

Mao Tsetung

1893-1976

We, the Working People of the World, Are Mao's Successors

Speech by Bob Avakian, Chairman of the Central Committee of the Revolutionary Communist Party, USA, given at a memorial meeting for Mao Tsetung, Chicago, September 19, 1976. (Edited text.)

The death of Mao Tsetung is a great loss. A great loss to the working class and oppressed peoples of the world. As has been said today, we are merging our grief with literally hundreds of millions of people throughout the world, who know that one of their greatest champions has fallen, but who also know that the cause for which he fought and the lessons which he brought to that struggle will be picked up and carried forward by millions and still millions more. For Mao Tsetung was someone who was brought forward by the tremendous upsurge of the struggle in China and throughout the world, wherever people are oppressed and exploited and fight back, as those who are oppressed and exploited always do fight back.

He not only was a great champion, but he pointed the direction for the working class and oppressed people not only of China but for the whole world, including for us in the United States. I think the greatest thing about Mao Tsetung, and the thing that makes him so dear and his loss so great, to the oppressed and exploited and to those who are fighting for a new world without exploitation and oppression, is the fact that he gave his heart entirely over to the people.

Whatever he had learned, whatever strengths he had personally developed, he gave them over to the people as a weapon in their cause, and didn't use them as so many others still do, for his own personal gain or to advance his own interest at the expense of the masses. And more than that at every key point, at every period when in fact things seemed the darkest, when the struggle seemed to be most set back, when there seemed to be no way out, for China and even throughout the world, it was Mao Tsetung who came forward and shined the light and showed the way out of the darkness and guided people in turning a temporary defeat into a great victory. From the very beginning this was true and it remained true until Mao Tsetung's last breath.

Communist Party of China Formed

Mao Tsetung was a member of the Chinese Communist Party from its founding, for 55 years, from 1921 until his death just a few short days ago. China is a country vastly different than our country. It's a country where 80% or 90% of its people still today live in the countryside.

Until the revolution succeeded in overthrowing the foreigners who rode on the backs of the Chinese people, the foreign imperialists of various countries—including the bankers and businessmen who ride on our backs here—and their government and their gunboats, and overthrew the landlord class, and the other tyrants in China who were allied with these foreigners, it was a country where millions of people died needlessly every year and the reactionary rulers, as they do everywhere, thought nothing of it and said it was the act of god or fate and that was the way things were meant to be and would always be so. Where parents were forced to sell their own children in order to try and save some of their other children. Where small children saw their parents die from starvation or disease that could have been prevented if it weren't for the social system which counted the people as nothing. Where masses of people had to go begging on the streets. This was what China was like when Mao Tsetung was born and as he grew up and became a revolutionary and joined the Communist Party in 1921 as a founding member.

For six years the Chinese Communist Party led the working class, in the big cities of China such as Shanghai and Canton and others, in organizing unions and fighting against their exploiters, against the factory owners, and the bankers and others who rode on their backs. And there were those, even within the Com-



Mao Tsetung speaking in 1949, at the point of the victory of the revolution, on the struggles still to come in building socialism.

munist Party of China at that time, who said because the working class was small in numbers in China and because China was ruled by foreigners, the factory owning class and the big landlords could and had to be relied on to lead the struggle, because they too wanted to see the foreigners gone from China. And to a certain degree it was true that they did want to see at least some of the foreign domination gone, but they wanted to see this so that they themselves could become fully dominant, and ride full saddle on the backs of the masses of the Chinese people.

This line of relying upon, and giving full reins of leadership to the bigshots, to the bankers, to the businessmen, and what have you, led to a situation in China where in 1927 these same forces, who claimed to be in alliance with the communists and the workers and the masses of peasantry in China making up over 90% of the population, instead of continuing to aim their guns (to the degree that they had at all) against the foreign domination and against the corrupt rule of the warlords in China, they aimed their guns at the masses of working people of China and shot them down in the streets, murdering tens of thousands of communists and thousands and thousands more workers. And it looked as though the Chinese working class was doomed forever, and the masses of peasants were doomed forever to this endless reign of oppression, terror, degradation and slavery.

Revolution is Fine!

At this point in 1927, despite the setbacks in the cities, the peasants were rising up in the countryside. And there were those again within the Chinese Communist Party who said "This is terrible!" "Look what these dirty-handed, rough hewn, ignorant vulgar peasants are doing." "They are rising up and crashing the landlords down into the dust. This is not proper and civilized." And Mao Tsetung said that's right, it's not proper and civilized and no revolution is proper and civilized. But it's not terrible, as you say, who tremble before the great upsurge of the masses of people. It is not terrible, it is fine. And the task of revolutionaries and communists is to unite with those who

have taken up their dirty work-soiled hands and have laid them on their oppressors and who are determined not to stop until they have continued that task through.

It was Mao Tsetung who united with that struggle of the peasants, who took workers from the city with him, who went up into the mountains to live on a bowl of porridge each day, with almost no weapons, and began the great battle from the countryside that would eventually encircle, with the strength of hundreds of millions of Chinese people, the rotten, oppressive and corrupt rule that had its stronghold in the cities and would wash it away like a great tidal wave.

But this was not an easy or quick victory, because there are no easy or quick victories in life. Nothing proceeds in a straight line and neither did the struggle of the Chinese people. Because Chiang Kai-shek, leader of those landlords, big banking and capitalist interests who wanted to cooperate with the foreigners in keeping the Chinese people down, did not rest either. He pursued Mao Tsetung and the peasants Mao led, not once, not twice, but eventually five times, with so-called "encirclement and suppression" campaigns to try to wipe out the areas they had freed from landlord rule, to take away the land that had been distributed among the peasants, to deny the people the rights they had won with their own hands under the leadership of Mao Tsetung, and to reinstitute the dark rule and the dark reign of terror of the landlords and the oppressive government headed by Chiang.

In the early 1930s Chiang Kai-shek, aided by the wrong policies of Communist Party leaders who opposed Mao Tsetung, was successful in closing in and choking off the liberated areas the Chinese peasantry under Mao's leadership had created. Could anything be done? Was there a way forward to victory? Was there a path out of this darkness? And many said no, but Mao said yes . . . And he led those peasants and workers who had gone with him, embarking on what has now become one of history's truly great monuments, called the Long March.

The Long March

For over a year, fighting at least one and sometimes more than one battle every day, these revolutionary soldiers, drawn from and nurtured in the soil of the masses of Chinese people, wound their way over 6,000 miles. Over 90% of them were lost on the way. But, led by Mao Tsetung, they arrived in an area called Yanan. They had to go and live in caves, and under Mao Tsetung's leadership, they took up the immediate battle that had to be taken up, that is the driving out of the Japanese who had invaded China. Against his own will they forced Chiang Kai-shek, as much as he still tried to wipe them out, to compromise and come to a United Front with them to drive out the Japanese.

After that was done at the end of World War 2, again the question arose: do the Chinese people have the strength to carry forward? Can they not only consolidate this victory of driving out Japan, but can they build on it? Can they liberate themselves entirely, or must they submit once again to the rule of oppressors? Now that the Japanese who had many times killed literally thousands and thousands of Chinese at one stroke, shooting them down like so many dogs, using bulldozers to swoop them up and push them into pits, now that those oppressors have been driven out, do the Chinese people have to bow down to a new set of oppressors, bow down again before Chiang Kai-shek, who once again, as he had before, turned full force on the masses of people and directed his guns against them.

Once again there were those who said, "There is no choice but to give in, we have no strength, the people are tired of war." And it was true that the Chinese were tired of war, as people are always tired of war. And they longed for peace as people always long for peace. But the Chinese people knew something even greater than that—so long as there are oppressors and exploiters ruling society or existing in the world, there

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will never be lasting peace for the masses, the great majority of the people.

So in this darkness when many were saying that there was no way out, once again, it was Mao Tsetung who said: We can continue the battle, we have our arms in hand. Yes we are poor and yes Chiang Kai-shek is being armed with billions of dollars of weapons from the United States. But the United States, he said—and he was not talking about those of us gathered here and the millions we represent, the working people, he was talking about our decadent, rotten rulers—he said they appear strong outwardly, but inwardly they are weak. They appear to be a tiger, but in fact they are a paper tiger. Even their atomic bomb, which had just been discovered and used to slaughter thousands of Japanese people to show the strength of our own rulers, and to try to intimidate the people of the world, even the atomic bomb, Mao said, cannot stop the struggle of the masses of people in China or throughout the world.

Just think about that...Now that you can look back and see how Mao Tsetung and the Chinese Communist Party led the people to victory, in three short years in fact (1946 to 1949) in driving out Chiang Kai-shek, perhaps it appears obvious that they could win such a victory. But then it was not at all obvious, with the United States government emerging strong from the war, arming Chiang Kai-shek to the teeth, and waving the atomic bomb to intimidate the people all over the world who wanted to cast off into the dust their chains. It was Mao Tsetung who said: Yes we can do it. He said it for one fundamental and great reason. Because weapons, he said, do not decide a war in the end, the people do. Those who fight in the interests of the masses of people, and mobilize the masses of people, will emerge victorious sooner or later. Not quickly or easily, but sooner or later. And those who stand with the working class and stand for removing the chains which capitalism places on society are bound to be able to unite the great majority and to emerge victorious. And this is in fact what happened in 1949.

Masses Cherish Mao Tsetung

It is for this reason, for this kind of leadership, that the Chinese people cherish Mao Tsetung and why millions of people in China and throughout the world mourn and weep the loss that his death represents.

What do our leaders and their counterparts and cohorts throughout the world tell us? If you remember back a few years ago they openly slandered and vilified Mao Tsetung. They said he was a butcher, a despot, a tyrant riding on the backs of the Chinese people, enslaving them even worse than they had been enslaved before, because their prior enslavement could hardly be denied. They said that he didn't allow the people any rights, he forced the people to starve, there were millions of words written, with the most outrageous slanders against the new China that was being built and against Mao who was leading in doing that.

I remember for example, and this goes to show you the difference in the nature between their class and ours, between the exploiters and the exploited, between the slave masters and the slaves, and I'm sure that all of you remember, that in the early period after the victory of the Chinese revolution, in the '50s and early '60s, they would show pictures of millions of Chinese people in blue work clothes, going to work, and they slandered them and called them "blue ants."

First of all, what they didn't understand at all was that when you go to work and do real work, unlike they do, you don't wear your "Sunday best." But more than that, what they didn't understand, or what they understood and tried to hide from us, was that before the Chinese people had succeeded in their revolution they barely had clothes at all. Even in the cold of snow and winter, people had clothes that, if you could call them clothes, were more patches than they were cloth. The first thing that the Chinese government, representing the working class and headed by its Party and Mao Tsetung, was concerned with was not how can we have printed patterns and flowers on the clothes but how can we first clothe the masses of people.

Every resource now belonged to the masses of people, instead of to a handful of vampires and vultures ripping it off, so there was the question, should they, before the people were even clothed, take the extra labor and the extra resources to run the cloth through another process and dye it many different colors? Or should they first concern themselves with putting clothes and warmth and health on the backs of the Chinese people, old people and children alike, and then (which is in fact what they did) once that basic task was accomplished, then they began the process of varying the clothes and giving people the brightness that reflects the brightness of the future that the Chinese people under the leadership of the Chinese Communist Party and Mao Tsetung had taken into their

own hands.

They took things step by step and they paid no heed to the slander that our rulers put out. Because they knew what was hidden from us, that they had become masters of their own fate, that far from being enslaved, they had cast off slavery. That far from being driven into the dirt, they had risen up from the dirt which they had been previously ground down into.

They used to tell us, and still try to say—though they say it in a more muted way most of the time—that Mao Tsetung and the Chinese Communist Party forced the masses of people to do Mao's will. But look at Mao's funeral and the tremendous outpouring of grief of the Chinese people all over that country. Can anyone force people to show such grief?! And would hundreds of millions have such an outpouring of grief over the loss of a tyrant who had forced them to do his will?!

So now, with the tremendous victories not only of the Chinese people, but also in Indochina and throughout the world, with the rise of the struggle and the growing anger and stirring of people in this and other countries as well, our rulers find it much more difficult to slander Mao Tsetung in that old, open, kind of way.

Gerald Ford Forced to Pay Respects

Now, Gerald Ford, as a chief executive of that class of vampires that feeds on us and people all over the world, has to get up and say Mao Tsetung was a truly remarkable and very great man. We should reflect on this because it is a great victory, not only for the Chinese people, but for us, for working and oppressed people throughout the world. That Gerald Ford, this exploiter, this murderer, this dog, had to bow and pay respects to our leader, the leader of our class, shows the strength of our class and the tremendous accomplishments it has achieved once it has cast off the rule of the capitalists and become the ruling class itself.

I was fortunate enough to be part of a group that visited China in 1971. We visited people, including older people and I remember one older man in particular, who was about 68 years old and who described how his family when he was growing up and his first wife and all of their children had died of starvation in the old society. He was showing us around his house and beaming with pride, not only for his house but also for the way he, as a retired worker, was still contributing to building a new China, and to moving it forward to where there would never again be exploi-

tation and oppression and that kind of starvation and degrading conditions.

He said, "You know, in the old days the rich people used to tell us, 'the reason that we're rich and you are poor is because we were born under a good sign and you were born under a bad sign, and it's just fate and there's nothing you can do about it.'" He said, "We used to believe them and we believed them so much that if we had to go near rich people's houses or places of business, we would cross the street so our bad luck would not pass on to them."

But, he added, "Under the leadership of Mao Tsetung, the Communist Party came and they told us it was not because the rich were born under a good sign and you were born under a bad one, that the rich are rich and you are poor. It is because they have the power of the state. They control the government and society and we do not. That is why they are rich and we are poor."

World Turned Upside Down

And then he broke into a broad smile and said, "As you can see, the world has been turned upside down and the situation is exactly the reverse and now we are no longer poor because we have state power. And now we have no longer any need to believe in superstition or look to a life beyond this one, because we are achieving step by step the things that before we only dreamed of and only thought possible in another world. Because we have risen up and taken matters into our own hands and we run the government. And no longer will any oppressors or exploiters ever ride our backs. No longer will any representative of theirs be able to tell us that he is our friend while murdering us and killing our children and causing them to die of starvation and disease."

It is for this kind of leadership that the masses of Chinese people hold Mao Tsetung so precious in their hearts. And more, every time an attempt has been made to turn back the revolution and to restore the old order and all the suffering and misery it means for millions, it has been Mao Tsetung who has stepped forward in leading the Chinese people to rise up and beat that back.

You see, our rulers have been forced to sometimes say, well, maybe for China what Mao Tsetung represents and what he's done there (and of course they say he did it as though he waved a magic wand and did

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Mao Tsetung on the Black People's Struggle in the U.S.

Mao Tsetung was not only the great leader of the Chinese revolution, he was a proletarian internationalist—a leader who paid attention to and gave great assistance to the development of the worldwide revolutionary struggle. This statement was one of two he made on Black people's struggle during the 1960s and only one of many times he gave support to the struggles of the people in the U.S.—ed.

Statement by Comrade Mao Tsetung, Chairman of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China, in Support of the Afro-American Struggle against Violent Repression (April 16, 1968)

Some days ago, Martin Luther King, the Afro-American clergyman, was suddenly assassinated by the U.S. imperialists. Martin Luther King was an exponent of non-violence. Nevertheless, the U.S. imperialists did not on that account show any tolerance towards him, but used counter-revolutionary violence and killed him in cold blood. This has taught the broad masses of the black people in the United States a profound lesson. It has touched off a new storm in their struggle against violent repression sweeping well over a hundred cities in the United States, a storm such as has never taken place before in the history of that country. It shows that an extremely powerful revolutionary force is latent in the more than twenty million black Americans.

The storm of Afro-American struggle taking place within the United States is a striking manifestation of the comprehensive political and economic crisis now gripping U.S. imperialism. It is dealing a telling blow to U.S. imperialism, which is beset with difficulties at home and abroad.

The Afro-American struggle is not only a struggle waged by the exploited and oppressed black people for freedom and emancipation, it is also a new clarion call to all the exploited and oppressed people of the United States to fight against the barbarous rule of the monopoly capitalist class. It is a tremendous support and inspiration to the struggle of the people throughout the world against U.S. imperialism and to the struggle of the Vietnamese people against U.S. imperialism. On behalf of the Chinese people, I hereby express resolute support for the just struggle of the black people in the United States.

Racial discrimination in the United States is a product of the colonialist and imperialist system. The contradiction between the black masses in the United States and U.S. ruling circles is a class contradiction. Only by overthrowing the reactionary rule of the U.S. monopoly capitalist class and destroying the colonialist and imperialist system can the black people in the United States win complete emancipation. The black masses and the masses of white working people in the United States share common interests and have common objectives to struggle for. Therefore, the Afro-American struggle is winning sympathy and support from increasing numbers of white working people and progressives in the United States.

The struggle of the black people in the United States is bound to merge with the American workers' movement, and this will eventually end the criminal rule of the U.S. monopoly capitalist class.

In 1963, in my "Statement Supporting the Afro-Americans in Their Just Struggle Against Racial Discrimination by U.S. Imperialism" I said that "the evil system of colonialism and imperialism arose and thrived with the enslavement of Negroes and the trade in Negroes, and it will surely come to its end with the complete emancipation of the black people." I still maintain this view.

At present, the world revolution has entered a great new era. The struggle of the black people in the United States for emancipation is a component part of the general struggle of all the people of the world against U.S. imperialism, a component part of the contemporary world revolution. I call on the workers, peasants and revolutionary intellectuals of every country and all who are willing to fight against U.S. imperialism to take action and extend strong support to the struggle of the black people in the United States! People of the whole world, unite still more closely and launch a sustained and vigorous offensive against our common enemy, U.S. imperialism, and against its accomplices! It can be said with certainty that the complete collapse of colonialism, imperialism and all systems of exploitation, and the complete emancipation of all the oppressed peoples and nations of the world are not far off.



Mao chats with peasants from his hometown. He arose from among the people and knew them well, and was able to lead their struggle through twists and turns because he applied the universal truth of Marxism-Leninism to the revolution in China.

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it all by himself)—maybe that's not so bad for China, and maybe people are eating better, even if it's at the cost of great human liberty. These "champions of human liberty," our rulers, who run to South Africa and other parts of the world to try to enforce the most vicious kind of slavery and exploitation even while they're enforcing it over us here, are worried all of a sudden about the so-called "cost of human liberty and dignity" to the Chinese masses who they treated as so much meat to be carved up, even as they treat us the same way in the factories and communities where we work and live.

But fewer and fewer people are fooled by this any longer. So many of our rulers have to say that Mao Tsetung was a *benign* "dictator," all of a sudden. Instead of a vicious tyrant and murderer, they say he was a good man—for China, though they are quick to add that what he did and what he stands for has nothing to do with other places and certainly not with here. And they portray it as though Mao Tsetung has imposed his vision on 800 million Chinese people.

They used to say he imposed his will in a vicious way by murder and terror. Now they say, "just by the strength of his will he's imposed his vision on 800 million people. But can it last now that he's gone?" they ask. And they cluck their tongues and smack their lips and say, "No, of course not, this cannot last because you can't go against human nature."

But the whole history of the Chinese revolution proves that the revolution can last and go forward. Before they won their emancipation in 1949 under the leadership of the Communist Party and Mao Tsetung, the Chinese people in their masses were uneducated, weighed down by superstitions spread by their oppressors, and preyed on by all kinds of vultures. They were forced to steal from each other's meager crops and to go begging in the streets. Now, with state power in their hands, they are transforming all of China and building it with a great determination, working collectively to develop agriculture and industry, with a spirit of self-reliance and self-sacrifice, not only to strengthen China under working class rule but to contribute to the cause of emancipating the people of the whole world. This is the same Chinese people, but the social system and the fact of which class rules are completely different. And so is the outlook of the people, who are the most politically educated, class conscious in the world. So much for the capitalists' lies that "you can't change things, you can't change human nature."

Both of these capitalist versions of Mao Tsetung, whether they present him as a tyrant, or a dictator who was somehow good for the people as long as he lasted—both of these are slanders and distortions of what Mao Tsetung represented.

A Leader Not a Ruler

Mao Tsetung, unlike what they say, was not a great man because he was the "ruler" of the largest country in the world and "ruled" over 800 million people.

Mao Tsetung was never a ruler and never wanted to be. And that's why he's loved by 800 million people in China and hundreds of millions more throughout the world. Because we have plenty enough rulers over us already. People don't need any more and certainly don't love any more people who come along

and want to be just another ruler over us. Mao Tsetung was a *leader*, who led the people and who cast his lot with them and shared thick and thin with them and continued to share that until his last dying breath.

In fact, no one man can "rule" any society. *Classes* rule, not individuals. Individuals do play a role as leaders of one class or another. Leaders of reactionary classes carry out policies that enforce the exploitation and oppression of the masses of people and so come to be hated by these masses. Leaders of the working class carry out policies that enable the masses to advance towards the elimination of all exploitation and oppression. Leaders of the reactionary classes act in the interests of a minority of parasites to preserve the division of society into a mass of slaves and a handful of slaveowners. Leaders of the working class, like Mao Tsetung, act in the interests of the great majority, of the working people. But leaders of a working class government do not rule—they guide the working class in ruling and remaking society to end class differences and emancipate mankind.

This was what Karl Marx had laid bare. He had predicted and shown—not like a fortune teller but in a scientific manner by laying bare the actual laws that govern things—that the working class was bound to rise up in its millions, and due to the strength and consciousness that could be developed because of its socialized labor, was bound to overthrow these capitalists, eliminate capitalism and all its evils that we're all too familiar with, and advance to classless society.

After Marx died, within a few decades—when capitalism had developed to its final stage, imperialism, dominated by monopolies and banks, and stretching its tentacles of exploitation throughout the world—V.I. Lenin led the working class in Russia in establishing the first state under the rule of the workers where they began in fact to carry out this great historic mission. It was this revolution in Russia, it was the actual struggle of the Russian masses in carrying this out and overthrowing their capitalists and landlords and the Czar and all those who rode on their backs, and it was the theory, the science, that Lenin had further developed after inheriting it from Marx, it was *this* that Mao Tsetung discovered and that enabled him to be a great leader.

Not Born a Genius

Let's listen to the words of Mao Tsetung himself, because there were those in China, even within the Communist Party itself at top levels, who wanted to become new oppressors, new emperors, new landlords, new rulers over the people. Their method for doing this, because Mao Tsetung was so popular, was to praise Mao Tsetung and to make him like a god and to say he is a genius.

And of course, recognizing that Mao would someday die, they would inherit his mantle of "genius" because they were those who followed him most closely and therefore they too must be geniuses and therefore they were destined to rule on the backs of the "ignorant masses." Now they didn't say it quite that way, but that's what their program came down to. And they paraded it around and they said Mao Tsetung is a genius. This was always on their lips.

And what did Mao Tsetung say about this himself? He said, *I am no genius. I read Confucian books for six years and capitalist books for seven. I did not read Marxist-Leninist books until 1918, so how can I be a genius?...To be a genius is to be a bit more intelligent. But genius does not depend on one person or a few people. It depends on a party, the party which is the vanguard of the proletariat [the working class]. Genius is dependent on the mass line, on collective wisdom.*

This is what Mao Tsetung understood and taught the masses of people in China. And, a little bit later in this same talk that he gave to some people, he pointed out that Lenin believed that the slaves should arise. Lenin, in an article that Mao Tsetung refers to, was speaking of the message of the song, the *Internationale* that we're going to sing at the end of this program. And Mao said, *The Internationale and Lenin's article express the Marxist standpoint and outlook. What they say is that slaves should arise and struggle for truth. There never have been any supreme saviors and neither can we rely on gods or emperors. We rely entirely on ourselves for our salvation. Who has created the world of men? We, the laboring masses.*

And this was always the stand of Mao Tsetung, not something that he was born with, because as he himself said, in his early days he read the reactionary teachings of Confucius. And he read the reactionary writings of the capitalists, those who ruled the countries in the West like our own. And though he rebelled against the preaching in these works that the people should be slavish and bow down to their exploiting rulers, he still, at that time, did not understand how to thoroughly oppose these reactionary teachings, he did not yet have a world view and scientific understanding of how to overthrow and eliminate exploitation and oppression.

But the struggle of the Russian proletariat, of the Russian working class and its party, the Bolsheviks, led by Lenin, brought a new understanding to Mao Tsetung, and as he later said, *"Once I had accepted it as the correct interpretation of history, I did not afterwards waver."*

It was Mao Tsetung, on this basis, on the basis of

taking this science and applying it in the examples I've cited and many others, to the actual situation in China, who led the Chinese working class and masses of peasants in taking power into their own hands. But it was after they had taken power into their own hands that Mao Tsetung's greatest contribution was made. Because within the Communist Party itself, as I've said, there were those, even some who had fought heroically in the past, who became comfortable, who saw now a chance for themselves to become new rulers. They saw that the differences between those who worked mainly with their hands and those who worked mainly with their brains had not been eliminated; they saw that the countryside was more backward than the cities; they saw that there were still differences in wages and different classifications among the workers; they saw all this and saw in it the chance for themselves to use these differences to turn society back and become new rulers.

These people began to institute step by step all the evils that the Chinese people had cast off and had hoped and thought were gone forever. They began to introduce work rules in the factories, like we're all too familiar with, along with piece rates. They began to say that the workers were not fit to run society and could not transform it and eliminate oppression and exploitation, that the working class could not step by step overcome these differences, that the workers could not learn to be both users of their brain and users of their hands, that they were only good to be users of their hands and that there were others who were meant to be users of their brains and they were meant to rule while the workers were meant to be ruled over.

These people were labelled capitalist roaders, because they were trying to drag society back to capitalism. And they arose right within the Chinese Communist Party itself. So many people were confused, because they knew that it was the Chinese Communist Party that had led them out of slavery, that had led them out of all the dark and difficult conditions and the seemingly endless horror of the old society.

And of course these new exploiters, those who wanted to become new rulers, did not openly stand up and say, "We want to restore capitalism and bring back the landlord rule and all the evils that you are all too familiar with," because they would have been struck into the dust in a second by the people. What they said was, "We are following Marxism and Leninism. We are following the Thought of Mao Tsetung. We are out to build socialism and eliminate classes and eventually achieve classless society, communism. But the way to do it is to produce more. The way to do it is to see to it that the workers come up with even greater output. And the only way the workers can do that is if they're bribed to do it with a few higher wages, if we introduce more wage differentials and if we drive the workers on the job through piecework, work rules and other methods." So people were confused.

And in the universities the same kind of policies were being applied, where the children of old exploiting class families and of government and Party leaders were getting preferential treatment. The universities became again, or remained really, not much different than they had been before. Examinations were used. And these examinations reflected not how to change the actual world but thinking divorced from the process of changing the real world, abstract books and learning that didn't relate to the real world. These were the standards that ran the universities, and tests were devised on the basis of these standards, and people who came from among the ranks of the workers and peasants and more than that, people who wanted to turn the world upside down completely and eliminate these differences and change the real world so there never again could be exploiters and oppressors—these people were weeded

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Mao always held Party and government leaders should do productive labor. Here, he takes part in building a reservoir in 1958, along with millions of other volunteers.

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out and said to be unfit to go to the universities. And the university students began to rebel.

This is a situation many of us are not that unfamiliar with—many workers in China at first said, "What's wrong with these students? Here they've got a chance to go to college and get some learning, which we never had in the old society. Here we have food on the table and clothes on our backs, all due to the Communist Party and its leadership. And they're rising up against the officials in the university who are led by the Communist Party. How can this be? Why don't those students go back to studying and cut out all this nonsense?"

It Is Right to Rebel

But Mao Tsetung stepped forward and received—by received I mean joined together in a rally with—one million of these young students and young people who were called Red Guards. He stood together with them in the great square where just yesterday a million people stood to mourn his passing and he read a message which said, "It is right to rebel against reactionaries." And these students were being told by these same reactionaries, these new exploiters who had arisen within the Communist Party, that they were just messing everything up and they should just go back to their studies and go along with the way things were.

So Mao's support was like a tremendous inspiration to them. And not only to them but to the workers and the peasants. Tremendous struggle broke out. People argued and debated the question of what policies should be applied, how should China be run and in whose interests, how can the working class rule and remake China in its own interests? And they rose up in their hundreds of millions in a battle that, at its peak, lasted three years. They struck down that group of leaders who had temporarily established a strong headquarters in the workers' own Party, the Communist Party, and they prevented the old society from being brought back.

But after this still more attempts to restore capitalism were made by the same dark forces, and each time it was Mao Tsetung who stepped forward and said to the masses of people, "It is right to rebel against reactionaries." It is the masses of people, he said, that must determine the fate of China and throughout the world. It is not one or two or a handful of people attempting to establish and reinstitute themselves as new exploiters to whom the world belongs, but it is to the great majority, the laboring people who have created the world of man in the first place.

Mao Tsetung Thought

You see, our rulers make fun of Mao Tsetung's writings and they treat Mao Tsetung Thought as though it's some kind of religion, and they laugh and say, "Mao Tsetung Thought is supposed to possess magical powers, good for everything from curing disease to raising crops." But, you see, the Chinese people never treated Mao Tsetung Thought, the science of revolution, which Mao Tsetung inherited from Marx and Lenin and further developed—they never treated it as anything other than a scientific understanding of how society and nature run and their own role in reshaping and transforming society and consciously transforming nature. They never treated it as a religion in the first place. That was the invention and the slander of those, like our rulers, who want to keep a handful of people in power.

And yes, in fact, Mao Tsetung Thought does unleash the initiative of the masses to help raise crops and cure disease. Because it has magical powers? No. Because it reveals to people the actual scientific basis upon which things develop, upon which changes can be made, and enables the masses of people themselves to take matters in their own hands, to grasp this science, and to use it to change the world. And it is the masses of people, as Mao Tsetung consistently fought for all his life, who are the real makers of history.

It is the masses of people in China, and in a real sense throughout the world, who brought forward the great leaders of our class, including Mao Tsetung. Now it is true that these people, such as Mao Tsetung, have a great influence, in turn, upon the struggle of the masses of people, pointing the way forward. I once read how Mao Tsetung himself once said in speaking to a group of people: Which do you think comes first, philosophy and thinking, or the struggle against oppression and exploitation? Someone said: Well, philosophy must come first, because you have to have a whole view of the world in order to know how to fight and change the world. Mao Tsetung replied: Yes, it's true you have to have a view of the world in order to know how to fight, but that view can only be grasped and developed when it arises from and is returned to the actual struggle of the millions to throw down their oppressors and exploiters. And he said to them in a joking way: Listen, we here in China, at least the great majority of us, practice Marxism. When Marx was a very young man, do you think he read any Marxism? Of course the

answer is no, because Marx was not born a Marxist. Marx took part in the class struggle in his day, the fight against exploitation and oppression, and discovered the scientific basis and analyzed the concrete conditions of capitalist society and in that way founded the science of revolution. It's not a religion, it's a science. This is why millions of people, not only in China but throughout the world, take it up and study it and seek to apply it.

Who Will Succeed Mao Tsetung?

So I just want to close by touching on one other thing that our rulers are trying to say and trying to speculate on. Because that's what they always do—try to speculate and turn everything to their own advantage. And they raise the question—who will succeed Mao Tsetung? Now that Mao Tsetung is dead, who will carry forward the revolution? And of course they're quick to say that it will not be carried forward, that the "practical-minded" men, their types, the types who think that the only practical way to run a society is to exploit and oppress the people and squeeze the life-blood out of them—that these people are bound to come to the fore.

But they are wrong. Because what is bound to happen is the millions and hundreds of millions of people who are exploited and oppressed are bound to rise up again and again until oppression and exploitation have been ended.

Because this was the light that Mao Tsetung shined for us, for people throughout the world, after the revolution in Russia which Lenin had led had been betrayed following close after the death of Stalin, when Khrushchev rose and said: What we need here is goulash communism—a little meat, a little potatoes, that's all the workers want, not state power—not the ability to transform society. The new ruling class in the Soviet Union has turned that society back and has restored capitalism where today all the evils that we're all too familiar with—unemployment, poverty, degradation, decadence, pilfering, profiteering, domination of other countries, aggression, war, the murdering of millions of bodies for the profits of a few—all these things have been brought back.

And there were many who thought after this happened: Well, maybe the capitalists are right. Maybe you can't change human nature. Maybe the revolution can succeed for a little while but not forever because sooner or later you're bound to get a new class of rulers. There's always going to be bosses. Some people are always going to ride on the backs of the others and maybe that's the way it has to be.

It was in the midst of this darkness that that event which I referred to before took place where the masses of people in China rose up in the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution which began in the mid-1960s and was initiated and led by Mao Tsetung and given tremendous impetus when he said, "It is right to rebel against reactionaries." It was this event that swept away that fog and showed that, no, a revolution does not have to be betrayed.

Yes, there can be temporary setbacks. Until these differences—between mental and manual work, between the more backward countryside and the more developed cities, between the workers in the cities and the working people in the countryside, until these differences and wage differentials—until those things are eliminated; until the political consciousness, knowledge and skill of people in society are raised to a whole new level, and knowledge and skills cannot be monopolized by individuals or small groups of people; until we get society to the point where goods can be produced quickly in great abundance and only a small amount

of time has to be spent in producing the basic things that people need to live and providing for further development, and a great part of the time can be spent in education and culture and raising the political consciousness and the grasp of the masses of people of the science that can show them how to change the world; until all that has been accomplished, yes, the possibility of a new class of exploiters arising and turning things back does exist. But it is not inevitable.

What is inevitable is that people will continue to fight back against their oppression and exploitation, that this system of capitalism is not here to stay, or eternal, that it only developed at a certain stage, really only a few hundred years ago, and that the very development of capitalism—the introduction of the steam engine, large-scale factories and other things—have drawn together as capitalism's gravedigger a mighty army from those who were scattered and separated, working in isolation from each other on farms or in small workshops, has drawn together those of us who make up the working class in tens and hundreds of millions, drawn us together by the thousands, even tens of thousands, in a single factory.

This has shown us that in common we produce and laid bare the basis for us to see that if in common we produce and in common we make society run then there is absolutely no reason why we cannot run society and that eventually we will and we will run it not in the interests of a new group of exploiters but we will run it and reshape it and transform it to eliminate the basis for exploitation once and for all. And this is what Mao Tsetung helped the masses of people not only in China but throughout the world to see more clearly.

So when they raise the question, who will be Mao Tsetung's successors, the working class is ready with its answer: We will be Mao Tsetung's successors, in our millions and hundreds of millions, and we will continue the cause for which he fought and in which he led us and to which he devoted his entire life, until that great goal of eliminating exploitation and oppression and achieving communism has finally been achieved. This is the greatest tribute that we can pay to Mao Tsetung, and it's a cause which the working class today and our children and our children's children and theirs beyond them will carry forward. ■

Memorial Meetings Held Worldwide

Throughout the world, memorial meetings have been held honoring Mao Tsetung and his gigantic contributions to the international working class.

In the U.S., many events were held by the U.S.-China People's Friendship Association and some other groups. The Revolutionary Communist Party also organized memorial meetings held in 25 major cities. The Revolutionary Student Brigade, student organization of the RCP, sponsored mass meetings on more than 60 campuses.



In 1965, Mao led a mass rally in Peking in support of the struggle of the Vietnamese people. He always fought for the unity of the working class and oppressed peoples of the world against imperialism.



As Mao Tsetung's body lies in state, workers, peasants, soldiers and others wait to pay their last respects, to express their great grief and their determination to continue on the road he charted.

Memorial Speech by Hua Kuo-feng

On September 18, at 3 PM Peking time, factory whistles and sirens wailed, and throughout China one-quarter of humanity stood in awesome silence for three minutes in tribute to Mao Tsetung, the Chinese people's great leader and the great revolutionary teacher of the whole international working class.

In Peking a million people, representatives selected by workers, peasants, soldiers and people of all walks of life, had assembled in Tien An Men square where in 1949 Mao Tsetung had proclaimed the founding of the People's Republic of China.

The mass memorial meeting began with the playing of China's national anthem and the Internationale, the anthem of the international working class. All stood as the memorial speech was delivered by Hua Kuo-feng, First Vice-Chairman of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China and Premier of the State Council. Wang Hung-wen, Vice Chairman of the Central Committee, called the timing as everyone bowed three times to the portrait of Mao Tsetung in the square. The East Is Red was played. As the meeting ended the sound of controlled but deeply felt mourning rose above the square, expressing profound proletarian feelings of grief. The assembled people then left in a disciplined way, with determination to carry on the cause toward which Mao Tsetung had led them and to which he had dedicated his life, the cause of communism.

Following is the full text of the memorial speech.

Comrades and friends:

Today, representatives of the Party, government and army organizations, workers, peasants, soldiers and other circles of the capital are here at Tien An Men Square holding a solemn mass memorial meeting and, along with the people of all nationalities throughout the country, mourning with the most profound sorrow Chairman Mao Tsetung, our esteemed and beloved great leader and the great teacher of the international proletariat and the oppressed nations and oppressed people.

Over the last few days, the whole Party, the whole army and the people of all nationalities throughout the country have been immersed in boundless sorrow at the passing of Chairman Mao Tsetung. The cause that our great leader Chairman Mao devoted his whole life to is linked by flesh-and-blood ties with the masses of the people.

It was under Chairman Mao's leadership that the Chinese people who had long suffered from oppression and exploitation won emancipation and became masters of the country. It was under Chairman Mao's leadership that the disaster-plagued Chinese nation rose to its feet. The Chinese people love, trust and esteem Chairman Mao from the bottom of their hearts. The international proletariat and progressive mankind all deeply mourn the death of Chairman Mao.

Chairman Mao Tsetung was the founder and wise leader of the Communist Party of China, the Chinese People's Liberation Army and the People's Republic of China.

Chairman Mao tempered and nurtured our Party in the struggles it carried out under his leadership against class enemies at home and abroad and inside and outside the Party. In hard, long, acute and complex class struggle and two-line struggles. The history of the Chinese Communist Party is the history of struggles between Chairman Mao's Marxist-Leninist line and the

Right and "Left" opportunist lines in the Party. Under Chairman Mao's leadership, our Party defeated the opportunist lines pursued by Chen Tu-hsiu, Chu Chiu-pai, Li Li-san, Lo Chang-lung, Wang Ming, Chang Kuo-tao, Kao Kang—Jao Shu-shih and Peng Teh-huai and again, during the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, triumphed over the counter-revolutionary revisionist line of Liu Shao-chi, Lin Piao and Teng Hsiao-ping. Guided by Chairman Mao's Marxist-Leninist line our Party has steadily grown in strength; it has developed from small groups of a few dozen communists into a Party with a membership of over 30 million which now leads the People's Republic of China, into a disciplined Party armed with the theory of Marxism-Leninism, using the method of criticism-self-criticism and closely linked with the masses of the people, and into a great, glorious and correct Marxist-Leninist Party.

Chairman Mao tempered and nurtured our army in protracted revolutionary war. He long ago put forward the famous thesis that "political power grows out of the barrel of a gun." He led the Autumn Harvest Uprising, founded the first Worker-Peasant Red Army and set up the first rural revolutionary base in the Ching-kang Mountains. In the last 50 years, Chairman Mao led our army in smashing the counter-revolutionary campaigns of "encirclement and suppression" launched by the Kuomintang against the revolutionary base areas, in successfully completing the world-renowned 25,000-li Long March, in defeating Japanese imperialism, in wiping out 8 million troops of the Chiang Kai-shek gang armed by U.S. imperialism and, after the founding of new China, in victoriously waging the war to resist U.S. aggression and aid Korea, triumphantly repulsing the armed provocations against our country by Soviet revisionist social-imperialism and reaction, and defending the security of the motherland. During the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, our army followed Chairman Mao's teachings and supported industry, agriculture and the broad masses of the Left, exercised military control and gave political and military training, thereby making new contributions to the people. Chairman Mao formulated a Marxist-Leninist line for our army on army building and the strategy and tactics of people's war, and this is the fundamental reason why our army was able to grow from small to big, from weak to strong, develop into powerful armed forces combining field armies, local armies and a vast militia and become the solid pillar of the dictatorship of the proletariat. Against the people's armed forces armed with Mao Tsetung Thought, any enemy that dares to intrude will certainly be drowned in the vast ocean of people's war.

Basing himself on the universal truth of Marxism-Leninism and integrating it with the concrete practice of the Chinese revolution, Chairman Mao Tsetung correctly solved the series of fundamental problems concerning the seizure of political power by armed force, the consolidation of the dictatorship of the proletariat and the prevention of capitalist restoration in China.

During the period of the new-democratic revolution, Chairman Mao analyzed Chinese history and existing conditions and the principal contradiction in Chinese society, correctly answered the questions of the targets, tasks, motive forces, character, perspective and transformation of the new-democratic revolution in China, and laid down the general line and general policy of our Party for that historical period, that is, the new-democratic revolution against imperialism, feu-

dalism and bureaucrat-capitalism waged by the broad masses of the people under the leadership of the proletariat. Chairman Mao pointed out that the seizure of political power by armed force in China could be achieved only by following the road of building rural base areas, encircling the cities from the countryside and finally seizing the cities, and not by any other road. Summing up the historical experience of our Party, Chairman Mao pointed out that the three principal magic weapons for the Chinese Communist Party to defeat the enemy in the Chinese revolution were a Communist Party built on the Marxist-Leninist revolutionary theory and in the Marxist-Leninist revolutionary style, an army under the leadership of such a Party, and a united front of all revolutionary classes and all revolutionary groups under the leadership of such a Party. Chairman Mao led our Party in using these three weapons to win the great victory of the new-democratic revolution and found the People's Republic of China. The victory of the Chinese people's revolution led by Chairman Mao changed the situation in the East and in the world, blazing a new trail for the cause of liberation of the oppressed nations and oppressed people.

In the new historical period of socialist revolution and the dictatorship of the proletariat in China, Chairman Mao summed up both the positive and the negative experience of the international communist movement, made a penetrating analysis of the class relations in socialist society by applying the Marxist-Leninist theory of the unity of opposites, and pointed out that the principal contradiction in socialist society is the contradiction between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie. For the first time in history of the development of Marxism, Chairman Mao explicitly pointed out that there are still classes and class struggle after the socialist transformation of the ownership of the means of production has in the main been completed, put forward the thesis that in socialist society there are two different types of contradictions—those between ourselves and the enemy and those among the people themselves, and advanced the great theory of continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat. Chairman Mao time and again admonished the whole Party, the whole army and the people of the whole country, "Never forget class struggle;" he pointed out that socialist society covers a considerably long historical period and that, throughout this historical period, there are classes, class contradictions and class struggle, there is the struggle between the socialist road and the capitalist road, there is the danger of capitalist restoration and there is the threat of subversion and aggression by imperialism and social-imperialism, and established the Party's basic line for the entire historical period of socialism. In view of the changes in class relations and the characteristics of the class struggle in the period of socialism, Chairman Mao drew the scientific conclusion: "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." Representing the aspirations and interests of the working class and the poor and lower-middle peasants to continue the revolution, Chairman Mao himself initiated and led the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, which smashed the schemes of Liu Shao-chi, Lin Piao and Teng Hsiao-ping for restoration, criticized their counter-revolutionary revisionist line and enabled us to seize back that portion of leading power in the Party and state they had usurped, thus ensuring China's victorious advance along the Marxist-Leninist road. The constant defeat of subversion and sabotage by imperialism, revisionism, and reaction, the upholding of socialism and the consolidation of the dictatorship of the proletariat in the People's Republic of China, a populous country with a vast territory—this is a great contribution of world historic significance made by Chairman Mao Tsetung to the present era and has at the same time provided the international communist movement with new experience in combating and preventing revisionism, consolidating the dictatorship of the proletariat, preventing capitalist restoration and building socialism.

Chairman Mao Tsetung was the greatest Marxist of

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A Lifetime of Hard Struggle And Great Contributions

China, at the time of Mao Tsetung's birth, was called "the sick man of Asia." The ruling Manchu Dynasty and its feudal system were in rotten decay, kept alive only by the armed support of various foreign imperialist backers.

In the countryside, the vast majority of the peasants broke their backs to turn a meager living out of tiny parcels of land, only to have to turn over much of the fruits of their labor to the landlord and the tax collector. Many had to work directly for the landlord part-time, and many had no land of their own at all.

Few ever had enough to eat more than once in a while. The poorest had to sell their children into bondage to pay the tax collector and the rent.

In the cities, China's few million workers were concentrated in a handful of industries, many owned directly by foreign capitalists who maintained their own troops and garrisons to protect their interests. The so-called "coolies" on the docks and other common laborers were treated like dogs; the workers in the mines, textile mills, shipyards and railroads got little better.

The smaller capitalists, the merchants, teachers and other professionals and so on all found their way forward directly blocked by the feudal and imperialist rule. In a park in Shanghai stood a sign infamous throughout China: "No Chinese or dogs allowed."

This system brought tremendous suffering for the Chinese people, and in turn the country was rocked with rebellion after rebellion. In the Taiping Rebellion of the mid-nineteenth century, in one of the great mass movements in history, millions of Chinese peasants rose up and seized the land, but eventually they were crushed by the joint armed forces of the Manchu rulers and the foreign imperialists. Again in the Boxer Rebellion of 1900, the Chinese masses rose up, and again the bond between the imperialists and the feudal rulers grew tighter, with massive taxes placed on the people to pay for the foreign troops who had suppressed them and whole new areas of China coming under direct British and French control.

Mao Tsetung was born December 26, 1893 in the village of Shaoshan, in the province of Hunan. His father was a former poor peasant now rising in the world. From the age of six, Mao worked in his father's fields. Later, because his father wanted him to keep the accounts, Mao was sent to study. At the age of ten he ran away from home to protest a beating he had gotten at school. When he returned, the beatings stopped. "The result of my act of protest surprised me very much," he later explained. "It was a successful strike."

Protests and revolt surrounded the young Mao. Between 1906 and 1908 seven major uprisings took place in China, headed by Sun Yat-sen, a leader of China's bourgeoisie in rebellion against the country's enforced backwardness and subjugation. In the provincial capital of Changsha, near Mao's home, there was a big uprising by hungry famine victims who had been denied grain from the overflowing state storehouses. They held mass meetings and a demonstration, then attacked the Manchu governor and drove him from the city. In Mao's own village a group of peasants rebelled against the landlord and government, withdrawing to a mountain stronghold.

"These incidents, occurring close together, made a lasting impression on my young mind, already rebellious," Mao later told American author Edgar Snow. "In this period also I began to have a certain amount of political consciousness, especially after I had read a pamphlet telling of the dismemberment of China. I remember even now that this pamphlet opened with the sentence, 'Alas, China will be subjugated.'"

This outlook led Mao to apply to a so-called "modern school," run for the children of landlords and rich peasants, which stressed modern instead of feudal learning. There Mao was out of place in his peasant clothes, but he began to read very widely to find a way out for China. Later, in school in Changsha, he began to play a very active part in the anti-feudal, anti-imperialist student movement.

Finally, in 1911, the Manchu Dynasty was overthrown. In Changsha, as revolutionary soldiers surrounded the city, the workers rose up in a mighty storm and seized the city gates from the Manchu troops. As Mao stood watching nearby, they raised the Chinese flag and welcomed the revolutionary army into the city.

Mao joined the army in order to take part in this revolution. He served for six months, enlisting as a common soldier instead of in a special unit for students as was customary. Still, his education at the hands of the rich had its effect—he spent a big piece of his wages to have water brought to him instead of carrying his own water as common soldiers did. In the army he got to know some workers and began to

change.

Thirty years later Mao explained his development like this: "I began life as a student and at school acquired the ways of a student; I then used to feel it undignified to do even a little manual labor, such as carrying my own luggage in the presence of my fellow students, who were incapable of carrying anything, either on their shoulders or in their hands. At that time I felt that intellectuals were the only clean people in the world, while in comparison workers and peasants were dirty..."

"But after I became a revolutionary and lived with workers and peasants and with soldiers of the revolutionary army, I gradually began to know them well, and they gradually came to know me well too. It was then, and only then, that I fundamentally changed the bourgeois and petty-bourgeois feelings implanted in me in the bourgeois schools. I came to feel that compared with the workers and peasants the unremolded intellectuals were not clean and that, in the last analysis, the workers and peasants were the cleanest people... This is what is meant by a change of feelings, a change from one class to another." (*Talks at the Yen'an Forum on Literature and Art*)

Driving Mao forward in this development was a burning desire for revolution. The revolution's setbacks as well as its successes brought him further down this road. Although the Manchus were overthrown, only a little while after declaring China a republic, Sun Yat-sen was forced to abdicate the presidency and soon the country was divided up into territories of the most powerful feudal warlords, each backed by one or another of the imperialist powers, each seeking to grab up China for itself. Nothing had been fundamentally changed for the masses of people. In fact, overall the country's problems grew worse. In the wake of this defeat, Mao spent many months walking across Hunan, talking to peasants. He spent more months studying daily in a library. He organized a society which studied and debated politics, taught a special night school for workers to train them for revolution and organized demonstrations against imperialism.

In 1919 a new high tide of revolutionary activity began to rise, especially among students, who had hoped that U.S. President Woodrow Wilson's talk of freedom and democracy at the victors' table at the close of World War I would mean freedom and democracy for China. Instead, the victorious Allied powers awarded part of China to Japan as its share in the plunder.

Many Chinese had looked to the modern, developed nations for support in changing China. Now it became clear that, however modern these imperialists might be, they would never allow China to develop because its division and backwardness suited their interests. Student strikes soon led to other strikes and widespread and powerful mass actions, all in protest against the imperialists' attempts to divide China among them like a piece of meat to be devoured.

"Imperialist aggression shattered the fond dreams of the Chinese about learning from the West" was how Mao later summed up this development. "It was very odd—why were the teachers always committing aggression against their pupil?... Day by day, conditions in the country got worse and life was made impossible. Doubts arose, increased and deepened. World War I shook the whole globe. The Russians made the October Revolution and created the world's first socialist state. Under the leadership of Lenin and Stalin, the revolutionary energy of the great proletariat and laboring people of Russia, hitherto latent and unseen by foreigners, suddenly erupted like a volcano, and the Chinese and all mankind began to see the Russians in a new light. Then, and only then, did the Chinese enter an entirely different era in their thinking and their life. They found Marxism-Leninism, the universally applicable truth, and the face of China began to change." (*On the People's Democratic Dictatorship*)

Marxist study groups sprang up throughout China and among Chinese students abroad. For the first time, Marxist works were translated into Chinese. All the previous defeats for revolution in China had showed how capitalism and the bourgeois political forces that represented it could not give China a way out, while the Russian revolution was a tremendous proof of the truth of Marxism and the revolutionary potential of the working class. Many revolutionary youth began sinking roots among the struggles of the workers, and the communist movement began developing within the working class. Mao played a very important part in spreading Marxism throughout Southern China and training workers in this

revolutionary science. In 1921, as one of 12 delegates meeting in Shanghai, he helped found the Communist Party of China (CPC).

Marxism came to China only after generations of repeated rebellions and bitter failure, of terrible suffering, as millions upon millions rose up again and again, striving in the dark for a way out. But with the development of the conscious and organized detachment of the working class, made up of the most class conscious workers and those of other classes that had taken up the stand and science of the working class, the struggle no longer had to be fought blindly and the masses of people no longer had to beat their heads against a stone wall again and again.

Finding the Way Forward

With the founding of the Communist Party, the answer was given to the most basic question—who will liberate China? Only the working class could lead the Chinese people to win their liberation. The instrument through which the working class would carry out that mission, its political party, was born. But although the experience of the working class worldwide had laid the basis for a beginning understanding of the tasks of the proletariat in China, and the direction of the struggle, the question of the specific path for revolution in China had not been solved. Only by applying Marxism-Leninism to the concrete conditions of China in the actual course of struggle could this be done. In summing up the early experience of the Party and in the long struggle over its basic political line for the task of liberating China, Mao Tsetung played a decisive and historic role.

Through the analysis of Lenin and Stalin and the experience of the international communist movement the general outline of the Chinese revolution became clear. Lenin had shown how the development of capitalism had entered into its highest and final stage, giving rise to the era of imperialism and proletarian revolution. Stalin showed how revolution in countries like China had now become part of that revolution.

In the countries under the imperialists' heel, where production still took place mainly under the backward conditions of feudalism (which meant the mainly peasant countries), the capitalist development which had taken place in Europe, America and Japan was now blocked because the capitalists of these colonies were too weak to stand up to the might of the imperialists who backed the feudal rulers in order to have a free hand to bleed the people dry with their investments and flood the countries with their manufactured goods.

This meant that only the working class and its political party could lead the people to win their liberation, passing first through a stage of anti-imperialist, anti-feudal revolution (with throwing out the imperialists and redistributing the land being the key immediate demands of the masses and the chief questions of the day) and then on to the stage of socialist revolution. Only in this way could the people be freed of their bonds once and for all and the country be developed.

With this orientation, the Communist Party of China began to develop and root itself in the struggles of the workers. As Party Secretary in Hunan, Mao helped organize the first communist organizations among the workers there, mass-based workers' clubs and more than 20 different trade unions among miners, railway workers, municipal employees, printers and workers in the government mint. Throughout China's cities the workers movement grew through demonstrations and strikes demanding better wages and working conditions and hitting at the imperialists and their Chinese lackeys.

In 1923, the Communist Party joined with Sun Yat-sen's Nationalist Party, the Kuomintang (KMT), in building a national united front of all classes and forces opposed to imperialism and feudalism. Soon a revolutionary army was formed to march to North China and overthrow the warlords there who had replaced the rule of the Manchu Dynasty. The backbone of this army was the workers and peasants who enthusiastically enlisted in the revolutionary cause, including thousands of miners from Hunan, a hotbed of working class struggle.

Mao was given responsibilities for the Party's work among the peasantry. In his home province of Hunan he organized many peasant unions against the landlords. With the local warlord's troops after him, he was

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Lifetime...

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forced to flee to Canton, where he was put in charge of the KMT's Peasant Institute, training peasant organizers in reading, politics and military science. The peasants who came here from all over China were to carry the seeds of revolution back with them.

But this high tide of revolution meant that the imperialists and those threatened by the mass upsurge were sure to counter-attack. In April 1927, backed and urged on by the imperialists and landlords, Chiang Kai-shek, who had come to lead the KMT after Sun's death, ordered his troops to massacre the organized workers in Shanghai and Nanking. Communists and other revolutionaries were systematically hunted down and slaughtered.

Completely panicked, Communist Party leader Chen Tu-hsiu raised the slogan "Unity [with the KMT] above all else," and called on the revolutionary forces to throw themselves on the mercy of the so-called left wing of the KMT, centered in the city of Wuhan. Shortly after, the KMT in Wuhan also unleashed reactionary terror against the workers and peasants, Chiang assumed the overall leadership of the KMT, and the revolutionary upsurge turned into a bloody tide of repression across China.

What had happened? As Mao later wrote, "Ours was then still an infant Party, it lacked experience concerning the three basic problems of the united front, armed struggle and Party building, it did not have much knowledge of Chinese history and Chinese society or of the specific features and laws of the Chinese revolution, and it lacked a comprehensive understanding of the unity between the theory of Marxism-Leninism and the practice of Chinese revolution. Hence in the last phase of this stage, or the critical juncture of this stage, those occupying a dominant position in the Party's leading body failed to lead the Party in consolidating the victories of the revolution and, as a result, they were deceived by the bourgeoisie and brought the revolution to defeat." (*Introducing The Communist*)

Chen Tu-hsiu, who had become the Communist Party's leader because of his role in the student and youth movement earlier on, had developed a wrong and opportunist line on the Chinese revolution and this line came to dominate the Party. He held that the Chinese working class was too small and young to make revolution and would have to wait its turn until the bourgeoisie had cleared the way. Because he saw the working class as a junior partner of the bourgeoisie, he opposed the arming of the workers' organizations and the development of any independent armed forces by the Party. For the same reason, he attacked those within the Party who wanted to put emphasis on developing the peasant movement.

Basically, instead of upholding above all the interests of the working class, Chen upheld the outlook of the bourgeoisie within the Party, and in trying to force the working class to tie its struggle to the bourgeoisie's tail he helped set it up for Chiang's sneak attack.

Mao had led struggle within the Party against this line, especially after the Party had begun to accumulate some experience among the different classes. Dropped from the Party's highest body, its Central Committee, for a short time because of his opposition to Chen Tu-hsiu's line, Mao continued to fight to advance the interests of the working class.

In 1926, he wrote *Analysis of Classes in Chinese Society*, which begins, "Who are our enemies? Who are our friends? This is a question of the first importance for the revolution. The basic reason why all previous

revolutionary struggles in China achieved so little was their failure to unite with real friends in order to attack real enemies... To distinguish real friends from real enemies, we must make a general analysis of the economic status of the various classes in Chinese society and their respective attitudes towards the revolution."

The working class could not defeat the enemy alone; it had to find friends—and to know the nature of friends and enemies alike. Here Mao analyzed that the main targets of the revolution in China at that time were the landlord class and the comprador class (the big capitalists and others totally tied to the foreign imperialists). Standing against them, according to their own class interests, in addition to the small but concentrated working class, there were the poor and lower middle peasants (who had little or no land and worked for others), and the petty bourgeoisie (including the middle peasants who had their own land, and shopkeepers, intellectuals, etc.)

The middle or national bourgeoisie, he wrote, had a dual character, on the one hand oppressed by imperialism and feudalism which prevented it from developing its fortunes, and on the other hand weak and unable to stand up firmly to these oppressors and deathly afraid of the masses and their struggle when it seemed to threaten its position. Because of this dual character, at times the national bourgeoisie could play an important role in the anti-imperialist, anti-feudal revolution, but it would waver and tend to surrender before the pressure of the enemy, and move towards striking down the mass struggle.

In order to win victory the working class had to form a united front of all social forces opposed to imperialism and feudalism, and in order to carry this through the working class had to depend on the firm alliance between itself and the poor and lower middle peasants who had little to lose and everything to gain from overthrowing China's tormentors.

The Peasants

The key to proletarian revolution in China was the peasant question. Mao's famous work, *Report on an Investigation of the Peasant Movement in Hunan*, was written as a report to the Party's central leadership, based on experience in the peasant movement and a month of intense personal investigation and meetings with the peasants there. "In a very short time," he declared, "in China's central, southern and northern provinces, several hundred million peasants will rise like a mighty storm, like a hurricane, a force so swift and violent that no power, however great, will be able to hold it back. They will smash all the trammels that bind them and rush forward along the road to liberation. They will sweep all the imperialists, warlords, corrupt officials, local tyrants and evil gentry into their graves. Every revolutionary party and every revolutionary comrade will be put to the test, to be accepted or rejected as they decide. There are three alternatives. To march at their head and lead them? To trail behind them, gesticulating and criticizing? Or to stand in their way and oppose them?"

Chen Tu-hsiu prevented the Central Committee from even discussing Mao's report, although Mao was soon reinstated as a CC member. But events quickly proved Chen wrong and Mao correct. With the 1927 counter-revolution and the complete bankruptcy of Chen's line now exposed, a great many Party members rose up against him. At a special Central Committee meeting, while the blood of the workers and peasants flowed in the streets, Chen was thrown out of his position and the Party leadership voted to arm the workers and peasants and begin the agrarian revolution.

Chiang Kai-shek's murderous assault brought forth heroic resistance from the revolutionary masses, and by summing up experience and correcting the previous deadly errors the Communist Party was able to give this resistance direction and strength. In the city of Nanchang about 1000 KMT soldiers stationed there rebelled, and under the Party's leadership began to march South towards Hunan. As they marched they were joined by 800 miners who had battled the mining company's armed guards and seized their rifles. The Nanchang uprising was the beginning of the Red Army.

Meanwhile, Mao was sent to the area around Changsha in Hunan to organize the peasants in seizing the land from the landlords and establishing the rule of the Workers and Peasants Councils, which Mao was elected to head. To carry out this Autumn Harvest Uprising, as it was called, he recruited a peasant-worker army from among the politically conscious miners, revolutionary-minded soldiers who had left the KMT army and the peasants themselves. Armed with spears, few rifles and even less ammunition, this army moved through Hunan, fighting its way through thousands of KMT troops, until it reached the high and isolated Chingkang Mountains and set up the first Red base area. Later the column from Nanchang arrived. Now the Party had its army.

The revolution was to be based in the countryside, its main force was to be the peasantry (under the leadership of the working class) and the main form of struggle was to be armed struggle. Events themselves had taught the Party these lessons at the cost of the loss of

the majority of its members. But contained within this generally correct understanding there were still two opposing points of view. In correcting Chen Tu-hsiu's rightism and his twisted sum-up that Chiang Kai-shek's counter-revolution proved that revolution wasn't on the agenda at all in China, a series of incorrect "ultra-left" lines arose within the Party, because the majority of the Party leadership still failed to understand the actual nature of the situation in China.

"Left" Lines

Some Party leaders didn't agree to the importance of building the rural base areas as the main form in which the working class Party would gather forces for the revolution, and instead called for the Red Army to immediately begin attacking large cities. When this line met with failure and was soundly criticized by Mao and many other Party members, it was corrected.

But the heart of the matter still wasn't grasped, and instead of seeing the building of base areas as a long process by which the working class and its allies would annihilate the enemy piece by piece, the wrong line mistakenly saw the situation as the beginning of another nationwide revolutionary high tide and called for several large-scale pitched battles between the Red Army and the enemy. Again this line brought terrible setbacks to the revolution and was soon widely criticized and defeated, and soon it arose again, this time more destructive than ever.

During this time Mao both led the mass struggle in the base area and conducted the bitter inner-Party struggle over the correct overall strategy and tactics for revolution in China. With the consolidation of the base area among the peasants in the high plateau of Chingkangshan, Mao left with his troops to swell the base area's size, as the Red Army joined with the local peasants in fighting the landlord and government troops, establishing mass organizations and Party units, redividing the land and setting up organs of revolutionary power. The Central Base Area, as it was called, spread to six provinces and contained nine million people.

Again, success brought retaliation from the reactionaries. Mao's wife and sister, then living in a KMT controlled area, were executed by the reactionaries in a cold rage that they couldn't grab hold of Mao himself. Later that year 100,000 men surrounded the base area in the first of the KMT's long series of what it called encirclement and suppression campaigns against the Red Army.

Although the foolish and useless attacks on large cities ordered by the Party leadership had been costly, nevertheless the Red Army was still able to defeat the attempt to crush it. The second, third and fourth extermination campaigns ended the same way, although the Party's "left" line on lumping together the landowning middle peasants with the enemy brought more weakness to the revolutionary forces. Finally, in Chiang's fifth encirclement and suppression campaign, both Chiang's strength and the harm done by the "left" line within the Party reached their peak.

This opportunist line called for the Party to lash out in all directions at once. It called for treating the "middle forces"—the classes not yet allied firmly with either the CP or the KMT—as just as bad as the KMT itself. This "leftism" was really rightism at heart, because without analyzing the situation according to classes and their interests and uniting all who could be united to overthrow the main enemy and seize political power, the working class could not make revolution at all. Without being guided by the outlook and interests of the working class, the Red Army could not mobilize the masses and fight effectively, and would have ended up becoming little different from the various warlord armies.

The damage grew as the situation itself changed and the opportunists refused to pay any attention to those changes or anything but their own subjective wishes and desires. In 1931, Japan began to invade China in order to make it its exclusive colony and beat out the other imperialist powers. Some of Chiang Kai-shek's troops under Japanese attack rebelled against Chiang's declared policy of fighting the Japanese and the Reds equally, which really came down to fighting the Reds and giving in to Japan. These troops offered to form an alliance with the Red Army, but the opportunists in the Party rejected this.

With the revolt smashed, Chiang moved to establishing a truce with the invaders and with the help of German advisors, mobilized nearly a million men against the Red Army and surrounded the base area with an ever-shrinking noose of blockhouses and fortifications. The wrong line within the Party demanded that the Red Army abandon guerrilla warfare and fight a head-on, positional battle against the overwhelmingly more powerful Chiang forces and not give an inch of land. This strategy led the Red Army to lose the whole Base Area and be forced to retreat entirely from that part of China.

This strategic retreat was the beginning of the 6000-mile Long March, proposed and led by Mao, to retreat and to go north to take up the fight against Japan. After months of constant marching and fighting, the Red Army stopped at the city of Tsunyi. There the Party

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Mao Tse-tung at a poor peasants' conference in 1933. After setbacks in the cities, his line of building Red base areas in the countryside proved correct.

Lifetime...

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leadership held a special conference. Many Party members and leading members had come to have tremendous doubts and dissatisfaction with the "left" line, and even many of those who had made these errors now rallied around the line put forward by Mao. The dominance of the "left" line was defeated and Mao became the recognized leader of the Party.

In Mao's analysis, because of the localized agricultural economy and the constant splits in the reactionary forces backed by the various contending imperialists, economically self-sufficient revolutionary base areas ruled by the political power of the workers and peasants could be established in certain places in China's countryside. The existence and development of the Red Army and other Red armed forces was the key to carrying out revolution in the countryside to establish those areas, and the key to carrying out revolutionary mass action under the leadership of the working class.

This peasant warfare under proletarian leadership was to be the chief form of revolutionary struggle. In uniting with all those who could be united to overthrow China's rulers the working class would under certain conditions unite with sections of the bourgeoisie and also take advantage of the splits among the forces backed by the various powers.

Mao showed how the successful military tactics carried out in the Base Area flowed from this analysis. Basically this boiled down to taking account of the massive strength of the enemy compared to the revolutionary forces, while mobilizing the broadest numbers of the masses to rise up against the enemy and cut the enemy forces to pieces little by little, focusing overwhelming strength on particular enemy units to wipe them out and avoiding battles under unfavorable conditions, until the situation was changed and the revolutionary forces were strong and the enemy weak.

With the beginning of the invasion of China by Japan in 1931, the contradictions between the imperialist powers and between the imperialists and parts of the Chinese bourgeoisie were heating up, and the weight of oppression and exploitation carried by the masses was becoming more unbearable than ever. For this reason, Mao declared, there would soon be a new high tide of revolution.

This was the general strategy and tactics for carrying out the revolution in China, the concrete application of Marxism to the experience of Chinese revolution. Furthermore, in developing this, Mao also made a great contribution to the development of the Marxist theory of how to make proletarian revolution in the underdeveloped, semi-colonial and semi-feudal countries where the proletariat is in the minority, and how to wage people's war, which from the beginning had to be the main form of revolutionary struggle in China. When in 1935, under Mao's leadership, the Party united around this understanding, this was a tremendous breakthrough for the revolutionary struggle and the basis of further great victories.

The Long March and the War Against Japan

The Long March began in October 1934, after a year of almost constant fighting and heavy losses against Chiang Kai-shek's fifth extermination campaign. About 90,000 Red Army troops, the most seasoned fighters and most able political cadres, set out to break through the encirclement and march to North China over a distance twice the width of the United States.

Mao described the Long March to Edgar Snow like this: "Through many, many difficulties, across the longest, deepest and most dangerous rivers of China, across some of the highest and most hazardous mountain passes, through the country of fierce aborigines, through the empty grasslands, through cold and intense heat, through snow and rainstorm, pursued by half the White [reactionary] armies of China, through all these natural barriers and fighting its way past the local troops of Kwangtung, Hunan, Kwangsi, Kweichow, Yunnan, Sinkiang, Szechuan, Kansu and Shensi, the Red Army at last reached northern Shensi in October 1935 and enlarged its base in China's great Northwest.

"The victories of the Red Army, and its triumphant arrival in Kansu and Shensi with its living forces still intact, was due first to the correct leadership of the Communist Party, and second to the great skill, courage, determination and almost superhuman endurance and revolutionary ardor of the basic cadres of our people."

As leader of the Party and chairman of its Revolutionary Military Council, Mao led the Long March in all its aspects. Between battles and skirmishes which were fought almost every day, in every town and village, Mao's forces called mass meetings, gave theatrical performances, heavily taxed the landlords and confiscated and distributed to the peasants the property of the big landlords, government officials and tax collectors, freed

the prisoners and those kept in virtual slavery and carefully and thoroughly explained the policy of anti-feudal, anti-imperialist revolution. They armed thousands of peasants and left behind cadres to train Red partisans to defend the peasants' gains and harass the reactionary troops. Thousands of peasants, workers and many defeated and deserting KMT soldiers joined the Red Army.

Mao shared every hardship and danger with the rank and file, walking up and down the lines to attend to details and talk with the marchers and often sing with them by day, reading and writing reports, holding meetings, planning far into the night.

The success of the Long March marked a new period in the development of the Chinese revolution. "The Long March," Mao wrote, "is the first of its kind in the annals of history...it is a manifesto, a propaganda force, a seeding machine...For twelve months we were under daily reconnaissance and bombing from the skies by scores of planes, while on land we were encircled and pursued, obstructed and intercepted by a huge force of several hundred thousand men, and we encountered untold difficulties and dangers on the way; yet by using our two legs we swept across a distance of more than twenty thousand li through the length and breadth of eleven provinces. Let us ask, has history ever known a long march equal to ours? No, never.

"The Long March is a manifesto. It has proclaimed to the world that the Red Army is an army of heroes, while the imperialists and their running dogs, Chiang Kai-shek and his like, are impotent. It has proclaimed their utter failure to encircle, pursue, obstruct and intercept us. The Long March is also a propaganda force. It has announced to some 200 million people in eleven provinces that the road of the Red Army is their only road to liberation. Without the Long March, how could the broad masses have learned so quickly about the existence of the great truth which the Red Army embodies. The Long March is also a seeding machine. In eleven provinces it has sown many seeds which will sprout, leaf, blossom and bear fruit, and will yield a harvest in the future. In a word, the Long March has ended with victory for us and defeat for the enemy." (*On Tactics Against Japanese Imperialism*)

United Front Against Japan

By correctly analyzing the strengths and weaknesses of the enemy and the revolutionary forces and the development of conditions in China and the world, under the leadership of Mao, the Party was able to grasp the necessity of moving from Southern China, which had long been the focus of revolutionary activity, and going to the more isolated Northwest, from where the Red Army could take up the fight against Japan, whose invasion became the principal contradiction facing the country.

In 1935, as Japan grabbed up the great part of Northwest China, anti-Japanese activity began to sweep through the KMT-held areas. Carrying out a war of national liberation against Japan and calling for a united front of all those who would fight the invaders provided the basis for drawing in many more millions under the leadership of the working class and its Party, and causing even more difficulties and divisions among the enemy camp.

A small Red base area had already existed in Shensi, carved out by peasants led by men trained years before in Mao's Peasant Institute. The small Shensi city of Yen-an became the capital of the war of national liberation, steadily swelling in population as people from all over China snuck through KMT lines to join the war against Japan. Like most of the rest of the population, Mao lived in a cave carved out of a hillside for protection against aerial bombardment. In the expanding base area, the peasants were mobilized to form organs of revolutionary political power, with the rule of the exploited of the countryside under the leadership of the working class overturning the rule of the big exploiters.

The peasants seized the big estates and some of the land of the rich peasants and redistributed it according to the principle of "land to he who tills it." Local Red Guard militias were formed to fight off the attacks of the landlord's local armies and the KMT, so that the Red Army could be freed up to take on the Japanese invaders. Taxes were reduced greatly.

The working people were now the masters in their own home, and they began to transform every aspect of society that the feudalists and imperialists had organized to suit their interests. Although some private enterprise continued under the workers' and peasants' control, cooperatives were formed in which the peasants began to work collectively. Even a munitions factory and a uniform factory were set up, the latter by garment workers who had carried their sewing machines throughout the Long March.

While Chiang tried to carry out a policy of "first defeat the Communists, then hit Japan," the masses of people in the KMT-controlled areas became more and more convinced of the necessity of defending the country against the invaders, while even many of the bourgeois elements within the KMT feared that there would be no place for them in a Japanese controlled China. The U.S. and other imperialist powers backing

Chiang began to see the necessity of resisting Japan's invasion of China in order to carry out their own contention with Japan and the Axis powers for control of the world.

In 1936 two top officers in Chiang Kai-shek's army accepted the Communists' offer of a united front against the Japanese invaders and demanded that Chiang unite with the CPC against Japan. When he refused, they arrested him, setting him free only after he had agreed to such an alliance. The masses had plenty of reasons to want to see Chiang killed. But even though Chiang had been responsible for beheading Mao's wife, Mao based himself on the objective interests of advancing the struggle, of dividing and isolating the enemy to the maximum and gathering all possible forces to hit the main enemy. This meant that Chiang had to be negotiated with, pressured into some degree of unity against Japan and released.

With the creation of this united front between the CPC and the KMT, the United Front Against Japan, a major victory had been won. But in order to take advantage of these new conditions, the whole Party had to be armed with the understanding of the necessity for this united front in the first place and just as important, the necessity for the working class and the forces it led to keep their political, military and ideological independence. Otherwise revolutionary victory could never be won. There arose a line within the Party which failed to see the necessity of this united front and condemned it, and another line which accepted the necessity for the united front but not for any independence on the part of the working class—having learned nothing from past experience, some wanted to turn over the Red Army and everything else to Chiang Kai-shek.

Theoretical Contributions

In order to carry out the political line of this united front, it was necessary for the whole Party to undergo a tremendous development of its grasp of the outlook and science of the working class, its grasp of ideological lines, and to take on the ideological errors, the mistakes in world outlook, that had given rise to wrong political lines again and again, at such a cost.

On Practice is an essay taken from a lecture Mao gave at the Party's Anti-Japanese Military and Political College in Yen-an, where the leading cadres of the anti-Japanese war were being trained. This essay is both a thorough examination of the immediate problems of class struggle and a universally true and applicable development of the Marxist theory of knowledge.

All knowledge, Mao began, comes from social practice. This means the struggle to produce things, the class struggle, and, as Mao often pointed out, the struggle for scientific experiment. At first people see only the external manifestations of things, then, after repeated experience, a leap in their thinking occurs, enabling them to grasp the essence—the inner nature—of things. This is a leap from perceptual knowledge to rational knowledge, and this can happen only after repeated observation and experience, the development of theories concerning the nature of things and the repeated testing of these theories in practice, the refining of the correct and the discarding of the incorrect. And this process—from perceptual to rational to perceptual... or from practice to theory to practice on a higher level... is an endless spiral.

"It often happens, however, that thinking lags behind reality; this is because man's cognition is limited by numerous social conditions. We are opposed to die-hards in the revolutionary ranks whose thinking fails to advance with changing objective circumstances and has manifested itself historically as Right opportunism. These people fail to see that the struggle of opposites has already pushed the objective process forward while their knowledge has stopped at the old stage. This is characteristic of the thinking of all die-hards. Their thinking is divorced from social practice, and they cannot march ahead to guide the chariot of society; they simply trail behind, grumbling that it goes too fast and trying to drag it back or turn it in the opposite direction.

"We are also opposed to Left phrase-mongering. The thinking of Leftists outstrips a given stage of development of the objective process; some regard their fantasies as truth, while others strain to realize in the present an ideal which can only be realized in the future. They alienate themselves from the current practice of the majority of people and from the realities of the day, and show themselves adventurist in their actions." (*On Practice*)

These ways of thinking lay at the root of the Party's errors, both during the rightism of Chen Tu-hsiu and the period of the "left" lines dominating the Party. At first, many Party members had seen things according to empiricism, that is, treating experience narrowly and not grasping the laws governing the development of things. During the period of CP-KMT cooperation from 1924-1927, many people had not understood the temporary and conditional nature of the alliance and failed to guard the political and military independence of the Party and even its ideological independence (such as in the case of Chen Tu-hsiu, whose understanding of the revolution and whose outlook was that of the bour-

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Mao was able to solve the problems of the Chinese revolution and enrich Marxism-Leninist theory because he took part in making revolution, as a political leader, a military commander and an organizer among the masses.

Lifetime...

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geoisie). Therefore the Party was left unprepared for Chiang Kai-shek's sneak attack.

Now that a new CP-KMT alliance was possible and necessary, many people saw only the experience of Chiang's 1927 massacres and the reactionary nature of Chiang and did not understand how the development of the situation with the invasion by Japan had changed the overall situation. These dogmatists opposed the united front, while those stuck in empiricism saw only the immediate necessity of the united front and were unprepared to avoid the tragic rightist errors that had led to giving up the Party's independence within the united front, as had happened in 1927. Both views were extremely harmful to the struggle, and it was a matter of life or death for the revolution to defeat them thoroughly and root out the thinking that lay behind them.

In *On Contradiction*, written about the same time as *On Practice*, Mao explained the stand, viewpoint and method of the working class and showed its concrete application to the key problem of the day—the united front against Japan—and also how the struggle within the Party over these political questions reflected the struggle between the bourgeoisie and the proletariat within the Party in the ideological sphere. He laid out how contradiction—the struggle between opposites—is a universal law of nature and society, while the particular nature of the opposites and the conditions of their struggle varied.

This contribution by Mao to the understanding of the *universality of contradiction*—the fact that all things are shaped by the struggle of opposites—was an important contribution to the science of revolution. It applies everywhere and was later to have special value in understanding that classes and class struggle exist even under socialism.

At that time this was the philosophical basis for explaining how the development of the struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie in China was influenced by China's domination by feudalism and imperialism, and by Japan's invasion of China. The Chinese proletariat had to have a correct understanding of these particular factors in order to understand how to advance the class struggle.

With the Japanese invasion, the struggle against feudalism and the reactionaries represented by Chiang Kai-shek now had to be subordinated to the struggle against Japanese imperialism, regardless of how anyone might feel—either Chiang Kai-shek or the revolutionary forces. Furthermore, the law of contradiction and the history of the development of the contradiction between classes in China also showed how the unity between the classes led by Chiang Kai-shek and those led by the working class and its Party could only exist temporarily and under certain conditions, and that the defeat of the Japanese invasion could not resolve the basic underlying social contradictions. These points were absolutely necessary to understand for the Party to be able to take up the united front against Japan and advance the struggle as much as possible, while at the same time preparing for the future and not surrendering the interests of the working class to its deadly enemies.

Mao's method in this was not just to analyze and understand things himself, but to arm the whole Party and the broadest numbers of people possible with this analysis and understanding, so that the point of view

and science of the working class could be more consciously and broadly applied to making revolution in China and Marxism could become even more of a material force in the hands of the masses of exploited and oppressed. As part of this, he led the Party through a campaign of study, discussion and collective summing up of the history of the Party and the political and ideological struggles it had gone through, so that the Party members could sum up the experience gained in struggle, become better able to apply Marxism to China and the whole Party become stronger and more united.

Grew in Strength

By shifting its main effort to the war against Japan which was now the key question influencing the development of everything else in China, the Party and the forces it led grew tremendously. But Yen-an was surrounded on three sides by Chiang's troops and on the fourth by the Japanese.

Although Chiang agreed to the alliance with the Party against Japan in word, in fact, from 1937 until 1945 he carried out few offensives against the Japanese and many against the Communist-led forces. Nevertheless, in the base area of Yen-an, in the shifting front area, behind Japanese lines and in the areas held by Chiang Kai-shek, the masses of people wanted to take up the war of resistance.

The more and the more successfully the patriotic forces fought the invaders, the more support and active participation they won from the masses and the more Chiang's regime was divided, isolated and jacked up against the wall. Important parts of the KMT army refused to fight the Communists and would only fight Japan, while huge numbers of KMT troops deserted and joined the Communist-led army. Even within the Japanese forces, because of work guided by a correct understanding of the class nature of the war, carried out by both Chinese and Japanese Communists, many Japanese soldiers opposed the war.

Although the Party had to make some compromises in the interests of unity against Japan—for instance not confiscating the landlords' holdings but instead only sharply limiting the rent and taxes they could charge the peasants—the Party and its armed forces grew in strength enormously because it took up the key battle, while the KMT, because it tried to shirk war with Japan, shrank in influence and power.

When later the KMT turned its full attention to trying to smash the workers and peasants revolution, they could not—nothing on earth could stop the revolution.

The Chinese People Stand up

As Japan's defeat loomed inevitably ahead, two roads confronted China: either the U.S. which backed Chiang would replace Japan, and the big bourgeoisie, imperialist lackeys and landlords would once again completely enslave the Chinese people, or the masses of people under the Party's leadership would guard their base areas and their armed forces and prepare to meet Chiang's inevitable attack and wage war to throw all these oppressors out of China once and for all.

In August 1945 Mao wrote, "These are days of tremendous change in the situation in the East. The surrender of Japanese imperialism is now a foregone conclusion. The decisive factor for Japan's surrender is the entry of the Soviet Union into the war. A million Red Army [USSR] troops are now entering China's Northeast; this force is irresistible. Japanese imperialism can no longer continue the fight. The Chinese people's

hard and bitter War of Resistance is crowned with victory. As a historical stage, the War of Resistance Against Japan is now over.

"In these circumstances, what are the relations between the different classes in China and what are the relations between the Kuomintang [KMT] and the Communist Party at the present? What will they be like in the future? What is the policy of our Party? These are questions of great concern to the people of the whole country and to all members of our Party." (*The Situation and Our Policy After the Victory in the War of Resistance Against Japan*)

The base areas now encompassed 95 million people; the Communist-led army, which had been ground down to only about ten thousand men at the end of the Long March, had now expanded to nearly a million, with several times that many more in the local militias. As Mao had explained, "This army is powerful because all its members have a discipline based on political consciousness; they have come together and they fight not for the private interests of a few individuals or a narrow clique, but for the interests of the broad masses and of the whole nation. The sole purpose of this army is to stand firmly with the Chinese people and serve them wholeheartedly." (*On Coalition Government*)

These forces had played the overwhelmingly decisive role in China's war of resistance against Japan. Now the U.S. imperialists and Chiang Kai-shek were determined to grab the fruits of this victory for themselves, and to keep China semi-colonial and semi-feudal, divided, poor and weak. But the Chinese people had not struggled, armed themselves and become conscious only to meekly surrender to these butchers.

With the total defeat of Japan, Germany and Italy and the weakening of Britain and France through the war, U.S. imperialism emerged as the most powerful imperialist country in history. At the end of the war, the U.S. had dropped two atomic bombs on Japan to try to throw fear into the USSR and keep the Soviet Union from interfering with the U.S.'s plans to gobble up Japan's former empire in Asia. The U.S. imperialists threatened war against the USSR. But the Soviet Union, despite being weakened by having borne the brunt of the fighting against Germany, stood on the strength of its own socialist system and was nourished by the strength developed by the workers and their allies all over the world in World War 2, and was able to force the U.S. to enter into some compromises with it.

But in the face of this new strength of U.S. imperialism at the close of the war, a capitulationist tendency arose within many of the world's Communist Parties. In a one-sided and incorrect analysis of the situation, some people concluded that the U.S. imperialists were invincible, that there was no basis for a revolutionary upsurge in the various capitalist and colonial countries, and that the people of the world would have to bow down before the imperialists' monstrous threats to turn the world into a ball of ashes with their atomic bomb. Among others, these were the views of Earl Browder, an out-and-out revisionist who headed the U.S. Communist Party at that time.

Forge Ahead

This view brought terrible setbacks to the working class in several countries, as the opportunity to advance the struggle was thrown away. In China, too, some leading Party members fell into this thinking, and here too it was a life and death question for the revolutionary struggle. Mao blasted this line in an inner-party document later published as *Some Points in Appraisal of the Present International Situation*. "The forces of world reaction are definitely preparing a third world war, and the danger of war exists. But the democratic forces of the people of the world have surpassed the reactionary forces and are now forging ahead; they must and certainly can overcome the danger of war," Mao said.

The Soviet Union could and had to make some compromises with the U.S.-led imperialists in order to prevent such a war. But "such compromise," Mao continued, "does not require the people in the countries of the capitalist world to follow suit and make compromises at home. The people in those countries will continue to wage different struggles in accordance with their different conditions." He pointed out that the principle of the reactionary forces in dealing with the revolutionary forces of the people is "definitely to destroy all they can and prepare to destroy later whatever they cannot destroy now." Face to face with this situation, he said, the revolutionary forces of the people "should likewise apply the same principle to the reactionary forces."

This is exactly what the Chinese Communist Party did. For a while after the war, the U.S. sponsored negotiations between Chiang and the Communists, hoping to grab up China the easy way. After so many years of long and bloody war, it was only natural that the Chinese people would long for peace, and the Communist Party had to continue the negotiations until it was absolutely clear to the broad masses of people that it was Chiang Kai-shek who was bringing about a new war.

But at the same time, Mao pointed out that what

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was at stake was the question of a return to the old China or the construction of a New China, and only war could settle this question. As for those who pointed to the billions in arms and equipment the U.S. gave Chiang and the U.S. Marines sent to guard major U.S. imperialist holdings, and the threat of even more open U.S. intervention, Mao told an American journalist, "What we have now is millet plus rifles, what you have is bread plus cannon. If you like to back Chiang Kai-shek, back him, back him as long as you want. But remember one thing. The day will surely come when you will find it impossible to back him any longer." (*The Situation and Our Policy After the Victory in the War of Resistance Against Japan*)

People Are Decisive

In this situation, Mao laid out the key understanding for the revolutionary struggle worldwide. As the experience of China and all previous struggle had shown, it is the struggle of the masses and not weapons—not even the A bomb—which is decisive in world history. No matter how much real harm the U.S. imperialists might cause, they could not stop the development of the struggle of the working class and its allies of all countries, and these imperialists would definitely be defeated because their interests were opposed to the interests of the vast majority of mankind, including the American working class and the majority of the U.S. people.

While the enemy had to be taken seriously in terms of tactics, because his weapons were real weapons and capable of real destruction, in the long run they would do him no good. "All reactionaries," Mao later explained, "are paper tigers. In appearance the reactionaries are terrifying, but in reality they are not so powerful. From a long-term point of view, it is not the reactionaries but the people who are really powerful." (*Talks With the American Correspondent Anna Louise Strong*)

"Because of the existence of the Soviet Union," Mao told Anna Louise Strong, "it is absolutely impossible for the reactionaries in the United States and the world to realize their ambitions. This is why the U.S. reactionaries rabidly hate the Soviet Union and actually dream of destroying this socialist state. But the fact that the U.S. reactionaries are now trumpeting so loudly about a U.S.-Soviet war and creating a foul atmosphere, so soon after World War 2, compels us to take a look at their real aims. It turns out that under the cover of anti-Soviet slogans they are frantically attacking the workers and democratic circles in the United States and turning all the countries which are targets of U.S. external expansion into U.S. dependencies. I think the American people and the people of all countries menaced by U.S. aggression should unite and struggle against the attacks of the U.S. reactionaries and their running dogs in these countries."

This was the correct strategic line for the situation in the world after World War 2. Although the conditions in each country were different, whether or not this point was grasped was of key importance everywhere.

Because of its correct political understanding and the experience and forces accumulated through decades of struggle, the Communist Party of China was able to lead the country to total liberation in a comparatively short time, although the three years of war against Chiang were full of great battles and social upheaval. Again Mao led the Party when the time came, at the end of this war, in shifting its thrust from war in the countryside to all-out assaults on the big cities and urban insurrections in what had so long been the strongholds of reaction.

On October 1, 1949, Mao Tsetung stood on a platform in Tien An Men square in the center of Peking and proclaimed the establishment of the People's Republic of China. "The Chinese people," he declared, "have stood up."

Continuing the Revolution

On the eve of liberation, Mao reported to the Communist Party's Central Committee, "To win country-wide victory is only the first step in a long march of ten thousand li. Even if this step is worthy of pride, it is comparatively tiny; what will be more worthy of pride is yet to come. After several decades, the victory of the Chinese people's democratic revolution, viewed in retrospect, will seem like only a brief prologue to a long drama. A drama begins with a prologue, but the prologue is not the climax. The Chinese revolution is great, but the road after the revolution will be longer, the work greater and more arduous."

He explained, "After the country-wide victory of the Chinese revolution and the solution of the land problem, two basic contradictions will still exist in China. The first is internal, that is, the contradiction

between the working class and the bourgeoisie. The second is external, that is, the contradiction between China and the imperialist countries...

"It has been proved that the enemy cannot conquer us by force of arms. However, the flattery of the bourgeoisie may conquer the weak-willed in our ranks.

There may be some Communists, who were not conquered by enemies with guns and were worthy of the name of heroes for standing up to these enemies, but who cannot withstand sugar-coated bullets; they will be defeated by sugar-coated bullets." (*Report to the Second Session of the Seventh Central Committee*)

Korean War

Of course the enemy had not given up on using arms against the Chinese people. Although defeated in battle and forced to flee to China's island province of Taiwan, Chiang Kai-shek's forces continued to carry out economic and political sabotage and armed forays wherever they could, operating with the backing of the U.S. Then, in 1950, the U.S. imperialists put the young People's Republic to the test in open aggression. After the U.S.-supported government of South Korea had provoked a war with the North, U.S. troops poured into Korea, invading northern Korea and moving toward China's border, the Yalu River.

The U.S. commander, General Douglas MacArthur, bragged that he would soon invade China—and in fact U.S. planes dropped bombs inside China. The U.S. dispatched its Seventh Fleet to the Taiwan Straits and brought in thousands of troops to join Chiang's forces in occupying Taiwan.

At this point, after warning the U.S. to drop back or else, China sent volunteers to aid in the Korean struggle to clear out the U.S. and their local puppets. The Chinese and Korean people fought heroically. Among the many deaths caused by the U.S. ruling class in this war was that of Mao's son, killed in action.

But the U.S. imperialists' gamble in Korea failed. They had made a grave mistake. The Korean people would not be conquered. And liberated China was not old China. No longer could it be bullied by any imperialist power.

With the overthrow of the imperialists and their Chinese junior partners, and with the distribution of the land to the peasants to free them from the age-old bondage of feudalism, China's anti-imperialist, anti-feudal revolution had been won.

With this, the struggle between the bourgeoisie and the working class in China, between the capitalist road and the socialist road for China's future, came to occupy the center stage. In one sense, the transition to socialism was a continuation of the struggle for the country's liberation, because if China didn't go forward it would certainly fall back. As Mao said, "Only socialism can save China." But under these new conditions, new problems arose, problems which could be solved only by the Marxist method and by more experience and struggle.

By 1956 the question of capitalism or socialism had been settled, in the main, as far as the question of the ownership of the means of production was concerned. But it was not settled without great struggle, including within the Communist Party itself.

Socialist Upsurge

In industry, the property of the imperialists and their lackeys had been immediately confiscated, while the property of the middle bourgeoisie who cooperated with China's liberation was more gradually bought up. The cooperative movement among the peasants had begun even before Liberation in some areas and grew rapidly after 1949; in 1955, under the leadership of the Party, there was what Mao called "the socialist upsurge in China's countryside," as many millions of poor and lower-middle peasants stepped forward to organize cooperatives and move toward collective ownership.

This socialist movement in the countryside was of fundamental importance for the victory of socialism overall. Economically, the development of industry was impossible without the development of agriculture, and agriculture could not develop quickly without going over from small-scale private production to larger-scale collective production. Even more importantly, socialism depended on the firm alliance of the working class and the peasantry.

With the completion of the anti-feudal revolution and the distribution of the land, Mao pointed out, this alliance had to be built on a new basis. "What exists in the countryside today," he said in 1955, "is capitalist ownership by the rich peasants and a vast sea of private ownership by the individual peasants. As is clear to everyone, the spontaneous forces of capitalism have been steadily growing in the countryside in recent years, with new rich peasants springing up everywhere and many well-to-do middle peasants striving to become rich peasants. On the other hand, many poor peasants are still in poverty for lack of sufficient means of production, with some in debt and others selling or renting out their land. If this tendency goes unchecked, the polarization in the countryside will inevitably be aggravated day by day...There is no solution to this problem except on a new basis. And that means to bring about, step by step, the socialist transformation of the whole

of agriculture simultaneously with the gradual realization of socialist industrialization and the socialist transformation of handicrafts and capitalist industry and commerce...We maintain that this is the only way to consolidate the worker-peasant alliance. Otherwise, this alliance will be in real danger of breaking up." (*On the Question of Agricultural Co-operation*) Such a breakup would have meant the end of working class rule in China and a return to its former enslavement.

Yet within the Party a line arose which opposed the call for a great speed-up of the peasants' cooperative movement as "a rash advance," and instead called for this process to be slowed down. Mao called this "the year of decision between socialism and capitalism..." The first half of 1955, he wrote, "was murky and obscured by dark clouds. But in the second half, the atmosphere changed completely. Tens of millions of peasant households swung into action. In response to the call of the Central Committee, they adopted cooperative methods. As this is being written more than 60 million peasant households in various parts of the country have already joined cooperatives. It is as if a raging tidal wave has swept away all the demons and ghosts..."

To continue this forward motion, in 1958, under the guidance of Mao, the Party initiated the Great Leap Forward, a mass movement to establish People's Communes (a higher form of socialist collective ownership in the countryside) and to stride ahead in industrialization by unleashing the initiative and great abilities of the workers. Although progress was made and the Communes took hold, this advance brought out more opposition from rightists within the Party, and actual sabotage of the Party's efforts from some Party leaders.

In part the opposition from within the Party to the socialist movement in the countryside came from a wrong understanding of the material conditions. Mao did an analysis of the concrete conditions there, which showed that while the standard of living had considerably improved for the peasants because of the land reform, 60 to 70% of the peasants were still having difficulties and were not well off. Under the leadership of the working class and the conditions of socialist industrial development, these peasants were full of enthusiasm for socialism and could be relied upon to lead the way for the vast majority of the peasants. These were the facts of the matter.

But this opposition came from another quarter as well. People from nearly all classes in China had joined the revolutionary struggle out of their own class interests. This was true among the ranks of the Party as well. In the long and intense heat of the struggle, most of these people had been won to the stand and the outlook of the working class because only this stand and outlook could lead things forward—there was no other way. But for some of the old bourgeois and petty bourgeois elements and some others whom the bourgeoisie's "sugar-coated bullets" had conquered, the revolution had now gone far enough.

This was a very serious problem which involved not just the question of policy in the countryside but of the political line guiding China overall. At heart it was a matter of whether the working class could continue to lead China forward or whether instead it would be dragged back.

Capitalism Restored in USSR

In fact this kind of counter-revolutionary wind was arising in full force to confront the working class worldwide: After the death of Stalin, a bourgeois clique within the Soviet Communist Party seized power and began working overtime to dismantle the socialist system and restore capitalism in the USSR. They tried to drag down the world's other Communist Parties with them in order to extend their control. As part of this, they launched an all-out attack on Marxism, which in the name of "revising" Marxism in the light of modern conditions really meant cutting out its revolutionary heart and soul.

In order to cover up what they were doing, Khrushchev vilified Stalin as a "Twentieth Century Ivan the Terrible" and denounced the building of socialism under Stalin as all wrong from beginning to end. The dictatorship of the proletariat, Khrushchev declared, was now outmoded and should be replaced with what he called "the state of the whole people" and the proletariat's Party with "the Party of the whole people." Under this cover, they replaced the dictatorship of the proletariat with the dictatorship of the new bourgeois class which had risen up against the proletariat in the USSR, and they drove the class conscious fighters out of the Party and suppressed them in order to turn the Party into an instrument for their bourgeois rule.

Along with restoring capitalism in the Soviet Union, these new bourgeois forces changed the country from being a bastion against imperialism into capitulating to the U.S. imperialists. The atomic bomb, Khrushchev declared, had changed the world. Now the chief form of struggle for progress in the world would be "peaceful competition" between the U.S. and the Soviets. In practice, this meant the new Soviet rulers' initial capitulation and then their growing rivalry with their counterparts in the U.S.

Khrushchev tried to turn the correct Marxist policy

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of "peaceful coexistence"—socialist states trying to maintain peace with the capitalist states that surround them—into a strategy for forgetting about revolution in every country. In fact, Khrushchev announced, the working class and its allies worldwide should give up the struggle to overthrow their oppressors and instead pin their hopes on "peaceful transition to socialism" by which he meant that the exploited and oppressed should chase the dream of cooperation with their masters instead of taking advantage of every opportunity to build the fight against them and their rule.

The Communist movement of the whole world found itself at a crossroads. First, the social basis that had given rise to Khrushchev—bourgeois elements within the Party—also existed within the Chinese and all the other Parties, and Khrushchev's attacks on socialism called them to spring into action. Because of the high prestige of the USSR during Lenin and Stalin's lifetimes and the extensive relations between the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and other parties, Khrushchev was able to wield a great deal of influence and connections within the other parties, and he didn't hesitate to use them any way he could.

He made full use of economic ties to try to blackmail China and other socialist countries into following the Soviet Union down the capitalist road—in other words, to become Soviet colonies—and didn't hesitate to threaten them with the USSR's military might as well.

All this made the struggle against Soviet revisionism and defence of the correct Communist line for the international working class a matter of life and death for China and the revolutionary struggle everywhere.

The most important thing was to show in what direction the line put out by Khrushchev was leading and how this related to the tasks of the working class in every country overall. At conferences of the Communist and Workers parties of the world in 1957 and 1960, China, along with Albania, while striving to maintain the unity of the international Communist movement, worked to rally the leadership of the other parties against Khrushchev's attempts to impose the revisionist line and reverse the direction of the working class' march.

The Soviets retaliated by withdrawing overnight all their advisors and technicians from China, ripping up the blueprints for hundreds of plants in China which remained half-built, and going even further in an attempt to bring tiny Albania to heel. They also began to parade their hatred for China and Albania in front of the U.S. imperialists and other reactionaries, claiming that these two socialist countries were run by madmen who wanted to start a new world war.

International Communist Movement

With the Soviet Union itself now shattering the world Communist movement, the Chinese Communist Party, under Mao's leadership, worked to rally and unite the world's proletarian revolutionaries to continue to advance the working class cause. The Central Committee of the Communist Party of China, led by Mao, its Chairman, wrote a series of polemics refuting Khrushchev's poison and analyzing the concrete conditions in the world and the tasks of the revolutionary proletariat. The first of nine major polemics said, "In the last analysis, it is a question of whether or not to accept the universal truth of Marxism-Leninism, whether or not to recognize the universal significance of the October Revolution [in the Soviet Union], whether or not to accept the fact that the people still living under the imperialist and capitalist system, who comprise two-thirds of the world's population, need to make revolution, and whether or not to accept the fact that the people already on the socialist road, who comprise one-third of the world's population, need to carry their revolution forward to the end."

For the working class of all countries, both those out of power to whom the capitalists gleefully crowed that what had happened in the USSR proved real and lasting revolution impossible, and those in power who faced the danger of capitalist restoration, it was most important to sum up how this Soviet reversal had occurred and so to turn this setback into strengthened understanding and ability to fight against it.

This was the problem Mao addressed in *On the Correct Handling of Contradictions Among the People*, written in 1957. Here he summed up the experience of a recent uprising in Hungary which aimed at restoring capitalism and reactionary rule, and summing up how things stood in China and with the experience of the Soviet Union, he warned that even under socialism the question of who will win out, the proletariat or the bourgeoisie, is not yet settled.

In the polemics with the Soviet Union, which Mao led, the Soviet nonsense that classes no longer existed in the USSR was refuted. So too the theory of the danger of capitalist restoration was still more clearly hammered out. This was done at the very time of the



Mao Tsetung talking with workers at a steel plant in Anhwei Province in 1959. Mao never ruled over the Chinese people—on the contrary he led them in becoming, for the first time, the masters of their own destiny.

actual restoration of capitalism in the USSR, making the question crucially important and proving the correct and timely nature of Mao's warnings.

But far from being warned, the reactionaries within the Chinese Communist Party were made more bold by the success of their kind in the USSR and tried harder than ever to grab China for themselves. A few leading rightists who engaged in actual sabotage were dismissed from office, but this didn't do more than cut the tops off the weeds—it didn't touch the soil that they grew from.

These would-be Khrushchevs took full advantage of difficulties that arose in China during the Great Leap, the damaging economic sabotage by the USSR and three years of natural disasters in order to push their line. They claimed all this talk about class struggle was disruptive and what the country needed was to concentrate on increasing production. They tried to reduce Mao to a figurehead and undo everything he did and stood for, all the while publicly proclaiming to hold him in the highest honor. They didn't dare attack him openly because of the deep respect and love of the Chinese masses for Mao and his leadership.

Cultural Revolution

Finally, beginning in 1966, there came something new in history. Under Mao's leadership the Chinese working people in their millions developed the method to knock down these would-be vampires and turn the tide. This was the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution (see article page S/12).

This great struggle was a massive breakthrough in continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat—Mao's greatest contribution of all. His teachings on this have been a tremendous inspiration and a bright beacon of hope all over the world, because at the very moment in which the working class struggle was so badly set back, it was Mao who showed the class nature and basis of what had happened and how it was not inevitable. In fact it was Mao Tsetung who led the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution which beat back the revisionist tide in China and became a powerful demonstration to people all over the world of the truth and power of Marxism in today's world.

Mao led the Party in applying this understanding to the world situation today, developing the important analysis that there are two imperialist superpowers, the U.S. and USSR, both great enemies of the world's peoples. Their contention is leading towards world war. It was Mao who made the greatest contribution to understanding the class nature of the Soviet Union—"the rise to power of revisionism means the rise to power of the bourgeoisie," he said—so that the class nature of the superpower conflict can be understood and the revolutionary cause march forward through this storm.

At every crucial crossroads for the Chinese revolution, and the crucial crossroads for the whole international working class in the contemporary world, it was Mao Tsetung who was able to analyze the situation and show the way forward. And in the course of this he further developed Marxism and trained millions in its use so that the working class could make mighty strides in transforming China and the world.

His leadership brought the hope of revolution to uncounted millions, even when the proletarian cause seemed to be most doubtful, and more than hope, the understanding and methods to advance the struggle step by step toward final victory, towards ripping out the very roots of all exploitation and oppression once and for all.

Mao Tsetung was the greatest Marxist-Leninist of the contemporary era. For the working class and the oppressed of the whole world he was our great teacher and guide. His gigantic contributions live on. ■

Hua's Speech...

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the contemporary era. With the great boldness and vision of a proletarian revolutionary, he launched the great struggle in the international communist movement to criticize modern revisionism with the Soviet revisionist renegade clique at the core, brought about the vigorous development of the cause of the world proletarian revolution and the cause of the people of all countries against imperialism and hegemonism, and pushed the history of mankind forward. Basing himself on the principle of integrating the universal truth of Marxism-Leninism with the concrete practice of the revolution, Chairman Mao summed up the experience of domestic and international revolutionary struggles, inherited, defended and developed Marxism-Leninism in all respects and enriched the treasure-house of Marxist theory. Mao Tsetung Thought is a powerful ideological weapon for opposing the bourgeoisie and all other exploiting classes and for opposing imperialism, social-imperialism and the reactionaries of all countries. **The correctness or incorrectness of the ideological and political line decides everything.** All victories won by the Chinese people are great victories of Mao Tsetung Thought. Mao Tsetung Thought will always illuminate the Chinese people's road of advance.

Chairman Mao Tsetung is a brilliant example of wholehearted devotion to the interests of the people of China and the world. Chairman Mao dedicated all his energies throughout his life till his last breath to the liberation of the Chinese people, to the emancipation of the oppressed nations and oppressed people the world over, and to the cause of communism. A great proletarian revolutionary like Chairman Mao, who weathers all kinds of revolutionary storms, overcomes every difficulty and hardship, and always identifies himself with the workers, peasants and other labouring people and stands in the van of the revolutionary movement to guide it forward, is rare indeed in the annals of the proletarian revolutionary movement. The magnificent contributions Chairman Mao made in revolutionary theory and practice are immortal. Chairman Mao has passed away. This is a loss beyond measure to our Party, our army and the people of all nationalities of our country, to the international proletariat and the revolutionary people of all countries and to the international communist movement.

The whole Party, the whole army and the people of all nationalities throughout the country must respond to the call of the Party Central Committee actively, turn grief into strength, carry on the cause left behind by Chairman Mao, **"Practise Marxism, and not revisionism; unite, and don't split; be open and aboveboard, and don't intrigue and conspire"** and, under the leadership of the Party Central Committee, carry through to the end the cause of the proletarian revolution in China which Chairman Mao pioneered.

Internally, we must conscientiously study Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought, take class struggle as the key link, adhere to the basic line and the policies of the Party for the entire historical period of socialism, persevere in continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat, consolidate the great unity of the people of all nationalities led by the working class and based on the worker-peasant alliance, deepen the struggle to criticize Teng Hsiao-ping and repulse the Right deviationist attempt to reverse correct verdicts, consolidate and develop the victories of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, combat and prevent revisionism, consolidate the dictatorship of the proletariat, maintain independence and keep the initiative in our own hands and rely on our own efforts, work to build our country into a powerful socialist state, and strive to make a greater contribution to humanity. We are determined to accomplish the sacred cause of liberating Taiwan and reunifying our motherland.

Externally, we must continue to carry out resolutely Chairman Mao's revolutionary line and policies in foreign affairs, uphold proletarian internationalism, and never seek hegemony. We must strengthen our unity with the international proletariat and the oppressed nations and oppressed people the world over, strengthen our unity with the people of the third world countries, and strengthen our unity with all the countries subjected to aggression, subversion, interference, control or bullying by imperialism and social-imperialism so as to form the broadest possible united front against imperialism, in particular against the hegemonism of the two superpowers, the Soviet Union and the United States. We must unite with all genuine Marxist-Leninist Parties and organizations in the world and wage a common struggle for the abolition of the system of exploitation of man by man and the realization of communism on earth, for the liberation of all mankind!

Chairman Mao Tsetung will live forever in our hearts!
Long live invincible Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought!

Long live the great, glorious and correct Communist Party of China!

Eternal glory to the great leader and teacher Chairman Mao Tsetung! ■

Cultural Revolution: Breakthrough On the Road to Communism

In 1949 the Chinese Revolution won basic country-wide victory, freeing all of China except Taiwan (and the provinces of Tibet and Sinkiang, liberated a bit later) from the rule of foreign imperialism, the landlords and the bureaucrat capitalists. Having driven the remnants of Chiang Kai-shek's army from the mainland and crushed the reactionary classes militarily, the working class of China led by its Communist Party and in close alliance with the peasantry and other revolutionary sections of the people established its own rule and began building a New China.

On that momentous day, October 1, 1949, Mao Tse-tung stood on the rostrum at Tien An Men square and declared, to the jubilation of the assembled masses, "The Chinese people have stood up!"

But shortly before this historic occasion Mao pointed out, "To win country-wide victory is only the first step of a long march of ten thousand *li*. Even if this step is worthy of pride, it is comparatively tiny; what will be more worthy of pride is yet to come. After several decades, the victory of the Chinese people's democratic revolution, viewed in retrospect, will seem like only a brief prologue to a long drama. A drama begins with a prologue, but the prologue is not the climax. The Chinese revolution is great, but the road after the revolution will be longer, the work greater and more arduous." (*Report to the Second Session of the Seventh Party Congress*)

Mao showed how the decisive conflict in society—the principal contradiction—had become the one between the working class and the bourgeoisie. He showed how this was a life and death question for the Chinese people—whether the revolution would continue to advance toward the ultimate goal—a society free of exploitation and oppression, communism (classless society) or whether China would be dragged down the road to capitalism, with all of the exploitation and misery it means for the masses of people.

In a short period of time great victories were won in the battle to build a socialist China. By 1956 the great bulk of China's industry had been expropriated from the old exploiters and made the property of the socialist state—that is, the collective property of the whole people.

In the countryside a mass movement grew which led to the collectivization of the land, a system under which the great bulk of the land and agricultural implements became the collective property of the peasants who tilled the fields. Thus it was possible to say in 1956 that socialist forms of ownership in industry and agriculture had been established (although the struggle to build People's Communes, a higher form of collective ownership by the peasants, developed a few years after this).

But, as Karl Marx pointed out almost 100 years ago in *Critique of the Gotha Programme*, socialist society is "in every respect, economically, morally and intellectually, still stamped with the birth marks of the old society from whose womb it emerges."

This was certainly the case in the new People's Republic of China. China still suffered the scars from centuries of domination by foreign imperialism and the rule of the landlords and dependent capitalists allied with them.

Legacy of Past

When the working class and the masses seized power in China they inherited a legacy of extreme poverty and backwardness. Nowhere was this more obvious than in China's vast countryside where 80 to 90% of the population lives. The peasants toiled the land with little more than a few draft animals and the most primitive agricultural implements. Tractors and the like were virtually unknown to the peasantry.

In the large cities where China's working class was concentrated the old society also left its stamp. Imperialists had only developed those industries that would insure them a tremendous profit and fit into their global schemes of exploitation, leaving gaping holes in China's economy. The workers had been deprived of virtually any education at all, making it necessary to utilize many of the old exploiters and their "experts" in running industry and other spheres of society. The wage system continued to exist, including significant differences in pay for those involved in different types of work.

In addition to these, society was still stamped ideologically (or as Marx said, "morally") with the

birth marks of the old society. Thousands of years of exploitation and class society had left its mark on the way people thought. Ideas of "looking out for number one" had been fostered by the capitalists and other exploiting classes and also reflected, to a certain degree, the harsh realities of trying to survive in the old society. In China there was also the poison of Confucianism, the ideological prop of China's feudal rulers for thousands of years, which preached submission to authority, belief in fate, and disdain for those who did manual labor.

All of these things posed serious problems that had to be solved to advance the revolution in China. How would China develop her industry—through reliance on the working class or through reliance on importing technology and machinery from abroad? How would China train the technical personnel necessary for developing a modern society—by relying on the methods of the imperialists and exploiters or by raising the level of expertise among the workers as a whole, training "red experts" from the ranks of the workers and closely linking it with the class struggle and the battle for production? How would the backwardness in China's countryside be eliminated—by leaving things virtually unchanged until industry could provide the basis for the mechanization of agriculture or by unleashing and organizing the force of the peasantry themselves to rely mainly on their own efforts and collective strength in building up agriculture?

All of these questions were not simply points of abstract debate but of sharp class struggle. There were those in important positions within the leadership of the factories, educational circles, the countryside, and most importantly within the Communist Party itself who resisted and opposed the measures to attack and wipe out step by step these remnants of the old society and advance forward toward communism.

Loss of Soviet Union

In 1956, at the same time it was possible to say in China that the socialist ownership of the means of production had in the main been established, a development took place in the Soviet Union that was to have profound significance for China and indeed for the whole world.

Nikita Khrushchev gave his infamous "report" at the 20th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. The report was the signal for all those within the Soviet Union and the Soviet Party who wanted to restore the capitalist system that they would now be given free rein. In his "secret speech" he launched a vicious assault on the accomplishments of Joseph Stalin (who had died a few years earlier) and on basic tenets of Marxism-Leninism. All in all, it represented the capture of the Soviet Union, the world's first socialist state, from within, by a new capitalist element hell-bent on restoring capitalist society. This society, like the U.S. and other imperialist powers, was based on the exploitation of the great majority of the people by a handful who used the power of the state (army, police, courts, government, etc.) to protect their wealth and privilege and keep the masses of workers in wage slavery.

The loss of the Soviet Union to the capitalist class, though it can only be temporary, was a tremendous setback to the world revolutionary struggle. The majority of the Communist Parties that had made up the Third International (Comintern) and had, in the main, led the working class in waging revolutionary struggle, abandoned the cause of revolution and communism.

As could be expected, the capitalists throughout the world were delighted by this situation. They jumped up and down about how the degeneration of the USSR "proved" what they had been saying all along, that it was "human nature" for a few to rule over the many, for society to be divided into classes and for the majority to spend their lives working only to see the product of their labor go to enrich their oppressors.

Using the decay of the Soviet Union as a major weapon, the capitalists declared that the goal of communism—classless society—was an impossible illusion offered to the oppressed by crafty manipulators seeking to overthrow one set of rulers only to establish their own regime of plunder and oppression.

But the reversal of the revolution in the USSR, its reemergence as a capitalist/imperialist power, could not reverse the direction of history. The whole of the history of society, the growth of the modern working class

and advanced means of producing the necessities of life, all have created the conditions for the advance to communism—for working class revolution and the step-by-step elimination through struggle of all the conditions that breed class divisions in society. Indeed, society demands that that advance take place.

While the workers of the Soviet Union were robbed of the fruits of their revolution, Mao Tse-tung was to initiate and lead a great upheaval of hundreds of millions, another revolution, which beat back attempts to drag China back down the road to capitalism and which became living proof for revolutionaries around the world that it was indeed possible for the working class and masses of people after having overthrown the exploiters to move step by step toward the elimination of classes and all the evils that flow from thousands of years of class exploitation.

This great upheaval of such significance for China and the world was the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution.

Despite the slanders of the capitalists in this country and throughout the world who portrayed the Cultural Revolution as either the cynical manipulation of the masses by Mao for the purposes of personal power or as sheer lunacy and fanaticism, the Cultural Revolution was, in fact, a fierce struggle between forces of the working class and representatives of the bourgeoisie.

It was a "power struggle" not in the sense the bourgeois commentators use, but a struggle over which class would wield political power; whether political power would be grabbed by representatives of a class of new exploiters. It was, in the final analysis, a battle over whether China would continue to advance toward communism or be hurled back onto the road of capitalism.

In 1957, at the crucial point of the Chinese Revolution when the socialist ownership of the means of production had in the main been established, and when revisionists had come to power in the Soviet Union, Mao Tse-tung was to develop the fundamental theoretical basis for the class struggle under socialism and the Cultural Revolution.

Victory Not Settled

In his great 1957 essay *On the Correct Handling of Contradictions Among the People* Mao pointed out, "The class struggle is by no means over. The class struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie, the class struggle between different political forces, and the class struggle in the ideological field between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie will continue to be long and tortuous and at times will even become very acute. 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 still not really settled.*" (emphasis added)

In this same work, Mao analyzed the relationship between the superstructure in socialist society (that is to say, the laws, the governmental institutions, the ideology of the Party and the masses, etc.) and the socialist economic base (the common ownership of the factories, land and other means of production). He points out how, in its main aspect, the socialist superstructure is in harmony with the socialist economic base leading to great strides in building a new, socialist China. At the same time he pointed out, "But survivals of bourgeois ideology, certain bureaucratic ways of doing things in our state organs and defects in certain links in our state institutions are in contradiction to the socialist economic base."

In this same work Mao analyzed the contradictions that exist in socialist society, dividing them into two categories, those between the people and the enemy (antagonistic) and those among the people themselves (non-antagonistic). He goes on to point out how these two types of contradictions must be handled in different ways, that while dictatorship must be exercised over the reactionary classes, contradictions among the people must be handled by democratic methods.

Mao notes "contradictions among the people comprise the contradictions within the working class, the contradictions within the peasantry...the contradictions between the working class and the peasantry, the contradictions between the workers and peasants on the one hand and the intellectuals on the other," etc. He goes on to say, "In ordinary circumstances, contradictions among the people are not antagonistic. But if they are not handled properly, or if we relax our vigilance and lower our guard, antagonism may arise."

The reason for referring at such length to Mao's 1957 work is that it represented a major theoretical advance of Marxism-Leninism, stating explicitly for the first time that class struggle still exists even after the socialist ownership of the means of production is in the main established, and linking it with remnants of capitalist society, reflected sharply in the superstructure, and with remnants of bourgeois ideology.

While the writings of Marx and Lenin on the dictatorship of the proletariat (working class rule) provided much of the basis for Mao Tse-tung to draw these conclusions, neither of them lived to see the initial task of socialist construction accomplished (establishing col-

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lective ownership of the means of production). They had not thoroughly analyzed this question. Stalin, despite his great overall contribution to the international communist movement, made some serious mistakes on this point, holding that classes had been eliminated in the Soviet Union with the transformation to socialist ownership (though, especially in his later years, Stalin did note that the contradiction between the economic base and the superstructure still existed in the Soviet Union.)

The developments of the revolution in China over the next decade were to show how critical, and how correct, Mao's thesis was.

In the course of the debate with Soviet revisionists the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China led by its chairman, Mao Tsetung, amplified on the point made by Marx in *Critique of the Gotha Program*: "In socialist society, the difference between workers and peasants, between town and country, and between manual and mental laborers still remain, bourgeois rights are not yet completely abolished, it is not possible 'at once to eliminate the other injustice, which consists in the distribution of articles of consumption "according to the amount of labor performed" (and not according to needs),' and therefore differences in wealth still exist. The disappearance of these differences, phenomena and bourgeois rights can only be gradual and long drawn out." (from *On Khrushchev's Phoney Communism and Its Historical Lessons for the World*)

Material Base of Capitalism

These "birthmarks of the old society" provide the material basis for the reemergence of a new bourgeoisie from within the socialist society, as Mao and the Communist Party of China were able to see from the capture of the Soviet Union from within as well as from what Mao and others saw developing within China.

Mao was to point out after the Lin Piao affair (described later in this article) that "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."

What both of these quotations point to is that material conditions still exist in socialist society which stand in the way of achieving a communist, classless society. These same conditions breed inequality, they are the soil that breeds a new bourgeoisie, which seeks to capitalize on this inequality for its own gain and power. For all of these reasons the dictatorship of the proletariat remains necessary for an entire historical epoch.

Some examples should help to clarify this point. The fact that the wage system still exists, that workers are paid according to their work, is itself a source of inequality under socialism. A young couple with no children who both work will, under the social-

ist system, be considerably better off than others who must provide for large families on the same wages. This is why "equal pay for equal work" is, as an expression of *formal equality*, a reflection of *actual inequality*. It is itself a bourgeois category, a reflection of *bourgeois right* referred to above, which can and must be *restricted* step by step under socialism but cannot be totally eliminated until communism is achieved.

Similarly, the dramatic cleavage between the cities and the countryside in China (far more pronounced than even in our own country) creates serious difficulties that must be overcome in building socialism in China and advancing toward communism. The system of ownership in the countryside in China is not (and cannot be at the present stage of development) ownership by the whole people through the socialist state. The land and other means of production are owned collectively by different large groups of peasants who do not receive wages but receive a portion of the value of what their production unit is able to produce. This means among other things that those working fertile farmland will enjoy a considerably higher standard of living than those working poor land.

The divisions of labor in society, especially between mental and manual labor, also provide the basis for the development of new bourgeois strata. As long as it is necessary for a section of people to be mainly involved in administrative and other "mental" work (teachers, journalists, artists, etc.) the strong tendencies exist for their position in society to be turned into capital, for them to demand a high price (politically as well as monetarily) for their monopoly on certain skills, and to turn administration over socialist enterprises into personal control over them.

Mao summed all this up when he said, "Lenin said that 'small production engenders capitalism and the bourgeoisie continuously, daily, hourly, spontaneously and on a mass scale.' They are also engendered among a part of the working class and of the Party membership. Both within the ranks of the proletariat and among the personnel of the state and other organs are people who take to the bourgeois style of life."

All of this does not mean that it is inevitable that all of those, for example, in administrative positions will desert the working class. Mao always argued that 90% of the cadres of the Party were basically good, and that the great majority of those doing mental work can be united with and their political understanding advanced.

Struggle in the Party

But what it does mean is that where classes exist, as they do in socialist society, and where the conditions exist that constantly give rise to a new bourgeois stratum, it is inevitable that people will come forward as the political representatives of a new bourgeoisie and seek to grab power. While struggle had always existed in the Communist Party of China (as it does in all communist parties), under socialism this struggle assumes a new significance. The Party itself, which plays the leading role in the state and other social institutions, becomes the focal point of the political struggle in society, which in turn is a reflection of the actual *class relations* in society.

In the Communist Party of China there rose time and again forces, representing a new bourgeoisie, which fought against the struggle of the working class to dig up the soil that gives birth to new bourgeois elements. They fought against anything which restricted their own position of privilege and power.

The key to waging class struggle under the dictatorship of the proletariat, the key to further revolutionizing society, is the *correct ideological and political line* of the Party as expressed in concrete policies. The key battle is the fight to defeat the revisionist line as it appears in the Party and to expose and defeat those handful of leading members who inevitably emerge as representatives of revisionism and the bourgeoisie (known as "capitalist roaders") and just as inevitably attempt to seize political power away from the proletariat.

Summing up the experience of the dictatorship of the proletariat, Mao stated explicitly in 1964, "The main target of the present movement is those Party persons in power taking the capitalist road." Just as *On the Correct Handling of Contradictions Among the People* laid the *theoretical* basis for the Cultural Revolution, the summation of the experience of the class struggle in China and the restoration of capitalism in the USSR laid its *political* foundation.

Still, the question remained *how* can the working class weed out those persons in authority taking the capitalist road and how can the working class and the masses of people be mobilized in their hundreds of millions to restrict and eventually eliminate those remnants of the old society which create the material basis for the reemergence of a new bourgeoisie?

Since liberation in 1949, and especially since the basic establishment of socialist ownership of the means of production in 1956, Mao had led repeated struggles against those forces in the Communist Party whose line would have dragged the country back to capitalism. In the course of these struggles, counter-revolutionaries had been exposed and removed from office. Yet despite repeated inner-Party struggles, dismissals from of-

fice, and wide-scale mass campaigns, key sections of the Party, state institutions and enterprises remained in the hands of capitalist roaders. The danger of the emergence of full-scale revisionism in China, in an immediate sense, was very real.

Liu Shao-chi, the President of the People's Republic of China prior to the Cultural Revolution and second only to Mao within the Party, had consolidated a revisionist line and dreamed of becoming China's Khrushchev. On virtually every important question posed by the Chinese Revolution, Liu had opposed the Marxist-Leninist line of Mao.

He had preached the "dying out of class struggle" in socialist China, he had opposed Mao's line and practice of taking class struggle as the key link in building socialism and instead promoted the revisionist "theory of the productive forces" which holds that once the working class has made revolution the key to advancing toward "communism" is simply developing the productive forces of society, as if communism was simply a matter of material abundance and not of eliminating the differences between city and countryside, mental and manual labor, the raising of the consciousness of the masses, etc.

In the early '60s as Mao led the criticism of modern revisionism in the Soviet Union and led the socialist education movement in China, Liu Shao-chi, feeling the heat, became all the more brazen in his opposition to Mao and the proletarian political line. He tried to sabotage the socialist education movement—a campaign to raise the consciousness of the masses on the need for class struggle—sending out orders which openly contradicted the directives issued by Mao for the course of that movement. Liu had great influence within the Party and set about cultivating a base among leading cadres in various institutions and enterprises.

Later, in 1969, Mao was to sum up about the period before the Cultural Revolution, "From my observations, I am afraid that in a fairly large majority of factories—I don't mean all or the overwhelming majority—leadership was not in the hands of real Marxists and the masses of workers. Not that there were no good people in the leadership of the factories. There were... But they followed that line of Liu Shao-chi's, just resorting to material incentive, putting profit in command, and instead of promoting proletarian politics, handing out bonuses, and so forth."

It is most likely that Mao could have mustered the support in the leading bodies of the Party to have Liu removed from his posts. But history had shown that revisionism could not be stopped simply by dismissal from office. The bourgeoisie is like the proverbial Hydra, if you chop off one of its heads it will surely grow a new one until the conditions in which it flourishes are eliminated.

In particular Mao summed up the experience of the Soviet Union under Stalin who had unmasked and deposed a series of counter-revolutionaries in leading positions in the Soviet Party. But because the masses had not been trained in struggle to recognize capitalist roaders when they appeared and had not been relied on to knock them down, after Stalin's death it was relatively easy for Khrushchev to seize political power.

In 1967, Mao summed up the experience of the struggle against revisionism this way: "In the past we waged struggles in the 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."

With this experience in mind, Mao personally kindled the fire of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, a movement unprecedented in history.

When the Cultural Revolution began it was directed at capturing for the working class spheres of the superstructure—education and culture—which had long been under the domination of bourgeois political lines in China.

Education and Culture

In any society the education of the youth and the literature, art, plays, movies, etc., play a critical role in shaping the ideological outlook of the masses. And Mao had once again stressed the importance of ideology when he pointed out in 1962, "To overthrow a political power, it is always necessary to create public opinion, to do work in the ideological sphere. This is true for the revolutionary class as well as the counter-revolutionary class."

By and large the educational system in China up until the Cultural Revolution had remained the same since before 1949. Entrance to the schools was determined, as it is in capitalist countries, on the basis of entrance examinations, grades and (in the case of China) on the political connections of one's parents. As a result, higher education remained mainly the preserve of children of the old exploiting classes and especially of Party cadre. Education still largely reflected the old society; there was still a great separation between theory and practice. It was not uncommon, for example, for students to spend years studying science and engineering and still have little practical knowledge of production processes. All of this tended to promote the in-

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Mao Tsetung in 1958, inspecting wall posters of the type that were later widely used by the Chinese masses in the Cultural Revolution to express their opinions of their leaders and debate political issues.

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equalities of the old society, the division between mental and manual labor, and fostered the formation of an elite within China.

The struggle on the educational front was particularly sharp and important because the capitalist roaders in China and the imperialists and revisionists abroad placed their hopes for a capitalist restoration in the young generation who had not gone through the hell of the old society or been tempered in long revolution to topple the old order.

The cultural field was also dominated by the revisionist line. The stages were dominated by ancient and foreign plays; most of the new works produced did not reflect the revolutionary struggle of the working class to remake society but concentrated instead on portraying society from an "objective" standpoint. The proponents of this claimed it stood above class conflict (just as bourgeois artists in this country talk about "art for art's sake") but in fact it represented the class outlook of the bourgeoisie. All of this prompted Mao to say about the Ministry of Culture, "If it refuses to change, it should be renamed the Ministry of Emperors, Kings, Generals and Monsters, the Ministry of Talents and Beauties or the Ministry of Foreign Mummies."

The battle over the line that would guide cultural work and education and for control for the key institutions in command of this aspect of society was very fierce because the stakes were so high. For the working class, control of these spheres was crucial to strengthen proletarian ideology, to create the "public opinion" necessary for the revolution to advance.

For Liu Shao-chi and the other capitalist roaders, maintaining control of education and culture was also crucial. They, too, needed to create "public opinion"—for a counter-revolutionary seizure of power. For this reason Liu and others protected and shielded bourgeois academic and cultural authorities from criticism and fought vigorously to oppose the revolution on the cultural and educational fronts.

The opening salvo of the Cultural Revolution was the criticism of a play (written by a vice mayor of Peking) entitled *Hai Jui Dismissed From Office*. The purpose of the play was to attack Mao Tsetung by historical allegory implying that the dismissal of P'eng Tehuai—a former Defense Minister thrown out of office for launching an attack on Mao's line for going all out to build socialism, to make a Great Leap Forward and to support the development of People's Communes in 1959—was unjust. (Political struggle through the use of historical allegory is common in China.)

An article criticizing *Hai Jui Dismissed From Office* was written, but because of Liu Shao-chi's complete control over the Peking Municipal Party Committee all of the Peking papers refused to print it and it took a trip by Mao himself to Shanghai in order to have the essay published.

May 16th Circular

This experience was just one of many that made it completely clear that the revolution in the ideological sphere could not be accomplished without, as Mao put it, criticizing and repudiating "Those representatives of the bourgeois who have sneaked into the Party, the government, the army and all spheres of culture, and to clear them out or transfer them to other positions." This instruction from Mao was contained in the May 16th *Circular of the Central Committee* in which Mao called the attention of the whole Party to the fact that "those representatives of the bourgeoisie...are a bunch of counter-revolutionary revisionists. Once conditions are ripe they will seize political power and turn the dictatorship of the proletariat into a dictatorship of the bourgeoisie."

This *Circular* was to set out the basic line and direction for the Cultural Revolution. Within a matter of weeks of its appearance the full fury of the Cultural Revolution was to break loose.

At Peking University the struggle between two lines had been brewing for awhile. As Mao had pointed out, "Wherever there is oppression there is resistance." The school administration had attempted to suppress 80 Party members who had been leveling criticism by locking them up in a hotel for seven months. Following the publication of the *Circular* one young teacher among the eighty wrote out a searing indictment of the head of the school and several other leading Party and governmental cadre for trying to suppress the Cultural Revolution and posted it on the wall (what is known in China as a "big character poster").

While the poster sent shivers of fear into the hearts of the capitalist roaders and other leaders wavered, Mao was quick to see the significance of this act of rebellion and gave it his full support. He ordered that the poster be broadcast and published in the press.

Within a day the walls of all of the schools of Peking were covered with posters expressing opinions on the Cultural Revolution and denouncing bourgeois academic authorities and capitalist roaders in the Party.

Mao was on a trip outside of Peking at the time and

the capitalist roaders within the Party lost no time in launching a counter attack. Work teams were sent by Liu Shao-chi to suppress the movement. They declared that attacking leading Party members was the same as attacking the Party itself, the Central Committee and Mao himself. They tried to contain the rebellion by locking the gates of the universities and preventing communication between the students. Revolutionary students fought back by forming organizations which came to be known as "Red Guards".

Mao called and presided over a meeting of the Central Committee where, by a bare majority, he was able to defeat the forces of Liu Shao-chi. The work teams were re-called from the schools, the Central Committee issued the 16 Point Decision which charted the direction of the Cultural Revolution, and Mao wrote his own big-character poster *Bombard the Headquarters* in which he declared "It is right to rebel against reactionaries."

From then on the Cultural Revolution grew both in size and scope involving literally hundreds of millions of people. Mass organizations sprang up everywhere and a period of intense and very complex struggle developed.

In the factories, workers organized revolutionary mass organizations. They vigorously criticized the line that Liu Shao-chi had promoted in the plants of material incentives, bonuses and so on. They hit hard at the practice that was common of the factory being run by a handful of administrators and "experts" without even consulting the workers. The workers insisted that Party cadre and technical personnel take part in productive labor side by side with the workers. As the Cultural Revolution progressed, workers took an increasingly active part in the overall struggle against the capitalist roaders in the Party.

The Cultural Revolution also had tremendous impact on the hundreds of millions of peasants in China. They rose up against the interference of capitalist roaders who claimed that the peasants could not rely on their own efforts in building up the socialist countryside, and they responded to Mao's call "in agriculture learn from Tachai" (a model village where peasants successfully overcame harsh conditions and serious natural disasters by taking class struggle as the key link and practicing self-reliance.)

Almost everywhere the revolutionary masses were split into several, conflicting mass organizations. Counter-revolutionaries wormed their way into the movement and tried to incite the masses to struggle against each other. Virtually every cadre of the Communist Party, dedicated revolutionaries as well as the handful of capitalist roaders, came under criticism, and in many cases under attack.

Within China there were many besides the capitalist roaders who saw the Cultural Revolution as a bad thing, fearing that the turmoil and disruption would undermine the very gains that had been made in building a socialist China. The imperialists and revisionists around the world were quick to let loose a howl of derision against the Chinese masses and step up their own efforts to overthrow working class rule there.

While there were excesses committed and mistakes made, Mao Tsetung held firm in upholding the Cultural Revolution. Mao understood that out of great turmoil comes great unity around the correct line and saw that the Cultural Revolution was the method by which the masses in their millions and millions could be mobilized to prevent the victory of revisionism, for the Party to be supervised by the masses of people, for millions to receive an education in class struggle and for new leaders to be tested amidst the storm.

Shanghai

In Shanghai in January 1967 the rebel organizations of the working class, allied with some Red Guard groups and led by some revolutionary leaders of the Communist Party, seized power and overthrew the old reactionary Shanghai Municipal Party Committee. As was the case with the first big character poster and the development of the Red Guards, Mao was quick to sum up the new advance in the class struggle and popularize it throughout the country. He put out the call, "Proletarian revolutionaries, unite and seize power from the handful of Party persons in power taking the capitalist road!"

The seizure of power by the working class in Shanghai was of great significance. For the first time, the question of removing capitalist roaders in power was settled by the direct action of the masses.

Mao also went on to sum up the experience of Heilungkiang Province and other provinces and municipalities and on this basis laid down guidelines for establishing revolutionary committees. These committees were composed of a "three-in-one" combination of revolutionary cadres, representatives of the People's Liberation Army and the revolutionary mass organizations.

Beginning with the January storm in Shanghai through September, 1969 revolutionary committees were established amidst extremely complicated and fierce class struggle. As Mao pointed out, "In the past, we fought north and south; it was easy to fight such wars. For the enemy was obvious. The present Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution is much more difficult than that kind of war." The problem is that those who commit ideological errors are mixed up with those whose contra-

dition with us is one between ourselves and the enemy, and for a time it is hard to sort them out."

During this long and complicated struggle to recapture political power in those areas where it had been usurped by the capitalist roaders, the People's Liberation Army (PLA) played an important role. Mao had called on the PLA to "support the broad masses of the Left" and representatives of the PLA participated in the revolutionary committees that were set up as new organs of power. But the role of the PLA was totally unlike the role of the army in capitalist society, where it is used to enforce a vicious dictatorship over the masses of people.

While the People's Liberation Army is a crucial component of the dictatorship of the proletariat in China and exists to defend working class rule from all who would overthrow it, Chinese and foreign reactionaries alike, its main role in the Cultural Revolution was a political one, not one of force, helping the masses to unite and carry through the tasks of the Cultural Revolution.

Once revolutionary committees had been established throughout China the task remained of completing what Mao called "struggle-criticism-transformation." Mao talked about how this process went, on the whole, in the factories: "Establishing a three-in-one revolutionary committee; carrying out mass criticism and repudiation; purifying class ranks; consolidating the Party organization; and simplifying the administrative structure, changing irrational rules and regulations and sending office workers to the workshops."

Role of the Working Class

Beyond the question of particular enterprises, the task remained of carrying through the process of struggle-criticism-transformation throughout the superstructure including the departments of culture, art, education, the press, etc. In this process the role of the working class as the leading revolutionary class in society stood out all the more sharply.

It was clear, for example, that on the campuses the students were incapable of advancing the Cultural Revolution on their own beyond a certain point, despite the tremendous role as revolutionary pathbreakers they had played in the beginning of the movement. The campuses were the scene of incessant (and sometimes bloody) conflict between different revolutionary mass organizations and anarchism and ultra leftism were rampant.

Mao Tsetung put forward the call that "the working class must exercise leadership in everything" and called on the workers to take command in transforming the superstructure. On July 27, 1968 mighty contingents of workers entered the universities. In one university in Peking where factional fighting had been particularly fierce, 30,000 members of the workers' militia marched unarmed on the campus in the face of physical assault which left several workers dead; they succeeded in turning factional warfare into political struggle.

Once occupying the leading positions in the universities, the workers and soldiers of the PLA led the students in uniting their ranks around the Marxist-Leninist line and getting down to the task of consolidating the victories won during the Cultural Revolution and transforming the whole educational system.

After revolutionary committees were formed and had established their authority over the state, municipal and provincial apparatus and similar committees were established in various schools, factories, communes and other institutions, a new stage began in the Cultural Revolution. The task remained of consolidating the control of the working class over every aspect of society, rectifying the ranks of the Communist Party and re-establishing leading bodies of the Party on various levels and beginning to further transform those practices and policies that conflicted with the advance of the revolution.

This question, too, was a question of class struggle. During the Cultural Revolution a great many of the old rules and regulations and ways of doing things had come under attack and numerous changes and reforms were suggested and implemented by the masses.

The changes brought about by the Cultural Revolution have led to great advances in digging up, step by step, the soil—material conditions—which gives rise to a new bourgeoisie and which blocks the advance of the socialist revolution.

Socialist New Things

These changes have come to be known as "socialist new things". The changes in the educational system, sending educated youth to the countryside, having administrative personnel participate regularly in productive labor, the practice of working extra hours voluntarily and without pay for the common good are all some of the sprouts that have arisen during the Cultural Revolution.

China's educational system, for one, has undergone great changes as a result of the Cultural Revolution. No longer are applicants to the universities judged on the basis of entrance examinations and grades. Instead, all graduates from China's equivalent of high schools go directly into the factories, communes or People's Liberation Army. Young people are chosen to attend the universities on the basis of recommendations of their fellow workers and members of the Party.

Steps have been taken to link studies with practical

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When the Cultural Revolution was in its early stages, Mao gave encouragement to the movement by reviewing mass rallies of young rebels and putting on a Red Guard armband himself.

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activities. It is now the regular practice for Chinese students to spend time working alongside workers in the factories and peasants in the fields. Many of the bourgeois methods of teaching, of concentrating on filling the student's head with disjointed (and often irrelevant) facts and then testing them to see how many they have remembered, have been greatly reduced. Mao always took a personal interest in the revolution in education. During the Cultural Revolution he made the suggestion that teachers should pass out their lecture notes in advance to the students. (He is also reported to have said that there is nothing wrong with falling asleep if lectures are boring and pointless!)

Similar sweeping reforms have been instituted in many other areas as well. Revolutionary images of workers and peasants have replaced landlords and various big shots on the stage of China's plays, movies and operas which reflect the revolutionary outlook of the proletariat. New leaders have emerged from the rank and file workers and peasants to take leading positions in the Party.

Of great significance is the liberating effect the Cultural Revolution had on the productive capacity of China, the ability of the masses to mobilize themselves and wield factories and other means of production to greatly increase the rapid development of industry, national defense and goods that fulfill the needs of the people. This is a direct result of putting proletarian politics in command. Where previously material incentives, bonuses and expertise had been seen as the key to increasing production, the Cultural Revolution proved that in Marx's words, "the greatest productive power is the revolutionary class itself."

By battering at Liu Shao-chi's political line and the practices and policies that flowed from it, the workers were able to organize their own ranks and by pooling their own knowledge based on accumulated experience in production and uniting with revolutionary cadres and scientific personnel, were able to accomplish things that all the bourgeois "experts" claimed were impossible. All of this was a stunning blow to the "theory of productive forces" which negated the decisive role class struggle plays in advancing the revolution and building up the productive capacity of the country. Mao summed this up in the slogan "Grasp revolution, promote production."

The course of any movement as profound and on such a mass scale as the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution is bound to be complex and full of twists and turns. The bourgeois headquarters led by Liu Shao-chi, which more or less openly opposed the Marxist-Leninist line fought for by Mao Tsetung, was shattered by the blows of the masses during the Cultural Revolution. But the shattering of Liu's bourgeois headquarters did not, and could not, eliminate the class struggle in the Party or prevent new representatives of the bourgeoisie from emerging who would inevitably pit their strength against the proletariat.

In the midst of the great upheavals that characterized the earlier stages of the Cultural Revolution, counter-revolutionaries quickly discovered that their best hope to protect themselves from the fury of the masses and to further their own ambitions for political power was to wrap themselves in the "red flag," to masquerade as upholders of Marxism-Leninism, Mao Tsetung Thought.

Such people often posed as "super-revolutionaries." They tried to "broaden the attack," trying to accomplish the dual task of knocking down many revolution-

aries, including many who had made mistakes, and shield the real targets of the Cultural Revolution—the handful of capitalist roaders holding high positions in the Party.

One of these who tried to use the Cultural Revolution to advance his own gains was Lin Biao, who was the Defense Minister and styled himself the Commander of the People's Liberation Army (PLA).

Lin Biao was always the first to shout "Long Live Mao Tsetung" and was never seen in public without his Mao button properly in place and waving a copy of the *Quotations from Mao Tsetung* in his hand. He tried to portray himself as Mao Tsetung's "closest comrade-in-arms" and his most loyal pupil. But despite all his revolutionary verbiage, Lin Biao was a counter-revolutionary to the core. His actions were guided by the aim of seizing political power for himself.

During the Cultural Revolution he tried to peddle idealism and metaphysics which both reflected his own bourgeois world outlook and attempted to disarm the masses ideologically and derail the Cultural Revolution.

He preached the absurdity, "making revolution in your soul," a very handy way of diverting the struggle away from making revolution against the capitalist roaders and fighting to revolutionize society.

Lin also preached the theory of "genius," holding that Mao Tsetung's great contributions did not result from his ability to apply Marxism-Leninism to China and sum up the experience of the masses in making revolution but from some magical property he was born with. This theory, too, had its political purpose, as well as reflecting Lin's own view that he himself was a "genius," and so was his son! Mystifying Mao's role could only make it easier for Lin to attack the very science which Mao had fought so hard for and made so many contributions to—Marxism-Leninism.

Lin Biao opposed the thoroughgoing study of Marxist-Leninist works, instead promoting the view that memorizing a few key quotations from Mao Tsetung was adequate. Mao and the Central Committee used Lin's downfall to further encourage leading Party members, the whole Party and the masses to engage in a thorough study of basic works of Marx, Engels, Lenin, Stalin and Mao. This was of great concern to Mao right up until his death.

Lin Biao's political fortunes began to soar during the "seizure of power" stage of the Cultural Revolution, when Mao issued the call for the PLA to "support the broad masses of the Left" and for revolutionary committees to be formed, including representatives of the PLA. As pointed out earlier, the PLA played an extremely important and positive role in the Cultural Revolution. But Lin tried to use his influence in the PLA (based mainly on his well-constructed facade of being Mao's "closest comrade-in-arms") to further his own bid for power. In particular Lin Biao took advantage of the fact that the turmoil of the Cultural Revolution had shaken the Communist Party from top to bottom, making it temporarily harder to rigorously apply Mao's principle that "the Party commands the gun, and the gun must never be allowed to command the Party."

Lin Biao hoped to use the Ninth Party Congress in 1969 to advance his ambitions. He gave behind-the-scenes support to Chen Po-ta, another capitalist roader in top Party leadership, who put forward a draft for the main report which held that the main task after the Ninth Congress was to develop production. This was simply a refurbished version of the "theory of the productive forces" that had been promoted by Liu Shao-chi. Mao and the Central Committee rejected this draft report prior to the Congress.

In other words, Lin sought to stop the Cultural Revolution, to freeze the class struggle, at a particular stage which had him at the apex of his power, designated as Mao's successor. As far as Lin Biao was concerned, what remained was for the workers to forget about class struggle, concentrate on production and be willing wage-slaves as Lin went about rigging up capitalism.

But wishes and realities are two different things, and class struggle goes on. The Cultural Revolution continued to dig at the soil that breeds capitalism and the "socialist new things" continued to sprout.

Lin Biao was frightened by the emergence of the socialist new things because they further restricted bourgeois right. In his secret diary, Lin called the May 7 Cadre Schools (which Mao had initiated as a place for cadre to study Marxism-Leninism and participate in productive labor) as "reform through forced labor in a disguised form." He slandered as "disguised unemployment" the practice of sending educated youth to the countryside, a critical measure for lessening the distinction between the town and the countryside and for guiding the youth to remain on the revolutionary path.

Opposed Mao

In August, 1970, an important meeting of the Central Committee took place at which Lin Biao and his supporters raised quite a storm, vigorously opposing Mao's line on the question of "genius" and acting according to a secret plan drawn up with other conspirators which amounted to plans for a counter-revolutionary coup d'état. Lin and his gang held sway for two and one half days at the Central Committee meeting

before Mao and other Marxist-Leninists were able to defeat him.

Lin Biao demanded that the post of President of the People's Republic of China be established. He did this knowing full well that Mao opposed re-establishing this position, the post held by Liu Shao-chi before the outbreak of the Cultural Revolution.

Lin hoped that if such a position was established he would be chosen to fill it, immediately or before too long. He wanted to build up a base of influence and control in the state institutions with which he could oppose and eventually depose the Central Committee of the Party led by Mao. After his defeat at the meeting Lin beat a hasty retreat and tried to cover his tracks.

Following the collapse of their plan to seize power peacefully at the Central Committee and seeing the imminent collapse of their fondest dreams, Lin and a handful of others drew up the Outline of "Project 571" in March 1971, which was a plan for an armed seizure of power and the assassination of Mao Tsetung. On September 13, after the coup had collapsed, Lin rushed to a plane and tried to escape to the Soviet Union. The plane crashed over Mongolia and Lin died, the death of a traitor and renegade.

The aborted coup attempt by Lin came before the struggle against his line had been able to be fully developed. It was precisely because Mao and others were waging this struggle that Lin Biao was forced to make such a desperate gamble.

Mao did not rest content with the fact that Lin Biao had been killed in his escape attempt. In accordance with his Marxist-Leninist understanding of the need to mobilize the masses to defeat the incorrect political line and to raise their level in the course of struggle, Mao used the Lin Biao affair to advance the class struggle.

The fact that Lin had been able to temporarily confuse and disorient many of the comrades on the Central Committee was itself very significant and pointed to the need to deepen the grasp of the whole Party, and especially its leading members, of Marxism-Leninism. Mao summarized the principle that "the correctness or incorrectness of the ideological and political line decides everything." This was of extreme importance in summing up Lin Biao and seeing that this episode involved more than just a clandestine conspiracy. Lin had a power base in the PLA and had himself officially designated as Mao's successor, but because his political and ideological line was wrong, because it represented a handful of old and new exploiters, his downfall was inevitable.

Hit Confucianism

Investigation into Lin's conspiracy revealed that he based much of his thinking on Confucius, whose teachings had been the main ideological prop of China's reactionary rulers for thousands of years. For example, Lin dreamed of establishing a dynasty, he hoped to seize power and pass it along to his son.

Confucianism still held a strong ideological hold in China, especially in the countryside. It was like a weight on people's backs. For example in some places good land was wasted for ancestral burial grounds because of the superstitions around ancestor worship which are a component part of Confucianism. Confucianism pushed the view that established things could not be changed and must not be challenged. It had left its ugly imprint on China's ideology, an ugly remembrance of China's centuries of feudalism like disfigured feet of the older women who had been subjected to the barbaric feudal practice of foot-binding in their youth.

Mao saw in Lin Biao's betrayal and his love for Confucius the opportunity to launch a mass campaign to hit at the remnants of Confucianism among China's people. He called for the Party and the masses of people to "criticize Lin Biao and Confucius."

The shattering of Lin Biao's clique, like the shattering of Liu Shao-chi's headquarters in the earlier stages of the Cultural Revolution, led to great advances on all fronts. "Socialist new things" continued to arise, spurred on by the victory won over Lin Biao and the movement to criticize Lin Biao and Confucius. Study of Marxist-Leninist theory and its application to the revolution in China blossomed and deepened throughout the country.

Production continued to boom ahead as the workers applied the slogan of "grasp revolution, promote production" more deeply, continuing to criticize and transform all of the bourgeois ways of doing things that hampered the socialist economic base.

But, as was the case with the shattering of Liu Shao-chi's line, the class struggle did not stop. As some problems were tackled and overcome, new ones arose. The "three great differences" still existed (between city and countryside, between workers and peasants, and between mental and manual labor). The commodity system, the eight-grade wage scale, manifestations of bourgeois right, still existed. The means of production, despite the great advances made during the Cultural Revolution, remained relatively backward. And there remained people in the Party who were not Marxist-Leninists but revisionists and who resisted the further

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Breakthrough...

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advance of the revolution.

The earlier stages of the Cultural Revolution had been marked by a period of great turmoil. Formal education stood at a standstill for several years, in many factories and other units production was disrupted for a time, and counter-revolutionaries had succeeded in promoting fighting among the revolutionary masses and directing the attack, at times, at honest revolutionaries. Mistakes had been made. Naturally the opponents of the revolution used these things to condemn the whole upsurge out-of-hand.

But as Mao had pointed out forty years earlier about the peasant uprising in Hunan province, "Proper limits have to be exceeded in order to right a wrong, or else the wrong cannot be righted. Those who talk about the peasants 'going too far' seem at first to be different from those who say 'It's terrible!' as mentioned earlier, but in essence they proceed from the same standpoint and likewise voice a landlord theory that upholds the interests of the privileged classes."

Terrible or Fine?

During the Cultural Revolution the question of whether "it's terrible" or (as Mao had said about the peasant uprising) "it's fine!" emerged time and again. As the revolution proceeded and deepened this question took particularly sharp form over how to evaluate the "socialist new things."

Naturally enough, new ways of doing things, new relationships between people that go against thousands of years of class society, are going to emerge into the world fragile like the first sprouts of a great tree and many mistakes are bound to be made. The question of whether to treasure and nourish the sprouts of communism, (that is, the new things which point to the future society coming into being without classes and exploitation of man-by-man) or whether to root them out under the guise of opposing their short-comings and mistakes is a critical question, a question of whether society will advance forward to communism or be dragged back to capitalism, a question of class struggle.

In China there were many who joined the Communist Party because it was the only force capable of leading the people to free China from the yoke of foreign imperialism and the rule of the landlords and bureaucrat capitalists, but who were not Marxist-Leninists and did not see communism, the final elimination of classes and exploitation, as the final goal of the struggle in China and throughout the world. Such people joined the Party organizationally (and some made important contributions) but ideologically they were bourgeois democrats. In the course of participating in the protracted revolutionary struggle, a great many of these people were won to the ideological and political stand of the working class, to Marxism-Leninism. But some were not.

After the seizure of power in 1949, some of these people supported, to varying degrees, the measures taken by Mao and the Communist Party to build a socialist China. This did not mean, in the case of many, that they had been won to the socialist revolution, but they could see that revolution was building up a new and more productive China.

But as the socialist revolution advanced, especially during the Cultural Revolution, as it more and more deeply and persistently dug away at the basis of power and privilege these people enjoyed even in the new socialist society, they came into increasing opposition to the socialist revolution. The contradiction between them and the working class which always had existed but had been, as Mao put it, a *non-antagonistic* one (one which could be settled through democratic methods of criticism and struggle) developed into an *antagonistic* contradiction between the people and the enemy. In short they became capitalist roaders.

Teng Hsiao-ping

One such person was Teng Hsiao-ping. Teng had been a follower of the revisionist line of Liu Shao-chi and had come under fierce attack during the Cultural Revolution. He had preached "whether it is a white cat or a black one, it is a good cat as long as it catches mice." This expression of *pragmatism* (a form of bourgeois ideology which says that whatever works is fine and it isn't possible or necessary to understand the laws governing things) was his justification for promoting capitalist methods and capitalist relationships in China.

If "material incentives," if the piece-rate system could be a basis on which to organize production, why not use it? If the factories could be run by administrators isolated from the masses, why not encourage it? In fact, if capitalism can "develop the country," why do you need revolution and socialism at all? This was Teng Hsiao-ping's outlook in a nutshell, an outlook that would in fact have led to economic stagnation, decay and crisis, as well as to the exploitation and oppression that capitalist society is based on.

During the early stages of the Cultural Revolution Teng had been driven from office. Teng made a "self-criticism" in which he solemnly declared that he would "never reverse correct verdicts," that he had learned from his mistakes and supported the results of the mass struggle.

During the later stages of the Cultural Revolution when the task of re-establishing Party committees at various levels was taken up in earnest, many of those who had been followers of the wrong line in the past and had been criticized by the masses were, on the basis of self-criticism, given new posts and the opportunity to correct their past mistakes and remold their world outlook in the course of struggle.

This was in keeping with Mao Tsetung's policy of fighting to save every possible person who could make contributions to the revolution and of narrowing the attack to the handful of die-hard counter-revolutionaries. Teng took advantage of this policy of Mao's to make his phony self-criticism and worm his way back into a leadership post in the Party.

But once Teng Hsiao-ping was returned to important positions in the Party and state he returned to his old ways. Under the guise of "modernizing China," Teng pushed virtually the identical line of Liu Shao-chi that had been repudiated.

Mao continued to grapple with the problem which he had concentrated on for over two decades: how to continue to wage the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat, to find the ways to ever-deepen the understanding of the working class and masses of people of the nature of the class struggle under socialism and the tasks of the revolution. He put forward the very important call, "Why did Lenin speak of exercising dictatorship over the bourgeoisie? It is essential to get this question clear. Lack of clarity on this question will lead to revisionism. This should be made known to the whole nation."

This call was of the greatest significance. He had summed up from the experience of the revolution in China that new capitalist roaders would emerge in the future and he linked combatting their efforts to capture power with exactly the question of arming the revolutionary masses with a deep and thoroughgoing understanding of *why* the dictatorship of the proletariat is essential.

Raising the question "*why*" pointed to the continued existence of bourgeois right nourishing tendencies toward capitalism, and for continued revolutionary struggle by the masses to eliminate it step by step to achieve communism.

On the basis of Mao's call the entire Party and masses launched into the study of the dictatorship of the proletariat and the class struggle under socialism, carefully studying the teachings of Marx, Engels, Lenin, Stalin and Mao on this point.

As this study led to the masses of people and Party members achieving a deeper and more thoroughgoing understanding of the nature of the class struggle under socialism, and especially as the study turned to the criticism of bourgeois right, of the need to attack and restrict it, once again the political representatives of the bourgeoisie within the Party leapt out, this time led by Teng Hsiao-ping.

In the summer of 1975, Teng and company launched a full-scale attempt to reverse the correct verdicts of the Cultural Revolution, to uproot the socialist new things that had developed and to replace the Marxist-Leninist line of Mao Tsetung with a revisionist line representing a new bourgeoisie.

Class Struggle Key Link

Once again Mao turned to that inexhaustible source of strength upon which he had based his every decision, the working class and the masses of people. He put forward the call that "class struggle is the key link." Once again articles appeared in the press denouncing the "capitalist roader in power taking the capitalist road" and big character posters appeared throughout China.

Mao pointed out, "With the socialist revolution they themselves come under fire. At the time of the cooperative transformation of agriculture there were people in the Party who opposed it, and when it comes to criticizing bourgeois right, they resent it. You are making the socialist revolution, and yet you 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."

The struggle to criticize Teng Hsiao-ping was over the same basic questions as the struggle against Liu Shao-chi in the early stages of the Cultural Revolution—whether to grasp class struggle as the key link or whether the main task was to build up the productive forces; whether to further restrict bourgeois right or whether to allow it to grow unchecked; whether the Chinese working class would be able to build up its industry through self-reliance or whether it would have to kneel down before the imperialist powers and rely on them for modern technology and equipment. Even many of the targets of the revolution (like Teng himself) were the very people who had been knocked down once before.

The bourgeoisie throughout the world, the host of revisionists and cynics who share their world outlook,

have their own explanation for this. History repeats itself, they say, and human nature reasserts itself. Now that Mao Tsetung, the great leader of the international proletariat, has passed away, they slander him declaring communism, the great goal to which he dedicated his life and which mankind will surely achieve, is an "idealist utopia." They chuckle with joy and ask the question, "How long will China continue to be wracked with internal dissension, with strife, with the turmoil that Mao's policies have brought?"

But the struggle to criticize Teng Hsiao-ping, that last major episode in the struggle against the exploiters that Mao waged until his dying breath, was not simply a rerun of the struggle against Liu Shao-chi, it was not an example of history moving in a constant circle.

On the contrary, the struggle to criticize Teng Hsiao-ping is a profound deepening and further extension of the victories won in the Cultural Revolution. Millions of people have, in the course of fierce struggle, gained a much deeper grasp of Marxism-Leninism, Mao Tsetung Thought, of the nature of the class struggle under socialism. They have learned to recognize more quickly and more profoundly the revisionist political line and policies that would rob the working class and the Chinese people of the fruits of their revolution and lead to the restoration of capitalist exploitation and misery.

Millions of working people have, under the leadership of Mao and the Communist Party, greatly deepened their grasp of conditions that stand in the path of their advance toward communism and that are the soil that breeds a new bourgeoisie. They have won great victories in digging up this soil, in taking steps to restrict bourgeois right, to narrow the difference between town and country, workers and peasants and mental and manual labor. The strength of their Party, the Communist Party, has further developed. They have brought forward and nurtured the sprouts of new relationships between people, which are not based on exploitation, or the exchange of commodities, or other reflections of bourgeois society but instead reflect, despite the contradiction and imperfections within them, the future society based on the conscious and voluntary union of all mankind to struggle and produce together for the benefit of all mankind.

Worldwide Significance

The Cultural Revolution, personally initiated and led by Mao Tsetung from its beginning skirmishes on the cultural and educational front through its extension and deepening in the movement to criticize Teng Hsiao-ping, is of tremendous significance not only for China but for the entire international proletariat. Its twists and turns, the emergence and re-emergence of representatives of the bourgeoisie within the working class' own political party, the Communist Party, are living evidence of the protracted and fierce struggle that will go on for generations until the achievement of the final goal of communism and emphasize the life and death question of maintaining political power in the hands of the working class, the dictatorship of the proletariat.

But even more importantly, this tremendous battle to continue the revolution forward is a source of great strength and revolutionary optimism. When the Soviet Union, the home of the first working class revolution, was captured from within by a new bourgeoisie who restored capitalist exploitation and oppression over the Soviet people and turned what was once the beacon pointing to the future for all of the world's revolutionary people into an aggressive imperialist power, great demoralization took place in the ranks of communists, workers and oppressed people.

A new generation of revolutionaries rising up to battle the old order, and seeing the USSR wrapped in the banner of Marx and Lenin, yet mirroring the same evils of the system of exploitation they saw in their own countries, were prey to those who claimed that Marxism-Leninism was not the science of revolution and that the working class was no longer the revolutionary class.

In the midst of this, Mao Tsetung kindled the sparks of the Cultural Revolution. He showed that the degeneration of the Soviet Union came because that country was no longer under the rule of the working class and had become, in fact, a capitalist power. He developed the theory of continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat and by rousing the masses in their hundreds of millions demonstrated to the world that the restoration of capitalism could be prevented and that the working class could lead the people in advancing step by step toward the goal of communism.

Just as Mao had written, "The salvos of the October Revolution brought Marxism-Leninism to China," so it can also be said that the reverberations of Mao's call, "It is right to rebel against reactionaries," as well as all of his other tremendous contributions to Marxism-Leninism and to the struggle of the international proletariat and the world's peoples, has spread Marxism-Leninism, Mao Tsetung Thought throughout the world and fired revolutionaries on every continent with a faith in the ultimate accomplishment of the goal of communism. ■