

NOTES ON MAO TSE-TUNG'S
"REPORT ON AN
INVESTIGATION OF THE
PEASANT MOVEMENT
IN HUNAN"

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PUBLISHER'S NOTE

The present book is a translation of reference material written by the editorial board of *Jiefangjun Bao (Liberation Army Daily)* as a guide for the cadres and fighters of the Chinese People's Liberation Army in their study of Chairman Mao's illuminating work: "Report on an Investigation of the Peasant Movement in Hunan".

**Quotation from
Chairman Mao Tse-tung**

A revolution is not a dinner party, or writing an essay, or painting a picture, or doing embroidery; it cannot be so refined, so leisurely and gentle, so temperate, kind, courteous, restrained and magnanimous. A revolution is an insurrection, an act of violence by which one class overthrows another.

"Report on an Investigation of
the Peasant Movement in Hunan"

Jiefangjun Bao editorial note:
“Report on an Investigation of the Peasant Movement in Hunan” which Chairman Mao wrote in 1927 is a brilliant Marxist-Leninist classic to guide the revolutionary movement of the proletariat and to solve the problems of the proletariat in leading the revolutionary struggle of the peasants.

In this great work Chairman Mao, with thorough proletarian revolutionary spirit, sang enthusiastically of the peasant movement, summed up with genius the experiences of this movement and denounced incisively all the slanders and attacks levelled by the class enemies against it, thus laying a solid ideological foundation for our Party's correct leadership of the mass movement and for the victorious development of our

country's revolution. This "Report" provides the finest example for every revolutionary in taking a correct attitude towards the mass movement. In the present great proletarian cultural revolution this work is of the greatest practical significance.

The great proletarian cultural revolution is a broader and deeper socialist revolution. The fundamental guarantee of the victory of this great revolution is the conscious participation by hundreds of millions of the revolutionary masses in the struggle. Launched and led by Chairman Mao himself, this revolution has developed into a great sweeping mass movement, shaking the whole nation and the whole world. The broad masses of workers, peasants and soldiers, Red Guards, revolutionary teachers and students, and revolutionary cadres have been opening fierce fire on the handful of Party persons who are in

authority and taking the capitalist road and on all the monsters and ghosts in society; they have risen to eradicate the old ideas, culture, customs and habits of the exploiting classes, establish the new ideas, culture, customs and habits of the proletariat and study and apply Mao Tse-tung's thought on a big scale, giving the whole of society a fresh mental outlook. They resolutely put into practice the proletarian revolutionary line represented by Chairman Mao and oppose the bourgeois reactionary line. Their general revolutionary orientation has been correct from the beginning and their revolutionary exploits are really fine! No wonder the class enemies both within and without desperately yell: "It's terrible!" This is because the more the revolutionary mass movement develops in breadth and depth the nearer our enemies are to their doom. Their shameful slanders are nothing new, for Chairman Mao

rebutted scathingly the same slanders as long as thirty-nine years ago.

Chairman Mao said: **“To be attacked by the enemy is not a bad thing but a good thing.”** The more the enemy curses us the more it is proved that what we have done is correct. We proletarian revolutionary fighters must always bear in mind Chairman Mao’s teachings, take a firm proletarian stand, see clearly the essence and main current of the revolutionary mass movement and resolutely support it. Together with the revolutionary masses we must resolutely carry the great proletarian cultural revolution through to the end.

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

Published in March 1927, the “Report on an Investigation of the Peasant Movement in Hunan” was written by Chairman Mao at a critical moment in the Chinese revolution

as a reply to the carping criticism, then being levelled both inside and outside the Party against the peasants’ revolutionary struggle and as a firm support for the peasants’ rising revolutionary movement. It is a brilliant Marxist-Leninist classic.

At the time the First Revolutionary Civil War (1924-27) fought under the leadership of the Chinese Communist Party was developing victoriously. The Northern Expeditionary Army, which started its advance from Kwangtung, had marched into the Yangtse valley, occupying half of the country. The workers’ and peasants’ mass movement developed vigorously. The earth-shaking peasants’ revolutionary struggle was advancing in a great sweep over the length and breadth of the country, especially in Hunan, the centre of the nation’s peasant movement, where it rose like a mighty storm, like a swift and violent hurricane. Millions of the peasant masses, overwhelming with force and momentum, had shattered the reactionary rule of the feudal landlord class, a great feat never before achieved in thousands of years.

Confronted by this excellent situation of fast-moving revolutionary development, the

forces of counter-revolution were seized with great panic. They rabidly opposed the Chinese Communist Party, opposed and undermined the peasant movement and suppressed the peasants' revolutionary struggle. While ready to openly strangle the Chinese revolution by force, imperialism was working overtime to foster the Right wing of the Kuomintang headed by Chiang Kai-shek which was hiding in the revolutionary camp. Showing his true colours, Chiang Kai-shek worked in alliance with all the forces of reaction to attack the masses of workers and peasants and by launching a counter-revolutionary massacre tried to smother the revolution.

The Right opportunists in the Party, headed by Chen Tu-hsiu, failing to understand the importance of the peasant question and hostile to the peasants' revolutionary struggle which they feared, opposed Chairman Mao's correct line; they practised capitulationism before the landlord and capitalist classes. Frightened by the counter-revolutionary adverse current of the Kuomintang reactionaries, they dared not support the great peasant movement but instead scurried after the landlord and capitalist classes and loudly attacked the peasant movement as "going too

far" and being "terrible". In order to appease the Kuomintang reactionaries, they insisted that the peasants should hand over the rural revolutionary political power and their armed forces to the landlord class. They preferred to desert the peasantry, the chief ally in the revolution, and thus left the working class and the Communist Party isolated and without help and led the revolution on to the road of defeat.

In these circumstances and with a view to leading and promoting the peasant movement, saving the revolution and defeating the enemy, Chairman Mao spent thirty-two days personally investigating the situation of the peasant movement in the five counties of Hsiangtan, Hsianghshiang, Hengshan, Liling and Changsha and then summed up the experiences of the peasant movement and wrote "Report on an Investigation of the Peasant Movement in Hunan". Solving a series of basic problems of the Chinese revolution, the *Report* thoroughly repudiated the attacks and slanders on the peasant movement by the landlord and capitalist classes as well as the Right opportunists inside the Party. This greatly inspired and supported the Chinese peasants' rising revolutionary

struggle, laying a solid ideological foundation for the victorious development of the Chinese revolution.

GREAT SIGNIFICANCE

Chairman Mao's "Report on an Investigation of the Peasant Movement in Hunan" is a brilliant document as a guide for the proletarian revolutionary movement. Proceeding from the most firm and most thoroughgoing revolutionary stand of the proletariat, Chairman Mao in this "Report" scientifically summed up the experiences of the peasants' revolutionary struggle led by the proletariat. He clearly pointed out the fundamental importance of the peasant problem, completely solved the central question concerning leadership of the proletariat — the question of the peasant as an ally in the revolution — laid down the Party's class line in the countryside, advanced for the first time the great strategic concept of the establishment of peasants' armed forces and peasants' political power led by the proletariat, enriched and developed in an all-round and creative way Marxist-Leninist theory on the peasant question, and

by so doing made great contributions to the treasurehouse of Marxist-Leninist theory.

The theory advanced by Chairman Mao in this work — the theory of proletarian leadership over the peasants' revolutionary struggle, the great theory of establishing peasants' armed forces and rural revolutionary political power, which was later developed into establishing revolutionary bases in the countryside, using the countryside to encircle the city and finally seizing the city — is the most precious treasure held in common by the Chinese people and the revolutionary people of the world. Like a bright beacon, it guided the Chinese revolution to great victory and points out to the revolutionary people of the world, especially the oppressed nations and peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America, the realistic way to liberation. With more and more revolutionary people grasping and applying this great theory, the development of the revolutionary cause of the people of the world will surely be given a powerful impetus while imperialism, its accomplices and lackeys will be buried once and for all.

In this great work Chairman Mao enthusiastically praised the revolutionary mass

movement with intense class feeling and in the most vivid language, thus greatly reinforcing the militant will of the revolutionary masses while deflating the arrogance of the landlord and capitalist classes. This work cut to the core of the revolutionary standpoint: to have faith in the masses, rely on them, boldly mobilize them and respect their initiative, thereby laying down the theoretical groundwork for the Party's mass line. Chairman Mao's theory concerning revolutionary mass movements will always remain for us the most fundamental guiding thought for promoting large-scale revolutionary mass movements, pushing forward the proletarian revolution and cause of construction; it will always remain the source from which stems the strength of the revolutionary people of the world in their fight for liberation.

The brilliant ideas in this work of Chairman Mao's are the guide to China's great proletarian cultural revolution, the powerful ideological method of us revolutionaries for examining questions, distinguishing right from wrong, smashing all forces of resistance and for promoting the victorious development of the revolutionary mass movement. A serious study of this work by Chairman

Mao and the use of its great thought as a guide to our thinking and action are of extraordinary significance for us in winning complete victory for the great proletarian cultural revolution.

SUMMARY

The "Report" is divided into eight parts:

1. **The importance of the peasant problem.** The present upsurge of the peasant movement is a colossal event. In a very short time, 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, gestic-

ulating and criticizing? Or to stand in their way and oppose them? Every Chinese is free to choose, but events will force you to make the choice quickly.

2. **Get organized!** The development of the peasant movement in Hunan may be divided roughly into two periods, that is, one of organization and the other of revolutionary action. It was on the strength of their extensive organization that the peasants went into action and brought about a great revolution in the countryside, a revolution without parallel in history.

3. **Down with the local tyrants and evil gentry! All power to the peasant associations!** The main targets of attack by the peasants are the local tyrants, the evil gentry and the lawless landlords, but in passing they also hit out against patriarchal ideas and institutions, against the corrupt officials in the cities and against bad practices and customs in the rural areas. In force and momentum the attack is tempestuous; those who bow before it survive and those who resist perish. As a result, the privileges which the feudal landlords enjoyed for thousands of years are being shattered to pieces. With the collapse of the power of the land-

lords, the peasant associations have now become the sole organs of authority and the popular slogan "All power to the peasant associations" has become a reality.

4. **"It's terrible!" or "It's fine!"** The patriarchal-feudal class of local tyrants, evil gentry and lawless landlords has formed the basis of autocratic government for thousands of years and is the cornerstone of imperialism, warlordism and corrupt officialdom. To overthrow these feudal forces through the rising of the broad peasant masses—this is the real objective of the national revolution. This is a marvellous feat never before achieved, not just in forty, but in thousands of years. It's fine. It is not "terrible" at all. It is anything but "terrible". "It's terrible!" is obviously a theory for combating the rise of the peasants in the interests of the landlords. No revolutionary comrade should echo this nonsense.

5. **The question of "going too far".** The talk about the peasants "going too far" in essence likewise voices a landlord theory that upholds the interests of the privileged classes. A revolution is not a dinner party, or writing an essay, or painting a picture, or doing embroidery; it cannot be so refined, so

leisurely and gentle, so temperate, kind, courteous, restrained and magnanimous. A revolution is an insurrection, an act of violence by which one class overthrows another. Without using the greatest force, the peasants cannot possibly overthrow the deep-rooted authority of the landlords which has lasted for thousands of years. The rural areas need a mighty revolutionary upsurge, for it alone can rouse the people in their millions to become a powerful force. All the actions which have been labelled as "going too far" are highly necessary in a period of revolution. Proper limits have to be exceeded in order to right a wrong, or else the wrong cannot be righted.

6. The "movement of the riffraff". All those whom the gentry had trodden into the dirt, people with no place in society, people with no right to speak, have now audaciously lifted up their heads, and have even taken power into their hands. The "movement of the riffraff" is entirely counter-revolutionary talk of the gentry and the Right wing of the Kuomintang.

7. **Vanguards of the revolution.** The poor peasants have always been the main force in the bitter fight in the countryside. They

are the most responsive to Communist Party leadership. They are deadly enemies of the camp of the local tyrants and evil gentry. They are not afraid of losing anything. They are the backbone of the peasant associations, the vanguard in the overthrow of the feudal forces and the heroes who have performed the great revolutionary task. The poor peasants, being the most revolutionary group, have gained the leadership of the peasant associations. Without the poor peasants there would be no revolution. To deny their role is to deny the revolution. To attack them is to attack the revolution. They have never been wrong on the general direction of the revolution.

8. **Fourteen great achievements.** (1) Organizing the peasants into peasant associations. (2) Hitting the landlords politically. (3) Hitting the landlords economically. (4) Overthrowing the feudal rule of the local tyrants and evil gentry—smashing the *tu* and *tuan*.¹ (5) Overthrowing the armed forces

¹ In Hunan, the *tu* corresponded to the district and the *tuan* to the township. The old administrations of the *tu* and *tuan* type were instruments of landlord rule over the peasants.

of the landlords and establishing those of the peasants. (6) Overthrowing the political power of the county magistrate and his bailiffs. (7) Overthrowing the clan authority of the ancestral temples and clan elders, the religious authority of town and village gods, and the masculine authority of husbands. (8) Spreading political propaganda. (9) Peasant bans and prohibitions. (10) Eliminating banditry. (11) Abolishing exorbitant levies. (12) The movement for education. (13) The co-operative movement. (14) Building roads and repairing embankments. The fourteen great achievements of the peasants are fine. Those Rightists who talk about revolution are scared to death when the masses do rise.

MAIN POINTS FOR STUDY

As we study this great work during the current great proletarian cultural revolution, we should pay special attention to grasping the following questions:

1. THE REVOLUTIONARY CAUSE OF THE PROLETARIAT IS THE CAUSE OF THE MASSES OF THE PEOPLE THEMSELVES. WITHOUT A GREAT MASS MOVEMENT, THERE CAN BE NO PROLETARIAN REVOLUTION.

Chairman Mao says: "A revolution is an insurrection, an act of violence by which one class overthrows another."¹ Class struggle is a fierce, life-and-death struggle. All exploiting classes are alike in that they will not quit the stage of history of their own accord. Only by relying on a great mass movement with the conscious participation of the broad masses can the proletariat overthrow the reactionary rule of the exploiting classes, set up and consolidate political power under the proletarian dictatorship and win complete victory for the proletarian revolution.

Chairman Mao points out in the "Report":

The patriarchal-feudal class of local tyrants, evil gentry and lawless landlords has formed the basis of autocratic govern-

¹ Mao Tse-tung, "Report on an Investigation of the Peasant Movement in Hunan", *Selected Works*, Eng. ed., Foreign Languages Press, Peking, 1965, Vol. I, p. 28.

ment for thousands of years and is the cornerstone of imperialism, warlordism and corrupt officialdom. . . . Without using the greatest force, the peasants cannot possibly overthrow the deep-rooted authority of the landlords which has lasted for thousands of years. The rural areas need a mighty revolutionary upsurge, for it alone can rouse the people in their millions to become a powerful force.¹

It was precisely amid a surging revolutionary tide that the peasants of Hunan had grown into a mighty irresistible force, crashing heavily against the power of the feudal landlords to shake the very foundation of feudal rule and thus performed a unique feat never before achieved in thousands of years. Today, in the high tide of the great proletarian cultural revolution, the valiant revolutionary Red Guards and revolutionary students and teachers, with the enthusiastic support of the broad masses of workers, peasants and soldiers, have hurled forward like a thunderbolt, making advances and storming fortresses; in a very short time they have created utter consternation among those inside the Party who

¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 27 and 28.

are in power and taking the capitalist road, as well as the bourgeois reactionary academic "authorities"; one by one, they have dragged out those old parasites, bloodsuckers and enemies of the people who have hidden in the dark corners. They have unearthed and put on exhibition these scoundrels' concealed gold, silver, and other valuables, various kinds of secret accounts hidden to await the hoped-for restoration, and murderous weapons. They have swept away the old customs and habits of all the exploiting classes like rubbish out the door. They have done innumerable good deeds, scored brilliant achievements in the battle and done great service. They have revealed fully that any great revolutionary movement must be a tumultuous mass movement. Revolution always represents the conscious aspirations of the broad masses, and, this being so, there is an inexhaustible enthusiasm for revolution. Only by mobilizing the masses by the millions, giving play to their revolutionary initiative of daring to think, to speak out, to act and to blaze a new trail, can a tremendous strength be gathered to break through the obstructions of all the old forces and win complete victory for the revolution.

A vigorous mass movement born of a revolutionary upsurge is bound to upset the outdated regulations, rules and the old ways of doing things belonging to all the exploiting classes, so all class enemies will invariably grumble and talk about "going too far" and the situation being "abnormal". Chairman Mao gave a powerful rebuff in the "Report" to these slanders by the class enemies. He said:

A revolution is not a dinner party, or writing an essay, or painting a picture, or doing embroidery; it cannot be so refined, so leisurely and gentle, so temperate, kind, courteous, restrained and magnanimous.¹

In point of fact, the circumstances which the class enemies described as "going too far" and "abnormality" are exactly those it is necessary to bring about in the course of revolution, a phenomenon that is a matter of course. Without such a revolutionary action on the part of the broad masses, without a great mass movement, there can be no proletarian revolution. During the current great proletarian cultural revolution, the broad revolutionary masses, putting "destruction"

¹ *Ibid.*, p. 28.

first, are vigorously destroying the old ideas, old culture, old customs and old habits of the exploiting classes and vigorously establishing the new ideas, new culture, new customs and new habits of the proletariat. As we revolutionaries see it, this is normal and a very good thing.

Chairman Mao has said: "**The people, and the people alone, are the motive force in the making of world history.**"¹ Only by relying on the broad masses of the people can we overcome all difficulties, defeat all enemies and do all work well. Divorced from the masses, we would be "like water without a source and a tree without roots" and would achieve nothing. To have faith in the masses, to rely on them, to boldly mobilize them and respect their initiative—this is Chairman Mao's consistent great thought and the basic policy of our Party in leading a mass movement. In the past acting in accordance with this great thought of Chairman Mao's and implementing this basic Party policy, we won great victories in the democratic and socialist revolutions. The present great proletarian

¹ *Quotations from Chairman Mao Tse-tung*. Eng. ed., FLP, Peking, 1966, p. 118.

cultural revolution has caused China's socialist revolution to develop into a new stage, deeper and broader than ever; it is an exceedingly fierce, exceedingly sharp and exceedingly profound class struggle. So the complete victory of the proletarian cultural revolution — the real solution in the ideological field of the question of who is to win, the proletariat or the bourgeoisie — is possible only by resolutely following the proletarian revolutionary line represented by Chairman Mao and thoroughly criticizing the bourgeois reactionary line, that is, to have full faith in the masses, relying on them and respecting their initiative, boldly arousing them and launching a revolutionary mass movement in a big way.

2. THE ATTITUDE TOWARDS A REVOLUTIONARY MASS MOVEMENT IS THE IMPORTANT WATERSHED BETWEEN REVOLUTIONARIES AND COUNTER-REVOLUTIONARIES, GENUINE AND SHAM REVOLUTIONARIES, AND MARXISTS AND REVISIONISTS.

What kind of attitude to take towards a revolutionary mass movement is the important watershed distinguishing revolutionaries from counter-revolutionaries, genuine rev-

olutionaries from sham revolutionaries, and Marxists from revisionists. Everyone will have to reveal his stand, viewpoint and political outlook on this question.

Chairman Mao has said:

Where there are two opposite approaches to things and people, two opposite views emerge. "It's terrible!" and "It's fine!", "riffraff" and "vanguards of the revolution" — here are apt examples.¹

In 1927, the peasants in Hunan, with a force like a tempest and a hurricane, smashed the feudal landlords' thousand-year-old special privileges to smithereens. Without exception, the broad peasant masses and revolutionaries were pleased by this and applauded it, whereas the landlord class and other reactionaries, panic-stricken and extremely hostile to this, levelled all kinds of vicious slanders and attacks against the peasants' revolutionary actions. The same is true of the current great proletarian cultural revolution in our country. The broad masses of workers, peasants and soldiers, particularly the Red

¹ Mao Tse-tung, "Report on an Investigation of the Peasant Movement in Hunan", *Selected Works*, Eng. ed., FLP, Peking, 1965, Vol. I, p. 30.

Guards—who have been the shock forces in the revolution—and the revolutionary students and teachers, opened heavy fire on a handful of persons inside the Party who are in power and taking the capitalist road, on the ghosts and monsters in society, on the entrenched strongholds of the bourgeoisie. They have washed away all the slime and filth left over from the old society and swept out the rubbish and garbage of the exploiting classes. Their revolutionary action has won the warm praise and plaudits of both the Chinese people and revolutionary people the world over, whereas the class enemies at home and abroad are spiteful and angry. They heaped abuse on the Red Guards, calling them “young fanatics” and attacked their revolutionary action as “destroying social traditions”. These two different approaches and attitudes towards a revolutionary mass movement, diametrically opposed to each other, are determined by the different interests of two completely antagonistic classes and are a reflection of two entirely antagonistic stands and world outlooks. All exploiting classes are antagonistic to the broad masses. As the masses rise in making revolution, this means that the ex-

ploiting classes are approaching all the nearer to their graves. Therefore those who take the stand of the exploiting classes are bound to be afraid of the masses and oppose revolutionary mass movements. The proletariat is the thoroughly revolutionary class; in revolutionary struggles the more widely and deeply the masses are aroused, the greater the scale of the mass movement, the faster the revolution develops and the greater the benefit it is to the complete liberation of the revolutionary class. Only by resolutely taking the proletarian stand is one able to share the lot of the masses, breathe the same air, and actively support revolutionary mass movements.

Dialectical materialism teaches us that the development of things is determined by the essence and main aspects of things. Thus we must look into the essence and the main current in our approach to a question. Eleven years ago, criticizing certain comrades for their Right opportunist mistakes on the question of agricultural co-operation, Chairman Mao pointed out:

The way these comrades look at problems is wrong. They do not look at the essential

or main aspects but emphasize the non-essential or minor ones. It should be pointed out that these non-essential or minor aspects must not be overlooked and must be dealt with one by one. But they should not be taken as the essential or main aspects, or we will lose our bearings.¹

The revolutionary mass movement led by the proletariat is always in accord with the objective law of social development. The revolutionary masses are clear-sighted, fully capable of understanding the Party's policies, distinguishing the enemy from ourselves, what is wrong from what is right, what is false from what is true; **they have never been wrong on the general direction of the revolution.** In a revolutionary mass movement, it is inevitable that there will be some shortcomings that are partial and transitory in nature, but these are after all secondary, an unavoidable phenomenon in the course of advance. The masses learn to make revolution in revolution just as people learn to swim in swimming. They will educate themselves

¹ Mao Tse-tung, *On the Question of Agricultural Co-operation*, Eng. ed., FLP, Peking, 1966, pp. 17-18.

in revolutionary movements and discern what is right, what is wrong, which ways of doing things are correct and which ways are not, heightening their consciousness, enhancing their ability and rectifying their shortcomings quickly. During the great proletarian cultural revolution, the vast number of workers, peasants and soldiers, Red Guards, revolutionary students and teachers, revolutionary cadres in China have all along been forging ahead courageously in the correct direction shown by Chairman Mao — this is the essence and main current of the movement. If one fails to see the principal revolutionary orientation of a mass movement — the essence and main current — and if one mistakes the tributaries for the main current and superficial things for the essence, he will lose his bearings or even play into the hands of the class enemy.

Chairman Mao raised the question: **What is the attitude that should be taken towards the revolutionary mass movements? To march at their head and lead them? To trail behind them, gesticulating and criticizing? Or to stand in their way and oppose them? This is a very severe test for each and every revolutionary.**

Chairman Mao is the greatest paragon of correct approach to revolutionary mass movements, the most outstanding example in our Party in leading these. He has the greatest faith in the masses, shows deepest concern for them, gives fullest support to their revolutionary movement and his heart beats with theirs. In the present great proletarian cultural revolution, we must adhere persistently to the proletarian revolutionary line represented by Chairman Mao and study in real earnest his great thought and practice in dealing with revolutionary mass movements; we must thoroughly repudiate the bourgeois line and oppose all wrong attitudes antagonistic to revolutionary mass movements and support these movements heart and soul.

3. FOLLOW CHAIRMAN MAO'S TEACHINGS, ALWAYS BE A THOROUGH REVOLUTIONARY AND A PROMOTER OF REVOLUTIONARY MASS MOVEMENTS.

In this great work Chairman Mao teaches us:

Every revolutionary comrade should know that the national revolution requires a great change in the countryside. The

Revolution of 1911¹ did not bring about this change, hence its failure. This change is now taking place, and it is an important factor for the completion of the revolution. Every revolutionary comrade must support it, or he will be taking the stand of counter-revolution.²

The very purpose of our studying this great article of Chairman Mao's is to follow his teachings, consciously remould our ideology, firmly establish the proletarian world outlook, correctly approach revolutionary mass movements and always be a thorough revolutionary and a promoter of revolutionary mass movements.

¹The Revolution of 1911 overthrew the autocratic regime of the Ching Dynasty. It achieved victory through the alliance of the bourgeoisie with the peasants, workers and urban petty bourgeoisie. But state power fell into the hands of the Northern warlord Yuan Shih-kai, and the revolution failed, because the group which led it was conciliationist in nature, failed to give real benefits to the peasants and yielded to imperialist and feudal pressure.

²Mao Tse-tung, "Report on an Investigation of the Peasant Movement in Hunan", *Selected Works*, Eng. ed., FLP, Peking, 1965, Vol. I, p. 27.

The present great proletarian cultural revolution is an extremely acute and complicated class struggle. It is bound to meet with all kinds of resistance and the movement too will have its reverses and twists. This is because the enemy we face is very sly, tricky and vicious. A handful of persons in the Party who are in power and who are taking the capitalist road are waving "red flags" to oppose the red flag, leaving no stone unturned to suppress the mass movement and sabotage the great proletarian cultural revolution. A handful of reactionary bourgeois elements, those in the five categories — landlords, rich peasants, counter-revolutionaries, bad elements and Rightists — who have not turned over a new leaf are trying to bombard our proletarian revolutionary headquarters. In addition, the forces of habit of the old society too offer a kind of resistance to the movement. In this complicated class struggle, we must do better in studying and applying Chairman Mao's works in a creative way, make Mao Tse-tung's thought command our thinking, our action and revolutionize our minds. Only when one has mastered Mao Tse-tung's thought — this sharpest weapon, can one clearly see the essence of things be-

hind the outward appearance, have a deep insight, see through the enemy's schemes and tricks, smash resistance from all quarters and win victory in the struggle.

Chairman Mao says: **Policy and tactics are the life of the Party.**¹ If we want to be promoters of revolutionary mass movements, we must unswervingly follow Chairman Mao's teachings and act in accordance with his instructions and Party policies. The Decision of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party Concerning the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, that is, the 16-Point Decision, was prepared under Chairman Mao's personal guidance and it is the programmatic document for the nation's great proletarian cultural revolution. To resolutely implement and carry out the 16-Point Decision is the key to winning complete victory for the great proletarian cultural revolution. We must seriously study the 16-Point Decision, become familiar with it and master and apply it; we must use the 16-Point Decision as our weapon, thoroughly criticize and re-

¹ Mao Tse-tung, "A Circular on the Situation", *Selected Works*, Eng. ed., FLP, Peking, 1961, Vol. IV, p. 220.

judiate the bourgeois reactionary line, persist in struggle by reasoning, not by coercion or force, heartily support the Left, deal severe blows to the Rightists and all ghosts and monsters and be resolved to carry the great proletarian cultural revolution through to the end.

Comrade Lin Piao says:

The Chinese People's Liberation Army, which was born and grew up in the midst of the people's revolutionary struggles, has always regarded the revolutionary mass movement as its own affair. When the masses rise up and wage hard, bitter struggles to destroy the old system and to transform society and nature, the People's Liberation Army always stands as one with the people and gives them wholehearted, powerful support. . . . And when hostile forces attempt to obstruct and undermine the revolutionary mass movements, the People's Liberation Army never fails to come forward and stand behind the masses. At the same time, the vast, surging mass movements, in turn, always inspire and educate the army greatly, serving as a revolutionary crucible in which the political

consciousness of the army is tempered and raised.¹

We must follow these instructions of Comrade Lin Piao and resolutely support the revolutionary mass movements. Our army is the mainstay of the proletarian dictatorship and defender of the socialist system. In the great proletarian cultural revolution, an important task for us in supporting the revolutionary mass movement is to heighten our revolutionary vigilance, stand fast at our posts, make good preparations for a war situation and be ready at any time to smash any sudden attacks by U.S. imperialism and its accomplices and to see to it that the great proletarian cultural revolution in our country wins complete victory.

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¹Lin Piao, *Hold High the Red Flag of the Party's General Line and Mao Tse-tung's Military Thinking and March Forward in Mighty Strides*, Eng. ed., FLP, Peking, 1961, pp. 10-11.