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Reporter

# Some Background on China's Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution

By MAUD RUSSELL

[MARCH 1967]

## Some Background on China's Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution

By MAUD RUSSELL

World attention today is focused on the Far East—the war in Vietnam and the cultural revolution in China. In both the forces striving for mankind's future are locked in struggle with the forces that would turn history's clock backwards. The war with its destruction and death is a last ditch effort to dam the mighty popular forces for national independence and social advance.

The cultural revolution in China represents the most populous nation on earth building a new kind of society. In the decaying, private profit-seeking society—the kind that wages aggressive wars—a small section of the population makes gains, the larger section suffers loss. In the new kind of society—socialist—no section of the population gains from the waging of war or makes private profits in preparations for war; in this new kind of society all the population suffers loss if there is war, and all gain from a society that is war-less. All peoples, including the American, will gain from the kind of society China is now building. The war in Vietnam is a part of Washington's attempt to halt the building of this kind of society.

### *China's Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution*

The Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution in China is a further step in the process of building a socialist society, and eventually a communist society. Socialist economic and political foundations must be laid and a socialist culture established before a socialist society is achieved.

### *The Economic Foundation of China's Socialist Society*

China is already well on the way in the process of laying the foundation for a socialist economy. She has ended a feudal economy and has freed herself from a colonial economy—a gigantic achievement for a people who two decades ago were suffering under a semi-feudal, semi-colonial economy. In 1958, based on what they had achieved in the first ten years of their new society, these people made two great economic and social advances—the Great Leap Forward and the People's Communes. True, three years of natural

calamities (1959-1962) left their mark on these advances: there was a slow down, but at the same time significant advances were made. Contrary to many characterizations of the Great Leap Forward as a "failure," the China Trade and Economic Newsletter states:

"The Great Leap Forward whatever the distractions and dislocations it caused at the time had a decided effect in enabling the Chinese to break with the habits of dependence on orthodox training and imported expertise. Practically everything now beginning to produce interesting developments in industry dates from the Leap. And the Leap in industry was preceded by a leap in agriculture in 1957-58 . . . The 1966 Leap in agriculture is being accomplished by a groundswell in industry, but in the main it is the prelude to another industrial leap." (October 1966) \*

"China feeds and clothes herself from the products of her own agriculture when other countries which started from the same point as she did are increasingly dependent on foreign aid." (January 1967) \*

"The Chinese planners and statisticians have made their mistakes in the past but over the last five years appear to have settled down to a fairly scrupulous discipline." (January 1967) \*

That period of natural calamities also tested the role of the People's Communes. They were a major factor in the recovery; previously millions of the rural population in periods of natural calamities had fled to the cities as destitute refugees. Under the commune system, because they were socially organized, no longer individual victims of disaster, they stayed on the land and strengthened the basic agricultural economy. As the *New York Times* notes: "However serious the setback in some areas the communes have clearly averted disaster . . . by mobilizing the peasants on a large scale. In pre-Commune days (such) drought would have caused much more havoc and even famine" (7/11/66). "The setback (1959-62) does not undermine the basic stability and viability of the Communist regime." (NYT 3/66)

Further indication of progress in China's process in laying the economic foundation of her socialist society is her scientific achievements. Again quoting the China Trade and Economic Newsletter:

\*Monthly publication of the British Council for the Promotion of International trade, 15 Hanover Square London W. 1. \$30 annually.

"Apart from her evident progress in nuclear technology, China achieved notable advances in chemistry synthesis of benzine and insulin), oil refining (the technique of fermentation de-waxing), physics (the exposition of the new theory of stratoms and anti-stratoms), and surgery (the re-attaching of completely severed fingers)." (Jan. 67)

Within two years of the period of natural calamity she exploded her first nuclear device, in October 1964; by December 1966 she had exploded her fifth device. Writes the *New York Times*—"The third test (October 1966) put Communist China ahead of France in nuclear development" (10/28/66). "Peking's ability to conduct three nuclear explosions in a year provides vivid evidence of the speed with which its capabilities are growing in this field" (12/31/66). "A nuclear warhead required the use of scientific brains. A rocket, however, requires a high degree of engineering competence, to solve all the problems of bringing thousands of men and tens of thousands of components together on a tight schedule and fitting them together in a workable vehicle . . . It is a monumental organizational job that the Chinese have apparently mastered" (10/28/66). In September 1966 the *New York Times* Science Editor Walter Sullivan, in an article entitled "Chinese Make Insulin; A Major Chemical Feat" wrote "German experiments, described here Sunday, appear to confirm that communist Chinese chemists have performed a major feat by the full synthesis of insulin . . . Dr. Klaus Hofman, director of the protein research laboratory at the University of Pennsylvania said it was 'the most complex synthesis of a biologically active natural product accomplished to date.' It involved putting together in one giant and complex molecule 777 atoms, each in its proper place . . . German and American researchers have built up two long molecular chains—the 'A' and the 'B' chains—that combine to form the full insulin molecule. However, according to Dr. Hofman, they have been unable to fuse them in the proper, fully active configuration. It is this that the Chinese have achieved." (*Seattle Post Intelligencer* (9/12/66). *The World Journal Tribune* (9/12/66) wrote "In the little publicized race among scientists of several nations to be the first to create life in the test tube, Red China is now ahead. . . . Dr. Alton Meister of Tufts University and Dr. Klaus Hofman put China ahead because 'a large team' of their scientists had succeeded in 'making' a protein that is both pure and 'biologically active.' No scientists anywhere have ever done this before. Such proteins are the organizational basis of all life . . ."

The foundations of a socialist economy are laid. The stability and viability of that economy are attested to not only by domestic economic achievements but also by the kind of international economic relationships that China carries on: purchases from and sales to over 120 other countries including all the major allies of the United States; she purchases industrial plants and equipment; she sells, food, clothing, raw materials, manufactured goods and sophisticated industrial equipment; tens of thousands of foreign merchants semi-annually attend the China Export Trade Exhibition in Canton; China has no burden of either internal nor external debt. Her currency is stable—rivaled on the black market as the highest in the world only by the Soviet ruble.

### *The Political Foundation*

In the new China a new political force rules—the political power of the people, expressed through their own party, the Chinese Communist Party, representing not the interests of a special group but the interests of the vast majority, the working people.

A victory in the economic and political spheres has been achieved. But victory in the ideological sphere is a basic necessity if a socialist society is to be achieved. Ideology—the ethics, philosophy and other cultural spheres—is the most deeply entrenched part of a society. Ideas, if left unchallenged, lag behind changes in the material conditions and furnish a base on which the counter-revolutionaries can undermine the economic and political foundations and eventually wreck the newly emerging society.

### *The Great Proletarian CULTURAL Revolution*

The creation of a socialist society demands more than just a socialist economic and political base. A socialist culture is also a requisite. The Chinese people are now engaged in a gigantic cultural revolution—a stage in the process of insuring that the culture of the new China will be proletarian, not feudal, not bourgeois.

“Mao sees China at a cross-roads. To take the wrong turning at this juncture would mean, in his view, a gradual return to a society in which personal gain is the sole incentive and inherent in such a society there would be the ills that made China prey for foreign exploitation in the 19th century. The first phase is the attack on the intellectuals and other opponents of the

Party policy. The second phase is the mobilization of the entire population against a small proportion of Party cadres and functionaries who had developed an attitude that smacks of bureaucratism. This minority is frequently status-conscious, uncooperative, downright unhelpful” (*National Observer* 10/10/66 Prof. Brian Hook of Leeds University, England.)

“Communist and Western analysts here (Moscow) agree . . . China has been launched on a deep-reaching social revolution far more thorough than anything attempted when the Communist armies first seized power 17 years ago” (NYT 10/31/66)

“A clarion call for a demolition of the old order and for mobilization to build the new.” (NYT 8/16/66)

The Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution in China is a *stage in a continuing revolution*, a part of a *process*, a *mobilization* of the people to further profoundly advance the socialization of China's society.

### *China's Formal Statement About the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution*

On August 8th 1966 the Decision of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party Concerning the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution was issued. This formal action of the Chinese Communist Party gives the basic presentation of the reasons for the revolution, the objectives of the Revolution, the chief targets of the Revolution, and the methods of the Revolution. Rather than relying on the speculations of Western “experts,” the interpretations of ignorant commentators, or the explanations of wishful political strategists in Washington, those who really want to understand the current developments in China will do well to be familiar with this Decision of the Chinese Communist Party.

### *The Sixteen Points of The Decision*

This Decision is called in China “Sixteen Points.” Point One is “*A New Stage in the Socialist Revolution.*” “The great Proletarian Revolution now unfolding is a great revolution that touches people to their very souls and constitutes a new stage in the development of the socialist revolution in our country, a stage which is both broader and deeper. . . . Although the bourgeoisie has been overthrown, it is still trying to use the old ideas, culture, customs, and habits of the exploiting classes to corrupt the masses, capture their minds and endeavor to stage a come-back. The pro-

letariat must do the exact opposite: it must meet head-on every challenge of the bourgeoisie in the ideological field and use the new ideas, culture, customs and habits of the proletariat to change the mental outlook of the whole of society. At present our objective is to struggle against and overthrow those persons in authority who are taking the capitalist road, to criticize and repudiate the reactionary academic authorities and the ideology of the bourgeoisie and all other exploiting classes and to transform education, literature and art and all other parts of the superstructure not in correspondence with the socialist economic base, so as to facilitate the consolidation and development of the socialist system."

Point Two of the Decision is about "*The Main Current and the Twists and Turns.*" "The masses of the workers, peasants, soldiers, revolutionary intellectuals and revolutionary cadres form the main force in this great cultural revolution. Large numbers of revolutionary young people, previously unknown, have become courageous and daring path-breakers. They are vigorous in action and intelligent. Through the medium of big character posters and great debates, they argue things out, expose and criticize thoroughly, and launch resolute attacks on the open and hidden representatives of the bourgeoisie. In such a great revolutionary movement it is hardly avoidable that they should show shortcomings of one kind or another. . . . Since the cultural revolution is a revolution, it inevitably meets with resistance. This resistance comes chiefly from those in authority who have wormed their way into the Party and are taking the capitalist road. It also comes from the force of habits from the old society. . . . Because the resistance is fairly strong there will be reversals and even repeated reversals in this struggle. There is no harm in this. It tempers the proletariat and other working people, especially the younger generation, teaches them lessons and gives them experience, and helps them to understand that the revolutionary road zigzags and does not run smoothly."

Point Three of the Decision is "*Put Daring Above Everything Else And Boldly Arouse The Masses.*" "The outcome of this great cultural revolution will be determined by whether or not the Party leadership dares boldly to arouse the masses. . . . What the Central Committee of the Party demands of the Party committees at all levels is that they persevere in giving correct leadership, put daring above everything else, boldly arouse the masses, change the state of weakness and incompetence where it exists, encourage those comrades who have made mistakes but are willing to correct them to cast off their mental burdens and join in the struggle, and

dismiss from their leading posts all those in authority who are taking the capitalist road and so make possible the recapture of the leadership for the proletarian revolutionaries."

Point Four of the Decision is "*Let The Masses Educate Themselves in the Movement.*" "In the great proletarian revolution, the only method is for the masses to liberate themselves, and any method of doing things in their stead must not be used. Trust the masses, rely on them and respect their initiative. Cast out fear. Don't be afraid of disturbances . . . Let the masses educate themselves . . . and learn to distinguish between right and wrong, between correct and incorrect ways of doing things."

Point Five of the Decision is "*Firmly Apply The Class Line of of the Party.*" "Who are our enemies? Who are our friends? This is a question of the first importance for the revolution . . . Party leadership should be good at discovering the Left and developing and strengthening the ranks of the Left: it should firmly rely on the revolutionary Left. . . . This is the only way to isolate the most reactionary Rightists thoroughly, win over the middle and unite with the great majority. . . . The main target of the present movement is those within the Party who are in authority and are taking the capitalist road. The strictest care should be taken to distinguish between anti-Party, anti-socialist Rightists and those who support the Party and socialism but who have said or done something wrong or have written some bad articles or other works. The strictest care should be taken to distinguish between the reactionary bourgeois scholar despots and 'authorities' on the one hand and people who have the ordinary bourgeois academic ideas on the other."

Point Six of the Decision is "*Correctly Handle Contradictions Among the People.*" "A strict distinction must be made between the two different types of contradictions: those among the people and those between ourselves and the enemy. . . . It is normal for the masses to hold different views. Contention between different views is unavoidable, necessary and beneficial. In the course of normal and full debate, the masses will affirm what is right, correct what is wrong and gradually reach unanimity. The method to be used in debate is to present the facts, reason things out, and persuade through reasoning. Any method of forcing a minority holding different views to submit is impermissible. The minority should be protected, because sometimes the truth is with the minority. Even if the minority is wrong, they should still be allowed to argue their case and reserve their views. When there is a debate it should be conducted by reasoning, not by coercion or force. In the course of debate, every revolutionary should be good at

thinking things out for himself and should develop the communist spirit of daring to think, daring to speak and daring to act . . .”

Point Seven of the Decision is “*Be On Guard Against Those Who Brand The Revolutionary Masses as ‘Counter-Revolutionaries.’*”

“. . . A number of persons who suffer from serious ideological errors and particularly some of the anti-Party and anti-socialist Rightists are taking advantage of certain short-comings and mistakes in the mass movement to spread rumors and gossip, and engage in agitation, deliberately branding some of the masses as ‘counter-revolutionaries.’ It is necessary to beware of such ‘pick-pockets’ and expose their tricks in good time. In the course of the movement . . . no measures should be taken against students because of problems that arise in the movement. To prevent the struggle from being diverted from its main target, it is not allowed, under whatever pretext, to incite the masses or the students to struggle against each other. Even proven Rightists should be dealt with on the merits of each case at a later stage of the movement.”

Point Eight of the Decision is “*The Question of Cadres.*” “The cadres fall roughly into the following four categories: good, comparatively good, those who have made serious mistakes, but have not become anti-Party, anti-socialist Rightists, and the small number of anti-Party anti-socialist Rightists. In ordinary situations, the first two categories (good and comparatively good) are the great majority. The anti-Party, anti-socialist Rightists must be fully exposed, refuted, overthrown, and completely discredited and their influence eliminated. At the same time, they should be given a chance to turn over a new leaf.”

Point Nine of the Decision is “*Cultural Revolutionary Groups, Committees and Congresses.*” “Many new things have begun to emerge in the great proletarian cultural revolution. The cultural revolutionary groups, committees, and other organizational forms created by the masses in many schools and units are something new and of great historic importance. These cultural revolutionary groups, committees and congresses are excellent new forms of organization whereby the masses educate themselves under the leadership of the Communist Party. They are an excellent bridge to keep our Party in close contact with the masses. They are organs of power of the proletarian cultural revolution. The struggle of the proletariat against the old ideas, culture, customs and habits left over by all the exploiting classes over thousands of years will necessarily take a very very long time. Therefore the cultural revolutionary groups, committees and congresses should not be temporary organizations but permanent, standing mass organiza-

tions. They are suitable not only for colleges, schools, and government and other organizations but generally also for factories, mines and other enterprises, urban districts and villages. . . . The masses are entitled at any time to criticize members of the cultural revolutionary groups and committees and delegates elected to the cultural revolutionary congresses. . . .”

Point Ten of the Decision is “*Educational Reform.*” “In the great proletarian cultural revolution a most important task is to transform the old educational system and the old principles and methods of teaching. In this great cultural revolution, the phenomenon of our schools being dominated by bourgeois intellectuals must be completely changed. . . . The period of schooling should be shortened. Courses should be fewer and better. The teaching material should be thoroughly transformed, in some cases beginning with simplifying complicated material. While their main task is to study, students should also learn other things. That is to say, in addition to their studies they should also learn industrial work, farming and military affairs, and take part in the struggles of the cultural revolution to criticize the bourgeoisie as these struggles occur.”

Point Eleven is “*The Question of Criticizing by Name in the Press.*” “. . . Criticism of bourgeois and feudal ideology should be well combined with the dissemination of the proletarian world outlook and of Marxism-Leninism, Mao Tse-tung’s thought. . . . Criticism of any one by name in the press should be decided after discussion by the Party committee at the same level, and in some cases submitted to the Party Committee at a higher level.”

Point Twelve of the Decision is “*Policy Toward Scientists, Technicians and Ordinary Members of Working Staffs.*” “As regards scientists, technicians and ordinary members of working staffs, as long as they are patriotic, work energetically, are not against the Party and socialism, and maintain no illicit relations with any foreign country, we should in the present movement continue to apply the policy of ‘unity, criticism, unity.’ Special care should be taken of those scientists and scientific and technical personnel who have made contributions. Efforts should be made to help them gradually transform their world outlook and their style of work.”

Point Thirteen of the Decision is “*The Question of Arrangements for Integration With The Socialist Education Movement In City and Countryside.*” (This is in reference to the Socialist Education Movement launched several years ago) “The great Cultural revolution has enriched the socialist education movement

and raised it to a higher level. Efforts should be made to conduct these two movements in close combination . . . Questions that are arising in the present great proletarian cultural revolution should be put to the masses for discussion at the proper time, so as to further foster vigorously proletarian ideology and eradicate bourgeois ideology . . ."

Point Fourteen of the Decision is "*Take Firm Hold of the Revolution and Stimulate Production.*" "The aim of the great proletarian cultural revolution is to revolutionize people's ideology and as a consequence to achieve greater, faster, better and more economical results in all fields of work. . . . It is possible to carry on both the cultural revolution and production without one hampering the other, while guaranteeing high quality in all our work. The great proletarian cultural revolution is a powerful motive force for the development of the social productive forces in our country. Any idea of counterposing the great cultural revolution to the development of production is incorrect."

Point Fifteen of the Decision is "*The Armed Forces.*" "In the armed forces, the cultural revolution and the socialist education movement should be carried out in accordance with the instructions of the Military Commission of the Central Committee of the Party and the General Political Department of the Peoples Liberation Army."

Point Sixteen of the Decision is "*Mao Tse-tung's Thought Is The Guide To Action In The Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution.*" "In this complex great cultural revolution, Party committees at all levels must study and apply Chairman Mao's works all the more conscientiously and in a creative way. In particular . . . On New Democracy, Talks at the Yen-an Forum on Literature and Art, On the Correct Handling of Contradictions Among the People, Speech at the Chinese Communist Party's National Conference on Propaganda Work, Some Questions Concerning Methods of Leadership, and Methods of Work of Party Committees."

As the editors of the *Monthly Review* (January 1967) point out—these sixteen points "should be enough to demonstrate that we are dealing with what is on its face a rational, radical and humane document." Informed by familiarity with this formal statement by the Chinese Communist Party, Americans who read and listen to the daily news media can see for themselves not only the misinformation (wilful and otherwise) they are served, but how systematically the objectives of the 16 points are being carried out, how correctly and honestly the Chinese envisaged the process and problems of the struggle, how it is basically the people—discussing,

disagreeing, arguing, participating—who are carrying out this important stage in the creation of their socialist society.

### *The Old Authorities*

In China the authorities in economics of the past have been eliminated or overthrown. Compradores, landlords, foreign economic advisors and investors, foreign political experts and advisors—these "authorities" of the past no longer rule in China. Now the time has come to recognize that an end must be put to the influence of the old "authorities" in literature, art and education—an end to one-sided exaggerated reverence for book learning, to uncritical admiration of bourgeois and feudal culture, to the elevation of theory over practice, to form over content, to an acceptance of an educational system largely taken over from the old society. This cultural revolution represents a new society casting off old values that are no longer useful, a new society making its own decisions as to what is worthwhile in the old achievements, setting up its own new values.

### *Are The Chinese Throwing Out All Their Old Culture? All Western Culture?*

Talks at the Yen-an Forum on Art and Literature in 1942 included this significant paragraph:

"We must on no account reject the legacies of the ancients and the foreigners or refuse to learn from them, even though they are the works of the feudal and bourgeois classes. But taking over legacies and using them as examples must never replace our own creative work. Nothing can do that. China's revolutionary writers and artists must go among the masses; they must for a long period of time unreservedly and whole-heartedly go among the masses of workers, peasants, and soldiers, go to the heart of the struggle, go to the only source of the broadest and richest source, in order to observe, experience, study and analyze all the different kinds of people, all the classes, all the masses, all the vivid patterns of life and struggle, all the raw material of literature and art. Only then can they proceed to do creative work."

That was in May 1942, seven years before the establishment of the People's China. Today in the midst of the cultural revolution the Talks are not only reprinted\* but the Minister of Culture Kuo

\*In *Peking Review* 7/8/66.

Mo-jo in his formal speech to the Asian-African Writers Conference, held in Peking, and speaking to 160 delegates from 53 countries, on July 4th 1966 said this:

"Our attitude toward the long-standing ancient culture of our country is to reject its dregs and assimilate its fine elements and to critically take over what is required by socialism. As for the foreign progressive culture, we advocate critical assimilation of whatever is useful to us today so as to use this as an example.

"However, taking over legacies and using them as examples can on no account take the place of creative work. The historic mission of our writers and people is to create a socialist new culture and socialist new literature and art. The present great cultural revolution should be regarded as a grand prelude to our creation of a new socialist culture.

"With regard to the large number of individuals from the old society, the Chinese Communist Party has always adopted the policy of uniting with them, educating them and remolding them, so that all those intellectuals who are really willing to make progress may be prompted to take the road to revolutionization."

The Army newspaper, the *Jiefangjun Bao*, said that while the old and Western ideologies must be criticized to establish a the new culture of socialism, that did not mean that people could not learn from the ancient and Occidental traditions. "We take something new out of the old, take some from the West for the benefit of China." (NYT 9/21/66)

*The Cultural Revolution: A Continuing Revolution Begun in 1942*

This great proletarian cultural revolution is not something suddenly emerging from conditions in China today. It is a part of the long concern and effort of the Chinese Communist Party to build a truly socialist society, politically, economically and culturally. Concern with the cultural aspect of the new society formally began in Yen-an; these Talks at the Yen-an Forum on Literature and Art were held from May 2nd to 23rd 1942. Opening the talks Mao Tse-tung said, "Comrades! You have been invited to this Forum to exchange ideas and examine the relationship between work in the literary and artistic field and revolutionary work in general. Our aim is to insure that revolutionary literature and art follow the correct path of development and provide better help to other revolutionary work in facilitating the overthrow of our national enemy and the accomplishment of the task of national liberation. In our struggle for the liberation of the

Chinese people there are various fronts, among which there are the fronts of the pen and of the gun, the cultural and the military fronts . . ."

In the first years of the newly established People's Republic of China revolutionary universities were set up, for students returning from bourgeois countries; the motto of these universities was "si lao"—"wash your brains"—wash them of bourgeois and capitalist ideas; you are now to build a socialist society.

The completion of the land reform program eliminated the dominance of the thinking, customs and habits of the landlord class—a culture which had exploited the people and initiated the emergence of new thinking, habits and customs serving the interests of the people.

There were two mass movements in 1952—the "San Fan" (against the "Three Evils" of corruption, waste and bureaucracy) and the "Wu Fan" (against the "Five Evils" of bribery, tax evasion, theft of government property, cheating on government contracts, stealing of information from government sources for personal benefit)—these two movements alerted all to the continuance of capitalist culture and involved the masses of workers in the task of ferreting out and eliminating these anti-socialist ways of thinking and acting.

In 1957 there was the anti-Rightist Movement to smash the scheme of the bourgeois Rightists to usurp state leadership and subvert the dictatorship of the proletariat by advocating "peaceful evolution."

In 1963 the socialist education movement was initiated, stressing the thought of Mao Tse-tung; it has continued, merging into the current cultural revolution.

The Sino-Soviet conflict has been in China an intensive part of the continuing cultural revolution. All the polemics, all the letters and documents on both sides of the conflict were published and discussed all over China; in fact, China's response to letters and documents from other Communist parties was not made until after a nation-wide discussion of the contents of those letters and documents. The documents on the conflict are thus one of the basic tools of the ongoing cultural revolution, helping the people to see not only the goal of the socialist society—a new man—but also to understand the tortuous path to that goal.

As the British publication, *Broadsheet*, writes, "Thus the idea that the current revolution is something quite new has no foundation. It is in fact a more rapid advance in a direction long followed." (9/66) \*

\*The *Broadsheet* 62 Parliament Hill London NW3 \$2.90 yearly.



All movements have their causes, set off by some immediate occasion. The Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution represents the continued effort to establish a socialist rather than a feudal or a bourgeois culture in the new China. The immediate occasion for this current phase, the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, was a criticism late in 1965 of a play by Wu Han; the grounds for the attack on the play was that it used a historical analogy to attack the Government for dismissing a right-wing critic of the Government. But preceding this immediate occasion was a long period, beginning in 1951, of criticism of the works of various cultural leaders on the basis of their subtle opposition to the Marxist world outlook, their subtle opposition to the orientation of literature and art as serving workers and peasants, their advocacy of bourgeois humanitarianism, their opposition to a class analysis of society. The current nation-wide and popular attack on these cultural "authorities" comes after years of criticism and discussion within the Party, the Government and cultural circles. Today the whole country, not just the inner circles, is becoming aware of the attempts of these "cultural leaders" to lead China away from its socialist goal.

#### *Class Struggle In A Socialist Society*

Although China has laid the foundations for a socialist economy it is an axiom of social process that "classes and class struggle persist after the seizure of power by the working class and throughout the period of socialist transition to communism. This is because members of the former ruling and exploiting classes and their children survive; because of the rising standard of living brought by revolution, when products are equitably but not equally distributed (the system of distribution being the socialist one of 'to each according to his work,' not yet the communist one of 'to each according to his need'); members of the formerly exploited classes may themselves acquire the mentality of exploiters, and people who once yearned and fought for revolution may degenerate into supporters of privilege and exploitation; because of the counter-revolutionary influence from imperialist and revisionist-led countries. Though the seizure of political power is the first prerequisite for social revolution it is, in Mao Tse-tung's words, 'only the first step in a 10,000-li march.' The maintenance and consolidation of working class power calls for a far longer and harder struggle. The aims of a socialist revolution are exceptionally high. They are not to substitute one exploiting class for another, as all previous revolutions have done, but to put an end to class

exploitation, close the centuries-long gaps between mental and manual work, town and country, worker and farmer. The enemies of socialist revolution are exceptionally powerful. Not only do they never give up power without a struggle, but once defeated they never give up hope of striving for a return to power. As Lenin pointed out, the bourgeoisie's resistance is increased ten-fold after it is overthrown and its strength, based on experience, money and foreign connections is at first greater than that of the workers who overthrew it." (*Broadsheet* 9/66)

#### *Why A PROLETARIAN Cultural Revolution?*

It is a proletarian cultural revolution that is going on in China. Marxists see the basic question in any revolution is that of state power and the dictatorship of the proletariat as the quintessence of Marxism-Leninism. "It was once thought that with the proletariat's seizure of power, the question of political power was solved, and that the main task for the revolution would be to transform the old economy, organize a new economy and engage in construction and education." (*Peking Review* 12/23/66) The experience of socialist countries shows that state power could be recaptured by the bourgeoisie, the proletariat could lose political power, the dictatorship of the proletariat could be transformed back into the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie. Once in power the proletariat must carry the revolution through to the end, prevent the revisionists from usurping the leadership of the Party and the state, prevent the restoration of capitalism—they must defend and consolidate the democratic dictatorship of the working class—that is to say democratic for the vast majority and repressive against the small minority who want to restore capitalism.

Mao Tse-tung's contribution to an understanding of this problem that arises after the first stage of the revolution (the victory over the old and the setting up of the dictatorship of the proletariat) is his analysis of contradictions in a socialist society, and the law of their development. He points out that contradictions exist in a socialist society—contradictions between the socialists and the enemy *and* contradictions among the socialists themselves; and that by recognizing the existence of these contradictions, correctly understanding and handling them, it is possible to consolidate socialist society.

Mao's analysis points out that "socialist society is still built on the basis of class antagonism and that throughout the extremely long period of socialism there is still a struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie, and a struggle between the socialist

and the capitalist roads." It is obvious that within socialist countries there still exist anti-socialist, pro-capitalist ideas and individuals and even organized anti-Party elements. Furthermore, all socialist countries today exist in a world still containing capitalist countries, basically antagonistic to the existence of socialist societies. Mao sees the struggle between the two classes and the two roads as the principal contradictions in socialist society and the struggle over these contradictions as the motive force for the advance of socialism.

"The great proletarian cultural revolution is thus a recognition that if the Chinese leaders and people are not vigilant and if they fail to adopt the necessary measures to cope with the contradictions there is danger that the dictatorship of the proletariat will degenerate into the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie, with capitalism supplanting socialism in China.

"The struggle to foster what is proletarian and liquidate what is bourgeois on the cultural front is an important aspect of the class struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie, between the socialist road and the capitalist road, and between proletarian ideology and bourgeois ideology.

"The proletariat seeks to change the world according to its own world outlook, and so does the bourgeoisie. Socialist culture should serve the workers, peasants and soldiers, should serve proletarian politics, and should serve the consolidation and development of the socialist system and its gradual transition to communism.

"Bourgeois and revisionist culture serves the bourgeoisie, serves the landlords, rich peasants, counter-revolutionaries, bad elements and Rightists, and paves the way for the restoration of capitalism. If the proletariat does not seize hold of the cultural positions, the bourgeoisie is bound to do so. This is a sharp class struggle." (Editorial Liberation Army Daily 4/18/66)

*Why The Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution At This Time?*

*One reason is because the political consciousness of the mass of the people has risen: they know they are building a socialist society. At the Yanan Forum Talks Mao said that the people "are now engaged in a bitter and bloody struggle with the enemy but they are illiterate and uneducated." That was in 1942. But now, in the sixties, the people's political consciousness has developed to a new stage. They know that they have overthrown the feudal and colonial order; they are building for themselves, no longer for emperors, scholars, beauties, compradores; all the monumental*

construction in China today is for themselves—homes, hospitals and clinics, schools, kindergartens, nurseries, theaters, sports arenas, great public buildings and parks, sanitoriums, resorts, and rest homes. The people of China are becoming new people by participation in the process of change—the peasant who went through the long process of land reform, the woman who has been through the process of achieving equality of men and women, the worker going through the process of socialization of the productive forces. They are training themselves in self-government.

Millions in China now living have experienced a feudal China, have suffered under capitalist exploitation, have helped create a socialist China; new people have emerged with confidence in themselves, with continually new understandings of what makes a socialist society tick, and with a responsible role in their new society. They are ready for and require a further consolidation of their victory over the old forces which for so long controlled their destiny.

*A second reason is that the cultural consciousness of the vast majority of the people has risen.* The people are no longer "illiterate and uneducated" as in 1942. The great increase in literacy, reading and writing, has been made possible by universal education for the young, supplementary classes for adults, by reform of the language (including simplification of character writing and reduction in the number of characters needed to read a newspaper), by promulgation of an alphabet now in a nation-wide testing stage, by effective spread of the use of one Chinese language, a national tongue, Northern Mandarin, made more familiar by radio, TV and travel as well as by class-room teaching.

There is now popular understanding and appreciation of their own centuries-long culture. All over China, in cities and towns, there are new museums, museums created by and for the people. As new excavations are made, as new roads are laid out, the workers are on the watch for artifacts; these are no longer seen as loot that some curio dealer or foreign collector will buy, but rather they are prized contributions to the local cultural committee, eventually to be placed in the local museum. In these museums the people are contributing to a knowledge of and are coming to understand the long process of human evolution and production, of China's rich place in this evolution. They can take pride as they see artifacts dating back through fifty centuries, made by their ancestors, and pride as they see exhibited the constantly improved and refined processes of their forebears. The exhibits in these museums also make clear in whose interest it was to continue

habits and customs of the old order; for instance, one example—who benefitted by and kept in use and opposed any change in the use of the difficult written character, a difficult mode of communication.

Another aspect of the rising cultural consciousness of the people has been the new interpretations of plays and operas; the drama may be the same beloved play, but no longer are all the generals seen as heroes—some are seen as oppressors and some of the bandits whom they fought are now seen as spokesmen for the oppressed people.

There is a growing appreciation of the arts and crafts of their own people. With the coming of Western culture to China it was fashionable to buy machine-made cloth and utensils and look down on such native products as pottery, printed-flower-cloth and woven fabrics, as “crude” and “country stuff.” This tendency to despise Chinese handicraft has given way to popular appreciation of the arts of the common people. Regional and national exhibitions of the people’s handicrafts are generating pride in their people’s art; and old masters are teaching boys and girls of the younger generation so that the old skills will not be lost to China.

Not only does the great majority of the Chinese people now have a deepened cultural consciousness—an understanding, critical appreciation of their old feudal culture—but they are now creatively functioning in the building of socialist culture. They are now expressing themselves, these millions of workers in factories and mines, peasants on farms, soldiers in the armed forces—these formerly illiterate, uneducated ones are writing plays, stories, poems, letters to the press, wall newspapers. Tens of thousands, if not more, now perform in plays and concerts, often works of their own.

The whole population now studies about their new society. Popular understanding of the nature of their new society is helped by study of Marxist philosophy of dialectical materialism. Workers and peasants are steadily climbing the theoretical ladder, equipping themselves to think on an increasingly higher scientific level. This writer saw tens of thousands of text-books, “Philosophy for Workers and Peasants” in 1959; The socialist education movement which began in 1963 and the more recent intensification of the study of the works of Mao Tse-tung are a part of the process of having every one in China understand the basis of their new society. Hundreds of millions of people are studying on theoretical as well as functional levels! So, it is not “scholars” and “intelligen-

sia” that study Marxism, but a nation of over seven hundred million people. Mao Tse-tung’s writings make clear to the people, in simple language and with illustrations based on their own everyday experience the truths of Marxism, economic, political and philosophical.

And, as they understand ever more profoundly their own culture, as they understand more deeply the philosophy of their new society, these masses of Chinese people are seeing more clearly through the subtle machinations, the disguises, the tricks of the class enemy, domestic and international.

So, the rising cultural consciousness, creativeness and understanding of the masses during the first decade and a half of the new China makes possible today’s higher stage in the process of creating a socialist culture; the people are ready for this deeper appreciation and sharper evaluation of the old culture and readier to join in creating a new and different culture—a people’s, a socialist culture.

A third reason is that by now *the process of criticism and self-criticism is a well-established practice* in the daily life of the people, all the way from the small urban neighborhood groups and the rural commune teams to the highest levels of Party and government personnel. From the beginning this method of criticism and self-criticism has been a basic part of the process of creating the new man, the man of a socialist culture. Criticism of one’s self and of one’s comrades and fellow-workers is not easy at first; but the people have come to see how this process refines one’s thinking, clarifies one’s relationships, really serves the interests of the people and helps implement the continuing revolution. On a higher level, for instance, a stated function of the seven non-Communist political parties has been to constantly criticize the leading Communist Party.

Today’s great cultural revolution is but intensifying this process: the people are ready for a more thorough and serious and widespread examining and criticizing of the leadership, checking on whether or not leaders are living up to their tasks as builders of the socialist society.

A fourth reason is that *faith in the masses has been a fundamental guide to action*. Reliance on the masses, not the power of a central controlling group, has created the new China. “From the masses, to the masses” has been no idle, decorative slogan but an actual process. The basic social changes—land reform, equality of men and women, constitutional government, a socialist economy—

were not effected by a fiat of the central government, but were achieved, over years, by a social process in which basically the masses themselves effected the changes. Again and again during the first decade and a half of the new China there have been great movements which aroused, informed and mobilized the people—to understand and act on needed advances and issues.

The Communique of the Plenary Session of the Communist Party on August 12th, 1966 expresses its trust in the people: "Have faith in the masses, rely on them, boldly arouse them and respect their initiative; be pupils of the masses before becoming their teachers. Dare to make revolution and be good at making revolution. Don't be afraid of disturbances . . . Oppose the creation of a lot of restrictions to tie the hands of the masses. Don't be overlords or stand above the masses, blindly ordering them about."

Today the people, trusted, more experienced, more informed are more equipped and ready for this higher stage in the achieving of a socialist culture.

A fifth reason is *the international situation*. China is threatened. War against her is possible, maybe even probable. The continued anti-China policy of Washington poses a threat: it began with the massive military support given to Chiang Kai-shek in the forties, was continued through the fifties by political and military alliances on China's various borders and actual military action on her Northern border against China in the Korean War; it is now intensified by severe military action on China's southern border. Obviously and reasonably this calls for alertness and preparation on China's part. This involves mobilizing the masses, the major force within China. The current cultural revolution is a timely and intense continuation of the long-established process of having all in China understand to what lengths Washington policy will go to undermine their society, and to be aware of how the United States counts on certain elements within China to be undermining and wrecking agents. Admittedly there are elements—as the Party states—there are "a very small number of unregenerate landlord and bourgeois elements accounting for only a few percent of the population" that are potential if not actual collaborators with the United States policy. There is no sudden recognition of the existence of these elements; through the first decade and a half of the new China there has been continued awareness of and dealing with these elements; some of these are the formerly privileged but now disgruntled individuals who find it hard to accept

their changed status; some are those critical of the way socialism is being implemented ("too slow," "too fast," "the wrong way," they say); some are out and out anti-Socialist, anti-Party. These elements have not been jailed nor executed; they have been exposed, argued with, given alternate jobs, given the chance to criticize themselves. Many of these elements have been won over, by persuasion, by remoulding, by seeing the achievements of the new society. "In the early post-liberation days, we provided work for all the old bourgeois intellectuals except those who openly opposed the revolution. The Party's policy is to let them work for the motherland, and in the course of this gradually remould their bourgeois world outlook until they accept the world outlook of the proletariat." (People's Daily 7/7/66). The Chinese do not need a foreign press to inform them of the potential role of the die-hard elements: "It was not to Communist China's present ruling regime . . . that President Johnson was appealing in his Honolulu speech. It was to the shadowing gray figures of opposition in whom the United States now clearly places considerable hope" (C. S. Monitor 10/20/66). The cultural revolution is exposing, pointing out, ferreting out these tools, these agents by which the United States hopes to block China's socialist path.

The Chinese people have all along been aware of the hostile policy of the United States; they have been aware of dissident elements within their own country; now they are becoming acutely aware that there are those in positions of influence and power in the Party, in the Government and in education who are serving interests other than the interests of the people, whose actions, consciously or otherwise, pave the way for a non-socialist China. They are aware of the basic issues of the Sino-Soviet conflict. These people—these masses—are politically and ideologically much more able and ready to struggle for the continued progress of a socialist China and to defend this China against enemies within and without. They also understand their fraternal role in helping other peoples struggling for national and social liberation.

#### *The Popular Expressions of the Cultural Revolution*

In the current stage of China's ongoing cultural revolution there have emerged new expressions of the struggle against those whose ideas, acts and plots would lead China away from its socialist goal.

The Red Guards is a revolutionary movement of youth which began in Peking University. Their campus questioning of the

anti-socialist teaching, actions and attitudes of some of the professors and their arguments with fellow students who were taking on bourgeois habits led to open criticism and exposure of the Peking Municipal Committee of the Communist Party who backed these anti-socialist, anti-Party professors; they were exposed as using these professors as a base on which to win the younger generation away from the proletariat. In a sense it was these revolutionary students, joined by students in other colleges and middle schools in Peking, which set off the great cultural revolution.

These Red Guards, teen-age youths, and their nation-wide activities were the first expressions to emerge. The cultural struggle is no longer confined more or less to intense discussion in the inner circles of Party, Government and cultural "authorities".

As the vanguard of the great proletarian cultural revolution the teenage Red Guards by the millions engaged in nation-wide travels, publicizing the 16 Points, studying writings of Mao Tse-tung, exchanging experiences, participating in productive labor, pointing out the hangovers of feudal and bourgeois ways, ferreting out with the aid of local individuals and groups die-hard anti-Party individuals, exposing anti-Socialist Party officials, their putting up and encouraging the populace to put up big character posters which led to popular discussion, debate and argument, hardening themselves as revolutionaries by strenuous cross-country walking and simple living and integrating their lives with peasants and workers. These activities served to alert the masses to the issues of the revolution and led to a third new expression of the revolution.

By January 1967 the third new expression emerged—revolutionary rebel organizations, covering industry, transportation and communications, trade, culture, and Party and government departments. As mass criticism of the bourgeois reactionary line become more widespread workers and peasants began to establish their own revolutionary organizations and joined in the movement. Not only had the forces of the Red Guards grown stronger and grown to a higher level but the mass movement had grown in scope; revolutionary path breakers are appearing among the workers, peasants, older students and cadres.

The great proletarian cultural revolution is now to be carried on a large scale in the factories and rural areas, stimulating the revolutionization of people's thinking thereby promoting the development of industrial and agricultural production. Workers and peasants remain the main force of the revolution. Revolutionary students, teachers and intellectuals are to go to the factories and

rural areas in a planned and organized way, to integrate themselves into the worker-peasant masses.

### WHY THE RED GUARDS?

The cultural revolution is a mass movement in which the teenage Red Guards have been the vanguard. There is pertinent significance in this role of the young students. *This is the generation* on which Washington has been openly counting to negate China's socialist society, publicly noting that the present generation of older leaders will in the not-too-distant future be succeeded by a generation more amenable to compromise, more ready to coexist with the free enterprise system and help steer China back to capitalism. But China's youth is not to be a time bomb planted by elements who want to restore the old or change the direction away from socialism. "In its illusion about 'peaceful evolution' in New China, imperialism is pinning its hopes on the younger generation." (*Peking People's Daily* 6/5/66)

*This is the generation* that has not known the poverty and degradation their elders suffered and who are the object of attack by corrupt bourgeois culture—young people who are now making a major advance in their understanding that revolution is a continuing necessity if the final victory of a socialist society is to be achieved.

*This is the generation* that did not participate in the Long March nor in the civil war that won the victory over the old; they did not fight in the military struggles that achieved the first socialist victory; they are now physically involved in militant struggle, now playing an important and responsible role in this second stage of the revolution, the consolidation of that first victory. "The principal purpose of establishing the Red Guards was to insure that the revolution won with blood by one generation would not be dissipated by the second generation. China is trying to orient her youth, involving it in total participation in its own future. This youth organization is China's answer to the problem of teen-agers all over the world . . ." (Han Su-yin *New York Times* 10/16/66)

What more important and realistic a force to involve than the youth of China for carrying on the revolution, for effecting domestic cultural change (narrowing the gap between intellectual and manual labor, between town and country, between worker and peasant), for the defense of the country, defending their creation, the new China? As Mao Tse-tung said, "It will be possible to make laboring people of intellectuals and intellectuals of laboring people, and so train hundreds of millions of new Communist people who

have all around development and a high degree of political consciousness. The seven hundred million people of our country will all be critics of the old as well as builders and defenders of the new."

"These young people are the most active and vital force in society. They are the most eager to learn and the least conservative in their thinking" (Mao Tse-tung 1955). But centuries before Mao Tse-tung the Chinese people had long had as one of their popular affirmations "Those born after us are to be respected." A nation that can honor its youth and recognize their role in building their own socialist future has a basic source of strength.

One may even recall that in feudal Chinese society students ranked first, above farmers, merchants and soldiers—in that order. And in modern China students have a recognized primary role. "All cultural revolution movements in contemporary Chinese history have begun with student movements and led to worker and peasant movements, to the integration of revolutionary intellectuals with the worker-peasant masses"—as a January first 1967 editorial in Red Flag, the official publication of the Chinese Communist Party writes.

The great May Fourth Movement of 1919 was initiated by students in Peking, and spread to a nation-wide movement which sent students to the countryside, to towns and cities, informing and mobilizing the people. Then the issue was China's status among the nations, unequal treaties, political unity within China. It was the students who had a primary role in organizing the peasant movement, the labor movement, the women's movement and all the patriotic movements that finally eventuated in the overthrow of the old order and establishment of the People's Republic of China. The role of students as initiators, mobilizers and responsible factors is not alien to Chinese thinking or to Chinese experience.

Nor is the organization of Red Guards a novel thing in China. The old Red Guards was founded during the period of the civil revolutionary war, 1928-37—organized, armed peasants who continued to take part in farm work but ready at all times to "protect the soldiers"—("hung wei ping"—"red protectors of the soldiers"). Today veteran Red Army soldiers pay warm tribute to their young Red Guard successors; as one old soldier wrote, "The young fighters of the Red Guard have gone into action . . . to clear away the rubbish left over from the old society just the same way the workers and peasants Red Army fought the reactionaries in former years." Another old Red Army man wrote, "The spirit of revolu-

tion and rebellion displayed by the young Red Guards shows that they have truly inherited and developed the revolutionary, rebellious spirit of the older generation." Both the role of students and the Red Guards organization have a precedent in China's revolutionary experience.

Nor is going to the masses in the countryside an innovation on the part of China's student movements. In contemporary history they have a record of popular educational activities in the rural area—literacy, health, and political education. And they participate in productive activities. "Well over a million young Chinese have given up city life to work in the countryside since 1962 in a drive to rid the nation of a legacy of poverty and backwardness. . . . They have plunged into the heat of the revolutionary struggle to identify themselves with the workers and peasants, the New China News Agency says. Young people from Peking, Shanghai, Tientsin, Nanking and other big cities are reported working alongside veteran workers building reservoirs and canals in the arid deserts of the northwest. They are reclaiming wasteland and building new farms and factories. They are contributing to the spread of scientific and technical knowledge and to transforming old customs and habits, the agency adds." (CSM 9/29/66)

Students who participated in the May Fourth Movement which began in 1919 said over and over to the writer, at that time a student worker in China, "I learned more than I ever dreamed of teaching the peasants." And students with whom this writer talked in 1959 were excited and eloquent about what the experiences of working with the people in the countryside had meant to them—new learnings, new understandings of their country, new relationships—"new relatives," they called their new-found rural co-workers.

The Red Guards have gone to the countryside "to help with the autumn harvest, to learn from the poor and lower middle peasants—learn of their diligence, their revolutionary enthusiasm, and their other fine qualities as working people. These young people will mature, through experience, through learning, through criticism" the news agency reported. (9/5/66)

Experience, learning, criticism—these are maturing the young people as they travel and meet with each other from all parts of the country, as they put up big character posters in cities, towns and villages, posters which lead to discussions, arguments, refining their views and understandings, as they become aware of the elements, individuals, groups, hang-over customs and habits—that must be overcome if the victory over the past is to be consolidated, as they participate in productive work, learning lessons

no class-room study could provide, as they come to know and respect the workers and peasants, the producers of the material base of their society. This experience is enlightened, directed and empowered by study—studying, discussing and trying to apply writings of Mao Tse-tung. The major “text-books” are three small essays of Mao’s, totalling less than a dozen small pages of text, but serving to direct and motivate the revolutionary enthusiasm of these teen-age Red Guards.

#### *The Red Guards Cultural Revolution Text Books*

These three texts are “The Foolish Old Man Who Removed the Mountains” written in 1945, “In Memory of Norman Bethune,” written in December 1939, and “Serve The People,” written in 1944.

To quote from “The Foolish Old Man Who Removed The Mountains”:

“We must raise the political consciousness of the vanguard so that, resolute and unafraid of sacrifice, they will surmount every difficulty to win victory. But this is not enough; we must also arouse the political consciousness of the entire people so that they may willingly and gladly fight together with us for victory. We should fire the whole people with the conviction that China belongs, not to the reactionaries, but to the Chinese people. There is an ancient Chinese fable called, The Foolish Old Man Who Removed The Mountains. It tells of an old man who lived in northern China long, long ago and was known as the Foolish Old Man of North Mountain. His house faced south and beyond his doorway stood two great peaks, Taihang and Wangwu, obstructing the way. He called his sons, and hoe in hand they began to dig up these mountains, with great determination. Another greybeard, known as the Wise Old Man, saw them and said derisively, ‘How silly of you to do this! It is quite impossible for you few to dig up these two huge mountains.’ The Foolish Old Man replied, ‘When I die, my sons will carry on; when they die, there will be my grandsons, and then their sons and grandsons, and so on to infinity. High as they are, the mountains cannot grow any higher, and with every bit we dig, they will be that much lower. Why can’t we clear them away?’ Having refuted the Wise Old Man’s wrong view, he went on digging every day, unshaken in his conviction. God was moved by this, and he sent down two angels, who carried the mountains away on their backs. Today two big mountains lie like a dead weight on the Chinese people. One is imperial-

ism, the other is feudalism. The Chinese Communist Party has long made up its mind to dig them up. We must persevere and work unceasingly, and we, too, will touch God’s heart. Our God is none other than the masses of the Chinese people. If they stand up and dig together with us, why can’t these two mountains be cleared away?”

Much of the two big mountains that loomed so large in 1945 has been removed! Is it hard to understand that these young people, today participating in the struggle to rid their new society of the current forces that would destroy their new society, are fired with the faith that they can help consolidate the victory of their elders. Is it hard to understand that they can believe—

“All the scheming of the reactionaries, whether Chinese or foreign to prevent the Chinese people from achieving victory is doomed to failure. The democratic forces are the main current in the world today.”

What a force would be released if all the people who are depressed or discouraged about the world situation today could comprehend that “the democratic forces are the main current in the world today”—really understand that the terrible mountains that confront humanity today can be levelled!

To quote from “In Memory of Norman Bethune”—

“Comrade Norman Bethune, a member of the Communist Party of Canada, was around fifty when he was sent by the Communist Parties of the United States and Canada to China; he made light of traveling thousands of miles to help us in our War of Resistance to Japan. He arrived in Yen-an in the spring of last year and went to work in the Wutai Mountains, and to our great sorrow died a martyr at his post.

“What kind of spirit is this that makes a foreigner selflessly adopt the cause of the Chinese people’s liberation as his own? It is the spirit of internationalism, the spirit of communism, from which every Chinese Communist must learn. . . . Comrade Bethune’s spirit, his utter devotion to others without any thought of self, was shown in his great sense of responsibility in his work and in his great warm-heartedness towards all comrades and the people. Every Communist must learn from him.

“There are not a few people who are irresponsible in their work, preferring the light and shirking the heavy, passing the burdensome tasks on to others and choosing the easy ones for themselves. At every turn they think of themselves before others.

When they make some small contribution, they swell with pride and brag about it for fear that others will not know. They feel no warmth towards comrades and the people, but are cold, indifferent, apathetic. In truth such people are not Communists, or at least cannot be counted as devoted Communists. . . .

"Comrade Bethune was a doctor, the art of healing was his profession, and he was constantly perfecting his skill, which stood very high in the Eighth Route Army's medical service. His example is an excellent lesson for those people who wish to change their work the moment they see something different and for those who despise technical work as of no consequence or as promising no future. . . .

"Now we are all commemorating him which shows how profoundly his spirit inspires everyone. We must all learn the spirit of absolute selflessness from him. With this spirit everyone can be very useful to the people. A man's ability may be great or small, but if he has this spirit, he is already noble-minded and pure, a man of moral integrity and above vulgar interests, a man who is of value to the people."

A foreigner is the example, the model, the inspiration for the Red Guards!—a functioning proof of Mao's insistence on internationalism.

"Leninism teaches that the world revolution can only succeed if the proletariat of the capitalist countries supports the struggle for the liberation of the colonial and semi-colonial peoples and if the proletariat of the colonies and semi-colonies supports the proletariat of the capitalist countries. Comrade Bethune put this Leninist line into practice. We Chinese Communists must also follow this line in our practice. We must unite with the proletariat of all the capitalist countries . . . for this is the only way to overthrow imperialism. This is our internationalism, the internationalism with which we oppose narrow nationalism and narrow patriotism."

To quote from "Serve The People"—

"If we have shortcomings, we are not afraid to have them pointed out and criticized, because we serve the people. Anyone, no matter who, may point out our shortcomings. If he is right, we will correct them. If what he proposes will benefit the people, we will act upon it. . . . If in the interests of the people we persist in doing what is right and correct what is wrong our ranks will surely thrive."

These three short essays and the "little red handbook," Quotations From Chairman Mao Tse-tung, are the "bible" of China's youth. The Quotations give them in pithy extractions from the basics of Marxism-Leninism (as applied to the concrete situation in China and the tasks of the Chinese Communist Party) an analysis of society and guidelines for action. These "three constantly read articles" are a required course of study for every one engaged in the cultural revolution; they are maxims for revolutionaries. In addition there are the "five requirements": the first is to be a genuine Marxist-Leninist. Two, three and four concern the correct attitude to take toward the masses—wholeheartedly serve the overwhelming majority of the people, unite and work together with the overwhelming majority of the people, apply the principle of democratic centralism and adhere to the mass line. The fifth requirement concerns the correct attitude to take toward oneself: be modest and prudent and guard against arrogance and impetuosity, and have the spirit of self-criticism and the courage to correct mistakes and shortcomings in one's work. This, then, is the kind of "indoctrination" in which the youth of China are immersing themselves: mountainous tasks can be surmounted; selflessness, the discipline of criticism, constant improvement, close links with the masses build the good society; not narrow patriotism but people's internationalism which binds them with the workers of the whole world.

#### *The Progress of the Struggle Against the Reactionaries*

China's soil, so widely and intensely politically fertilized since the middle of 1966 by the millions of Red Guards traveling across the land (immersed in political study and action, themselves putting up big character posters and stimulating local populations to write, post, and discuss the big character ideas, working in the fields with the peasants, becoming related to tens of thousands of households and groups who acted as their hosts as they traveled across the land, recreating the revolutionary spirit of pre-Liberation days)—this fertilized soil has rapidly brought forth fruit.

One of the fruits has been the heightened counter-revolutionary activities of the reactionaries, the anti-Party and anti-socialist authorities. As Mao has pointed out—and history bears him out—reactionaries never take lying down any attacks on their positions. Counter attacks on the part of those "in positions of influence and authority" accused of "taking the capitalist road" are to be expected. These counter attacks have been reported as taking various forms: such as local anti-Party authorities attempting to buy off



workers, insulate them from the cultural revolution by promotions, wage increases, subsidies, increased welfare services—stressing material incentives, offering “sugar-coated bullets” to induce workers to act selflessly, “putting cash above revolution,” in a word, practicing “economism”; attempting to buy off peasants by distribution to them of products earmarked for state or collective granaries; attempting to create disorders by instigating workers to strike, to interrupt transport and communications, by inciting peasants to pour into the cities in “protest” movements; attempting to create confusion by rumors, by organizing pseudo Red Guards whose actions give a black eye to the true Red Guards, by distributing funds to workers for unauthorized travel to Peking to present “grievances” using Maoist slogans with anti-Maoist aims; and trying to undermine the financial and banking system by indiscriminate distribution of hand funds.

Another fruit of the political fertilization of the land by the Red Guards has been the spread of cultural revolution activities to wider sections of the population. “The struggle for power in China seems to have shifted from the corridors of Peking to the nation’s vast and populous provinces” (NYTimes 2/5/67) with the formation of Revolutionary Rebel organizations.

#### *A New Situation*

“Red Rebels, more mature and older than the teenage Red Guards, are apparently to be the shock troops of a new campaign . . . ‘This represents a new situation in the great cultural revolution’ says Hsinhua.\* In particular these maturer revolutionaries are likely to be sent against party officials who have been obstructing Chairman Mao’s goals and against the ‘saboteurs’ who have brought economic disruption to various factories and cities in China . . . Red Rebels have been holding mass meetings in the past few days in Nanking, Tientsin, Shenyang, Wuhan, Changsha, Kwangchow, Lanchow and other cities.” (CSM 1/8/67)

“‘Revolutionary Rebel’ organizations loyal to Mao Tse-tung and Lin Piao, have gone a long way toward assuming control of Shanghai . . . Progress has been made toward ending economic sabotage and strikes there . . .” “Hsinhua\* reported today that ‘revolutionary rebel groups in all parts of China were swiftly forming themselves into a great alliance’ to launch a general attack on the latest counter-offensive of the bourgeois reactionary line.” (NYT 1/18/67)

“All over China ‘revolutionary rebel committees’ have sprung

\*Hsinhua—New China News Agency.

into being to further Mr. Mao’s ‘cultural revolution.’ . . . Each of these municipal committees is an association of several pro-Mao ‘revolutionary’ committees.” (NYT 1/21/67)

This is leading to the evolution of organs of power, as envisaged in Point 9 of the Sixteen Points Decision—see page 7.

#### *Provisional Organs of Power: A Ripening Fruit*

Revolutionary Rebel Organizations of the people are already merging into provisional organs of power.

“A militant, puritanical party faction led by Chairman Mao and Defense Minister Lin Piao is struggling to tear down the evidently recalcitrant party organization and *build a new political structure*. . . . Provincial broadcasts monitored here (in Hongkong) asserted recently that new ‘seize control’ committees of student Red Guards and adult revolutionary rebels had displaced Party officials in at least eight provinces—Shansi, Shensi, Anhwei, Hupeh, Chekiang, Kiangsi, Kwangsi and Kwangtung.” (NYT 1/28/67)

“Supporters of Mao Tse-tung have taken over the administrative machinery in the Manchurian province of Heilungkiang. The take-over was announced by the Red Rebel Revolutionary Committee; the radio said the committee had ‘seized power’ from the provincial party committee . . .” (NYT 2/2/67)

“Efforts by Mao Tse-tung’s partisans to smash established authorities and establish a rigorous type of communism in China have brought them some gains in recent weeks. . . . Maoist revolutionaries proclaim the seizure of power in Tsingtao and in the provinces of Shansi and Kweichow. They hail the establishment of a new city government for Peking and trumpet the outsting from control of ‘reactionary’ elements from this and that state agency and economic enterprises. . . . The Maoists have made inroads on entrenched positions everywhere in the country. (Durbin NYT 2/2/67)

“In Tsingtao the Revolutionary Rebel Committee is an alliance of 23 revolutionary rebel organizations that have seized the political, financial and cultural power in Tsingtao from the handful of persons within the provincial and municipal party committees who were taking the capitalist road and the bourgeois-reactionary-line die-hards . . . to safeguard the proletarian dictatorship . . . with the working class as its leading force and based on the great alliance of workers, peasants, revolutionary students, intellectuals and cadres . . . determined to grasp revolution and stimulate production, throw overboard counter-revolutionary economism and to smash thoroughly the new counter-attack of the bourgeois reactionary line

and to wrest a new twin victory in revolution and production." (Hsinhua\* 2/1/67)

"A People's Commune was established yesterday in Shanghai, China's largest city, to take over control from the present administration, according to a wall poster in Peking. The new 15 member executive body consists of five workers, two farmers, two soldiers, one student and five representatives of other committees, the wall poster said." (NYT 2/6/67)

"*A people's commune in Shanghai*"—this is no sudden new idea, but a development early envisaged: in December 1958 when the rural People's Communes were officially recognized and authorized by the government the Resolution on Communes looked ahead to the day when there also would be urban—city—communes.

"There are certain differences between the city and the countryside. First, city conditions are more complex than those in the countryside. Second, socialist ownership by the whole people is already the main form of ownership in the cities; and the factories, public institutions and schools, under the leadership of the working class have already become highly organized in accordance with socialist principles (with the exception of some of the family members of the workers and staffs). Therefore the switchover of cities to people's communes inevitably involves some requirements different from those in the rural areas. Third, bourgeois ideology is still fairly prevalent among many of the capitalists and intellectuals in the cities; they still have misgivings about the establishment of communes. We should wait a bit for them. Consequently, we should continue to make experiments and generally should not be in a hurry to set up people's communes on a large scale in the cities. Particularly in the big cities this work should be postponed except for the necessary preparatory measures. People's communes should be established in the cities only after rich experience has been gained and when the skeptics and doubters have been convinced."

Even then, in 1958, in the cities there were organizations and developments that were moving toward urban communes. The Neighborhood Committees—divided into "street" or "lane" committees composed of 40 to 50 families—mainly staffed and managed by housewives, were running nurseries, kindergartens, primary schools, literacy classes, technical classes, clinics, shops, small and medium sized factories, public dining rooms, service stations. The Great

\*Hsinhua—New China News Agency.

Leap Forward had imbued these women, and the men who worked with them, with an intensified sense of responsible participation in the building of the new society. One chairwoman told this writer, in 1959, "Our slogan is 'the people must do for themselves; we must have initiative.' Already we have a higher standard of living, with better homes, with security. We are citizens now, with responsibility, with better thoughts, with increased political consciousness. We fear no difficulties, we are rulers now. We have a democratic life now—in our family, in our government and in our community."

China has steadily affirmed that the commune is the basic social unit of the new society and has planned for the day when both the rural and the urban population would function in communes. The "necessary preparatory measures" and the "rich experience" of the city people are now resulting in the organization of urban communes. This is a highly significant development: it will advance the revolutionary organization of the cities and will align the urban population more closely with the rural population thus hastening the day when the country as a whole will be a composite of people's communes,

#### *Formal Recognition of These Developing Actions*

Behind these developing activities throughout China is the formal statement in the Red Flag, official publication of the Chinese Communist Party. Excerpts from that statement follow.

"*Proletarian revolutionaries are uniting to seize power from the handful of party people in authority who are taking the capitalist road. This is the strategic task for the new stage of the great proletarian cultural revolution. . . .* Now that the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution has reached the stage of the struggle to seize power in all fields from the handful of party people in authority who are taking the capitalist road it is essential for the revolutionary mass organizations to forge a great alliance. Without a great alliance of proletarian revolutionaries the struggle to seize power cannot be completed successfully. *Even if some power has been seized it may be lost again. . . .* The current seizure of power . . . is not effected from above but from below by the masses. . . .

"Experience proves that in the course of the struggle for the seizure of power *it is necessary to establish provisional organs of power to take up the responsibility of leading the struggle through exchange of views and consultations among leading members of revolutionary mass organizations, leading members of local people's*

liberation army units and revolutionary leading cadres of party and government organizations. These provisional organs of power must grasp revolution and stimulate production, put the system of production into normal operation, direct the existing set-ups in administrative and professional work to carry on with their tasks, and organize the revolutionary masses to supervise these set-ups. These provisional organs of power also shoulder the task of giving unified direction in suppressing counter-revolutionary organizations and counter-revolutionaries.

"Such provisional organizations of power must be set up; this is essential and extremely important. In effecting this transition, the wisdom of the broad masses will be brought into full play and *a completely new form of political power better suited to the socialist economic base will be created.* . . . The Marxist principle of smashing the existing state machine must be put into practice. In summarizing the experience of the Paris Commune Marx pointed out that the proletariat must not take over the existing bourgeois state machine but must thoroughly smash it. . . .

*"The great mass movement to seize power from the handful of party people in authority taking the capitalist road has begun to create and will continue to create new forms for the state organs of the proletarian dictatorship. Here, we must respect the initiative of the masses and boldly adopt the new forms, full of vitality, that emerge in the mass movement to replace the old things of the exploiting classes and in fact replace all old things that do not correspond to the socialist economic base. What must not be allowed after the seizure of power is for things to remain the same with everything going on in the same old way.*

*"To arouse hundreds of millions of people from below to seize power . . . to smash the old and create new forms, opens up a new era in the international history of proletarian revolution, in the international history of the dictatorship of the proletariat. It will greatly enrich and develop the experience of the soviets and greatly enrich and develop Marxism-Leninism."* (Red Flag No. 3, 1967 1/31/67) (Emphasis added)

How strikingly this seizure of power "by the masses" contrasts with those seizures of power, in "revolutions" (say in South America) by bourgeois minorities—alternate regimes that are so quickly recognized by Washington! The dictatorship of the workers—the majority of the people—is true democracy and what a shame that the administrations in Washington so fail the democratic forces of the world!

### *The Whole Population Engaged in the Struggle for Power*

So the whole population is becoming involved in this great cultural revolution. It is a struggle for power, not in the narrow sense of who is to succeed Mao Tse-tung and the other leaders, but in the broad sense of what class is to hold power—the proletariat or the bourgeoisie? Power in the hands of the workers—not a dream of the future but an integral part of, the deciding characteristic of the present movement: this great proletarian cultural revolution is a movement of immensely broadened and deepened democracy. As the Red Flag writes, "In the course of this great cultural revolution our Party has given support to the creativeness of the revolutionary masses and their wide-spread use of such forms of extensive democracy as the free airing of views, putting up big-character posters, carrying out great debates and going to other units and places to exchange revolutionary experience. The masses have the right to criticize and raise suggestions about the Party and state policies and every aspect of the state apparatus. The masses have the right to criticize leading cadres at all levels no matter how meritorious their service, how high their position, or how senior their qualifications. A system of general elections, like that of the Paris Commune, is introduced without exception for all organs of power leading the cultural revolution. The masses have the right to replace through election or recall any elected member at any time. Wider and deeper democracy is to be carried out among the masses themselves and between mass organizations in order to unify understanding and thinking, to heighten political consciousness and to master Marxism-Leninism, Mao Tse-tung's thought, by the free airing of views, big character posters and great debates. Such extensive democracy is the best method for the masses to educate themselves." (Dec. 1966)

### *The Thinking of Mao Tse-tung*

In the course of the great proletarian cultural revolution the masses of workers, peasants and soldiers throughout the country are making vigorous efforts to study Mao Tse-tung's thought and establish its ascendancy, thereby opening up a new era of the mastery and application of Marxism-Leninism, of Mao Tse-tung's thought—directly by the working people.

Anna Louise Strong writes, "The Western press spoke sourly of this 'cult of the individual' and 'deification of Mao.' The Chinese were not speaking of Mao as an individual but of the body of

Marxist-Leninist thought which Mao has developed through forty years."

Anna Louise Strong tells how she "spent three years taking the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in Chicago University and ended up by hating philosophy so that I never wanted to read a book on it again. I especially hated what they called 'epistemology' or 'theory of knowledge' as a dull confused mess. Now Mao, in a pamphlet 'On Practice' gives the entire theory of knowledge in fourteen pages of words that a peasant could understand if it were read to him. Such a peasant would at once gain dignity and aspiration. He learns that every time he puts his spade to the soil or reaps a crop, this is the beginning of human knowledge, but it is only the beginning and not the end. A single act of perception is only "perceptual knowledge and incomplete. When many times repeated by many people, these bits of knowledge become generalized into a rational concept, or 'conceptual knowledge.' This knowledge must then be tested by practice for only in social process lies the guarantee of truth. A single bit of knowledge thus tested, leads on to other concepts, which again are tested in practice on an ever-widening and never-ending scale. This human knowledge grows and becomes many systems of science and such knowledge can be used to change the world. Such is the Marxist theory of knowledge and its relation to practice. It is heady stuff for any one to get. Even one man getting it will want to apply it. A group of people getting it together are likely to ask, 'What changes do we want to make in the world?' And this is how revolutions start." (June 1966).

In their struggle to end the old society and create a new society the thinking of Mao Tse-tung has been and is meaningful and relevant. No criticism of this thinking can undo or deny its pertinence and its results: the results are in the experience of the Chinese people. Where all other ideologies failed it was the thinking of Mao that led the Chinese people to end the ancient miseries. As Foreign Minister Chen Yi expressed it: "In order to remove the three big mountains, feudalism, imperialism and bureaucratic-capitalism, lying like a dead weight on the Chinese people, not a few people sought various ideologies and various ways and means and took various path. We traveled around the whole world to seek a way to relieve ourselves of the sufferings." One has but to recall the Western style schools set up in China—mission universities (13 American), government and private universities, an educational system modelled on various Western educational systems; one has

to remember the tens of thousands of "returned students" from Western universities (there were 60,000 such from the United States by 1949); one has to remember the numerous "Returned Students Clubs" from "France," from "Britain," from "the US," etc. throughout the main cities of China, each issuing publications advocating that Chinese education adopt aspects of the schooling they had received abroad. Indeed, these travelers returning "from around the whole world"—patriotic young people who wanted their country to modernize—did advocate various ideologies and various paths. As Chen Yi goes on, "But none of these ideologies worked and none of these paths led anywhere. The facts have taught the Chinese people that apart from believing in Mao Tse-tung's thought they can no longer have faith in any other thought. To sum up the experience of the revolutionary struggle of our country over the past decades, particularly the experience of the long years of bloodshed and failure and concentrate it in one point it is: Mao Tse-tung's thought alone can save China and without Mao Tse-tung's thought there would be no new China. We believed in various ideologies and tried various systems. They all failed. When we believe in Mao Tse-tung's thought which integrates Marxism-Leninism with the practice of the Chinese revolution we succeed. From our own experience we Chinese people have come to understand deeply that Mao Tse-tung's thought is our life-line and that Chairman Mao's teachings are the supreme guide for all our work" (June 1966).

#### TO SUM UP

##### *As Chinese Express It*

"Our socialist society still rests on class antagonism. Although the landlord and the bourgeois classes have been overthrown, they are not yet completely eliminated. *We have confiscated the property of the exploiting classes but we cannot confiscate their reactionary ideas.* Persons of these classes are still living and they are not reconciled. They inevitably try to stage a come-back. They form a minuscule of the whole population, but their power of resistance is proportionately much greater. The spontaneous forces of the urban and rural petty-bourgeoisie ceaselessly engender new bourgeois elements. Some unwholesome elements come into the workers' ranks as they expand. There are also some people in the Party and government organs who degenerate. Further, imperialism, modern revisionism and the reactionaries of all countries are always making

efforts, in one way or another, to have a go at us. All of this exposes our country to the danger of a restoration of capitalism. We must absolutely not ignore this danger. *Just as we must raise our vigilance a hundredfold against the external enemy, so too we must not lower our guard against the enemy at home.* While paying serious attention to the enemy with guns, we must not lose sight of the enemy without guns. A wolf in sheep's clothing is more dangerous than an ordinary wolf, and even more dangerous than a pack of wolves. The enemy holding a red flag is more dangerous than the enemy with a white one. Sugar-coated bullets kill people. Smiling tigers eat people. *We must never engross ourselves in work and forget politics* just because we have a host of problems to deal with. To forget politics, to forget class struggle, would be to forget the fundamental thesis of Marxism-Leninism and Mao Tse-tung's thought. This would be carelessness and sheer idiocy. . . . Marxism-Leninism is critical and revolutionary in nature. Its basic point is criticism, struggle, revolution." (Editorial People's Daily 6/4/66)

*"The current struggle is seen as training in class struggle.* This struggle makes us clear all the dust from our eyes once more and gives us a deeper insight into the fact that socialist society is a society with classes and class struggle. . . .

*"A long, long time—decades, even centuries—will be required to decide the issue of which will win in the struggle in the political and ideological field, socialism or capitalism. . . . Our exposure of them (the enemy . . . ed.) develops our ability to conduct class struggle and makes us understand its complexity."* (Liberation Army Daily 6/6/66)

*"This is an extremely acute and complex class struggle to foster what is proletarian and eradicate what is bourgeois in the superstructure, in the realm of ideology—a life-and-death struggle between the bourgeoisie attempting to restore capitalism and the proletariat determined to prevent it. This struggle affects the issue of whether or not dictatorship of the proletariat and the economic base of socialism can be consolidated and developed, and whether or not our Party and country will change color. It affects the destiny and future of our Party and our country as well as the destiny and future of world revolution."* (Editorial Red Flag No. 8, 1966).

*"Since the cultural revolution is a revolution, it inevitably meets with resistance. . . . Because the resistance is fairly strong, there will be reversals and even repeated reversals in this struggle. There is no harm in this. It tempers the proletariat and other working people, especially the younger generation, teaches them lessons, gives* (Emphasis added)

them experience, and helps them understand that the revolutionary road zigzags and does not run smoothly." (Chinese CP 8/8/66)

It is well to keep in mind as we read and listen to American news media what Anna Louise Strong notes: "What the Times saw as a violent incident, Peking saw in terms of history." (6/66)

### Conclusion

The present Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution is a great step forward in the protracted struggle to eradicate all bourgeois concepts of self-interest and to foster the socialist conception of devotion to the public interest—a further stage in the revolution to change the motivations, and habits engendered by feudalism and capitalism for thousands of years and to replace them by motivations and habits suitable to the building of socialism and communism.

The immediate aim is that the people shall establish their dictatorship over ideology, culture and education, shall further consolidate the victory of 1949 over the state and national economy.

The long-range goal is, conjointly with economic and political advances, to so change China that China's socialist transition is finalized, the fate of bourgeois society is sealed, and a full communist society comes into being.

This cultural revolution in China has its world impact. Mao Tse-tung's thought has creatively enriched Marxism-Leninism. It is a fact that increasing millions in the rest of the world, as well as hundreds of millions of working people in China, use Mao Tse-tung's thinking as their weapon in considering all questions, in criticizing and repudiating the old order, in struggling and making revolution. This fact constitutes an epoch-making development in world history. This current revolution in China will have its impact on the liberation movements of all peoples struggling against the old order, struggling to build a society without exploitation, struggling to build a socialist society.

### Conclusion for Americans

China is an emerging economic giant. She is now only "ten to fifteen years behind Japan," writes a Japanese economic analyst.\*

\*Genke Uchida, International Economic Secretary in the Ministry of International Trade & Industry of Japan. Scientific American 11/66

"She has emerged from the 'take-off' stage and has entered the industrialization stage. . . . How far off is the impending breakthrough?" he asks, and answers, "My own estimate is five to ten years." And he goes on to say that he does not think "the recent political events in China, apparent to the outside world largely in the activities of the Red Guards" will affect that time table.

Already the great industrial nations of the free-enterprise world are finding trade with China a sustaining factor in their economies. All the big allies of the United States are in mutually beneficial economic relations with China. They are obviously reluctant to follow Washington's anti-China policy—because they are taking into account the potential economic status of China.

China's economic potential is immensely enhanced by the current cultural revolution—a gigantic mobilization of an informed and participating people purging from their society still remaining ideas, habits, customs, elements and forces that would lead to a revival of the old exploiting economy. The revolutionary movement not only serves to purge the factors that block socialist economic advance but it also releases the immense productive powers of a people who have more understanding of and more freedom to continue the building of their socialist economy.

What about China-United States relations? In this realm China speaks from strength. In spite of the hostile Washington China policy, China has laid the foundations of her socialist economy and has demonstrated that she can have non-exploiting economic relationships with capitalist, socialist and newly emerging economies—to the benefit of all parties.

China's people are politically enlightened, including a clear understanding of the nature of United States' attitude and policy.

Not only does China today speak from strength, economic and political and cultural, but she takes a principled stand on relationships with the United States: affirming that she will not accept diplomatic recognition by the United States nor trade with the United States until the United States gets out of Taiwan.

The Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution now going on in China is a part of a continuing revolutionary movement that serves to steel, energize and consolidate a strong, principled and socialist China. This kind of a people, this kind of a nation is a bulwark of world peace!