revisionism is just a paper tiger - like the imperialism it serves - and that there is a way to prevent its appearance ”.

But let's see what Grippa wrote in a memo in May 1967:

“It seems that for a number of months the development of the struggle of the great Proletarian Cultural Revolution has deviated significantly from the goals and means defined in this revolution, to the point that it is a denaturation.

Was there not a distortion by the falsifying interpretation of correct indications of the declaration in sixteen points to carry out an attack against the Party, to practice a pseudo-criticism but to aim in reality at the destruction of the State Dictatorship of the proletariat and of the Party, by indiscriminately and slanderously attacking Party leaders, dividing the revolutionary leadership of the Party, artificially provoking contradictions and making antagonists by various manoeuvres in order to weaken and eventually destroy this revolutionary leadership ...

Reading certain documents raises fears of the cult of "spontaneity", the total or almost total oblivion - which would lead to defeat - of the conscious proletarian element represented by the Communist Party.

At times, it seems that this is extremely dangerous demagoguery, which can degenerate into anti-communism, attacks against the revolutionary proletarian Party, against the Communist Party! "

A little later, in July, he declared in private interviews or meetings of PCB executives:

“We supported the great Proletarian Cultural Revolution at its beginnings. We notably supported the publication of the sixteen-point decision of the CPC Central Committee on the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution and the Communiqué - although we have criticisms to make of them. But since the first months of 1967, the Cultural Revolution has had nothing to do with the sixteen points. In fact, it is a systematic destruction of the Chinese Communist Party by a group which has seized the powers of the Central Committee and the Political Bureau (Grippa refers to the Group in charge of the cultural revolution and reporting directly to the Standing Committee of the Political Bureau).

The line which claims to be proletarian revolutionary is in fact a non-proletarian line which seeks to destroy the Communist Party, vanguard of the proletariat, through the slogan: "Shoot down the handful of leaders who, although of the Party, are engaged in the capitalist way ". The working groups (sent by Liu Chao-chi) in the various units (in June 1966), represented on the other hand the instrument of the dictatorship of the proletariat ”.

What happened between October 1966 and the first months of 1967 that could have caused such a turnaround?

Why does Grippa take over the "slanders that the reactionaries pour out on China, even as it leads its Socialist Revolution further and to the end"?

Why this rage, this sudden grip of Grippa against the Cultural Revolution and the proletarian revolutionary line of comrade Mao Tse-tung?

Why does he suddenly reverse the facts?

Why this hatred for the thought of Mao Tse-tung, for the very person of comrade Mao Tse-tung?

This is because in the meantime, the Chinese revolutionary masses have denounced Liu Chao-chi, the highest official of the Chinese Communist Party to have taken the capitalist path, Liu Chao-Chi, leader of the most dangerous representatives. of the bourgeoisie, those who infiltrated the dictatorship of the proletariat. The revelations made to date sufficiently confirm its nature as an enemy of the dictatorship of the proletariat. Before the Liberation, Liu Chao-chi opposed the takeover of power by the proletariat, capitulated to the enemy. After the Liberation, he opposed the dictatorship of the proletariat, the socialist revolution and wanted to restore capitalism in China.

After the completion, for the most part of the socialist transformation of ownership of the means of production, he wants to restore capitalism in China. In this vast mass movement that is the great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, Liu Chao-chi did everything to prevent the spread of Mao Tse-tung's thought in China and abroad. He preached capitulationism. The denunciation of its harmful influence in the international revolutionary movement has only just begun. We now know, for example, that the Burmese Communist Party has always refused to follow the revisionist line that Liu Chao-chi wanted to impose on it (see the statement of the Burmese Communist Party on this subject).

The denunciation of Liu Chao-chi is a great victory of the Proletarian Cultural Revolution, a great victory for all revolutionaries!

After the completion, for the most part of the socialist transformation of ownership of the means of production, he wants to restore capitalism in China.

Grippa protects Liu Chao-chi, defends him with a frenzy that can only be explained by his fear of seeing Liu Chao-chi denounced and thrown into the dustbin of history. He writes about Liu Chao-chi's book:

"Among many articles which aim to attack this book, we note that, for the most part, these attacks are the following:

It starts with the title which is in French language 'To be a good communist' and which becomes 'the improvement of oneself' in the texts which attack this book. "

It would appear that the literal translation from 'Chinese' would be for the actual title of the book: 'About the improvement of the Communists' and that the Chinese terms used (in the Chinese press) would be 'About the improvement'. "

We are therefore immediately fixed, the controversy, the attacks falsify the texts; this is an unacceptable method. Our reactionary enemies, the revisionists, have always used this kind

of process against the revolutionaries, the Marxist-Leninists. The use of such a procedure disqualifies in advance, all the criticisms made in recent times against this book ... "

We would also have some criticisms, but we will not. Because these criticisms start from a completely different conception, that of a Marxist-Leninist criticism and not that of an anti-Marxist criticism in substance and dishonest in form. "

Grippa continues:

"When in these attacks, to name a few, it is said that: he trains people to make them slaves - that's wrong!

That this book does not take into account this reality which is the class struggle - it is false! "

(follows a series of quotations from articles criticizing Liu Chao-chi's book, each accompanied by Grippa's categorical assertion: "it's wrong!").

Then Grippa continues:

"We are amazed to see such an accumulation of lies that recalls Khrushchev's methods ... These are treacherous attacks against Marxism-Leninism and the thought of Mao Tse-tung. "

Not that we are making this book 'To be a good communist' a summit of Marxism-Leninism, but don't you see that by this attack we are preparing the ground to demoralize and disorient the masses, traumatize their revolutionary consciousness, precisely the to get used to servile submission, to prepare opinion for a great attack on Marxism-Leninism and the thought of Mao Tse-tung. "

"It could be said that Khrushchev by his secret report, by his attacks against Stalin threw gold“ pebbles ”into the gardens of the imperialists; it aimed to bring down the Lenin Party, the dictatorship of the proletariat in the USSR, to establish capitalism there and to practice American-Soviet cooperation for world domination ”.

It is up to us to remain amazed when we measure the scale of this attack by Grippa against Marxism-Leninism, the thought of Mao Tse-tung.

Today, we will limit ourselves to an exhaustive analysis of the different types of "arguments" of Grippa, when he attacks the Chinese Revolution, the Cultural Revolution and, finally, the thought of Mao Tse-tung. We will try to demonstrate the mechanism of his anti-marxist conceptions.

We can basically say that we are dealing with two kinds of attacks:

1 / Those in which Grippa brandishes the red flag to trample it better;

2 / Those in which he directly attacks the thought of Mao Tse-tung, denying its universal scope.

Let us briefly analyse the first type of attack:

1 / For Grippa, the Cultural Revolution "for a certain number of months" would deviate "appreciably from the aims and means defined in this resolution (the sixteen points) to such

an extent that it is a denaturation which would aim to carry out an attack on the Party by indiscriminately and slanderously attacking Party leaders, dividing the revolutionary Party leadership ... "

The period defined by "for a certain number of months" coincides with the start of the denunciation of Liu Chao-chi. Already in February, one of us received a verbal instruction from Grippa according to which we were asked not to take part in any demonstration against Liu Chao-chi and not to shout slogans in this direction. To the delegates who came in May, we communicated our complete disagreement with such a request and that we had not heeded it.

Also in May, Grippa claims that the Marxist-Leninist criticism that proletarian revolutionaries make of Liu Chao-chi's book on the basis of Mao Tse-tung's thought is anti-Marxist, "falsifies the texts" "is only a accumulation of lies which recalls the methods of Khrushchev "and" a treacherous attack against Marxism-Leninism and the thought of Mao Tse-tung. "For him" this criticism of Liou Chao-chi is preparing the ground to demoralize and disorient the masses ... to get them used to servile submission. "

Thus, for Grippa, the criticism of Liu Chao-chi is part of a vast plot intended to attack Marxism-Leninism, the thought of Mao Tse-tung.

The allusion to this "conspiracy" materializes in July when Grippa declares that:

- ▶ The line which claims to be revolutionary is in reality non-proletarian;
- ▶ The working groups represented the instrument of the dictatorship of the proletariat;
- ▶ It is a systematic destruction of the CCP by a group that has seized the powers of the Central Committee and the Political Bureau.

We think we are dreaming! We can see how the delirium rose as the criticism and repudiation of Liu Chao-chi became more precise!

Comrade Mao Tse-tung says:

“You have to trust the masses, you have to trust the Party; these are two basic principles. If we have any doubts in this regard, we will be unable to accomplish anything. ”

ATTITUDE TOWARDS THE MASSES: A CONCENTRATED EXPRESSION OF THE FIGHT BETWEEN THE TWO LINES

“Within the Chinese Communist Party, the struggle has always been fierce between the proletarian revolutionary line, embodied by Chairman Mao and the bourgeois reactionary line, represented by the Chinese Khrushchev. Where does China go, towards socialism or towards capitalism: this problem is the very essence of the struggle between the two lines, a struggle centred from start to finish as the question of power. The essence of the proletarian line is the socialist way. The essence of the reactionary line is in fact the path of

capitalism. Comrade Mao Tse-tung said: "Either the east wind prevails over the west wind, or the west wind prevails over the east wind. **There is no possible compromise on line issues**".

"The struggle between the two lines finds its expression concentrated in the attitude towards the masses. "

"The revolutionary line of the proletariat consists in trusting the masses, leaning on them and respecting their initiative". Comrade Mao Tse-tung said: "The people, the people alone, are the driving force, the creator of universal history". "We have always maintained that the revolution must be based on the masses of the people." The point of view of the masses is a fundamental point of view of Marxism. The attitude to take towards the masses is a touchstone allowing to distinguish the true Marxists from the false Marxists; it represents a fundamental divergence between historical materialism and historical idealism. (*Renmin Ribao*, 30.08.67).

But for Grippa, the proletarian revolutionary line represented by Comrade Mao Tse-tung is a non-proletarian line. The conclusion is obvious. For Grippa the "revolutionary" line is the bourgeois reactionary line, the line of his master of thought, Liu Chao-chi.

WORKING GROUPS: BOURGEOISIE INSTRUMENTS

This reactionary-bourgeois line which, for its part, finds its expression concentrated in the fear of the masses, Liu Chao-chi applied on a large scale at the start of the Cultural Revolution, through working groups. The latter work as a whole to "attack a large number to protect a small handful", attacking almost everyone and especially the revolutionary cadres, by pitting one part of the masses against another part of the masses. Thus, in the organization in which some of us work, five hundred comrades out of a thousand, were considered as counter-revolutionaries. In one school, the task force published a ten-point order for managers. Here are two of these points:

- ▶ unless authorized by the working group, all managers must remain at home; be ready to appear on any call and wait for questioning;
- ▶ absolutely obey the orders of the working group.

The almost general characteristic of the working groups was to demand of all the executives at the basic level one or more self-criticisms, to stifle their spirit of revolutionary revolt, to prevent the critics from going up to the real leaders.

Of these groups sent by Liu Chao-chi without the knowledge of comrade Mao Tse-tung, Liu Chao-chi and his acolytes said: "They represent the leadership of the Party". Upon his return to Beijing, Comrade Mao Tse-tung recalled the working groups.

Grippa, for his part, believes that he finds in the working groups "the instrument of the dictatorship of the proletariat". But the mass line slanders him, speaking of the danger of a "cult of spontaneity", of "dangerous demagogy", while the campaign of criticism and repudiation of Liu Chao-chi is for him a "trauma of the revolutionary consciousness of the masses" by which we accustom them precisely to servile submission !!!

When Grippa speaks of " [Forging, steeping, strengthening the Party](#) ", is it not precisely such methods that he dreams of using?

When Grippa speaks of the dictatorship of the proletariat, is this what kind of dictatorship is he thinking of for Belgium?

Liu Chao-chin's manoeuvres could not prevent the proletarian revolutionary line from triumphing! What can Grippa's slanders do!

THE CHINESE COMMUNIST PARTY: THE CORE OF THE PROLETARIAN CULTURAL REVOLUTION

The Proletarian Cultural Revolution was started by Comrade Mao Tse-tung and it is he who directs it.

Comrade Mao Tse-tung is chairman of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party.

The political line of the Cultural Revolution was defined by the Central Committee led by Comrade Mao Tse-tung.

It was the Central Committee which decided to set up a group responsible for the Cultural Revolution reporting directly to the Standing Committee of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Party - May 16, 1966.

The eleventh plenary session of the Central Committee stemming from the 8th Congress of the Communist Party was held in Beijing from August 1 to 12, 1966.

The eleventh session took place under the chairmanship of Comrade Mao Tse-tung. The substitute members of the Central Committee took part. Also present were comrades from regional offices of the Central Committee and Party Committees for the provinces, municipalities and autonomous regions, members of the groups of the Central Committee responsible for the Cultural Revolution, comrades from the departments concerned under the Central Committee of the Party and of the Government as well as representatives of teachers and revolutionary students from higher education institutions in the capital.

The eleventh plenary session of the Central Committee resulting from the 8th congress discussed and adopted the "Decision of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party on the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution" (Decision in sixteen points). Periodically, the *Hongqi* (Theoretical Journal of the CCP), the *Renmin Ribao* (official organ of the CCP) and other Party newspapers publish editorials and articles which disseminate the strategic plan drawn up by the proletariat headquarters, guiding each stage of the Revolution. Cultural or give important information about the Cultural Revolution.

How can we speak of the destruction of the avant-garde party of the proletariat? While the Party leadership is everywhere, the concrete way, by applying a real mass line. Articles and editorials that synthesize the needs, desires, aspirations of the masses by turning them over to the masses in the form of a policy, guide the movement at each stage.

On the other hand, there is a permanent contact between the leaders of the Party, of the Group in charge of the Cultural Revolution with the masses. We know that Comrades such as Chou En-lai, Chen Bo-da, Kang Shen, Jiang Qing and other leaders receive representatives of revolutionary organizations almost every day (workers, peasants, students and revolutionary teachers).

These leaders are constantly traveling the country in order to concretely lead the Cultural Revolution. Comrade Mao Tse-tung himself, has just returned from a tour of the provinces during which he has personally carried out surveys and given directives which meet the current needs of the Cultural Revolution.

If this dictatorship of the proletariat had not been powerfully established if the Party had not been constantly present, how would it have been possible to envisage a Cultural Revolution of such a magnitude and such a scale in a country of 700 million inhabitants? How could it have been possible to practice such a broad mass democracy?

But according to Grippa, the Group in charge of the Cultural Revolution would have usurped the powers of the Political Bureau and the Central Committee !! Grippa even dares to say that Comrade Mao Tse-tung would no longer be alive! The state of the dictatorship of the proletariat would be in the hands of an anti-party, anti-socialist group !! This is the logic of Grippa, a logic of imperialist, revisionist!

When Comrade Mao Tse-tung reviewed the Red Guards from the Tiananmen gallery in August 1966, Grippa had the opportunity to approach him. He then reported to us with enthusiasm and strong details that Comrade Mao Tse-tung had taken him by the arm, that he appeared in excellent health and more fit than ever. Grippa also expressed to us all his joy at being among the Red Guards! But this year, Grippa claims that he met a lookalike of Comrade Mao Tse-tung and that the Red Guards who had so impressed him at the time are in fact "clompins" or "thugs" !!

But why these monstrous aberrations? This Machiavellianism in the invention? This reversal of history which aims to suggest that in China a vast plot is hatched to attack the very person of Mao Tse-tung, the CCP, the dictatorship of the proletariat and the thought of Mao Tse-tung!

Grippa did not invent this kind of attack, left in form, right in reality. These are tactics used by the handful of revisionist leaders in China and by the revisionist ruling clique in Moscow. The great victories won by the great Proletarian Cultural Revolution prove that the Chinese masses have not been deceived!

Like these officials, Grippa is afraid of the masses; fear of the Cultural Revolution, fear of the thought of Mao Tse-tung. For the "ideas which are characteristic of an avant-garde class become, as soon as they penetrate the masses, a material force capable of transforming society and the world", capable of thwarting the plots of the enemy of class and shoot him down so that he doesn't get up again ...

2 / There is no longer any doubt as to the very nature of Grippa when, entering into contradiction with what he has just said, he goes on to frank attacks against the Chinese Revolution and the thought of Mao Tse-tung, declaring , for example :

"This phenomenon of destruction is a reflection of the petty bourgeois ideology of the peasantry and this peasant revolution has the characteristics of inconsistency, of the limitation of the revolutionary process".

“In light of the events taking place in China today, it is necessary to reconsider if the analysis of the Comintern was not exact. In any case, his work, which lacks economic analysis and remains abstract, could have caused great harm to the revolution in certain countries. Texts such as “*La Démocratie Nouvelle*” are the basis of temporary setbacks in certain countries ”.

Logical parentage is thus established:

In China, the right opportunist line of Tchen Tou-sieou, neglecting the revolutionary peasant movement, practiced a capitulationist line yielding to the Kuomintang, the right opportunists rejected the main ally of the revolution, the peasantry, leaving the class workers and the Communist Party alone and without support. Comrade Mao Tse-tung fought against this erroneous line, he showed that the surest, numerically strongest ally of the Chinese proletariat was the peasantry and thus solved the problem of the main ally of the Chinese revolution:

“The industrial proletariat is the driving force of our revolution. Our closest friends are the entire semi-proletariat and the petty bourgeoisie ”(1926).

Grippa dared to imply that Comrade Mao Tse-tung would only be a peasant philosopher. For a man who is supposed to have a theoretical level it is not even more bad faith! Comrade Mao Tse-tung's Marxist-Leninist line guided the Chinese revolution towards victory. Just read his works where this just line is constantly reaffirmed:

"All of history proves that without the leadership of the working class, the revolution will fail, and that it will triumph with the leadership of the working class (1949)".

It was Comrade Mao Tse-tung himself who defined the general line of the socialist construction of the country. It is thanks to the thought of Mao Tse-tung that China was able to persist in the socialist way, in the proletarian revolution, in the dictatorship of the proletariat. Grippa is aware of this. But what he refuses to admit is that it is precisely Liu Chao-chi, this leader of the headquarters of the bourgeoisie, denounced in the first dazibao of Comrade Mao Tse-tung, who ingenious to hinder the socialist development of the country; Liu Chao-chi who placed his pawns in the various fields of the superstructure to prepare, in the ideological field, public opinion for a restoration of capitalism, Liu Chao-chi who, in the field of agriculture encouraged in the countryside the economy of the rich peasants,

"The eighteen years of the People's Republic of China were eighteen years of struggle to the death between the two antagonistic classes, the proletariat and the bourgeoisie, eighteen years which saw the socialist way prevail on the way capitalist, eighteen years during which the dictatorship of the proletariat has been constantly strengthened and consolidated ”.

And if Comrade Mao Tse-tung started this great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, it is precisely with a view to uprooting revisionism, a fertile ground for the restoration of capitalism, and to implant the "collective" concept, so that China leads its Socialist Revolution "further and to the end".

During the Cultural Revolution Liu Chao-chi used various tactics to divide the working class. It is always the thought of Mao Tse-tung who arms the masses to thwart counter-revolutionary plots. "Within the working class, there are no fundamental conflicts, of interests, even less under the dictatorship of the proletariat ...". It was encouraged by this instruction from Comrade Mao Tse-tung that the proletarian revolutionaries, who under the influence of the reactionary-bourgeois line had remained divided, united in "a great revolutionary alliance", precisely to criticize and discredit the Chinese Khrushchev so that he does not get up again.

By raving in this way, Grippa does not innovate. Old revisionists like Zinoviev had launched similar accusations against Lenin. In regular times, we see revisionism attacking Mao Tse-tung's thought by saying that it is imbued with a peasant mentality.

Stalin says of Zinoviev that he was trying to convert Leninism, of international proletarian doctrine, into a product of specific Russian conditions. So does Grippa when in the "Voice of the People" (which, significantly, has been silent on the Cultural Revolution since April 1, when the denunciation of Liu Chao-chi officially began), Grippa says or lets say:

"But yes, the Great People's Republic of China is a beacon for the peoples of the storm zone" (08.09.67).

Grippa writes: "Marxism-Leninism and the thought of Mao Tse-tung", as if they were very distinct things.

The intention is obvious: he wants to deny the universal value of the thought of Mao Tse-tung, to deny that it represents the Marxism-Leninism of our time, that in which imperialism runs to defeat and where socialist forces prevail. He goes so far as to say that texts such as "New Democracy" are the basis of momentary setbacks suffered by certain countries.

He undoubtedly attributes to Comrade Mao Tse-tung the setbacks suffered by revolutionaries who were wrong and weak to follow the advice of Liu Chao-chi... Grippa made Mao Tse-tung's thought a kind of valid theory with reserves for the national and democratic revolution of the peoples of the storm zone. What the revolutionaries of Europe and the United States would need, according to him, is undoubtedly the thought of Jacques Grippa! Same line, same methods too, as Liu Chao-chi!

Didn't the latter declare in 1937: "We do not yet have a Stalin in China" and in 1941, "In fact, the Party has not had a leadership and a core for a long time". To oppose Comrade Mao Tse-tung was simply for Liu Chao-chi, to oppose an individual. The Chinese Khrushchev thus opposed the Chinese people and the world revolution. So does Grippa. Because "how should we consider a revolutionary leader"? Is establishing the authority of a revolutionary leader the "cult of personality"? This is the great question on which the Marxist-Leninists have

struggled against the revisionists. The Marxists maintain that authority and the ruler who has authority are necessary for all revolutions, otherwise victory cannot be won ... ”

"The thought of Mao Tse-tung reflects in our time the objective law of the class struggle both inside and outside of China and the fundamental interests of the proletariat and the workers of the whole world" (*Renmin Ribao* , September 1967).

Like Liu Chao-chi, Grippa attempts to contrast Mao Tse-tung's thinking with Marxism-Leninism; it only follows the counter-revolutionary opinion that Liu Chao-chi was trying to create in order to discredit the thought of Mao Tse-tung and to divert the Chinese revolution and the world revolution from the path indicated by Comrade Mao Tse-tung.

Whether or not to support Comrade Mao Tse-tung and the thought of Mao Tse-tung is a matter of vital importance for the Chinese Communist Party, and for the oppressed peoples of the world. Whoever opposes Comrade Mao Tse-tung, at the thought of Mao Tse-tung, opposes the Chinese Communist Party, socialism and the Chinese and world revolution.

* * *

The words or writings of Grippa that we have just quoted constitute in fact only a tiny part of his current positions on the great Chinese Proletarian Cultural Revolution. We reserve the right to publish larger extracts in due course.

Some comrades may wonder why we did not start this denunciation work earlier. We will quote Comrade Mao Tse-tung and that, we hope, will also answer those who ask the question for Liu Chao-chi:

"The contradictions are universal, absolute, but the methods for resolving the contradictions, that is to say the forms of struggle, differ according to the various characters of the contradictions: certain contradictions assume the character of a declared antagonism, others no. According to the development of phenomena, certain originally non-antagonistic contradictions develop into antagonistic contradictions; on the other hand, certain originally antagonistic contradictions develop into non-antagonistic contradictions.

In the conditions of class society, the contradictions between right and wrong conceptions in the ranks of the Communist Party, as we said above, are a reflection in the Party of class contradictions in society. In the initial period where, in certain questions, these contradictions do not immediately appear as antagonists. However, with the development of the class struggle, these contradictions can become antagonistic. The history of the Communist Party of the USSR has shown us that the contradictions between the correct conceptions of Lenin and Stalin and the misconceptions of Trotsky, Bukharin and others did not manifest themselves in an antagonistic form at the outset, but that, by subsequently they became antagonistic.

Such circumstances have existed in the history of the Chinese Communist Party. ”

We now understand more clearly how this situation could have developed until the current crisis. Grippa acquired a certain prestige within the international communist movement

because he was one of the first to break with a revisionist party, and to gather around its leadership a large number of members of this party. These members would form the core of the PCB

Grippa rebelled *against* a certain form of revisionism, revisionism having as its centre the ruling clique of the USSR. But he had not rebelled *for* a Marxist-Leninist party of the Mao Tse-tung type. On the ideological and organizational planes, he continued to apply a revisionist line, because he was unable to transform his conception of the world, to extract from him all revisionist, non-proletarian conceptions of the world and to implant in him the Marxist-Leninist conception. He could not adopt a fair attitude towards the successes achieved and allowed himself to be intoxicated by pride.

His long stint in a party that slipped imperceptibly towards revisionism was a burden for him which he could not get rid of. He could not assimilate these fundamental truths without which a communist can do nothing:

“Serve the people wholeheartedly, without cutting us off from the masses for a single moment, starting with the interests of the people and not those of the individual or a small group; to identify our responsibility before the people, before the leading organs of the Party - That is what inspires our actions ”.

And he strayed more and more from the line just until the denunciation of Liu Chao-chi's revisionist counterrevolutionary line sparked a qualitative change in the contradiction between the Marxist-Leninist conceptions embodied by the line revolutionary proletarian of Mao Tse-tung and the mistaken conceptions of Grippa crystallized in the line of Liu Chao-chi, at this moment, the contradiction became antagonistic.

But Grippa still deceives a certain number of Belgian and foreign comrades, he is still an illusion! He plays with the prestige of the PCB and his personal prestige acquired in another era. He wants to be the embodiment of the Party; to trust him in the Party is to trust Jacques Grippa

Comrade Mao Tse-tung says:

"The erroneous direction which is prejudicial to the revolution must not be unconditionally accepted. But resolutely thwarted ”.

It is the internationalist duty of every communist, of every revolutionary, to denounce, criticize and discredit on the ideological, political and organizational levels, the counter-revolutionary revisionist line of this traitor to the World Revolution that is Liu Chao-chi and of denounce all those who defend it and thereby oppose Marxism-Leninism, the thought of Mao Tse-tung.

Down with imperialism, led by American imperialism!

Down with modern revisionism centered on the ruling clique of the USSR!

Down with the global reaction!

Down with Liu Chao-chi and his counter-revolutionary revisionist line!

Long live proletarian internationalism!

Oppressed peoples and nations, unite!

Long live the revolutionary struggle of the peoples of Belgium!

Long live the Communist Party of Belgium Marxist-Leninist!

Long live the great, glorious and just Chinese Communist Party!

Long live the great Proletarian Cultural Revolution!

Long live the invincible thought of Mao Tse-tung, Marxism-Leninism of our time!