

# China Policy Study Group

# BROADSHEET

Sponsors: Dr Joseph Needham FRS, Prof Cyril Offord FRS, Prof Joan Robinson, Prof George Thomson

## THE CHINESE PEOPLE HAVE STOOD UP!

*Mao Tse-tung's speech at the first Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference shows that on the present 28th anniversary of Liberation the people of China are not celebrating something which is dead, negated by more recent events. They are celebrating hopes realised, promises fulfilled, a revolution continuing.*

\* \* \*

Fellow Delegates, we are all convinced that our work will go down in the history of mankind, demonstrating that the Chinese people, comprising one quarter of humanity, have now stood up. The Chinese have always been a great, courageous and industrious nation; it is only in modern times that they have fallen behind. And that was due entirely to oppression and exploitation by foreign imperialism and domestic reactionary governments. For over a century our forefathers never stopped waging unyielding struggles against domestic and foreign oppressors, including the Revolution of 1911 led by Dr. Sun Yat-sen, our great forerunner in the Chinese revolution. Our forefathers enjoined us to carry out their unfulfilled will. And we have acted accordingly. We have closed our ranks and defeated both domestic and foreign oppressors through the People's War of Liberation and the great people's revolution, and now we are proclaiming the founding of the People's Republic of China. From now on our nation will belong to the community of peace-loving and freedom-loving nations of the world and work courageously and industriously to foster its own civilisation and well-being and at the same time to promote world peace and freedom. Ours will no longer be a nation subject to insult and humiliation. We have stood up. Our revolution has won the sympathy and acclaim of the people of all countries. We have friends all over the world.

Our revolutionary work is not completed, the People's War of Liberation and the people's revolutionary movement are still forging ahead and we must keep up our efforts. The imperialists and the domestic reactionaries will certainly not take their defeat lying down; they will fight to the last ditch. After there is peace and order throughout the country, they are sure to engage in sabotage and create disturbances by one means or another and every day and every minute they will try to stage a comeback. This is inevitable and beyond all doubt, and under no circumstances must we relax our vigilance.

Our state system, the people's democratic dictatorship, is a powerful weapon for safeguarding the fruits of victory of the people's revolution and for thwarting the plots of domestic and foreign enemies for restoration, and this weapon we must firmly grasp. Internationally, we must unite with all peace-loving and freedom-loving countries and peoples, and first of all with the Soviet Union and the New Democracies, so that we shall not stand alone in our struggle to safeguard these fruits of victory and to thwart the plots of domestic and foreign enemies for restoration. As long as we persist in the people's democratic dictatorship and unite with our foreign friends, we shall always be victorious.

The people's democratic dictatorship and solidarity with our foreign friends will enable us to accomplish our work of construction rapidly. We are already confronted with the task of nation-wide economic construction. We have very favourable conditions: a population of 475 million people and a territory of 9,600,000 square kilometres. There are indeed difficulties ahead, and a great many too. But we firmly believe that by heroic struggle the people of the country will surmount them all. The Chinese people have rich experience in overcoming difficulties. If our forefathers, and we also, could weather long years of extreme difficulty and defeat powerful domestic and foreign reactionaries, why can't we now, after victory, build a prosperous and flourishing country? As long as we keep to our style of plain living and hard struggle, as long as we stand united and as long as we persist in the people's democratic dictatorship and unite with our foreign friends, we shall be able to win speedy victory on the economic front.

An upsurge in economic construction is bound to be followed by an upsurge of construction in the cultural sphere. The era in which the Chinese people were regarded as uncivilised is now ended. We shall emerge in the world as a nation with an advanced culture.

Our national defence will be consolidated and no imperialists will ever again be allowed to invade our land. Our people's armed forces must be maintained and developed with the heroic and steeled People's Liberation Army as the foundation. We will have not only a powerful army but also a powerful air force and a powerful navy.

Let the domestic and foreign reactionaries tremble before us! Let them say we are no good at this and no good at that. By our own indomitable efforts we the Chinese people will unswervingly reach our goal.

The heroes of the people who laid down their lives in the People's War of Liberation and the people's revolution shall live for ever in our memory!

Hail the victory of the People's War of Liberation and the people's revolution!

Hail the founding of the People's Republic of China!

Hail the triumph of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference!

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*The above extract from Mao Tse-tung's speech on 21st September, 1949 is taken from Volume V of his Selected Works. The first five paragraphs, mainly on the historical background of the Conference, have been omitted.*

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# HUA KUO-FENG SPEAKS

After the death of such a genius as Mao Tse-tung a certain stocktaking and a comprehensive summing-up of future prospects are necessary. This is what Hua Kuo-feng did in his Report to the 11th Congress of the Chinese Communist Party on August 12th. A new era without Mao has begun, when the Party and people must implement his revolutionary line without his personal guidance. Hua Kuo-feng's speech was very wide-ranging, covering a multitude of topics. Here we can deal with only its central aspect, the essential task of, internationally, continuing the fight against superpower domination and, nationally, continuing the Chinese Revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat.

It may be thought that this is obvious and that any leader would have had to say the same. It is therefore important to study the speech carefully to see whether the actual proposals put forward correspond to the needs of the time, whether they are likely to achieve the declared aims and, above all, whether the allegiance to the line of Mao Tse-tung is true or false.

Some outside China may still feel that the campaign against the 'Gang of Four' has been overemphasised and that the opportunity is now being taken to lay at their door the blame for everything that has gone wrong in China in the last ten years or so. Such critics do not appreciate the extent of the harm the Four were able to do — far worse than anything done by Liu Shao-chi or Lin Piao. Their campaign created perhaps the most serious threat the Chinese Revolution has faced since 1949 and it will be years before the damage they did can be fully remedied.

## A time for order

It is difficult to see how anyone who reads the Report can say — as some both on right and 'left' have done — that it signifies a move to the right or any weakening of revolutionary resolve. Hua signals the close of the first Cultural Revolution, recalling Mao's words, 'great disorder across the land leads to great order', because it is now time to take the next step forward. Revolution advances not at an even pace but in waves. Contradictions are resolved through struggle and then the way is open for rapid advance; understanding Marxism enables the advance to be expected and planned. The Cultural Revolution was absolutely essential from a practical point of view and it advanced Marxist theory; what is needed now is steady application of its lessons, not continued strident assertion and renewed shake-up in the ranks.

For the world the outlook is bright but there are many dangers. The contention between the superpowers is increasing; social-imperialism is becoming more arrogant and thrusting; there is no let-up in the armaments race. China and all countries at risk must strengthen their defences.

Mao's thesis about the three worlds provides a basis for the international proletariat to unite on a broad front for class struggle against their main enemies. The international united front against the superpowers is broadening but there are also negative currents. Hua remarks on 'tendencies to appeasement' in the West, where there are those who believe, as Chamberlain did, that peace can be maintained by means of concessions, or even that salvation is to be sought in diverting the threat of social-imperialism from Europe towards the East. The Chinese Government and people will work hard to enhance their unity with others, while China's experience will continue to provide ideological assistance for Marxist-Leninists in other countries.

Hua says the Four 'seriously corroded the Party as an organism and the minds of members, gravely undermined its unity and discipline and its relations with the masses'. The best traditions of the Party's style of work must be restored and strengthened — adherence to the mass line, the practice of determining facts by investigation. Many leading bodies of the

Party, at all levels, will have to be shaken up and many individuals investigated while bearing in mind the whole time that those who can be should be reasoned with and helped to correct their mistakes, so that more than 95 per cent of the cadres and masses can be united. All this will be a long-term task which must be accomplished carefully and thoroughly.

The Four debased Marxist philosophy, political economy and scientific socialism. They classed as 'capitalist-roaders' large numbers of cadres, old, middle-aged and young, in the Party, government and army. They called those who took part in the democratic revolution 'bourgeois democrats' who would inevitably become capitalist-roaders, thus writing off virtually all old Party members. They said that the poor and lower-middle peasants were backward ideologically, thus squandering the Party's mass support, and they condemned intellectuals as a whole. Their line was negative and destructive. If they had continued unhindered they would have disrupted the unity of the Chinese people. Now that they have left the scene a unity can be built which will be stronger as a result of the tests it has withstood.

The Four confused the people and the enemy and even went so far as to see the people as the enemy. This will have to be righted in order, as Hua said, to strike 'surely, accurately and relentlessly, with the emphasis on accuracy', at the handful of enemies.

Already, as a result of the exposure of and the struggle against, the Four, great progress can be seen in industry, agriculture and cultural life. Further development of the economy will strengthen the material base of the dictatorship of the proletariat, help to eliminate capitalism, strengthen national defence and improve the material and cultural life of the people. Hua adds:

The productive forces are the most revolutionary factor. In the final analysis, the expansion of the productive forces demands the continuation of the revolution in the realms of the superstructure and the relations of production under the dictatorship of the proletariat. Changes in the superstructure and the relations of production will, in turn, open the way to the development of the productive forces.

This is the answer to the Four's artificial, undialectical counterposing of production and revolution as alternatives which cannot flourish together.

## Eagerly into the future

The Report put forward very ambitious targets, a leap forward of the whole economy. By 1980 there should be 'an independent and fairly comprehensive economic system and farming should be basically mechanised'. Scientific work ought to precede economic construction but was held back by the Four. The Central Committee is to convene a national conference on scientific work which will give full scope to the revolutionary enthusiasm on this front. Within the same period one-third of industrial enterprises should have become enterprises of the Taching type and one-third of the counties, counties of the Tachai type. This would so greatly strengthen the Chinese economy as to be in fact a transformation.

The Chinese people are responding to the Report with enthusiasm and, as they implement it, Hua says

The whole world will see that in continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat the Chinese Communist Party and the Chinese people, armed with Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought, are not only good at defeating their class enemies at home and abroad and safeguarding the dictatorship of the proletariat, but are also good at building a great powerful socialist country with modern agriculture, modern industry, modern national defence and modern science and technology, and will thus make a greater contribution to humanity.

# The REALITY of the Three Worlds

The downfall of the 'Gang of Four' in China seems to have been the signal for an outbreak of criticism abroad of the three worlds analysis put forward by Mao Tse-tung several years ago.

Lenin, analysing the imperialist era, set out four major contradictions: that between capitalism and socialism; that between the capitalists and the working class in capitalist countries; that between imperialism and the countries it oppresses; and that among the imperialist countries themselves.

Speaking in 1974 at the 6th Special Session of the UN General Assembly as representative of the Chinese People's Republic, Teng Hsiao-ping said that the changes in international relations which had taken place pointed to a division of the world into three interconnected and contradictory parts. These were: (1) the superpowers—the Soviet Union and the United States; (2) the former colonies and semi-colonies in Asia, Africa, Latin America and other regions; (3) the developed countries between the two, making up a second world. In this analysis, the superpowers are seen as the biggest exploiters and oppressors, that is, the main enemies of the whole world; the former colonies and semi-colonies are seen as the focus of all the contradictions of the imperialist era, and the people there as the most oppressed and actively resistant to imperialism, therefore the main force in the battle against it; the second world as the lesser imperialist countries which, whenever they try to take up an independent position, come into conflict with the superpowers. In the contradictions operating within and among these three worlds in this period, Mao Tse-tung saw scope for world-wide unity at different levels against the main enemies—the imperialist United States and the social-imperialist Soviet Union. This battle the revolutionary proletarian parties have a duty to lead in the interest of the masses and of socialism.

Opponents of the three worlds analysis claim that it negates Lenin's four contradictions and obscures class issues; they maintain that it is wrong to consider the Third World as the main force in the anti-imperialist battle and they point to reactionary regimes and forces in it as unfit for revolutionaries to unite with.

Lenin, basing himself on Marx and Engels, pointed out that communists must, without sacrificing principle, seek allies wherever they may be found. He spoke of:

... necessarily, thoroughly, carefully, attentively and skillfully taking advantage of every, even the smallest 'fissure' among the enemies, of every antagonism of interest among the bourgeoisie of the various countries, among the various groups or types of bourgeoisie in the various countries; by taking advantage of every, even the smallest opportunity of gaining a mass ally, even though this ally be temporary, vacillating, unstable, unreliable and conditional. Those who do not understand this fail to understand even a grain of Marxism and of scientific, modern Socialism in general.  
*Left-Wing Communism, an Infantile Disorder* (1920).

Mao's three worlds analysis is based on this Leninist strategy, which calls for strict adherence to principle and maximum flexibility of action. Uniting all who can be united against a common enemy requires specific identification of that enemy so that he can be isolated, forces can be husbanded and concentrated against him. Far from being un-Leninist, Mao's analysis, in the true Marxist tradition and in conformity with the reality the proletariat has to deal with, clearly sets out what are the main forces in the struggle and their relation to each other.

The world today is vastly different from the world before the Soviet Union took the path of social imperialism, when the socialist camp still existed; before the revolutionary parties in many countries had taken the revisionist road under flash signboards such as 'Euro-communism'; and before the people of the former colonies had developed their strong stand against imperialist plunder and oppression.

In the post-war period, the biggest semi-colonial country in the world was forcibly taken out of the imperialist system by the Chinese people's victory. Later, badly mauled in North Korea, U.S. imperialism was routed in Indo-China and would never be the same again. More recently the Portuguese were driven out of parts of Africa. These struggles—to name only a few—were won by the peoples of former colonial countries once spoken of as 'underdeveloped' and 'backward', in protracted armed struggle against imperialism.

At present in countries where they have not yet achieved victory, the working class are engaged in battle with their own bourgeoisie. At the 11th Congress of China's Communist Party, Hua Kuo-feng had this to say:

Chairman Mao consistently taught us that the people who have triumphed in their own revolution should help those still struggling for liberation. *We support the Communist parties of all countries but not revisionism.* Being Communists, we of course support the revolutionary struggles of the Communist parties of all countries. At the same time, we have all along maintained that all Communist parties are independent and make their own decisions. It is up to the Communist party in each country to integrate the universal truth of Marxism-Leninism with the concrete practice of that country's revolution and lead its own people to victory. Revolution cannot be exported. We have never interfered in the internal affairs of other countries. Our Party maintains relations with many Communist parties. But relations between parties and relations between states are two different things.

This reiterates the policy stated as long ago as 1965 in *A Proposal concerning the General Line of the International Communist Movement*. It gives the lie to the critics of the three worlds analysis, who say that China is telling oppressed peoples that they should not revolt against their own rulers.

At the moment it is in the Third World, not in the developed countries, that imperialism is being most sharply challenged. In many areas, economic and political struggles of one kind or another are being carried out; in some, armed struggle. Everywhere, people are uniting to protect their countries against plunder, exploitation and oppression. It is precisely here too that the fierce contention between the superpowers over spheres of influence is being fought out, often by proxy and at great sacrifice to the masses.

## Mobilising all forces

The Third World comprises many types of regimes and forces, some of which are unmistakably reactionary. Any actions taken by any one of these in opposition to the superpowers are in the interest of the proletariat and its revolution, and it is the task of the revolutionary proletariat the world over to mobilise such forces however 'temporary, vacillating, unstable, unreliable and conditional'. Emphasis on the differences between these potential allies rather than on their common interests, or refusal to unite with them, weakens the world anti-imperialist front and undermines the revolutionary movement.

To build the anti-imperialist front it is important not to be deterred by differences among potential allies; at the same time it is an absolute necessity to recognize the differences that distinguish one enemy of the people from another. Obviously it is better for limited forces to fix on one target at a time than to scatter and lash out in all directions at once. Although the two main imperialist powers are both ruthless predators striving to dominate the world, China does not see them as equally dangerous. The U.S. is more powerful than social-imperialism economically, but its recent disastrous defeats have made it more cautious; moreover it is notorious among the peoples of the world as an imperialist power. Social-imperialism, on the other hand, is still able to deceive some countries by its claim to be socialist and a friend of the oppressed. It uses every means

to secure strategic military positions at the expense of the people in the countries involved. This is the way both of U.S. imperialism and of Soviet social-imperialism, the difference at the present time being that the latter is increasingly in the ascendant; United States imperialism is for the moment relatively on the defensive. Imperialisms on the decline are forced to withdraw from one position after another, while those on the rise try to take them—and new ones as well. To refuse to distinguish between Soviet social-imperialism and U.S. imperialism at their present stages, as critics of the three worlds analysis do, is in fact a refusal to recognize the uneven development of capitalism, a law of history fundamental to Marxist-Leninist analysis. Not to differentiate between them and not to take advantage of the contradictions arising out of their relations is to cripple revolutionary activity, hamper unity of all available forces and isolate oneself from the masses.

The three worlds analysis is a *unifying* strategy, one which helps bring together the revolutionary proletariat and all other anti-imperialist forces in a world-wide alliance at a time when fragmentation and divisions threaten to undermine the struggle and when the contention of the superpowers faces the people with the urgent danger of a new world war.

## BIRTH-PANGS

At a recent exhibition in Peking, a popular political cartoon depicted Chiang Ching stealing off with the seeds of proletarian literature and art and watering them with boiling water. Despite such treatment the flowers survive, only to have their blooms removed by Chiang and placed in her own vase. The cartoon not only wittily shatters Chiang's claim that she was the originator of proletarian culture, but also symbolises the real liberation of proletarian literature and art since the removal of the 'Gang of Four'.

Mao Tse-tung's talks at the Yen-an Forum of May 1942 showed the possibilities for proletarian culture, the combination of revolutionary realism with revolutionary creativity and even romance. He said:

To study Marxism means to apply the dialectical materialist and historical materialist viewpoint in our observation of the world, of society and of literature and art; it does not mean writing philosophical lectures into our works of literature and art.

Although there is no record of Chiang Ching taking any interest in the conclusions reached at Yen-an, after the Cultural Revolution had begun Lin Piao and Chang Chun-chiao pushed her forward as the leading authority on literature and art. But far from 'pioneering' proletarian culture she and her entourage began to oppose Mao's line and the conclusions of Yen-an and hindered the development of culture for which the proletarian revolution had cleared the way.

Instead of expanding and deepening the principles of a dialectical and historical materialist approach to the arts, the Four posed their own theory, known as the 'three prominences'. This said: among all characters give prominence to the positive characters, among these give prominence to the main positive characters, among these give prominence to the principal character. The effect was that all 'goodies' were totally good and all 'baddies' totally bad, negating the dialectical nature of the world, the existence of two-line struggle and reality itself. They even banned actors who played bad characters from taking a bow at the final curtain!

The years preceding the Cultural Revolution produced many new books, films, plays and operas; their negative and positive points reflected the stage of struggle reached in the Chinese Revolution at that time. However, after the Cultural Revolution Chiang Ching, ignoring the positive and concentrating on the negative, characterised all these works as bourgeois.

One example was the popular folk opera based on the resistance of the peasants and Red Army to the landlords and Japanese imperialism, *The White-Haired Girl*. It was the first opera of its kind after the Yen-an days, but by using their 'three prominences' the Four labelled it counter-revolutionary. A lead singer who defended the work and opposed Chiang Ching was detained in 1969 and the opera was banned.

Other 'model' revolutionary operas came into being as part of a collective process involving young and old writers and composers and based on works in existence before the Cultural Revolution. But Chiang Ching set about systematically usurping them as her own. Our recent delegation heard many personal stories, some with tragic endings. One example was that of a young woman who wrote a theatrical work which formed the basis of the opera *Shachiapang*. Chiang Ching produced the opera as her own, labelled the woman a counter-revolutionary and hounded her to her death.

Eventually the Four's opposition to Mao's line on literature and art became more direct. They attempted to prevent, and then to sabotage, the making of the popular film *The Pioneers*, which depicts the two-line struggle to open and build the Taching oilfield. Their attack on the film was also an attack on Premier Chou En-lai, who had given much personal support to the project. In the end Mao had to intervene to ensure the film was shown at all.

In their attempts to impose a personal dictatorship on literature and the arts, often backed by violence, the Four met resistance from the people. They were particularly sensitive to the threat from popular humour in the form of cartoons and cross-talk acts.

In July 1975 Mao said:

Model operas alone are not enough. What is worse, one comes under fire for the slightest fault. No longer are a hundred flowers blossoming. Others are not allowed to offer any opinion. That's no good . . . people are afraid to write articles or produce plays. There is nothing in the way of novels or poetry.

But in recent months there has been a new flowering of literature and art in China, coupled with new enthusiasm and involvement of people in all sections of Chinese society. Wherever our delegation travelled they met with cartoons, prose and poems rejoicing in the overthrow of the Four. *The White-Haired Girl*, *The East is Red* and many other operas, plays and films banned for years are now being played and shown again. At the Communist Party's 11th Congress Hua Kuo-feng reaffirmed Mao's line on literature and art and made the development of proletarian culture one of the Party's fighting tasks for the future.

## CORRECTION

We are sorry that by an error in make-up a line was omitted from a quotation from Mao Tse-tung in our last issue (page 4, first column). The complete quotation is as follows:

. . . three smelly shoemakers are every bit as good as Chu Ko-liang (*a master strategist of the Three Kingdoms period, 3rd century A.D.* - Ed.). A Chu Ko-liang on his own is not complete, he still has some things lacking.

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